Uncovering Racism in Small Nations:
Toward a Comparative Analysis of Scotland's Devolution and Catalonia's Self-Determination

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Abstract

In recent years, as the role of nation-states in the process of globalization has been reconsidered, regionalism and nationalism in small territories have attracted interdisciplinary academic attention. This essay compares two recent cases of nationalism in small nations to call wider attention to the problem of racism. Although racism within the Scottish nation has been generally neglected for decades due to its strong nationalism in the United Kingdom, ethnicity is gradually becoming one of the top national issues in post-devolution Scotland. Meanwhile, Catalonia has also retained a distinct identity in Western Europe; however its racial and ethnic problems have not eagerly been discussed amid recent enthusiastic nationalism. The 'racialization' discussion of Scottish nationalism could influence the future of Catalan nationalism, as it begins to face serious ethnic and racial problems inside the country that could result in wider political autonomy and self-determination within Spain and, ultimately, Europe.

Introduction

This essay highlights racism within the nationalism of Scotland in the United Kingdom（UK）and Catalonia in Spain against the backdrop of an increased level of ethnic diversity. The recent development of Scottish nationalism and the anti-racism campaign within the nation are used as this essay's main areas of focus, as a further comparative analysis is undertaken in regard to Catalonia's nationalism[1].

To support the issues raised in this essay, recently published research on the nationalism and racism in both Scotland and Catalonia is summarized. To raise awareness of racism occurring in these nations, observations of current Scottish society in conjunction with the idea of 'banal' nationalism is shown through photos taken in Scottish streets during February 2014. Monitoring such ordinary, everyday scenery has been emphasized as an effective research strategy in both media and nationalism studies. Finally, to understand recent Scottish challenges with racism, the 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' campaign will be examined.

Research Background: Nationalism and Racism

In the 1960s and 1970s, Scotland was seen as a racially/ethnically homogenous nation, as it retained a distinctive 'ethnic' culture inside the larger British state; however, Scottish political discourse has been slowly changing since the 1980s under the influence of the racialization of British politics. Miles and Dunlop（1982: 278）asserted that there had been a series of prior misconceptions that Scottish people had no expression of racism because they were tolerant of ethnic diversity, unlike England, which has been dealing with 'race relations' problems since the 1980s. In fact, recent research on Scotland shows that a portion of the Scottish general public is increasingly hostile toward migration. This illustrates that there could be a possible link between nationalist leanings and opposition to ethnic 'others'（McCrollum, Nowok and Tindal, 2014）.

Despite these prior misconceptions about homogeneity, the Scottish nation should not be treated as a single ethnic group. The Scottish government insists that 20% of the population shares another ethnic identity along with their Scottish history, revealing a growing ethnic diversity within the nation（Scottish Government, 2013: 2）. A number of research papers insist that the Scottish nation is a group that has historically contained various ethnic minorities, with these minorities having suffered with racism for many years（Arshad, 2003）.

Concerning the racialization in Scotland, nationalism studies have not yet catch up with recent changes of Scottish society; for example, David McCrone（2001: 171）admitted that the connection between Scottish national identity and racism should be treated carefully due to a lack of prior research. Robert and Dunlop（1986: 27）highlight that Scotland has been unaware of its own inner-racism because the small nation has been 'largely dominated by the national question' in the 20th century（e.g. self-determination, independence, and anti-English attitudes）. Consequently, because of such critics and efforts to connect Scottish nationalism studies with racial problems, racism inside Scottish nationalism has been gradually making its way to the spotlight（McCrollum, Nowok and Tindal, 2014）.

Recently, the strength of nationalism within Catalonia has been frequently reported in both academic research and popular news articles. The latest turning point was a mass demonstration against limitations of the autonomy of Catalonia within Spain in July 2010. The rally attracted 1 million people and hoped to raise a voice of further autonomy and self-determination for Catalonia（BBC, 2010）. Catalan nationalism should be understood through the lens of their distinctive history within the Spanish state during the modern period（Tateishi, 1993）, as Catalonia could be seen as a 'victim' under the Franco regime between 1939 and 1975（Endo, 2011）.

