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**Changed Lives, Flexible Identities and Adaptable
Responses: A Comparative History of post-1950
Scottish Migrants in New Zealand and Hong Kong**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, United Kingdom**

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Abstract

This thesis explores two forms of modern Scottish migration, settler and sojourner migrations. It addresses the differing motives behind the choice of migration and the impact of different host environments on the creation and use of Scottish identity, the deployment of ethno-cultural capital, the use of social networks, Scottish associationalism, nationalism, and the return behaviours of Scottish migrants since 1950. The vehicle for this exploration is a comparison of Scottish migration to New Zealand and Hong Kong, where the former is used as an example of settler migration and the latter of sojourner migration. The study uses in-depth, semi-structured life-story interviews of settler migrants and the descendants of earlier settlers in New Zealand and the sojourners and returned sojourners of Hong Kong. These oral history interviews are supported by surveys of migrants in the host locations and returned sojourners in the UK and further validated against statistical sources.

The thesis argues that migrant identities are individually manufactured, plural and fluid but also subject to change dependent on the demands of environment and the individual's needs as much as any inherent national identity. The comparative nature of the study highlights that migrant responses differ between destinations. Additionally, the comparison addresses the little understood or researched modern Scottish sojourner. The comparison against the better understood settler migrant cohort draws out the differences in motivations, identity constructions and deployment of Scottishness between the migrant groups. Both groups use their Scottish identities with varying intensity. In New Zealand, where Scottish identities are part of the cultural mainstream, and maintained by a multi-generational cohort, promotion is less intense than in Hong Kong. There, the small number of Scottish sojourners actively target and promote a hybrid form of human, cultural and social capital, as both a personal resource and a basis for usable networks. The thesis labels this form of capital as *ethno-cultural capital*, defined as the advantage or disadvantage, which accrues to an individual from belonging to, or being associated with, a particular ethnic group.

The thesis builds on earlier studies and emphasises that the fluidity of identity construction has continued into the twenty-first century. Migration requires of individuals that they constantly reappraise and recalibrate their identities to align themselves to the environments of their destination as well as the homeland upon return, a constant and circular renegotiation of change. The thesis identifies ethno-cultural capital as a hybrid form of capital, suggesting that Scottish migrants tend to be among its more adept promoters. It also proposes explanations as to why Scottish migrants are prepared to invest time and resources in ethno-cultural capital promotion. Reflecting the central themes of change, flexibility and adaptability, the thesis also argues that freed from the rigidity of colonial structures, Scottish associationalism in Hong Kong has broadened its reach and become more responsive to migrant needs. In contrast, New Zealand's traditional Scottish associations have declined and their roles as sites of memory have been replaced by newer associational forms such as family history and genealogy research.

Lay Summary

The Scots have been a migratory people throughout the country's history, peaking in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While the demand for Scottish labour may have diminished in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, skilled and well educated Scottish migrants continue to hold an attraction for countries looking to enhance or supplement their human resources. These migrations may either involve a permanent break with Scotland so as to settle in another country, or may be a temporary sojourn with the intention of returning to Scotland or the UK at the end of the migration period. This study explores these two forms of modern Scottish migration by comparing the challenges posed and responses of migrants in two different destinations: New Zealand and Hong Kong. In the former, the migrants tend to be settlers, who find themselves in a society that has a significant Scottish heritage. In the latter, they are a small group of expatriate sojourners who inhabit the margins of a Chinese society, which is largely alien to them and difficult to integrate within.

Using oral history interviews supported by surveys, the study addresses the differing motives behind migration choices and the impact of different environments on migrants and their creation and use of Scottish identity. It also investigates how migrants portray themselves to their host society through the use of their Scottish identity, their social networks and associations. The study finds that there is no stereotypical Scottish identity common to all migrants. Identities are individually fashioned, drawn from a range of sources and subject to change dependent on the demands of the host environment and the individual's needs rather than any formal national identity. Migrant responses differ between destinations, and are characterised by their individuality and adaptability to different environments, circumstances and challenges. It also argues that Scottish migrants tend to be among the more adept at promoting their ethno-cultural capital, or their perceived benefit, to the host society before finally addressing the challenges that return can pose for the different migrant groups.

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Introduction

Who is he? An exile. Which must not be confused
with, allowed to run into, all the other words that
people throw around: émigré, expatriate, refugee,
immigrant, ... Exile is a dream of a glorious return.
Exile is a vision of revolution: Elba not St Helena. It is
an endless paradox: looking forward by always looking
back.¹

Salman Rushdie

1.1 Introductory Comments

At the core of the migration experience is the constant and individual reappraisal of identity and the choices made. This starts with the appraisal of the benefits of migration prior to departure, which are inevitably reappraised upon arrival, and over time against perceptions of the relative success of the migration. Additionally, migrants travel with identities that have been fashioned in their homeland environment. However, no matter how well prepared, or informed they may be about their destinations, the reality of the destination and how they are received and perceived will inescapably pose a challenge to them and their perceptions of who they are. As Rushdie observes, they must look back to where they came from to both evaluate their success and to inform their sense of identity.

This thesis addresses Scottish migration since the 1950s and explores the motives for migration and the impact of host environments and types of migration on the creation and use of migrant identities. In addition, it investigates how networks and Scottish associations are used to assist migrants in siting themselves in their new environments, and how migrants interpret nationalism in the heightened political environment of the current decade. Additionally, the study seeks to shed light on a little understood or researched migrant, the modern sojourner. The framework for this study is the comparison of Scottish migration to New Zealand and Hong Kong, with the former a predominantly settler migration and the latter a sojourner or

¹ Salman Rushdie, *The Satanic Verses*, American first edition (1997: Tarsis: Bloodaxe Books Ltd, 2001), p. 24.

temporary migration with the ability, if not expectation, of return to Scotland or the UK. The study uses in-depth, semi-structured life-story interviews of settler migrants and the children of settlers in New Zealand, and the sojourners and returned sojourners of Hong Kong. These interviews are supported by surveys of migrants in the host locations and returned sojourners in the UK, and further assessed together with statistical sources.

To date, most studies have focused on one or other form of migration. Substantial research has been made into long-distance immigration into North America, and while discussions of sojourning or temporary migrations are included, they tend to be addressed independently.² Edited works have addressed both British and Scottish settlers and sojourners, but again separately.³ The historiography of British migration to New Zealand in the late twentieth century has tended to address Britons as one ethnicity. Megan Hutching's study of post-war assisted migration is representative of this. Her focus is not ethnicity, but the employment categories and assimilation of Britons in New Zealand.⁴ Other studies have addressed non-British ethnic minorities and their assimilation into New Zealand's British-derived society on the basis that, 'British born immigrants settle ... almost imperceptibly into the host society. ... For others, ... the problems of adjustment ... are of such a different nature and degree of magnitude that separate consideration is justified.'⁵ That said, Scottish migrants to New Zealand in the twentieth century have not been ignored and the work of Angela McCarthy and Marjory Harper, whose studies have included oral histories, and have contributed to our understanding of this subject.⁶

² See: Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking The American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge, Mass and London: Harvard University Press, 2003); Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options; Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1990); Stanley Lieberson and Mary C. Waters, *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990).

³ See: Robert Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010); Marjory Harper (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants 1600-2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

⁴ Megan Hutching, *Long Journey for Sevenpence: An Oral History of Assisted Immigration to New Zealand from the United Kingdom, 1947-1975* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1999).

⁵ K. W. Thomson & A. D. Trlin, "Introduction" in *Immigrants in New Zealand*, ed. K W Thomson and A. D. Trlin (Palmerston North, Massey University, 1970) p. 11.

⁶ See: Angela McCarthy, *Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish Migration, 1921-65: 'For Spirit and Adventure'* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2007); Marjory Harper, *Scotland No More?: The Scots who left Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (repr: 2012, Edinburgh:

Reflecting the lack of any substantial British or Scottish migration to Hong Kong, there is no research available, yet there is a growing body of work addressing modern expatriates and sojourners in Asia, which again has been tackled on a discrete basis.⁷ A common theme amongst modern studies is the changing paradigm and experiences of the post-colonial expatriate and their sojourns in post-colonial Asia.⁸ As regards Hong Kong specifically, May Holdsworth's collection of expatriate interviews and memoirs provides an interesting, diverse and unexacting take on Hong Kong expatriate life without drawing any substantial conclusions.⁹

With regards to settler migration, this study builds on the work of McCarthy and Harper, extending their research into the twenty-first century. In addition, while Scottish sojourners have been addressed in works concerning sojourning planters in the Caribbean and the nabobs of the Raj, the lack of research into modern post-colonial Scottish sojourning represents a gap in the coverage of Scottish migration. The twenty-first century has seen significant changes in the ways that migrants can access information, network and communicate with friends and family. For instance, by 2015 the UK's household internet penetration rate was 86 per cent,¹⁰ a phenomenal growth over the 9 per cent seventeen years earlier.¹¹ In comparison, by 2015 New Zealand's penetration rate was 91 per cent¹² and Hong Kong's 89.8 per cent.¹³ For potential and existing migrants this is a connected world where

Luath Press Limited, 2013); Tanja Buelmann *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850 to 1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).

⁷ See: Angela Lehmann, *Transnational Lives in China: Expatriates in a Globalizing City* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Ilaria Boncori, *Expatriates in China: Experiences, Opportunities and Challenges* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁸ See: Scott A. Hipsher, *Expatriates in Asia: Breaking Free from the Colonial Paradigm* (Oxford: Chandos Publishing, 2008).

⁹ May Holdsworth, *Foreign Devils: Expatriates in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press (China) Ltd., 2002).

¹⁰ Office of National Statistics (ONS), "Internet Access in Great Britain: Households and Individuals 2015, table 24", Statista, release date August 2015.

<http://www.statista.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/statistics/275999/household-internet-penetration-in-great-britain/>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Statista.com "Internet penetration in Asia Pacific as of 1st quarter 2015, by country", accessed 23 May 2016. <http://www.statista.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/statistics/281668/internet-penetration-in-southeast-asian-countries/>

¹³ Ibid.

information and communication flows are quick, cheap and easy, not to mention extensive. Additionally, since the 1980s, air travel between migrant homelands and destinations has become both regular and affordable, substantially mitigating the tyranny of distance. Nor do these changes appear to be slowing, and twenty-first century migrants' access to even more complete information about their destinations is only likely to improve.

The thesis argues that there is no universal response to migration, nor that Scottish migrants represent an exception. Rather, that a wide range of personally constructed inputs such as the type of migration, discrete individual circumstances and the physical and cultural nature of the host environment, combine to fashion idiosyncratic responses and strategies. These in turn both prompt and are derived from the migrants' interpretations of their identity. These responses and identity constructions may appear to be generic but, in reality they are individually crafted and changeable dependent on each migrant's personal needs. Throughout the thesis, the construction and use of identity is a key theme and it is argued that it is a malleable process subject to context. Being malleable, identity requires a constant and circular renegotiation in response to the migrants' changing circumstances.

1.2 Diaspora

The terms of the project's funding required that its topic relate to Scottish Diaspora studies in the twentieth century, especially the period since 1945. The Scottish Government estimated that in 2010, 40 million people of Scottish descent lived outside Scotland, and that 20 per cent of Scotland's Scottish-born population also lived elsewhere, describing them generically as the Scottish diaspora.¹⁴ However, diaspora is a contested term, so contested that Paul Basu felt it necessary

¹⁴ Scottish Government, *Diaspora Engagement Plan - Reaching out to Scotland's International Family*, last updated 14 September 2010. <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2010/09/14081131/1>

to devote much of his introductory chapter in *Highland Homecomings* to discussing the semantics of the word.¹⁵

The chapter's opening quote is from Rushdie's novel *Satanic Verses*, and on one level it speaks of the migrants' search for identity, and of the compromises they make as they struggle with conformity in the face of alienation and rootlessness. In the quote, Rushdie's Imam reflects on the nature of exile, and in the Napoleonic simile draws a distinction between permanent and temporary exile, which is at the root of this thesis. In addition, the simile demonstrates that such a word can convey the same sense of loss or rootlessness, despite having dissimilar meanings.

This is not unlike the word diaspora, which conveys the image of a scattering, but hides a range of different types of migration. William Safran argues that the term should have a tight definition, suggesting a heuristic categorization of six criteria.¹⁶ However, Robin Cohen argues that Safran hijacks the word's meaning 'to describe a forcible dispersal',¹⁷ and calls for a wider definition returning to the word's original Greek meaning of, 'expansion and settler colonization'.¹⁸ The problem is that Cohen's definition is perhaps too generic, as it is often used to 'refer to all people who happened to migrate from ... [a country], along with their descendants, regardless of the circumstances of their migration, or the nature of their history abroad.'¹⁹ As a result, it obfuscates the nature of individual migrations, tarring them with a broadly generic brush. Given that this project seeks to address two distinct forms of migration, the term does not impart sufficient difference to be used in the context of this thesis.

Rather than become taxed by the semantics, throughout this thesis the word is largely avoided, with the terms migrant, settler or sojourner being used. However,

¹⁵ Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings; Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 10-24.

¹⁶ William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return" *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1, no. 1 (1991): pp. 83-84.

¹⁷ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas – An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), p. 26.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 25.

¹⁹ Kevin Kenny, *Diaspora: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 16.

where diaspora is used, it is in the generic sense and its application mirrors that of the Scottish Government's in its 2009 diaspora engagement research paper.²⁰ Their definition is derived from Kim Butler's 2001 article, where she argued that for a group to be defined as a diaspora, firstly 'there must be a minimum of two destinations.'²¹ Secondly, that 'there must be some relationship to an actual or imagined homeland,'²² thirdly 'there must be self-awareness of the group's identity'²³ and finally that it must have been in 'existence over at least two generations.'²⁴

1.3 Why New Zealand and Hong Kong?

Both New Zealand and Hong Kong were reluctantly and contemporaneously colonised by Britain, in 1840 and 1841 respectively. New Zealand's colonisation was the result of pressure brought to bear by colonisers and entrepreneurs, which increased 'in the 1830s, and [to which] the British government succumbed ... in late 1837.'²⁵ Conversely, Charles Elliot's annexation of Hong Kong was greeted unenthusiastically by both the entrepreneurs and the British government, resulting in Elliot's recall. Thereafter, their colonial trajectories were to be quite different. In D. K. Fieldhouse's famous typology, New Zealand became a colony of settlement and Hong Kong a tidewater trading settlement and naval base.²⁶

James Belich comments that in the mid- to late-nineteenth century Scots accounted for 'about 10% of the population of the British Isles ... [but made] up to

²⁰ Alasdair Rutherford, *Engaging the Scottish Diaspora: Rationale, Benefits and Challenges* (Edinburgh: Scottish Government Social Research, 2009), p. 2.

²¹ Kim D. Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," *Diaspora*, 10:2 (2011), p. 192.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders - From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd., 1996), p. 180.

²⁶ D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1966), p. 13.

24 percent' of white New Zealand.²⁷ Nowhere outside Scotland was the concentration of Scots as high. New Zealand was an important Scottish migrant destination, accounting for 12.2 per cent of Scottish emigrants between 1853 and 1880.²⁸ It has continued to attract Scottish migrants and sojourners post-1950, although Scotland's share of UK immigration has fallen to more closely approximate its share of the UK population. With a disproportionate Scottish heritage, New Zealand presents a fertile arena for the study of Scottish migration and the impact of that legacy on late twentieth and twenty-first century Scottish settler migrants.

In contrast, Hong Kong has never experienced the same levels of British, let alone Scottish migration. In 1845 Europeans numbered only 595 or 2.5 per cent of Hong Kong's 23,817 population.²⁹ This was probably the zenith for white ethnics in per capita terms, and in 2011 white ethnics accounted for 0.78 per cent³⁰ of the population, and UK whites just 0.27 per cent.³¹ The majority of Scots in Hong Kong since the colony's founding have been and continue to be sojourners, although recent years have seen an increase in the numbers of white ethnics aged 65 plus in Hong Kong. At a little over 3,000 in 2011, they account for just 0.045 per cent of the total population.³² Hong Kong's censuses do not report numbers by UK sub-national ethnicities. However, the next chapter provides an estimate of the number of Scots in Hong Kong as at 2011 of only 0.025 per cent of the population. While the numbers are small, there is a well-documented narrative of Scottish involvement in Hong Kong's colonial origins and its early commercial environment, which is discussed below.

The similar time-frame of the pair's colonisation and their Scottish links provide the historic background for their selection, while their different trajectories

²⁷ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 315.

²⁸ Rosalind McClean, "Scottish Emigrants to New Zealand 1840-1880: Motives, Means and Background" (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1990), p. 16.

²⁹ G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 65.

³⁰ Census and Statistics Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (CSD-GovHKSAR), *2011 Population Census, Thematic Report: Ethnic Minorities* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2012), p. 27.

³¹ CSD-GovHKSAR, *2011 Population Census: Interactive Data Dissemination Service*. Last Revision Date 26 February 2013. <http://itable.censtatd.gov.hk/UI/Report/Report.aspx>

³² CSD-GovHKSAR, *2011: Ethnic Minorities*, p. 27.

provide the environmental basis for the comparative analysis. New Zealand's English-speaking social environment is British derived and has a discernible Scottish heritage. Socially, politically and culturally the country represents a benign settler migration environment, with the similarities outweighing the differences. In contrast, Hong Kong is emphatically Chinese, the numbers of western expatriates are small, while the language and cultural barriers make it difficult for migrants to acculturate themselves to the host society's culture.³³ Furthermore, the social and political environment is an alien one and Scottish settler migration is rare. Consequently, the most common form of migration is sojourning rather than settling, and it is the two contrasting migrant environments of New Zealand and Hong Kong that lend themselves to comparative analysis.

1.4 Comparative Analysis and Oral History

Some of the similarities between the two destinations have been highlighted above, most obviously that they were both British colonies and were colonised at the same time. There the superficial similarities end. The two locations have had very different social, cultural, economic and political environments, and while both destinations have sustained an attraction for Scottish migrants, the types of migration differ. Settler migrations to New Zealand demand a loosening of ties with the homeland and commitment to a new life in a new society, with which the migrant must engage to facilitate the processes of integration and assimilation. Here, integration is defined as a considerable degree of inclusion or incorporation in the host society and assimilation is when migrants no longer see themselves as ethnic group members and have melded into the larger society culturally, socially and institutionally.³⁴ In contrast, Hong Kong's sojourning immigrants, faced with

³³ Acculturation is where components of the dominant culture and language are adopted, but migrants continue to use their language and rely upon their ethnic networks. See: Elliot Barkan, "Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity: From Contact to Assimilation," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Volume 14, Issue 2 (1995), p. 54-55.

³⁴ Barkan, "Race, Religion, and Nationality," pp. 57-58.

considerable barriers to acculturation and an expectation of return to the homeland, are not as incentivised to take steps to acculturate with local society. Rather, their ‘frames of reference and cultural and social norms’ are tied to Western expatriate society and referenced to the Scottish/UK homeland.³⁵

Many critics of comparative studies argue that scholars do not compare like to like, and Hong Kong and New Zealand are quite different contexts. However, this study does not seek to address the nation/region’s experience of immigration, but rather the migrants’ responses to the context and environment of their emigration. On the basis of the types of migration alone, the two destinations lend themselves to such a comparative analysis. They also show how a generic interpretation of the term diaspora, ascribing membership of a Scottish diaspora to both groups, hides the fact that migration is always considerably more nuanced. It is those very distinctions that a comparative analysis helps us access. In addition, there is a broad homogeneity amongst the migrants themselves. They are all emigrants, they identify themselves as Scottish (admittedly to differing degrees), and they tend to be employed in skilled work or the professions.

The goal of the study is to explore the impact of host environments and types of migration on the migrant. The premise is that there is no generic Scottish response to migration, rather that motives, types of migration and physical and cultural environments elicit different strategies and responses from migrants. As Philippa Levine observes, ‘[h]istory is about interactions—between peoples and cultures, between values, between ecologies and environments—and the comparative is one of the key ways in which we make sense of such interactions’.³⁶ Arguably, all history is comparative at some level. Historical analysis requires of historians that they contrast interactions and behaviours, irrespective of whether they are analysing political histories or history from below. The difference is that a comparative study seeks to be more explicit about the process. As Raymond Grew notes, ‘[t]he criteria for selecting which elements to compare, for checking the internal logic of the

³⁵ Ibid, p. 52.

³⁶ Philippa Levine, “Is Comparative History Possible?,” *History and Theory*, Vol. 53, Iss. 3 (2014) p. 343.

analysis, or for determining the relevance of the evidence used are not fundamentally different for comparison than for social analysis of any sort.’³⁷

The comparative analysis strategy used makes the initial assumption that the migrants are drawn from a broadly homogenous population in that they are migrants, and identify themselves as being Scottish. Differences within and across the migrant groups have been identified using surveys and oral testimonies, which are also used to cross-validate each other. Those differences are then analysed to identify the internal or external inputs that have fashioned those responses. The surveys have also provided the project with access to a group of respondents descended from earlier Scottish migrations to New Zealand, which have been styled the *multi-generational* cohort to differentiate them from the two migrant groups. Their responses have been used to benchmark the New Zealand migrant group against an assimilated migrant group, in which ‘a formalistic or limited group memory persists among some persons ...[who] may retain a knowledge of their ancestry’.³⁸

Given the period and lack of archived sources, oral history was always likely to be a part of the project. Migrant letters, where they exist, are unarchived if not already destroyed and these can be an unreliable source. For instance, in interview Joyce Sillars admitted that in her letters to Scotland she would not write about the challenges and difficulties migration posed, rather she ‘would comment in letters about ... things like top dressing planes going over and ... palm trees and beautiful beaches and things’.³⁹ When asked if she believed that other migrants had glossed the truth, Joyce adds, ‘absolutely, I’m sure, lots ... of them, yes. Because no-one wants to admit that they’ve made a mistake’.⁴⁰ Such testimonies are inaccessible without oral history interviews. Angela McCarthy makes the point that oral sources ‘enable exploration of aspects of [the] migration experience that would otherwise be

³⁷ Raymond Grew, “The Case for Comparing Histories,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (1980), p. 776.

³⁸ Barkan, “Race, Religion, and Nationality,” p. 58.

³⁹ Joyce Sillars, interviewed by Iain Watson, 14 July 2014, interview transcript.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

lost to scholars, particularly motives and justifications for migration,⁴¹ areas of analyses which are typically absent from letters, diaries and autobiographies.

Oral testimony is not infallible. It relies heavily on memories that start with an initial perception, which can be influenced by non-tangible factors such as nurture, class, environment and religion amongst others. Consequently, interviewees ‘speak from their own points of view and no two will tell a story alike.’⁴² The criticism most often levelled at oral histories is that memories are too subjective when compared to archived documentary sources. While this may be true ‘if those memories remain isolated and uncorroborated’,⁴³ archived documents are also subject to the bias of their creators, and need to be similarly corroborated. When analysing oral testimony, it is important to recognise that memory changes with time, and recall may be altered or repurposed to justify past actions, making them highly individual. This does not mean that they are without value, rather that they should not be taken at face value and in isolation. To analyse modern migration solely through the lens of oral testimony would have resulted in findings based on narrow and potentially idiosyncratic sources. To mitigate this risk, this thesis’ oral testimonies are supported by and validated against wider source data such as the project’s survey findings and statistical evidence gathered from various official bodies (see Section 1.6 below).

It would have been ideal to have supported the oral testimonies with reference to biographies and/or autobiographies of post-1950s migrants. However, research did not identify any for migrants to New Zealand, although there are some autobiographies and memoirs written by Scots in Hong Kong. Unfortunately, they are mostly collections of anecdotal vignettes, often light-hearted and of limited depth, and primarily focused on career achievements, while their references to Scottishness are largely restricted to Burns and St Andrews celebrations. Examples

⁴¹ Angela McCarthy, “Personal Accounts of Leaving Scotland, 1921-1954,” *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 216, Part 2 (2004), p. 198.

⁴² Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 33.

⁴³ Marjory Harper, *Scotland No More?*, p. 229.

include soldier and Royal Hong Kong Police Officer, Jim Shepherd's autobiography,⁴⁴ and that of colonial administrator Trevor Clark.⁴⁵

1.5 The Historical Context

1.5.1 Hong Kong's Scottish Story

At the Hong Kong St Andrew's Society's 1990 Burns Night, Alasdair Morrison, the Taipan⁴⁶ of Jardine Matheson Holdings provided an interpretation of the Scottish role in Hong Kong in verse:

Let no man underestimate
The race of Scots expatriate,
Whose latent ardour flames apace
When freed from Scotland's cold embrace.
'Twas Scots that formed from barren rock
This quintessential culture shock,
Where mainly East and West now blend
But Scots to special rank pretend.⁴⁷

This verse reflects a commonly held reading of Hong Kong's history amongst Scottish migrants, which interprets the founding of the British colony, and its rise to a regional financial centre and bastion of capitalism, as a Scottish influenced project. This account is based on three core perceptions, the role of 'the kings of ... [the opium] trade',⁴⁸ Jardine, Matheson and Company (Jardines), in the colony's

⁴⁴ Jim Shepherd. *Silks, Satins, Gold Braid and Monkey Jackets: An Autobiography* (Bishop Auckland; The Pentland Press, 1996).

⁴⁵ Trevor Clark, *Good Second Class (But Not Even C.3): Memories of a Generalist Overseas Administrator* (Bath: CPI, 2004).

⁴⁶ Managing Director.

⁴⁷ Alasdair Morrison, quoted in Holdsworth, *Foreign Devils*, pp. 280-281.

⁴⁸ T. M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora 1750-2010* (London, Penguin Books, 2011), p.81.

founding, the establishment of the global banking giant HSBC⁴⁹ by a Scot, and Scottish influence in the colonial government of Hong Kong.

It was neither James Matheson nor William Jardine who were responsible for Hong Kong's annexation. That was the work of the Anglo-Scot diplomat Captain Charles Elliot RN. Indeed, James Matheson described it as Elliot's 'pet child'.⁵⁰ Matheson, his partner and the other Canton merchants had been unimpressed by Elliot's acquisition and their opinion mirrored Palmerston's position that Hong Kong was, 'a barren island with hardly a house upon it'.⁵¹ However, the perception that Jardines were key to Hong Kong's establishment and economic success is long-lived, and Elliot, whose actions had angered Palmerston, was recalled in some opprobrium, and plays no part in the modern Scottish narrative. Reflective of this amnesia is that in Hong Kong where the names of governors, colonial administrators, British royalty and early colonial élites are liberally used in place and street names, there are four streets and two places named after Jardine and/or Matheson. Yet, there is no mention of Elliot save in the Government map book where 'there is a small private pathway off Robinson Road ... marked as Elliot Crescent. However, on location there is no street sign or other physical evidence'.⁵²

The Scottish narrative also encompasses the origins of the bank, HSBC. Founded in 1865 as the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, much is made of the role of the Scot, Thomas Sutherland. Yet, the name of the lawyer and co-author of the Bank's prospectus, E. H. Pollard is largely forgotten. Sutherland was the Hong Kong Superintendent of P&O and the Bank's founding Deputy Chairman. He held this latter position for a year, resigning in April 1866 when P&O moved him to Shanghai. Bizarrely, HSBC's own corporate history says of him that he 'never ...

⁴⁹ HSBC was ranked 5th in the world by total assets in USD, with the top 4 banks all being domiciled in China (based on HSBC's balance sheet as at 30 June 2015 and Industrial & Commercial Bank of China, China Construction Bank Corporation, Agricultural Bank of China and Bank of China's balance sheets as at 31 March 2015).

⁵⁰ Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and The Opening of China 1800-42* (1951; repr., Cambridge: The University Press, 1969), p. 213.

⁵¹ Lord Palmerston, 'FO 17/45', quoted in W. C. Costin, *Great Britain and China 1833-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 99.

⁵² Andrew Yanne and Gillis Heller, *Signs of a Colonial Era* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009) p. 42.

held a bank account'.⁵³ The Bank's founding Chairman was an Englishman, Francis Chomley of the English owned Dent & Company (Dents)⁵⁴, its first Chief Manager was Swiss and pointedly Jardines declined to participate. That said, Sutherland was the catalyst for the Bank's establishment and it was probably he, based on an article he had read in *Blackwood's Magazine*, had included in the Bank's articles that it should be 'based on sound Scottish banking principles.'⁵⁵

It is unlikely that those who read the Bank's promotional literature see past the word Scottish, or understand that none of those principles would be unfamiliar to a modern banker, save the lending policy, which is more prudent than the risk assumed by banks today.⁵⁶ Nor was executive recruitment overtly Scottish. The first executive recruited from Britain was an Englishman. However, the belief that HSBC is inherently Scottish is also long-lived. A. M. Townsend, the Englishman and first recruit from London, on his way to Hankow in 1875 recounts how 'the American captain of the Yangtze River steamer [was] surprised that he was English. The captain had thought that all bank men were Scotch.'⁵⁷

Similarly, the colonial governance of Hong Kong was not particularly Scottish. Only three of its colonial governors were Scottish, Sir Robert Black (1958-1964), Sir Murray MacLehose (1971-1982) and Sir David Wilson (1987-1992). Nor were the colony's Chief Secretaries (head of the Government Secretariat) particularly Scottish, and of the thirty who held the post from 1945 only five were Scots. None of the colony's Scottish Governors have merited a full biography, and of the Chief Secretaries just one, Frederick Stewart (1887-89) has had a biography written about him, and that biography focuses on what was his life's work, the late nineteenth

⁵³ HSBC Holdings plc, *The HSBC Group: Our Story* (n.p., 2013), p. 2.

⁵⁴ Established in 1824 after two early iterations, of which one had been Scottish, W. S. Davidson and Company (1813-24).

⁵⁵ HSBC Holdings, *Our Story*, p. 2.

