BEING AND BELONGING IN SCOTLAND: EXPLORING THE INTERSECTION OF ETHNICITY, GENDER AND NATIONAL IDENTITY AMONG SCOTTISH PAKISTANI GROUPS

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INTRODUCTION

Through an analysis of the views and attitudes of a small sample of the largest minority ethnic group in Scotland, I seek to examine two key issues in relation to recent research on ethnicity, national identity and belonging in Scottish social and political studies (McCrone and Kiely 2000; Bond and Rosie 2002; McCrone 2002; Bond 2006; Miller and Hussain 2006; McCrone and Bechhofer 2010). Firstly, I analyse how Scottish Pakistani groups name and claim their hyphenated identities as a practice of asserting their belonging in Scotland – in spite of systematic institutionalised racism and exclusion. In particular, I demonstrate how Scottish Pakistani groups appear to occupy the identity of 'Scottish' on fairly unproblematic terms. That Scottish Pakistani groups are able to claim a hyphenated identity that incorporates Scottishness

seems to signal an important process taking place within a Scottish nationalist discourse whereby nationalist political elites have been able to advance an inclusive identity of Scottishness and this has created space for some minority ethnic groups to name and claim this identity and thus enhance their sense of belonging in this country. Secondly, I pivot from discussions about ethnicity and national identity to consider the gendered implications of belonging in Scotland. By analysing the gendered inequalities of autonomy embedded in some Scottish Pakistanis' hyphenated identities, I argue that whilst a particular form of inclusive Scottish national identity creates spaces for minority ethnic groups to adopt Scottishness as part of their identities, patriarchical gender relations are left unchallenged thus limiting the autonomy of Scottish Pakistani women to create different types of identities that might subvert the essentialised gender inequalities they encounter. To identify and challenge hierarchical power relations embedded in identity, I argue that an intersectional approach which analyses the relationships between ethnicity, national identity *and gender* (alongside other identities such as race, class, disability and sexuality) must be enacted in order to obtain a more complete picture of what being, belonging and inclusion might mean for different groups in Scotland and beyond (Crenshaw 1991; Hill Collins 2000; Hancock 2007; Bassel and Emejulu 2010; Yuval-Davis 2012; Cho, Crenshaw and McCall 2013).

I will begin this article by discussing the distinctive practice of nationalist politics in Scotland that appears to allow for different forms of hyphenated identities among various minority ethnic groups. Drawing on twenty-three in-depth interviews with Scottish Pakistani women and men, I will then move on to analyse how research participants understand and construct their identities – discuss the gendered inequalities in autonomy that these identities signify, generate and re-enforce. I will conclude with a short discussion about the need for greater intersectional analyses of national identities in order to capture the multi-dimensional nature of what belonging and inclusion might mean for different social groups based on their race, class, gender and ethnicity.

Before I begin my analysis, I will briefly outline the methodology and methods of this research.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This article focuses on one aspect of a wider pilot project seeking to investigate how gender and ethnicity are constructed in Scottish urban contexts and what impact these constructions have on the capabilities (or freedoms) for minority

ethnic women to live the types of lives that they have reason to value (Sen 1999; Robeyns 2003). The study focused on Scottish Pakistani groups for a number of reasons. They are the largest settled minority ethnic population in the country, they are organised and incorporated in key political institutions at the local and national levels and they appear to be creatively reshaping their identities drawing on ethnic and religious resources to destabilise what it means to be 'Scottish' and 'Pakistani' (Hussain and Miller 2006).

From October 2009 to April 2010, twenty-three individuals living in Glasgow and Edinburgh – the two Scottish cities with the largest minority ethnic populations – were recruited to take part in one-hour semi-structured interviews. The selection criteria for participants were that they were either young people aged 16 to 25 or working-aged adults aged 35 to 59; and they were born in Pakistan and migrated to Scotland or that they were born and raised in Scotland and had Pakistani origins. In total, 9 men and 14 women were interviewed. Older Scottish Pakistani men are under-represented in this study and,as typical with other research seeking older men's participation, this age group is under-represented because of constraints on their time due to long working hours (Hopkins 2002). Research participants were recruited using a snowball sampling technique: community groups, faith organisations, colleges and universities were approached for likely participants. Then, from these initial contacts, connections were made with individuals' networks of friends, classmates, neighbours and work colleagues. All the interviews focused on two key themes: how participants thought about their identities in relation to Scotland and Scottishness and whether they believed their ethnicity and/or gender meaningfully influenced their autonomy – their ability to do what they wanted and to be what they wanted at present and in the future (Sen 1999; Robeyns 2003).

