Young people's experiences of transition to adulthood

A study of minority ethnic and white young people

Clare Cassidy, Rory O'Connor and Nike Dorrer

An investigation of minority ethnic and white young people's experiences of transition to adulthood.

Although the transition to adulthood has received considerable research attention, few studies have focused on how experiences vary according to ethnicity and gender. This report seeks to address gaps in current knowledge by exploring and comparing the experiences of both minority and majority ethnic young people.

This study analyses the views of young people in Scotland as they make the transition from secondary school to university, further education, employment or unemployment. Through in-depth interviews and questionnaires researchers gathered information on: education, home and family, social networks and leisure, access to information and services, ethnicity and identity and future plans and aspirations. The report offers insights into the importance of both ethnic and national identity to young people during transition.

Through exploration of this previously neglected area the study contributes to our understanding of youth transitions across race and ethnicity. It will be of particular interest to psychologists and sociologists as well as people supporting minority ethnic young people with transition experiences.

> **Black and minority ethnic young people**
>
> This series of publications explores the life experiences of young people from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds. Reports in the series will review their experiences of family life, education, work and leisure, and highlight the particular issues faced by individual ethnic groups.

JOSEPH ROWNTREE FOUNDATION

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1 Background to the study

A brief introduction to the project

This research project constitutes part of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's examination of youth transition. It is concerned specifically with the transition from secondary school to university, further education, (un)employment, a time when experiences and decisions can have powerful reverberations throughout the course of one's adulthood (Schulenberg *et al.*, 2000). The primary aim of the research was to develop a social-psychological understanding of what becoming an adult means and the key issues associated with this for young people from different minority ethnic groups.

We conducted a two-wave longitudinal study that explored, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the nature of this transition among minority ethnic and white young people. The study adopted a social-psychological perspective that embraces different levels of analysis – individual, group and societal – and draws on a range of theories to address questions about the nature and mechanisms of change across this transition. Moreover, the research aimed to highlight the barriers to and facilitators of psychological adjustment with a focus on the roles of racism and discrimination.

Background to the project

It is well documented that the transition to adulthood in Britain has undergone significant changes since the 1970s. Young people's journeys into adulthood now take longer and involve a wider variety of routes, many of which are associated with risks and uncertain outcomes (Bynner *et al.*, 1997; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Bynner, 2001). Research has examined the nature of these protracted and complex transitions primarily in economic terms (Cohen and Ainley, 2000). As a result, young people in transition are a high priority for policies concerned with social inclusion. Examples include the Labour Government's massive New Deal programme and the ConneXions advisory and support service.

Current initiatives, however, are concerned primarily with socialisation of young people into adult occupational roles. Increasingly, policy makers and practitioners are becoming aware of the need to take a more holistic approach to young people's lives. There has been considerably less research examining other elements of the

transition to adulthood, such as leaving the parental home, partnership or marriage, parenthood and how these different elements interact with each other to affect the whole person. Furthermore, there have been calls for a research perspective that is more subjective, one that foregrounds the perceptions, lives and aspirations of young people as they actively negotiate their routes to adulthood (Bynner, 2001; EGRIS, 2001).

Social-psychological research has shown that the changes in environmental and social contexts associated with transitions to adulthood can have important implications for how people view themselves. Young people are confronted with questions of who they are and who they want to be. Their multiple identities may be subject to evaluation and possibly redefinition (Ethier and Deaux, 1990, 1994; Cassidy and Trew, 1998, 2001). Some studies have suggested increases in psychological well-being during the transition to adulthood (e.g. Schulenberg *et al.*, 2000), while others point to reductions in self-esteem for young people with certain educational, occupational or domestic experiences (e.g. Banks *et al.*, 1992). Still others point to increased risk from suicide and deliberate self-harm (O'Connor and Sheehy, 2000).

It is recognised that what it means to be a young person in the UK in the new millennium varies enormously. Differences of gender, class and ethnicity provide young people with dramatically different resources and opportunities with which they must invent their adult identities. Research and policy have been more concerned to address inequalities based on class and gender while relatively little is known about the impact of the transition on young people from minority ethnic communities. The limited data available suggest that young people from these communities are at increased risk of deprivation and social exclusion (Scottish Executive, 2000; SEU, 2000).

Research suggests that young people from some minority ethnic communities are more likely to participate in higher or further education than white people (Modood *et al.*, 1997). There is some evidence, however, that this minority ethnic over-representation is found mainly in less prestigious institutions (Modood and Shiner, 1994). Furthermore, despite equal or higher qualifications, minority ethnic young people are less likely to get job interviews than similarly qualified white people and generally more likely to experience unemployment (Modood *et al.,* 1997; SEU, 2000). Data also suggest that these young people have difficulty in obtaining access to training and those who do are less likely to find employment afterwards (Chatrik, 1997).

Research also points to psychological differences between minority ethnic young people and their majority ethnic counterparts, which may have implications for key outcomes of transition, specifically formation of identity and independence from family. Identities linked to ethnicity tend to be more significant for minority ethnic young people in terms of how they define themselves and how they perceive and relate to the social world (Phinney, 1990; Cassidy *et al.*, 2004, 2005). Internal conflict associated with not strictly adhering to religious and cultural beliefs is a significant issue for these young people but particularly for young women and specific minority ethnic groups. The leisure activities and future plans of minority ethnic young people are more likely to be influenced by family and extended family (Heim *et al.*, 2004). It is acknowledged, however, that our understanding of how the transition to adulthood is negotiated by minority ethnic young people is limited. It is also recognised that we know little about differences between minority ethnic groups and that more research is needed to examine how intersections of ethnicity, religion and gender impact on young people's experience of transition.

Policy and practice relevance

There is increased recognition among policy makers and practitioners that young people in transition and particularly minority ethnic young people in transition are vulnerable. The SEU (2000) concedes that there is a significant lack of data about the experiences of minority ethnic young people. More research is required if interventions are to be sensitive to differences between young people from minority ethnic and white backgrounds but also between young people from different minority ethnic groups. Identifying factors that may create and constrain opportunity will help us to understand why and how young people succeed in realising their ambitions as well as knowing what gets in their way.

This research project has been carried out in Scotland where the educational system is independent and different in a number of respects from that prevailing in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. The key difference relating to transition is that students in Scotland can take Higher and Advanced Higher Grade (equivalent to A Level) examinations a year earlier (end of fifth year) than students elsewhere in the UK, although universities tend to encourage students to go on to a sixth year. However, post-16 vocational education and training provision in Scotland has evolved in similar ways to elsewhere in the UK (Bynner, 2001). It is argued, thus, that the transition experiences of minority ethnic young people in Scotland have implications for policy and practice across the UK.

Minority ethnic immigration into Scotland

There is a long history of minority ethnic immigration into Scotland (see Maan, 1992 for a review). There is evidence that people from the northern parts of India (now much of Pakistan) arrived in Scotland in the sixteenth century. Then, in the eighteenth century, Indian seamen who served on the East India Company's ships arrived and laid the foundations for the present Asian community (Maan, 1992). More recently, in the nineteenth century, princes and students visited Scotland; indeed Scotland attracted 'proportionately far more Indian students than England, especially during the period 1890 to 1910' (Maan, 1992, p. 77). By the 1920s, the numbers of Indian labourers were growing, with almost all living in Glasgow. Over the last 20 years or so there has been considerable influx of East Asians, mainly from Hong Kong (see Dalton and Daghlian, 1989). At present, according to the most recent census data (2001), 2 per cent of the Scottish population are from non-white minority ethnic backgrounds, the majority being from South Asia. Pakistanis are the largest minority ethnic group, representing just under one-third of the minority ethnic population in Scotland. Although many Pakistanis arrived in Scotland in the 1960s and 1970s, according to the 2001 Census, 47 per cent of Pakistanis were born in Scotland. Over 70 per cent of the minority ethnic population are Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese or other South Asian). The age profile of the minority ethnic populations in Scotland is younger than the white population. Over 57 per cent of people from minority ethnic backgrounds are aged under 30 years, compared to only 36 per cent of the white population, according to the 2001 Census. In Glasgow, 5.4 per cent of the population are Asian, black, mixed or people from other ethnic groups (Glasgow City Council, 2003). The Pakistani community (2.65 per cent) represents the largest minority ethnic group, followed by the Indian (0.75 per cent) and Chinese communities (0.67 per cent).

Research aims

The key aims of this research project were to:

1   develop a social-psychological understanding of what becoming an adult means and what the key issues associated with this are for young people from different minority ethnic groups

2   examine the impact of the transition from secondary school on minority ethnic young people in terms of educational and occupational outcomes, but particularly in terms of identity, psychological well-being and self-esteem

3   identify those factors that help and hinder the transition process

4   investigate similarities and differences among young people from different
    minority ethnic groups in how the transition is defined and experienced

5   draw out the policy implications of the research in terms of developing realistic
    and positive interventions to maximise the life chances of minority ethnic young
    people.

2 Methodology and sampling

Brief overview

The data for this research project were collected over a two-year period from 2003 to 2004. The study involved two 'waves' of data collection: the first was between January and June 2003 when participants were all at secondary school, the second followed approximately one year later. In both waves the aim was to collect two sets of information derived from:

1   questionnaires

2   semi-structured interviews.

From the questionnaires, information was gathered on self-esteem, general health, stress, social support, depression, coping strategies, attributions for negative life events, ethnic identity, religious identification and perceived discrimination. The interviews focused on gathering data from six different psychosocial domains: education; home and family; social networks and leisure; access to information and services; ethnicity and identity; and future plans and aspirations. The questionnaires provided a source of quantitative data; the interviews provided a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data.

The sample

Recruitment of participants

Participants were recruited through eight secondary schools in Glasgow drawn from the state and independent sectors. Schools were asked to select participants on a random basis to ensure as representative a sample as possible. Additionally, in order to minimise the effects of truancy or absenteeism, data collection was conducted over an extended time period in each school. Recruitment of participants was furthermore guided by the objective of trying to ensure that the size of each of the minority ethnic groups in the sample was roughly proportionate to their population size in Glasgow as a whole.

The final sample

The sample on which the current analysis is based includes only those participants who completed questionnaires and attended interviews at both time points. With an attrition rate of 29 per cent from Wave 1 to Wave 2, this final sample contained 134 participants. A breakdown of the sample by ethnicity and gender is provided in Table 1. The largest ethnic group in the sample was white (49 per cent), followed by Pakistani (25 per cent), Indian (12 per cent) and Chinese (7 per cent).[1] The 'other' group is composed of three Arab, two Korean, one Bangladeshi and one Burmese young person. Sixty-one per cent of the sample were female. There were no differences in the gender or ethnic group ratio of the two samples. The age of the sample at Time 1 ranged from 15 years and seven months to 18 years and nine months, with a mean age of 17 years.

Because of the difficulties of accurately measuring socio-economic status (SES), it was recorded through a number of measures, which were all significantly intercorrelated; however, for the purposes of this report, only the measure of SES based on parental occupation is discussed. Parental occupations[2] were classified in accordance with National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) and divided into a four-category measure of SES:

1   managerial and professional occupations

2   intermediate occupations

3   routine and manual occupations

4   never worked and long-term unemployed.

Table 1 Breakdown of the final sample by ethnicity and gender

	n (%)		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
White	23	42	65 (49)
Pakistani	16	18	34 (25)
Indian	3	13	16 (12)
Chinese	5	5	10 (7)
Other	3	4	7 (5)
Mixed	2	0	2 (1)
Total	52 (38)	82 (61)	134

Table 2 shows the SES distribution of the sample on the basis of this classification. As we recruited participants from across the education sector, including those in independent education, there are relatively large numbers of participants from managerial and professional as well as other backgrounds. As a result, we are able to investigate questions regarding ethnicity, which, effectively, hold SES status constant. Our sample is broadly representative of the population of young people in Glasgow. The sample did not include any asylum seekers or refugees.

For the quantitative analyses, we conducted two forms of analyses. First, we determined whether there were ethnic group, gender or social class differences at Wave 1 and Wave 2. Second, we investigated whether there were significant changes in the variable in question between Wave 1 and Wave 2. As there were small numbers of participants in the 'other' and 'mixed' groups, they were not included in the quantitative analyses. In each of the following results chapters, findings from the interviews are presented and these are supplemented with analyses of the relevant survey findings. The results for the psychological well-being variables are not included here, as, on the whole, there were few differences. Similarly, social class findings are not reported because quantitative analysis revealed no statistically significant differences.

Table 2 Breakdown of the final sample by SES and ethnicity

Ethnicity	Managerial and professional	Intermediate	SES Routine and manual	Never worked and long-term unemployed	Total[a]
Chinese					
n	8	0	1	0	9
% of Chinese	89	0	11	0	
Indian					
n	13	2	1	0	16
% of Indian	81	13	6	0	
Pakistani					
n	19	7	2	4	32
% of Pakistani	59	22	6	13	
White					
n	42	8	11	3	64
% of white	66	12	17	5	
'Other'					
n	8	1	0	0	9
% of 'other'	89	11	0	0	
'Mixed'					
n	2	0	0	0	2
% of 'mixed'	100	0	0	0	

[a] *Two participants did not provide SES information.*

Qualitative analysis was based on verbatim transcripts of the interviews at both time points. Transcripts were coded within the software package NUD*IST Vivo using a coding scheme based on the different domains of the interview schedule to afford comparison across gender, ethnic group and time. Comparison of codes in combination with text searches was then conducted between and within ethnic groups, and within individual interviews.

3 Education and occupation

It is well known that changes in labour market structure and educational demands over the past 30 years have prolonged the time young people stay in education. Indeed, enrolments in higher education have continuously been rising over recent years (Office for National Statistics, 2003). While this increase could reflect the impact of greater opportunities and choice, it also raises questions about the alternatives available to young people and the mechanisms of persisting inequality in access to higher education and employment (Jones, 2002). Some black and minority ethnic young people, for example, have been found to be more successful than their white peers in obtaining further and higher education qualifications, but have been found to be less successful in gaining employment (Cabinet Office, 2002). Moreover, there is almost no research focused on minority ethnic pupils of schools in Scotland (see Arshad *et al.*, 2005).

Consequently, the interviews conducted for the present study aimed to explore the following four issues, which are central to understanding transition:

1   the pathways that young people follow as they make the transition from school to further or higher education or work

2   the resources young people draw on to make career choices

3   the reasons for choosing particular pathways

4   their ambitions for the future.

The findings presented in the subsequent sections are based on the qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts.

Satisfaction with school

In Wave 1 all participants were at school and interviews began with questions about pupils' satisfaction with their school performance. The majority of participants (77 per cent) expressed contentment with how things were going for them at school. Reasons for being dissatisfied with school varied, but they were mostly related to workload, lack of time and not doing as well as expected in examinations.