Despite this strong sense of Catalan nationalism, the nation lacks awareness of its internal racism, much like Scotland. Clua i Fainè（2012: 2）stated that racism and xenophobia within Catalan nationalism should be analysed because the issues have not been obvious due to the strong Catalan national identity which is largely in opposition to the Spanish national identity.

Pi-Sunyer（2008: 111, 115）also suggested that ethnic diversity within Catalonia has been seldom elevated to a political issue because Catalans historically had been treated as a Spanish minority elsewhere in Europe.

As mentioned above, Scotland and Catalonia have both suffered from an unawareness of racism inside nationalism for decades. In fact, while the 2011 Scotland census showed that 2% of the population belonged to an ethnic minority, in Catalonia, about 37% of the population in 1970 were from other parts of Spain（Serra i Salamé, 2004: 435）and the number of those belonging to an ethnic minority has been steadily growing since. Therefore, to consider the further self-determination processes of European regions and countries, racialization in Scotland will be the focus of this essay, as both Scottish nationalism studies and the Scottish government have begun to notice to their racial and ethnic problems more recently and prolifically than Catalonia.

Three Agendas of Scottish Nationalism

The current trends of Scottish nationalism focus on three main points:（1）the process of devolution,（2）the anti-English sentiment, and（3）newly apparent racism issues. Each point will be illustrated with photographs taken by author in Scotland during February 2014[2], as the three trends could be easily observed in the streets of Scottish cities and towns. As Michael Billig（1995）argued in his book *Banal Nationalism*, the sense of nationalism is represented, articulated, and strengthened throughout everyday 'banal' experiences. This theory has been applied frequently in media and nationalism studies. While Meech and Kilborn（1992）stated the importance of the role of various mass media in Scottish nationalism, Alex Law（2001）asserted that Scottish newspapers have played a crucial role in generating the popular recognition of the Scottish national identity. In addition to traditional mass media, flyers, posters, and other ephemera（referred to as alternative media）have been used to articulate distinctive identities（Atton, 2001: 48, 132）.

1）Devolution
Several 'banal' indications of the sense of nationalism as tied to political devolution were seen on the streets in Scotland, as Scottish nationalism has been doubtlessly affected by the process of devolution in the UK（Leith and Soule, 2011: xii）. As a result of this devolution, the Scottish Parliament was established in May 1999 with limited political authority, though its development and responsibility has advanced during the twenty-first century. The most significant moment to date was the general election in 2007, during which the Scottish National Party（SNP）won 47 seats to become the first majority party of the Parliament.

Independence is the key term for both current Scottish nationalism and political discourse in Scotland, as they are deeply entangled and not easy to separate. The first example seen on

the streets (see Plate 1.1) was founded on a glass window of a shop in Edinburgh on 14 February

2014. The torn poster states 'Independent Socialist Scotland', which is the catchphrase of the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP). Although the socialist party currently does not hold seats in the Scottish Parliament, the party held six seats until 2007, against the backdrop of growing concerns about devolution and independence. The SSP is a relatively new party that formed in 1998 and has a radical, left-wing view of Scottish independence (Kane, 2007).

Plate 1.1

The next example (see Plate 1.2) was taken at the University of Stirling on 19 February 2014. Stirling is a city just 50 minutes by train from Edinburgh. This A4 sized printed flyer, on a pillar

in the central lounge of the university, shows two key persons: David Cameron, the Prime Minister of the UK, on the right side and Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister of the UK, on the left side. The flyer states, 'Leaving the UK means waving goodbye to Tory government we didn't vote for. It's time to put Scotland's decisions in Scotland's hands'. The message can be clearly associated with the Scottish Government and the Scottish National Party (SNP) [3].