This project applied a feminist post-structuralist methodological framework (Mouffe 1992; Hekman 1995; Emejulu 2011). In other words, this project is about trying to understand the participants' identities as situated and context dependent and to resist fixed and essentialised notions of the self and the other – especially in relation to the state, national identity, ethnicity and gender. For me, as an African-American anti-racist feminist, it was important to create a space for Scottish Pakistani women and men to discuss their experiences of exclusion and belonging and to analyse the broader social justice implications of these responses. I find this especially important since studies on minority ethnic group's views and experiences are still under-represented in Scottish social and political studies (notable exceptions include: Hopkins 2002; Hussain

and Miller 2006; Saeed, Blaine and Forbes 2008; Kidd and Jamieson 2011). Engaging in dialogue with participants was supported by the 'outsider' status of the interviewers. Both research assistants were young, white and English – these characteristics seem to have helped the credibility of the research since participants were confident that their responses would remain confidential. Of course, this outsider status can be seen as problematic as no interviews took place with participants who only spoke Urdu or Punjabi and this may have led to selection bias thus skewing some of the findings of this research. Nevertheless, in recruitment and in analysis, I have attempted to try to bring subtlety to my understandings of the everyday lives of participants. The findings of this study should be treated with caution due to the small sample size. However, this research was not conceived or designed for representativeness but as an initial test of ideas about being and belonging in Scotland and thus this project serves as a snapshot and a springboard for further research in this area.

All participants' names have been changed.

SCOTTISHNESS AND SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

Post-structurlist theorists argue that identities are relational; in order to understand one's self, there is a need for an other to define the self against (Derrida 1992; Mouffe 1992; Laclau and Mouffe 2001). To understand who is included, boundaries must be drawn to exclude significant others. However, identities are neither fixed nor stable; thus the negotiation of inclusion and exclusion – the attempt to secure a coherent sense of self – is an on-going process of reinvention and reinterpretation dependent on the relational autonomy of individuals. In Scotland, the process by which boundaries have been drawn in relation to the idea of 'Scottish' and 'Other' have been significant, I argue, in terms of creating spaces for new types of minority ethnic identities to be formed in three interconnected ways. Firstly, because a national(ist) mythology constructs the Scots as an oppressed group denied self-determination and self-rule because of English imperialism, this creates an important oppositional relationship between the idea of 'Scottishness' and 'Englishness'. England and Englishness becomes a repository of various negative aspects of culture, politics and society in Scotland. By constructing the English in this way, the idea of Scottishness is secured by being constituted as the opposite and superior form of identity:

> [It is assumed that] the Scots, unlike the English, were an inherently
> tolerant people. … Many Scots believed that their own tolerance of
> minority groups was a product of experiences of national oppression at the
> hands of the English. The general tendency for Scots to define themselves
> in contradistinction to the English meant that there was little need to
> deploy racialised minorities in this way (Penrose and Howard 2008: 96).

Thus part of the constitutive nature of Scottishness appears to be an idea of
empathy for oppressed groups because of the national mythology of English
domination[1].

Secondly, because the English occupy the *primary* space of Other where
minority ethnic groups typically reside, this means that Scottish identity does
not appear to be principally constructed on racialised terms (Miles and Dunlop
1987; Hussain and Miller 2006). This is an important difference in terms of
understanding the emergence of hyphenated identities among minority ethnic
groups in Scotland. Scottishness appears to be more available as an identity to
minority ethnic groups and this is in stark contrast to the experiences in
England and the constructions of Englishness (Gilroy 1987; Madood et al
1997; Mac an Ghail 1999). As McCrone (2002, pp. 305-11) states:

> The term 'English' is reserved largely for white 'natives'; [it is] almost an
> 'ethnic' identity that the non-white population in England feels excluded or
> excludes itself from … Ethnic minorities in Scotland seem to have a
> greater propensity to use the descriptor 'Scot' somewhere in the identity
> equation than one finds in England.

That the English are the significant other deployed to secure a Scottish sense of
self does not necessarily mean, however, that the practice of Scottishness has
an inherent and essential quality of inclusiveness for minority ethnic groups. As
McCrone and Bechhofer (2010, pp. 938-9) argue in their analysis of popular
understandings of national identity, 'Scotland and England are very similar in
the way in which respondents accept and reject hypothetical claims [for
belonging to and inclusion in a national identity], be they by white or non-
white persons'. In other words, the majority of white English and Scots are just

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[1] *It is also interesting to note that Scotland's imperial legacy has not
generated similar subordinate identities for minority ethnic groups as has
been well documented in England (for example see: Gilroy 1987; McCrone
2006).*

as likely to reject national identity claims by an individual who is non-white. What is important to note here is that it is not that Scottishness has an exceptional characteristic of openness but that minority groups are not the principal repository for exclusion in order to stabilise a Scottish self. This practice of othering the English, I argue, creates an important space and opportunity for the claims-making of minority groups in relation to Scottish national identity.