Improving school performance

When asked 'Is there anything that could help you do better at school?', participants tended to focus on themselves as individuals, suggesting that improvements could come from devoting more time and more effort to study. Thus, the focus was on their own efforts – that they could improve if they studied harder. This perspective was predominant among all of the ethnic groups. Pakistani girls, however, seemed slightly more likely than other participants to report that they were doing less well in their exams than they had expected. Attributing academic success to individual effort, measured mainly in terms of the time spent studying, may, however, prevent pupils from seeking the study guidance that they would need to improve their performance.

Educational/career choices in Wave 1

During Wave 1, participants were asked about their plans for the future, i.e. what career pathways they would like to choose, why they wanted to take up a particular career and what helped them to make the decision. Overall, there were great similarities across the groups, but a number of differences in respect of career choice and resources used were discernible. In all of the groups, the majority of participants wished to attend university after completing school and only 10 per cent declared that they were planning to apply for a college course. The most frequently mentioned reasons for participants' career choices could be grouped into:

1   personal (e.g. 'I always wanted to do it', 'it interests me', 'I enjoy it'

2   ability (e.g. 'I'm best at science', 'I am a people person')

3   ambition (e.g. 'I want to further my education', 'it is a good career')

4   other (e.g. 'my parents want me to', 'it's general').

In all of the groups, the category that was mentioned most often (by far) was 'personal', followed by 'ability' and 'other'. Reasons relating to 'ambition' were rarely mentioned explicitly in any of the groups.

In comparison to the other ethnic groups represented in this study, white participants chose a greater variety of university courses, among them also a greater percentage of human sciences and arts subjects than in the other groups. For Pakistani

participants, career choices were concentrated around the medical sciences (44 per cent, e.g. medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, optometry) and business/finance-related subjects (32 per cent). This orientation towards the medical sciences was even more pronounced among Indian participants: almost half chose a medical science. Chinese participants were equally divided between medical sciences ($n = 3$), business/finance ($n = 3$) and engineering ($n = 3$), with two participants remaining undecided at the time of interview and two choosing other subjects. Overall, engineering and law also featured as popular choices.

The decision-making process

Questions about the decision-making process that led to the selection of a particular career path revealed a marked emphasis on individual choice in all groups. This importance attributed to their status as individuals emerged more strongly in the Wave 2 interviews. Participants stated that, while parents, family and friends supported them with advice and offered encouragement, they had not influenced them in their decision.

The findings discussed above leave a number of questions unanswered. For example, how can we explain the differences in career choices that have been described above? A recent report published by Glasgow Anti Racist Alliance (GARA, 2003) provides further insight into minority ethnic young people's employment aspirations in relation to their community's expectations. Although parents would not necessarily appeal directly to their children, they and the respective ethnic communities showed a clear preference for particular jobs. Thus, the authors observed that, among parents:

> … there is however a degree of convergence in expressed preferences for jobs that are permanent, remunerative and have higher status than their own. This could also be expressed as hoping for 'decent', 'respectable' jobs.
> (GARA, 2003, p. 23)

Participants in the present study will have been guided by these collectively reinforced expectations. Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) also suggests that participants will have been likely to compare themselves to somebody most similar to themselves, i.e. somebody within their ethnic community, and will thus have been likely to look towards those individuals who are recognised as role models by the members of their local community.

Furthermore, the young people offered a number of interesting insights into the decision-making processes that led to a particular career choice. For instance, references to relatives who were practising a profession or who were presently studying to gain a qualification in that profession were made more frequently by the Indian and Pakistani participants than by the white participants. These data suggest that, if we identify with someone in a particular role, comparing ourselves to him or her will enable us to envisage and then evaluate ourselves in that role. As one Pakistani participant explained with respect to his decision to study dentistry, 'I just see it in the future; I can see myself doing it. I would like to own my own practice.' Indeed, there were high rates of business ownership, especially among the parents of Chinese and Pakistani participants in the present study. Parents may have opted for the self-employment route in order to avoid risks of discrimination and consequential poverty that paid employment might have entailed for them (see Metcalf *et al.*, 1996). Consistent with previous research, securing of autonomy and reliance on family as a business resource plays a role in the career plans of some young people, as evidenced by the following comments made by one of the Pakistani participants:

267 W2 Pakistani male

I   Why do you want to do that *[start own business]*?

P   I think I have been brought up in an environment where my family has always owned a business that they work in, just a family business, and we have got a lot of businesses, property, restaurants and all that. So I have never really been accustomed to the idea of working for someone, so I think I would find it very difficult always being on time and having to be disciplined by my boss who is not like my Dad. I think that would be a big thing.

Work experience

Since the efforts of the Technical and Vocational Initiative (TVEI) and the Enterprise and Education Initiative in the 1990s, attempts have been made to blend work experience programmes with the mainstream curriculum (Turner *et al.*, 1994). As a result, education services have been required to provide one or two weeks' work experience for all pupils (Anderson *et al.*, 2004). Indeed, work experience has been recognised as an important aspect in preparing young people for the school–work transition (Scottish Executive, 1999).

Participants in the present study did not, however, make many explicit references to work experience. This finding could be a result of the fact that interviewers were not directed to ask specifically about work experience. Nonetheless, it is surprising that work experience did not emerge as a useful enterprise during the interviews. It might, therefore, be claimed that work experience did not stand out a great deal in the participants' memories of choosing a career path. Reasons for this reduced salience may include the fact that work experience was undertaken early in S4, when pupils who intended to continue school did not yet actively engage with the question of career choice. Moreover, a large number of the unpaid work experience placements that were reported by participants during Wave 1 were not arranged by the school but via the family network. This finding again highlights the central role of the family in the decision to follow a particular career path.

Career services

Participants did not generally consider career advice in school as having had a significant impact on their choice of career, even though there has been a concerted effort to make it available to all pupils (Scottish Executive, 1999). The qualitative analysis revealed no differences between white and minority ethnic participants with regard to the use of career services. Less than 40 per cent of participants in each ethnic group talked about having used career advice in any form. In short, the affirmation of a sense of agency and the ability to make an informed but independent decision about their future seemed to be of paramount importance to all participants.

The relationship between social network and career choice

The interviews in Wave 1 sought to further investigate questions about the relationship between social networks and career paths. We were interested to determine:

1   whether participants' close friends chose the same or different career pathways

2   whether participants had concerns or worries about impending changes to their social networks

3   what participants perceived to be the main reasons for going to university when they were not focusing on themselves but on their friends.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the vast majority of participants from all of the ethnic groups reported that most or all of their friends intended to go to university. Participants expressed few concerns about going in different directions and planned to stay in touch with their close friends. As discussed above, when they reflected on their own career choice, participants were focusing mainly on personal reasons (e.g. 'I always wanted to do it'), followed by reasons relating to ability (e.g. 'it's just what I am good at'). When asked to explain why most or all of their friends wanted to go to university, the participants focused exclusively on reasons relating to ambition/opportunity and expectation/norm categories. In a few cases, however, the decision to go to university was associated with a prolongation of the transition from adolescence to the responsibilities of adulthood.

Education and employment status in Wave 2

Figure 1 provides an overview of the education and employment status of participants who were interviewed in Wave 2. Thirty-seven per cent of participants were still at school at the time of the interview. A noteworthy finding was that 33 per cent of all Pakistani girls (i.e. nearly 50 per cent of the female Pakistani participants who had left school) were attending college at Time 2.

Figure 1 Education and employment status in Wave 2
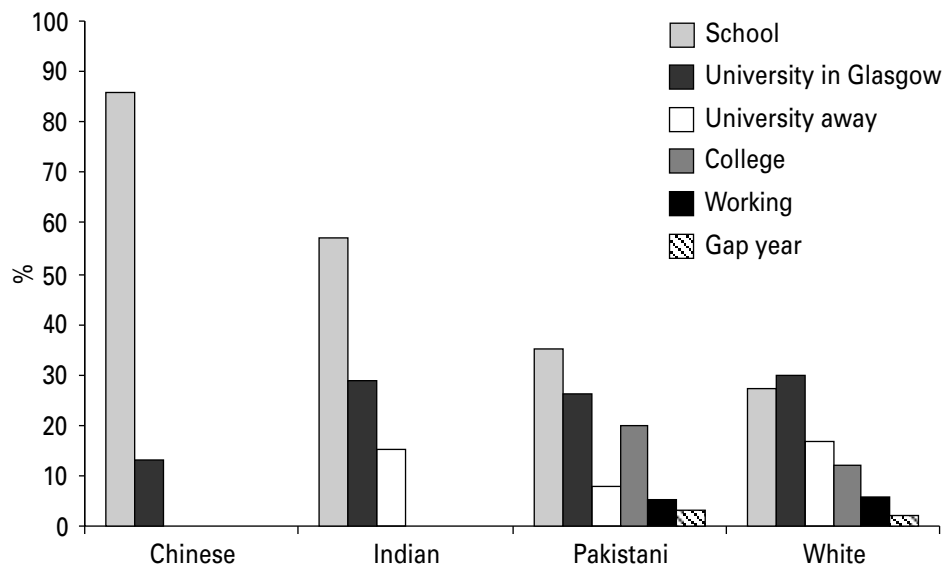
Comparison of the career choices that participants reported in Wave 1 with the choices they had made at Wave 2 showed that Pakistani girls were again more likely to report a change of their plans than participants in any other group. In six cases, a change of plan was because exam results were not as good as expected. As a result, the young women settled for college courses and were aiming to try to get into university the following year.

Satisfaction with educational/career choices

The majority of participants in all groups indicated that they were enjoying their present occupation. Only 5 per cent of white participants, 6 per cent of Pakistani participants and 33 per cent of Chinese participants said they were not really happy with what they were doing presently.

Future hopes and fears

The final interview questions in the education and occupation domain were concerned with participants' hopes and fears for the future. The most common fear mentioned in relation to the near future across all groups was 'not doing well in exams' either at school or university. Minority ethnic participants did not report significantly more anxieties in relation to their future than white participants.

In response to the question 'What do you hope to be doing in five years' time?', the majority of participants expected to be working in the job of their choice and anticipated that they would be better off financially after completing their university degree. Relatively few participants said they were worried they might not find a job after completing their degree or training. It is suggested that participants from all ethnic groups were oriented to the ideal of the young, upwardly mobile professional, a status accompanied by financial security, a stable relationship and their own house in the future. The transition from education to the labour market was, it might be argued, envisaged to be more or less linear. The following two extracts have been selected to illustrate this optimistic future perspective:

> ***291 W2 Indian male***
>
> **/**   We have all got hopes and fears in relation to, like, work, university, etc. Can you think what your hopes are for a year's time, for what you hope to be doing?

P Getting on well in my course at university, doing well in my exams, settling down nicely and living in a flat.

285 W1 Chinese female

I And in five years from now, can you describe how you see yourself?

P I will probably be in a stable relationship with my boyfriend, staying in a flat or a house with him and having a stable job.

When asked what would help them to achieve their hopes for the future, the participants focused most frequently on individual effort (e.g. 'it's largely down to me', 'work hard', 'concentrate and study', 'determination') and support from friends and family. Answers to questions about possible hindrances to the achievement of their hopes ranged from 'nothing' to social life, laziness, losing motivation and losing faith in their own abilities. Participants did not make any references to discriminatory behaviour, inequalities, or institutionalised racism in this context. Discrimination in the labour market may consequently be expected to have an even greater effect on psychological well-being, as individuals may be most likely to blame themselves for a lack of success. On the other hand, maintaining a focus on one's own abilities could also function as a strategy of resistance in a context that is experienced as adverse because of one's gender and/or minority ethnic status. Viewed from this perspective, it may not be surprising that statements such as 'keeping my head high' or 'not losing faith in my own abilities' were made particularly by minority ethnic girls.

Survey findings

There were no statistically significant gender or ethnic group differences in academic self-esteem (evaluation of oneself as a student). Comparison of Wave 1 and Wave 2 scores also yielded no change over time or significant differences.

Summary

At Time 1, the majority of young people, irrespective of ethnic group, wished to attend university within the subsequent 12 months. Although most young people attended university in their home town, there was some evidence that Pakistani young people moved away to continue their studies. In comparison to the other ethnic groups, white participants chose a greater variety of university courses.

Minority ethnic participants' career choices concentrated largely around the medical sciences. Questions about the decision-making process that led to the selection of a particular career path revealed a greater role of family and community expectations for minority ethnic than for white participants.

4 Home and family

An important pathway along which the transition into adulthood takes place, we have argued earlier, is defined by the domain of home and family. Changes in familial relationships, changes of place and changing responsibilities can all influence the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Leaving the family home can mean the attainment of a greater sense of self-sufficiency. At the same time, however, it is the family and local community that continue to play a central role in providing support, comfort and stability in a time of change.

Normative developmental theories that prescribe a linear process of transition and are focused on the goal of independence have often been based on a white, liberal western perspective (Gillies, 2000; Willgerodt *et al.*, 2002). Such theoretical frameworks are inclined to overlook or marginalise differences in the way young people experience transitions today, differences that may be polarised around social class and gender (Jones, 2002), or ethnic identity. The interviews conducted for the present study sought to explore white and minority ethnic young people's judgements, feelings and future perspectives about their family relationships and their decision to stay or leave the family home.

Living situation

All of the young people with the exception of two were living with their family at Time 1.[1] Pakistani participants lived in households with the largest number of people, primarily because they had more siblings than all of the other groups. Mean household sizes at Time 1 are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Number of people in household at Time 1 by ethnicity

Ethnicity	Mean	Std dev.
White	3.65	0.79
Pakistani	5.32[a]	1.49
Indian	4.05	1.07
Chinese	4.25	0.96

[a] *Pakistani participants reported significantly more people living at home than all other groups.*

When asked if they were planning to stay at home or move the following year, all ethnic groups, irrespective of gender, said that they would continue living in the family home if they decided to remain in Glasgow.

There was less consensus, however, around plans to leave Glasgow. Indian and Chinese participants were more likely to say that they were planning to leave Glasgow after finishing school than their Pakistani and white peers. Overall, girls were somewhat more likely to report plans to leave Glasgow than boys, with the exception of the Indian group where the reverse was found.

A qualitative analysis of the explanations that participants provided for their future plans could be grouped into the categories listed in Table 4. While the order of categories represents an approximation of a category's relative importance (descending from '1', the most frequently mentioned category), most participants used a combination of these categories to explain their preferences.

White participants emphasised that they would stay at home at least in the first year after leaving school, but would then be likely to look for alternative accommodation. Moving out in one or two years' time was associated mostly with gaining 'my own independence', and the expectation that one would be socialising and going out more. The majority of white participants stressed that they were happy at home, saw no reason to move out and it would be cheaper to stay at home.