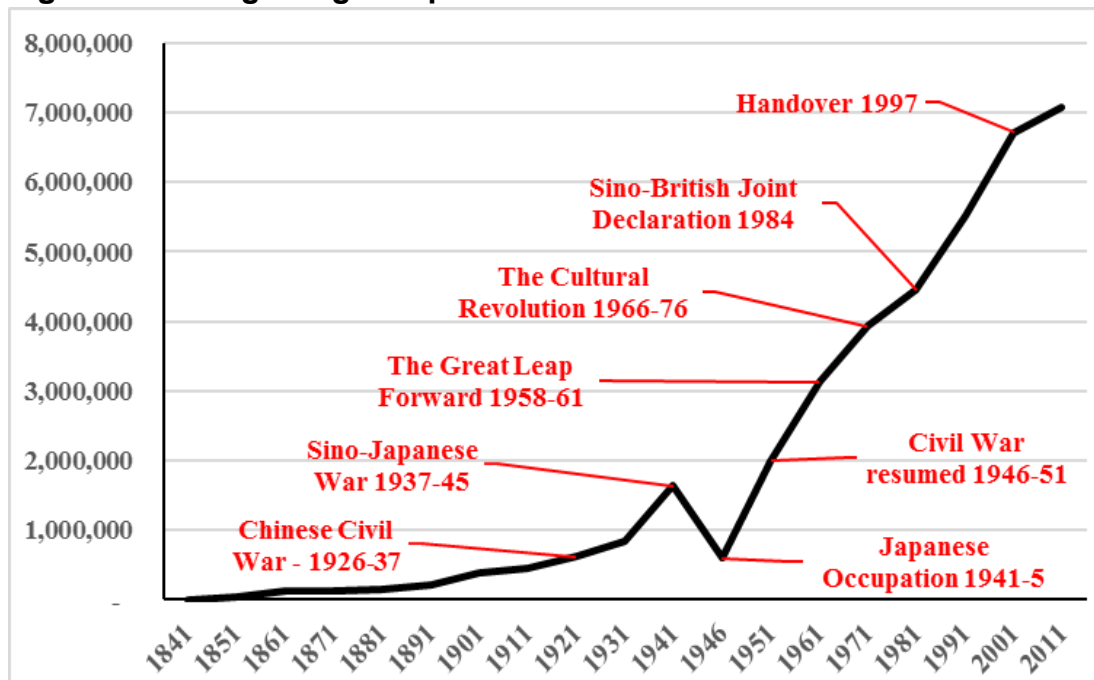
⁵⁶ Frank H. H. King, *The Hongkong Bank in Late Imperial China, 1864-1902: On an Even Keel. Volume 1 of The History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 76.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 218.

century founding of the Government's education system, which accommodated Western and Chinese curricula.⁵⁸

Hong Kong was a small, sleepy colonial enclave until events in China, in the latter half of the twentieth century, catapulted it into regional prominence. It was MacLehose's governorship that witnessed Hong Kong's rise from a conservative colonial entrepôt to a low-cost consumer goods manufacturer and Asian financial centre. The basis for this growth was not colonial government investment, but the influx of Chinese entrepreneurs and low-cost labour, as a direct result of China's turbulent twentieth century history (Figure 1.1). However, while labour was abundant, the growing colony had limited professional and managerial resources, resulting in opportunities for expatriates.

Fig. 1.1: Hong Kong's Population 1841-2011

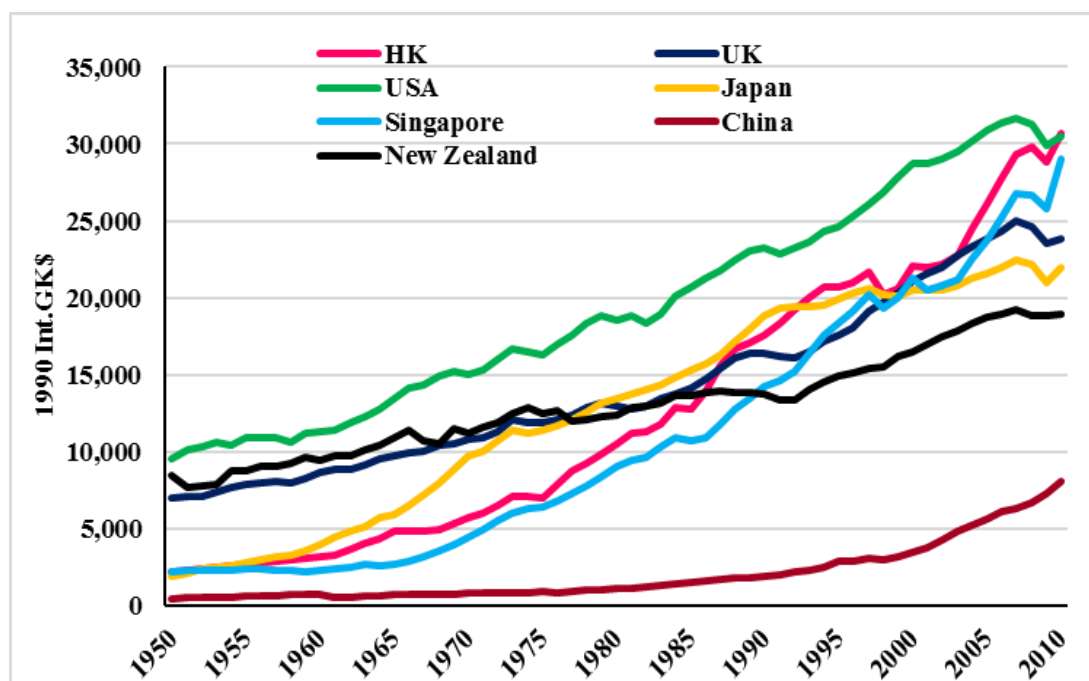


Sources; Fan Shuh Ching, *The Population of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Committee for International Co-ordination of National Research in Demography, 1974), pp. 1-2; Census and Statistics Department of The Hong Kong Government (CSD-HKGov), *Hong Kong Statistics, 1947-1967* (Hong Kong; Census and Statistics Department, 1969), pp. 13-14; CSD-GovHKSAR, *Demographic Trends in Hong Kong 1981-2011* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2012) p. 4.

⁵⁸ Gillian Bickley, *The Golden Needle: The Biography of Frederick Stewart (1836-1889)* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 1997).

In GDP per capita terms, Hong Kong now ranks amongst the most affluent economies in the world (Figure 1.2), but this has come on the back of an influx of Chinese labour and entrepreneurialism.

Fig. 1.2: Hong Kong GDP Per Capita Comparisons



Source; The Maddison-Project, <http://www.ggd.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm>, 2013 version.

Care needs to be taken with GDP per capita numbers as Hong Kong's wealth is thinly spread, and income inequality high:

Table 1.1: Gini Coefficient Comparisons: UK, USA and Hong Kong

	1981	1991	2001	2011
UK	0.290	0.356	0.350	0.337
USA	0.406	0.428	0.466	0.477
Hong Kong	0.451	0.476	0.525	0.537

Sources; ONS, *Statistical bulletin: Nowcasting household income in the UK: Financial year ending 2014*, accessed 14 July 2015, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/>; United States Census Bureau, *Gini Ratios for Households, by Race and Hispanic Origin of Householder*, accessed 14 July 2015, <https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/historical/inequality/>; GovHKSAR, *Hong Kong Economy, Half-yearly Economic Report 2012*, accessed 14 July 2015. <http://www.hkeconomy.gov.hk/en/pdf/box-12q2-5-2.pdf>

Hong Kong's historiography has been influenced by commercial interests. For instance, Jardines remains in existence,⁵⁹ and has benefitted from corporate hagiographies,⁶⁰ while also influencing Hong Kong's historiography by controlling access to the Jardines Archive.⁶¹ Maurice Collis' book *Foreign Mud* is an example of this. Referring to a meeting between Jardine and Palmerston in 1840 he writes: 'The famous merchant prince saw the Foreign Secretary again in early February and almost immediately afterwards the Government's decision was communicated to its representatives in the East'.⁶² This meeting does not feature in Julia Lovell's 2011 history of the First Opium War, which does not use the Archive, and places a different spin on the Palmerston relationship, commenting that in September 1839 Palmerston 'kept him waiting for two hours before extracting as much information as possible ... in exchange for no promises'.⁶³ In contrast, Richard J. Grace's history, which uses the Archive, views the relationship favourably, describing the February 1840 meeting as having had a 'strong influence on solidifying the intent of the cabinet'.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Of its main competitors, Dents folded in 1867, and the 1824 established American firm of Russell & Company in 1891.

⁶⁰ See: James Steuart, *Jardine Matheson & Company, 1832-1932; Jardine, Matheson & Co. afterwards Jardine, Matheson & Co. Limited; Outline of the History of a China House for a Hundred Years 1832-1932* (Hong Kong: Ye Olde Printerie Ltd, 1934); Maggie Keswick (ed.), *The Thistle and The Jade: A Celebration of 175 Years of Jardine Matheson* (1998, revision, London: Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2008); Robert Blake, *Jardine Matheson. Traders of the Far East* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999); Edward LeFevour, *Western Enterprise in late Ch'ing China: A Selective Survey of Jardine Matheson and Company's Operations, 1842-1895* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); Alain Le Pichon, ed., *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong 1827-1843* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

⁶¹ One of the conditions of access to the Archive is that, 'Nothing derived from or referring to the archives may be published without the prior consent of Matheson & Co. Ltd, ... Any publication using these sources requires the consent of Matheson and Company, London.'. See: Archives of Jardine, Matheson & Co. Ltd. at the University Library, Cambridge, Janus, accessed 2 December 2012, <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/manuscripts/applicationJM.html>

⁶² Maurice Collis, *Foreign Mud; Being an Account of the Opium Imbroglia at Canton in the 1830s and the Anglo-Chinese War that Followed* (1946; repr., London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1997), p. 265.

⁶³ Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China* (London: Picador, 2011), p. 100.

⁶⁴ Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal and Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), p. 254.

Celebratory colonial histories typified by the works of E. J. Eitel, G. B. Endacott and Frank Welsh,⁶⁵ have characterised much of the remainder of Hong Kong's historiography. Supplemented by the corporate hagiographies, they have only been challenged by Marxist historians from mainland China in the second half of the 1990s. Their narratives depict China as a victim of colonial aggression, and Hong Kong as 'an inalienable part of the territory of China since ancient times.'⁶⁶ Even then, only Liu Shuyong's history has officially been translated into English.⁶⁷ Both colonial and Marxist histories rarely evaluate the agency of Hong Kong's residents. However, there is a growing body of work that seeks to address this, and examine Hong Kong society in more detail, studying the interaction and divisions within the Colonial, Chinese and Eurasian elites and the wider relationships within society and with mainland China.⁶⁸

1.5.2 New Zealand's Scottish Story

Scots are a large part of white (*Pākehā*) New Zealand's cultural heritage with an established history that needs little embellishment in terms of impact and legacy. However, that does not mean that their origins have not been reengineered. The Scottish story starts not with the colony's founding or with those Scots who emigrated to Auckland and Wellington in the early 1840s, but with the 1848 arrival in Otago of two ships from Greenock carrying 343 settlers.

⁶⁵ See E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China* (1895; repr., Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983); Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*; Frank Welsh, *A History of Hong Kong*, revised ed. (London: HarperCollins, 1997).

⁶⁶ Liu Shuyong, *An Outline History of Hong Kong*, trans. Wenjiong Wang and Mingyu Chang (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1997) p. 1.

⁶⁷ Lawrence Wang-chi Wong, "Narrating Hong Kong history: A critical study of mainland China's historical discourse from a Hong Kong perspective" in *Read the Cultural Other: Forms of Otherness in the Discourse of Hong Kong's Decolonization*, eds. Shi-xu, Manfred Keipointer and Jan Servaes (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2005), p. 198.

⁶⁸ See: John M. Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2007); John M. Carroll, *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007); Wai Kwan Chan, *The Making of Hong Kong Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Wing Sang Law, *Collaborative Colonial Power: The Making of the Hong Kong Chinese* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009); Christopher Munn, *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001); Jung-fang Tsai, *Hong Kong in Chinese History: Community and Social Unrest in the British Colony 1842-1913* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Their intention had been to found a Scottish Presbyterian settlement under the aegis of the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland. The settlers were ‘from the Lowlands, the majority from Midlothian’,⁶⁹ but any ‘idea of maintaining the “exclusive” character of the settlement’⁷⁰ was fully eroded in 1861 when gold was discovered. The gold-rush saw an influx of non-Scots amongst the 64,000 Australians and 8,600 Britons who arrived in 1861-63.⁷¹ Yet, despite its short life as a Scottish colony and its rapid ethnic dilution, Dunedin has retained a Scottish identity. The New Zealand tourism website promotes Dunedin as ‘the Edinburgh of New Zealand, ... wearing its Scottish heritage with pride.’⁷² This heritage has been reimagined in the twentieth-century as a Highland one notwithstanding the city’s Lowland origins, as its 1947 Coat of Arms shows:

Fig. 1.3: Coat of Arms of Dunedin City - 1947



Source; Dunedin City Council, *Coat of Arms of Dunedin City*, accessed 15 June 2013.
<https://www.dunedin.govt.nz/your-council/dunedin-history/dcc-history/coat-of-arms>

⁶⁹ Brad Patterson, Tom Brooking and Jim McAloon, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013), p. 66.

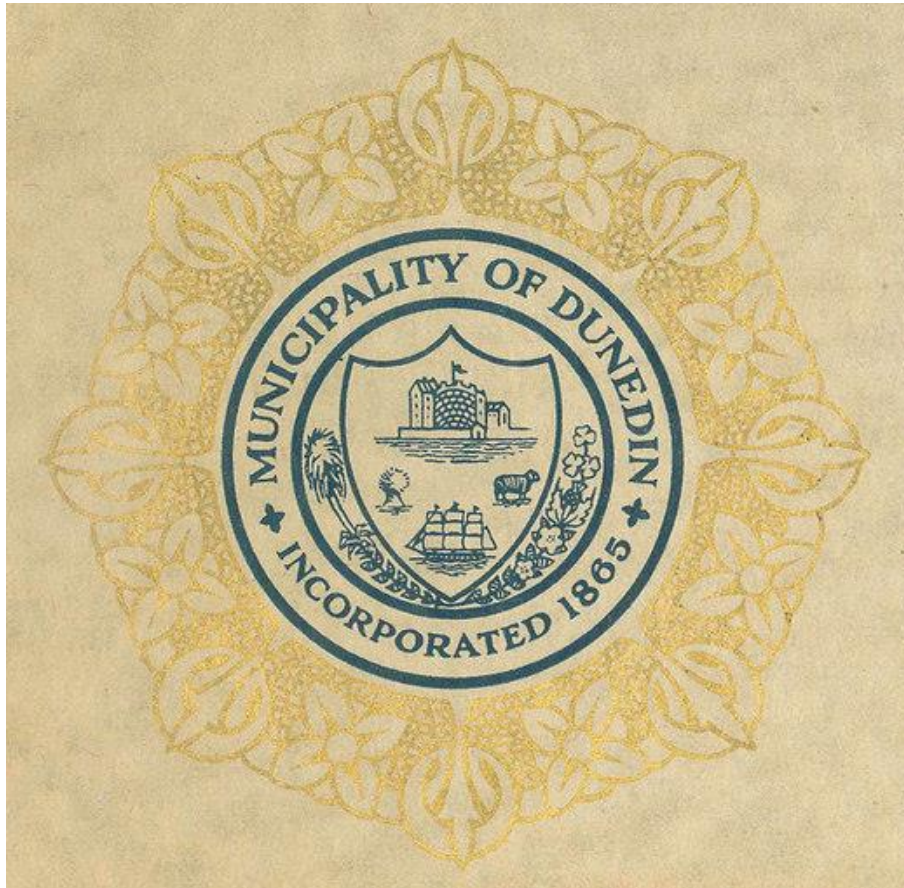
⁷⁰ A. H. McLintock, ‘Cargill, William’, in “An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,” originally published 1966, *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 22 April 2009.
<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/cargill-william>

⁷¹ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, revised ed. 1959 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969) pp. 106-7.

⁷² 100% New Zealand, *Dunedin*, accessed 12 May 2016, <http://www.newzealand.com/uk/dunedin-coastal-otago/>

The Highlandist imagery was not used by the early city fathers, as the 1865 Common Seal of the city shows:

Fig. 1.4: Common Seal of Dunedin City Council 1865-1998



Source; Digital NZ – Ā-Tihi O Aotearoa, *Common Seal of Dunedin City Council 1865-1998*, accessed 16 January 2016. <http://www.digitalnz.org/records/35079059>

The timing of the different representations suggests that the adoption of Highland iconography is a relatively recent phenomenon and such reinterpretations have obfuscated the narrative of Scottish migration to New Zealand, especially as the origins of nineteenth century Scottish migrants were ‘remarkably similar to the national distribution of Scottish regional origins’,⁷³ and thus predominantly Lowland.

⁷³ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 63.

Nowhere is this origin confusion more clear than in the lore of the Clearances. Scholars make the point that migration ‘to New Zealand was too late to have had much direct connection to the Highland Clearances.’⁷⁴ Despite this, some bodies are less rigorous and make misleading causal links. For example, a Dunedin Public Libraries webpage for children states that, ‘[u]p to a half of the Scottish immigrants to New Zealand were agricultural labourers or farmers who were effected [sic] by the re-organisation of farming and agriculture that followed the Clearances.’⁷⁵ This victim migration narrative of dispossession and oppression, combined with perceived similarities between Scottish clans and Māori iwi, feed into an image of Scottish cultural affinity with Māori.

However, this narrative ignores the irony that at least two Highlanders, with genuine experience of the Clearances, were at the forefront of Māori land dispossession. Donald McLean (1820-77) witnessed his parents’ dispossession in Tiree, but as a colonial administrator ‘his career [had been] dependent on securing Māori land.’⁷⁶ Additionally, John McKenzie, the land reformer and Minister of Lands from 1891 to 1900, witnessed the aftermath of the Glencalvie clearances, yet was ‘as unsympathetic to Māori ... customary tenure as McLean’.⁷⁷

Unlike the historiography of Hong Kong, New Zealand’s is more rigorous, even if the evaluation of the Scots in New Zealand has ‘continued to languish in academic circles.’⁷⁸ Despite the work and evidence of scholars, it is the wider population that has chosen to adopt a more romantic and populist image of Scottish engagement in New Zealand. The origins for this, its legacy and uses will be discussed throughout the following chapters.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.257.

⁷⁵ Dunedin Public Libraries, *Scottish Settlers*, updated 01 July 2016.

<http://www.dunedinlibraries.govt.nz/kids/homework-zone/early-dunedin-and-otago/scottish-settlers>

⁷⁶ Alan Ward. ‘McLean, Donald’, in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 30 October 2012.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m38/mclean-donald>

⁷⁷ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 119.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 8.

1.6 Methodology

Section 1.4 highlighted the need to ensure that conclusions drawn from the project's oral testimonies would be subjected to the rigor of validation against survey data and statistical analysis. The pilot survey was both complex and extensive and was used to trial the collection of data and ascertain whether the data collected was usable and relevant. This questionnaire was piloted from 7 June to 1 August 2013 with 28 respondents (9 returned Hong Kong sojourners and 19 migrants and descendants of migrants from New Zealand). Their input was used to develop better focused questionnaires designed to both provide data and identify potential interviewees. This was circulated through Scottish associational groups in Hong Kong and the New Zealand Society of Genealogists' Scottish Interest Group (NZSG-SIG).

The questionnaires were live from 15 January until 1 August 2014, and total responses received (including the pilot) were 145, of which 34 were Hong Kong migrants and 111 from New Zealand. Of the Hong Kong migrants 24 were born in Scotland, 4 in England and 6 elsewhere, while of the New Zealand cohort 21 were born in Scotland, 5 in England and one in Europe. The multi-generational cohort accounted for the balance of 83 and were all born in New Zealand except for 1 born in Australasia. Interviewees were identified from the responses and added to by referrals. This resulted in the following interviewee demographic:

Table 1.2: Interviewee Demographics at Interview Date

Age Group		Hong Kong Migrants	New Zealand Migrants	New Zealand Multi-generational Group	Totals
18-30	M	0	0	0	0
	F	0	0	1	1
31-45	M	0	0	0	0
	F	2	0	1	3
46-65	M	11	5	0	16
	F	2	2	3	7
65+	M	6	5	2	13
	F	2	6	2	10
Totals	M	17	10	2	29
	F	6	8	7	21
	Both	23	18	9	50

Two interviewees of English descent are not included above, one the Principal of a Scottish Presbyterian private school in Auckland and the other the husband of a multi-generational interviewee. The majority of the interviews were conducted one-on-one, allowing the interviewer to focus entirely on the interviewee. Two Hong Kong returnee interviews, one New Zealand migrant interview and two combined New Zealand migrant and multi-generational interviews were conducted jointly. This was done at the behest of the interviewees, and while this can be problematic, in all instances the interviews were successful and they helped provide support for nervous interviewees.⁷⁹ Of the Hong Kong interviewees, two were born in England, and one each in Nigeria, Singapore and Malta, the balance being Scottish-born. The New Zealand migrants were all Scottish-born with the exception of four born in the North of England. All the multi-generational cohort was New Zealand-born with the exception of three interviewees, who were all the children of migrants.

The length of the interviewees' sojourn or settlement in Hong Kong and New Zealand is tabulated below. There is a bias towards longer-term migrants with 61 per cent of interviewees having been in both locations in excess of 25 years. On the one

⁷⁹ For a discussion of group interviews, see: Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, pp. 62-63.

hand this provides for rich in-depth life-story interviews, but means that the coverage of the voices of migrants in the early stages of settlement is limited. In contrast, reflecting the nature of the sojourning experience, the length of Hong Kong stays is more evenly distributed, although there is no coverage of returned migrants who sojourned for longer than 25 years in Hong Kong. However, five of the nine Hong Kong returnees interviewed did sojourn for in excess of 25 years in total when years spent in other locations are counted.

Table 1.3: Length of Interviewees' Sojourn or Migration to Hong Kong or New Zealand

Length of stay at time of interview (in years)		Hong Kong Migrants in Hong Kong		Hong Kong Returned Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		Totals	% of Total
		Count	% of HK Migrants	Count	% of HK Migrants	Count	% of NZ Migrants		
Less than 10	M	0	0%	4	17%	1	6%	5	12%
	F	1	4%	2	9%	0	0%	3	7%
10-25	M	3	13%	1	4%	0	0%	4	10%
	F	1	4%	2	9%	1	6%	4	10%
25+	M	9	39%	0	0%	9	50%	18	44%
	F	0	0%	0	0%	7	39%	7	17%
Totals	M	12	86%	5	56%	10	56%	27	66%
	F	2	14%	4	44%	8	44%	14	34%
	Both	14		9		18		41	100%

A further simplified survey was subsequently conducted between 1 February and 15 August 2015 to improve response rates, and provide better quantifiable data. This iteration was circulated through expatriate social media sites in Hong Kong and Asia and in New Zealand to Pipe Bands, Country Dance, Clan and Burns societies/clubs. As a result, responses increased from 145 to 329, and most significantly Hong Kong responses rose to 100 from 28.

The majority of the 329 respondents are from the 45 plus age group, and this reflects where engagement with family history and cultural identity lie, a theme

highlighted in Basu's survey of roots tourists.⁸⁰ All the surveyed migrants to New Zealand are settlers and all but three Hong Kong respondents are sojourners.

Table 1.4: Survey Demographics by Gender and Age

Age Group		Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	% of Total
		Count	% of HK Migrants	Count	% of NZ Migrants	Count	% of NZ Multi-generational Group		
18-30	M	2	2%	0	0%	1	1%	3	1%
	F	1	1%	1	2%	3	2%	5	2%
31-45	M	7	7%	4	8%	3	2%	14	4%
	F	6	6%	3	6%	7	4%	16	5%
46-65	M	55	55%	11	21%	20	11%	86	26%
	F	14	14%	12	23%	39	22%	65	20%
65+	M	15	15%	10	19%	40	23%	65	20%
	F	0	0%	11	21%	64	36%	75	23%
Totals	M	79	79%	25	48%	64	36%	168	51%
	F	21	21%	27	52%	113	64%	161	49%
	Both	100	30%	52	16%	177	54%	329	100%

Sources; Bristol Online Surveys (BOS), *Scottish Diaspora and Migration - Pilot Survey* (Pilot), closed 1 August 2013, <https://edinburgh.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/scotsdiasporapilot>; *Scottish Migration to New Zealand* (SMtoNZ), closed 31 July 2014, <https://www.survey.ed.ac.uk/scotsinnz>; *Scottish Migration to Hong Kong* (SMtoHK), closed 31 July 2014, <https://www.survey.ed.ac.uk/scotsinhk>; *The Scots in New Zealand* (SinNZ), closed 15 August 2015, <https://edinburgh.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/the-scots-in-new-zealand>; *The Scots of Hong Kong* (SofHK), closed 15 August 2015, <https://edinburgh.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/the-scots-of-hong-kong>

None of the migrants is unskilled. This reflects New Zealand's post-war immigration policies, which saw 'a carefully focused policy designed to fill labor shortages in expanding secondary and tertiary industries,'⁸¹ while the islands of the 'Pacific provided a valuable source of unskilled labor.'⁸² The assisted migration schemes deployed until the mid-1970s were primarily targeted at white British immigrants, and sought to recruit skilled 'working age migrants for contracted

⁸⁰ Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, p. 37.

⁸¹ Patrick Ongley and David Pearson, "Post-1945 International Migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada Compared," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (1995), p. 767.

⁸² Ibid, p. 774.

employment in essential industries.’⁸³ When post-war unemployment doubled in 1976, policies changed and immigration was curtailed.⁸⁴

The occupations of Hong Kong survey respondents lean towards the professions and government services. This is unsurprising, as unskilled labour has been abundant. In addition, Hong Kong’s economy has matured and moved away from manufacturing to a white-collar service economy and demand still exists for those with the professional skills to support this economy, despite improvements in the levels of educational attainment in Hong Kong.

1.7 Thesis Themes and Structure

In this chapter’s opening quote Rushdie makes the point that exile is an ‘endless paradox: looking forward by always looking back.’⁸⁵ This highlights two overarching themes that run throughout the thesis. Firstly, that migrants draw upon the culture and history of where they come from to construct identities, networks, destination histories and environments which site them in, and provide the basis for their future in their new home. Secondly, that these constructions are subject to continual reappraisal and change dependent on individual needs and ever changing circumstances.

The individuality of these constructions and their use is another core theme, and with combinations of motives for migration, choices of identity, identity use, networks and interpretations of nationalism, is peculiar to each migrant. At the macro-level, trends in migrant responses to the challenges of migration may be discernible, although these challenges may differ when contingent on external inputs

⁸³ Ibid, p. 773.

⁸⁴ Statistics New Zealand (SNZ), quoted in Brian Easton, ‘Economic history - Government and market liberalisation’, *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 3 February 2015. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/graph/24362/unemployment-1896-2006>

⁸⁵ Rushdie, *Satanic Verses*, p. 24.

such as destination and type of migration. Throughout the thesis and in addition to the core themes identified above, there is the underlying matter of the challenges that migration poses and the responses these challenges elicit.

Dislocated, by choice, from the familiar surroundings of their homelands, migrants are faced with the challenges of contact, acculturation, adaptation, accommodation, integration and assimilation with and within the culture of their destinations.⁸⁶ For Scottish migrants the cultural challenges between the two destinations are very different with New Zealand being an Anglophone destination and its core cultural context, a British derived one, whereas Hong Kong is a Chinese city where white Western sojourning expatriates live on the fringes of Chinese society. In addition, the two destinations represent very different physical challenges in terms of their landscapes and physical environments.

In addition to these cultural and physical challenges, the destinations represent differing economic social and political environments, which migrants are also required to negotiate. As identified in the previous section, none of the modern migrants in this study were economically disadvantaged and travelled with skills that compete in what is, for both destinations, a global employment market of higher end migrants. For many, the success of their migration lies in their response to the economic challenge and in how they seek to maintain and enhance their economic value and Scottish human capital to their host society. This promotion seeks to both enhance the migrants social standing within society, but also the idea of Scots as migrants, who add value to society. Again, responses to these challenges are conditioned by environment. Chapter 5's discussion of ethno-cultural capital and its deployment shows how small numbers of Scottish migrants on the fringes of mainstream society in Hong Kong target their identity promotion at specific groups, while the extant mainstream Scottish legacy in New Zealand provides a basis for both identity promotion and assimilation.

⁸⁶ For definitions of these terms see: Barkan, "Race, Religion, and Nationality," pp. 51-60.

Also throughout is the transactional nature of the migrant experience. Whether to sojourn, to settle or to return and the timeframe of that transaction occasions a re-evaluation of the migration throughout its lifespan. In its initial stages settler migration can feel temporary, while sojourners may decide to become settlers. In Chapter 8, Return, the issue of evaluating the migration transaction and the purpose of the possible types of return are tackled. The questions addressed are, why return, how was the return experienced and what strategies, if any, were deployed to facilitate return or to manage the experience of return.

These themes will be consistent throughout the thesis, although its structure does not follow the individual themes explicitly. Rather it is structured along the lines of the migration experience itself. For instance, Chapter 2, Settling and Sojourning, all the above challenges feed into a discussion and comparison of the migration starting point, the motives, and finds that these can be highly idiosyncratic. Using survey responses, the motives broadly follow the themes discussed above and can be categorised as economic, social, environmental or political. Using the survey and oral testimony the commonalities amongst the different migrant cohorts and genders have been evaluated and suggest destination differences.

The following chapter, Chapter 3, Choosing Ethnic Identities, looks at the next stage of the migration process where the act of migrating requires the migrants to actively engage with their identity. Faced with an alien environment, migrants construct an identity drawn from their own culture. However, choosing identities is not a simple pre-ordained process based on ethnicity. Identities are constructed from a number of individual characteristics including gender, age, a sense of place, and of belonging to a family group, culture, nation or religion. They can also include physical appearance, clothes, personalities, belief systems and politics. As such they are individually constructed, and continually evolving, being reassessed over time and dependent on environment, and in response to social interaction. Concomitant to identity choice, the chapter addresses the issue of ethnic identity intensification as a response to the host environment, and the tempering of that intensification and/or Scottish identity by accommodating with the host society and changed living

circumstances. This is particularly relevant to settlers where the move involves a commitment that is not as easily reversed, and the resulting sense of dislocation and need for a link to Scotland can be more keenly felt.

Continuing the theme of individuality and malleability together with response to the environment that migrants find themselves in upon arrival, Chapter 4, *A Liquid Scottish Identity*, takes identity choices and seeks to identify what it is that migrants identify as Scottish. In doing so, the chapter demonstrates just how individual identities can be. Scottish identity does not come pre-packaged, and there is a smörgåsbord of cultural and historical markers from which to construct a Scottish identity such that no individual selection is the same. Environment and the individual challenges that migrants respond to can be combined with multiple cultural inputs to create a wide range of identity permutations. These inputs can range from the militarism of the Highlander, to the cultural legacies of the Enlightenment and Scottish education.

