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Minorities and Diversity in Scotland: Evidence from the 2011 Census

Abstract

The relatively low proportion of people in ethnic and national minority groups in Scotland has been an obstacle for social research concerning these minorities, especially in characterising and comparing these populations using large scale data. The 2011 census offers an invaluable resource in this regard, especially at a time when minorities are growing to represent a more prominent and significant element in Scotland's population. This paper uses standard aggregate census data and data derived from a 5% sample of census returns to provide an overview and comparison of the six largest minority groups in Scotland, focusing on the origins, identities and socio-economic status of people within these groups. It not only highlights how different minorities contrast with each other and the majority population, but also illuminates the diversity that exists within these groups.

Key words

Scotland; minorities; ethnicity; religion; identities; census

Introduction

Scotland's population is becoming more ethnically and nationally diverse and this diversity has distinctive features compared to other parts of the UK. The political and social significance of 'race' and religion have long had a particular character in Scotland (Hopkins, 2008; Miles and Dunlop, 1987). More recently, especially since devolution and in the context of the continuing debate about the nation's political autonomy, there has also been a relatively positive political consensus regarding migration and diversity in contrast to a rather more cautious and negative perspective at Westminster (Hepburn and Rosie, 2014).

One aspect of Scotland's distinctiveness has been the size and structure of its population, including the low proportion of people in minority ethnic groups, especially when compared to urban England. In the 2011 census 96% of people in Scotland placed themselves in one of the white ethnic groups compared to around 85% in England. Even in Scotland's most diverse council area, Glasgow, more than 88% of people are white, compared to less than 60% in England's largest cities, London and Birmingham. The relatively low numbers of people in minority groups in Scotland has represented an obstacle for social research on these groups, especially in larger surveys based on samples of the population, since these typically include low numbers of minorities. The decennial census is therefore an invaluable resource because its scale and inclusiveness offers the only reliable basis for characterising and comparing Scotland's ethnic and national minorities.

Identifying 'minorities' is not necessarily straightforward: it depends on how they are defined in relation to the more general characteristics of a particular national context. However, commonly, minority groups are defined on the basis of birthplace (e.g. not born in the nation of residence), ethnicity or religion (e.g. not belonging to the majority and/or dominant ethnic or religious group in the

nation of residence). In its most recent iterations the census has become more sensitive in recording such minority populations. Prior to the 1991 census, only country of birth could be used for this purpose, but this did not permit a distinction between those born abroad of white Scottish and/or British parents and those (mainly non-white) migrants from overseas who had no previous ancestral connection to the UK. It also did not allow the identification of those born in the UK but whose parents or ancestors' national origins lay elsewhere, and whose ethnic identities might reflect this distinct heritage. This was addressed by introducing questions on ethnicity in 1991 and religion in 2001, and in the most recent 2011 census a question on national identity was also included. Hence we may now use at least four dimensions of the census to identify and characterise minorities in Scotland: birthplace, ethnicity, religion and national identity. This also helps us avoid homogenising different 'communities' and enables the illumination of diversity within as well as between different minorities.

This paper focuses on six minority groups, selected because of their preponderance in the Scottish population: Chinese, English, Indian, Irish, Pakistani and Polish, all of which are identified through their ethnic self-categorisation, save the English, who are identified by country of birth¹. Inevitably, this entails the neglect of other less populous minorities, but addressing as many as six groups already entails sacrificing some depth for the advantages of a broad comparative approach.

The key aims of the paper are therefore: to use census data to provide a reliable outline of key characteristics of Scotland's most prominent minority populations; to compare these minorities with each other and with the majority population; and to highlight diversity within these groups. These objectives are addressed using two types of census data: aggregate data based on all census returns and accessed via the standard or commissioned outputs available via the Scotland's Census website (www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk) and microdata from a 5% random sample of census returns, which may be accessed via the UK Data Service (National Records of Scotland, 2015). The microdata are used when particular combinations of variables are not available in the published aggregate data and/or more detailed analysis is required.

The presentation and comparative analysis of data is based on three themes. First, *origins*, which examines birthplace and the approximate period of arrival for migrants to the UK. Second, *identities*, which examines national identity and religion. Third, *socioeconomic status*, covering economic activity, occupational class, and educational attainment. While these themes by no means exhaust the potential of census data, once more the value of comparing a number of minorities is emphasised at the expense of a more detailed analysis of (a) particular group(s). The analysis and interpretation of the data is initially contextualised by a broad overview of the different minorities and previous relevant research.

The Irish

Of the three white minorities (English, Irish and Polish), the group that has attracted most scholarly attention in Scotland is the Irish. Mitchell (2008: vii)

states that although other immigrant groups have had substantial effects on Scotland 'arguably none has had the same impact as the Irish on the social, economic, political, religious and cultural life of the country'. Migration from Ireland to Scotland was most strongly focused in the 19th century (Devine, 2008) and Mitchell (2008: vii) estimates that over a million contemporary Scots are descendants of Irish emigrants. The Irish in Scotland, then, are not only represented by those who were born in Ireland: we therefore define them as those who describe their ethnicity as White Irish.