Pakistani participants, in contrast to white participants, reported either that they would remain at home throughout university if they stayed in Glasgow, or that they might return to the family home after the completion of their university education if they moved away to study. Similar to the white participants, Pakistani participants emphasised that they were happy to live with their parents, living at home was better financially and it was generally easier. Most expected to move out of the family home around the age of 22 to 25 years. For some, moving out also marked the point in their life when they were likely to form a family of their own. Overall, it might be

Table 4 Categories of reasons for and against staying in the family home (Time 1)

Reasons for staying in family home	Reasons for moving away
1 Quality of family relationship	1 Personal development
2 Financial	2 Independence and freedom
3 Level of personal maturity	3 Career development
4 Convenience and comfort	4 Meeting people
5 Easing transition	5 Quality of family relationship
6 Cultural/religious expectation	
7 Social networks	

argued that the focus was much less on individual needs than on lifelong connectedness, family responsibilities and an adjustment of individual needs. For example, the reasons discussed by Pakistani participants reflected reciprocal caring commitments combined with cultural/religious expectations:

490 W1 Pakistani male

/   Are you going to carry on living at home when you leave school?

P   Uh huh.

/   Any reasons?

P   Just to look after my Mum and Dad.

/   Look after your Mum and Dad, any benefits from living at home?

P   Well I get my Dad to support me, but my Dad would support me even if I left.

265 W1 Pakistani male

/   Are you going to carry on living at home when you are finished?

P   Yes, probably.

/   Why is that?

P   I don't know, it is really cultural reasons, like my culture … Muslim, you just really live with your parents until you get married, and then you are free to move out.

At Time 2, it was evident that, for some of the Pakistani participants, the commitment to their families also required the negotiation of different needs and expectations, as illustrated in this interview with a female participant in her first year at college:

296 W2 Pakistani female

/   Just from reading the interview you did last year, I think you were pretty determined to stay at home because you had such a good relationship with your family. So you are obviously still happy that that is the right decision?

P Yes it is, I love my Mum and my Dad.

I But I just heard that you *[and your cousin]* are planning to move into the same house?

P I know, I am, we are planning, but that's in a couple of years' time.

I How do you think that would be different? Why do you want to do that?

P Well it would be nice to go out.

I Just have a good time together, a bit more independence?

P Yes, you know, being there you realise that it is a lot harder for us to go out as much because your family is a lot stricter than you would restrict yourself. But we wouldn't rebel in any way …

I And are there any worries, like if you move out and you go somewhere else?

P Yes that will be my real worry, because my Mum is not really well, she has got spinal cord damage and that is one thing in my mind, and I just worry about my Mum because she shouldn't be doing things that she is doing, like always up on a ladder and always cooking and always doing this constantly running after us. That is my main worry, because I am always there to help my Mum and then, if I am not there, I wouldn't be able to help my Mum.

On the other hand, there was heightened awareness that, in the absence of family support, moving away bore risks such as diverting attention from the educational goal and/or from religious commitments. One participant, indeed, offered insight into his experience of being confronted with a severe lifestyle change in his first year of university:

260 W2 Pakistani male

I We have all got hopes and fears for the future in relation to, like, work and university. What do you think your hopes are for a year's time?

P That I make it through second year, like without all the drama that happened this year.

I What was the drama?

P Well I started drinking, like my first alcohol was in Freshers' Week. Too much running around with girls, I need to cut that down, cut down on the alcohol. I did cannabis and I don't think I will do that in the future. It wasn't bad or anything, but I don't want to get into bad habits. And, basically, I was putting my social life before my studying, and because of that I failed the December exam and I also failed the May exam, and I had a specialty to do at the end of May. If you get above 60 in that then you are through to second year and I got above 60, so …

It is interesting that, at Time 2, only three Pakistani boys had moved away to attend university, while three Pakistani girls who were initially inclined to move away had changed their minds and studied instead in Glasgow. The latter finding may indicate that, in the light of commitments and the difficulties associated with moving away, Pakistani girls might have opted for career paths that were accessible from their home rather than those optimal for their career development (or, as in one case, had to work harder to get into a medical course in their home town). The more general question that arises here is whether universities provide appropriate means of socialising and support for the particular needs of minority ethnic young people who are living away from home.

For Indian participants, moving away to study seemed to be more normative than staying in the family home. Reasons for making this step were a combination of career development (e.g. 'it is the best place for teaching', 'on the league tables, the English universities tend to, like, do better'), enhanced freedom and the prospect of experiencing a change. Several of the Indian participants also made a reference to a sibling or friend who had just moved to the place where they were hoping to study. Indian participants who were inclined to stay in the family home (38 per cent), on the other hand, emphasised that they were happy with their relationship to their parents, that they had no money to support themselves and wanted to save money, and that they appreciated the support and facilities that were provided for them when staying at home. The following extract illustrates how, among the Indian participants, family support could be prioritised when making the decision to remain at home:

135 W1 Indian female

I Are you going to stay in your current home?

P Yeh.

I   When you go to Glasgow? Why's that?

P   Because, eh, a lot of people want to get away and, you know, experience new things and things like that, but I think a lot of people also are trying to, like, sort of concealed elopement to somewhere else because they're not happy with their family life.

I   Uh huh.

P   But, like, I have always been happy with the way things are at home and, like, I don't want to lose that. If I moved away it would, I know that the ties, although they wouldn't break, they would loosen a wee bit.

I   Uh huh.

P   And I don't want to lose that with my family.

I   OK.

P   I get everything done for me anyway ... I'm so spoiled ... so why would you leave to be honest *[laughs]*.

Although boys in this group were more likely to want to leave home, over 50 per cent of the Indian girls also expressed a preference for moving away. Several factors could be contributing to a possible 'culture' of studying away from home among the Indian participants.

1   A higher percentage of the parents in this sample appear to have studied at university and Indian young people, by drawing on the experiences of their parents and other relatives, may consequently be more confident to leave home for their studies.

2   Indian participants' families appeared to be smaller than those of Pakistani participants and financial pressures may be reduced as a result.

3   The Indian community in Glasgow is relatively small compared to elsewhere in the UK and young Scottish Indian people may, therefore, be less focused on the local community.

4   Young Indian people may be more oriented to the dominant British cultural lifestyle and their cultural values may be more compatible with this orientation.

Chinese participants were less likely to mention family relationships when they were asked why they would choose to stay at home after completing school, but, in four out of six cases, they indicated that they were not yet very independent or that their parents thought they could not look after themselves. As in all of the other groups, financial reasons were also perceived to influence their choice. The participants who wished to study away from home were unanimous in their preference to attend a university near Glasgow but not in Glasgow, as this would allow them to see their family at the weekend. The fact that six out of seven Chinese participants at Time 2 still attended sixth year at school (even though two indicated they did not really need the grades) could be the result of a parental position that is marked by a focus on educational achievement and a hesitation to recognise their children's status as adults early on in the transition phase. The following extracts illustrate the interconnection of these points:

143 W1 Chinese male

I Do you think you'll be staying at home, or do you think you'll be moving away?

P I've got this kinda debate at home just now.

I Yeh *[inaudible]*.

P Well, my Mum doesn't want me to leave the house.

I Uh huh.

P She says, oh go pay *[for]* yourself and stuff. I don't know how I can do that but I'd like to move in, I think I would, I think I might move out.

I And do you think they'll, do you think that'll happen in *[inaudible]*?

P Eh, well my Mum cares a lot about our education and stuff so I think she would let me but she'd like frown upon it. But she would let me yes. And my Dad's OK with it. My Dad says do what you want.

203 W1 Chinese female

I And will you continue to live in your current home and neighbourhood when you leave school?

P Yes.

/   Why?

P   Because I don't think I could cope on my own.

/   Okay, but if you were going to leave, you are going to Glasgow Uni as well?

P   Yes, I would stay at home.

Above respondent, W2

/   And what are you planning to do next year?

P   Go to uni to do dentistry.

/   Do you know which uni you want to go to?

P   Glasgow, although it is not really my first choice. I wanted to go to Manchester and I got into Manchester as well, but because my parents wanted me to stay at home.

For participants in the 'other' and 'mixed' groups, reasons for or against leaving were very much a mixture of the positions discussed above and varied with the respective cultural background of each participant. In conclusion, the qualitative analysis of participants' reasoning about staying or leaving home revealed important differences in terms of the values and needs that affected young people's negotiation of transition.

Analysis at Time 2 showed that, consistent with their plans at Time 1, the majority of participants continued to live at home, although only 38 per cent were still attending secondary school. Although white and Indian participants were more likely to have moved away from home, their numbers were relatively small.

Family relationship

In all of the groups, relationships seemed to be more strained at Time 1 but had improved at Time 2, in particular for participants who had completed sixth year at school. Although it was not reflected in the interview data, it is also worth noting that Chinese participants tended to evaluate parental relations less positively than their peers from other groups.

At Time 1, participants were asked not only how they were getting on with their families but also about the person they would most likely confide in or turn to when they needed help. White and Chinese participants were most likely to nominate their mother to be the first person they would turn to and this was more the case for girls than boys in all of the groups. Pakistani and Indian participants, on the other hand, were most likely to nominate a sibling as the person they confided in. Overall, sisters were nominated more often than brothers and there was a tendency to confide more in same-sex siblings. Few participants reported that they would turn to their father (with the father being nominated more often by male Pakistani participants than by anybody else) but considerably more participants said they could talk to either parent or anybody in the family. While some Indian participants reported that they could turn to their parents, these participants were also likely to add that their decision to talk to their parents would depend on the problem. A greater distinction was generally made between the types of issues that could be discussed with parents or other members of the family by minority ethnic participants than by their white counterparts, for example:

201 W1 Pakistani male

/ Okay, do you get on well with your family?

P Yes.

/ Do you feel that you could confide in them or turn to them if you had a problem?

P Yes.

/ Who would you talk to then?

P Different people for different problems, probably, mostly my brother or my Mum … my older brother.

The issue of trust in 'different people for different problems' emerged more clearly among minority ethnic participants than white participants in this sample of young people, and particularly in the interviews conducted at Time 1. This finding may suggest that minority ethnic participants needed to negotiate their family relationships in terms of not only generational differences but also a dual cultural position. The duality of their position is constituted, for example, by the need to participate in a predominantly white Scottish peer culture when attending school, and the simultaneous orientation to values and beliefs derived from their own ethnic background, above all when they are with the family. Generational differences,

consequently, may be more pronounced between minority ethnic young people and their parents. These differences may also be the reason why minority ethnic participants were more likely than white participants to confide in siblings or that they would not be able to confide in the close family at all. The following extracts illustrate these points:

338 W1 Pakistani male

/   And do you get on well with your family?

P   Yes, every now and again, but that's normal, eh?

/   Okay. Is there someone in your family that you can confide in or turn to for help? Would you turn to your family?

P   No.

/   Why not?

P   I don't think they could handle it. I could always turn to my Mum about the small, small stuff, but not really for advice and that I would go somewhere else.

/   Where would you go for advice and help?

P   I tend to go to the mosque a bit, and ask sometimes, you know of *[name]*, who used to be my teacher when I was really small, so he knows me inside out kind of.

276 W1 other female

/   Do you get on well with your family?

P   No, to be honest, no.

/   No? Why not?

P   Do you need reasons? Just I think it is difference of opinion and different values. Mum and Dad seem to be quite traditional in their ways.

I Do you think that there is someone in your family you can turn to, or you can confide in if you need it?

P No, not really.

I So what would you do if you had a problem?

P It is usually a friend.

In both extracts, participants have found alternative sources of help or advice within their social network. In a few cases, siblings seemed to be closer to each other because they were more fluent in English than in their parents' first language. For example:

> … probably more to my sister, because I can't really talk that much
> Chinese, that is the only reason.
> (292 W1 Chinese male)

When describing why they were close to their siblings, regardless of their ethnic background, participants referred most frequently to similarity in age and having more things in common.

At Time 2, when participants were asked whether they had noticed any change in their relationship with their family, the majority of them, regardless of their ethnic background, reported that their family relationship had improved. Pakistani participants were more likely than participants from other ethnic groups to report that there had been no changes in the way they related to their families. Chinese participants, despite the fact that most of them still attended school and lived at home, were most likely to emphasise that they were more 'grown up' and that there was much more communication between them and their parents.

Family: future hopes and fears

At both Time 1 and Time 2, participants were asked whether they had hopes and fears regarding the future development of their family relationships. No significant differences were found between the groups in the way participants answered these questions. In short, most participants hoped that family members would remain as close to them as they are now. Overall, there was a clear orientation to an ideal of lifelong family unity. Among minority ethnic participants, as pointed out earlier in this

chapter, this ideal could also be conceived of as a cultural expectation. The extract below demonstrates this cultural expectation juxtaposed with gender expectations in the case of a female Chinese participant:

203 W2 Chinese female

/   Can you tell me what your hopes are in relation to your family for a year's time?

P   I just hope that we continue to get on really well and nothing really bad happens, like unemployment or anything like that.

/   Any fears for a year from now?

P   In a sense I am worried that my parents might suddenly fall ill, because they are sort of moving on in age now.

/   Last year, when we asked you about your hopes for five years from now, you said you hoped you would be even closer to your family. Is that still the case?

P   Yes.

/   Why is that?

P   I think it is important to have a good relationship with your family and you can always choose your friends, but you can't choose your family. Also because I think it is a Chinese thing as well, where usually the daughters are meant to be really, really close to their parents and look after them.

Summary

Most participants across all ethnic groups lived at home with their parent(s) for the duration of the study, despite the fact that almost two-thirds of the participants had left school between Wave 1 and Wave 2. Pakistani participants lived in households with the largest number of people. Qualitative analysis revealed that, in contrast to their white peers, Pakistani participants were more explicitly oriented to reciprocal caring commitments and a negotiation of individual needs and cultural/religious

expectations. Responses reflected concerns that, in the absence of family support, moving away from home carried risks, such as diverting attention from educational goals and/or religious commitments. This finding raises the question of whether universities provide adequate means of socialising and support for the particular needs of minority ethnic young people. Moving away to study seemed to be more normative for Indian participants than for Parkistani young people and they often explained their choices in terms of career opportunities. Chinese participants, more often than participants from other ethnic groups, expressed concerns that they were not yet independent enough to leave the parental home. All participants reported good family relationships but participants from minority ethnic groups made a great distinction between the types of issues that could be discussed with family members. Minority ethnic participants may need to negotiate their family relationships not only in generational terms but also in terms of a dual cultural position.

5 Social networks and leisure

It has been suggested that social networks as well as leisure activities play a key role in the transition from adolescence to adulthood, not only through providing social support but also through aiding the development of new identities and skills (e.g. Hays and Oxley, 1986; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Raymore *et al.*, 1999; Way and Pahl, 2001). Peer support and the quality of friendships or social networks during adolescence have been found to be associated positively with self-esteem and negatively with depression (Way and Chen, 2000; Way and Pahl, 2001).