The chapter seeks to show that the identities of the migrant cohorts are individually manufactured, plural and fluid, subject to change, and as reliant on the demands of the environment and the individual's needs as much as any inherent national identity. It also discusses the perceptions of the multi-generational descent cohort against those of the migrants, to assess whether time and distance have modified their perceptions, and whether these can still be remodelled and used to site them in their environment.

During the project's research phase, it became apparent that one of the more significant migrant Scots responses to the migration transaction was the promotion of Scottish identity. Both they and their descendants were active investors in and promoters of their ethnic identity, in the belief that being Scottish is an advantage and likely to be well received by the host society. However, not all migrant ethnicities promote themselves as enthusiastically, while the resources and capital employed appear to be in proportion to that ethnicity's perceptions of the potential benefit. This behaviour and the investment involved is discussed in the Chapter 5,

Ethno-Cultural Capital, which argues that this phenomenon is a form of capital operating similarly to Gary S. Becker's human capital⁸⁷ and Pierre Bourdieu's social and cultural capitals.⁸⁸

In Hong Kong and New Zealand interpretations of history are used as a core part of the deployment of ethno-cultural capital. However, the investment of time and capital in ethno-cultural promotion is not necessarily consistent across environments. In Hong Kong, where the Scottish community is small, the activity appears to be narrowly targeted to where Scottish migrants believe it may have the greatest impact. In contrast, ethno-cultural capital in New Zealand has been preserved by the multi-generational cohort, the Scottish associations, and a well-established historical legacy. Thus, the need for migrants to promote ethno-cultural capital is diminished, affording migrants the ability to invest their time and resources on the path to accommodation with and integration into New Zealand society.

One of the more significant vehicles for the promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital by migrants is associationalism. Often said to be a defining characteristic of the Scottish diaspora, the associations serve a number of purposes, one of which was the promotion of colonial values in the colonial period. In addition, they have been and can continue to be used for networking purposes amongst Scots, but are now more commonly used as sites where ethno-cultural capital is promoted and social capital enhanced. The Associationalism and Networking chapter discusses this, and again, its core theme is the flexibility and malleability of the changing nature and uses of Scottish associationalism.

Migrant associational needs have moved away from the associations' traditional role as sites of multi-generational memory. This is visible in the decline of traditional Scottish associations in New Zealand, while in Hong Kong Scottish associationalism has had to adapt to the post-colonial environment. The chapter

⁸⁷ Gary S. Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*, 3rd ed. (Chicago and London: The Chicago University Press, 1993).

⁸⁸ P. Bourdieu, "The forms of capital" in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1985).

discusses migrant engagement with associations, and questions whether their role in New Zealand has moved from public to more personal associational behaviours, such as genealogical and family history research and what relevance they have to modern migrants less engaged with their ancestry. In contrast, Hong Kong's associational landscape continues to prosper and the chapter discusses how and why it continues to thrive and provide for the promotion of ethno-cultural and social capital.

Key to the construction of Scottish migrant identities that site them in their host destination and provide them with the basis of their associational and ethno-cultural promotions is the iconography of Scotland. Principally the use of the iconography of a Highland identity and T. M. Devine's 'Burns Supper School of Scottish History'.⁸⁹ The Highlandism and Nationalism chapter argues that modern Highlandism has not remained static, incorporating Lowland and migrant traditions. However, the question is whether there has been a blurring of the distinctions between Highlandism, patriotism and nationalism amongst the migrant cohorts. Furthermore, the chapter questions whether the blurring extends to migrant interpretations of their sense of nationalism and patriotism.

The 2014 Referendum debate took place during the research period, and heightened the issue for the migrants, even though they were not enfranchised themselves. For some, the debate politicised nationalism and their national identity for the first time and prompted migrants to question the apolitical nationalism that has served them in their host societies, and to reconsider what it means to be Scottish and nationalist. Locating this political debate with a discussion of Highlandism is deliberate, as it is the blurring of Highlandism with a Scottish identity that informs the discussion. For some, there is a belief that the Scottish National Party (SNP) has hijacked their sense of nationalism and national identity yet they see themselves as no less nationalist than the SNP. The Referendum politicised migrants as much as it did Scotland's domestic population, and the chapter evaluates the migrants' level of engagement with the debate, and their interpretations of nationalism.

⁸⁹ Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth*, p.12.

Bringing the migrant experience full circle, the final chapter addresses Return. Return serves differing purposes dependent on the type of migration, and for sojourners the stage of their sojourn. The types of return addressed are temporary return or short-term visits, permanent return to retire or settle and roots return to visit for the purposes of tourism and/or roots-tourism, the latter more common amongst the multi-generational cohort. The aspects of Return discussed are, why return, how was the return experienced and what strategies, if any, were deployed to facilitate return or to manage the experience of return.

Return is reflective of the circular nature of migration and may occasion migrants to revisit and renegotiate the terms and motives of their choice to migrate. It also provides an opportunity to reflect on the relative success of their migration. However, of the types of return, permanent return can be the most challenging. This is especially relevant to long-term sojourners, whose permanent return can see their migration come full circle. Ironically, they can find that return to Scotland is similar to their initial sojourning experience. They are faced with the challenge of integrating within a foreign society, which can be a frustrating experience given that their default position is that they are of that society. The chapter assesses the strategies that some use to ensure successful re-integration prior to permanent return, and those they deploy to meet the challenges after return.

Before the thesis addresses the themes of identity choice, malleability, ethno-cultural capital, associationalism, Highlandism, nationalism or return, the extent of modern migrations to New Zealand and Hong Kong first need to be established and placed in the context of wider Scottish and UK migration flows. Together with establishing the motivation for these flows, the next chapter quantifies, or at least outlines the scope of those migrations in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Accurate numbers are difficult to obtain, and the chapter's estimates are derived from various official sources including the UK Government's Office for National Statistics (ONS), the National Records of Scotland (NRS), the Census and Statistics Departments of the Colonial Government of Hong Kong (CSD-HKGov), the post-colonial Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

(CSD-GovHKSAR) and the New Zealand Government agency, Statistics New Zealand (SNZ). By necessity, the chapter is statistically dense, as it seeks to provide the basis for the estimates, and position the migration flows within the wider context of UK and Scottish emigration, and the receiving societies' migrant flows and demographics.

Settling and Sojourning

I sometimes think it is a good rule of thumb to ask of a country: are people trying to get into it or out of it? It's not a bad guide to what sort of country it is.⁹⁰

Tony Blair

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the extent of Scottish migration to Hong Kong and New Zealand since the 1950s, and contextualises those numbers in terms of Scotland's and the UK's international and domestic migration flows, and those of the project's destinations. In addition, this chapter assesses whether there are any differences in motives and migratory path choices between sojourners and settlers, together with the influences and processes employed in their selection. These choices tend to be individual, and in the case of Hong Kong's sojourners, can be subjective and impulsive. For settler migrants, a level of commitment to making a start in the new country is important, and the decision to migrate is based on a more structured process.

As indicated in the introductory chapter, migrations to Hong Kong tend to be sojourns and those to New Zealand are predominantly for the purposes of settlement. This is not to say that all Hong Kong migrants are sojourners. A number consider their migration to be akin to settlement, especially those who have remained overseas for extended periods. Nor do all migrants to New Zealand necessarily expect to settle there and some, despite having settled, had originally envisaged their journey as either a sojourn prior to return, or as a step in migration to another destination, typically Australia.

⁹⁰ "Full text: Tony Blair's speech – The Prime Minister's address to British ambassadors in London", *The Guardian*, 7 January 2003.

<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/jan/07/foreignpolicy.speeches>

Segmenting migration into settler migration and sojourning is not without precedent. A number of models have been developed to describe human migration patterns, and many have their origins in the geographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein's 1885 and 1889 papers on British, continental European and North American migration patterns in the late nineteenth century.⁹¹ His 1885 paper proposed classifying migrants into five categories, three being forms of domestic migration, *local* being moves within a town or parish, *short-journey* being migration from county to county, and *migration by stages* or domestic short-journey step-migration.⁹² Of relevance to this study are the migrants who fall into the two remaining categories, the *long-journey* and/or *temporary* migrant categories, the former applying more to New Zealand migrants and the latter to Hong Kong migrants. Ravenstein suggests that temporary migrants tend to move for employment and describes them as 'migrants by compulsion and not by choice.'⁹³ However, this chapter's findings show that there is little compulsion to modern sojourner migration to Hong Kong.

Ravenstein's central theme is that migrants tend to gravitate towards what he describes as 'centres of commerce and industry,'⁹⁴ with '[e]ach main current of migration produc[ing] a counter-current.'⁹⁵ Now referred to as stream and counter-stream, this is visible in Scotland's net migration numbers (Figure 2.6), and in New Zealand where the 1,001,787 foreign-born,⁹⁶ as at the 2013 census, have replaced the number of New Zealanders overseas, which was estimated by Statistics New Zealand (SNZ) to be 'over 1 million'⁹⁷ in 2012. In his 1889 paper Ravenstein concluded that '[m]igration means life and progress; a sedentary population stagnation.'⁹⁸ The

⁹¹ E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration", *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (1885), pp. 167-235; E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration", *Journal of the Statistical Society*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (1889), pp. 241-305.

⁹² Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration" (1885), pp. 181-184.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 183.

⁹⁴ Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration" (1889), p. 257.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 287 and Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration" (1885), p. 199.

⁹⁶ SNZ, *2013 Census QuickStats about culture and identity*, released 15 April 2014.

<http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity/birthplace.aspx#>

⁹⁷ SNZ, *At least 1 million New Zealanders live overseas*, published 22 June 2012.

http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/mythbusters/1million-kiwis-live-overseas.aspx

⁹⁸ Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration" (1889), p. 288.

comment intimates a motive for migration and he suggests that it is mainly economic:

Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to "better" themselves in material respects.⁹⁹

Motives, as with many migrant choices, are intrinsically individual and have a number of inputs which can change over time and perspective and may be retrospectively engineered to justify the decision in hindsight. These motives are generally segmented into four main categories. Firstly, environmental migration, which at its extreme is to escape or avoid environmental issues that may result in famine, food-shortages and economic decline. However, less extreme and more applicable to Scottish migrants is a move to a more benign climate. Secondly, political migration to escape or avoid domestic conflict, war, genocide and political or religious persecution. Thirdly, social migration to be closer to family and friends, or for a better quality of life. Finally, economic migration for employment or better work opportunities, greater remuneration and to further career prospects.

The prevailing perception amongst migration scholars is that economic motives are key. This can be a problematic assumption, as in the nineteenth century, Britain, excluding Ireland, was the world's richest country yet still despatched more 'emigrants than anywhere else between 1815 and 1930'.¹⁰⁰ Within Britain, Scotland's experience was the most extreme, with Scotland being the industrial nation that experienced the highest per capita emigration rates in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. That this should have occurred at a time of economic prosperity is described by T. M. Devine as the 'Paradox of Scottish Emigration'.¹⁰¹ Yet, Devine argues that it is not really a paradox at all, but at its heart a continuation

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 286.

¹⁰⁰ Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London and New York, Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 6.

¹⁰¹ T. M. Devine, "Introduction: The Paradox of Scottish Emigration", in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1992), pp. 1-15.

of ‘a “culture of mobility” within Scottish society’,¹⁰² which with low wages, greater opportunities abroad, improved transport links and a sense of economic insecurity, provided the catalysts for this exodus. Angela McCarthy varies Devine’s culture of migration, and suggests that it may not be an example of Scottish exceptionalism, but that ‘Scottish migration shared a fundamental characteristic exhibited by other countries [including those with agricultural economies] experiencing severe population loss in the nineteenth century such as Ireland, that is extensive mobility based on personal networks.’¹⁰³

This culture of migration and the personal networks are both apparent in interviews, with all interviewees able to name at least one family member who had migrated, not to mention family friends. In addition, the surveys indicate that the majority of migrant respondents had migrated either overseas or to another UK country before migrating to New Zealand or Hong Kong (Table 2.1). This was most significant amongst migrants to Hong Kong. The culture of migration and mobility that underpins Devine’s Paradox continues to exist and in the following section, the changes in the flows of this mobility will be addressed.

Table 2.1: Prior Migration Amongst Migrants

Had you migrated elsewhere before travelling to Hong Kong or New Zealand?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		Total Migrants	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	60	66%	25	42%	85	57%
No	31	34%	34	58%	65	43%

Sources: BOS, *SMtoNZ*, *SMtoHK*, *SinNZ*, *SofHK*.

Other questions asked in this chapter are what motivates migrants to turn a cultural disposition into a reality, and whether there are any similarities within the cohorts and/or differences between them? For instance, are both groups motivated by economic advancement, or do other factors play a role? Is Hong Kong’s vibrant commercial environment the attraction for some, or is the greener environment of

¹⁰² Ibid, pp. 5 & 8.

¹⁰³ McCarthy, Personal accounts, p. 213.

New Zealand the pull for others, or is it a mixture of the environmental, social and economic, and if a blend of motives, is there a bias between destinations?

Migration motives are more complex than the four simple categories listed earlier, nor can an individual's reasons for migrating be attributed to a single motive. As Angela McCarthy's research has shown 'migrants frequently combin[e] a number of explanations for emigration',¹⁰⁴ while the choice of destination can be structured and complex, or left to chance. Those choices tend to be based on an individual combination of factors, which could include comparisons of employment, education, health services, assimilation, language and culture between the possible destinations and the country of origin. Additionally, changes in an individual's circumstances and family ties or simple environmental preferences may also be a factor.

Whatever the inputs, the decision to move is an individual one and is just as likely to be emotively as factually based, despite increased access to information since the 1950s.¹⁰⁵ 'For some ... there must be compelling reasons for migration, while for others little provocation or promise suffices.'¹⁰⁶ Thus, the decision 'is never completely rational, and for some ... the rational component is much less than the irrational.'¹⁰⁷ Before evaluating the motives of Scottish migration and migrant destination choices in detail, the next section outlines the extent of these migration streams in both their historical context and that of modern Scotland and the UK as a whole. Inevitably the section is weighted with statistical data, but this is required to provide the basis for the balance of the thesis.

¹⁰⁴ McCarthy, *Personal Narratives*, p. 101.

¹⁰⁵ Household internet access in the UK has grown from just 9 per cent in 1998 to 86 per cent in 2015. Source; ONS, "Internet Access in Great Britain: Households and Individuals 2015, table 24", Statista, release date August 2015. <http://www.statista.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/statistics/275999/household-internet-penetration-in-great-britain/>

¹⁰⁶ Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration", *Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1966), p. 51.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

2.2 Scottish Emigration in Context

The chapter's opening quote is often used in the UK's contemporary immigration debate. Yet, the UK has only registered small consistent net migration surpluses since 1982 (Figure 2.1). Indeed, the irony of Blair's observation is made all the more striking by the fact that over the 400 years since 1600, 'the British Isles have supplied ... beyond twenty-five million people to the rest of the world, invited or otherwise.'¹⁰⁸ To be fair to Blair, his words have been misappropriated in the debate, as in the context of his speech he was referring to migration to the USA and not the UK, a more historically accurate observation.

The most significant period of UK emigration was in 'the century following 1820 [when] 55 million Europeans set sail ... [and] three fifths of these migrants went to the United States.'¹⁰⁹ British migrants were the largest contributors to this exodus, migrating primarily to the Anglophone New World of the USA, Canada, Australasia and South Africa. Eric Richards estimates that 'about twelve million British people (not including a further seven million from Ireland) emigrated between 1750 and 1914'.¹¹⁰ This figure, excluding the Irish, represents approximately 21 per cent of the European outflows for the hundred years to 1920. Indeed, that century (including Irish emigration) accounted for nearly 75 per cent of the Britons who emigrated from 1600 to 2000. Even in the post-war twentieth century, the UK's migration story has been one of a net outflow of population. One economist has estimated that in that period there was 'a total gross outflow from 1951 to 1998 of 7.3m to non-European destinations, or 12.2 per cent of the UK population in 1998'.¹¹¹

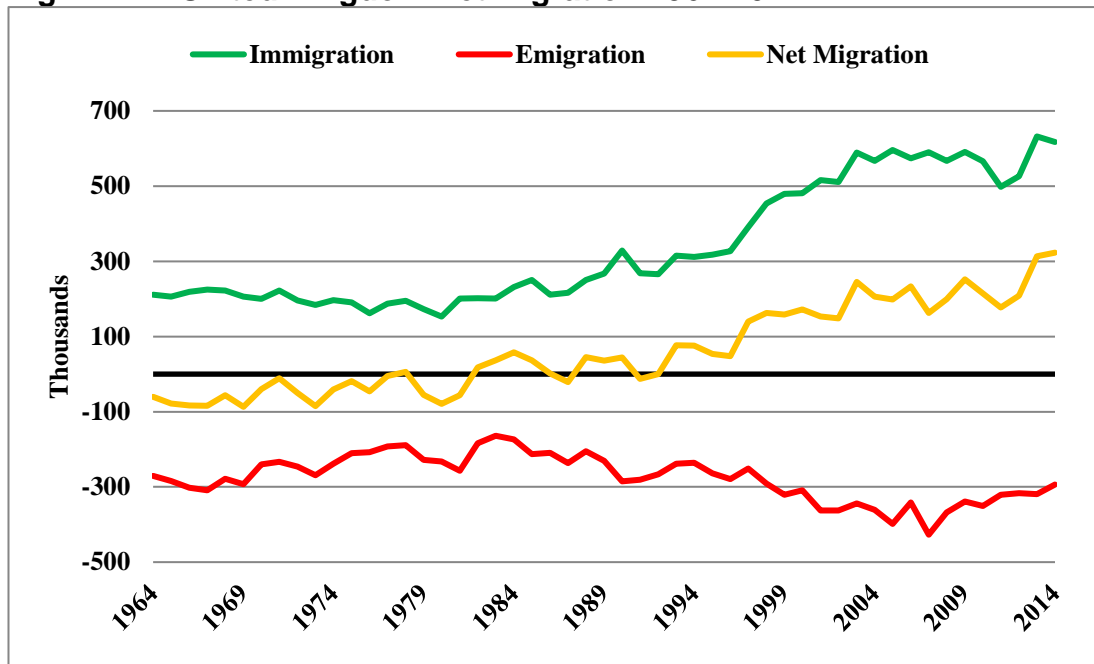
¹⁰⁸ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 7.

¹¹⁰ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, p. 6.

¹¹¹ Timothy J. Hatton, "Emigration from the UK, 1870-1913 and 1950-1998," *European Review of Economic History*, Vol.8 no.2 (2004): p. 153.

Fig. 2.1: United Kingdom Net Migration 1964-2014



Source; Office for National Statistics (ONS), *Long-Term International Migration and International Passenger Survey data* (LTIM & IPS), accessed 27 April 2015.

<http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/>

<http://www.ons.gov.uk/surveys/informationforhouseholdsandindividuals/householdandindividualsurveys/internationalpassengersurveyips>

Within these movements it is estimated that ‘[t]wo million Scots left the country between 1830 and 1914, which was one and a half times greater than the rate out of England and Wales.’¹¹² The nineteenth century is rightly characterised as the age of mass migration, but this was not a new phenomenon for Scots and that century’s exodus was built on an existing pre-history of migration. For instance, Scots had been a feature of the armies of Northern Europe and France since the fourteenth century, reaching a zenith in the seventeenth century when as many as ‘30,000 had fought in Germany on behalf of Sweden.’¹¹³ In addition, Scots had engaged in economic migration and settlement, prompting some Northern Europe states to curtail Scottish immigration. In the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth ‘estimates reported the presence of some 30,000 Scottish families ... around 1621 with the number rising to 50,000 by the middle of the century.’¹¹⁴ Given that in

¹¹² Eric Richards, *Britannia’s Children*, p. 213.

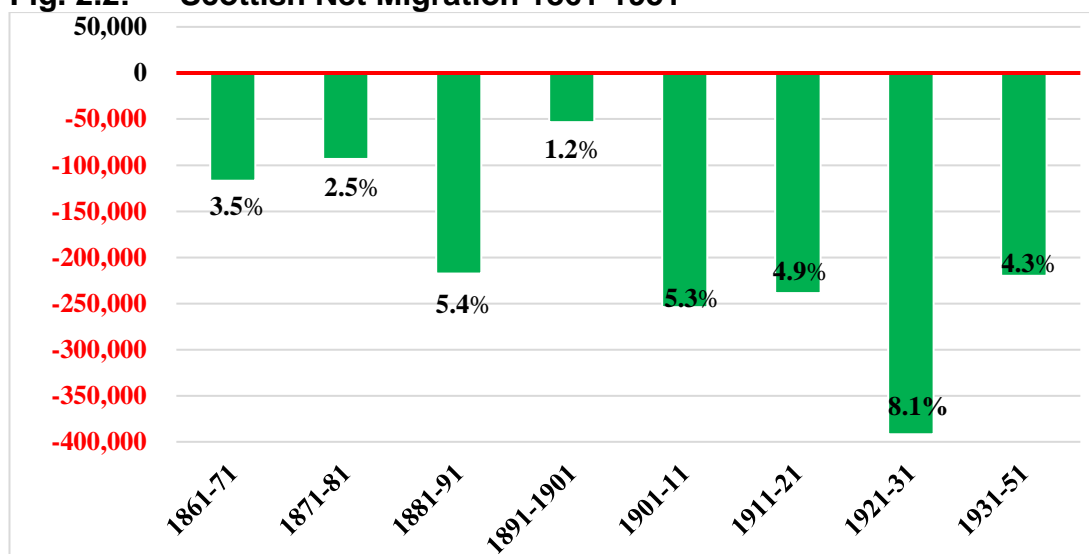
¹¹³ Steve Murdoch, “Scotland, Europe and the English ‘Missing Link’,” *History Compass*, 5/3 (2007), p. 893.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 895.

‘1690, the population of Scotland numbered about 1 million’¹¹⁵ these numbers represent sizeable emigrations, and not just sojourning migrations.

Marjory Harper estimates that in the first half of the seventeenth century Scotland experienced migration losses of ‘2,000 people a year’,¹¹⁶ and in the eighteenth century an ‘exodus of 75,000 between 1700 and 1780’.¹¹⁷ This gathered momentum, and continued well into the early twentieth century. The extent of Scotland’s per capita population losses was significant, and between 1861 and 1913 three countries; Ireland, Norway and Scotland, ‘consistently headed ... the league table as the source areas of proportionately most emigrants.’¹¹⁸ In the fifty years to 1911, Scotland on average had lost 3.6 per cent of its end of intercensal population in each decade (Figure 2.2). In the twentieth century a further 1.25 million left, ‘giving the nation one of the highest rates of per-capita emigration in the western world.’¹¹⁹

Fig. 2.2: Scottish Net Migration 1861-1951



Source; James Gray Kyd (ed.), *Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable Ltd, 1952), pp. xvii & xxi.
(Percentages are total intercensal net migration as a percentage of total population at the end of the intercensal period.)

¹¹⁵ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560 – 1830*, 2nd impr. (London: Collins Fontana, 1973) p. 111.

¹¹⁶ Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile Books Ltd. 2003), p. 1.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ Devine, *The Paradox*, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Richard Finlay, *Modern Scotland 1914-2000* (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2004), p. 302

Not all emigration was overseas, and of the 2,600,000¹²⁰ individuals who departed Scotland between 1861 and 1939, 22.6 per cent migrated to the rest of the UK:

Table 2.2: Estimated Movement of Scots to Other Parts of the UK and Gross Emigration of Scots Overseas 1861-1931

Intercensal Period	UK Emigration		Overseas Emigration		Totals
	Count	%	Count	%	
1861-1870/1	96,274	39.4%	148,082	60.6%	244,356
1871-1880/1	98,315	37.2%	165,651	62.8%	263,966
1881-1890/1	90,711	24.8%	275,095	75.2%	365,806
1891-1900/1	98,210	34.6%	185,992	65.4%	284,202
1901-1910/1	68,177	13.0%	457,419	87.0%	525,596
1911-1920/1	63,069	15.3%	349,415	84.7%	412,484
1921-1930/1	77,769	14.8%	446,212	85.2%	523,981
Total 1861-1930/1	592,525	22.6%	2,027,866	77.4%	2,620,391

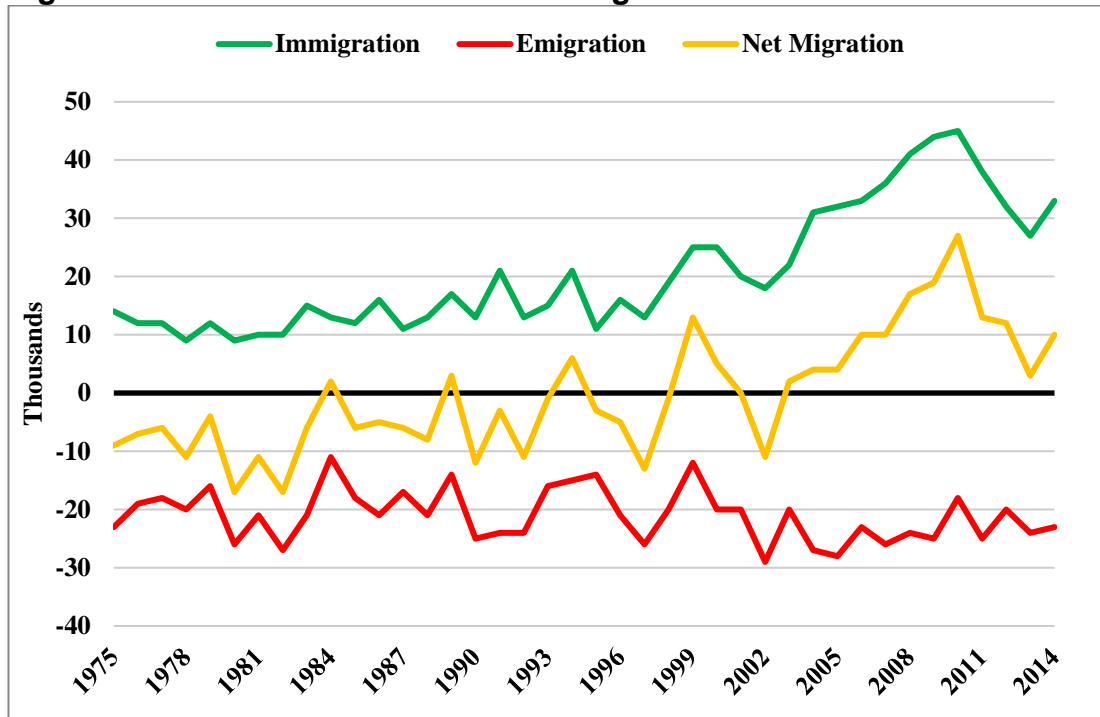
Source; Kenefick, "Demography", p. 105.

The indications are that since the seventeenth century,¹²¹ it was not until 2000/1 that Scotland started reporting net positive migration numbers on a regular basis, while net international migration surpluses did not occur regularly until 2003 (Figure 2.3). This was 21 years later than the UK as a whole. For the twelve years since 2003, Scotland's net international immigration surplus has averaged 11,000 persons per annum compared to an average net surplus of 217,000 per annum for the remainder of the UK.

¹²⁰ Bill Kenefick, "Demography" in *Modern Scottish History 1707 to the Present, Volume 2: The Modernisation of Scotland, 1850 to the Present*, eds. Anthony Cooke, Ian Donnachie, Ann MacSween and Christopher A Whatley (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), p.104.

¹²¹ For seventeenth- and eighteenth-century migration estimates, see: T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman and T. M. Devine, "Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration 1500-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) pp. 76-112.

Fig. 2.3: Scottish Net International Migration 1975 to 2014



Source; ONS, *International Passenger Survey 3.07, Area of destination or origin within the UK by sex*. Release date 26 November 2015.

<http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/internationalpassengersurveyareaofdestinationororiginwithintheukbysextable307>

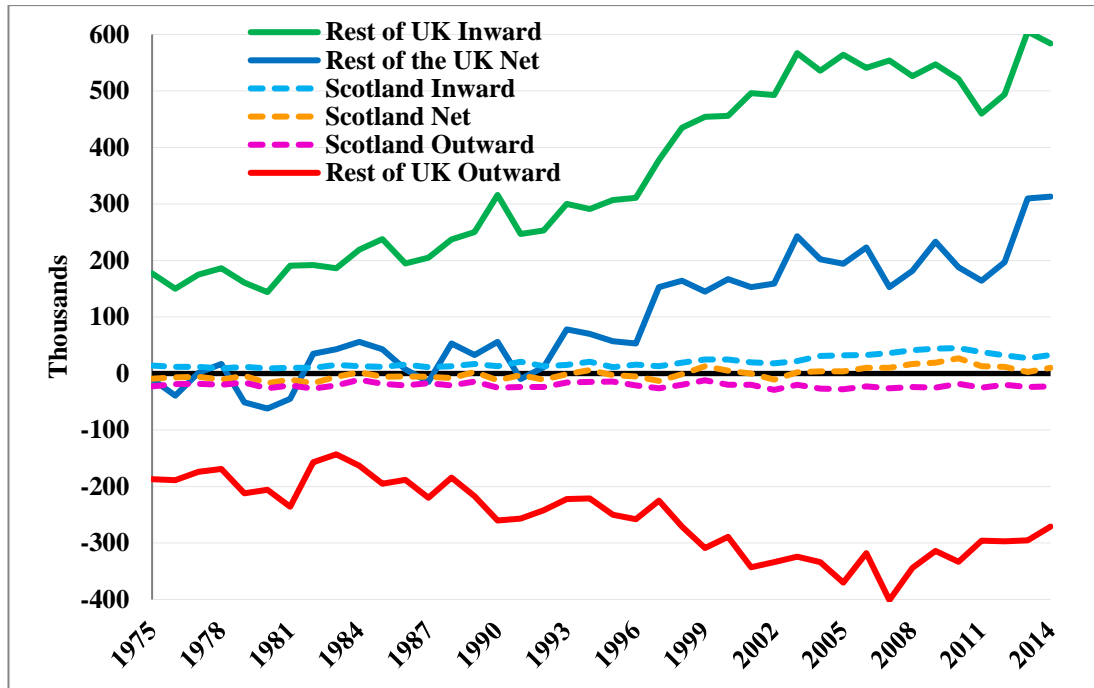
In terms of the UK's international migration flows, Scotland's contribution has become less significant than it was in the nineteenth century, when Scots accounted for 'just over 12 per cent'¹²² of migrants from the British Isles despite accounting for 10 per cent of the total population in 1821¹²³ and 10.5 per cent in 1911.¹²⁴ Scotland's contribution to the UK's international emigration has fallen to an average of 7.6 per cent since 1975, which is less than its average share of the UK's population of 8.8 per cent for the period:

¹²² Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*, p. 3.