Finally, Scottish nationalism as a political project is not typically practised on nativist terms. Indeed, the dominant form of Scottish nationalism as evidenced in the Scottish National Party has deliberately pursued an inclusive form of national identity that is not solely tied to blood and birth but a commitment to Scottish self-determination and independence. Under its National Outcomes on national identity, the SNP Government (Scottish Government 2011) states:

> Scotland's national and cultural identity is defined by our sense of place, our sense of history and our sense of self. … A good quality of life and a strong, fair and inclusive national identity are important if Scotland is to prosper. … Government has a key part to play in building pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity. Our role includes … raising awareness of social issues through public campaigns, and to work to achieve equality of opportunity for Scotland's various communities and faith groups to share equitably in Scotland's success.

That a 'fair and inclusive national identity' appears to be linked to equal opportunities for all groups regardless of race, ethnicity or religion is an important political practice that the SNP employs to create space and opportunities for minority ethnic groups to (at least partially) occupy a Scottish identity. Crucially, it should also be noted that the first minority ethnic Member of Scottish Parliament (MSP) was elected from the SNP rather than Labour or the Liberal Democrats – two parties in Scotland that have diligently courted the votes of various minority ethnic groups. Thus elite political discourse about national identity does not seek to exclude non-white groups from the conception and practice of Scottishness. This is very important and re-enforces the argument about the role of significant others. That the English are the primary Other that secures a stable sense of Scottishness combined with a deliberate project by political elites to construct national identity as inclusive creates an important space for minority ethnic groups to claim both identity and belonging in Scotland.

Although Scottish nationalism is practised on non-xenophobic terms in formal politics, this does not necessarily suggest that Scottish nationalism, in itself, is unproblematic for minority ethnic groups. As McCrone and Bechhofer (2008, p. 172) note, because Scotland has not experienced a large wave of migration and settlement of non-white groups, racist and xenophobic debates about identity and citizenship are not 'politically active categories' for popular debate at this moment in time. Because elite discourse is dominated by an inclusive national identity, a political entrepreneur has, as yet, been unsuccessful in translating a more exclusive and xenophobic form of nationalism into electoral success. Thus in Scotland it is possible to plausibly argue that everyday racism and discrimination exists but that this operates in a context where this racism is not typically sustained through exclusive and xenophobic identity claims-making.

Practising an inclusive form of national identity in Scotland is further reinforced when we turn to explore the decentralisation of decision-making and legislative powers from Westminster to the Scottish Parliament. In this process we can see how the identity of Scottishness, orientated towards equality and inclusion, has been imprinted on key institutions.

When devolution was realised in Scotland in 1999, egalitarianism and equal opportunities were part of the founding principles of its new institutions such as the Scottish Parliament and the then Scottish Executive (Arshad 2002; Breitenbach 2006). These principles are put into practice through key legislative and oversight machinery such as the Parliament's Equal Opportunities Committee which has a remit for considering and reporting on the 'prevention, elimination or regulation of discrimination between persons' (Scottish Parliament 2010) whilst the Equality Unit, located within the Scottish Government, is responsible for monitoring and addressing equal opportunities in relation to race, ethnicity, gender, social class, disability, sexual orientation and religion.

Various 'equalities' groups have benefited from this social justice orientation of Scottish political institutions. Some women saw real gains in their representation in the Scottish Parliament with more than one-third of female Members of Scottish Parliament elected in the first session of Parliament in 1999 (although it should be noted that Scotland has yet to return a minority ethnic female MSP) (Mackay 2010). For feminist campaigners seeking to engender the policy-making process, their most high profile success has been the process of criminalising domestic violence and creating support structures for women experiencing violence in the home (for a detailed discussion of this

see: Breitenbach 2006; Mackay 2010). Legislating against domestic violence has been seen as a best practice model of bringing together an effective partnership of campaigners, politicians and criminal justice experts to craft innovative policies that have a real impact on the everyday lives of women.

Although minority ethnic men and women have not enjoyed similar levels of representation as white women in Parliament, anti-racist activists, however, did see lobbying success with the implementation of the **One Scotland, Many Cultures** media and educational campaign to positively promote multiculturalism in Scotland. This is a campaign begun by the Labour-Liberal-Democrat Coalition government and continues in a similar guise under the current SNP government (for a detailed discussion of this see Penrose and Howard 2008). Spurred on by a growing incidence of racist murders and the rising tensions in local areas due to the first dispersals of asylum seekers to Glasgow since the late 1990s, 'the core of the campaign seeks to challenge racist attitudes and behaviour – as well as the language that is used to transmit them' (ibid, p.100). The innovative nature of this campaign has been the focus on changing institutional and everyday discriminary behaviour as well as seeking to destabilise Scottish identity by defining it as open and inclusive of newcomers. I will return to the practice of identity politics in Scotland later in this article as this 'twin-track' approach to campaigning for gender and racial justice has important implications for the recognition of intersectional identities and interests among minority groups.