In the transition from school to further/higher education or work, the flexibility of social networks is associated with positive adjustment in the light of environmental changes and new demands. A study by Hays and Oxley (1986) investigated the development of social networks among first-year university students. They found that adding new acquaintances to the social network was related to adaptation to university in the early stages of this transition but that more stable networks were vital 'reservoirs of support' later on in the transition. Moreover, they found that one's social network was associated most consistently with 'fun and relaxation' than with providing direct support and that the similarity of fellow students to oneself increased in importance during transition. Hays and Oxley argue that integration into a peer group that is perceived to be similar to the self may assist the adoption of a new identity via the facilitation of role models, the collective exploration of new spaces and activities, and a general validation of the new role.

It should also be noted that, besides their beneficial effects for psychological well-being, networks based on similarity of interests, values and attitudes may also perpetuate prejudices towards minority young people and the segregation of peer groups. In a predominantly white educational institution, minority ethnic young people may find it difficult to identify with, and in turn be accepted by, majority group peers, particularly if their values are not compatible with the dominant peer lifestyle. This pattern might mean that minority ethnic young people are disadvantaged through greater separation from their peers, or might perceive themselves to be under greater pressure to change their lifestyle.

Leisure activities, which are often closely associated with the peer network, also constitute an important source of enjoyment and relaxation and thus a buffer against stress. In addition, it has been argued that leisure behaviour plays a central role in the transition from child to adulthood (Shaw *et al.*, 1995; Raymore *et al.*,1999). It is through leisure activities that adolescents can satisfy their need for social relatedness, challenge their abilities, test alternative identities and gain new identities based on a sense of competence. Leisure, thus, provides young people with important transition

contexts, above all in cultures where traditional rites of passage have been obliterated. Although the majority of young people today are seeking to participate in leisure activities that take place outside of the family home or the school, leisure participation continues to be constrained mainly by gender, socio-economic status and race/ ethnicity (McMeeking and Purkayastha, 1995; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). In a context of actual and/or perceived discrimination, minority ethnic young people's leisure activities may be largely home based or confined to a specific neighbourhood.

Given the importance of social networks to issues of transition, ethnicity and psychological well-being, the present study explored the social networks and leisure activities of participants at both time points.

The content of social networks

The Social Networks Development and Support Measure (Hays and Oxley, 1986) examined the profile of young people's social networks, in particular how network members varied in terms of their age; the type, duration and context of their relationship to the participant; and their gender and ethnicity.

Analysis indicated minimal ethnic group or gender differences in the average age of or relationship profile of the social network (the majority were friends of the same age as the participant). The only ethnic group difference to emerge was that white participants were more likely to have a boy/girlfriend in their social network than minority ethnic participants. Across all groups, there was a decrease over time in the number of siblings and parents as network members but an increase in the number of friends.

Information about where participants had met each social network member was coded using eight categories:

1   school

2   family

3   neighbourhood

4   mutual friend

5   pub/club/party

6   religious congregation

7   work

8   other leisure activity.

For Wave 2, a ninth category, college/university, was added. Across all groups, the majority of network members were met at school (53 per cent) or through family (30 per cent) in Wave 1. This pattern did not change at Time 2 but the number of members met at school did decrease significantly for all groups, with the exception of Chinese participants for whom members met at school increased. This finding is likely to be explained by the fact that none of the Chinese participants had left school at Time 2. In addition, the number of members met through family reduced from Time 1 to Time 2, with no differences across groups.

Gender and ethnic composition of peer networks

For all ethnic groups, participants tended to report more same-sex network members and this pattern did not change over time. Pakistani and white participants reported significantly higher numbers of network members from their own ethnic group than participants from the other two groups, a pattern that did not change over time. It is worth adding, however, that all ethnic groups showed a decrease in same-ethnicity members from Time 1 to Time 2 (see Figure 2). It should be noted that this decrease was not statistically significant for white people. In addition, this decrease tended to be observed for minority ethnic boys but not for minority ethnic girls.

Figure 2 Number of same-ethnicity network members by ethnic group
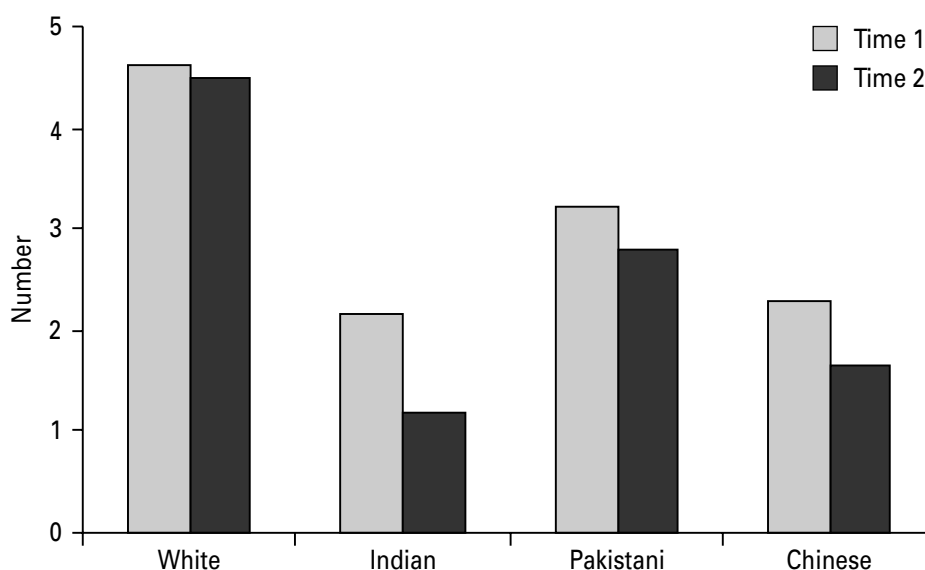
In general, minority ethnic girls tended to report higher levels of same-ethnicity members than minority ethnic boys, although this difference was statistically significant among Chinese participants only.

When asked about reasons for the ethnic composition of their circle of friends, white participants most frequently referred to the lack of minority ethnic people in their neighbourhood or school, i.e. that was just who they got to know. Participants who had attended schools with a greater proportion of students from minority ethnic groups explained that friendship formation across ethnic groups was rare. These participants pointed out that they knew quite a few people from ethnic backgrounds who were different from their own when they were in school but that they would not classify these contacts as close friendships. Several white participants also stated that they had lost touch with the people outside of their own ethnic group who they had known in school once they had started their further or higher education. Interestingly, when comparing their experiences of university and school, most white participants perceived fewer opportunities to meet people from different ethnic backgrounds at university. The reasons they gave were that they did not meet the same students every day, that the proportional representation of minority ethnic students seemed lower than at school and that they perceived a greater division between ethnic groups at university. This perspective is illustrated by the following extract:

383 W2 white male

/ What percentage of your close friends do you think are from the same ethnic group as you?

P Quite a high percentage I would say. There are a lot of people I know and I keep in contact with and I talk to who are from a different ethnic group from me, but the percentage that I would say are friends, I would say about 80 to 90 per cent.

/ Why do you think that is?

P I have no idea. In school … I think, in university, it is a funny thing because I have noticed it a lot … I don't know if it is the same with all universities, but with *[name of university]* everybody seems to divide up for some reason, I don't know why. But, in school, it was very different, everybody was kind of together and stuff and everybody was having a laugh.

Pakistani participants who had indicated that the majority of their friends were from the same ethnic group stressed ethnic density in their area and the commonalities they shared with their friends as reasons for the ethnic composition of their circle of friends. Despite few friendships across ethnic boundaries at school, participants found that the percentage of friends from their own ethnic groups tended to decline at university. Several participants stated that they had no choice at university or college other than to make friends with people from different ethnic groups, because of the lack of contact with students from their own ethnic group. This is illustrated, for example, in the interview extract below:

330 W2 Pakistani female

/ What percentage of your close friends are from the same ethnic group as you?

P I think, like, last year all my friends, I have to say every single one of my friends, was an Asian Muslim just like myself, but this year, because I didn't really know anybody from college and I just had two close friends from my school that were with me, but they weren't doing the Highers, they were doing a business course you know, so I was really on my own and I had to kind of make new friends and stuff. So, like, half of my friends are, you know, like, white … well what would you say, you wouldn't say white would you?

Several of the Pakistani participants, however, also made reference to group divisions at university and the inclination to associate more with students from the same ethnic group. For example, the following participant points out that 'no one bothers mixing' at college:

332 W2 Pakistani female

/ Can you think for me what percentage of your close friends are from the same ethnic group as you?

P Um … 100 per cent …

/ Do you think that percentage has changed in the last year?

P Um … yes, I think I used to have more white friends before, as well now it is like … because in college no one really bothers mixing in with other people, and if they do it is just like they keep it to college

and you don't really hear much about them afterwards. I have got, like, friends, background friends, but they are not close.

The experience that there was a division of ethnic cliques was also verified by several other minority ethnic participants. For example:

It is like they are in little groups, it is like divided.
(386 W2 Indian female)

Overall, lower percentages of friends from their same ethnic group were reported by the Indian, Chinese and other participants at Time 2. The most frequently stated reason for this lack of friends from their same ethnic group was the low representation of their own ethnic group in Scotland. In the few cases where participants from these groups reported a high percentage of friends from their same ethnic group, this was explained to be mainly because of family and religious commonalities.

In conclusion, it appears that there are still considerable barriers (perceived or otherwise) at school and university that limit ethnic mixing among young people in Scotland. While ethnically mixed schools could provide opportunities to establish friendships across ethnic groups, university environments seem to reinforce a division between students from different ethnic groups. Future research may explore what factors (structural or psychological) may contribute to a lack of ethnic mixing at further or higher education institutions.

Leisure participation

The analysis of responses to the question 'How do you spend your free time' at Time 1 revealed a variety of leisure activities, which could be grouped into 11 categories. As shown in Table 5, the category of 'general activities' was most frequently used and consisted of references to the unspecific leisure activity of 'just hanging out', which could take place at home, at a friend's home, or in town. Activities such as playing a computer game, watching television, or driving around were also included in this category. Pakistani participants were more likely to report engaging in these general activities when they were asked how they spent their free time. Within the Pakistani group, there were no gender differences regarding these activities.

Table 5 Percentage participating in leisure activities by ethnic group

Activity	White	Pakistani	Indian	Chinese
		% (*n*)		
General activities (e.g. hanging out, TV)	25 (26)	40 (39)	17 (10)	24 (15)
Visiting entertainment venues	13 (14)	25 (24)	17 (10)	15 (5)
Shopping	4 (4)	10 (10)	9 (5)	12 (4)
Visiting coffee/food place	6 (6)	5 (5)	10 (6)	3 (1)
Visiting pub/club	15 (16)	1 (1)	12 (7)	3 (1)
Listening to music, reading, drawing	14 (15)	3 (3)	9 (5)	12 (4)
Activities linked to religious congregation	3 (3)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Activities linked to youth club	1 (1)	0 (0)	2 (1)	3 (1)
Individual sports	6 (6)	3 (3)	2 (1)	6 (2)
Team sports	9 (10)	10 (10)	14 (8)	0 (0)
Other activities (e.g. dance or acting class)	4 (4)	1 (1)	7 (4)	0 (0)

'Shopping' as a leisure activity was mentioned more frequently by Pakistani, Indian and Chinese participants. This activity was reported mainly by girls. There was a notable difference between the groups in terms of socialising activities that involved going to the pub or a club. Specifically, Pakistani and Chinese participants were least likely to state that their socialising activities included going to the pub or a club. Finally, Chinese participants did not report any participation in team sports, while this constituted an activity frequently reported by male participants in the other ethnic groups.

Figure 3 demonstrates that a considerable amount of leisure activity was reported to take place in town rather than in the local neighbourhood. White, Pakistani and Indian participants were similar with respect to the number of town-based activities they mentioned. Within these three groups, gender differences emerged only for the Indian participants, with the female participants reporting 61 per cent of the activities being based in town, as compared to 39 per cent of the activities reported by male Indian participants. Town activities were less frequently mentioned by Chinese participants (39 per cent).[1] In addition, Chinese participants stood out in terms of the number of home-based activities they reported and the relative lack of activities within the local neighbourhood. While the latter finding may be explained on the grounds of a lack of participation in team sports in the local neighbourhood, it is more difficult to account for the higher percentage of home-based activities. A combination of factors, such as the relatively low ethnic density of this group in Glasgow, financial resources and work commitments in the family business, may in part account for this finding.

Figure 3 Percentage of activities in different locations by ethnicity (Time 1)
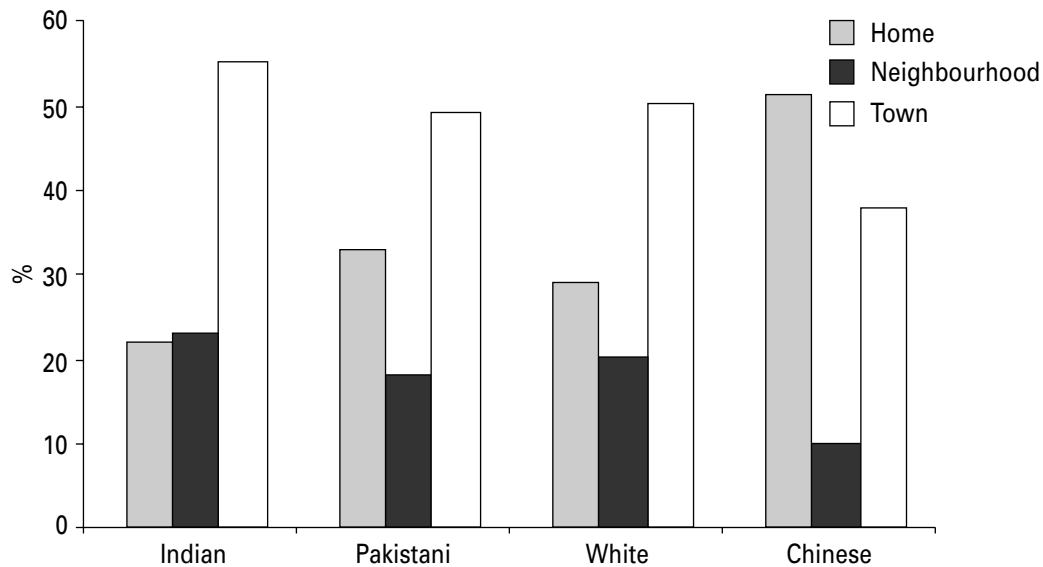
In the interviews, participants were also asked who they tended to spend their free time with. Participants from all ethnic groups reported spending the majority of their leisure time with friends. Chinese participants were more likely to state that they spent leisure time by themselves than participants from the other ethnic groups. Not many of the participants reported that they spent their free time with family members; however, Pakistani participants (12 per cent of activities), followed by Indian participants (10 per cent of activities), reported more activities with family than white (3 per cent of activities) or Chinese (0 per cent) participants. Similarly, not many participants reported spending time with a boyfriend or girlfriend, and Pakistani and Indian participants were least likely to mention a boyfriend or girlfriend when reporting their leisure activities.