¹²³ Census of England and Wales, 1911, *Preliminary Report with tables of population enumerated in England and Wales (Administrative, registration, and parliamentary areas)*, BPP 1911 LXXI [Cd.5705] p. iv; Census of Ireland, 1841, *Report of the Commissioners appointed to take the census of Ireland for the year 1841*, BPP 1843 XXIV (504), p. viii; Census of Scotland, 1901, *Eleventh decennial census of Scotland taken 31st March 1901 with report, Vol. 1*, BPP 1902 CXXIX [Cd.1257], p. xxiv.

¹²⁴ Census of England and Wales, 1911, *Preliminary Report*, p. iv; Census of Ireland, *Preliminary Report with abstract of the enumerators' summaries, &c.* BPP 1911 LXX [Cd.5691], p. 4; Census of Scotland, 1911, *Preliminary Report on the twelfth census of Scotland*. BPP 1911 LXXI [Cd.5700], p. iii.

Fig. 2.4: International Migration - Scotland and the rest of the UK, 1975–2014



Source; ONS, LTIM & IPS.

The fall in international migration post-1960 has been attributed to changes in the policies of the US and Commonwealth receiving countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. From 1947, New Zealand offered ‘£10 passages for key workers ... until 1975 ... [when] overseas immigration policies had become much more restrictive, with a consequent decline in the volume of emigration’.¹²⁵ As the first world’s economies have converged, they have become exposed to a freer and more competitive global marketplace for goods, services and capital, including human capital.

First world economies no longer have a pressing need for skilled or unskilled labour, and are able to either resource this internally, or from migrant pools in lesser-developed countries closer to home. Additionally, the global marketplace has provided the first world with the ability to outsource manufacturing and data services

¹²⁵ T. M. Devine, “A Global Diaspora”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, eds T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, 2nd Impr, 2012 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 181.

to lower cost economies. Their migration policies have become more focused and less engaged with racial priorities, or as was the case for Commonwealth receiving countries, reserving positions for UK migrants. Their needs are now satisfied by global talent pools, and migrants are no longer the ‘masses to fill empty spaces and man labour-intensive businesses, but skilled employees, trained professionals, and those rich in capital’,¹²⁶ whatever their ethnic background.

Superficially, it appears that Scots have lost their inherent predisposition to migration. However, this is not necessarily the case, for as Commonwealth opportunities diminished, Scottish migration flows were repositioned towards England. This is not a recent phenomenon brought on by fewer Commonwealth settlement opportunities, but one that has had its precedent in the inter-war period of the twentieth century. Migration to England only accounted for 22.6 per cent of Scottish emigration from 1861 to 1931 (Table 2.2). However, this dynamic was reversed in the period from 1931 to 1951 when England became the focus of Scottish migration streams. By the 1950s and 1960s Scotland’s emigration flows were evenly distributed between UK and overseas destinations. However, after a surge in international emigration in the 1970s, emigration streams have again been redirected towards the rest of the UK:

Table 2.3: Net Migration from Scotland 1931-89

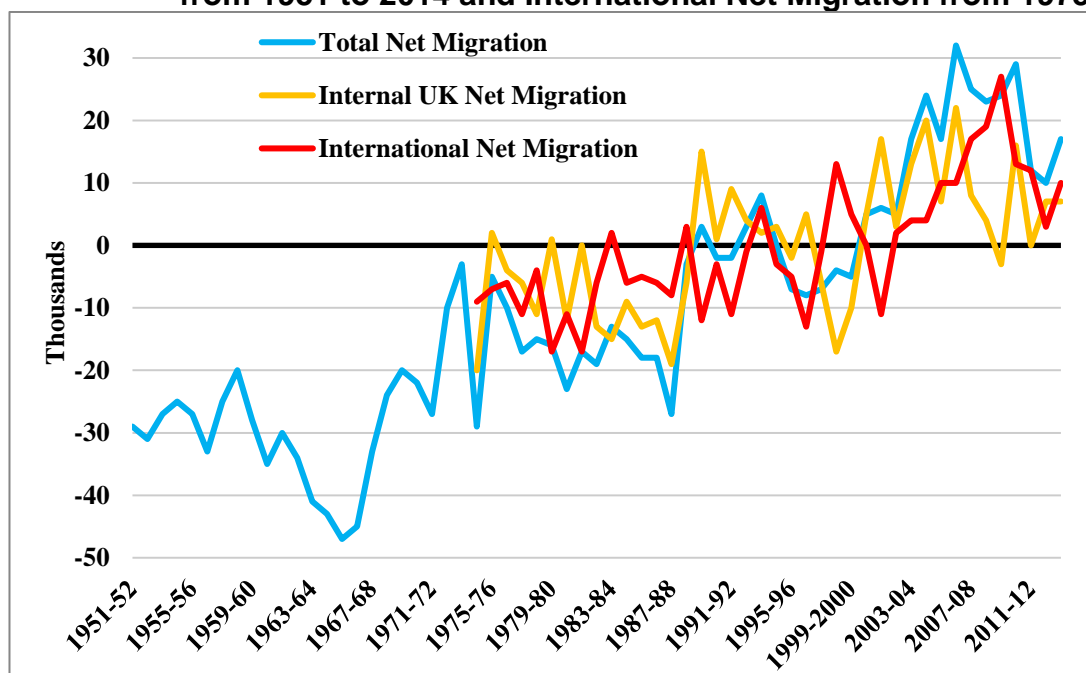
Intercensal Period	UK Emigration		Overseas Emigration		Totals
	Count	%	Count	%	
1931-51	210,000	95.5%	10,000	4.5%	220,000
1951-61	140,000	49.6%	142,000	50.4%	282,000
1961-71	169,000	51.8%	157,000	48.2%	326,000
1971-81	52,000	34.4%	99,000	65.6%	151,000
1981-9	70,000	59.8%	47,000	40.2%	117,000

Source; ‘Annual Reports of the Registrar General Scotland, 1931-89,’ quoted in T. M. Devine, “A Global Diaspora,” p. 178.

¹²⁶ Stephen Constantine, “Migrants and Settlers” in *The Oxford History of The British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century*, eds Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 186.

This changing dynamic has seen Angela McCarthy call for a ‘scholarly investigation of the Scots in England.’¹²⁷ This has not been a one-way street, and migration from the rest of the UK has substantially supplemented Scotland’s net migration numbers:

Fig. 2.5: Scottish Total Net Migration including Intra-UK Migration from 1951 to 2014 and International Net Migration from 1975



Sources: T. H. Hollingsworth, *Migration: A Study based on Scottish Experience between 1939 and 1964* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1970) p. 112; NRS, *High Level Summary of Statistics: Population and Migration*, p. 11, last updated April 2016. <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/statistics-and-data/statistics/stats-at-a-glance/high-level-summary-of-statistics-trends>; <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/statistics-and-data/statistics/stats-at-a-glance/high-level-summary-of-statistics-trends>; ONS *LTIM & IPS*.

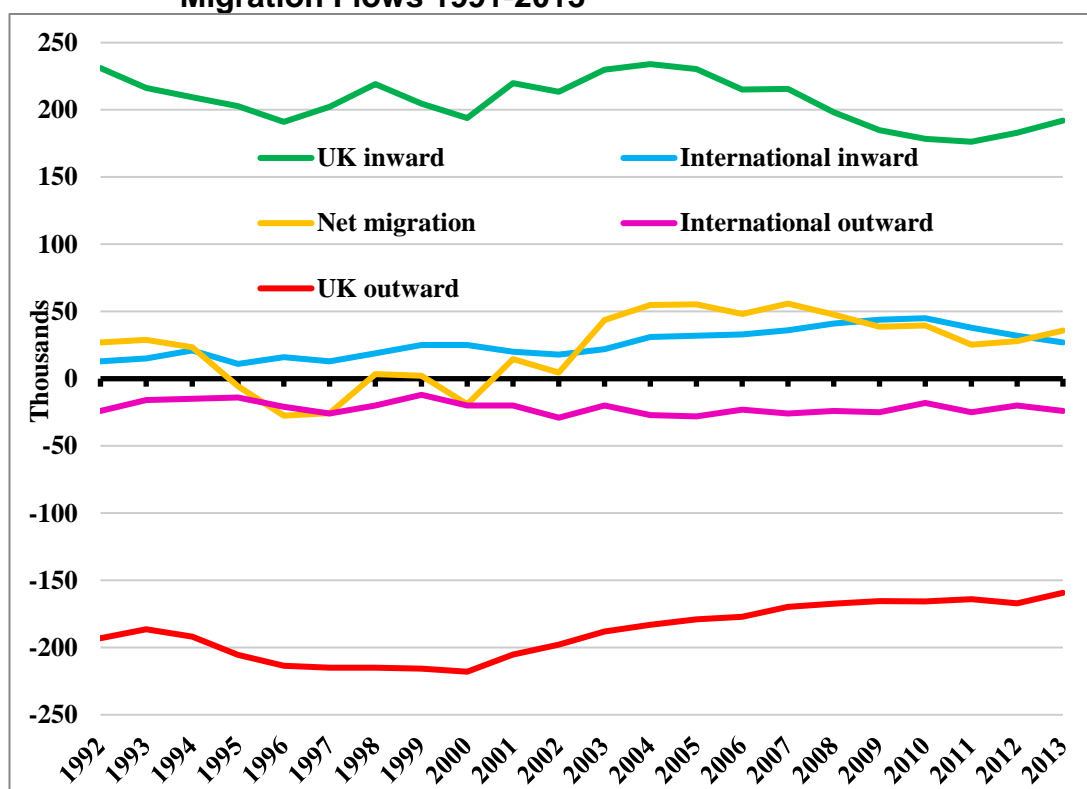
The levels of Scotland’s intra-UK immigration and emigration from 1992 to 2013 average 216,000 and 197,000 individuals respectively.¹²⁸ This represents a stark contrast to international migration flows, which averaged only 27,500 in and 22,700 out or 11.3 per cent of average gross immigration and 10.3 per cent of average gross emigration (Figure 2.6). Gross immigration from the rest of the UK was 4.5 million from 1991 to 2013, while net UK immigration was just under

¹²⁷ Angela McCarthy, “The Scottish Diaspora since 1815,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, p. 512.

¹²⁸ NRS, *Migration between Scotland and the Rest of the UK*, last updated 22 July 2015, <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/statistics-and-data/statistics/statistics-by-theme/migration/migration-statistics/migration-between-scotland-and-the-rest-of-the-uk>

400,000, indicating that much of the flow was temporary and/or return migration. From 2001 to 2013 Scotland has experienced an annual average net immigration surplus from the rest of the UK of 29,389. English settlers represent the largest inflow of immigrants both in terms of intra-UK migration and total immigration.

Fig. 2.6: Comparison of Scotland's International and Intra-UK Migration Flows 1991-2013



Source: NRS, *Migration between Scotland and the Rest of the UK*.

Historians of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scotland tend to focus on Irish migration to Scotland, which peaked in 1851 when the Irish-born of 207,367 accounted for 7.2 per cent of the population.¹²⁹ However, it is English immigration that has characterised the twentieth century with the English-born population increasing from 3.4 per cent in 1911 to 4.4 per cent in 1951¹³⁰ when English settlers numbered 231,794, whereas the number of Irish-born had dropped to around 90,000 (1.75 per cent of the population).¹³¹ The largest growth in English-born numbers has

¹²⁹ R. Swift, 'The Irish in Britain 1815–1914', quoted in Bill Kenefick, "Demography," p.114.

¹³⁰ M. Anderson, "Population and Family Life", in *People and Society in Scotland: Volume III, 1914-1990*, eds. A. Dickson and J. H. Treble (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1992), p. 14.

¹³¹ Bill Kenefick, "Demography", p.155.

occurred since 1981, with their numbers increasing by 50,000 in each intercensal decade to the 2011 census.

At 13.4 per cent of Scotland's resident population, the Scottish-born in England represent the largest concentration of first generation Scots outwith Scotland's borders, and if the 2011 census of England and Wales were to have numbered them as a separate ethnicity, they would rank as the third largest ethnic minority after the Indians (1,412,958) and Pakistanis (1,124,511).¹³² In contrast, the English-born in Scotland are Scotland's largest ethnic minority, and at 459,486 dwarf the next three largest minorities, the Pakistanis (49,381), Chinese (33,706) and Indians (32,706).¹³³ Nor is this a recent phenomenon, as in the late nineteenth century Ravenstein noted that, 'for every 100 Scotchmen in England and Wales there are only 36 natives of England in Scotland, ... the proportion which these latter bear to the total population of Scotland is as 2'46 to 100, whilst the Scotch element in England and Wales only amounts to 0.98 per cent.'¹³⁴

Table 2.4: English-born in Scotland and Scottish-born in England

Census Year	English-born in Scotland		Scottish-born in England		
	Count	As a %ge of Scotland's population	Count	As a %ge of England's population	As a %ge of Scotland's population
1981	297,673	5.9%	731,412	1.6%	14.5%
1991	354,268	7.1%	743,856	1.6%	14.9%
2001	408,948	8.1%	794,577	1.6%	15.7%
2011	459,486	8.7%	708,872	1.3%	13.4%

Source: Nomis, *Data Downloads – KS0005*, last accessed April 2016.

<http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/home/detailedstats.asp>

In contrast the numbers of Scottish-born in New Zealand are relatively low.

¹³² ONS, *2011 Census: Key Statistics for Local Authorities in England and Wales – KS201EW Ethnic Group, local authorities in England and Wales*, accessed 29 April 2015.

<http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/2011censuskeystatisticsforlocalauthoritiesinenglandandwales>

¹³³ NRS, *Scotland's Census – Data Warehouse – Table AT_005_2011 – National Level Summary*, accessed 21 April 2016. <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/data-warehouse.html#additionaltab>

¹³⁴ Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration" (1885), p. 179.

At the 2013 census, their number represented just 0.6 per cent of New Zealand's population or 0.5 per cent of Scotland's 2011 population.

Table 2.5: Scottish-born Residents of New Zealand, 1961, 1991, 2001 and 2013

1961		1991		2001		2013	
Count	As a % of total Population	Count	As a % of total Population	Count	As a % of total Population	Count	As a % of total Population
47,078	1.9%	34,062	1.0%	28,683	0.8%	25,953	0.6%

Sources; SNZ, *Birthplace and people born overseas*, last accessed 25 August 2015.

<http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary->; SNZ, 2001: *Census Cultural Diversity Tables – Table 6: Birthplace and Sex*, last accessed 25 August 2015.

<http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2001-census-data/2001-census-cultural-diversity-tables.aspx>; *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 'TOTAL POPULATION', in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, ed. A. H. McIntock, originally published in 1966. updated 22-Apr-09.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/population/page-4>

Intriguingly, as the number of New Zealand's Scottish-born has declined, the total number of the UK-born has continued to increase, although their percentage share has declined due to significant increases in the Asian-born population since the 1991 census. In 2013, New Zealand's Asian-born population accounted for 22 per cent of the quarter of New Zealand's overseas-born resident population, a close second to the UK-born total of 24.6 per cent. Table 2.6 shows the decline in the numbers of Scottish-born residents, whose share of the UK-born population has fallen from 21.3 per cent in 1961 to 10.5 per cent in 2013. While the 2013 number remains greater than the Scottish share of the UK population in 2011 (8.38 per cent), it represents a significant fall in Scottish numbers when it is considered that to the early 1920s, the Scots had 'accounted for up to a quarter of all migrants to New Zealand from the British Isles'.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Brad Patterson, Tom Brooking and Jim McAloon, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013), p. 4.

Table 2.6: Most Common Country of Birth in New Zealand's 1961, 1991, 2001 and 2013 Censuses

Birthplace	Overseas-born living in New Zealand				Percent of overseas-born people			
	1961	1991	2001	2013	1961	1991	2001	2013
England	154,869	185,964	178,203	215,589	45.7%	35.3%	25.5%	21.5%
China, (PRC)	4,194	9,222	38,949	89,121	1.2%	1.7%	5.6%	8.9%
India	4,752	9,459	12,807	67,176	1.4%	1.8%	1.8%	6.7%
Australia	35,412	48,738	56,259	62,712	10.5%	9.2%	8.1%	6.3%
South Africa	2,190	5,652	26,061	54,276	0.6%	1.1%	3.7%	5.4%
Fiji	3,039	16,710	18,774	52,755	0.9%	3.2%	2.7%	5.3%
Samoa	4,449	43,023	47,118	50,661	1.3%	8.2%	6.7%	5.1%
Philippines	33	4,458	10,137	37,299	0.0%	0.8%	1.5%	3.7%
Korea, (RoK)	-	798	17,934	26,601	-	0.2%	2.6%	2.7%
Scotland	47,078	34,062	28,683	25,953	13.9%	6.5%	4.1%	2.6%
For reference purposes:								
Total UK	221,386	232,767	218,397	246,158	65.4%	44.1%	31.3%	24.6%
Hong Kong	N/A	4,926	11,301	7,059	N/A	0.9%	1.6%	0.7%

Source: SNZ, 2013 *Census QuickStats about culture and identity*; SNZ, 2001: *Census Cultural Diversity Tables – Table 6*.

Unfortunately, we cannot validate this drop in the Scottish-born against UK sub-national migration flows as SNZ does not segment their migrant arrivals statistics on this basis. Rather, they use visa types by sovereign state as the template for the mapping of long-term migration flows. Table 2.7 compares migrant arrivals by place of previous residence and visa type for the years ended March 2005 and March 2016. Intuitively, residence visas should indicate permanent settlement and work visas sojourns, but this is not necessarily so. As one UK based New Zealand Immigration adviser explains; ‘one of the most popular ways to ... [qualify for residency] is to apply for a Work to Residence Visa.’¹³⁶ Nor is this at odds with New Zealand Immigration’s own advice.¹³⁷ Table 2.7 demonstrates an ongoing decline in the proportion of UK migrants, although they continue to account for the single largest country grouping.

¹³⁶ Richard Marcs New Zealand Emigration, *Work to Residence Visa*, accessed 14 February 2016. <http://newzealandemigration.co.uk/new-zealand-visas/work-visas/work-to-residence-visa/>

¹³⁷ New Zealand Now, *Work Visas*, accessed 14 February 2016. <https://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/move-to-nz/new-zealand-visa/work-visa/temporary-work-visa>

Table 2.7: Permanent and Long-term Arrivals by Country of Previous Residence and Visa Type for years ended March 2005 and March 2016

Country of previous permanent residence	As a % of Residence visas		As a % of Work visas		As a % of Residence and Work visa arrivals	
	2005	2016	2005	2016	2005	2016
Australia *	2.00%	3.70%	1.90%	8.20%	1.90%	7.00%
Fiji	8.40%	3.30%	2.10%	1.30%	5.00%	1.90%
China (PRC)	11.90%	19.40%	1.90%	4.10%	6.50%	8.30%
India	9.70%	6.90%	2.60%	3.10%	5.90%	4.10%
Japan	0.50%	0.60%	13.60%	3.10%	7.50%	2.40%
Korea (Sth)	1.80%	1.60%	2.10%	1.90%	2.00%	1.80%
Philippines	1.80%	5.20%	0.50%	5.20%	1.10%	5.20%
Germany	0.70%	0.70%	4.90%	8.30%	2.90%	6.20%
UK	22.80%	10.50%	37.50%	16.70%	30.60%	15.00%
Canada	0.50%	0.70%	3.20%	3.80%	1.90%	3.00%
USA	1.90%	2.10%	6.10%	5.40%	4.10%	4.50%
South Africa	2.40%	3.30%	2.40%	3.20%	2.40%	3.20%
Others	35.60%	41.90%	21.30%	35.70%	28.00%	37.40%

Source: SNZ, *Infoshare*.

* Australian citizens are not included in this number. These are non-Australian nationals who had previously resided in Australia.

While it is not possible to definitively identify the proportion of Scottish migrants captured in the number of UK visa arrivals, a 2001 to 2013 mid-point of the Scottish-born proportion of New Zealand's UK-born population would give an estimate of 11.8 per cent. This would equate to an estimated gross inflow of 11,023 Scots from 2005 to 2014 or 4.7 per cent of the 236,000 Scottish international emigrants during the same period, a significantly lower proportion of Scottish emigrants than the 12.2 per cent New Zealand commanded in the period 1853-1880.¹³⁸

Enumerating Scots in Hong Kong is equally problematic. None of Hong Kong's censuses differentiate between the UK's sub-national ethnicities. In addition, the UK numbers are also complicated by ethnicity. For example, the 2011 census counts 33,733 British citizens in Hong Kong with white Britons accounting for just

¹³⁸ McClean, *Scottish Emigrants*, p. 16.

57.5 per cent compared to their 87.2 per cent share of the UK's population.¹³⁹ Table 2.8 provides a conservative rudimentary estimate of Hong Kong's Scottish population by applying the 2011 UK census distributions of white ethnics, of which Scotland's white population accounts for 9.23 per cent, to Hong Kong's British white ethnic count:

Table 2.8: Estimated Scottish Population of Hong Kong, 1991, 2001 and 2011

Scottish Resident Estimates	Census Years		
	1991	2001	2011
Estimate count	2,416	1,651	1,791
As a % of Hong Kong's	0.04%	0.03%	0.03%
As a % of Scotland's population	0.05%	0.03%	0.03%

Sources; CSD-HKGov, *HK 1991 Population Census*, p. 41; CSD-GovHKSAR, "Population by Nationality, 2001, 2006 and 2011 (A105)" 2011 Population Census Office, Last Revision Date: 21 February 2012. <http://www.census2011.gov.hk/en/main-table/A105.html>; ONS, NRS & NISRA.

The same process was used to determine the 2001 estimate, where the Scottish percentage was 8.23 per cent of the UK's white population. The 1991 number was arrived at by using the number of Britons with UK right of abode born outside of Hong Kong, Macau and China and apportioning Scottish ethnicity as per the proportion of Scotland's population in the 1991 UK census (9.6 per cent).¹⁴⁰ In terms of Scotland's, let alone Hong Kong's population the number of Scots is small, and the dip between 1991 and 2001 mirrors the experience of all white ethnics in Hong Kong, and can be explained by the 1997 handover and diminished job opportunities in the government sector.

¹³⁹ CSD-GovHKSAR, *IDDs*; ONS, *2011 Census - Ethnic group, local authorities in England and Wales - Table KS201EW*, released 11 December 2012. <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/reference-tables.html?edition=tcn%3A77-286262>; Scotland's Census, *2011 Census - Ethnic group by sex by age - Table DC210ISC*, last revised 16 June 2015. <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/standard-outputs.html>; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA), *Ethnic Group - Table KS201NI*, accessed 22 June 2015.

<http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/SearchResults.aspx?sk=Table:KS201NI>

¹⁴⁰ Data.Gov.UK, *Ethnic Group (2001 Census)*, accessed 21 April 2016.

https://data.gov.uk/dataset/ethnic_group_2001_census; Scotland's Census, 2001, *Table UV10 - Ethnic group (Scotland)*, accessed 21 April 2016. <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/standard-outputs.html>; NISRA, *Theme Table on Ethnicity T36 (NI)*. <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/SearchResults.aspx?sk=Ethnicity>

To conclude this appraisal of Scottish migration, it is clear that in the context of Scottish migration flows, the numbers of migrants to New Zealand have diminished while the numbers of Hong Kong migrants have always been small, but as part of a colonial élite have had a disproportionate access to economic power and government. The likelihood of Scottish immigration to New Zealand returning to the levels of the immediate post-war period, let alone the levels experienced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is remote. New Zealand's appetite for migrants is no longer focused on the UK, and talent is obtained from a global pool. In addition, the number of Scottish-born residents has declined dramatically as a proportion of UK immigrants, and the reasons for this are not clear. Hong Kong is no longer a British colony, and whatever preference that may have gifted British migrants, this is no longer available to them. Again, they must compete for employment in a global marketplace.

The post-war period has seen a paradigm shift in Scottish migration. Domestic emigration to the countries of the UK has replaced the long-distance migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the twenty years to 2011, Scottish emigration to the rest of the UK totalled 3.8 million compared to the 433,000 who left for overseas destinations. However, much of this intra-UK emigration appears to be temporary in nature, with intra-UK immigration of 4 million for the same twenty-year period. The most significant demographic change in Scotland has been in the number of English-born residents, which has increased by 54 per cent since 1981 and as at the 2011 census accounted for 8.7 per cent of the population compared to the 1.3 per cent of the population of England and Wales represented by the Scottish-born. Arguably, the impact of this migration in terms of Scottish society and culture is not yet fully understood. Additionally, there is a political dimension, as after the May 2016 elections at least 15 (11.6 per cent) of the Scottish Parliament's 129 MSPs were born outside Scotland.¹⁴¹ The impact in both

¹⁴¹ Information obtained from various internet sources and by e-mail for those whose place of birth was not available on the internet. Places of birth were collected for 116 of the 129 MSPs. English-born total 12 (9.3 per cent), and Welsh-born, Northern Irish-born and Hong Kong-born 1 (0.8 per cent) each.

the short and longer term is probably worthy of further investigation, but is without the scope of this study.

The most striking feature of the New Zealand numbers has been the 44.9 per cent fall in the number of Scottish-born, and by implication Scottish immigration, in the 52 years since 1961. The prevailing argument advanced for the fall in British international emigration in the post-war period has been that traditional receiving countries no longer prioritise British migrants, and prefer to cherry-pick from a global talent pool. This, combined with attrition through mortality, could explain the Scottish decline were it not for the experience of English migrants. The English-born have not only replenished their numbers during the period, but increased their resident population by 39.2 per cent (Table 2.6), in stark contrast to the Scottish experience.

However, it is possible to formulate reasons for the decline. Devine notes that when the USA eased immigration restrictions in 1952 ‘Scots comprised over a quarter of all British emigrants there.’¹⁴² If the same were to hold true for New Zealand in the post-war years to the end of assisted migration in 1975, the 21.3 per cent Scottish-born proportion of the UK-born in 1961 does not seem unreasonable.¹⁴³ Ewen Cameron observes that traditionally ‘emigration from Scotland [had been] dominated by the skilled working class ... [whereas] modern emigration streams are rich in highly educated younger people.’¹⁴⁴ Concurrent with the shift away from working class migrants, Scottish society has seen changes in social mobility and class structure. Between 1991 and 2001 the middle classes grew from ‘27 to 36 per cent of the adult population,’ while the working class shrunk to 41 per cent from 74 per cent in 1921.¹⁴⁵ The shrinking of the class that had traditionally provided the bulk of Scotland’s migrants when combined with the end of assisted migration, provides a possible explanation for the drop in Scottish numbers.

¹⁴² Devine, “A Global Diaspora”, p. 181.

¹⁴³ Table 2.6.

¹⁴⁴ Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 208.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

Scotland's class structures and social mobility in the late twentieth century did not differ appreciably from the rest of the UK. David McCrone observes that Scottish industrial and occupational structures from 1921 to 1971 were 'close to the British mean',¹⁴⁶ and while 'there are modest [class] differences between England and Scotland, ... it is the similarities that are most obvious.'¹⁴⁷ Similarly, the proportion of Scots amongst the UK-born in New Zealand is now much closer to the UK distribution. In the 2013 New Zealand Census the proportion of Scottish-born to the rest of the UK-born was 10.1 per cent, while the 2011 UK Censuses reported Scotland's share of the UK's population at 8.4 per cent. The end of assisted migration and targeted higher-end skills-based migration policies, appear to have curtailed working class migration from Scotland. It is possible that this represents a rebalancing of New Zealand's Scottish migrant stream towards the higher-end. In addition, this rebalancing also reflects the changes in Scottish class structures identified by Cameron, which now more closely resembles that of England's.

2.3 Migration Motives

In this chapter's introduction, it was suggested that the two cohorts' motives for migration fell into two categories; the economic and the social, the social applying primarily to New Zealand settler migrants, and the economic to Hong Kong sojourners. The survey findings would appear to support this. Table 2.9 shows responses to the question of motive, in which the 2015 respondents were provided with a tick list based on the Pilot and 2014 surveys' free format responses. All surveys sought a maximum of two responses, although only 48 per cent of Hong Kong respondents and 45 per cent of New Zealand migrants provided two motives.

¹⁴⁶ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 78.

¹⁴⁷ David McCrone, "A New Scotland? Society and Culture", in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, pp. 677-678.

Table 2.9: New Zealand and Hong Kong Migrants' Motives for Migration by Gender

What were the main reasons for migrating?	Hong Kong Migrants						New Zealand Migrants						Totals					
	M	%	F	%	All	%	M	%	F	%	All	%	M	%	F	%	All	%
<i>Economic Migration</i>																		
Better job opportunities/prospects	31	30.4%	2	8.3%	33	26.2%	5	12.8%	15	31.3%	20	23.0%	36	25.5%	17	23.6%	53	24.9%
Career move	19	18.6%	4	16.7%	23	18.3%	2	5.1%	3	6.3%	5	5.7%	21	14.9%	7	9.7%	28	13.1%
Company posting and/or promotion	23	22.5%	1	4.2%	24	19.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	23	16.3%	1	1.4%	24	11.3%
Land ownership	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.6%	0	0.0%	1	1.1%	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%
<i>Social Migration</i>																		
Better lifestyle and/or life for family	2	2.0%	1	4.2%	3	2.4%	12	30.8%	9	18.8%	21	24.1%	14	9.9%	10	13.9%	24	11.3%
Marriage or to join a partner	0	0.0%	5	20.8%	5	4.0%	3	7.7%	11	22.9%	14	16.1%	3	2.1%	16	22.2%	19	8.9%
Join friends and family	1	1.0%	1	4.2%	2	1.6%	3	7.7%	4	8.3%	7	8.0%	4	2.8%	5	6.9%	9	4.2%
Health	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	5.1%	0	0.0%	2	2.3%	2	1.4%	0	0.0%	2	0.9%
<i>Environmental Migration</i>																		
Climate	0	0.0%	1	4.2%	1	0.8%	2	5.1%	2	4.2%	4	4.6%	2	1.4%	3	4.2%	5	2.3%
<i>Political Migration</i>																		
Political Concerns	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	4.2%	2	2.3%	0	0.0%	2	2.8%	2	0.9%
<i>Outliers</i>																		
Adventure and overseas experience	26	25.5%	9	37.5%	35	27.8%	9	23.1%	2	4.2%	11	12.6%	35	24.8%	11	15.3%	46	21.6%
<i>No Response</i>																		
	10	-	5	-	15	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	10	-	5	-	15	-

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK. (Percentages are a percentage of total responses **not** respondents).