Many migrants from Ireland to Scotland have been Protestant (McCready, 2000) and there are further potential problems in conflating 'Irish' and 'Catholic' in the Scottish context (Rosie, 2008: 145). Nevertheless, this conflation is sometimes explicitly practised for pragmatic purposes (e.g. Devine, 2008) and the fact that a large majority of Irish migrants to Scotland were Roman Catholic (Mitchell, 2008) has added a further dimension to the minority status of these migrants and their descendants. Debates concerning the status and experiences of the Irish in Scotland are often bound up with wider debates concerning sectarianism and religious discrimination such that it is the *combination* of Irish origins and Catholic religious denomination that is most significant (see e.g. Walls and Williams, 2003). Much of the research in this area has focused on the degree to which historic disadvantage experienced by the Irish and/or Catholics in Scotland endures in contemporary society (see e.g. Devine, 2008; Paterson, 2000; Walls and Williams, 2003).

The English

In contrast, the English have been considered a largely 'invisible' minority in Scotland (Hussain and Miller, 2006; McIntosh et al, 2008; Watson 2003). Their comparatively recent (re-)discovery as an object of academic interest initially centred not on disadvantage but what has sometimes been perceived as their disproportionate privilege and influence in Scotland, including concerns about alleged 'anglicisation' (Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996; Kiely et al, 2001; McCrone, 1992: 122-3). While some research has also addressed the more negative experiences of the English in Scotland (Bond et al, 2010; Hussain and Miller, 2006; McIntosh et al, 2004a, 2004b), this has never been characterised as broader socioeconomic disadvantage.

The English are also the only minority we define in relation to their birthplace, which raises some problems. First, this will include those who moved to Scotland at a very young age, perhaps having been born in England of Scottish parents. This might even include some 'accidents of birth' where specific birthplace did not coincide with the country of maternal residence. Second, it risks implying an identification as English rather than British, which, as we shall see, many people from England prefer to prioritise, or even Scottish, for those who might be described as 'adopted Scots' or 'Scots by upbringing' (Findlay et al, 2004: 66). But basing analysis only on those who *identify* as English is also problematic, not least because there was no 'White English' option in the census ethnic group categories in Scotland. Although the national identity question included an English option, this would exclude people from England who identify only as British. Using country of birth avoids these problems and is an approach that has

also been taken in related research (see e.g. Dickson, 1994; Hussain and Miller, 2006; McIntosh et al, 2008).

The Polish

While the Irish and English minorities in Scotland result from longstanding and enduring migrations, the Polish minority has emerged from more particularly focused migratory episodes. The first occurred during and immediately after the second world war, when large numbers of Polish military personnel were relocated to Scotland, many of whom decided to settle there following the war and the establishment in Poland of a communist political regime dominated by the Soviet Union (Devine and Hesse, 2011). The second was largely stimulated by Poland's accession to European Union membership in 2004. In order to try to include the descendants of both types of migrant, we use ethnic identification (as White Polish) to define the Polish minority rather than birthplace.

The response to recent Polish migration also in some ways illustrates how Scotland represents a distinct sub-state national context for the accommodation of minorities. Clements' (2011) analysis of media following Poland's accession to the EU suggests that while the wider British media initially covered Polish migration positively, their perspective generally became markedly more negative, especially as the economic recession took hold. In contrast, the Scottish media largely maintained a positive perspective. More recently, Pietka-Nykaza and McGhee (2016) have examined the identities and citizenship of Poles in Scotland in relation to the 2014 independence referendum. Their work shows that reflections and decisions concerned with justifying and legitimating Poles' intention to vote in the referendum were shaped by duration of residence and intention to settle in Scotland, and by feelings of commitment and contribution to their new country of residence. In many respects their data suggests that this (mainly new) Polish minority is likely to be an enduring rather than transient feature of Scotland's population.

Pakistanis, Chinese and Indians

In contrast to the Polish, the other main minority groups that were established in Scotland largely in the second half of the twentieth century are more visibly distinct from the white majority population and also more culturally distinct, not least with respect to religion. The largest of these groups are Pakistanis, and they and/or Muslims (most Muslims in Scotland – 58% – are of Pakistani origin) have also been the focus of most social research on visible minority ethnic groups in Scotland. Some of this has been relatively small-scale, locally-specific and/or qualitative (see e.g. Bonino, 2015; Hopkins, 2007; Saeed et al, 1999; Virdee et al, 2006). Larger-scale quantitative work includes Bailey and colleagues' (1995) analysis of 1991 census data, and Hussain and Miller's (2006) work. The latter is a landmark study not only because it attempted to combine more qualitative investigation with a larger survey of people of Pakistani origin in Scotland, but also because it explicitly compared this group with one of the main white minorities described above – the English.

Relevant Scottish research on the other two non-white minorities considered in this paper is somewhat rare. Bailey and colleagues' (1994) analysis of the Chinese based on 1991 census data provides a similar overview to their work on Pakistanis, and some psychological research has investigated national identities of children of Chinese origin in Scotland (Dai et al, 2015). Similarly, Hopkins' (2014) work with young Sikh men in Scotland addresses (*inter alia*) the national identities of an important sub-population within the Indian ethnic group (the vast majority of Sikhs in Scotland – 83% – describe their ethnicity as Indian). Overall, however, the paucity of relevant Scottish research on these groups highlights the value of providing a relatively contemporary overview of their key characteristics.

Origins

We begin by examining how the minorities vary by place of birth (Table 1)². The table also shows the total number in each ethnic group and the corresponding total for each group from 2001, where available. Since the English minority are defined by their place of birth, they are excluded from the table: 459,486 people in the 2011 census were born in England (an increase from 408,948 in 2001). Numbers in all minority groups thus increased substantially in the intercensal period from 2001-2011, with increases more modest for the English and Irish and more marked among the three non-white groups.