Plate 1.2

2) Anti-English Sentiment

The characteristics of Scottish nationalism have often been distinguished by their anti-English sentiment (McCrone, 2001). The photo in Plate 2 was taken at a bus stop at the North Bridge in

Edinburgh on 19 February 2014. This small sticker was quite possibly homemade using an ink-jet printer. It conveys a strong message toward the independence through the use of an anti-English sentiment. Historically, the anti-English sentiment expanded into 'Britishness' because this concept was unconsciously overlapped with 'Englishness' (Langlands, 1999). The phrases 'Scots not Brits' and 'Scottish not British'

Plate 2

have often been employed to express antagonism against English in modern Scotland（Kiely, McCrone and Bechhofer, 2005）.

This anti-English sentiment has been recently attributed to the idea of 'white settlers' in Scotland（Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996）, which, in current Scottish context, means English migrants into Scotland, particularly into rural Scottish villages. These white settlers have encountered troubles with local Scottish people in terms of their nationality, language, class-consciousness, and personality traits（Short and Stockdale, 1999: 179）. This deep-rooted problem has been discussed as a symbol of Scottish exclusivism, and is referred to as a symbol of the 'hidden' racism in Scotland（Yamaguchi, 2007: 40）.

3）Racism

With regard to the 'white settlers' issues, the poster in Plate 3 clearly indicates that race-based attacks against ethnic minorities has recently become more apparent in Scotland. This poster, at a bus stop adjacent to the University of Edinburgh, calls for people to 'join the discussion' about the nature of extreme right-wing politics and fascism in Britain and Europe. This poster exemplifies at least two facts:（1）There are several groups that insist that xenophobic nationalism associates with the extreme right position, and they are sometimes called 'fascist' in the Scottish context; and（2）that there is also a kind of terror against the growth of such an ethnic nationalism, and that some people in Scotland have been actively fighting against racism.
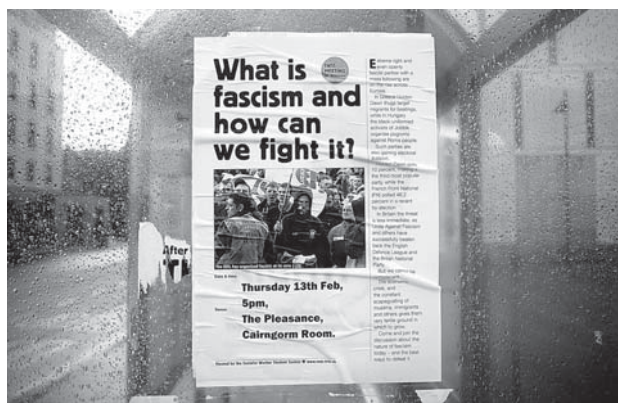

Plate 3

As mentioned in the previous section, racism is a relatively new situation in Scottish history, as the nation has had relatively little ethnic tension throughout its history, prior to the gradual build-up of pressure during the last decades of the 20th century（Devine, 1999: 486, 564）. How to include various ethnic groups into the single Scottish nation following the devolution and prior to independence is a current and significant question for the nation.

In Catalonia, similar ethnic tensions brought by the large number of immigrants from both inside and outside of Spain can be seen. The conflict between or coexistence of national and ethnic identities and the question of nationalism and national identity should be reviewed when discussing the future of Catalonia（Okuno and Tateishi, 2013: 30-4）.

'One Scotland, Many Cultures'

In an effort to understand the latest Scottish challenge toward building a multicultural nation,

this essay also focuses on the 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' campaign. Although racism in Scotland has been a hidden agenda for many years due to the nation's distinctive historical and social context, recent research and governmental policies have tended to reflect the reality of racism in post-devolution Scotland.

The 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' campaign is often seen as on extension of the racialization processes that began in Scotland during the 1980s. Despite only 1% of the Scottish population belonging to an ethnic minority in the 1980s, Scottish institutions established the Scottish Ethnic Minorities Research Unit （SEMRU）in 1985 to consider a counterplan to racism （Penrose & Howard, 2012: 96）. By 1987, SEMRU had revealed that more than 80% of Indian and Pakistani people interviewed in Glasgow had experienced racism while in Scotland （ibid.）. Despite such early attempts to uncover racism in Scotland, it has taken many years to identify the racialization of Scottish politics in a tangible way.