2.3.1 Hong Kong Migrants

Amongst the Hong Kong cohort, the most common second choice was the *Adventure and overseas experience* choice, but only ten respondents (3 females and 7 males) selected it as their only response. Discounting *Adventure* as a second motive, the Hong Kong responses are heavily weighted towards economic migration with 79 per cent of responses citing economic and 10 per cent social migration. As regards gender, males are mostly economically focused, while again discounting *Adventure* as a secondary motive, 88 per cent of responses are economically motivated. Female responses are more balanced at 39 per cent for both social and economic motives (once more excluding *Adventure* as a secondary motive). Care needs to be taken with female numbers given the small size of the sample.

Since 2011 a subsidiary of HSBC has been conducting surveys of its expatriate customers, which gives us a useful insight into modern expatriate motivations. For instance the HSBC *Expat Explorer Survey* of 2011 noted that Hong Kong was suited to ‘expats who are motivated by having good career and financial prospects’, adding that the ‘majority of expats in Hong Kong (70%) became expats for better career prospects and the reward is a typically higher salary with 44% of expats ... earning over [US]\$200k compared to just 28% of expats overall.’¹⁴⁸ The 2015 report adds that Hong Kong ‘has the best career progression opportunities ... with 68% ... stating it is a good place for this and 86% that the chance to acquire new skills is better than or just as good as home.’¹⁴⁹ It is therefore unsurprising that economic motives are so often cited.

However, as Table 2.9 infers, in the relative absence of social motives, there is a downside to the expatriate experience as ‘48% of expats ... report their work/life balance has deteriorated since relocating compared to 30% globally. This also seems to affect family life with 24% of expats stating their children spend less time with

¹⁴⁸ HSBC Expat, *HSBC Expat: Expat Explorer Survey 2011* (HSBC Expat: n.p., 2011), p. 36, accessed 23 March 2016. <https://www.expateexplorer.hsbc.com/survey/>

¹⁴⁹ HSBC Expat, *Expat Explorer: Balancing life abroad – Global Report* (HSBC Expat: n.p., 2015), p. 58, accessed 23 March 2016. <https://www.expateexplorer.hsbc.com/survey/>

them since moving, substantially higher than average (14%).'¹⁵⁰ While the economic advantages continue to be high, there is a perception that in the new millennium expat life is no longer as well rewarded as it once was, and the following quote from an article on a Hong Kong expat website is typical of such perceptions:

Twenty years ago, being an expat was seen as a quick way to get rich fast, with most employees receiving full compensation and benefits packages that covered everything from housing, schools, and cars, to tax equalisation, home leave, and even cold-weather clothing allowances. While some expats are still fortunate to be living on full packages, most of us don't.

Industry research shows that "localising" expatriates has been the dominant compensation approach in Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai since 2004, in contrast to the predominantly full-package approach of 20 years ago.¹⁵¹

Of the Hong Kong migrants, the most easily identifiable as economically motivated are those whose companies moved them to Hong Kong. This form of sojourning migration is characteristic of the employees of multi-nationals such as HSBC.

In 1966 David Hamilton joined the British Bank of the Middle East, an HSBC subsidiary. He had worked in Libya, Kuwait, the UAE, Oman, Jordan and the Lebanon before being posted to Hong Kong in 1978/79. He describes his move dispassionately; 'I was then posted to Hong Kong as the second British Bank of the Middle East [BBME] employee to go to Hong Kong.'¹⁵² However, his narrative of his initial reasons for joining BBME and choosing an expatriate sojourning lifestyle is much more colourful:

I left school; I went to be a brickie's labourer. I then drove a lorry for a short time. ... At that point, I went on a holiday ... to Spain. We caught a train to Paris and then the train all the way down to a place called Sitges ...

¹⁵⁰ HSBC Expat, *Expat Explorer* (2011), p. 36.

¹⁵¹ Expat Living Hong Kong, *Are expat packages and expatriate salaries in Hong Kong a thing of the past?*, 19 July 2015. http://www.expatliving.hk/living_in_hk/finance/Are-expat-packages-and-expatriate-salaries-in-Hong-Kong-a-thing-of-the-past-90955.ece

¹⁵² David Hamilton, interviewed by Iain Watson, 9 April 2014, interview transcript.

It was warm, it was nice and we spent a couple of weeks there. I came back thinking I would like to be somewhere in the sunshine.¹⁵³

Despite the colour of this narrative and its air of adventure, in interview the economic motive remains an undercurrent. Through a school-friend, he met a young man who ‘worked for the British Bank of the Middle East ... He was back on leave and he had all the latest LP records which made an impression at the time. How could he afford all these records?’¹⁵⁴

David’s narrative shows that there can be a combination of motives to migration, and a disparity between the survey findings and oral history narratives. While the analysis of the survey responses emphasises the centrality of economic motives, few Hong Kong migrant interviews settle on economic motives alone. Indeed, many diminish or do not mention economic motives and characterise their decisions in terms that suggest adventure and risk-taking, especially amongst those who moved in their twenties and thirties. Don Rider, then 28 years old, and driving to work in the London rain with a job offer from a Hong Kong publisher in his pocket, made the decision to go on the basis that ‘it was an adventure ... Career-wise there wasn’t much of a reason.’¹⁵⁵ This male risk-taking narrative is similar to that identified in Mary Chamberlain’s study of Barbadian immigrants in the UK.¹⁵⁶

However, Don’s adventure/risk-taking narrative is also tempered by an economic motive in the form of the encouragement he received from his then employers, Times Newspapers. ‘They said, ... “come back in eighteen months/a couple of years and you will have a job. You will end up with better experience than you will get here. It’s actually not a bad thing to do.” I was actually quite happy to come out.’¹⁵⁷ Such conflicting narratives are not unusual, as the survey responses indicate. For some, the initial migration would have been on an exploratory basis,

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Don Rider, interviewed by Iain Watson, 5 December 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁵⁶ Mary Chamberlain, *Narratives of Exile and Return* (1997, 3rd printing: New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2009), pp. 91-112.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

hence the adventure/risk narrative, although should the migrant decide to extend the sojourn, another narrative explaining a longer sojourn is required and advanced.

Stewart Saunders first sojourned in Hong Kong in the late 1990s when he was in his mid-fifties. Similar to David Hamilton's experience, this was at the behest of his UK employers Scottish Power (SP), for whom he was under secondment to Hong Kong energy company China Light and Power (CLP). After two and a half years in Hong Kong, and despite being offered a more permanent role in CLP, he returned to the UK as Managing Director of SP subsidiary MANWEB.¹⁵⁸ Just shy of his sixties and a couple of weeks short of retirement in March 2002, CLP offered him the chance to extend his working life in the energy industry. After discussing the offer with his wife, they returned to Hong Kong where he 'signed up for two years, and then another two, and then another one, then another nine months',¹⁵⁹ and was still in Hong Kong when interviewed in 2015. As an older migrant, Stewart's choice leans to the more reasoned, in comparison to the more impulsive risk-taking narratives that can characterise the stories of younger sojourners.

Of the male respondents, 38 per cent cite *Adventure and overseas experience* as a motive, and this is a common theme in interviews. None of those interviewed migrated with the expectation that they would stay for the longer term, most being either on short-term (no more than 3 year) contracts or short-term postings with the likelihood of being moved to another location in a similar time-frame. For those on contracts, there comes a time when a decision needs to be made as to whether to stay, move on or return. Commenting collectively for himself and his circle of Scottish friends in Hong Kong, Don Rider observes, 'after a couple of years you had to stay in Asia, because there were no jobs to go back to ... In that small group of about 15 people I should think about 13 of them are still in Asia.'¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Formerly known as the Merseyside and North Wales Electricity Board, it was acquired by Scottish Power in 1995.

¹⁵⁹ Stewart Saunders, interviewed by Iain Watson, 7 December 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁶⁰ Don Rider, interview.

Asked if he had expected to stay in Hong Kong, Alan Powrie responded: ‘No one does’, but adds that ‘[i]f you stay beyond three years, it becomes a decision point, whether you’re conscious of it or not.’¹⁶¹ Commenting on his decision to return and stay in Hong Kong in 1979/80 after a sojourn in the USA, Alan disclosed that it ‘was a wise decision because the whole business environment just took off ... timing was everything.’¹⁶² While the initial motivation may have been the adventure, the reasons for staying tend to be economic, and it is these retrospective responses that colour the survey results.

Of note is that 56 per cent of female respondents cited *Adventure and overseas experience* as a motive with 19 per cent citing it as the sole reason. This is higher than the male percentages of 38 per cent and 14 per cent, although it is a small sample. Fiona Donnelly’s testimony indicates that female motives are perhaps not as different or gender specific. The catalyst for her migration was her big sister: ‘she was my inspiration ... she moved to Spain ... That whet my appetite in terms of it’s not all about Scotland. It’s not all about the UK.’¹⁶³ A qualified chartered accountant in her mid-twenties, she chose Hong Kong because, as a British citizen, she could work there without a visa or a sponsor. She left her job in Glasgow without one arranged in Asia as: ‘My thinking was, “Well I’ll come to Hong Kong first stop on a trip around Asia,” but I was going to come to Hong Kong with an open mind and if I liked it ... once I’m there then why rush back to Glasgow?’¹⁶⁴

Four and a half years later Fiona was still in Hong Kong where she ‘was still enjoying the adventure’.¹⁶⁵ Even when between jobs she felt that it was difficult to consider leaving because she had ‘embrace[d] Hong Kong, and ... like[d] the pace of the city, and ... [its] default optimism.’¹⁶⁶ Twenty years after arriving she does not necessarily feel that she will stay in Hong Kong, and sees herself as ‘very, very open

¹⁶¹ Alan Powrie, interviewed by Iain Watson, 31 July 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Fiona Donnelly, interviewed by Iain Watson, 4 August 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

mind¹⁶⁷ towards her future. Another feature of female responses is migrating to join a partner. Lindsey Hamilton first met her future husband, David, in Edinburgh in the late 1970s when he was on leave from Hong Kong, and 5 years later she agreed to join him in Hong Kong, despite being only 6 months into a new job in Edinburgh.

The move to Hong Kong was ‘based on him being there.’ However, she feels the decision to leave may have needed more consideration ‘[i]f he had lived somewhere else, then I would have gone somewhere else, I think. But it was appealing. Hong Kong was an appealing place to go. David’s lived other places that might not have been so easy to go to, the Middle East, perhaps.’¹⁶⁸ Even then, the economics of her situation are never far from her narrative. She had given herself a month to find a job because ‘[i]f it had dragged on and I hadn’t been able to get a job, I just would have been embarrassed that I wasn’t paying my way’.¹⁶⁹ She achieved this goal, but admits that her first year in Hong Kong had been difficult. David’s social group comprised experienced expatriates, and she had felt a bit of an ‘ingénue’, although ‘it didn’t take that long, really, to adjust.’¹⁷⁰

Amongst younger sojourners the sense of adventure and the ability to return, should things not work out, are characteristics of their migrations. For those who took employment in civil service roles, especially the Royal Hong Kong Police (RHKP), this is a common starting point. Alan Dalglish, now a property executive in Hong Kong, recalls that when he joined the RHKP in 1982 he ‘treated ... the police force a bit like a short service commission, you do it for whatever, three, six, nine [years] ... and then get into the private sector.’¹⁷¹ In 1985 he left the RHKP and went back to Scotland, but remained intent on returning to Hong Kong, despite not having a job to return to. Again, risk-taking is a key part of the narrative: ‘I just

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Lindsey Hamilton, interviewed by Iain Watson, 29 April 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Alan Dalglish, interviewed by Iain Watson, 6 August 2014, interview transcript.

thought the opportunities would be good in Hong Kong ... You know, the enthusiasm of youth, ... something will come up, and it did.’¹⁷²

Mike Dowie, a career RHKP police officer, was raised as a Roman Catholic in Edinburgh’s Muirhouse, an area he describes as being ‘mostly Protestant’. The sectarianism he experienced was a motive for his migration, although this was tinged by a sense of adventure: ‘I felt that Edinburgh was not suiting me, the religious issue, ... I needed to get away ... it was “I’ve got to sample somewhere else, I’ve got to go somewhere else”.’¹⁷³ However, Mike’s choice of Hong Kong was influenced by a consideration of the merits of sojourning compared to emigrating to settle. Through his mother, Mike has family in Australia, which was a migration option for him. However, he recognised that there may be a finality to such a move:

‘I thought if I go to Australia, that’s migration ... and I’m going to become an Australian. ... I was thinking about it but in the end, the Hong Kong [job], ... it was a three-and-a-half-year probation period. I thought about using it like a short term army commission and then possibly come back, maybe then go to university or whatever. When I left, ... it was on a temporary basis.’¹⁷⁴

Mike’s narrative is unusual in two respects. Firstly, that the adventure motive is likely a later narrative based on a retrospective view of a challenging career in the RHKP and the post-colonial Hong Kong Police, rather than the exploratory adventure of the initial sojourn. Secondly, he was the only interviewee to mention religious prejudice as one of his motives. Indeed, only two migrants mentioned religious friction in interview. Marjory Harper has also observed that religion is rarely mentioned in modern migrant interviews, whereas it ‘would have taken centre stage in previous centuries’.¹⁷⁵

Peter Caldwell, a civil engineer and a career expatriate, asked when he had realised he would be staying in Hong Kong for the long-term, responded: ‘I’ve been

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Mike Dowie, interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2015, interview transcript.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Harper, *Scotland No More?* p. 229.

here 40 years, it must have happened but I don't think it ever occurred to me, it was just that what I was doing was interesting. I had good friends and enjoyed the lifestyle so I had no reason to think about looking elsewhere.'¹⁷⁶ This testimony again speaks retrospectively of the social and economic seduction of life in Hong Kong. However, like Mike Dowie, Peter's original choice of an overseas career (he had worked in Africa and the Middle East prior to moving to Hong Kong) had included a conscious choice between sojourning and migrating: 'I always thought of it as working overseas rather than migrating.'¹⁷⁷

This distinction between migrating and sojourning is something that Hong Kong's migrants must address the longer they stay overseas. This will be discussed in more detail in the Return chapter. However, while the initial move may have been made on the grounds of adventure, the reasons for staying are likely to be economic, although the majority recognise that even if they have been in Hong Kong for an extended period and own property, the likelihood is that they may eventually settle elsewhere.

2.3.2 New Zealand Migrants

In contrast, New Zealand is a settler environment. Migrant cohort responses are weighted towards social migration (50.5 per cent), and when economic motives are selected 50 per cent of those chose a social motive as well. Only 18.3 per cent of respondents chose the *Adventure* motive, and in all but one instance this was combined with either a social or economic migration choice. This contrasts with the 41.2 per cent of Hong Kong migrants who chose *Adventure*. Additionally, interview narratives do not tend to deviate from the survey results as much as they do for Hong Kong sojourners. There appears to be less of the suck it and see attitude to migration.

¹⁷⁶ Peter Caldwell, interviewed by Iain Watson, 4 August 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

Interestingly, at 18 per cent, the *Adventure* motive is similar to the ‘lust for exploration, wish for change, curiosity and desire to travel ... cited by 21 per cent of migrants assisted to New Zealand mid-[twentieth] century.’¹⁷⁸ However, there is a difference in the nature of this adventurism compared to that articulated by Hong Kong sojourners. The short-term nature of the initial sojourn lends itself to adventurism, and for those on expatriate terms the capital outlay is low, with employers bearing the capital burden. The financial rewards are often good and there is the insurance of return to the UK, should things not work out. In some respects, the early sojourn is akin to a working holiday, although in return for their investment, employers expect their pound of flesh. It has been argued above that where adventurism is cited, it is likely to have been the initial migration motive for Hong Kong’s sojourners, with other motives added retrospectively to explain longer-term sojourns. In contrast, Angela McCarthy suggests that for New Zealand migrants this motive for migration retrospectively seeks to recast ‘emigration as voluntary and empowering’ or ‘to mirror extant stereotypes of the mobile Scot’.¹⁷⁹

Of the New Zealand migrant interviewees only two mention adventure as a motive. For the majority, their decision-making processes follow a more rational consideration of a number of factors. For instance, Senga Imrie’s parents had emigrated to New Zealand in 1958/59 with her younger sister and two younger brothers, while Senga and her fiancé, a tradesman/painter, remained in Scotland. However, she was not without family in the UK as her two older sisters had also stayed. Despite this support, and prior to migrating in 1964, Senga and her husband began to consider migration: ‘About 1963 we began to look at how things were going in Britain. And we thought ... when our kids grow up ... there's not really going to be much employment here.’¹⁸⁰ This narrative, which couches economic motives in the terms of a social motive, is not unusual amongst migrants. Yet, despite her familial ties to New Zealand, it was not the first or only option considered. Canada was the first, and was discounted due to its health system not

¹⁷⁸ Angela McCarthy, *Personal Narratives*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁸⁰ Senga Imrie and Nancy Martin, interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, interview transcript.

being comparable to the UK's and because its 'winters were colder than Scotland.'¹⁸¹ South Africa was dismissed because of concerns about its political future and Australia as 'there was not really any health system' and because of 'the poisonous snakes.'¹⁸²

Senga's testimony provides us with a good example of a migrant's decision-making processes in which origin and destination factors are considered. The positives of the British health system are compared to those of Canada and Australia, while the environmental negatives of Canada's winters and Australia's wildlife also play a part, as does the negative of South Africa's stability. Ultimately they settled on New Zealand despite Senga's mother saying "You won't like it, you won't like it."¹⁸³ Senga was not deterred by her mother's input, while her comments about the dangers of Australia's fauna in addition to her other evaluations are typical of other migrant responses, especially amongst those who migrated before internet access became more common (UK household internet penetration only exceeded 50 per cent in 2005). This would seem to suggest a certain commonality of information sources amongst post-1950 migrants, and with increased access to the internet migrant information sources are only likely to become more consistent.

Alex Loggie, a registered nurse specialising in mental health, came to a realisation that he wanted to migrate gradually, observing: 'I always thought that I was quite settled, I realised I never was, really. It was ... just circumstantial ties.'¹⁸⁴ In his late thirties these ties finally frayed with the passing of his father in 2004, and he comments that '[m]y wife could really see that I was unsettled and that I didn't have anything really holding us there anymore. I just said, "Can we give it a go?"'¹⁸⁵ He and his wife, also a nurse, then began the process of evaluating the various factors they felt were important to them and used the internet to help them make the decision. When identifying possible migration locations, language was an issue and for Alex 'it always came down to Canada, New Zealand and Australia. Because of

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid

¹⁸⁴ Alex Loggie, interviewed by Iain Watson, 18 July 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

the nature of the work I do, it had to be an English-speaking country. That was one of the limiting factors. It's really hard to do therapy when you can't understand the nuances of language.'¹⁸⁶

Taking language as the baseline for the decision and using the internet, they researched their potential destinations to cut them down to just the one:

Canada was taken out because the application process is so protracted and the French-speaking provinces have an expectation that you're going to be fluent in French within a year. You're obviously excluded from the French-speaking provinces and I didn't like the idea of being excluded.

... Australia was eventually crossed off because I thought, "The temperatures are too extreme and there are too many poisonous beasts." It was literally that straightforward.¹⁸⁷

Here Alex raises an intervening obstacle, with respect to the Canadian application process and Quebec. Yet, like Senga, the obstacles of distance or cost do not enter into the equation, although 40 years after Senga's migration Australia's fauna still merits a mention! Alex's reasons for migrating are not fully defined and his migration narrative is replete with phrases such as '[I]et's just work hard and let's just travel' and 'why don't we?'¹⁸⁸ In many respects his testimony resembles that of Hong Kong's sojourners and he specifically references the adventure motive commenting that the move might have ended 'up being a very expensive holiday, but it is going to be a great adventure.'¹⁸⁹ Now settled in New Zealand, and asked to evaluate their decision to migrate, Alex responds 'I wish I'd done it 20 years earlier', retrospectively adding a social motive to the mix saying that it has been good for their children, 'you see it in their confidence and their demeanour.'¹⁹⁰

While Alex's motives do not include the economic, John and Jean Hanna's migration was primarily economic. John, an apprentice marine engineer on the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Clyde, was concerned about the Clyde's future as 'customers could never depend on having their ship finished in time. So you put that together with the general decline and the amount of work that was available and things didn't look very good on the career front.'¹⁹¹ They looked at a number of options and had 'thought about either Canada, Rhodesia or New Zealand'. However, a chance meeting in 1957 on the ferry back to Scotland from Northern Ireland after the 'World Pipe Band Championships',¹⁹² in which John had been a competitor, led to his being recruited to the Palmerston North Pipe Band by a New Zealander, Ian Cameron, who had donated a trophy to the competition and was looking for a piper for his local pipe band. Through the band John and Jean had the promise of a job and 'a flat to go to',¹⁹³ which curtailed any further debates as to where to migrate. They were on their way to New Zealand in 1958.

Underlying the economic motives of John and Jean Hanna and Senga Imrie is not that there were no jobs for them in Scotland, but their unspecified perception that job opportunities would diminish at some time in the future. In both interviews there was no mention of any evaluation of future job opportunities in New Zealand for comparison, and interestingly this motive is consistent with one of Devine's possible explanations for his paradox, that of economic insecurity. Nor was there any retrospective discussion of whether the decision had been economically sound. For all three, validation of their migration comes retrospectively from the successes of and opportunities for their children, which they believe would not have been the case had they stayed in Scotland. This does not necessarily invalidate the social motive, as Senga had migrated with her infant son, and John and Jean had every intention of starting a family (Jean actually found out that she was pregnant on the journey out), but does demonstrate that migration motives are rarely singular.

Those who migrated in and after the 1980s are less likely to cite pure economic motives for their migration. When mentioned, they are in terms of future

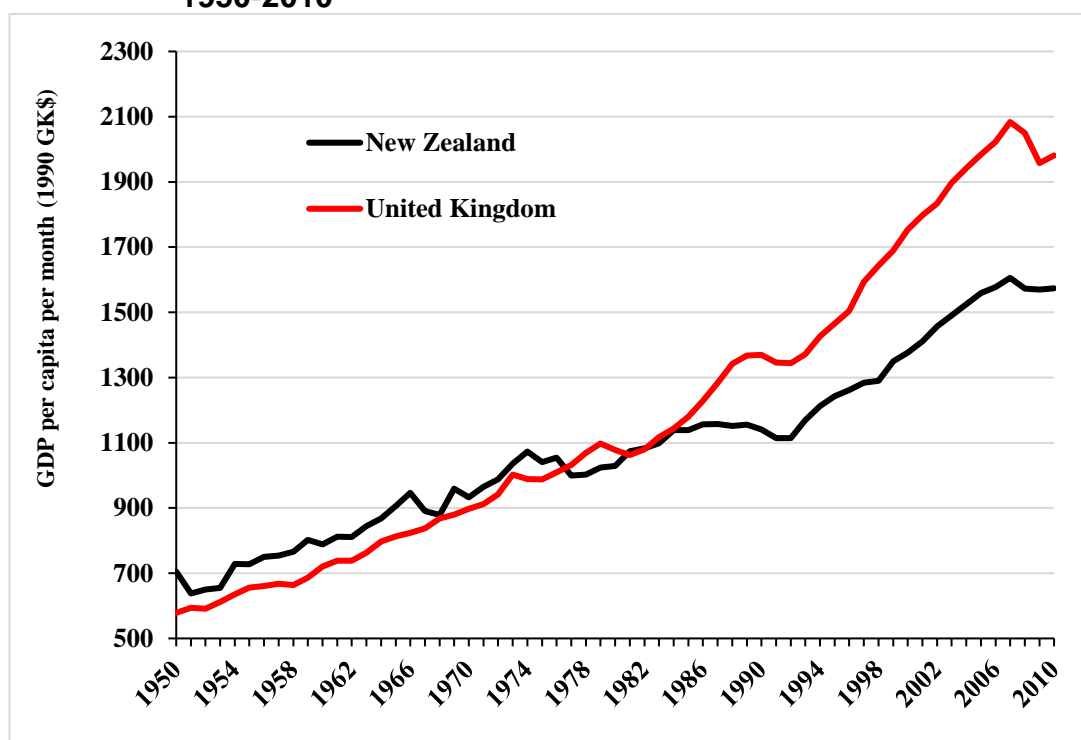
¹⁹¹ John and Jean Hanna, interviewed by Iain Watson, 18 July 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁹² Ibid (this is how John Hanna describes the event, but it was probably the All Ireland Pipe Band Championships held at Belfast Mourneview Park in Lurgan, County Armagh in 1957).

¹⁹³ Ibid.

benefit to offspring or better career opportunities, while the better lifestyle motive is prevalent. Alex Loggie points out that in New Zealand ‘salaries aren’t as good’,¹⁹⁴ and the evidence tends to support this. In 1950, New Zealand was the sixth wealthiest country in the world in terms of GDP per Capita with only the oil rich British protectorates of Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates and the USA and Switzerland ranking ahead of them.¹⁹⁵ At that time, New Zealand’s GDP per capita was 22 per cent greater than the UK’s.¹⁹⁶ By the mid-1980s GDP per capita parity had been achieved between the two and thereafter the UK’s has exceeded New Zealand’s:

Fig. 2.7: UK and New Zealand Average GDP per Capita per Month 1950-2010



Source; The Maddison-Project.

While GDP per capita is a useful macro measure with which to evaluate trends, it can hide income distribution inequalities and cost of living differences. Average earnings data from the International Labour Organization from 1998 to

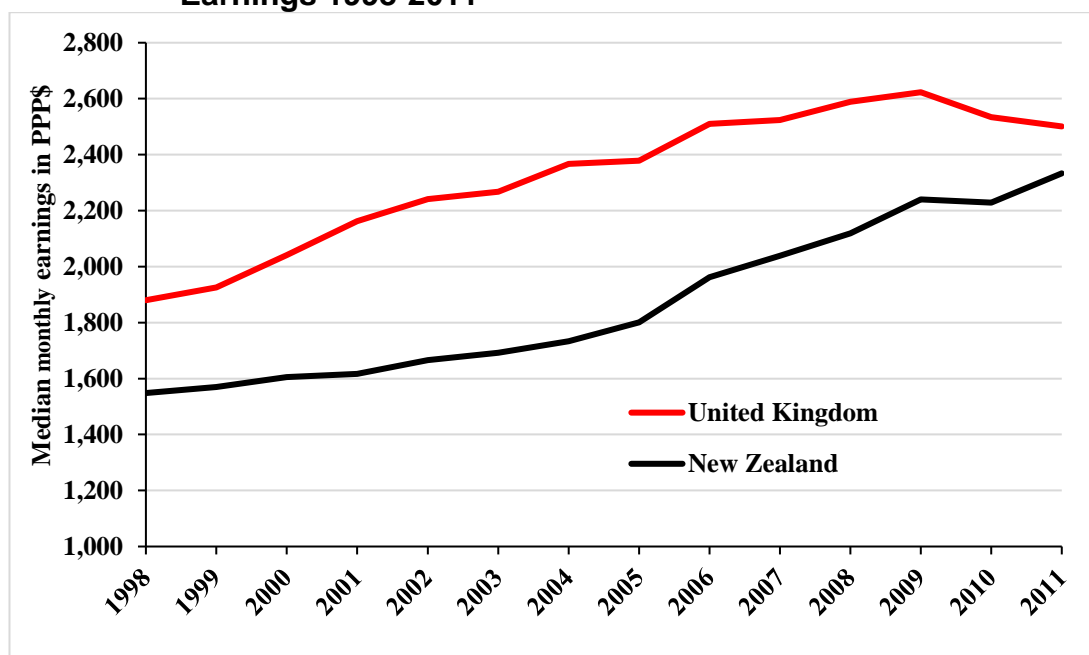
¹⁹⁴ Alex Loggie, interview.

¹⁹⁵ The Maddison-Project.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

2011 shows that average New Zealand earnings are 19.8 per cent lower than the UK's (Figure 2.8). On a purely financial basis, it would appear that migrating to New Zealand in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries was unlikely to be as financially productive as remaining in the UK. It is thus unsurprising that migrants like Alex Loggie tend not to characterise their migration in economic terms.

Fig. 2.8: UK and New Zealand Employee Median Nominal Monthly Earnings 1998-2011



Sources; International Labour Organization, *Median Monthly Earnings of Employees*, accessed January 2016. http://www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/help_home/data_by_subject/subject-details/indicator-details-by-subject?indicator=EAR_MNEE_NOC_NB&subject=EAR&_afLoop=266425873903388&datasetCode=GWR&collectionCode=GWR&_adf.ctrl-state=1qphwf067_21 – Local currency converted into PPP\$ using exchange rates from; OECD.Stat, *PPPs and Exchange Rates*, accessed 27 March 2016. https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=SNA_TABLE4#

However, mirroring the economic fears of earlier migrants such as the Hannas and Senga Imrie, some later migrants were sufficiently concerned about Scotland's economic future in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century to consider migrating. In the mid-90s Cathy Gunn, a university lecturer and single mother from Edinburgh considered Scotland to be,

quite depressed ... Eighteen years of Thatcherism had left its mark and I was not planning on bringing my son up in Scotland. Nor was I

planning on living there, long term, for personal and professional reasons ...