Table 1 here

These data reflect the different statuses and stages of evolution of the minorities. Of the three non-white groups Pakistanis are clearly the most strongly established in Scotland, with nearly half born there. In contrast, more than three-quarters of the Chinese and Indians migrated to Scotland. Nearly one in ten Indians came to Scotland from other parts of the UK, and this applies to a similar minority of Pakistanis. The White Polish are composed mainly of migrants from Poland. Although we do not have data on White Polish ethnicity from 2001, data examined below (Table 2) suggest that of all six minorities this group probably increased most during the intercensal period (2001-2011). Further analysis of microdata suggests that the vast majority of the Scottish-born White Polish are the young children of recent Polish migrants rather than, e.g. offspring of migrants from previous eras, because nearly 80% are infants aged 3 or under.

The White Irish are approximately evenly divided between three categories: migrants from Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland, and people born in Scotland who presumably identify as White Irish because of parentage or more distant ancestry. This final group are especially interesting given the historical and sociological significance of the Irish in Scotland. Even if Mitchell's (2008) estimate of some one million people in Scotland descended from Irish ancestors is an exaggeration, that so few people born in Scotland identify as White Irish rather than White Scottish is remarkable. This does not suggest a widespread and enduring sense of ethnicity based on Irish ancestry that is prioritised over Scottish birthplace. Even in those areas of Scotland where migration from Ireland was historically most focused, such as Glasgow and west-central Scotland

more broadly, less than 1% of people born in Scotland stated their ethnicity as White Irish (the sole exception among all 32 council areas was North Lanarkshire, at 1.03%). It is also remarkable that, given historic associations between Irishness and Catholicism in Scotland, less than 5% of Scotland's 841,053 Catholics (most of whom will have Irish ancestry) expressed an Irish ethnicity. Even in Glasgow, this proportion rises to little more than 5%.

Of course, ethnic identity is more subtle and situational than to be fully captured by a simple census response: for some, Irish ethnicity may be expressed in other ways, for example as part of what Boyle (2002: 185) has described as 'temporary 'identity moment[s]'. But Howard, in reviewing 2001 census data on Irish ethnicity for Britain as a whole, suggests that the most likely explanation for the relatively low percentages observed is that 'the Irish experience in Great Britain is characterized by rapid assimilation. If at all, Irish ethnicity is only weakly evident beyond the migrant generation' (2006: 118). It seems likely that Howard's conclusion can be applied more specifically to Scotland.

Table 2 shows the approximate period of arrival in the UK for those in the five minority groups who were not born in the UK (once more, the English are excluded from this analysis)³. Because the aggregate online data does not show period of arrival for different ethnic groups, these data are based on analysis of the 5% microdata. The total number of cases for each group in the microdata is also shown.

Table 2 here

The five minority groups may be divided into three migration categories. The first are the more established minorities: the White Irish and the Pakistanis. Most people in these groups were born in the UK and the remainder (migrants) are spread fairly evenly across different periods with respect to their arrival in the UK. Even here there are some differences, however: the data reflect the historic nature of Irish migration to Scotland whereas Pakistani migration was negligible before the 1960s.

The second category encompasses the Chinese and Indians, most of whom were not born in the UK. Similarly to the Pakistanis, migrants from these groups mainly appear from the 1960s onwards and migration patterns also seem to mirror the Pakistanis up until the early years of the 21st century. But a clear difference from the Pakistanis is that much higher proportions of the Chinese and Indians migrated relatively recently. About two-thirds of Indian migrants arrived in the seven years preceding the census and nearly half of Chinese migrants arrived in the four years before the census. As we shall see below when we examine economic activity, this is most likely related to student and/or skilled labour migration.

Finally, the White Polish are distinct from the other groups in that, as also seen in Table 1, only a small minority were born in the UK, but also because migration is so heavily focused on the post-2003 period, corresponding with Poland's accession to the EU. About 85% of all migrants from Poland arrived during the 5 years from 2004-2009.

Identities

2011 was the first census in Scotland (or indeed the UK) to include a question on national identity. This topic has been commonly explored in social and political surveys in Scotland, but unlike the census these do not include people in minority groups in sufficient numbers to make reliable assertions about their national identities. The question allowed the selection of multiple identities, and Table 3 shows, for each minority group and for the White Scottish majority, the proportions who selected a Scottish identity only or in combination with any other national identities; a British identity only or combined with a Scottish identity; and non-UK national identities only. Because multiple responses are possible and the categories shown do not include all possible options (e.g. Northern Irish), the percentages do not necessarily sum to 100. Aggregate census data includes people of all ages, and this raises questions regarding children's capacity to autonomously define their own national identities. Particularly for very young children, it seems likely that most would not be able to determine their own national identity, and that this would therefore be assigned by a parent or guardian. But it also seems probable that some older children will also not have chosen their own national identities, or at least that their choice will have been significantly influenced by an adult. Analysis based on 5% microdata and including only those aged 16 and over was therefore also undertaken, but although this tends to depress levels of Scottish identity somewhat for some minorities, the effect is modest and these data are not shown in the table.