During the interviews at Time 2, participants were not asked about leisure activities in such detail but were asked whether and how their leisure activities had changed over the past year. Overall, few changes were reported and there was a greater emphasis on studying on the one hand and going out on the other among all ethnic groups. Finally, it should be pointed out that, despite the between-group trends that have been described above, neither white nor the minority ethnic groups were homogeneous in relation to leisure behaviour. For example, there was considerable within-group variation in terms of some participants' orientation to more traditional values (e.g. values that required female participants to spend more time with the family and in the family home) and other participants' orientation to the dominant youth culture (e.g. spending time with a boyfriend and going out). Particularly when it came to questions about boyfriend or girlfriend and going out, several participants asked for reassurance that their answers would be dealt with confidentially. For an

evaluation of the above findings, we need to consider, therefore, that participants' answers to questions about leisure time and relationships were also determined by what they deemed appropriate for their age, gender and the ethnic group with which they identified.

Part-time work and money concerns

Apart from asking participants about the way they used their leisure time, Wave 1 interviews included questions about part-time employment. In addition, participants were asked whether money was ever an issue for them. The analysis of participants' responses suggests that 25 per cent ($n = 31$) of participants[2] who took part in the Wave 1 interviews were in part-time employment while they were attending school (see Table 6). Most likely to have a part-time job were the Chinese participants (54 per cent), followed by the white participants (33 per cent) and the Pakistani participants (22 per cent). Only 10 per cent of the Indian participants reported being in part-time employment. Female Pakistani participants were less likely to be working part time than the male Pakistani participants and female participants from any of the other groups.

Despite the low percentage of participants in part-time employment, only 16 per cent of participants stated that money was an issue for them. The majority of participants stated that they could ask family members for money if they needed to. The majority of participants who were not working had access to either a study bursary or a bursary given to them by their parents. The most frequently stated reason for not working was that participants wanted to focus on their studies. Participants who were working part time stated that they wanted to earn extra money, which they could spend on their leisure activities.

Table 6 Percentage of participants in part-time employment (Time 1)

Ethnicity	Participants in part-time employment % (*n*)		
	Male	Female	Total
White	31 (5)	35 (7)	33 (12)
Pakistani	37 (7)	9 (2)	22 (9)
Indian	0 (0)	22 (2)	10 (2)
Chinese	50 (4)	60 (3)	54 (7)
Total	61 (16)	39 (14)	25 (30)

Summary

Across all ethnic groups, the majority of social network members were friends at both time points and a decrease over time in the number of siblings and parents in the network was indicated. Pakistani and white participants reported significantly higher numbers of network members from their own ethnic group but all ethnic groups except white people showed a significant decrease in same-ethnic members over time. This decrease tended to be observed for minority ethnic boys but not for minority ethnic girls, who also tended to report higher levels of same-ethnicity members. Qualitative analysis suggested there are still considerable barriers that limit ethnic mixing among young people in Scotland, particularly at university. The findings suggest there is a need to gain a greater understanding of both structural and psychological factors that may contribute to lack of ethnic mixing at further or higher education. Participants from all groups spend a lot of their leisure time with friends. Pakistani and Chinese participants were least likely to state that their socialising activities included going to the pub or a club. In addition, activities based in town were mentioned less frequently by Chinese participants.

6 Identity, ethnicity and religion

Identity structures

An identity structure or hierarchy was elicited from all participants by asking them to rate in importance a list of 11 identities, which included personal identities (e.g. sibling, friend) and social identities (e.g. ethnicity, nation).[1] Overall, it is interesting to observe that participants from all ethnic groups were broadly similar in the identities that were among the four most highly rated. Table 7 lists the four identities that were attributed the most importance within each ethnic group at Time 1 and Time 2 (in descending order from the highest within-group mean rating).

The most striking differences between ethnic groups related to the higher ranking of the religious identity for Pakistani participants, of the sibling identity for Indian participants and of the student identity for Chinese participants. More general differences emerged between white and minority ethnic participants on overall importance of the ethnic, religious and British identities, with all of these identities being lower in importance for white participants than for their minority ethnic peers (for more information on national identities see the section on 'Scottish identity' later in this chapter).

For all participants, the peer-oriented identities of friend, sister/brother and girlfriend/ boyfriend emerge as the most central identities at Time 2. More systematic analysis of change in importance of identities over time revealed a number of significant differences between Waves 1 and 2. For all participants, the occupation (student for most participants) identity reduced in importance from Wave 1 to 2, while girlfriend/ boyfriend and Scottish identities increased in importance over time (see Figure 4). Further analysis revealed that change in importance of the boyfriend/girlfriend identity was accounted for by an increase in importance among minority ethnic but not among white participants. For Scottish identity, the increase at Time 2 was observed for male participants only.

An interesting pattern of change emerged for gender identity (i.e. being male or female), such that it became more important over time for minority ethnic girls but less important for minority ethnic boys. These differences were not observed among white participants. A similar pattern was shown for religious identity. For minority ethnic girls, this identity became more important at Time 2 while, for minority ethnic boys, it reduced in importance. While white girls reported no change in importance of religious identity, white boys reported an increase in importance (although, across both waves, ratings for white girls were higher than for white boys).

Table 7 Ranking of the first four most highly rated identities by ethnicity

	White	Pakistani	Indian	Chinese
Time 1				
1	Friend	Friend	Sister/brother	Friend
2	Son/daughter	Religion	Friend	Girlfriend/boyfriend
3	Sister/brother	Sister/brother	Son/daughter	Student
4	Girlfriend/boyfriend	Son/daughter	Male/female	Sister/brother
Time 2				
1	Friend	Friend	Friend	Friend
2	Girlfriend/boyfriend	Sister/brother	Sister/brother	Student
3	Sister/brother	Girlfriend/boyfriend	Son/daughter	Sister/brother
4	Son/daughter	Religion	Girlfriend/boyfriend	Girlfriend/boyfriend

Figure 4 Change over time in identity ratings for complete sample
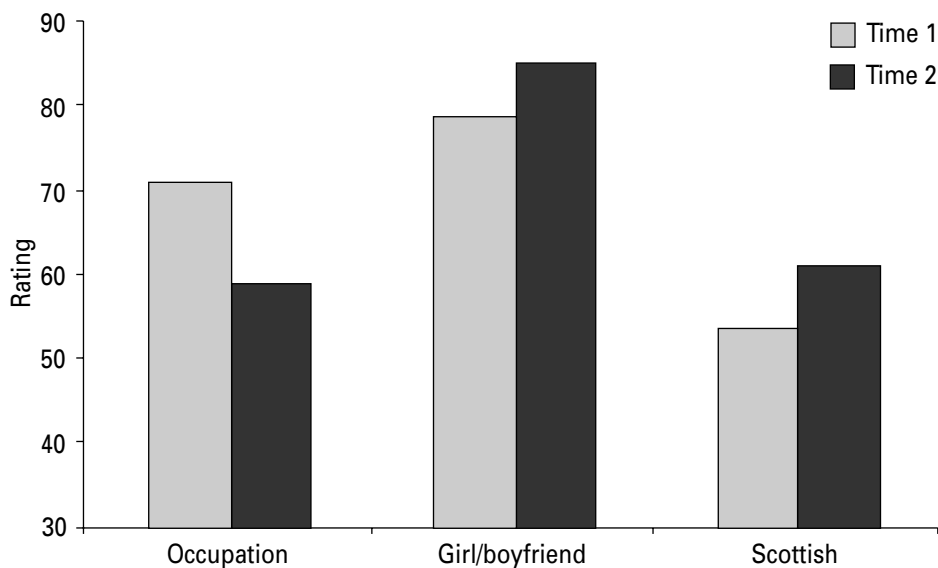
Religion

As already noted, religion played a greater role for minority ethnic participants than for white participants in the way they defined themselves as a person. Participants were also asked to complete a measure of religiosity, which had two subscales tapping intrinsic and extrinsic components. An intrinsic orientation to religion is viewed as it being deeply personal to the individual. It is often defined as the individual living his or her religion. In contrast, extrinsic orientation towards religion places emphasis on it as membership in a powerful in-group, providing protection and social status.

Minority ethnic participants reported higher levels of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity than their white peers. These differences tended to be greater among male than among female participants, i.e. minority ethnic males had higher levels of religiosity than white males, whereas differences between minority ethnic and white females tended to be non-significant. Further analysis showed that, for intrinsic religiosity, white and Indian participants reported significantly lower levels than Pakistani participants but, for extrinsic religiosity, white participants' scores were lower than those of both Indian and Pakistani participants (see Figure 5). Analysis of change over time showed that, for all ethnic groups, both forms of religiosity decreased in importance at Time 2, but this decrease was statistically significant for intrinsic religiosity only.

Qualitative analysis of participants' discussions about their most important identities further supports the finding that religion plays a major role in the everyday lives of minority ethnic people. For all participants, irrespective of ethnicity, there were, however, no qualitative differences in the explanations given for the importance of religion. All of the participants who rated religious identity as important variously described religion as 'a way of life', 'who you are' and a means of being 'a good person', 'something to turn to', or a connection with family, the local or global community.

What became very evident from the qualitative analysis was that religion was very closely bound up with the meanings of 'ethnic identity', particularly for Pakistani and Indian participants. In fact, religion often took precedence over ethnicity in the way participants identified themselves. As has been suggested by analysts of current

Figure 5 Intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity by ethnic group
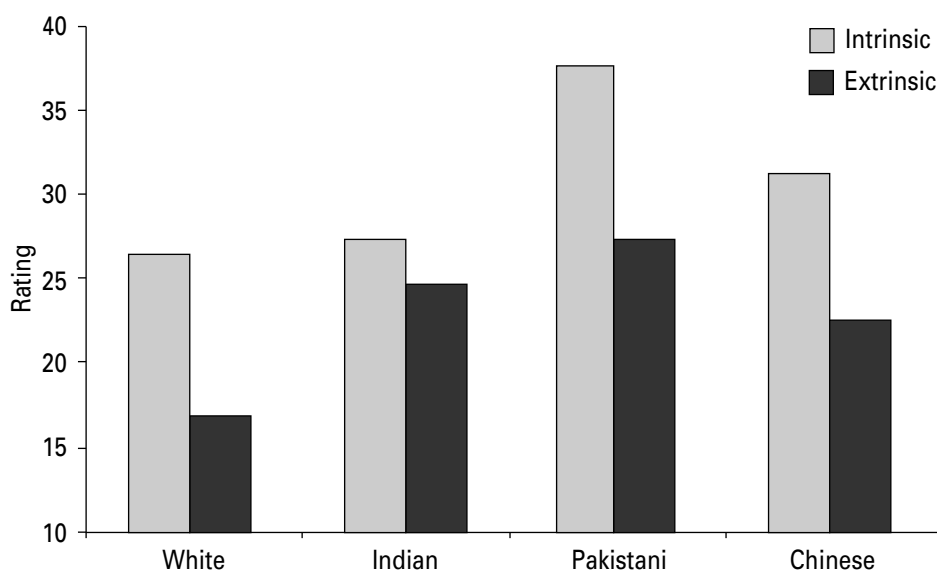
public discourses, such as Sarfraz Manzoor (2005), the aftermath of 9/11 and the decision to join the war in Iraq has problematised religion and necessitated a reconsideration of ethnic labels. While distinctions based on the labels 'white' and 'Asian' have reduced in significance, ethnic identification has become more polarised in terms of 'Christian' versus 'Muslim'. This recent need for more distinct differentiations on the basis of religious identity was also clearly reflected in the interview data. Ethnic identity defined by nationality or race was often substituted with an ethnic identity defined by religious affiliation, as illustrated by the following interview extracts:

299 W2 Pakistani male

/   How do you think other people view your ethnic identity?

P   Probably as a Muslim first, then as a Pakistani, then as somebody from Glasgow, because they all know that you are from Glasgow.

284 W1 Indian female

/   Okay, what would you say your ethnic group is?

P   Hindu. Do you mean like Hindu or Indian?

289 W1 Indian female

/   Okay, what is your ethnic group?

P   Sikh.

248 W1 white female

/   Okay, and being British?

P   Yes, it is just because that is what my family and my heritage is.

/   So what would you say your ethnic group is? White or British?

P   I would say Christian maybe or British.

The definitions of ethnic identity provided in the interview extracts above do not stem from confusion about semantic differences between 'ethnic identity' and 'religion'.

They are more likely to reflect perceptions of ethnic identity and ethnic differences that have changed since 9/11. Many of the negative attitudes described by Pakistani participants in relation to their ethnic identity were linked to being Muslim (a feature that is discussed in more detail in the following section).

Ethnic identity

Survey findings: ethnic identification

In addition to rating importance of ethnic identity, participants were asked to complete measures of ethnic or collective self-esteem and ethnic identification. Analysis focused on three subscales of the collective self-esteem scale:

1   membership esteem, which taps individuals' judgement of their worth as a member of their ethnic group

2   public collective self-esteem, which evaluates individuals' perceptions of how others view their ethnic group

3   private collective self-esteem, which reflects individuals' own evaluation of their ethnic group.

Ethnic identification was examined in terms of four subscales:

1   affirmation and belonging, which assesses ethnic pride as well as feelings of belonging and attachment to the ethnic group

2   ethnic behaviours, which reflects involvement in social activities with group members and participation in cultural practices

3   ethnic identity achievement, which refers to a secure sense of self as a member of an ethnic group

4   other-group orientation, which reflects attitudes towards, and interactions with, ethnic groups other than one's own.

Analysis showed generally that, compared with their white peers, participants from minority ethnic groups tended to report higher levels of private esteem, affirmation and belonging, ethnic behaviours and identity achievement. There were no

differences in relation to membership esteem. For public esteem and orientation to other group, more interesting differences among ethnic groups emerged. As shown in Figure 6, Indian participants reported significantly higher levels of public esteem than Pakistani participants.

For orientation to other groups, Chinese participants had higher levels than Pakistani and white participants (see Figure 7). A trend approaching significance showed higher levels for Indian participants when compared with their Pakistani peers.