I was actually looking mainly at Australia ... I wanted an English-speaking country. I wanted somewhere with a reasonably healthy economy, ... and somewhere that would be easy enough to get into ... I had looked at a job in Australia and had positive feedback, but they were in a position where they couldn't offer the job to somebody who wasn't Australian or Australian resident already.¹⁹⁷

Cathy was offered a one-year contract with the University of Auckland, which she took. While there is an element of a political motive to her migration, it is again informed by a perception of future economic decline at origin, combined with a social motive with regard to the raising of her son. Additionally, Cathy did not expect to be staying in New Zealand: 'I thought, "Well, that's the right general direction"'.¹⁹⁸

This initial migration was temporary in nature, and was also a feature of Alex Loggie's narrative. Indeed, when he and his wife had made the decision to move, they did not burn their bridges, 'we did it in such a way that we negotiated extended leaves of absence. We both kept our jobs open and we rented out the house, so we always had that safety net.'¹⁹⁹ While cheaper transportation costs since the 1980s have allowed migrants to adopt this exploratory stance towards migration, this is not restricted to post-1980s migrants. Bert Miller left Scotland for New Zealand in 1955. He had been living in Stirling, working on the family farm when his mother had passed in 1953. In his words: 'I was thinking then that I might do an OE. My thoughts went to Canada, Australia or New Zealand, but because I had a connection with New Zealand [through his grandmother], I thought that was the best option.'²⁰⁰ Bert's choice of the abbreviation OE²⁰¹ is deliberate and denotes that he intended to return to Scotland or at least move on, something he reiterates later in his interview, commenting that 'I was going to be two years, maybe three years, but then I was

¹⁹⁷ Cathy Gunn, interviewed by Iain Watson, 28 July 2014, interview transcript.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Alex Loggie, interview.

²⁰⁰ Bert Miller, interviewed by Iain Watson, 13 July 2014, interview transcript.

²⁰¹ Overseas Experience or OE, is a New Zealand term which ordinarily refers to young New Zealanders travelling to Europe for an average of 2 to 5 years before returning to New Zealand.

going to go Australia. I had no definite plans.’²⁰² The plan in his own words went awry as ‘one thing led to another’,²⁰³ and he stayed, married, raised a family and set up his own business.

As with the Hong Kong migrants, the survey response to the question about migration motives is also gendered, but in a surprising way, with males more likely to cite social rather than economic motives. On its surface this appears to be at odds with the findings of other migrant studies. For instance, Mary Chamberlain’s oral histories of Barbadian immigrants in the UK, suggests that male narratives are geared towards economic success as they ‘present a picture of progression, calculation and achievement, in which these men had been the significant players, and the decision to come [is] ... vindicated.’²⁰⁴ On the other hand, female ‘life stories [are] recounted not through individual progression, but through the cycle of the family.’²⁰⁵ However, despite the survey responses the underlying female testimonies are really not that different. While economic choices are evident in Senga Imrie and Cathy Gunn’s narratives, family remains central and the 37.6 per cent economic and 50 per cent social split in survey responses is probably a fair reflection of female migration choices. Nor are these testimonies exceptions, and in all probability, like the Hong Kong responses, the survey results represent a retrospective analysis of their migration motives.

However, the 20.5 per cent economic and 51.3 per cent social male split is less easy to fathom. Perhaps this reflects a retrospective realisation that a move to New Zealand may not have been as financially remunerative as remaining in the UK, but that there are other compensations in lifestyle and climate. The 2015 HSBC expat guide comparison highlights this, noting that of expatriates in New Zealand ‘more than three-quarters (77%) say their overall quality of life is better than at home ... [and that] working in New Zealand brings rewards, although just 25% believe

²⁰² Bert Miller, interview.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Mary Chamberlain, “Gender and Narratives of Migration”, *History Workshop Journal*, No. 43 (1997), p. 95.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 106.

earning prospects are better than in their country of origin.’²⁰⁶ The need to validate the decision to migrate is common to all, but the path to what could be deemed a successful migration will likely change as situations evolve and migrants react to their changed circumstances. In this respect the chances of being able to measure migration success in economic terms may be limited, in which case the New Zealand migrant can measure success in terms of the social benefit of the move.

While the surveys targeted migration motives in terms of broad groups, oral testimony has shown that it is difficult to pin down a migrant’s motives definitively. Unlike the experience of sojourning migrants to Hong Kong, there appears to be a more defined and structured decision-making process. This may be because there is a greater capital commitment involved, but more probably because there is a likelihood that such a move may result in the permanence of settlement. However, as Marjory Harper notes when summarising the motives of her late-twentieth century Scottish migrant interviewees, ‘the decision to emigrate was rarely based on one criterion’.²⁰⁷ Before concluding this chapter, it is worth briefly looking at the survey responses of the New Zealand multi-generational descent group.

2.3.3 New Zealand Multi-Generational Descent Group

This cohort was asked the same questions, but in their case the questions were directed at what they believed were the motives of the first of their Scottish forebears who arrived in New Zealand. Respondents were also encouraged to respond along the lines of accepted family lore when they could not be sure of the motive. They were further asked if their forebears had migrated alone or as a family unit, and if they had migrated singly, the gender of the migrant. The surveys collected 152 responses of which 31 per cent (47) provided two motives. Of those respondents 65 per cent (99) were descended from family migrations, 30 per cent (46) from single male and 5 per cent (7) from single female migrants.

²⁰⁶ HSBC Expat, *Expat Explorer* (2015), p 68.

²⁰⁷ Marjory Harper, *Scotland No More?* p. 202.

Table 2.10: New Zealand Multi-Generational Migrants Forebears' Motives for Migration by Family Unit or Gender

What were the main reasons for migrating?	New Zealand multi-generational descent group							
	M	%	F	%	Family	%	Totals	%
<i>Economic Migration</i>								
Better job opportunities/prospects	27	47.4%	2	25.0%	30	22.4%	59	29.6%
Land ownership	2	3.5%	0	0.0%	10	7.5%	12	6.0%
Career move	1	1.8%	0	0.0%	2	1.5%	3	1.5%
Company posting and/or promotion	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<i>Social Migration</i>								
Better lifestyle and/or life for family	6	10.5%	1	12.5%	36	26.9%	43	21.6%
Join friends and family	0	0.0%	3	37.5%	5	3.7%	8	4.0%
Marriage or to join a partner	1	1.8%	2	25.0%	1	0.7%	4	2.0%
Health	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	3.7%	5	2.5%
<i>Environmental and Political Migration</i>								
Clearances, famine etcetera	3	5.3%	0	0.0%	22	16.4%	25	12.6%
Climate	2	3.5%	0	0.0%	3	2.2%	5	2.5%
<i>Outliers & Others</i>								
Adventure and overseas experience	5	8.8%	0	0.0%	2	1.5%	7	3.5%
Unknown	10	17.5%	0	0.0%	18	13.4%	28	14.1%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK (percentages are a percentage of total responses **not** respondents).

Economic motives at 37 per cent predominate with social motives running a good second at 30 per cent of total responses. These perceptions differ from the migrants' responses of 30 per cent and 50.5 per cent respectively. This may not indicate the actual motives of their Scottish forebears, but rather a belief amongst the multi-generational cohort that New Zealand represents a better economic and social environment than Scotland. This is accentuated by the choice of the Clearances and famine motive by 12.6 per cent of the cohort. As highlighted in the introductory chapter, this promotion of a victim diaspora is a pervasive narrative in New Zealand, despite it being unlikely. Asking respondents to view their forebears' motives for leaving Scotland opens the responses to romantic interpretations of family motives and/or the possibility that the responses represent the respondents' personal perceptions of life in New Zealand.

That said, some responses were extraordinarily frank. One respondent commented that his migrant forebear had come to New Zealand ‘supposedly to make his fortune. I suspect he was as bad a farmer in Scotland as he was in NZ! (He lost his farm in the great depression, after spending serious money on Pedigree cattle unsuited to hard elevated country).’²⁰⁸ For others, a new country provided them with a new start, where they could build themselves a new legend.

Sue Broad had a close relationship with her paternal grandmother, who had emigrated with her husband and family from Glasgow to Australia in 1921 and then on to New Zealand in 1938/39. Sue recalls as a child going to stay with her grandparents in the Lower Hutt, where her grandmother ‘would tell me lots of stories about her time back in Scotland and her family ... She used to say that her father was an estate manager for one of the big estates and they had these two enormous dogs named Robert and Bruce. I just thought this was so exotic’.²⁰⁹ However, researching her family history she found that her grandmother was Glasgow born and raised and her stories were ‘mostly embroidered and ... turned out to be a complete fabrication.’²¹⁰ Ironically, this discovery has intensified Sue’s desire to get to the truth of her family’s migration. Yet, she is now circumspect about family motives, qualifying her references to them with the phrase ‘the family story is’.²¹¹

Similarly, Allan Main who was 3 years old when he emigrated with his parents in 1957, cannot be entirely sure about the reasons behind his family’s migration. However, these origin stories can provide a colourful background to the migration story, to be passed down to succeeding generations. His family story, as he understands it, is that his father and a friend made the destination decision for their families by tossing a bottle-top, as they had decided that ‘the futures for their kids wasn’t in Scotland – and that they should consider emigrating ... The potential destinations were Canada or New Zealand.’²¹² While this chance selection process may seem fanciful, Marjory Harper has also observed that destinations can be

²⁰⁸ BOS, “Respondent 22784-22781-1428578,” *SMtoNZ*.

²⁰⁹ Tom and Sue Broad, interviewed by Iain Watson, 14 July 2014, interview transcript.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Allan Main, interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, interview transcript.

‘selected almost at random.’²¹³ As Sue and Allan’s doubts show, identifying migration motives for one’s forebears can be difficult and is most obviously problematic for those who experience it at a distance from the migrants themselves. Whether the adaptation or reimagining of family stories or memories occurs with the migrants themselves or their descendants, they represent an unreliable source for establishing motives and/or choices.

The 2014 survey also asked respondents to estimate the validity of their family’s reasons for migrating and destination choice, and amongst the multi-generational cohort there is little doubt concerning the veracity of these family stories:

Table 2.11: Perceived Validity of Family Migration Motives and Destination Choice amongst the New Zealand Multi-Generational Group

New Zealand Multi-generational Group	Do you believe the family reasons for leaving Scotland to be		Do you believe the family reasons for choosing New Zealand as their destination to be	
	Count	%	Count	%
True	43	60.6%	32	45.1%
Partially True	5	7.0%	5	7.0%
Mostly Inaccurate	1	1.4%	1	1.4%
Not Sure	3	4.2%	6	8.5%
Unknown	19	26.8%	27	38.0%

Source; BOS, *SMtoNZ*.

Interestingly, there is more certainty about the reasons for leaving Scotland, than how the migration destination was arrived at and this reflects Allan Main’s family lore. Indeed, Allan qualifies the family’s bottle-top story by observing that ‘to this day, I find it astounding that such a momentous decision was made on such a frivolous basis, but that’s how it was. I’m sure Mum had some input to it, but it doesn’t seem so from the family folklore.’²¹⁴ This would seem to indicate that it is perhaps easier to ascribe motives retrospectively than understand how those choices

²¹³ Harper, *Scotland No More?* p. 203.

²¹⁴ Allan Main, interview.

were made. These are issues which the increasing interest in family histories and genealogy could resolve. However, as noted above, this area is subject to individual interpretation, and it is just as likely that romantic interpretations of family motives influenced by personal values and perceptions are possible outcomes.

2.4 Concluding Comments

In terms of Scottish emigration streams, the levels of migration to New Zealand and Hong Kong are small, and since the 1960s have been predominantly focused on England. This situation has also seen a counter-stream of English migrants into Scotland, such that they represent the largest ethnic minority in Scotland, dwarfing all others. While it is difficult to ascertain numbers of Scots in Hong Kong, this chapter's estimated levels of between 2,416 (1991) and 1,791 (2011) represent less than one hundredth of a percentage point of either Scotland or Hong Kong's populations.

Of more significance has been the drop in Scottish emigration to New Zealand. From 1853 to 1880 this amounted to 12.2 per cent of Scottish international emigration, but in 2007 to 2014 was just an estimated 4.7 per cent. This has resulted in a dramatic fall in New Zealand's Scottish-born population from 47,078 in 1961 to 25,953 in 2013, while during the same period the UK-born population has increased from 221,386 to 246,158 respectively. Concurrently Scotland's traditional migratory class, the skilled working class, has declined. This, combined with changes in New Zealand's migrant streams which source higher-end talent from global employment pools, has seen a rebalancing of New Zealand's Scottish content, and Scottish numbers within the UK immigrant stream are now more reflective of the distribution of Scots in the UK.

Motives for Scottish migration align along two main streams, the economic and the social. The surveys indicate that the former is more prevalent amongst Hong

Kong's sojourners, while social migration together with economic undertones characterise New Zealand settler migration. In addition, a sense of adventure plays a significant role in the motives of Hong Kong sojourners. That said, the oral testimonies of Hong Kong migrants would seem to indicate that the selection of the economic motive reflects a retrospective view which identifies the reason for staying in Hong Kong, rather than why they initially chose to migrate. It is suggested that the initial migration is more likely to have been an exploratory sojourn, motivated by a sense of adventure. In interviews the choice of younger single males like Don Rider and Mike Dowie reflects this, while some were not even sure where Hong Kong was. Ian Seabourne who emigrated to join the RHKP in 1974, prior to his interview in London, went to the library to find that 'they had nothing',²¹⁵ before eventually finding an old Hong Kong Government Yearbook. In his words 'it was a long way to go, to a place you knew nothing about, to a different country, a different culture and different climate. But I had no trepidation; I knew I had to do something.'²¹⁶ Nor are such narratives restricted to those migrating for the first time to Hong Kong. They are replicated by those who were relocated or posted there like Peter Caldwell and David Hamilton. Rather than a choice of destination, their choice, based on similar impulses, was for a sojourner lifestyle, of which Hong Kong was to become a part.

Nor does gender necessarily change this pattern, as is shown by the 37.5 per cent of female survey respondents who cited *Adventure and overseas experience* as their reason for migrating. Fiona Donnelly's testimony reflects a narrative concerning her choice to migrate and stay in Hong Kong that is similar to male narratives. Less impulsive was Lindsey Hamilton, whose choice to join her boyfriend in Hong Kong was more measured. So too was Stewart Saunders' choice to return to Hong Kong in his late fifties. In these migrations, there is more of the consideration that is evident amongst New Zealand migrants.

²¹⁵ Ian Seabourne, interviewed by Iain Watson, 10 July 2015, interview transcript.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

In general, New Zealand migrant motives tend towards the social. This is unsurprising, as in terms of environment, climate and lifestyle, New Zealand has considerable advantages over Scotland if not the UK. Economic motives for migration have diminished, as employment purchasing power parity between the UK and New Zealand has diverged since the mid-1980s. Here the findings are similar to those of David Pearson's for English migrants, although he suggests that the difference between motives post-1980 were due to the end of the assisted migration schemes in the mid-1970s.²¹⁷ However, this does not mean that economic motives have been entirely side-lined. Reflecting the economic insecurity motive of Devine's Paradox, migrants still express concerns about Scotland's economic future and the perception of a weaker future can be sufficient to prompt migration. The survey findings are largely reflected in interviews which also seem to indicate that in general, the choices made are more considered and much less impulsive than those made by Hong Kong's sojourners.

It has been argued that the reason which lies behind the more considered approach of New Zealand migrants, is the fact that they are likely to settle. This is not as much a feature of Hong Kong migrations, and even if those migrants have been there for an extended period, they may still choose to move on. However, a feature of more recent New Zealand migrations has been that they too may be temporary. For instance, Cathy Gunn was intending to move on to Australia, while Alex Loggie maintained the safety-net of a job and home in the UK until he and his family were sure that their migration to New Zealand was working. Again, this behaviour is similar to that of English migrants.²¹⁸ The costs of return are no longer as prohibitive as they once were, but the majority are likely to settle. The HSBC Expat survey notes that even expatriates 'stay for the long-term and 71 per cent have lived in New Zealand for five years or more.'²¹⁹

²¹⁷ David Pearson, "Arcadia Reinvented? Recounting the Recent Sentiments and Experiences of English Migrants to New Zealand," in *Far from Home: The English in New Zealand*, eds. Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012), p. 162.

²¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 154-157.

²¹⁹ HSBC Expat, *Expat Explorer* (2015), p 68.

Ultimately, the considerations migrants make are based on a myriad of inputs and as Everett Lee observes, they can be highly idiosyncratic as ‘the factors that hold and attract or repel people are precisely understood neither by the social scientist nor the persons directly affected.’²²⁰ Nor are migrants likely to be restricted to a single motive, and these are based on any number of considerations including circumstance, job, potential earnings, economic concerns, family, community ties and connections, to name but a few from what can be an extremely long list. No individual choice will be based on the same set of criteria, making motive and choice of destination singular to that migrant.

If Devine’s Paradox of Scottish Emigration is a manifestation of Scottish mobility, then the 66 per cent of Scottish migrants to Hong Kong, who had a history of prior migration, are proof that this cultural tradition has continued into the twenty-first century. That said, perhaps the most potent validation of Devine’s non-Paradox lies in New Zealand itself. The modern colony/state, which is just a little over one and three-quarters of a century old, was founded by and continues to be reliant on immigrant mobility. A legacy of that mobility is the one-quarter of the resident population, who are long-term absentees from the country. This would seem to indicate that New Zealand too has a culture of migration. Whether that cultural legacy lies with the Scots who ‘made up a little over 20 per cent of New Zealand’s nineteenth-century immigration from Britain and Europe’²²¹ is moot, but it is worth noting that nowhere else in the nineteenth century did Scots represent a larger concentration of emigrants per capita.

²²⁰ Lee, *A Theory of Migration*, p. 50.

²²¹ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 256.

Choosing Ethnic Identities

In My Country

walking by the waters
down where an honest river
shakes hands with the sea,
a woman passed round me
in a slow, watchful circle,
as if I were a superstition;
or the worst dregs of her imagination,
so when she finally spoke
her words spliced into bars
of an old wheel. A segment of air.
Where do you come from?
'Here,' I said, 'Here, 'These parts.'²²²

Jackie Kay

3.1 Introduction

In Scottish poet, Jackie Kay's words, this poem is 'about being black and Scottish.'²²³ However, it also speaks to the importance of place in an individual's sense of belonging, although it need not necessarily be a real place. For the migrant an imagined Scotland constructed from an individual blend of reality, myth, iconographies and stereotypes is equally valid. In addition to a sense of place migrants also engage with issues of ethnicity, identity and otherness. They deploy a range of identities and strategies to cope with the challenges posed by choosing to live in unfamiliar environments. Their responses tend to be fluid and flexible, dependent on environment and individual circumstance. This chapter questions how migrants choose their ethnic identities and the processes they deploy to arrive at an identity and seeks to understand whether environment, gender or age at migration plays a role. It will also assess whether these identities are fluid.

There is significant academic debate concerning the term "identity", which Rogers Brubaker argues 'is riddled with ambiguity, riven with contradictory

²²² Jackie Kay, *Other Lovers*, 2nd impression (1993: Tarsnet: Bloodaxe Books Ltd, 2001), p. 24.

²²³ Jackie Kay, "In My Country", The Poetry Archive, accessed 23 March 2015.

<http://www.poetryarchive.org/poem/my-country>

meanings, and encumbered by reifying connotations'.²²⁴ He particularly targets qualifiers that describe identities as 'multiple, unstable, in flux, contingent, fragmented, constructed [or] negotiated,'²²⁵ labelling them 'complacent and clichéd constructivism.'²²⁶ His interpretation is based on the essentialist assumption that 'a unique core or essence to identity ... is coherent and remains more or less the same throughout life.'²²⁷ Michel Foucault challenges essentialism in much of his work, commenting in an interview that 'there is a danger in thinking of identity and subjectivity as quite deep and quite natural and not determined by political and social factors.'²²⁸

In the context of ethnic identity choices, the essentialist model would hold that a person's ethnic identity is a part of an individual's inherent being or *essential properties* to use the essentialist phrasing. As such these identities are immutable and this would imply that those who can call upon multiple ethnicities cannot deny the underlying existence of their other ethnicities even if they have chosen to represent themselves as being from one ethnicity. The other ethnic identities sit in the background until such time as they may be used. Such a model tends to provide formalist results and contemporary social scientists consider such analyses 'crude and miss[ing] much of the intricacy ... of human social life.'²²⁹ In contrast the behaviourist model suggests that behaviours such as the choice of an ethnic identity are fostered through social interaction, conditioning and environment. Consequently, as those inputs change, identity choices can also be altered to meet the needs of a mutable environment. In effect, either model could be made to work for ethnic

²²⁴ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 61.

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 38.

²²⁶ Ibid, p. 3.

²²⁷ "identity," in *A Dictionary of Sociology*, ed. John Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). <http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199683581.001.0001/acref-9780199683581-e-1061>.

²²⁸ Millicent Dillon and Michel Foucault, "Conversation with Michel Foucault", *The Threepenny Review*, no. 1 (1980), p. 4. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4382926>

²²⁹ Richard Vokes, "essentialism," in *The Encyclopedia of African Thought*, eds. F. Abiola Irele and Biodun Jeyifo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). <http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780195334739.001.0001/acref-9780195334739-e-144?rskey=VRWqzx&result=12>

identity choice and rather than test or validate the models, this chapter looks to understand the processes and influences that inform migrant choices.

Such debates are largely ignored by historians of migration. For instance, Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder consider identities to be necessarily plural and a 'requirement for the development and usage of social capital.'²³⁰ However, to access social capital migrants need to establish that they are members of a particular group. Additionally, they may have access to a number of groups encompassing a wide range of possible identities, some of which have little to do with their choice or promotion of an ethnic identity. Thus, while the migrant's underlying ethnic identity may have continuity in different environments such as the workplace or social interaction, other identities relating to profession, gender, politics, religion and social interests may become more prominent. What changes is their intensity, relative precedence and display.

Jackie Kay was born in Edinburgh to a Scottish mother from the Highlands and a Nigerian father. She was adopted at birth in 1961 by a white Scottish couple, who had met and lived in New Zealand since the 1950s before returning to Scotland. She has access to a number of identities over and above those of being black and Scottish. She is also a novelist, a poet, a playwright, an academic, a political activist, a mother and much else. Within these identities there exists a range of sub-identities, which in Kay's case could include her sexuality or her being an author of both adult and/or children's literature.

Multiple identities are available to most individuals whether they be migrants or not. Robin Cohen suggests that these extend to 'gender, age, disability, race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, civil status ... musical styles and dress codes' and that these 'different forms of identity appear to be upheld simultaneously, successively or separately and with different degrees of force, conviction and enthusiasm.'²³¹ Thus

²³⁰ Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder with Donna Gabaccia, *What is Migration History* (repr. 2009; Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010) p. 112.

²³¹ Robin Cohen, *Frontiers of Identity: The British and the Others* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), p. 205.

identity would appear to Cohen to be a flexible construction dependent as much on externalities as it is on essential core identities. Similarly, in the context of Irish and Scottish migration, Angela McCarthy also sees identities as being both multiple and fluid, arguing that they are ‘shaped and determined by the wider environment.’²³² Cohen and McCarthy’s positions imply that different environments are likely to produce different migrant responses and this chapter will explore whether this is indeed the case. While there may be responses common to each destination at the macro-level, the use of Scottish ethnic identities at the micro-level is individual to each migrant, as is the extent of their engagement with their Scottish identity.

In certain circumstances, this engagement can also result in an intensification of the migrant’s Scottish identity. For instance, Jackie Kay addresses intensification in a first-hand account of a returned New Zealand migrant in this passage from her memoir, *Red Dust Road*, published in 2011:

My mum’s parents stayed in New Zealand for the next twenty-six years, missing Scotland and intensifying themselves abroad. When my gran returned, her Fife accent had become so broad, such a mixture of Lochgelly and nostalgia, that her old friends had difficulty understanding *her*! She was like a woman on a shortbread tin come to life; her Scottishness had become, all those miles away, the thing she valued about herself the most. There was a quaintness and a kitschness to it; the years away had offered up a way of explaining herself that wasn’t exactly truthful. Scotland the brave was a romantic place in her head: mist and battles and misty battles.²³³

This well-observed passage highlights intensification as a feature of migrant identity construction, and in this instance also through myth. Using her grandmother’s friends as a figurative sounding-board, Kay makes the point that her Scottishness was intensified, and used more as an identity than would have been the case if she had remained with her friends in Scotland. She also evokes her grandmother’s fantasy Scotland in terms that emphasise the inaccuracy of that vision. Nor is this imagined Scotland solely the realm of migrants: it is a world which David

²³² McCarthy, *Personal Narratives*, p. 31.

²³³ Jackie Kay, *Red Dust Road* (London: Picador, 2011), p. 19.

Hesse, in his study of the performance of Scottishness in Europe, refers to as the ‘Scottish dreamscape ... a bizarre and often simplistic fantasy of Scotland’,²³⁴ based on ‘a well-established romantic fantasy of Scottish history’.²³⁵

Marjory Harper sees the promotion and use of Scottish identity as having diminished since 1945 when compared to earlier migration streams. While migrants remain content to use their ethnicity, she argues that this was no longer central to them, rather that, ‘Scottish identity was usually an optional extra that could be picked up or discarded as circumstances dictated.’²³⁶ As Harper notes, individualism has characterised the twentieth century, and unsurprisingly migrant ethnicity deployment can be highly idiosyncratic, while the choice of identity and its use fluctuates in intensity and hierarchy.

In Scotland, Scots are likely to identify themselves by the city, town or region they come from and/or their job, profession or other individual markers, such as politics, religion and leisure interests. In this hierarchy of identities, being Scottish is of limited significance, although this can change where comparisons are made to other British ethnicities. For Kay’s ‘gran’, her intensified sense of Scottishness defined her and became her identity, setting her apart even upon her return. Nor, as the penultimate chapter shows, is this necessarily unusual, with some returned migrants finding it difficult to reintegrate themselves in a Scotland that may be as alien to them as the destinations from which they they return.

Drawing on her experience of adoption and the search for her birth parents, Kay has engaged with the issue of identity posing the question, in a 2007 interview for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), as to whether one’s identity is ‘given to you out of your environment, your mum and dad that brought you up, or is

²³⁴ David Hesse, *Warrior Dreams. Playing Scotsmen in Mainland Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 5.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Harper, *Scotland No More?*, p. 13.

it given to you through genes and blood and genealogy?’²³⁷ Mary Waters’ study of white ethnics in suburban California also engages with such issues, arguing that ethnic identities are constructed ‘using knowledge about ancestries in one’s background’,²³⁸ with such information selectively used to construct an identity. Migrants can find themselves in positions where they are faced with a choice of competing ethnic identities, and this chapter sets out to interpret how those choices are made. Waters identifies the choice as ‘a social process that is in flux ... a dynamic and complex phenomenon.’²³⁹ Additionally, it is a process that can change over time dependent on age and circumstance. Nor is it a simple process based on a set of rules structured along primordial ancestral lines. As Waters comments, migrants seem to ‘choose how much and which parts of their ethnicity to make a part of their lives.’²⁴⁰

Migration and the attendant dislocation from the familiarity of the home environment can partially explain the promotion of Scottish ethnicity as a significant feature of identity construction amongst migrants, but not necessarily its intensification. Here again Jackie Kay provides an insight, suggesting in the same 2007 interview that it is a person’s otherness that stimulates their evaluation of their identity, as she observes of her own otherness in Scotland, specifically her colour:

you’re constantly being asked who you are in a real way, in a very active way all of the time. People are asking you who you are, and so it means you’re constantly thinking about it ... And then you’re not necessarily just thinking about yourself, that means that the question goes out to your character.²⁴¹

The same holds true for new migrants and sojourners who find themselves in environments where they are now the other. Thus, Scottish ethnicity takes on more relevance overseas, hence the often cited adage “there’s none more Scots than the

²³⁷ Jackie Kay, “Jackie Kay Encore” interview by Eleanor Wachtel, *Writers and Company*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC Radio, recorded fall 2007, broadcast 30 March 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/writersandcompany/jackie-kay-encore-1.2790835>.

²³⁸ Waters, *Ethnic Options*, p. 19.

²³⁹ Ibid, p. 16.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Kay, “Jackie Kay Encore”.

Scots abroad”.²⁴² However, this thickening of ethnic identity need not be consistent across all destinations. For instance, is there any evidence to suggest that the alien environment of Hong Kong, where there are few Scots, promotes an intensification of the Scottish identity, or does New Zealand’s more familiar environment thin migrant ethnic identity, allowing more time to be devoted to assimilation?

While the essential core of a Scottish identity remains intact, the act of migration requires of the migrant that this identity and its meaning be constructively questioned, and this process may alter how that identity is interpreted, leaving the perception that identity is pliable. Brubaker would consider this to be a ‘constructivist stance on identity’.²⁴³ However, if any group is deserving of the right to challenge the boundaries of essentialism it is those migrants, whose changed circumstances and challenges can lead to an array of coping strategies and a constant re-evaluation of who they are.

3.2: Identity Selection as an Adult

Stewart Saunders, born and raised in Kirkcaldy by Scottish parents, lived and worked in Scotland for 51 years before first migrating to England and then on to Hong Kong. His is a simple choice with no conflicting ethnic identities.²⁴⁴ On the other extreme is the truly multi-ethnic background of one Hong Kong resident, Gordon Lamb. Born in Kano, Nigeria to an Australian-born father and an Austrian mother, his links to Scottish ethnicity are further attenuated by his paternal grandfather, of English Cumbrian descent, having been born in British India. Indeed, his linear link to Scottish ethnicity is through his paternal grand-mother, who was herself

²⁴² This adage has been preserved in the lyrics of a song by Canadian folk-rock group *Spirit of the West*, who claim artistic roots in Celtic music - Spirit of the West, “The Old Sod”, *Save This House* (Warner Music Canada, 1990), compact disc.

²⁴³ Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, p. 28.

²⁴⁴ Stewart Saunders, interview.

born in British India, as had been her father, but not her grand-father (Gordon's great-great-grandfather), who had been a ship's master from Aberdeen.

Doug Allen Senior migrated to New Zealand in 1966, the son of a Dutch-English father and a Scottish-Irish mother. He was born in England at Berwick-upon-Tweed, just three miles from the Scottish border, and arriving in New Zealand he gravitated towards Scottish culture, joining a pipe band and learning to play the bagpipes. He is fiercely patriotic towards Scotland, commenting that: 'I would like to see my home town going back to Scotland again. I would love to see that. If that ever happens before I die, I'll go there and pipe for them.'²⁴⁵ However, Doug's selection of a Scottish identity appears to have been prompted by his marriage to a Scotswoman and time spent working in Aberdeen prior to migration. In contrast, his strong sense of Scottish identity is not reflected by his son, who was aged 12 at migration, and considers his father to have intensified his Scottish identity in New Zealand, much like Jackie Kay's grandmother, a view shared by Doug Allen Senior's grand-daughter.