Table 3 here

The figures for Scottish national identity to some extent mirror the different distributions of birthplace for each minority (Table 1), which appears to support previous evidence suggesting that birthplace is the most important characteristic for Scottish national identity (Bond, 2006; Kiely et al, 2001, 2005). Its significance is confirmed if further analysis is performed focusing only on those who were born in Scotland (which self-evidently excludes the English). Figure 1 shows that in each minority group with the exception of the Polish a large majority of the Scottish-born identify as Scottish. It is also interesting to note that less than one-quarter of people born in Scotland who chose a White Irish *ethnicity* also chose an Irish *national* identity (not shown in Figure 1). The relatively low figure for Scottish identity among the Scottish-born Polish may be explained by the age structure of this group, the vast majority of whom (89%) are aged under 16 and thus more likely to have their identities 'assigned' to them by (Polish) parents.

Figure 1 here

However, the data also show that birthplace by no means determines national identity. Not everyone who was born in Scotland identifies as Scottish and many people who were *not* born in Scotland or the UK do see themselves as Scottish or British (see Figure 2). Relatively high levels of Scottish and (especially) British identification are particularly evident among Pakistanis not born in the UK, and

large minorities of Indians and Chinese born overseas also identify as British. As shown in Table 3, approximately a quarter of the English minority (who by definition were born in the UK but not in Scotland) identify as Scottish, although a higher proportion identify as British. As noted above, for some 'English' people Scottish identity may relate to an 'accident of birth' and/or Scottish parentage, but these factors seem much less likely to be influential for the other minority groups. This suggests that at least some people identify as Scottish on the basis of 'belonging' rather than birth or indeed 'blood' (Kiely et al, 2005).

Figure 2 here

Table 4 suggests that we may loosely categorise the six minorities into three *religious* groups. The Chinese and English may be described as mainly non-religious: a clear majority of the Chinese and the largest single category among the English are those with no religion. The Polish, Irish and Pakistanis may be described as religiously homogeneous, with this homogeneity most marked for Pakistani Muslims, then Polish Roman Catholics, and least among the Irish Roman Catholics. Further analysis of microdata shows that the coincidence of Irish ethnicity and Catholicism is greatest among the White Irish born in Scotland (84% Roman Catholic), followed by those born in the Republic of Ireland (74%) and then those born in Northern Ireland, only a minority of whom are Catholic (42%)⁴. Nearly a quarter of the White Irish in Scotland born in Northern Ireland belong to other, non-Catholic, Christian denominations. This suggests that a substantial minority of Northern Irish Protestants in Scotland see themselves as Irish, at least in terms of their ethnicity. Finally, the Indian minority is religiously diverse, containing at least three substantial religious groups (Hindus, Sikhs and Christians), and further analysis of microdata shows that these religious sub-groups have quite different characteristics.

Table 4 here

Data on birthplace, national identities and migration history indicate that Indian Sikhs are a relatively established minority in Scotland, compared to Indian Hindus and Christians who are newer minorities. Most Indian Sikhs were born in the UK (42% in Scotland), compared to 26% of Christians (21% in Scotland) and 16% of Hindus (11% in Scotland). Unsurprisingly, this also influences (especially Scottish) national identities. Nearly half of Sikhs (45%) identify as Scottish compared to 26% of Christians and 17% of Hindus. Most Hindus (nearly 70%) and Christians (61%) are migrants who arrived in the decade preceding the census, compared to only 16% of Sikhs. In fact nearly half of all Indian Hindus arrived from 2007 onwards. 28% of Sikhs are migrants who came to the UK in the second half of the 20th century, compared to only 15% of Hindus and 12% of Christians.

Socioeconomic Status

One of the key arguments for the inclusion of ethnicity in the UK censuses was that it could highlight disadvantage experienced by minority groups (Bhrolchain,

1990: 545). We have also discussed debates concerning the contemporary extent of any disadvantage the Irish (more specifically, Irish Catholics) may experience in Scotland. On the other hand, we noted that the English in Scotland have generally been characterised as relatively powerful and privileged. In this final section we use socioeconomic indicators to compare the main minority groups with each other and with the White Scottish majority in order to assess relative (dis)advantage. Once more space precludes analysis of all census questions that might have been employed to this end (e.g. we do not include data related to housing or health). We focus on economic activity vis-à-vis the labour market (Table 5), occupational class, and educational qualifications.

Economic activity

Table 5 here

Table 5 shows that the economic activity of the English and Irish minorities is similar to the White Scottish majority, but the other minorities diverge from the majority, and each has its own distinctive features. One shared characteristic is low levels of retirement among the Polish and non-White minorities, which reflects the age structure of these groups. Although unemployment is marginally higher among the non-white minorities, differences compared to the majority are not striking. The White Polish stand out as having very high rates of paid employment, which suggests that recent Polish migration is predominantly labour-related.

The Pakistanis have two defining characteristics: the highest rates of self-employment and the highest levels of economic inactivity not related to being retired or a student. This inactivity is strongly gendered: a large minority of Pakistani women of working age (39%) are in the 'other economically inactive' category compared to only 9% of men. About a quarter (26%) of Pakistani women are looking after the home or family. While this is a much higher proportion than the other selected minorities, to some extent at least this probably reflects differences in household structure and associated caring responsibilities. Analysis of microdata shows that more than a third of Pakistani women live in families with three or more dependent children (compared to only around one in ten or less for the other minorities), and in most of these cases the youngest child is of pre-school (0-4) age.