Thus in the context of this encouraging institutional space where Scottish national identity appears to be open and inclusive of non-white groups and where the machinery of the state seems orientated towards equality of opportunity for all, I will now turn to situate Scottish Pakistani identity and autonomy into this space.

THE AVAILABLE IDENTITY OF SCOTTISHNESS

When exploring with research participants the ways in which they thought about themselves in relation to Scotland and their minority status, few of the participants appeared to experience a tension or contradiction with the formation of their self-selected hyphenated identity of 'Scottish Pakistani' (or in a small number of cases 'Scottish Muslim'). None of the participants, regardless of gender, age or origin, discussed a problem with claiming their Scottishness – in spite their self-reported experiences of everyday and institutionalised racism and discrimination.

For example, here is Shenaz, a teacher aged 40, born and raised in Edinburgh, discussing her hyphenated identity:

> It's always been absolutely a positive experience to my life being Pakistani and Scottish. … I've got the respect of my own culture while taking the best of the Scottish one as well.

This is Faisal, a university student aged 19 also born and raised in Edinburgh, seemingly negotiating his hyphenated identity in an unproblematic way:

> I consider myself to be fully Scottish and fully Pakistani at the same time. … I am happy in both kind of cultures. I suppose that could be seen as an advantage. I am free to choose the best of both things and neglect the worst. … I don't see it as a clash at any time; I am just happy being both.

Saleem, another student also aged 19 and also born and raised in Edinburgh, constructs his sense of self like this: 'You see, I see myself as a normal Scottish person who's got Pakistani roots – that's about it.' Finally, Rashid, aged 37 who is unemployed and who was born in Pakistan and migrated to Scotland in his early 20s, talks about his identity in this way:

> I'm happy to be called Scottish because I live here – this country has given me a lot of things. … My kids are Scottish, my wife is Scottish and, of course, if this country needs anything, I am happy to give it away.

From the above quotes we can see how a possibility exists for some individuals to incorporate Scottishness into their particular minority ethnic identity. As I have discussed, this appears to be an important difference to minority ethnic groups south of the border who may not be as able to easily occupy an English identity (Gilroy 1987; Madood et al 1997). This finding corresponds with the work of Hussain and Miller (2006: 154-59) who argue that because Scottish Pakistanis' primary identity is cultural, this facilitates their adoption of Scottishness into their ethnic identity. The ability for minority ethnic groups to adopt Scottishness as a part of their identity can plausibly be at least partially attributed to a particular practice of Scottish nationalist politics that does not sustain itself based on othering non-white groups. This backdrop for the practice of politics combined with an institutional equality of opportunity policy agenda in the devolved Scottish administration appears to have helped create a cultural and institutional context for the inclusion and acculturation of Scotland's largest minority ethnic group (Arshad 2002; Breitenbach 2006; Penrose and Howard 2008).

What is also interesting to note is that key events like the 11th September 2001 attacks in New York City and Washington, DC, the 7th July 2005 London transport bombings, the 30th June 2008 Glasgow Airport terrorist attack or the persistent levels of Islamophobia in Scots' attitudes as tracked in the 2010 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, do not seem to have alienated the research participants from adopting Scottishness as part of their identity. It is not clear, however, if this is due to selection bias in this research or because the moral panic about 'radicalised Muslims' has subsided over the last few years in Scotland.

For a minority of participants, they did experience a significant alienation from their hyphenated identities. However, it was not that 'Scottishness' posed a problem, but some aspects of their relationship with the Scottish Pakistani communities in Edinburgh and Glasgow appeared to be problematic. For instance, when interviewing Maqbool, a student at college aged 18 born and raised in Glasgow, she had almost a wholly negative opinion about the Pakistani aspects of identity. Because she believed her local 'Asian' community to be small-minded and hypocritical, Maqbool did not want to be closely associated with this aspect of her identity:

> I want to have my own clothing line. That's something an Asian wouldn't do. So I'm doing something different. And obviously if you do something different, Asians will talk about you. … I'm embarrassed to be [an Asian] but the truth is, if that's what Asians are [gossiping busybodies and hypocritical] then I definitely don't want to be that.