Figure 6 Public ethnic self-esteem by ethnic group
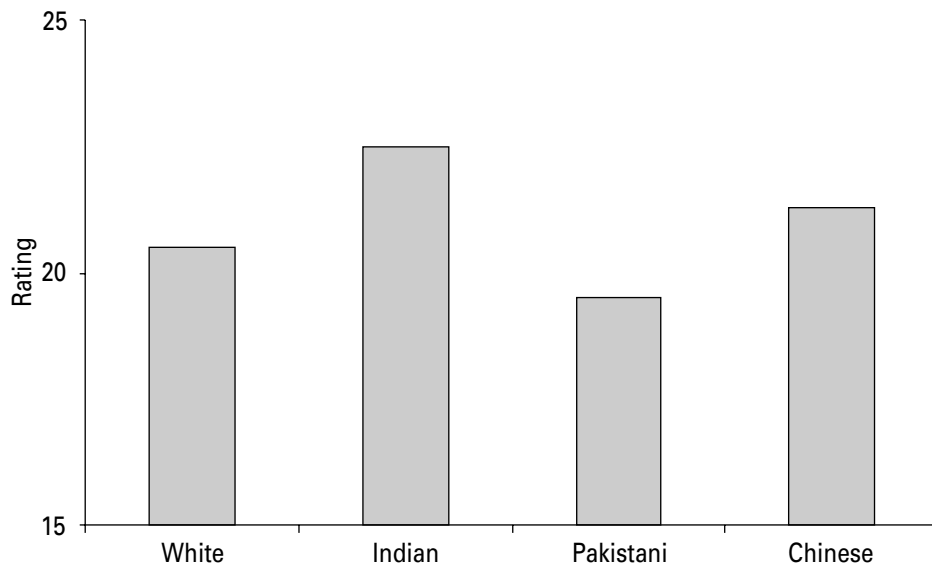
Figure 7 Orientation to other groups by ethnicity
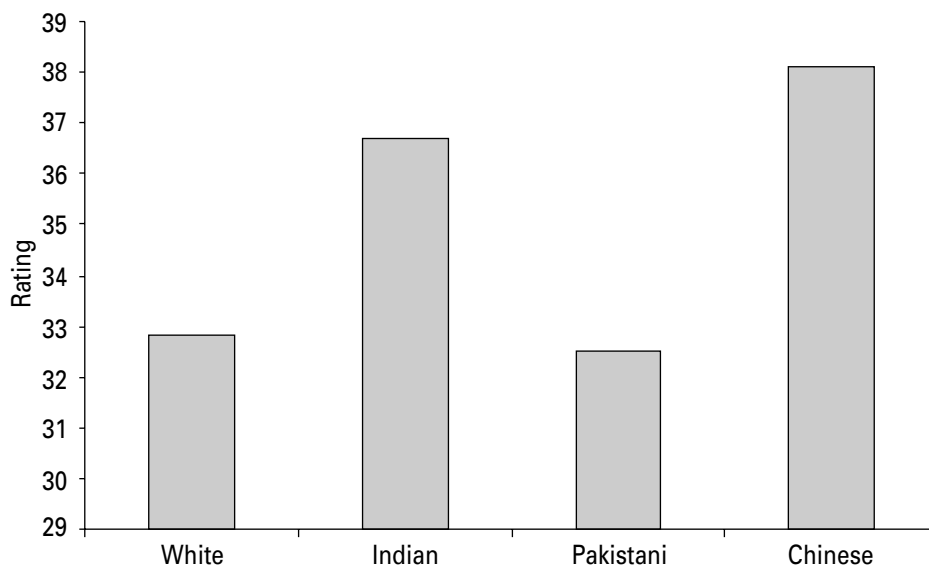
Survey findings: perceived discrimination

Participants were also asked to complete a scale examining the extent to which they perceived discrimination as a member of their ethnic group. The scale had two components:

1   day-to-day discrimination

2   major discrimination.

Analysis indicated that white participants scored significantly lower on both day-to-day discrimination and major discrimination than Pakistani participants. While there were no gender differences overall, there was some evidence of gender differences within ethnic groups. Indian boys reported lower levels of day-to-day and major discrimination than Indian girls (see Figure 8 for day-to-day discrimination scores). A reverse pattern was found for the Pakistani group, with girls reporting lower levels of discrimination than boys. There were no significant gender differences among participants from the white or Chinese groups. Small numbers, particularly in the male Indian subgroup ($n = 3$), require that we interpret these differences with caution. Finally, there was a decrease over time across all groups in reported levels of minor discrimination.

Figure 8 Gender differences in day-to-day discrimination by ethnicity
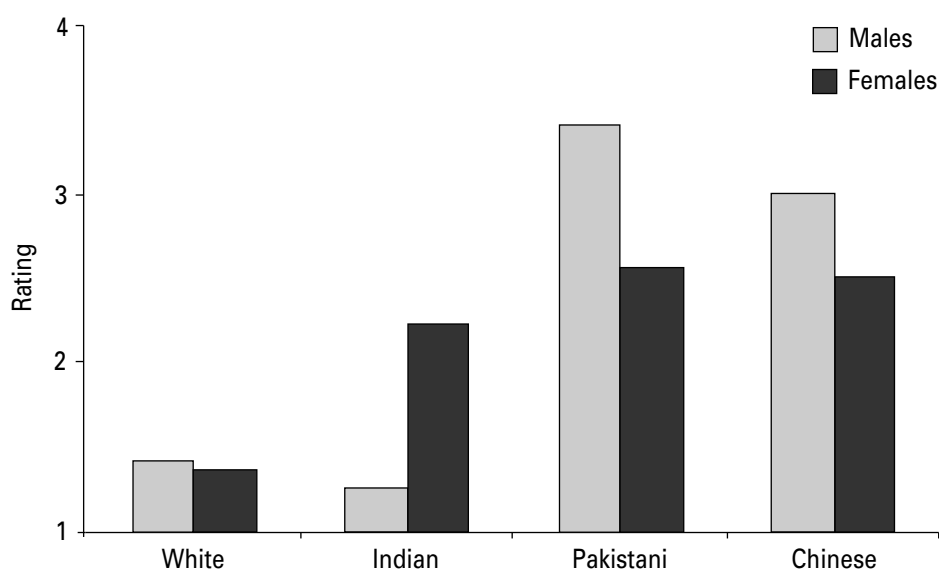
Note: responses ranged from 1 (almost never) to 7 (very often).

Qualitative analysis

The quantitative analysis indicated that, overall, minority ethnic participants were more likely to identify with, place value on and be proud of their ethnic identity than their white peers. The qualitative analysis of participants' answers to interview questions about their ethnic identity further supported this finding.

White participants

Few of the white participants talked about their ethnic identity in terms of it being an important identity. Four of the white participants who considered their ethnic identity to be important spoke about it in the context of their Eastern European (Czech, Russian and Yugoslavian) origin. Living in Scotland, they pointed out, made them feel more European and more aware of their ethnic background. For other white participants, being Jewish was a reason to consider their ethnicity an important identity. It was interesting, however, that the majority of white participants who had rated their ethnic identity to be of high importance responded to questions about their rating with a reference to racial differences by stating that colour did not matter to them. Their answers thus reflected an awareness of racial discrimination. Indeed, racial discrimination was given as the main reason for a high rating of white identity in two cases. The following extract illustrates this point:

> **17 W1 white female**
>
> *I* Okay, that's great. You said that being white you rated that as 8, so that is kind of quite important on the scale of things. So why is that do you think? Why is it important?
>
> *P* It doesn't really matter what colour you are, but I don't know, it doesn't really matter what colour you are. But I have seen a lot of people who are black get a lot of crap basically and it is horrible, I don't agree with it at all.

The majority of white participants, however, rated their ethnic identity to be of low importance. Answers to questions about the importance of ethnic identity tended to be short and indicated that white participants had some difficulty talking about reasons for this lack of importance. Two types of answers predominated in that participants either stressed that their ethnic group or colour did not make a difference, or that their ethnic identity was not an issue for them. Both types of explanation are illustrated in the extracts below:

663 W1 white male

/ Okay, so is being white not very important to you then?

P No.

/ Okay, why not?

P Because I don't think personally it makes that much of a difference.

16 W1 white female

/ Okay. So you have rated your ethnic group of white as being of no importance. Is that right?

P Uh huh.

/ So why is that?

P That doesn't sound right now you have said that … importance … but I don't know, it just doesn't …

/ No, if you don't feel it is important to who you are, then that is alright.

P No, it doesn't.

/ So why do you think that?

P I don't know! It is just not an issue really.

What becomes more evident in the second extract is white participants' difficulty in finding explanations for their ratings. There are several possible reasons for this. It should first be pointed out that the question 'Is being white important to you?' can be understood to impose a racialised context of 'white' versus 'not-white' onto questions about ethnic identity. This question is different from questions that make reference to geographical regions or nationality (e.g. European, Asian, Scottish or Pakistani). The hesitation with which white participants evaluated their ethnic identity 'white' can then again be interpreted as reflecting an awareness of racial discrimination. It might not be seen to be acceptable to talk about whiteness in terms of importance or pride. For example:

660 W1 white female

/   Okay, is being white important to you?

P   No, not really.

/   No? Why do you think that is?

P   It just isn't, you don't really think about it like that.

Participants may have been hesitant to talk about being white as something they value because of potentially racist connotations, but their hesitation also seemed to reflect a lack of having thought about what it means to be white. This lack of awareness about their own whiteness is certainly evident in the responses that participants gave to questions about the way others might view them. While some participants stressed that they hoped the fact that they were white would not bother anyone – e.g. 'there is a lot of racial tension just now, and I am hoping people don't think I am, like, bigoted toward other people or anything like that' (101 white female) – over half of the white participants thought that others would not notice, judge them, or think about the fact that they were white, for example:

141 W1 white male

/   Okay. Is being white important to you?

P   Yes.

/   Why?

P   I am not sure.

/   Is it something you think about?

P   Not really, no.

/   No. Do you expect that being white will become more important or less important to you as you get older?

P   Probably less.

/   Yes, why do you think that is?

> *P* I am not sure, I just don't think about it that much.
>
> *I* How do you think other people view your ethnic identity?
>
> *P* Um …
>
> *I* Do you think it is something they think about?
>
> *P* Not really, I don't think so, no.

Two explanations for the apparent invisibility of whiteness and consequent lack of reflexivity are suggested. First, indigenous white participants belong to the majority group and may have little reason to perceive themselves in terms of 'being different'. Second, the difficulty of perceiving one's own whiteness may stem from a commonplace way of thinking about ethnicity and race, i.e. where whiteness is thought of only as a referent but the focus remains on the 'non-white', discriminated 'other' (Ahmed, 2004).

Pakistani participants

As has been pointed out above, Pakistani participants rated the importance of their ethnic identity and their religion higher than participants from any other ethnic background. Unlike the white participants, they had no problems recognising their ethnic identity as something that 'identifies you' and 'makes you who you are'. For example:

> Pakistani, which is different from being anything else … because you just have your own background, and things you do that other races don't do, like traditions and things like that, and the way you live.
> (Pakistani female)

Several participants used a notion of family rootedness to account for the importance of ethnic identity in their lives. The importance of one's ethnic identity was also understood in terms of the ability to connect with others in their ethnic community.

On the whole, Pakistani participants' reflections on ethnic identity simultaneously stressed 'difference' and 'non-difference' between ethnic groups. While notions of 'non-difference' gained significance in relation to mutual acceptance and equality – e.g. 'I don't look at those things when I am talking to friends or anything, it doesn't matter to me' (Pakistani male) – notions of 'difference' gained significance

particularly in the context of a problematisation of Pakistani identity in public discourses. Consequently, it could be difficult to decide whether ethnic identity was important or not, as argued in the following extract:

338 W1 Pakistani male

/ And is being … you would see your ethnicity as Pakistani, ethnic group?

P Well does it really matter? I mean well it does …

/ Well when you have described your friends' ethnic groups, is that what you are, yes?

P Well yes I am Pakistani, right, but I mean when I walked into this room and you saw me did you see a Pakistani boy coming in or did you see just a normal boy coming in? What was the first thing that came into your mind? Does it really matter?

/ Well that is what I am asking you, do you think it is important?

P Well sometimes yes, it could be, if people just make a big fuss about this. And I don't like this word 'ethnic minority', because it makes people sound smaller and that, whereas obviously we don't all get along together, but we get along, don't we? I mean we are not all perfect. And sometimes when we do, it just plays on it.

Like the participant cited above, some minority ethnic participants pleaded for a rejection of ethnic labels. On the other hand, there was also an emphasis on the upholding of a distinct ethnic identity, particularly in the context of 'people making a fuss':

96 W1 Pakistani male

/ What about being Pakistani, why is that important to you?

P Because you shouldn't ever take away your identity really, like Pakistani, you should always have that as great importance to you, because of the way some Pakistanis are viewed. So you could use that as an example for other Pakistanis, and you can also use it to enhance the image people have of Pakistanis.

When asked directly about others' perceptions of their ethnic identity, the majority of Pakistani participants, similar to white participants, pointed out that others would not judge them on the basis of their ethnic identity. In contrast to white participants, however, Pakistani participants' responses often started with an awareness of differences; they tended to state that others were 'okay' with or did not bother about their ethnic identity. Whether or not Pakistani participants thought that others perceived their ethnic identity in a neutral way also depended to a large extent on the reference group that they had in mind when answering the interview question. Thus, it became clear that statements relating to a positive or neutral recognition of their ethnic identity were most frequently made in reference to friends or the immediate peer context (e.g. at school), but that this changed when referring to unfamiliar others or to the general public, for example:

290 W1 Pakistani male

/ So how do you think that other people view your ethnic identity?

P It is not so bad at *[name of school]* here, but I get like … I sometimes get racial abuse or that.

/ When you are out?

P In my home town, yes …

/ And is that … do you feel like that in school or outside of school?

P Outside school.

/ So do you think people within school, do they kind of see you as different and …

P No, not really.

/ But outside school you think they do a bit more?

P Yes.

/ Okay, and so do you see yourself differently in the two different …

P I do, yes, I see myself as the same here, but in *[name of neighbourhood]* I do feel different. And also, there is more ethnic minorities at this school than in *[name of neighbourhood]*.

Several Pakistani participants reported experiencing or witnessing racial harassment outside school. More generally, Pakistani participants were very aware of negative stereotypes and discrimination against their ethnic group as a result of the negative representations of Islam in politics and the media. Experiences of racial abuse in public spaces as well as an awareness of negative representations of their identity in public discourse seemed to be somewhat more evident at Time 1 than at Time 2. This trend is also reflected in the quantitative finding reported above that participants reported lower levels of everyday discrimination at Time 2. It is possible that at Time 1 participants were more likely to be targets of racial harassment because they were younger; second, issues of terrorism and war were still highly topical when the first interviews were conducted in 2003. At Time 2, some references were made to racially motivated incidents that had taken place recently in the community and that had contributed to a negative representation of Pakistani youths in the local media, but fewer references were made to the war in Iraq. In some cases, participants stated that the importance of their ethnic identity had decreased somewhat (in contrast to religion) because of the change in the social environments experienced after leaving school.