While the Indian and Pakistani groups both have relatively high proportions of students, further analysis of microdata shows that their origins are very different: two-thirds of all Pakistani students were born in the UK compared to less than a quarter of Indian students, more than 60% of whom arrived in the UK as migrants in the four years preceding the census. The relatively high proportion of students among Indians is also primarily attributable to Indian *Hindus* specifically: 57% of Indian students are Hindu compared to 15% Christian and 13% Sikh. However it is the Chinese in Scotland who are most strongly characterised by migrant students. Indeed if students who are also considered to be in some kind of employment are included (see Table 6 below) approaching half of all Chinese people in Scotland are students. Of these only

12% were born in the UK, and more than three-quarters arrived in the UK as migrants in the four years preceding the census.

Occupational class

Table 6, which shows the occupational class profile of each minority based on the NS-SEC classification⁵, further illuminates the data from Table 5 and gives a clearer indication of any relative socio-economic (dis)advantage.

Table 6 here

The data on occupational class show considerable variation between the different minorities, but also evident diversity *within* at least some of these groups. While Table 5 showed very high rates of paid employment among the White Polish, Table 6 suggests this employment is most strongly concentrated in relatively low-skilled jobs, and the Polish are the only minority who show a more working-class profile than the White Scottish majority (i.e. they are more likely to be in routine and semi-routine groups). At the other end of the spectrum, the various minorities may be divided into two groups with respect to their employment in more middle-class managerial and professional jobs. The White Polish, Pakistanis and Chinese are less likely to be (or have been) employed in these occupations than the White Scottish majority. However, this comparison is distorted somewhat by high levels of economic inactivity in these groups. If students or those who have never worked or are long-term unemployed are ignored, the Chinese are equally likely to be in the managerial and professional groups as the majority population, and Pakistanis only somewhat less so. There is no evident gender disadvantage related to employment of Pakistani women. Again, ignoring the economically inactive, 30% of Pakistani women are in the professional or managerial groups, the same proportion as economically active White Scottish women and a higher proportion than economically active Pakistani men. The other minorities (Indians, White Irish and English) all show a more middle-class and less working-class occupational profile than the White Scottish majority, perhaps reflecting a phenomenon of more skilled migration among these groups. This is most marked in the Indian group: excluding the economically inactive, around half of Indians are in managerial or professional groups.

Diversity in occupational class within some minority groups may be related to birthplace, migration status and/or religion. Nearly half (45%) of the White Irish who were born in Northern Ireland are in managerial and professional groups compared to only 18% routine or semi-routine. In contrast those born in the Republic of Ireland have the most working-class profile, albeit that more are in managerial and professional categories (35%) than routine and semi-routine (28%). The White Irish born in Scotland have a less middle-class profile than those from Northern Ireland but less working-class than those from the Republic of Ireland. They are also considerably more likely to be in managerial and professional socio-economic groups and less likely to be in routine and semi-routine groups than are the White Scottish majority, and this is also true if we focus only on White Irish *Roman Catholics* born in Scotland. Interestingly, if we

look further at the effect that occupational class position might have on ethnic identification among Catholics born in Scotland, then we also find that although still only a very small minority of those in the managerial and professional groups identify as Irish (3%), relatively speaking, they are more likely to do so than those in routine or semi-routine occupations (a little over 1%).

Overall, then, the analysis does not indicate Irish (or Irish Catholic) socioeconomic disadvantage in Scotland. But although some caution needs to be exercised because of sub-sample sizes, for those White Irish born in the Republic of Ireland it appears period of arrival in the UK has a marked impact on class position, such that earlier migrants may indeed have been more socio-economically disadvantaged. Pre-1970s migrants are particularly likely to be in working-class occupational categories whereas most migrants from the 1990s and early 2000s are in managerial and professional groups. After 2006, the largest category of Irish migrants by far are students.

Pakistanis may also be split into three broad categories with respect to migration and occupational class: the UK-born, 20th century migrants, and 21st century migrants. Although still less likely to be in managerial and professional groups than the White Scottish majority, UK-born Pakistanis are somewhat more likely to occupy these more middle-class positions than Pakistani migrants, especially those who arrived in the 20th century, who are more likely to be in routine and semi-routine categories and, even more markedly, self-employed. Pakistani migrants who arrived in the UK in the 21st century generally show a somewhat more middle-class profile than 20th century migrants, although less so than UK-born Pakistanis in Scotland, and a large minority of migrants who had arrived in the year preceding the 2011 census were students.

For Indians, there is evident variation in patterns of occupational class related to birthplace, migration status and religion. UK-born Indians do not enjoy the same class advantage compared to 20th century migrants as do their Pakistani counterparts. Even allowing for the relatively high number of students among Indians, the UK-born are generally no more likely to be in middle-class groups than 20th century migrants and early 21st century Indian migrants are significantly more middle-class in occupational profile than are the UK-born. However, the effects of migration status and religion overlap because recent migrants are much more likely to be Hindus and less likely to be Sikh, and among Indians Hindus have the most middle-class occupational profile, especially when compared with Sikhs. 41% of Hindus and 40% of Christians are in managerial and professional groups compared to only 19% of Sikhs. Sikhs are more likely to be self-employed (18%) than the other Indian religious groups, but they are also more likely to be in the routine and semi-routine groups (25% compared to 22% for Christians and only 8% for Hindus). Among Indians who migrated in the years immediately prior to the census (2010-11) there is a very high proportion of students (60%), with 24% also in managerial and professional occupations. Compared to previous cohorts of migrants and the UK-born Indians, working-class employment among these most recent migrants is therefore negligible.