In a slightly different vein, Imran, a taxi driver aged 35 and born and raised in Glasgow, did experience a considerable sense of dislocation because he was not sure where he truly belonged – in Scotland or Pakistan:

> I definitely had an identity crisis – that's without a shadow of a doubt. Growing up – where do you belong? There was a point where we were being told we didn't belong here [Scotland] and when you went to Pakistan it was exactly the same – you don't belong here. It was a difficult time for me.

Whilst some positive opportunities for inclusion appear to be available for non-white groups through the available identity of Scottishness, when scrutinised in gendered terms, Scottish national identity appears to generate some problematic outcomes for the women taking part in this study. As feminist political scientists have demonstrated, citizenship and identities in public

spaces are typically masculine constructs that close down the space for other types of interests to be included within it – especially those related to some women's political interests (Mouffe 1992; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1993; Lister 1997). It is to this point of gender and its differential relationship to autonomy that I will now turn to analyse the hyphenated identities the women and men construct for themselves.

MAPPING UNEQUAL AUTONOMY IN SCOTTISH PAKISTANI IDENTITIES

In analysing Scottish Pakistani identities through a gendered lens, there does appear to be important gender inequalities embedded in these hyphenated identities that have important effects on the female participants' autonomy and ability to construct new and different ways of seeing themselves and their futures. What is striking when analysing the interview data of participants is the differing possibilities accorded to women and men based on the constructions of gender roles. Regardless of age, origin or marital status, the majority of the women interviewed discussed the problems they encountered when negotiating their personal aspirations for their futures and the constraints of private obligations of their families and communities due to essentialised ideas about women's 'appropriate' roles and status. The experiences of the Scottish Pakistani women in this study are similar to experiences of other minority and majority ethnic women whereby gender hierarchies constrain women's autonomy (for example see: Grieco and Boyd 1998 and Kofman 1999).

Only one of the men interviewed, however, experienced these types of tensions. Indeed, what is interesting is how few of the male participants mentioned a contradiction between their private and public roles – seemingly because it was not expected that they should play a central role in the private spaces of the home. This does not mean, however, that the men's roles in public spaces are unproblematic and that they do not experience constraints on their autonomy due to discrimination in public spaces. I will now turn to analyse in further detail how these unequal constraints on autonomy (and as a result, constraints on identities) manifest themselves in the everyday life of the male and female participants.

It is important to bear in mind the complex nature of how the women and men perceive and understand their autonomy. In my analysis of interviews, I am trying to avoid a reductive portrayal of how individuals conceive of themselves and what is possible for them. Turning first to the women in this study, they

were very strong minded about what they wanted to achieve in life. However, this sense of assertiveness appeared to be bounded by some restrictive gender roles that limited some women's immediate and future autonomy. All the young women in this study indicated that they had been encouraged and supported to do well at school and that it was expected that they would, after university, go onto a professional career. What was also striking, especially with regards to the young women, was how single-minded they were in terms of what they wanted to achieve in their lives.

However, these women's aspirations for a role in the public spaces of education and the labour market were problematised by a sense of needing to uphold cultural obligations in the private spaces of the home in terms of marriage, care work and moral behaviour. Because the women have to undergo a complicated process of negotiating and reconstructing their gender identity, depending on whether they were positioned in public or private spaces, they appear to be pulled in two directions in terms of their public and private roles and this seems to disrupt a cohesive sense of self. For example, here is Fatima, a university student aged 19 born and raised in Glasgow, discussing this restriction on her behaviour:

> I guess sometimes I want to do something and I'll ask Mum and she's 'no, no – your Dad's going to be like this – he's going to say that', and she says, 'you're my responsibility right now, but when you get married you can do whatever you want'.

Fatima's experience is echoed among several of the young women whereby their autonomy is constrained by a seemingly Pakistani cultural norm of policing women's behaviour in order to protect their morality and reputations. This policing of women's morality is similar to what researchers have found in England (Basit 1997; Dwyer 2002; Archer 2002). It appears from these interviews that these constraints on young women's autonomy seem to negatively affect their future public aspirations for themselves. For instance, Amina, a pupil at an independent school aged 16, born and raised in Glasgow, discusses in fatalistic terms this restriction on her ability to act: 'I do get frustrated with all the rules and all the limitations but that's the way my life is going to be and it's never going to change. So I have to get used to it'. Sonia, a university student aged 20 born and raised in Edinburgh, talks about the tricky process of negotiating cultural norms that structure her role in the private spaces of the home and community and her desire for a life in public space in this way:

> Culture just annoys me sometimes. … It's like the guys are meant to be ones who bring the money in and the women are meant to be sitting cooking at home and it's like that is not at all what I see myself doing. I do not want to be a housewife. … I don't want to be sitting at home all day, I want to go out and be independent, stand on my own two feet and be a working woman.