When discussing racial discrimination or stereotyping, participants generally stated that these experiences did not affect them. On the contrary, several participants stated that such experiences had only made them more confident. Minority ethnic participants, while clearly disturbed by others' attitudes, were actively resisting negative representations of their ethnic identity. The following extract illustrates how participants constructed strong ethnic and religious identities in opposition to derogatory social interactions:

338 W1 Pakistani male

/ How do you think other people view your ethnic identity?

P I think in this school people … because it is an international school and that, a big *[inaudible]* and that, but I don't see myself being as Pakistani or just a Scot. I see myself as … well first of all Muslim first before anything else and then a Scottish Pakistani. And, if people can't accept that, then sorry, it is just me, it is just who I am.

/ So the way people see you, does that affect how you see yourself?

P Yes, sometimes.

/ How?

> *P* I don't know, but it just makes me stronger I suppose. It just reinforces my own views.

While explicit acts of racial abuse could be seen to reinforce strong collective identities, it appeared to be more difficult to resist discriminatory behaviours that were less explicit. For example, the feeling of not being accepted because of a difference in the way one engaged with others, as in the case of one female participant who reported during the interview that she did not participate in the leisure activities and interests typical of her peers because of her adherence to different gender ideals:

> ***782 W1 Pakistani female***
>
> *I* How do you think other people view the fact that you are, like, Pakistani, do you think it makes a difference, do you think it affects the way people see you?
>
> *P* It affects the way people see me.
>
> *I* In what way do you think?
>
> *P* They keep away from me.
>
> *I* Do you think so?
>
> *P* Yes.
>
> *I* Do you think you sometimes get a bad reaction then?
>
> *P* Yes, sometimes.
>
> *I* Okay, does this affect how you see yourself?
>
> *P* Sometimes.
>
> *I* In what way?
>
> *P* I just feel down because they can't accept who I am.

Girls were further affected by gender expectations that were directed at them both by members within their ethnic community and by their white peers. These experiences were the same for young Pakistani and Indian women. Girls from both ethnic groups

saw themselves unjustly criticised or pitied by their peers because of stereotyped assumptions about gender roles within their community and a failure to understand their values, as the following participant explains:

287 W1 Pakistani female

> *P* Some people turn round to me and say 'oh we feel sorry for you not being able to go out' *[inaudible]* and you kind of get pressurised into thinking 'oh maybe I should just do it, I should try it' …

> *I* Okay, how does this affect you if people are feeling sorry for you? Do you think 'stuff you'.

> *P* I mean I wish I was allowed out, but then again I would be like that 'I don't need to drink, I am bad enough without drinking', I am so hyper all the time. I mean I would like to do it to see what it is like, they are always talking about it and stuff. But it is not something that I would really want to go and do. If I wanted a drink, I could have done it by now. But I have got kind of respect.

While young Indian and Pakistani women felt exposed to the false assumptions of their peers, some also referred to experiences of discrimination from within their own ethnic community because of their association with peers from other ethnic groups, or to participation in lifestyles that were not deemed appropriate (e.g. wearing a certain style of dress). These additional tensions may be reflected in the quantitative differences in perceived discrimination reported by Indian boys and girls (see the section on 'Perceived discrimination' earlier in this chapter).

Indian participants

For Indian participants, ethnic identity was also often closely bound up with religious identity. In contrast to Pakistani participants, however, Indian participants did not perceive themselves to be affected directly by negative media representations but more indirectly through the ethnic group label 'Asian'. It might be argued, therefore, that identifying oneself as Indian, Sikh, or Hindu had gained additional importance in a socio-political context that was inclined to use broader categories as the basis for discrimination. Indian participants' explanations for the importance of their ethnic identity were relatively similar to those provided by Pakistani participants. Thus, one's ethnic identity was understood to be important because it was associated with belonging to a community, because it defined who one is, and connected oneself to a heritage of which one could be proud.

Some Indian participants viewed their ethnic identity in terms of enrichment, i.e. knowing more about and getting the best of both cultures.

Indian participants who stated that their ethnic identity was not important often focused on human equality and the importance of the 'individual' person over and above ethnic identity and religion – e.g. 'I don't really think that it's of great importance what race and religion you are as to what kind of a person you are' (135 Indian female). However, similar to Pakistani participants, Indian participants assigned particular importance to ethnic identity in the context of racism. This position is most strongly expressed in the following two interview extracts:

485 W1 Indian female

/   Okay, why is being Asian important?

P   Being Asian is important because like, eh, we don't really get many, we do get a lot of opportunities, but there is still a lot of racism here today and like very important, like if you go out you might think differently about things, you know, when you are pure Asian, you might think well I've got less chance of getting a job, or you hear people downfall themselves, so it's kind of important what you are, like, to realise in life that you won't always get what you want because you are a different colour or whatever, so racism still does exist so that's why that's important.

478 W1 Indian female

/   And is your ethnicity important to you? It's 9, so it is pretty important.

P   Yes.

/   Why is that important to you?

P   Well it is just important because I find, you know, in this country like sort of you are looked at as being different from white society … I find just overall. Obviously there are my friends who like don't look at me like a different person, but society as a whole in Britain does.

Although ethnic discrimination was expressed, Indian participants on the whole reported a negative perception of their ethnic identity much less frequently than Pakistani participants. In response to questions about others' views of their ethnic identity in Wave 1 interviews, the majority of Indian participants stated that they felt

they were viewed positively and that people found their ethnic identity interesting. This finding has parallels in the quantitative data, which showed that Indian participants did not differ significantly from white participants in reported levels of discrimination. In Wave 2, this perspective did not change significantly, although two participants pointed out that they were now more aware of being, or being seen as, different, for example:

199 W2 Indian female

/   I think, when we spoke to you last year and we asked you that, you said that people saw you just like any other. Do you think that has changed since last year?

P   I don't think they see me just like any other, I mean they see you differently for things like that. So I wouldn't say just like any other. It is probably no actual reason for that other than because I am older that I am saying that.

/   Do you think this change has affected you?

P   I don't think it has affected me, I think it is just that I am aware of it.

Chinese participants

Analysis indicated that Chinese participants were aware of the problematisation of ethnic identity in public discourses but that they saw themselves as less affected by these developments, as the following responses illustrate:

1 W1 Chinese female

/   How do you think other people view your ethnic identity, as being Chinese, how do you think other people see you?

P   Nothing probably, it doesn't really affect us.

285 W1 Chinese female

/   Is being Chinese important to you?

P   … it is not that important, because I don't have any religion.

Nevertheless, two-thirds of Chinese participants stated that their ethnic identity was important to them and one-third made references to prejudice or discrimination relating to their ethnic identity. They considered their ethnic identity to be of importance because it was associated with the way they had been brought up, it identified them as a group and was, after all, 'what people see'. Chinese participants also assigned importance to their ethnic identity because they recognised that they had a shared understanding with people within their community rather than with others because of a 'culture gap'. At Time 2, the importance of ethnic identity seemed to have increased for some of the participants who associated this change with getting older and understanding more about their background. Three out of five participants at Time 2, on the other hand, stated that their ethnic group was not important, and for one of them this change was because of meeting 'a lot more other people'. Lower importance of ethnic identity was linked most closely to a non-judgemental attitude and the value of each individual. The extract below, however, illustrates how, in an environment that showed an appreciation of difference, a strong identification with one's ethnic group might not necessarily involve a narrow self-definition and exclusive focus on one's own ethnic community:

203 W2 Chinese female

/ And why do you think your ethnic group and being Scottish are more important this year than they were last year?

P I have shared a lot more, grown up, and I see things differently now I realise I should be proud of my ethnic group and I should be proud of being Scottish as well.

/ So would you say that being Chinese is important?

P Yes.

/ When we spoke to you last year, you said it was important as well. Why do you think that is still the same?

P I think I have been brought up to believe that I should be proud of who I am, even if there are some racist people out there that don't want you to be here and stuff, just ignore them.

/ How do you think other people view your ethnic identity?

P I don't know if they really notice. I don't know if it is just at *[name of private school]*, because it is multicultural, a whole load of people from different backgrounds that was all sort of mingled and were all the same.

I Do you think that has changed since last year? Last year I think you told us that generally people thought it was pretty cool, do you still find that?

P Yes, people think it is cool because they learn a lot more about different cultures, rather than just knowing about the British culture, or the Scottish culture or whatever. I know, if I am out with friends, we actually discuss these things, not on a daily basis, but every so often we actually talk about stuff like this because it is quite cool to actually realise that there are some Muslim traditions that are really, really similar to Chinese traditions and we all do the same things basically and have the same beliefs.

The above account highlights ethnic pride in the context of racism and ethnic awareness as a source of both cultural enrichment and interconnectedness without seeking to 'undo' ethnic difference. It is also worth noting the quantitative finding previously reported that Chinese participants were most oriented towards other ethnic groups. In contrast to the above positive experience of exploring both sameness and difference, several Chinese participants reported negative experiences of 'being different'. Participants who hoped to be seen as 'just the same as other people' were affected by acts of discrimination that could often involve more ambiguous expressions of racism such as jokes, avoidance or exclusion – e.g. 'they might view me differently, like not quite talk to me or ask me to go out and stuff' (327 W2 Chinese male). Such acts of discrimination, which might be passed off as 'not quite racism', may be more difficult to challenge and may consequently have a greater effect on a person's sense of self, as is suggested by the following extract:

327 W1 Chinese male

I Do you think other people have got an impression about your ethnic identity?

P Yes.

I Do you think it is positive or negative, or do you think it differs?

> *P* I think some of it is negative.
>
> *I* In what way is it negative?
>
> *P* Just kind of … just … well it is not quite racism, but …
>
> *I* Do you think you have problems here?
>
> *P* I don't think anything positive has come out of it.

'Other' and 'mixed' participants

Because of the small number of participants in the groups 'other' (W1: $n = 7$, W2: $n = 6$) and 'mixed' (W1: $n = 4$, W2: $n = 2$), and their very diverse backgrounds (Arabic, Bangladeshi, Korean, Malaysian and Burmese), it was difficult to draw conclusions about their experiences of ethnicity as a group. Participants from ethnic groups other than the main ethnic groups represented in Glasgow on the whole reported a strong sense of connection with their country of origin. Mixed ethnicity participants, on the other hand, tended to associate themselves more closely with the white majority group, which was also reflected in their ratings of ethnic and religious identity.

Scottish identity

The present study also aimed to explore:

1   whether participants considered themselves to be Scottish regardless of their ethnic background

2   how important this identity was to the participants' sense of self.

As reported at the beginning of this chapter, minority ethnic and particularly Pakistani participants attributed significantly more importance to being British than white participants at Time 1. A comparison of the mean ratings of the importance of the identities Scottish, British and European revealed no further statistically significant differences between the ethnic groups. As previously reported, a significant increase in importance of the Scottish identity was found among male participants in all groups. At Time 2, Scottish identity was accorded moderate levels of importance by all ethnic groups. Interestingly, different patterns of gender differences emerged among the various ethnic groups (see Figure 9).

Figure 9 Rated importance of Scottish identity by gender and ethnicity
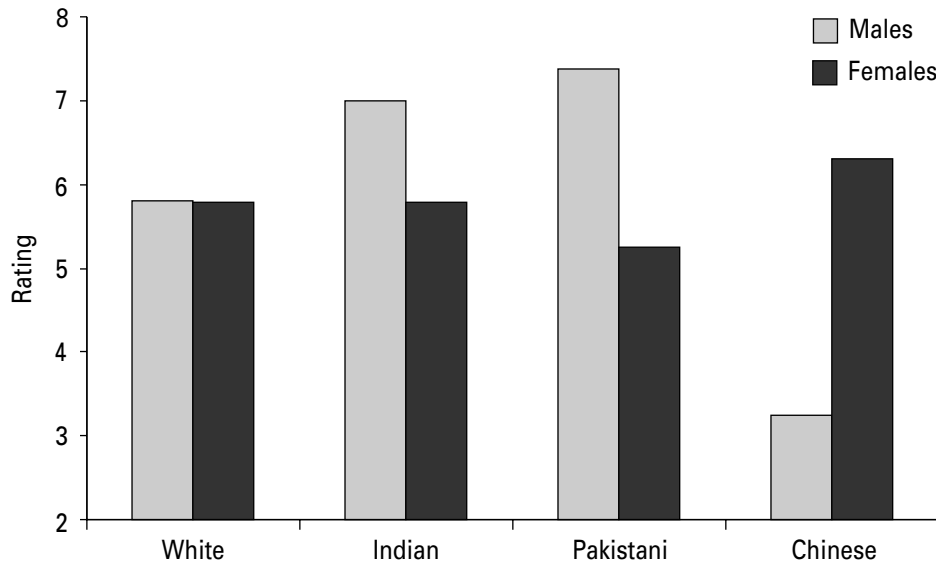
Note: importance was rated on a scale from 1 (not at all important) to 10 (very important).

For the Indian and Pakistani groups, boys rated the Scottish identity higher in importance than girls. Chinese girls rated the identity as more important than Chinese boys did. There was no significant gender difference among white participants. Caution is necessary when interpreting these gender differences because of small numbers in some of the subgroups. One further finding was that identification with being Scottish was associated with higher levels of personal self-esteem among minority ethnic participants, particularly Pakistani and Chinese young people.

Qualitative analysis of participants' perceptions of 'being Scottish' supported the overall quantitative findings outlined above. Over 80 per cent of all participants at Time 2 stated that they considered themselves to be Scottish. Participants' responses to the question 'Why do you consider yourself to be Scottish?' were coded into the following categories:

1 place of origin (e.g. 'it's where I've been born and brought up', 'I've stayed all my life in Scotland')

2 family origin (e.g. 'my parents are Scottish')

3 accent

4 intergroup comparison and competition ('just being different from other people on the British Isles', 'when you go on holiday and stuff it makes you feel Scottish',

'being Scottish is better than being English', 'English people abroad have got a worse reputation')

5   social interaction ('I have got a lot of Scottish friends', 'it's where all my friends are from')

6   cultural knowledge (e.g. ' like the culture and everything, I mean, this is what I know best')

7   cultural participation (e.g. 'different way of doing things', 'I act more Scottish than Indian')

8   self-identification ('it's part of me', 'it makes me who I am').

Of these categories, reasons relating to 'place of origin' and 'intergroup comparison/ competition' were used most frequently by all participants, irrespective of ethnic group (see Table 8). In addition, white participants also used family origin as a reason for feeling Scottish (and were the only group to do so), but made relatively infrequent use of any of the other categories. The reflections of minority ethnic participants on 'feeling Scottish' were, on the whole, more multifaceted.