Birth and migration are also related to differences in occupational class within the Chinese group. The UK-born are substantially more likely to be in managerial and professional groups than are any cohort of Chinese migrants up until the

early part of the 21st century, especially if the high proportion of students (33%) among the UK-born is taken into account. Self-employment is also very common among earlier cohorts of Chinese migrants but is rare among the UK-born and those who have migrated post-1990. Recent Chinese migrants are predominantly students: 66% in the 2007-09 and 90% in the 2010-11 cohorts.

Educational qualifications

The final indicator of socio-economic status we review is highest educational qualifications (Table 7). It should be noted that foreign qualifications (school or post-school) are included, such that people who have been educated outside the UK are not excluded or recorded as having no qualifications where this is not appropriate.

Table 7 here

Minorities generally are more highly educated than the White Scottish majority: all have lower percentages of people with no qualifications and higher percentages with degree level qualifications or higher, and the educational advantage of the minority groups also remains even if we focus only on those born in the UK. But there are also some differences between the groups. Indians as a whole are very highly-educated, but once more this obscures considerable diversity with regard to religion: 80% of Indian Hindus have a degree or higher compared to 64% of Christians and only 28% of Sikhs. Equally, 29% of Sikhs have no qualifications compared to only 3% of Hindus. But if we focus only on UK-born Indians in Scotland then these differences are much less stark. Pakistanis have an educational profile that comes closest to the White Scottish majority but if only the UK-born are included the Pakistani and Indian groups are very similar. Both also have lower proportions of degree-educated people than the UK-born in the other minority groups (although note that the microdata contains few cases in the White Polish group). The other minorities are broadly similar with regard to the proportions at either extreme (no qualifications or degrees) and variations in other levels might partly relate to different educational structures in migrants' countries of origin.

It is worth employing the microdata further to explore two final issues with respect to the white minorities, both of which build on previous data presented above. While the White Polish have broadly similar educational profiles to the English and Irish, as we saw in Table 6 this is not reflected in their occupational class profile. While 70% of both English and Irish with degree qualifications are in professional or managerial groups, this applies to only 20% of the Polish degree-educated. This proportion is also substantially lower than any of the non-white minorities (ranging from nearly 30% of Chinese to more than half of Indians). Clearly, many Polish migrants are yet to convert their qualifications into appropriate employment. This is likely to reflect differences in linguistic and other forms of capital among a relatively recent migrant cohort for whom English will be a second language at best, and it will be interesting to monitor this group in future to assess the extent to which they improve their class position.

The final issue is the extent to which educational attainment among the White Irish varies according to birthplace and religion. Migrants from the Republic of Ireland show a somewhat polarised educational profile: although they are just as likely to have a degree as migrants from Northern Ireland (and more so than the Scottish-born White Irish), they are also the most likely to have no qualifications. Migrants from Northern Ireland are then somewhat more highly educated than the other White Irish sub-groups. But, given previous debates about Irish and/or Catholic disadvantage in Scotland, it is worth stressing here that White Irish Protestants from Northern Ireland are not obviously more qualified than their Roman Catholic counterparts, and that the White Irish born in Scotland still have a much stronger educational profile than the White Scottish majority: 20% have no qualifications and 36% have a degree or better compared to 29% and 22% respectively of the White Scottish majority. Since the vast majority of those who were born in Scotland and define themselves as White Irish are Roman Catholics, it follows that educational attainment among White Irish Roman Catholics born in Scotland is superior to that among the White Scottish majority. It is also true that, very similarly to the effect of occupational class on ethnicity, higher educational qualifications are associated with higher levels of Irish identification among Catholics born in Scotland. It is important to stress that this effect is still marginal, in that still only a very small proportion of highly-educated middle-class Catholics in Scotland record their ethnic group as White Irish. However, that they are significantly more likely to do so than their counterparts who have lower qualifications and are in more working-class occupational groups raises the intriguing possibility that, for some at least, higher socioeconomic status *promotes* Irish identification rather than the latter being associated with disadvantage.

Conclusions

The overview presented here not only highlights how different minorities contrast with each other and the majority population, but also illuminates the diversity that exists within these groups. In all minority groups national identities are strongly related to country of birth rather than ethnic origins. But while this illustrates that Scottish national identity (and indeed Britishness) is relatively inclusive of minorities, some people in minority ethnic groups, even though they were born in Scotland, are less likely than the majority to see themselves as Scottish. Against that, there is also evidence to suggest that many 'become' Scottish (and British) on the basis of 'belonging', regardless of birthplace.

Birthplace, the specific period of arrival in the UK for migrants, and religion are all associated with socioeconomic (dis)advantage as represented most obviously by occupational class and education. This disrupts any ostensible coherence of minority groups or 'communities' in Scotland, but the extent of this disruption varies between groups. Perhaps the most homogeneous (in relation to birthplace, migration status, religion and occupational class) are the Polish, and they are also the one group who stand out as being obviously disadvantaged, at least regarding their occupational status. But this disadvantage does not arise from education, and is thus most likely to relate to their comparatively recent

arrival as migrants for whom English is not a native language. It would seem likely that the Polish in Scotland will exhibit future upward social mobility both intra- and inter-generationally.