Scottish government has operated its 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' anti-racism campaign since September 2002, which means that both the Scottish Labour Party （2002–2007） and Scottish National Party （2007–present） were involved in the multicultural campaign through updates and renewal （see Plate 4.1）[4]. The aim of the public campaign is to spread the idea of multiculturalism and to raise awareness about the necessity of inclusiveness as a part of Scottish nationalism （TNS System Three, 2006: 1）.

Plate 4.1

The campaign was criticized by the press early on as being 'ineffective' and 'a waste of money' （BBC, 2005）; however, some research shows that many Scottish people are greatly supportive of the campaign （Ross, Hill & Shelton, 2008: 97）. Even in Glasgow, one of the most multiculturalized areas in Scotland, many youth people exhibit positive views about the anti-racism campaign, and they are open to ethnic diversity within Scotland （ibid.: 105）.

The 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' campaign is a primary example of the liberal attitudes that exist within Scottish nationalism. The Scottish Executive Social Research published in 2006 a recommendation that the campaign be continued as a way to tackle negative attitudes and present the positive aspects of diversity in Scotland （TNS System Three, 2006: 16）. In turn, an updated version of the campaign, called 'Scotland against Racism', was begun in 2011 （see Plate 4.2）[5]. The Scottish government published new policies in its book *Scotland's Future* in 2013 to reaffirm its ambition to build a new nation, based on citizenship, that is inclusive of multi-ethnic groups （Scottish Government, 2013: 271）.

No us. No them. Just we.   No place for racism.

Plate 4.2

Conclusion

Scotland has made efforts to discover its ethnic minorities and establish an independent nation absent of racism since the 1980s. Although this might seem overly ambitious for such a small nation, other European regions and small nations are being called upon to respond to their hidden（or apparent）racism in the era of globalization. The ethnic diversity within Catalonia's rapidly growing nationalism has also been recently uncovered, but the real process of racialization of Catalan policies has not begun. By comparing Catalonia to Scotland, it is clear that Catalonia should engage in a process of racialization sooner rather than later, as the Scottish process to design a multicultural nation has been strategic and challenging for about 35 years, and it is gradually coming to the surface of Scottish nationalism.

This is not to say that Scotland is more advanced than Catalonia in regard to anti-racism policies, as many problems still need to be resolved in Scotland. One example is the official treatment of the Scottish Gaelic language, which is prized by the Scottish government and SNP as part of the nation's ethnic identity. In the struggle for a multi-ethnic Scotland, strategies for preserving this language as a national tradition should be regarded as an integral factor during multicultural policy debates in the post-devolved Scotland.

It is acceptable to most people that nations should be inclusive and multicultural, but for some small nations like Scotland and Catalonia, achieving this ideal is quite difficult because each nation has historically been regarded as a single ethnic group resisting the homogeneity of nation-states for many years. These reasons exemplify the excitement and importance of discussing the future of Catalan and Scottish nations.

Acknowledgment

Notes

1）This paper is based on the manuscript presented at *Catalonia's Self-Determination Process in Today's Global Order* during the international symposium held at Osaka University in Japan, on 18 March 2014. The aim of my presentation was to review the recent development of Scottish nationalism and to raise the issue of racism to a wider audience, especially those from Catalonia. This paper is organized to reflect responses from the audience both during and after the symposium.

2）The author joined a research trip to universities in Scotland. The trip was planned by *Vernacular Culture Study Group*, led by Prof. Keiko Wells, and partially funded by Ritsumeikan University.

3）To insist on the importance of Scotland's independence, the "Yes Scotland" Campaign has been led by the Scottish Government. See http://www.yesscotland.net（accessed 10 May 2014）.

4）*Scotland Against Racism*. http://www.scotlandagainstracism.com（accessed 16 March 2014）.

5）Ibid.

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