Arguing a similar point, but struggling to reconcile her public aspirations with her private obligations, Nasreen, aged 17, a student at a Glasgow college, says:

> I want to go against what's typical of a Pakistani woman staying at home, looking after the kids, cooking, cleaning, being a housewife, I suppose, I want to be that in a sense, but I want to earn a living for myself, and I want to do what I'm doing for myself and not for anyone else.

Again, a similar point is voiced by Yasmin, aged 17, another student at a Glasgow College:

> I don't want to end up as housewife at all – I want to have a job – make my own money, really. I want to do something that I enjoy doing – I don't just want to do something because of the money and stuff, but I definitely want a job and a family as well.

Finally, here is Maqbool talking about the consequences of rebelling against these prescribed gender roles:

> I've witnessed so many times, like see Asian girls when they're doing something bad, like you know getting pregnant or they've been out drinking? They get sent to Pakistan. … My parents would never do that to me, but 'cause I know that could happen. … I won't even bother to do anything bad because that's like a consequence, if you get what I mean.

As we can see from the participants' views, it seems that part of being a Scottish Pakistani young woman is experiencing significant gender inequalities in terms of their autonomy. Despite the partial inclusion in society offered by a hyphenated identity and state machinery designed to support equality of opportunity, this does not seem to help these young women to break out of the essentialised gender roles and the reduced autonomy that these roles prescribe. A key marker of their identity, which these women seem to have problems negotiating, is that of restriction and an ongoing conflict about their positioning in public and private spaces.

The working-aged women participating in this study also experienced these cultural constraints on autonomy and the subsequent effects on their identity constructions. Rania, a stay-at-home mother and volunteer at a local community organisation, aged 34, discusses these restrictions on her freedom:

> I think sometimes men have it a bit more easier [sic], because they're not told 'oh boys don't do that'. It's usually girls that are told 'girls don't do that'. So I think sometimes when you're liked pushed in a corner and you're told this what you're supposed to do. … [you ask yourself] 'But why am I expected to do that? Who made up these rules? And why are they in stone, you know?'

This is Uzma, aged 41 and a stay-at-home mother, attempting to reconcile public and private roles of her identity:

> I'm very, very content but there's so much – so many things that I want to do, you know, not to leave my mark, but just to have, to feel proud of something that me, me [Uzma], has done, rather than a Muslim girl or a daughter or a wife. Just me, the person.

The struggle that these women face in trying to negotiate and reconcile a public role with the cultural demands of their private obligations seem to problematise the hyphenated identities that these women occupy. Their Scottish Pakistani identities may provide women a form of masculine multicultural citizenship rights and a sense of belonging in Scottish society but, like other women, this form citizenship appears to do little to address the gendered inequalities they face in everyday life. As Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1993) argue, because women are the repository and guardians of specific cultural practices that cement and stabilise ethnic identities, this constrains women's autonomy and identities. This idea of women burdened with the responsibility of 'culture' appears to be borne out by the findings of this study. The question remains, however, why this gender differential exists when women and men are able to successfully construct hyphenated ethnic identities. The answer appears to be connected to constitution of the identity of 'Scottish Pakistani' that women occupy. Although this hyphenated identity represents a real gain for women by signalling their partial inclusion and acceptance into Scottish society, this inclusion, however, appears to be predicated on gender-neutral terms that disproportionately benefit men by securing individual rights in public spaces and undermine women by not addressing the sorts of issues – like the problem of being cultural guardians or the struggle of balancing public and private roles

– that might benefit and empower the women interviewed in this study. The Scottish Pakistani women in this study appear to be testing the limits of an inclusive and multiculturalist Scottish identity. Although Scottishness offers some opportunities in public spaces, these are not extended into the private spaces of the home and the community where these women could draw on them as a resource to challenge gender norms and experiment with different gendered identities. Indeed, the only woman interviewed who did not seem to experience restrictions on her autonomy was a 'gender role violator' in that she divorced her first husband from an arranged marriage, dated and then married her long-term partner and is currently the breadwinner for her family because her second husband was made redundant due to the 2008 economic downturn. What remains unclear is why Shenaz, who was introduced earlier in this article unproblematically discussing her hyphenated identity, is able to exercise her autonomy in a way that appears to be unavailable to the other women in this study.

Ironically, it seems that because of the focus on multiculturalism by Scottish institutions, some minority ethnic women's interests and claims have been unwittingly de-prioritised or ignored. In order to illustrate this point about the gender bias in the construction of Scottish Pakistani identities, I will now turn to examine how men think about their autonomy and their future aspirations.