Gordon Lamb's choice of a Scottish identity could fit the typology of Howard Stein and Robert Hill's *dime store ethnic*,²⁴⁶ where individuals choose the ethnicity of a grandparent to identify with, taking it off the "dime store" shelf. However, to argue, as they do, that "dime store ethnics" are fakes because unlike real ethnics, their choice of ethnicity is a conscious one, does not explain Gordon's choice, nor does it sit well within the Scottish context. A significant number of Scots, including those within Scotland, live with the question of ethnic and national identities, which at its simplest is the choice between Scottish and British identities. The decision making can be both complex and/or simple, and for some requires a conscious choice, which can change in response to environment or the nature of enquiry. Indeed, Stein and Hill's typology, dependent as it is on conscious choice, does not

²⁴⁵ Doug Allen Sr. interviewed by Iain Watson, 16 July 2014, interview transcript.

²⁴⁶ See Howard Stein and Robert Hill, *The Ethnic Imperative: Examining the New White Ethnic Movement* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977).

apply to Gordon, who says of his Scottishness: 'I like to think of myself as Scottish by descent. I identify quite strongly. I don't know why.'²⁴⁷

Gordon, like Doug Allen Senior, seems to have become closer to his Scottish ethnicity through his marriage to a Scotswoman, whose father was a prominent member of Hong Kong's Scottish community. Indeed, family appears to play a big part in his choice of identity, he and his wife joining the Hong Kong Highlanders because: 'It was good for the kids. They had the Reel Club and the like, which was always good fun.'²⁴⁸ However, as with many others who have access to other identities, his Scottish identity is not exclusive: 'If anything I identify ... with both sides, from my mother's side with Austria, and from father and his mother's side, [Scotland] because grandmother was a Farquhar.'²⁴⁹

Admittedly, Gordon Lamb's ethnic ties are complex, but not unusual. Others are also faced with choices derived from mixed parentage and their own multi-national lives. Calum Watson, born in Singapore to an English mother born in colonial Malaya, and an Edinburgh-born Scottish father, now lives in Hong Kong with his Northern Ireland-born Chinese wife who is of Hong Kong Chinese descent. Their complicated family ethnicity is exacerbated by the location and movements of their parents. His parents are now located in the Scottish Borders after having sojourned in Singapore, Malaysia, Jamaica and Nigeria. His wife's mother now lives in Manchester having moved the family business from Northern Ireland to England's north-western cities to escape the Troubles in Ulster, but also retaining property interests in Hong Kong. Calum identifies himself as Scottish, but qualifies this identity reflecting the complexity of his parental background; 'I feel Scottish and I love the culture, it's just great, but I guess I'm British.'²⁵⁰

In the cases of Doug Allen Senior, Gordon Lamb and Calum Watson, the family environment plays a central role in the selection of ethnicity, but it still

²⁴⁷ Gordon Lamb, interviewed by Iain Watson, 6 August 2014, interview transcript.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Calum Watson, interviewed by Iain Watson, 6 December 2014, interview transcript.

remains an individual choice. While their choices are made in the setting of mixed cultural heritage, a sense of place, such as the country they may feel that they belong to, can also play a role in the choice. However, reflecting the individuality of choice, the application of that sense of place need not be consistent amongst siblings. There is no clear road map to ethnicity, no biological or primordial labelling that defines the individual. As New Zealand broadcaster Ian Johnstone says of himself and his siblings, who were born to Scottish parents in Longtown, Cumbria, just three miles south of the Scottish border:

there were four of us, ... Two of us, Stuart and I, ... We are the ones who feel ourselves to be Scots. We have regular fights with the other two brothers ... David and Andrew.

Andrew became quite a senior sales person with a terribly English sort of way about him ... I tease him every time the Poms are beaten by the Kiwis at cricket or whatever. And rugby I'm sad to say, he always gets his own back when Scotland plays England at rugby.

It was interesting, four of us and two feel some degree of being Scots. Two deny it. It's their loss.²⁵¹

And Alex Loggie from Newbiggin-by-the-Sea in Northumberland, some fifty miles south of the Scottish border, where he and his brother were born and raised by their Scots-born parents:

I've never identified myself as anything other than Scottish. Sometimes, I'm reluctant to say, "Yes, I'm an anglicised Scot." I remember having an argument with my older brother, who was a pro-footballer, about "If you were selected to play nationally, who would you play for: Scotland or England?" and he said, "England."²⁵²

For the interviewees, being Scottish is a matter of individual preference. As Gordon Lamb's choice of Scottish identity demonstrates, there is no pre-ordained selection process. Neither is it a fixed position from which one cannot retreat. The choice of identity is both changeable and reactive dependent on a diverse number of possible influences, key to which are environment and timing. Nor is there any real

²⁵¹ Ian Johnstone, interviewed by Iain Watson, 15 July 2014, interview transcript.

²⁵² Alex Loggie, interview.

difference between sojourner or settler migrants, while the examples of Ian Johnstone and Alex Loggie show that even within families, the choice of identity is an individual process.

For some like Gordon, the choice of an ethnic identity is delayed until adulthood. For Hong Kong resident Don Rider, whose father and mother migrated from Scotland to Yorkshire prior to his birth, and despite his attending a Scottish public school as a teenager, it was not until he was at University that he felt that his Scottish identity became important to him:

I went to Newcastle University, ... there's a very strong Scottish influence there, and I ended up being Scottish. It may have had something to do with getting a kilt for my 21st, ...

That identity really came out. Or I didn't ever really notice it before, but it really came out at that time.²⁵³

Such testimonies indicate that the construction of ethnic identities is a process that comes to fruition in adulthood. This would suggest that there may be a different dynamic for non-adults, and the following section addresses identity choices amongst infants (aged 0-5), children (aged 6-12) and adolescents (aged 13-18). Using Rubén G. Rumbaut's rubric these are referred to as generations 1.75, 1.5 and 1.25 respectively, dependent on age at migration.²⁵⁴

3.3 Identity Selection Amongst Infants, Children and Adolescents

Rumbaut's rubric is based on an evaluation of the socialisation of non-adults in the receiving society, where generation 1.75 are 'children who retain virtually no

²⁵³ Don Rider, interview.

²⁵⁴ Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (2004), p. 1181.

memory of their country of birth'²⁵⁵ and are largely socialised in the receiving society where their experiences are close to those of second-generation migrants. Generation 1.5 are pre-adolescent, primary-school-age children,²⁵⁶ who have commenced education and socialisation elsewhere, but whose education is largely completed at destination, where they may face challenges developing new social networks. Finally, generation 1.25 are adolescents, who 'either attend secondary schools after arrival or ... may go directly into the workforce,'²⁵⁷ and whose experiences are closer to the first-generation adult immigrants.

Similar to the adult experience, identity remains an issue that requires negotiation, but there are different forces at play, ranging from age to parental influence and youth culture. Some of that contest is acted out in the spheres of the home and the school playground. Su Leslie, born in Edinburgh to a Scottish couple from Fife who migrated to New Zealand when she was 5 (generation 1.75 under Rumbaut's rubric) remembers:

Wanting to fit in, wanting to have someone to play with. When you are five or six it is miserable being alone in the playground. ... I would go to school and I would sound like ... [a New Zealander]. I would go home and ... I would be speaking Scots to my mum. It was manic if you had friends over ... I was a teenager before I realised that I was speaking in Kiwi and that I didn't revert at all.²⁵⁸

However, adjusting speech patterns did not result in Su eschewing her Scottish identity for a New Zealand one as she and her family 'had this very strong idea that we weren't Kiwi. Nobody in my family had New Zealand citizenship until quite late.'²⁵⁹

For Tom Dodd, who migrated to New Zealand from Glasgow with his parents and two sisters at the age of 12 (generation 1.5), he was the 'other' at school, his

²⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 1167.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Su Leslie, interviewed by Iain Watson, 22 July 2014, interview transcript.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

accent heightening the distinction, making it difficult to hide, and alarmingly with the perception that adults were also complicit in his segregation:

You got taunted and teased and the teachers would laugh at you as well. I remember once, a teacher sent me to another teacher, I'm sure they did it for a laugh, ... just to pass on a message and I went in and they would just say, "What? Pardon? What? What? What?" and the whole class was laughing by this stage. She started laughing, she said, "I can't understand a word you say."²⁶⁰

Tom's experience appears to have diminished his efforts to assimilate to New Zealand society, and like Su his identification with a New Zealand identity did not occur until adulthood. However, his testimony of how he came to consider himself a New Zealander demonstrates how migrant identities are subject to continual reappraisal:

I think it was probably only in my mid to late 20s I thought about being, really, a New Zealander, probably mid-20s. Probably having children really cemented it. Having Philippa and getting married here and having children, I think, I really thought, "Am I a New Zealander?"²⁶¹

Doug Allen Junior, born in Berwick-upon-Tweed to a Scottish mother and a father of mixed Dutch, English, Irish and Scottish heritage, and raised in Aberdeen migrated aged 12 (generation 1.5), also recollects wanting to fit in, but being the 'other' at school because of his accent:

At school I was teased all the time about my accent and the way I spoke, particularly if I had to talk in class, stand up and speak about things, and there'd be sniggers.

So I tried very hard to get rid of my accent, and nowadays I get taken for everything from Canadian to South African to whatever. I think there's a remnant of Scots left there, but I'm not quite sure.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ Tom Dodd, interviewed by Iain Watson, 28 July 2014, interview transcript.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Doug Allen Jr., interviewed by Iain Watson, 16 July 2014, interview transcript.

Doug believed his parents were not as committed to integrating themselves into New Zealand society as he was. Where such a dynamic exists there is the potential for the individual to perceive that their Scottish identity is holding them back, and that there is limited value in that identity. In these circumstances, Doug Allen Junior tried to distance himself from his parents' Scottish identity, especially as an adolescent:

As I got older ... I was going to ... less of these parties with Mum and Dad. Like I said, it was always about Scottish and English people and I was really trying to make friends with New Zealand people.

I don't know why that resistance was there. ... it says on my birth certificate, "England," I had always thought of myself as being more English than Scottish anyway.

To this day, I think I have more of an affinity with English people than I do with Scottish people. It's rather unusual.²⁶³

Interestingly, Doug's reaction to his parents' Scottish identity was to choose another of the identities available to him, the national identity of his birthplace. Doug cannot explain why this happened, although it may have its roots in his desire to assimilate.

Parental influence is an important feature of non-adult identity selection, which can be confusing for the child. Yorkshire-born Don Rider, who discovered his Scottish identity at University, tells of his confusion as a 6 year-old in a Yorkshire school playground:

I remember as a kid ... running around going, "England soccer", or something, "aren't they good?" and all the rest of it, and my dad and my mum taking me into the big room ... sitting me down and saying, "By the way, you're Scottish. You don't support England, and you don't do that."

I remember going to school the next day and all my mates are running around going, "England, England, England", and I said, "I'm not

²⁶³ Ibid.

allowed to do that, because I'm Scottish", and they went, "What's that?" I went, "I don't know."²⁶⁴

Parental influence was not always successful, as Doug Allen Junior's experience demonstrates. Allan Main recalls that at the age of 3 on his first day at kindergarten in New Zealand: 'my mum dressed me up in my best tartan kilt and sent me off to school ... Of course, that was the worst thing that could have happened because the boy in the dress got pilloried and I've never worn a kilt since.'²⁶⁵

Thereafter, Allan's parents appear to have become keen to do all that they could to help him assimilate, even going so far as to celebrate Hogmanay in Auckland away from home in Palmerston North. While aware that his parents were Scottish, he was encouraged by them to be a New Zealander and by the time he entered primary school he already had a New Zealand accent and was integrating:

rugby at the tea breaks, got into all the fights, tried not to excel too much at school, ... got involved in a lot of things because Kiwis are joiners, so we were joiners.

Yes, our primary need was to not stand out, and I guess that was one of the appeals of going for the Hogmanay parties up to Auckland, ... for a period of the year you could be part of a group, a heritage group, rather than trying to be a Kiwi.

My mum and dad always made it clear that they came to New Zealand not for themselves but for us, so they always judged their success on how well we were fitting in.²⁶⁶

With the assimilative support of his parents, today, Allan Main describes himself as a 'Kiwi of Scottish Heritage' and his engagement with his Scottishness was a gradual process, and at his 'behest rather than instruction',²⁶⁷ which gave him an 'awareness that that was my heritage. I felt proud of things, particularly innovation, that Scotland had given to the world, and the engineering feats and the

²⁶⁴ Don Rider, interview.

²⁶⁵ Allan Main, interview.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

like ... Given the opportunity, I would let people know that it was a Scot that had done that.’²⁶⁸

The conflicting pressures of parental influence, assimilation and the sense of segregation or being the ‘other’ can lead to confusion. The common theme amongst interviewees is that their identification with a particular ethnic identity or hybrid identity is one that evolves over time, and often on re-evaluation as an adult. Nor is it easy for the children of sojourners to comprehend or formulate an ethnic identity when they have been raised in a sojourning environment and exposed to multi-cultural inputs and spaces. Lindsey Hamilton describes the confusion of her Hong Kong-born son, Gavin, upon their return to Scotland:

We were always going to come back home. ... Our son was born in Hong Kong, and then when he was two and a half we moved to New York. We lived in New York until he was six and then came back to Scotland for just under two years while David went to Armenia, and Gavin asked me;

“Why did we come to Scotland?” and I said,
“Because Dad got a job in Armenia and it wasn’t going to be so easy for us to go” and he said,
“No, no, why did we come to Scotland?”
“Because Dad got a job in Armenia and”
“No. Why Scotland?”

and it dawned on me, he didn’t realise he was Scottish, he was six years old and he didn’t know. So that was a bit of a shock that he didn’t know, but then why would he?²⁶⁹

In the globalised environment of expatriate Hong Kong, it is not uncommon for non-adults to be of mixed-parentage. Indeed, of the 16 Hong Kong interviewees with children, 8 were in mixed-ethnicity relationships. David Bruce, a 26-year resident of Hong Kong, and married to an Englishwoman, describes how his sons embrace their Anglo-Scottish identity at the annual Hong Kong International Seven-a-side Rugby Tournament:

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Lindsey Hamilton, interview.

all three boys go to the Hong Kong Sevens and they think it's quite natural, they will have the Scottish flag painted on one cheek and the English flag painted on the other. In Hong Kong, people don't find that strange, because they understand the background but, of course, if somebody's visiting from Scotland and see that, ... "You've got to go one way or the other".²⁷⁰

As with the adults, selection of an ethnic identity is an individual choice and largely incomprehensible until late childhood/early adolescence as Calum Watson comments, noting that his 9-year old daughter has still to develop a sense of identity:

currently, my daughter would like to say that she's English, but maybe in a couple of years time? - she's just a kid.

... she just views Scotland as part of ... Britain, so it's just a lovely place where we go to holiday every year and see Granny Jenny and Grandpa Gordon. So I've explained to her the different parts to it, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, but it's still not really landed yet.²⁷¹

For the children of Hong Kong migrants, the alien cultural environment sees them seek cultural identity in the identities of their parents. Assimilation is not normally part of the process for these sojourning migrants. Although Calum's Eurasian children attend local Chinese schools and are bi-lingual and bi-literate, they understand that they are of mixed ethnicities with home life conducted in English and school in Cantonese.

Michelle McEwan, the only European teacher in the Po Leung Kuk (a leading Hong Kong charitable organisation) and employed on local terms, says of her trans-Atlantic accented 11-year old son, whose father is also Scottish: 'he firmly believes that he's Scottish.' Although, she speculates, however, about return and how a 'Hong Kong educated, closeted international school child going back to the streets of Glasgow' would fare.²⁷² Again, identity selection is an evolving space and for non-adults from Hong Kong, their choice of ethnic identity tends to become firmer in

²⁷⁰ David Bruce, interviewed by Iain Watson, 01 August 2014, interview transcript.

²⁷¹ Calum Watson, interview.

²⁷² Michelle McEwan, interviewed by Iain Watson, 5 August 2014, interview transcript.

adulthood. For those of mixed ethnicities the choice of identity can be complex, and where they live may also play a role. Mike Dowie believes his Eurasian son, who went to Hong Kong University, would describe himself as: ‘a Hong Kong person but he does keep an interest in football results and things. He’s always looking to see how Scotland did. He is influenced by it, but he’s a Hong Kong boy.’²⁷³ In contrast, Ian Seabourne’s children, who are similarly half Chinese but Scottish educated, have played with their mixed identity and describe themselves as: ‘Chottish ... half Chinese and half Scottish.’²⁷⁴

Hong Kong-born mixed nationality white ethnics’ identities are equally malleable and may differ within families and depend on environment. For instance, John Budge, whose wife is Australian, says of his Hong Kong-raised children, who went to university in Durham, Cambridge and Glasgow that, ‘there’s not much [Scottish identity], certainly with regard to my son and daughter who live in London, I mean they don’t feel in any way Scottish. The one that’s now at university in Glasgow yes, I think there’s a little bit of a spark there of her Scottish heritage.’²⁷⁵

A child’s ethnic or cultural identities are not easy to pin down. Identities constructed along the lines of ethnicity appear to be more closely aligned to adult migrant needs, although as Su Leslie and Allan Main attest, they can be aware of their otherness from an early age. For adolescents and older children, identity can be further complicated by alignment with youth culture, which in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries may differ between sending and receiving countries. For adolescents with well-established friendship networks and identities formulated along lines of friendships or youth culture rather than national identities, migration can be challenging and the building of new networks paramount. Tom Dodd’s eldest sibling, Joanne, was aged 14 (Rumbaut’s generation 1.25) when she migrated in 1975, and Tom remembers that she found the migration harder than he had. He recalls shortly after arriving in summer 1975 going to the beach:

²⁷³ Mike Dowie, interview.

²⁷⁴ Ian Seabourne, interview.

²⁷⁵ John Budge, interviewed by Iain Watson, 31 July 2014, interview transcript.

The eldest, she had a winter trench coat on and she wouldn't take that off, she would just sit there like that. She packed a big huff. I think that probably went on for a couple of months, until they got her in school and she started making connections with people. I think that eased off a wee bit then.²⁷⁶

Her father, Joseph Dodd, also notes that she was not that keen on migrating as, 'she had all her pals and all that stuff; she was into the Bay City Rollers and all that, she had all the gear'.²⁷⁷ Scotland appears to have continued to exercise a pull on her as she married a Scottish-born man from Dumbarton, who had similarly migrated with his parents. Indeed, Joanne has since remarried, this time to an Edinburgh-born New Zealander, who had also migrated with his parents. They have since returned to Bo'ness in Scotland where her father estimates: 'she'll stay there; she says because she's got used to it.'²⁷⁸ Tom Dodd also found the differences in youth fashion difficult to comprehend:

I had long hair and what I thought was quite a cool velveteen jacket and parallel trousers and platforms and ... I always thought I was quite the lad. But, in New Zealand they wore jandals and jeans and t-shirts and that was it. Whereas, in Glasgow and in the UK, there was more ... fashion ...

I'm not that interested in fashion now, but at the time, I got a hard time about that as well. ... Just those little differences, as a kid, you think, "That's quite odd."²⁷⁹

This youth culture dynamic continues to evolve, and the widely held belief is that it has become more global. Certainly this is true of the 40 years since Tom and Joanne's migration to New Zealand with the advent of the worldwide web, social media and access to mobile technology. The United Nations' 2003 World Youth Report comments that while young people are not fully integrated economically and socially into global culture, 'a good number of young people, especially those in the developed world, are absolutely dependent upon it.'²⁸⁰ Today, those growing up in

²⁷⁶ Tom Dodd, interview.

²⁷⁷ Joseph Dodd, interviewed by Iain Watson, 29 July 2014, interview transcript.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Tom Dodd, interview.

²⁸⁰ United Nations, *United Nations World Youth Report, 2003*, accessed 22 April 2015, p. 304. <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/ch11.pdf>

the developed and developing world have not known a world without the technology, although there may of course be differentials in the availability of access.

However, the impact of youth culture on identity selection amongst migrants and subsequent generations does not appear to be great. It is diverse and has many sub-divisions and sub-cultures, nor is western youth culture synonymous with other youth cultures, although there may be cross-overs in terms of musical genres and fashion. The testimony above has shown that the concept of ethnic identity is significantly less developed during earlier childhood, and the tendency is for individuals to defer choosing an ethnic identity until later adolescence or early adulthood. New Zealand-born Sandi Black, whose father Doug Allen Junior had distanced himself from his Scottish heritage, came to her Scottish identity in high school in the mid to late 1990s:

At primary school I was just a New Zealander. I was just a Kiwi. At high school I sort of became more aware of the Scots' side of things and became more proud of that, so then I was a Kiwi Scot ... I understood more ... I kind of acknowledged the huge bravery to come over to a country that they'd never been to before, start afresh, start anew, and, sort of, stake their claim in their new land.

And I was caught up in the romanticism of having a Scots heritage as well, and I wanted to try to incorporate that into my life as well.²⁸¹

Sandi's narrative shows that her connection with her Scottish ancestry was something to be celebrated not muted. Nor is her Scottish identity exclusionary, as she is a New Zealander foremost, but of Scottish descent.

For Scots in New Zealand, assimilation can appear to be a rapid process, facilitated by similar western cultures and language. Second generation children have little need to work at assimilation and can celebrate their ethnic heritage, albeit that such celebration is more likely to come during adolescence. Even then, there are no rules governing identity selection amongst children. Hawera-born Nancy Martin returned to Scotland with her 1960s Scottish migrant parents for 5 years from the age

²⁸¹ Sandi Black, interviewed by Iain Watson, 19 July 2014, interview transcript.

of 3 to 8. She describes herself unequivocally as ‘Scottish’, adding: ‘I’m a New Zealander, but I always think of myself as Scottish. And when people say, “Were you born there?” I am always disappointed to say, “No, I was born in New Zealand.”. And then sometimes I think, - Shall I just tell a white lie about that part?’²⁸² It is difficult to say whether Nancy’s return to Scotland at such an early age played a role in this sense of identity. However, like Sandi, her engagement with her Scottish ancestry is a source of pride, although for her, while her Scottish identity is not exclusive, it is primary to being a New Zealander.

Nor does youth culture appear to play any significant role in identity formulations amongst the children of Hong Kong migrants. It would seem that in the largely alien environment of Hong Kong, identity selection for children and adolescents is dependent on the ethnic identities promoted by their parents and their families. Conversely, the challenge for the foreign-born children of New Zealand settler migrants is assimilation, sometimes in an environment where their parents’ assimilation lacks the same urgency. In Hong Kong, ethnic identity is used to explain otherness and arguably the lack of assimilation, while on the other hand, in New Zealand the second-generation is able to celebrate its Scottish identity.

Waters’ study found that children ‘learn both the basic facts of their family history and origins and cultural content and practices associated with their ethnicity in their households.’²⁸³ Interviews with non-adult migrants and those born to migrants in New Zealand have not challenged those findings, while Waters’ argument that the process can involve ‘a sifting and simplifying of various options,’²⁸⁴ also holds true. For instance, despite Sandi Black’s mother being a third- or fourth-generation New Zealander of English descent,²⁸⁵ and her Berwick-upon-Tweed-born father more closely identifying himself as English, as an adolescent she chose to identify herself with her paternal grand-parents’ Scottish ethnicity. Thus the information gleaned from the family remains open to interpretation, and Sandi

²⁸² Senga Imrie and Nancy Martin, interview.

²⁸³ Waters, *Ethnic Options*, p. 19.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Doug Allen Jr, e-mail message to author, 25 May 2015.

Black's choice reflects this, while her attraction to the romanticism of the Scottish identity evokes Hesse's Scottish Dreamscape.

3.4 Destination as an Identity Determinant

For all groups, terms like ethnicity and nationality are easily conflated. For instance, the overwhelming majority (80 per cent) of the New Zealand multi-generational group, when asked to identify their ethnicity, chose to describe themselves as New Zealanders or New Zealanders of Scottish descent (Table 3.1). This response speaks to a diminishing of Scottish ethnic identity perceptions amongst those born in New Zealand and mirrors Rumbaut's findings for white European migrants to the USA. Where the 'linear process of assimilation, [has] pointed to the "thinning" of their ethnic self-identities ... one outcome ... was that ethnic identity became an optional form of "symbolic ethnicity"'.²⁸⁶

Both migrant groups identify themselves as Scottish to similar levels, in contrast with the multi-generational group's identification with a New Zealand ethnicity. Twenty-nine per cent of Hong Kong migrants also identify themselves as British. This is not uncommon, as Calum Watson's earlier testimony demonstrates, and will be addressed in more detail in the *Highlandism and Nationalism* chapter. At least 21 per cent (and at most 31 per cent)²⁸⁷ of New Zealand migrants hyphenate their Scottish ethnicity with versions of a New Zealand ethnicity (Scottish-Kiwi, Kiwi-Scottish or Scottish New Zealander).

²⁸⁶ Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Reaping What You Sow: Immigration, Youth, and Reactive Ethnicity", *Applied Development Science*, 12, no. 2 (2008), p. 110.

²⁸⁷ This percentage may be higher as the Pilot and SMtoNZ surveys did not provide the Scottish-Kiwi, Kiwi-Scot or Scottish New Zealander option.

Table 3.1: Perceptions of Ethnicity

What do you consider your ethnicity to be?			Scottish	British	New Zealander	Anglo-Scot	NZ-Scot or Scot-NZ	Other Hyphenated Scots	Other	Totals
Hong Kong Migrants	M	No.	43	24	0	3	0	7	2	79
		%	43.00%	24.00%	0.00%	3.00%	0.00%	7.00%	2.00%	79.00%
	F	No.	13	5	0	1	0	1	1	21
		%	13.00%	5.00%	0.00%	1.00%	0.00%	1.00%	1.00%	21.00%
	Total	No.	56	29	0	4	0	8	3	100
		%	56.0%	29.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	8.0%	3.0%	
New Zealand Migrants	M	No.	9	2	4	1	5	4	0	25
		%	17.31%	3.85%	7.69%	1.92%	9.62%	7.69%	0.00%	48.08%
	F	No.	18	0	1	1	6	1	0	27
		%	34.62%	0.00%	1.92%	1.92%	11.54%	1.92%	0.00%	51.92%
	Total	No.	27	2	5	2	11	5	0	52
		%	51.92%	3.85%	9.62%	3.85%	21.15%	9.62%	0.00%	
New Zealand Multi-generational Group	M	No.	1	1	48	1	2	10	1	64
		%	0.56%	0.56%	27.12%	0.56%	1.13%	5.65%	0.56%	36.16%
	F	No.	3	0	94	1	2	11	2	113
		%	1.69%	0.00%	53.11%	0.56%	1.13%	6.21%	1.13%	63.84%
	Total	No.	4	1	142	2	4	21	3	177
		%	2.26%	0.56%	80.23%	1.13%	2.26%	11.86%	1.69%	
Totals (%ges of total responses)	M	No.	53	27	52	5	7	21	3	168
		%	16.11%	8.21%	15.81%	1.52%	2.13%	6.38%	0.91%	51.06%
	F	No.	34	5	95	3	8	13	3	161
		%	10.33%	1.52%	28.88%	0.91%	2.43%	3.95%	0.91%	48.94%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

This split, or hyphenated ethnicity is not unusual amongst migrants and is suggestive of assimilative behaviour. However, it is a moveable feast, as Su Leslie recognised when working in the UK as an adult:

I realise that genetically I am Scots, actually just a Fifer. ... I am a Kiwi when it suits me and I am a Kiwi when I live in the UK. I am one of those appalling Kiwis who attempts to do a haka when I am very drunk with all of the other very drunk Kiwis.²⁸⁸

There also appears to be a gendered bias within the New Zealand migrant responses, with women more inclined to see their ethnicity tied to Scotland rather than the destination, whereas males appear to be keener to acculturate and identify themselves with the destination:

Table 3.2: Migrant Perceptions of Ethnicity by Gender

What do you consider your ethnicity to be?	HK Migrants						NZ Migrants					
	M		F		Total		M		F		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Scottish	43	54%	13	62%	56	56%	9	36%	18	66%	27	51%
British	24	30%	5	23%	29	29%	2	8%	0	0%	2	4%
New Zealander	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	4	16%	1	4%	5	10%
Anglo-Scot	3	4%	1	5%	4	4%	1	4%	1	4%	2	4%
NZ-Scot or Scot-NZ	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	5	20%	6	22%	11	21%
Other Hyphenated-Scot	7	9%	1	5%	8	8%	4	16%	1	4%	5	10%
Other	2	3%	1	5%	3	3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Totals	79	79%	21	21%	100		25	48%	27	52%	52	

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

For Hong Kong migrants the gender differences are less pronounced, with the small female cohort differing no more than 8 percentage points from male perceptions of ethnicity. Those born in Scotland account for 66 per cent of the total of which 70 per cent consider themselves Scottish and this is consistent across genders. The temporary nature of the Hong Kong sojourn and the lack of assimilative motivation explains the gender consistency of the Hong Kong responses.

²⁸⁸ Su Leslie, interview.

Birthplace does not appear to have any significant influence on ethnicity choice amongst New Zealand migrants (Table 3.3). Of the Scottish-born female migrants, 71 per cent selected Scottish ethnicity. In contrast, only 37.5 per cent of Scottish-born males identified themselves as Scottish with the majority (44 per cent) selecting either a New Zealand or a form of Scottish/New Zealand identity. Indeed, as Table 3.2 indicates, males appear to show a preference for these more assimilative ethnicity types.

Table 3.3: New Zealand Migrant Ethnicity Perceptions by Gender and Birthplace

Perceived Ethnicity			Scottish	British	New Zealander	Anglo-Scot	Kiwi/NZ Scot	Other Mixed Scottish
Birthplace								
Scotland	M	Ct	6	1	2	0	4	3
		%	37.5%	6.25%	12.5%	0.00%	25.0%	18.75%
	F	Ct	17	0	1	0	6	0
		%	70.8%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%
	Total	Ct	23	1	3	0	10	3
		%	57.5%	2.5%	7.5%	0.0%	25.0%	7.5%
England	M	Ct	2	1	2	1	0	2
		%	25.0%	12.5%	25.0%	12.5%	0.0%	25.0%
	F	Ct	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Total	Ct	2	1	2	1	0	2
		%	25.0%	12.5%	25.0%	12.5%	0.0%	25.0%
Other	M	Ct	1	0	0	1	0	0
		%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	F	Ct	1	0	0	0	1	0
		%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%
	Total	Ct	2	0	0	1	1	0
		%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	25.0%	0.0%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SinNZ.