The English and Pakistanis also show considerable homogeneity. The English are largely confirmed as a relatively advantaged group whose most notable internally differentiating features relate to their (national and religious) identities. While the Pakistanis, along with the Poles, are largely religiously homogeneous and are the only other minority who show a more disadvantaged occupational profile compared to the White Scottish majority, this disadvantage is mitigated to some extent by birthplace, which is the major axis of division among Pakistanis in Scotland. This is also true of the Irish in Scotland, but although the three major Irish sub-groups by birth partly correspond to differences in socio-economic status, this only seems to amount to disadvantage for migrants from the Republic of Ireland who arrived in the UK many decades ago. This would appear to support previous research that suggests that Irish (or indeed Irish Catholic) disadvantage in Scotland is largely historical rather than enduring (Devine, 2008; Paterson, 2000). Later generations of migrants from Ireland, as well as those who were born in Scotland but identify as Irish, are more likely to enjoy a better socio-economic status than their White Scottish counterparts. At least, this is true of those who *choose* to identify as White Irish, because another key finding from data on ethnic and national identities is that most people in Scotland with Irish heritage appear to have largely become assimilated as Scots.

For Indians, internal diversity related to religion and period of migration are more consequential for socio-economic status than for the Irish, best illustrated by the contrast between recent migrant Hindus, who are predominantly students or in middle-class occupational groups, and the more well-established Sikhs, who are much more likely to be self-employed or in more working-class occupational categories and much less likely to be educated to degree level. Among the Chinese, the major axes of diversity are birthplace and migration cohort: there is an evidently prominent phenomenon of recent student migrants but also a contrast between the socio-economic status of more well-established Chinese migrants and their UK-born descendants.

The data reported in this paper clearly has some limitations. Gains in terms of scale and breadth from using census data give rise to concomitant deficiencies in depth and detail. Single survey-type questions cannot illuminate all the subtleties of ethnic and national identification and it is important that more qualitative group- and place-specific studies on Scotland's minorities continue to complement more quantitative work. The census data pertaining to children also need to be treated with some caution, since their autonomy in determining their own ethnic, national and religious identities will be limited.

Nevertheless, because of the relatively small numbers of people in minority ethnic and national groups in Scotland, the census data present a unique opportunity to characterise and compare them, not least because the census has developed substantially in recent decades as an instrument for identifying and researching those in minority groups. These groups also represent a growing proportion of the population of a nation that in some ways has taken a distinct

perspective on the accommodation of minorities compared to its UK neighbours. They are also likely to have a significant place within the ongoing debates related to Scotland's constitutional status. For all these reasons it is important that we know more about ethnic, religious and national minorities in Scotland, and this paper helps address their relative neglect in terms of large-scale studies in Scotland.

Notes

¹ Based on data from the 2011 census the proportions of each of these ethnic groups in the Scottish population are, in order of magnitude: Polish (1.16%); Irish (1.02%); Pakistani (0.93%); Chinese (0.64%); Indian (0.62%). 8.68% of people in Scotland were born in England.

² The title of each table indicates whether figures are based on aggregate data (i.e. all census returns) or microdata (the 5% sample). In all tables percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number and ‘-’ indicates a value less than 0.5%.

³ Note that the census does not record period of most recent arrival in *Scotland* for migrants living in Scotland, only their arrival in the *UK*.

⁴ These figures include those who did not state their religion. If they are excluded then proportions of Roman Catholics would increase by 2-4%, depending on birthplace.

⁵ The National Statistics Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC) is quite a complex means of classifying individuals into socio-economic groups based on the nature of their current or previous occupation, and is now used in many UK surveys. The NS-SEC includes up to 40 categories but simplified versions are often applied. In this paper, a common eight-class version is used, with full-time students also shown separately to give nine classes in all.

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Table 1: Birthplace (aggregate data - 2001 totals in brackets)

<i>Ethnic group</i>	White: Polish	White: Irish	Pakistani	Chinese	Indian
<i>Country of birth</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Scotland	9	30	48	22	24
Other UK	-	31*	9	4	9
Other country	90	39**	43	74	67
<i>N</i>	<i>61,201</i> <i>(N/A)</i>	<i>54,090</i> <i>(49,428)</i>	<i>49,381</i> <i>(31,793)</i>	<i>33,706</i> <i>(16,310)</i>	<i>32,706</i> <i>(15,037)</i>

* 26% born in Northern Ireland; ** 36% born in Republic of Ireland

Table 2: Year of arrival (microdata)

<i>Ethnic group</i>	White: Polish	White: Irish	Pakistani	Chinese	Indian
<i>Period of arrival</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Born UK	10	62	58	26	34
Pre-1941	-	1	-	-	-
1941-50	1	3	-	-	-
1951-60	-	6	1	1	1
1961-70	-	4	5	4	4
1971-80	-	3	5	6	5
1981-90	-	3	4	6	3
1991-2000	1	4	8	8	5
2001-03	2	2	4	6	6
2004-06	40	3	6	7	14
2007-09	37	6	6	11	14
2010-11	10	4	4	24	15
<i>N</i>	<i>3,087</i>	<i>2,693</i>	<i>2,444</i>	<i>1,732</i>	<i>1,652</i>

Table 3: National identity (aggregate data)

<i>Ethnic group/</i>	White: Scottish	English*	White: Polish	White: Irish**	Pakistani	Chinese	Indian
<i>National identity</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Scottish (total)	95	26	15	32	50	24	30
British only or British and Scottish only	26	39	2	10	47	27	28
Other (non-UK) only	-	1	80	39	13	50	44