Let us first return to Faisal the university student who stated that he was fully Scottish and Pakistani simultaneously:

> I have been quite lucky that whatever I have wanted to do, I have been able to do it so far – nothing has really held me back. But, if you were to maybe speak to a Scottish Pakistani female they might say that some aspects of the Pakistani culture might hold her back from doing the things she would want to do.

This is Malik, aged 54, who was born in Pakistan and migrated to Scotland when he was a teenager:

> I think the best opportunities you can get in the world have been afforded to me, whether that's education, whether it's the opportunity to do business, whatever. I think [Scotland] is the best place in the world in that sense to get the opportunities you want.

Finally, this is Riaz, aged 35 and a small business owner, responding to a question about whether different opportunities were afforded to him in comparison to his sisters:

> There certainly was a huge degree more freedom that we [men] had … from an early age, late nights, going out, friends. … But it wasn't to a level where my sisters would have missed out in much. … They had their education, they had their sort of friends. … They were very much happy within the sort of role that they were within.

In contrast to the women interviewed, the men in this study have experienced a sense of freedom to do as they wished and pursue various opportunities without having to consider either their community reputations or various other private obligations. The differential autonomy of the men in this study is important and it appears to be linked to their identities and their positioning in public space. This is not to suggest, however, that the freedoms accorded to the men in this study are wholly unproblematic.

Unlike other research in this area exploring Pakistani Muslim masculinities, I did not find evidence of the male participants struggling against being constructed as 'militant and aggressive, intrinsically fundamentalist, ultimate Others' (Archer 2001, p. 8). However, I do think the broader context of the war on terror and the preventing violent extremism policy programme pursued by Westminster and Holyrood are an important backdrop to bear in mind when considering how men's identities and autonomy are shaped in public spaces of Scotland (el-Salahi 2010). Indeed as Faisal states, he feels compelled to be a model citizen in public space in order to prove to some white Scots that 'good Muslims' exist. What was evident in my findings is what Dwyer, Shah and Sanghera (2008) describe as 'middle-class masculinity' in which the men articulate high aspirations for themselves in education and employment. From the quotes above, we can see that the men in this study feel included in society but, given the systematic social and economic exclusion that many minority ethnic groups in Scotland experience (Gessesse 2008; Emejulu 2008; Jamieson 2011), we should perhaps understand the men's sense of autonomy and inclusion in a broader context of misrecognition due to the war on terror and institutionalised discrimination.

There was, however, one man who did experience a constraint on his autonomy in the way that most of the women encountered. As Imran, who also experienced a severe identity crisis, notes: '[Scottish Pakistanis] are holding back; something is holding them back from being who they want to be or what

they can be. … [People say] "don't disrespect the house". … It's almost like Catholic guilt.'

I do not wish to minimise Imran's experience; however, it is interesting to note in the indicative quotes above how most of men participating in this research do not appear to recognise any substantive limitations on their autonomy and their future aspirations – they discuss being free to pursue the opportunities available to them. What is also important to highlight are the gaps in the men's answers in terms of their role in private spaces – similar to other minority and majority ethnic men in Scotland. The majority of the male participants did not mention marriage, children and the pressures of balancing a career and family life. This difference in experience among participants is telling. Gender seems to be a crucial factor in determining the autonomy of Scottish Pakistani women and men. Although the hyphenated identity of 'Scottish Pakistani' appears to secure some opportunities in the public sphere and reinforce a sense of belonging to wider Scottish society, it does little to facilitate the autonomy of women in the private sphere to challenge essentialist and unequal gender roles.

GENDERING HYPHENATED IDENTITIES

Based on my analysis of political discourses, state institutions and group identities, it is clear that citizenship and public spaces are predicated on hierarchical power relations and constitute various subjects in intersectional ways derived from race, ethnicity, class, gender, disability, sexuality and age (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Lister 1997; Bassel and Emejulu 2010; Bassel 2010). In Scotland, citizenship appears to be embedded with a masculine bias that does little to address the gendered inequalities women experience in everyday life. Whilst Scottish identity and Scottish public spaces have been seemingly constructed based on the principles of equality of opportunity, inclusivity and fairness, in practice these principles at best do little to address Scottish Pakistani women's interests and at worst restrict women's autonomy.