Pakistani participants, in particular, frequently reported that it was their accent that identified them as Scottish, and they liked the fact that they were able to speak English in a Scottish accent, as illustrated in the following extract:

Table 8 Use of different categories of reason for feeling Scottish by ethnicity (Wave 2)

Category	White % (*n* = 47)		Pakistani % (*n* = 28)		Indian % (*n* = 11)		Chinese % (*n* = 6)	
Place of origin	66	(31)	68	(19)	82	(9)	100	(6)
Family origin	11	(5)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Accent	6	(3)	21	(6)	9	(1)	0	(0)
Intergroup comparison	43	(20)	36	(10)	27	(3)	0	(0)
Social interaction	2	(1)	14	(4)	27	(3)	50	(3)
Cultural knowledge	4	(2)	7	(2)	9	(1)	33	(2)
Cultural participation	6	(3)	11	(3)	18	(2)	17	(1)
Self-identification	2	(1)	11	(3)	0	(0)	0	(0)
'Don't know' responses	6	(3)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)

296 W2 Pakistani female

/ Can I ask you about being Scottish, how do you feel about being Scottish?

P I love being Scottish.

/ You love being Scottish?

P I love the accent. I think it actually sounds really rough and you scare people off *[laughs] [inaudible]* I absolutely love it.

For minority ethnic participants, 'feeling Scottish' was, moreover, about cultural knowledge, participation in shared practices that are different from those of other cultures and a connection to people of Scottish origin. White participants' narrow focus on family and place of origin as the main markers of Scottishness may suggest that these participants were less inclined to reflect on their Scottish identity, as it was a taken-for-granted identity. For them, 'being Scottish' was defined primarily in contrast to and in competition with the English, who were perceived to view the Scots as inferior. This narrow definition of their cultural identity, together with a lack of awareness of their status of being white may indeed explain why the white participants reported only few connections to minority ethnic peers and were less likely to orient to other ethnic groups.

Minority ethnic participants, in contrast, had not only to defend their ethnic identity in a context of perceived racial discrimination but also to redefine what it means to be Scottish in a multi-ethnic context. While other people might not readily acknowledge their Scottish identity, many minority ethnic participants understood their identity in terms of duality and diversity, as illustrated in the two extracts below:

485 W2 Indian female

/ How about being Scottish then, because you said that is not so important?

P It is important, it is just that when people look at me it is like … it is not the first thing that would stick out, that I am Scottish. The first thing that would stick out is that I am Asian, because of my colour, but, yes, I mean I am proud to be Scottish, definitely. I have been brought up very westernised, yet I have been brought up very traditional as well.

> *I* So you have two identities?
>
> *P* Yes, there are two identities, yes. But I am more involved with the other identity, so that is why I said that was more important.

338 W2 Pakistani male

> *I* Why do you think you feel Scottish?
>
> *P* I'm not patriotic but I was born here and brought up here, it's part of my life. I suppose the diversity of it all, my friends and my family and all that, my influences and my environment and that, it makes me who I am and a lot of people see me as Scottish Pakistani as well, so I suppose yes it does give me that extra mark I suppose.

Both of the participants cited above define themselves in terms of a duality of two cultures, two cultures that exist in parallel rather than being mutually exclusive. This duality is perhaps best described as acculturation in psychological research on immigration and tends to be associated with better outcomes than other strategies, such as assimilation (identifying with majority culture only) or separation (identifying with minority culture only; see Berry, 2001).

These findings in relation to Scottish identity find parallels with other work, which suggests that ethnic minorities in Scotland do identify with being Scottish, using markers of identity such as place of birth, place of residence, accent, upbringing and education (Hopkins, 2004). Markers such as physical appearance and experience of discrimination, as well as alternative forms of belonging, result in hybrid identities such as 'Scottish Muslim' or 'Scottish Pakistani' (Saeed *et al.*, 1999).

Adulthood

The final set of questions relating to identity and transition in the Wave 2 interviews focused on 'adulthood'. The aim was:

1   to elicit participants' definitions of what it means to be an adult

2   to explore whether participants felt that their identity as a young person had changed over the past year

3   their own and others' perceptions of themselves as adults.

The key theme in participants' definitions of 'being an adult' was responsibility. For participants from all the ethnic groups, 'responsibility' could refer to taking responsibility for one's actions, being responsible for others, or financial responsibilities. Two others themes, which featured within all groups, were 'independence' and 'freedom'. 'Independence' was most frequently referred to in connection with being able to look after oneself, the ability to make one's own decisions and having one's own views, for example:

299 W2 Pakistani male

I   Okay, can you tell me what being an adult means to you?

P Well being responsible, managing your stuff, managing your time and money, taking care of yourself, others and your household.

'Freedom' was associated with being able to make your own choices about the future, but also with having more freedom to do things without having to ask for permission, i.e. having more privileges. The themes of 'freedom', 'responsibility' and 'independence' were often combined in the participants' definitions of adulthood, as the following extracts illustrate:

11 W2 white female

I   Okay, so what does being an adult mean to you?

P Well, having a bit more freedom to make your own choices and to do what you want, and that is why I am a bit … that I can't vote. I don't know, having freedom, doing what you want, taking a bit more responsibility for yourself, learning to find your own way I think and sort of becoming a bit more independent, taking care of yourself.

4 W2 Pakistani female

I   Okay, what does being an adult mean to you?

P More responsibilities, more independent, and allowed to do things that before would have been illegal if I wasn't classed as an adult.

Also mentioned were characteristics relating to increased respect from others and an increase in one's knowledge and wisdom, for example, being able to solve problems and to cope with difficult situations. At least in terms of spontaneously generated

associations, there appeared to be no differences between the ethnic and gender groups in the way they envisaged the demands of adulthood.

When judging whether they considered themselves to be adults or whether others (i.e. family, friends, community and society) recognised them as such, participants most frequently used the following criteria:

1   the level of general maturity, independence and responsibility

2   having left school

3   being 18 years of age.

While all participants reported that they had been maturing over the past year, not all considered themselves to be adults and, for many, 'being an adult' was still very much context contingent. For example, few considered themselves to be adults in the company of friends, yet most thought that society would recognise them as adults once they had turned 18. Alternatively, making decisions about the future could mean that they were taking up responsibility and were therefore adults, while lacking financial independence at the same time could mean that they were not adults.

Remaining at school was strongly associated with not yet being an adult, particularly because they would still be treated or perceived as 'school kids' by others, for example:

485 W2 Indian female

I   Do you consider yourself to be an adult now?

P   Yes.

I   Yes? How did that change? Like when did you think of yourself as an adult?

P   I think after school you feel more responsible, like it is a totally different environment at university. It really does help you to grow and I think that is probably why I feel more adult, after school definitely, yes.

Indian and Pakistani participants constituted the two groups with the highest percentage of participants still at school at Time 2. Of the 14 Indian participants who participated at Time 2, half did not consider themselves to be an adult yet and all of these seven participants were still at school. Of the eight Chinese participants in Wave 2, six (75 per cent) stated that they were not quite an adult yet, of which five still attended school. This compares to 31 per cent of white participants and only 15 per cent of Pakistani participants who stated that they were not or not quite an adult yet.

Those participants who had moved out of the parental home viewed 'moving out' as the most significant marker of their transition to adulthood. However, experiences of other participants demonstrated that it was not always necessary to leave the parental home in order to attain what participants viewed as the most central characteristics of adulthood, i.e. responsibility and independence, as illustrated by the following example:

70 W2 Pakistani female

I   Do you think you have noticed any change in your relationship with your family?

P   Yes, I am a wee bit more independent. Everything at uni, I pay everything myself, I have never asked them for money this past year. I don't ask for anything at all because I get a loan, which is sufficient. So I have become a lot more independent, so, when they tell me to do something, it feels a bit weird sometimes.

Despite the fact that participants had rather high expectations of themselves with regard to being independent and responsible, the majority of them were happy with their progression into adulthood. None of the participants felt that they were burdened with responsibilities they were not ready for, or that the way others perceived or treated them was holding them back in the transition process.

Summary

Participants across all ethnic groups experienced an increase in the importance of peer-oriented identities, such as sibling and friend, from Wave 1 to Wave 2. Although they were broadly similar in terms of the identities they considered most important overall, minority ethnic and white participants showed striking differences in relation

to religious and ethnic identities. For minority ethnic participants, religion and ethnicity were much more important than for their white peers. Indian and Pakistani participants, in particular, considered religion to be very closely tied to ethnicity and, for many, religion was more important than ethnicity. Indian participants reported fewer experiences of prejudice and discrimination and most positive perceptions of how others viewed their ethnic group than their Pakistani peers. Chinese participants strongly identified with ethnic and, to a lesser extent, with religious identities. Interestingly, despite experiences of racism, this group had the most positive attitudes towards ethnic groups other than their own. Scottish identity was claimed and accorded high importance by minority ethnic participants, in some cases more than by their white peers. Furthermore, identification with being Scottish was associated with higher levels of self-esteem among minority ethnic young people, particularly Pakistani and Chinese participants. Minority ethnic participants tended to use a broader definition of this identity than their white peers – one that included markers such as accent, cultural knowledge and a connection to people of Scottish origin. While other people may not readily acknowledge their Scottish identity, many minority ethnic participants appear to negotiate a duality of cultures, resulting sometimes in hybrid identities such as 'Scottish Asian' or 'Scottish Muslim'.

7 Conclusions

This report documented the findings of a study examining the experiences of minority ethnic and white young people in Scotland as they made the transition from secondary school. Interviews and questionnaires examined the impact of this important transition on a number of psychosocial domains including education, home and family, social networks and leisure, identity, ethnicity and religion. This final chapter will consider the implications of some of our findings. It is acknowledged that our sample of minority ethnic young people came primarily from managerial and professional backgrounds but, unlike previous research, our study allows us to consider issues that relate primarily to differences of ethnicity and culture rather than to differences of socio-economic status.

Preparation for leaving school

Family and community expectations featured more in the decisions of minority ethnic young people as they considered which courses to take after they left secondary school. It is important for secondary schools to understand the context in which decision making is taking place when they provide careers guidance to minority ethnic young people. It might also be worthwhile to involve parents in the careers guidance process so that they, as well as their children, are aware of the range of choices available. Inviting back minority ethnic young people who have left school to speak to fourth- and fifth-year pupils might also help to provide a wider range of role models, as well as more personalised information about the choices of course and occupation they have made. It is also clear that young people are considering not only academic and occupational issues in their decision making. Careers guidance should also address the concerns that young people have about leaving home. Pakistani young people, in particular, had concerns about absence of family support and distraction from education goals and/or religious commitments. Chinese participants had doubts about whether they were sufficiently independent to leave the parental home. Information and advice might help to allay these concerns, particularly when options are severely constrained by a decision not to leave home.

Support at college and university

It is clear that further and higher education institutions are not doing enough to support minority ethnic young people, particularly those who are living away from home. One concern expressed by Pakistani young people, for example, related to religious commitments. Creating time and space for young people to observe their religious duties as well as publicising days of religious significance for all faiths should also be a priority for all institutions. In addition, it is perceived that students' social spaces within colleges and universities are dominated by bars and alcohol consumption. More alternative spaces should be provided that enable students to socialise without feeling pressure to consume alcohol. Peer support or mentoring schemes, which exist at some universities, might also help to provide more informal support and advice to incoming students. This support should also recognise that, for some minority ethnic young people, religion has become more important than ethnicity in a post 9/11 world, which increasingly polarises identity in terms of 'Christian' versus 'Muslim'.

Inter-ethnic contact at college and university

One perhaps surprising finding was that colleges and universities, instead of promoting increased inter-ethnic mixing, were reinforcing divisions between students from different ethnic groups. For a number of participants, inter-ethnic mixing was more common at secondary school than at college or university. Anti-racism initiatives tend to focus on primary and secondary schools; however, our study suggests that these should be extended to further and higher education. While more research is needed to investigate the structural and psychological factors that contribute to a lack of ethnic mixing in further or higher education, some additional comment is merited. As mentioned in the previous section, colleges and universities need to dedicate social spaces to activities other than alcohol consumption. The drinking, pub and club culture that is often seen as an important aspect of university or college life can work to exclude minority ethnic young people. It cannot be assumed that increased inter-ethnic contact will automatically lead to reduction of prejudice and friendship formation. Social-psychological theories have shown that the nature of this contact is important. More specifically, the contact must be equal status, of sufficient duration and frequency, and of a sort that leads to a perception of common interests (Allport, 1954; Cook, 1978). It is important that colleges and universities scrutinise both their academic and social provision to maximise the extent to which these conditions are met. Furthermore, they need to be sensitive to differences between and within minority ethnic groups. Pakistani participants, for

example, reported different concerns from Chinese participants. Our data also suggested heterogeneity within communities, such as individual differences in religiosity and gender differences in experiences of discrimination.

Promoting an inclusive Scottish identity

One striking finding was that the minority ethnic young people in our sample identified as strongly with being Scottish as their majority ethnic peers. It was also clear, however, that they worked harder at defining themselves as Scottish, often in a context of prejudice and discrimination. A strong Scottish identity was linked to higher levels of psychological well-being for minority ethnic participants and so we argue that promoting an inclusive Scottish identity has positive implications at an individual as well as at a group level. It is noteworthy that white young people used a more narrow definition of Scottishness, one that could exclude many minority ethnic Scots. Thus, government agencies cannot be complacent about the need to promote an inclusive Scottish identity. One possible way of achieving this is through the use of dual ethnicity labels, which was evident in this study and has been found in other studies (Saeed *et al.*, 1999; Hopkins, 2004). These labels simultaneously strengthen links to the majority culture and to the individual's ethnic group. Government agencies could provide ethnic classifications that allow minority ethnic respondents to express their Scottishness if they so desired. A recent report evaluating the ethnic categories used in the 2001 Census made a similar point (Scottish Executive, 2005). A plan that is likely to have a more immediate impact is to change the way in which Scottish people are portrayed in the media and in society more generally. Having, for example, more Asian newscasters on BBC Scotland, more Asian performers on Scottish stages, more Asian MSPs would undoubtedly help to challenge the view that being Scottish is being white.

Notes

Chapter 2

1   We acknowledge that use of ethnic labels is problematic, but, to ensure consistency across the report, we have used the minority ethnic categories from the 2001 Census in Scotland.

2   In cases of more than one parent/guardian's occupation, the highest rating occupation was used.

Chapter 4

1   In both cases, the participant was of East Asian origin (Hong Kong and Korea) and in Scotland for the purpose of education.

Chapter 5

1   It should be noted, however, that participant numbers in the Chinese group were low.

2   Only 122 participants responded to questions about part-time work.

Chapter 6

1   Participants rated the importance of each identity on a scale from 1 to 10, 1 = 'of little importance' and 10 = 'of great importance'.

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