* 25% of people born in England have an English identity only and a further 15% have another combination of UK identities not including Scottish

** Microdata show that 17% of the White Irish have a Northern Irish national identity only and a further 6% have a Northern Irish identity combined with a British or other identities

Table 4: Religion (aggregate data)

<i>Ethnic group</i>	White: Scottish	English	White: Polish	White: Irish	Pakistani	Chinese	Indian
<i>Religion*</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	37	44	11	16	3	69	7
Roman Catholic	15	8	77	67	1	3	11
Other Christian**	40	35	4	10	2	9	7
Muslim	-	1	-	-	91	1	6
Hindu	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
Sikh	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
Buddhist	-	-	-	-	-	10	1

* small minorities in each group (around 4-10%) are categorised as 'Religion not stated', hence totals are well short of 100%

** includes Church of Scotland, which accounts for 37% of the White Scottish

Table 5: Economic activity (aggregate data except the English group, for which microdata)

<i>Ethnic group</i>	White: Scottish	English	White: Polish	White: Irish	Pakistani	Chinese	Indian
<i>Economic status</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Employee	51	50	74	50	37	34	55
Self-employed	7	10	7	8	14	7	9
Unemployed	5	4	5	4	7	6	6
Retired	24	22	2	23	7	6	6
Student*	4	6	5	8	12	38	14
Other economically inactive	10	8	7	7	23	9	10

* Only includes students classed as economically inactive, not those in some kind of employment or unemployed (see Table 6 below for total proportion of students)

Table 6: Occupational class (microdata)

<i>Ethnic group</i>	White: Scottish	English	White: Polish	White: Irish	Pakistani	Chinese	Indian
<i>Occupational class</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Higher managerial/ professional	7	14	4	13	7	8	16
Lower managerial/ professional	20	26	7	26	11	8	19
Intermediate	14	12	5	10	8	4	7
Self-employed	7	9	7	6	15	8	7
Lower supervisory	9	6	11	6	6	10	6
Semi-routine	17	12	21	11	14	7	10
Routine	15	8	29	11	5	5	4
Never worked/long- term unemployed	5	3	3	3	18	8	8
Full-time student	7	9	13	13	17	43	22

Table 7: Highest educational qualification (microdata)

<i>Ethnic group</i>	White: Scottish	English	White: Polish	White: Irish	Pakistani	Chinese	Indian
<i>Qualifications</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	29	16	16	22	23	22	10
Lower school (O/Standard grade/CSE etc.)	24	20	23	14	22	14	12
Higher school (Higher/A level etc.)*	15	15	5	13	11	11	8
Post-school, sub- degree (HNC/HND etc.)	10	9	14	8	11	6	7
Degree or higher	22	40	42	43	33	47	63

* This is the only category within which foreign qualifications are not explicitly mentioned in the census classification, so might underestimate numbers of people with equivalent foreign qualifications.

Figure 1: % Scottish and British identification: born in Scotland (microdata)

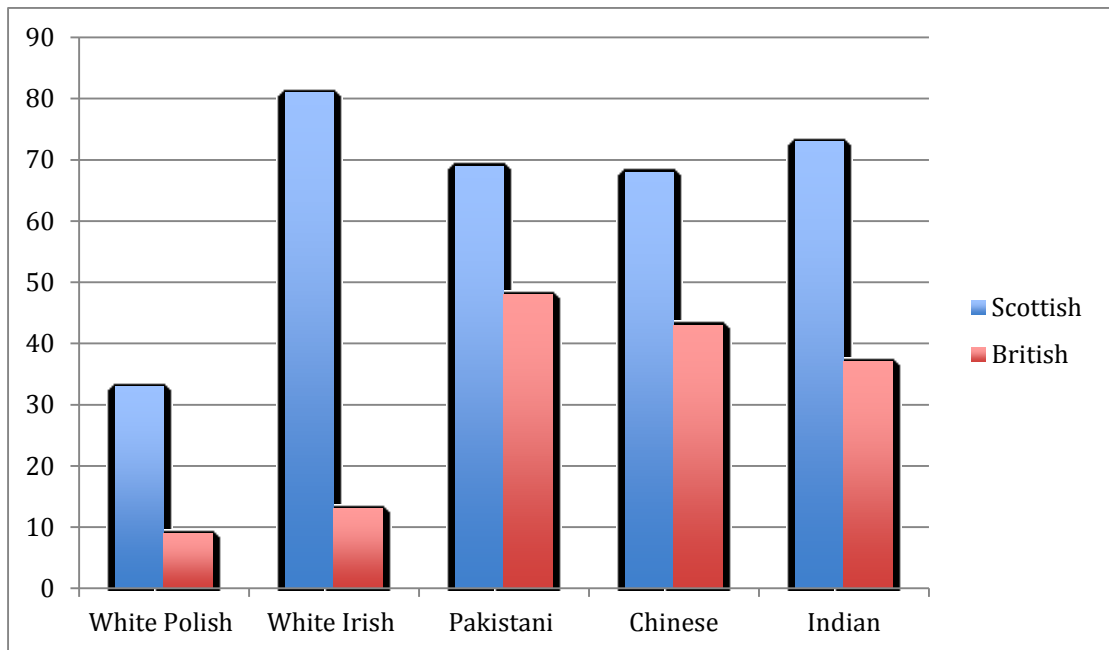


Figure 2: % Scottish and British identification: not born in the UK (microdata)