In order to better understand the problems Scottish Pakistani women experience with regard to their identity and autonomy, I would like to return to two issues I highlighted earlier in this article – the political practices of elite state actors and feminist and anti-racist campaigners, and their respective victories of criminalising domestic violence and the implementation of the **One Scotland, Many Cultures** campaign. I do not wish to understate the importance of these two campaigns; however, in trying to understand why Scottish Pakistani women interviewed in this study are experiencing problems

negotiating their roles in public and private spaces and dealing with constraints on their autonomy, the successes of these political actors signal an important omission in the ways in which these types of campaigns and political practices frame social problems and policy responses. As Squires (2008: 53) argues, in the United Kingdom, feminist institutional actors have historically advanced a race-neutral approach whilst anti-racist institutional actors have usually taken a gender-neutral stance: 'Britain's equality system had been characterised by a twin focus on sex and race that developed in parallel, but pursued distinct agendas and developed separate equalities guarantees'. Only with the introduction of the single equalities body, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in 2007, which replaced the other equality commissions on race, gender and disability, have we seen (some limited) movement to try to incorporate multiple and intersecting identities inequalities in policy development and implementation.

Thus it seems that the experiences and concerns of Scottish Pakistani women have fallen through the cracks of the policy frames of elite political actors. Policy-making at both Holyrood and Westminster has not been particularly proactive in understanding and seeking to resolve intersecting inequalities (Bagihole 2002; Squires 2007; Bassel and Emejulu 2010). Thus Scottish Pakistani women are left in a problematic position of having to choose between aspects of their gender and their ethnicity (not to mention their race, class, disability and sexuality) in order to have some of their interests partially addressed in public space. Based on the interviews for this research, it appears that political actors' one-dimensional approach to naming policy problems and solutions silences some Scottish Pakistani women's multidimensional and intersectional interests with regards to their ability to exercise autonomy in terms of what they wish to do and to be. By advocating in silos of single identity interests, some actors appear to be de-prioritising these social justice claims.

Whilst I do not wish to represent intersectionality as a panacea, this approach does, however, compel actors to think about individuals and groups in complex ways and consider the ways in which solidarity can be built that bridges common problems and spotlights discrete experiences. By 'intersectionality' I mean 'the study of the simultaneous and interacting effects of gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and national origin as categories of difference' (Bassel and Emejulu 2010: 518). Intersectionality as a theoretical perspective and as a framework for policy-making can be a critical resource on which policy-makers and campaigners can draw in order to consider whose problems

and what issues are named, legitimated and prioritised in the policy-making process (Bacchi 1999; Crenshaw 1991; Strovolich 2013).

From this analysis, I do not want to suggest that Scottish Pakistani women are victims or passive objects. These women are active agents placed in a contradictory position between public and private spaces for which they have the burden of attempting to negotiate, challenge and transform. This process of transformation is made more difficult by a lack of voice and representation in the dominant feminist and anti-racist campaigning organisations or substantial formal political representation in Scotland and also a dearth of Scottish Pakistani women-led grassroots organisations that could articulate and advocate on some of the issues raised by this research[2].

CONCLUSIONS

In this article I have attempted to analyse the process by which Scottish Pakistani women and men understand and construct their hyphenated identities and the impact this has on their autonomy. I have tried to demonstrate that a particular form of Scottish nationalism has helped to create the conditions in which minority ethnic groups adopt and enact Scottishness as part of their sense of self. When analysing this hyphenated identity from a gendered perspective, however, it appears that this identity generates differential forms of autonomy for women and men. The majority of women interviewed encountered a problem of negotiating their aspirations for a role in the public spaces of education and the workplace with a cultural obligation for marriage and care work in the private spaces of the home and the community. The majority of men interviewed, in contrast, did not experience this tension between their public and private selves. The reason, I argued, for these gendered inequalities in autonomy was the embedded masculinity in the hyphenated identity of Scottish Pakistani which simultaneously de-emphasised women's interests in public spaces and essentialised women's domestic roles in

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[2] Organisations set up to address minority ethnic women's needs and interests do exist in Scotland, most notably Shakti Women's Aid, Saheylia, Hemat Gryffe Women's Aid and the Muslim Women's Resource Centre. Shakti Women's Aid in particular has been central in the successful campaigning for the criminalisation of forced marriages in Scots Law. This is an important but rare example of some minority ethnic women connecting their experiences in both private and public spaces to advance intersectional social justice claims.

private spaces. In addition I argued that equalities politics in Scotland are typically practised along parallel lines making it difficult to articulate and advocate intersectional identity interests. Scottish Pakistani women are thus left in a contradictory position between a hyphenated identity and a practice of equalities politics that does not seem to facilitate their empowerment or advance some of their particular interests. In order to address these disparities faced by some Scottish Pakistani women, a concerted effort must be made by campaigners and policy-makers to take intersectionality seriously so that institutional spaces can be opened up to complex claims-making by different groups. In addition, more must be done to support the autonomous organising of Scottish Pakistani women so that they can build organisations and coalitions that can help support an intersectional politics of social justice.

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