Mary Chamberlain has highlighted differing gender migration narratives amongst Barbadian immigrants in the UK. She identifies male narratives as being in the first person with identities rooted in the workplace and work achievements.²⁸⁹ In contrast female narratives use the collective [pronoun] we and locate themselves ‘in relation to others’.²⁹⁰ The New Zealand male migrants’ assimilative response is

²⁸⁹ Chamberlain, *Narratives*, p. 92.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

suggestive of a narrative that sees male identity aspiring to workplace integration, while the female identity is rooted in family ties, which would appear to lie with Scotland. This speaks to a dislocation from familial support which can result in a more keenly felt sense of separation anxiety, and is explored in the next chapter.

3.5 Identity Intensification

Choice of an identity only plays a peripheral role in the tendency of first generation migrants to intensify their ethnic identity, as was the case for Kay's grandmother. This intensification serves to site new migrants within the new and often alien environments in which they find themselves. Paul Basu, drawing on the work of Émile Durkheim, comments that:

with modernity comes not only dislocation from a physical home-place (migration to cities or across borders), but also a movement away from the cohesiveness of a social home or milieu represented by 'traditional society' and bound by the normalising *conscience collective* of shared beliefs, values and experiences.²⁹¹

For some, the Scottish ethnic identity serves as a tool to facilitate this *normalisation* as in Alan Main's story concerning his family's away trips to celebrate Hogmanay in a Scottish environment in Auckland. Nor is intensification the same within families, for instance English-born Don Rider's elder brother and sister were born in Edinburgh, and he recalls them: 'calling me an English whatsit for most of my life. Even going to family get-togethers [in Scotland] I was known as the English cousin.'²⁹² Yet, he comments that when he connected with his Scottish identity at University in Newcastle: 'I ended up being more Scottish, I think. Certainly more than my brother was.'²⁹³

²⁹¹ Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, p. 7.

²⁹² Don Rider, interview.

²⁹³ Ibid.

However, the primary concern for New Zealand migrants is assimilation as Bert Miller observes:

I just wanted people to accept me as I was in whichever country I was in, and I happened to be in New Zealand.

The way I spoke, I stood out in a crowd. Even so, I said, “Oh, I’m a Kiwi,” after I’d been here for, say, three years or so. I was a Kiwi even though I came out with figures of speech, which I didn’t worry about. I just came out with them at certain times.

If I felt the Scottish term was appropriate, I used it, but, otherwise, I didn’t set out to be different. I just wanted to blend with the general population.

Sure, if I got in with Scots, it all came out, and I revelled in that.²⁹⁴

Bert’s choice of the verb *revel* is illuminating, and despite his eagerness to fit in, speaks to his enjoyment of Scottish company, and in video this was emphasised with a smile. This is also evident in New Zealander Lorraine Dolling’s comment to her Scottish migrant husband Mike, comparing his relative comfort with life in New Zealand as opposed to Australia: ‘the reason why you felt more at home is because you met more Scottish people.’²⁹⁵

For the majority of New Zealand migrant interviewees, the settler environment fosters a desire to fit in, as the testimonies of Bert Miller, Allan Main and others attest. The intensification experienced by Jackie Kay’s grandmother is largely absent from these narratives. This is possibly due to her sense of isolation, having emigrated to New Zealand to be near her daughter, who had subsequently returned to Scotland. However, the intensification of her Scottishness is reflected amongst migrants to Hong Kong.

In Hong Kong, Scottish identities are more concentrated due to the difficulty of assimilating to a Chinese as opposed to Anglophone society. As returned Hong Kong sojourner, Elaine Longmore, points out, the intensification of ethnic identity in

²⁹⁴ Bert Miller, interview.

²⁹⁵ Mike and Lorraine Dolling, interviewed by Iain Watson, 19 July 2014, interview transcript.

such an alien environment is not a solely Scottish trait: 'I think people tend to be more Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Australian, when you're away from your home country than you are in your country, because you want to maintain a sense of identity, promote your identity, or be defensive even about your identity.'²⁹⁶ Missing from this narrative is assimilation. Echoing *Spirit of the West's* lyrics, Lindsey Hamilton assesses the Scots in Hong Kong as: 'more Scottish than the Scots in a way ... and very proud to be Scottish. You didn't see people at home wearing kilts very often, but [in Hong Kong] there were a lot at the balls, people wearing kilts and usually their own kilts. You didn't go and hire them.'²⁹⁷ However, sharing Elaine Longmore's perspective that this is not a Scottish exception, Lindsey adds, generically, that migrants:

away from home ... become a more condensed version of their nationality. I think it's probably a natural thing to do. You're away from home and the things that you miss about home, anything from music to foodstuffs, to other family members, friends, TV programmes, reading materials that you don't get any more. But while those things are closing off to you, there are other things that are opening up, so I think it's just a natural thing, that people like to ... celebrate their nationality.²⁹⁸

Even intensification is subject to change. Elaine Longmore, whose partner is an Englishman she met in Hong Kong, and with whom she has returned to England, says of her identity in Hong Kong: 'I felt more Scottish there. Now I don't think of myself as Scottish. I just think I'm a UK person. I don't have any particular sense of identity.'²⁹⁹

Intensification would therefore appear to be equally dependent on external forces and environment. Pointedly, narratives from New Zealand do not have the defensive edge of those from Hong Kong, and this relates to Hong Kong's alien environment. This is not to say that experiences such as those of Jackie Kay's grandmother do not exist in New Zealand, rather that they are harder to find. Tom

²⁹⁶ Elaine Longmore, interviewed by Iain Watson, 14 July 2015, interview transcript.

²⁹⁷ Lindsey Hamilton, interview.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Elaine Longmore, interview.

Dodd's testimony concerning his eldest sister and her return to Scotland indicates that for some assimilation was not so much of a priority. Indeed, all the migrants interviewed said they knew of Scots who had returned from New Zealand.

3.6 Concluding Comments

The act of migrating, whether to settle or sojourn, requires migrants to engage with who they are, both to explain themselves to others, and on a very real level to themselves. As Jackie Kay suggests, this constant questioning of the individual's otherness leads them to consciously think about it. Choice of an ethnic identity is an individual process and for adult migrants is constructed in relation to their needs. For their children, parental inputs to identity are significant even when those inputs may see them seek alternative identities, again an individual process. Additionally, the narratives of those migrants who were children at the time of migration tend to be more charged with the challenge of assimilation, and this can also influence their sense of identity. That said, for adult, adolescent and child migrants, the choice of identity is not fixed and as contexts change the individuals are able to re-calibrate their ethnicity in line with their identity needs. Elaine Longmore's testimony and her diminished sense of Scottish identity in England highlights such re-calibrations.

The most compelling evidence for the individuality of ethnic identity choice can be found in the interviews of Anglo-Scots migrants like Alex Loggie, Ian Johnstone and Don Rider, which highlight differing ethnic choices and intensities amongst siblings raised in the same environment. Ordinarily identities are constructed from any number of individual characteristics, including gender, age, sexuality and a sense of place, or by feeling that one belongs to a family group, culture, nation, religion or other social or activity based groups. They can include physical appearance, clothes, personalities, belief systems and political leanings. As such they are constantly reinterpreted in terms of time and environment and in

response to social interaction. For the migrant, this retelling or evolving story is viewed most conveniently through the lens of where they come from.

As the penultimate chapter demonstrates, this reappraisal of identity is all the sharper for returnees. In this chapter it has been argued that choice of identity is individual and can be reinterpreted. However, destination can play a role. Hong Kong migrants find themselves in an alien environment, and for the majority, their perceptions of ethnicity are those with which they arrive in Hong Kong. Few assimilate within the local cultural context and the temporary nature of the sojourner experience does not pose any challenge to their prior identity choices, although it may result in its intensification. That said, as Gordon Lamb's selection of a Scottish identity attests, circumstances can alter choice.

Intensification of the Scottish identity is evident in the testimonies of Hong Kong migrants and less so in those of New Zealand migrants, whose primary goal appears to be to integrate themselves within their new social milieu. That said, survey evidence suggests that assimilative behaviours amongst New Zealand migrants are stronger amongst males than females, who feel a more direct link to Scotland, less tempered by assimilative pressures amongst those for whom the dislocation from home is more keenly felt.

This chapter has argued that identity is malleable and subject to constant redefinition and refinement. Richard Alba and Victor Nee argue that for 'the same individual, the salience, the intensity, and even the definition of ethnic identity may vary from situation to situation. Increasingly, then, ethnic identities are situationally specific.'³⁰⁰ This is not to deny the existence or continuity of an essentialist identity, but does argue that its representation is an individual one formed and re-interpreted by situation. Anthropologist, Sally Falk Moore takes this re-interpretation further commenting that events 'situate people in an unedited ... context, before the cultural ideas they carry and the strategies they employ are extracted'.³⁰¹ This argument

³⁰⁰ Alba and Nee, *Remaking The American Mainstream*, p. 96.

³⁰¹ Sally Falk Moore, "The Ethnography of the Present and the Analysis of Process" in *Assessing Cultural Anthropology* ed. Robert Borofsky (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994) p. 365.

would seem to suggest that migrants choose those cultural attributes needed for their particular circumstances and focus their identity through those traits, many of which, in this case, are perceived to be intrinsically Scottish, resulting in an intensification of the individual Scottish identity selected. However, the choice is not a one-way activity and identities can be re-imagined and re-presented time and time again.

What then is this Scottish migrant identity? The foregoing has argued that choice of identity is individual, but not defined that identity. The logical corollary to this discussion is that if identity choice is both fluid and individual it follows that each person may have an equally individual interpretation of their Scottish identity. Alba and Nee, discussing ethnic hierarchies amongst mixed-race Americans, also highlight the individuality of the composition of such identities. Migrants ‘show some preference for one origin over others, when their ancestry is mixed ... and they have specific conceptions about the characteristics associated with these origins’.³⁰² These perceptions also help inform the choice of identity, whether real or imagined.

This Scottish migrant identity is open to individual interpretation, and is not necessarily fixed in the stereotypical physical iconography of Scotland. It includes the migrants’ ‘less tangible possessions: customs and traditions, inherited folkways and folklore, their religion, and the gifts of language and literature. And not least, ingrained attitudes, preconceptions and prejudices, transported in kists of the mind.’³⁰³ Indeed the analogy of the kist, or travelling chest, is an apposite one, as migrants select their Scottish identity from a number of perceived Scottish traits or cultural markers that they bring with them.

To understand this, the next chapter looks at migrant identity interpretations and how they are framed and used.

³⁰² Alba and Nee, *Remaking The American Mainstream*, p. 96.

³⁰³ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 3.

A Liquid Scottish Identity

Scotland is indefinable; it has no unity except upon the map. Two languages, many dialects, innumerable forms of piety, and countless local patriotisms and prejudices, part us among ourselves ... Yet let us meet in some far country, and, whether we hail from the braes of Manor or the braes of Mar, some ready-made affection joins us on the instant. It is not race.

Robert Louis Stevenson³⁰⁴

4.1 Introduction

In this quote from *Silverado Squatters*, Stevenson's memoir of his Californian honeymoon, the Scottish scribe is at a loss to explain why 'the happiest lot on earth is to be born a Scotchman.'³⁰⁵ If it is not a shared ethnicity, as Stevenson suggests, then is it a combination of 'common ancestry, shared historical past, and cultural symbolism'³⁰⁶ that binds Scots, or are other dynamics such as destination, workplace or social environments at play? Arthur Herman uses Stevenson's observation to suggest that 'nations and nationalities ... are all artificial inventions, social constructs ... [and] that nations are human things, made for human ends and human needs.'³⁰⁷ This references the wider debate as to the creation of nation-states, and draws on Benedict Anderson's argument that nations are 'an imagined political community.'³⁰⁸ While this discourse is relevant to nationalism in the modern era, and ideas of imagined communities as worlds without borders, in this chapter the focus is Scottish migrant identity, and among migrants the image of an imagined community and shared values is no less powerful.

The imagined community suggests an identity drawn from an individual's perceptions of what it means to be Scottish or what they believe Scotland to be,

³⁰⁴ Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Silverado Squatters* (1883: Raleigh, N.C. Alex Catalogue, eBook Collection, EBSCOhost accessed January 28, 2015), p. 48.

<https://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/ebookviewer/ebook>

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ McCarthy, *Personal Narratives*, pp. 31-32.

³⁰⁷ Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World* (2001; repr., London: Harper Perennial, 2006), p. viii.

³⁰⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Verso, 2006), Kindle edition, Location 204.

which again differs from individual to individual within a framework of recognisable Scottish stereotypes or perceived character traits and achievements. These are based on a wide range of inputs, and include Scottish history, traditions, art, literature, the iconography of Scotland and its landscapes. Both Andrew Blaikie and David McCrone argue that the country's physical panorama imbues Scotland with a powerful imagery, which is captured and disseminated globally in art and literature, and utilised unashamedly by the tourism industry. Both describe Scotland as a 'landscape of the mind',³⁰⁹ a country that is both a physical entity, and a less tangible and sometimes imagined conception of its history, myths, symbolism and society. As Blaikie observes, '[t]he significant property of the nation is how it is perceived as a collective form of social life.'³¹⁰

Scots have access to a wide range of ethnic markers or traits that may be used as signposts to a Scottish identity outwith the physical iconography of Scotland. These range from the militarism of the Highland regiments on one hand, to education and social reform as embodied in the likes of migrants such as Frederick Stewart,³¹¹ Margaret Sievwright³¹² and Kate Sheppard.³¹³ In addition, Scotland's history can also be drawn upon to supplement the construction of an individual's Scottish identity. However, the Scottish national identity, which William Ferguson describes as proving itself to be 'remarkably tough and resilient',³¹⁴ is not necessarily the main variable in migrant identity construction. Rather, this chapter argues that identity formation is a mutable process, and that it uses individually selected combinations of the physical iconography of Scotland blended with the non-physical such as Scotland's history, art and literature and the character stereotypes or traits attributed

³⁰⁹ Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010) p. 8 and David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, p. 16.

³¹⁰ Ibid, p. 8.

³¹¹ Born in Rathen, near Fraserburgh (1836), died in Hong Kong (1889), an educationist and colonial administrator and Hong Kong's Colonial Secretary 1887-89.

³¹² Born in Pencaitland, East Lothian (1844), died in Whataupoko (1905), a teacher, nurse and equal rights campaigner, the monument to her in Gisborne, New Zealand reads 'Ever a friend to the friendless, an uncompromising upholder of all that is merciful, temperate and just.'

³¹³ Born in Liverpool (1847) to Scottish parents, died in Christchurch (1935), a leading suffragette, her image appears on the NZD10 note.

³¹⁴ William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (1998; repr., Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 316.

to Scots. Furthermore, these are interchangeable dependent on external forces, making identity a 'liquid' construction.

Together the landscape of national identity, symbolism and stereotypical character traits may be described broadly as Scottish culture and for the migrant, culture and its use play a significant role. Migrants find themselves in alien environments, which despite the information to which they may have access, does not fully prepare them for the dislocation from the networks of their family, friends and acquaintances, and notably their sense of social standing. In such circumstances, refuge is ordinarily sought in the familiar, which for many is the culture that travelled with them. Ernest Gellner has argued that culture is important to the individual when he 'is not firmly set in a social niche, [which] ... endows him with his identity, [as] he is obliged to carry his identity with him, in his ... conduct and expression: in other words his "culture" becomes his identity.'³¹⁵

Establishing themselves in a new social niche is a problem nearly all migrants face, as Joyce Sillars, who migrated to New Zealand in 1957, highlights: 'I look back now and realise that we had lost everything; we had lost our home, Jim had lost his job, we'd lost our family, we'd lost our position in society ... To suddenly find yourself at the absolute bottom, as an agricultural labourer, was pretty ghastly.'³¹⁶ Unsurprisingly, when faced with such setbacks, she and her husband, as many others have done, drew on their Scottish cultural identity to explain themselves both internally and externally to the host society.

To say you were Scottish virtually guaranteed you a job and you were considered to be honest and hard-working and thrifty and all the traits that we like to think are typical of Scots. That seemed to be more or less a given from everyone. There was always a great sort of reverence for things Scottish.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), p. 157.

³¹⁶ Joyce Sillars, interview.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

Joyce draws attention to some of the Scottish stereotypes of honesty, hard-work and thriftiness, although she hints at the possibility that these may be imagined. The traits Joyce highlights are among a range of perceived qualities, which together with a number of other recognisable Scottish stereotypes and achievements, form the basis for individual migrants' construction of their Scottish identities. She also highlights how previous Scottish migrants have managed to preserve the human and cultural capital of Scottish migrants, such that the host society also attributes these values to them.

4.2 Perceived Markers of Scottish Culture

Table 4.1 shows the survey responses to the question - *What do you believe are the distinctive features of Scottish culture?* – with respondents asked to list in free-form whatever they believe. No choices were provided for respondents to draw upon, and respondents may have mentioned one or more of the markers tabulated, with the numbers indicating the percentage of migrants who mention certain traits. To borrow from the jargon of the marketing industry, the responses highlight 'front-of-mind' awareness amongst respondents. Shaded cells indicate significant divergence (>10 per cent) between respondents in Hong Kong and New Zealand where that marker was mentioned by more than 20 per cent of respondents in any group.

Shaded cells indicate significant divergence (>10 per cent) between respondents in Hong Kong and New Zealand and where that marker was mentioned by more than 20 per cent of respondents in any group. Areas of significant divergence between the Hong Kong migrants and both New Zealand groups are apparent, with Hong Kong migrants more strongly associating Scottish culture with Scotland's physical environment, laws and patriotism or nationalism. The reasons for this probably lie in the surveys' proximity to the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum. The 2014 survey of 34 Hong Kong migrants, of which 30 responses

were completed five months prior to the Referendum, resulted in just 12 per cent referencing this cultural marker. In contrast, 34 per cent of the 59 responses to the 2015 post-referendum survey referenced the marker. This highlights both the risks of using front-of-mind responses, and that markers of cultural identity are as mutable as migrant ethnicity choice.

Table 4.1: Markers of Scottish Culture

What do you believe are the distinctive features of Scottish culture?	Hong Kong Migrants	New Zealand Migrants	New Zealand Multi-generational Group
<i>Physical Culture</i>			
Bagpipes, Music & Dancing	29.0%	29.2%	45.3%
Physical Environment (Mountains, Lochs, Hills & Glens)	21.5%	6.3%	7.1%
Tartanry	15.1%	8.3%	14.7%
Food and Drink	11.8%	10.4%	15.3%
Scottish Associations & Highland Games	6.5%	6.3%	8.8%
Totals (as a percentage of total responses per group)	29.0%	22.5%	36.8%
<i>Non-Physical Culture</i>			
History, Tradition & Customs	25.8%	25.0%	29.4%
Education	17.2%	31.3%	19.4%
Art & Literature	10.8%	14.6%	9.4%
Language & Dialect	9.7%	14.6%	11.8%
Law & Civil Governance	26.9%	12.5%	1.8%
Church & Religion	17.2%	4.2%	6.5%
Totals (as a percentage of total responses per group)	37.2%	38%	31.6%
<i>Character Traits</i>			
Family, hospitality and humour	16.1%	29.2%	18.2%
Anglophobia, Nationalism & Patriotism	21.5%	6.3%	8.8%
Integrity, equality, fairness and loyalty	25.8%	29.2%	18.2%
Pride, passion and perseverance	5.4%	10.4%	7.1%
Industriousness and Entrepreneurialism	10.8%	8.3%	8.2%
Inventiveness, science and enlightened & rational thought	7.5%	12.5%	6.5%
Individuality, independence and self-reliance	10.8%	10.4%	11.2%
Totals (as a percentage of total responses per group)	33.8%	39.5%	31.6%

Sources; Bristol Online Services, *Pilot*, *SMtoNZ*, *SMtoHK*, *SinNZ*, *SofHK*.

There are three areas of significant divergence within the New Zealand cohorts, and one is the bagpipes, music and dancing marker. That said, nearly 30 per cent of both migrant groups cite the marker, making it the most cited across all groups (38 per cent). This suggests a meaningful engagement with Hesse's Scottish

Dreamscape amongst the cohorts, and bears further examination as regards migrant attitudes towards Highlandism and nationalism. Other divergences are in the education marker and the family, friends, hospitality and humour marker, which suggests migrant separation anxiety in New Zealand, a feature which is discussed in section 4.2.3.

4.2.1 Education as a Marker of Identity

Table 4.1 indicates that New Zealand migrants appear to place a higher value on Scottish education. This narrative has a significance for migrants who use the education cultural marker as a cornerstone of preserving Scottish social capital in the eyes of the host society. Indeed, this narrative is a powerful one in New Zealand where the country's first university, the University of Otago, was established in the city of Dunedin in 1869, a little over 20 years after the establishment of a Scottish settlement in Dunedin. It is then surprising that the multi-generational descent group do not see it similarly, especially when the Scottish impact on education in New Zealand is sanctioned by the on-line *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, which also links it to New Zealand's social equality ideal and education for women: 'Nationally, the egalitarian ideal of the 1872 Scottish education system was to provide compulsory, free, primary education in public schools. This became the model for New Zealand's 1877 system ... [while] the access to education enjoyed by women in 19th-century New Zealand is attributed to the Scottish influence.'³¹⁸

While those in New Zealand might identify more strongly with the more physical iconography of the bagpipes, music and dance, in interview they are often quick to mention the influence of Scots on New Zealand's educational system. Educationalist Steve Cole, an Anglican New Zealander of English descent and Head of St Kentigern College, an independent Presbyterian school established in Auckland in 1953, observes that a 'lot' of New Zealanders believe that, 'Scottish immigration,

³¹⁸ John Wilson, 'Scots - Education', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 13 July 2012.
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/scots/page-9>

particularly the early immigration, was instrumental in setting up the way that New Zealanders think. ... A lot of the reforms of New Zealand education, even in the 1940s, were done by, of course, Scottish people, Peter Fraser³¹⁹ being one.’³²⁰

This is a view shared by New Zealand migrant interviewees, although not necessarily the multi-generational descent group. Typical of interviewee responses to questions concerning Scottish migrant legacies in New Zealand is Anne Bowden’s observation that ‘the early Scots that came ... were ... in favour of free education.’³²¹ Importantly it is the early migrants whom she connects with education, and by implication this is less of an issue in New Zealand today. Education as a Scots legacy rather than an identity trait is a common theme: ‘fantastic early on maybe not quite so much now, but early on ... both at a school ... and ... university level’³²² is how retired Massey University Professor Mary Earle sees it. The value migrants place on education appears to dissipate generationally, and for Kirsten Main, a second generation primary school teacher, ‘New Zealand has a really progressive education system,’³²³ by which she means that it compares favourably to those of England and Scotland. This narrative mirrors the government’s own self-promotion: ‘[t]he educational system in New Zealand is ... one of the best in the world ... Several indices rate New Zealand as the number one country in the world for education.’³²⁴ In addition, her evaluation is supported by feedback she has received from friends who are teachers, and ‘who have been over there on OEs ... It’s not looking at the child, it’s “What’s the teacher doing wrong?” and that side of things.’³²⁵ Importantly there is no mention of a Scottish educational legacy in her testimony.

³¹⁹ Born in 1886 in Hill of Fearn near Tain, Peter Fraser emigrated to New Zealand in 1910 and was one of the founders of the New Zealand Labour Party and a Labour Cabinet Minister from 1935 to 1940 when he became Prime Minister, a post he held until 1949. As a cabinet minister one of his portfolios was that of education.

³²⁰ Steve Cole and Warwick Bell, interviewed by Iain Watson, 22 July 2014, interview transcript.

³²¹ Anne Bowden, interviewed by Iain Watson, 28 July 2014, interview transcript.

³²² Mary Earle, interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, interview transcript.

³²³ Kirsten Main, interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, interview transcript.

³²⁴ Education in New Zealand, *Educational System*, accessed 20 February 2016.

<http://www.education-newzealand.org/educational-system/>

³²⁵ Kirsten Main, interview.

Hong Kong migrants reference education as little as the multi-generational cohort, despite a Scot, Sir Frederick Stewart (1836-89), being credited with ‘setting up a government education system which accommodated the best of two cultures.’³²⁶ Awareness of Stewart’s legacy is limited, and the education of expatriate children is largely divorced from the mainstream education system. The majority of the children of Scottish expatriates attend the schools of the English Schools Foundation (ESF), ‘the largest provider of English-medium international education in Hong Kong.’³²⁷

Table 4.2: Hong Kong Student Enrolment by Level and Sector 2014-2015

Enrolled in the 2014/15 School Year	ESF (English Schools Foundation)	% of Total Enrolled by sector	Other International Schools	% of Total Enrolled by sector	Total Enrolled 2014/15
Kindergarten *	-	0.0%	9,642	5.5%	176,397
Primary	6,083	1.8%	14,110	4.3%	329,300
Secondary	6,836	1.8%	9,606	2.6%	373,131
Special Needs	117	1.5%	-	0.0%	7,712
Totals	13,036	1.5%	33,358	3.8%	886,540

Source: School Education Statistics Section, Education Bureau, GovHKSAR, *Student Enrolment Statistics, 2014/15* (Hong Kong: School Education Statistics Section, 2015), pp. 7-10, 12.

*Non-Chinese Kindergartens.

The ESF and other international schools such as the French International School (2,558 pupils),³²⁸ the Canadian International School (1,845 pupils)³²⁹ and others account for just 5.3 per cent of Hong Kong’s school age and kindergarten population. As a result, Scottish education has little impact on expatriate life, while the knowledge of any Scottish educational legacy has largely been obfuscated by time.

³²⁶ Gillian Bickley, ‘Stewart, Frederick (1836–1889)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008, accessed 30 Oct 2015. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70140>

³²⁷ ESF, *Home*, accessed 20 July 2015. <http://www.esf.edu.hk/>

³²⁸ Le Lycée Français International de Hong Kong, *The School*, accessed 20 July 2015. <http://www.fis.edu.hk/web/Default.aspx?r=1&e=1393&h=3;6;-1&lang=fr-fr>

³²⁹ Canadian International School of Hong Kong, *Facts Sheet*, accessed 20 July 2015. <http://www.cdnis.edu.hk/aboutus/facts/facts-sheet.html>

New Zealand migrants are more likely to identify education as a marker of Scottish ethnicity. Indeed, over 28 per cent of this group also list education as one of the areas in which Scottish culture has had an influence on New Zealand in contrast to just 10 per cent of Hong Kong migrants.³³⁰ Of the multi-generational cohort, 22 per cent also consider education to be an influence on New Zealand, similar to the 19 per cent who identify education as a Scottish identity marker. The disparity between the two migrant groups indicates that in New Zealand the migrants are couching their perception of Scottish identity in terms that relate to a fairly widely held perception of a Scottish cultural legacy in the host society. Despite Stewart's role in Hong Kong, it is difficult to identify any legacy, there are no schools named after him, and the school he founded, Central School, no longer exists. Stewart Road in Wan Chai and Stewart Terrace, where the Jardines' bachelors' mess was located, are named after him, but this is a largely unknown fact. As a result, Hong Kong migrants see no real need to promote education as a part of their Scottish identity. In both cases the migrant groups appear to be reacting to the host environment.

4.2.2 Familiar Landscapes and Identity

This physical environmental marker is most evident in Hong Kong migrants' identification with the homeland in terms of its environment, food and drink, probably a reaction to the alien environment and landscapes of Hong Kong. Typical is Hong Kong interviewee, Alan Dalgleish's comment that Scotland is 'beautiful countryside, friendly people, the whole nine yards.'³³¹

In contrast, New Zealand migrants are less taxed by their new physical environment. The more familiar landscapes and foods of New Zealand seem to account for the difference. Ian Johnstone, raised in the Cumbrian Borderlands, and finding himself in rural South Canterbury in 1961 comments: 'It's a factor in my

³³⁰ Tables 5.1 and 5.2

³³¹ Alan Dalgleish, interviewed by Iain Watson, 6 August 2014, interview transcript.

whole sense of identity, South Canterbury ... the countryside is ... like the Borders ... the ocean is bigger and nearer, but it's rolling hill country.³³² This familiarity is also a feature of the migrant decision-making process. As Alex Loggie says, 'New Zealand just ticked a lot of boxes: that superficial familiarity, primarily an English-speaking language.'³³³ Migrants are more disposed to comparing New Zealand's physical environment favourably to that of Scotland's, as Mike Dolling does when describing Whanganui's as 'the fourth most equitable [sic] climate in the world.'³³⁴

While a familiar and more temperate climate diminishes Scotland's landscapes as an identity marker for settler migrants in New Zealand, it would be inaccurate to attribute the value placed on those landscapes by Hong Kong sojourners as a reaction to the concrete and glass jungle of urban Hong Kong. Forty per cent of Hong Kong's land area is covered by country parks, of which Stuart Stoker observes: 'I can get out hiking here in fabulous countryside quicker than I can get to the Pentlands from a flat in Bruntsfield.'³³⁵ Yet, while Stuart is comfortable with what his environment offers, there is no suggestion that Hong Kong's landscapes are in anyway similar to those of Scotland, which still hold an attraction for him:

There's just screeds of that tiny wonderful country that I've never been to, ... I've loved the west coast and the Hebrides from childhood holidays but I've never been to Rum. ... I've never been to the Uists. There's a whole pile of places I want to go to, but not to live.³³⁶

Similarly, John Budge, who migrated to Hong Kong in 1978, highlights the Hong Kong migrant's connection to the physical landscape of Scotland, in this description of a 2014 visit to Scotland to see his daughter who was studying at Glasgow University:

I visited Scotland three times in March and April. She and I had the most wonderful holiday on the West Coast just before Easter. I mean

³³² Ian Johnstone, interview.

³³³ Alex Loggie, interview.

³³⁴ Mike and Lorraine Dolling, interview.

³³⁵ Stuart Stoker, interviewed by Iain Watson, 2 August 2014, interview transcript.

³³⁶ Ibid.

Scotland was looking its absolute best. We climbed up Ben Nevis and the top third was still in snow ... it was beautiful. ... We had the most wonderful time actually. I mean I felt really good.³³⁷

Like Stuart, John does not see himself retiring to Scotland. Married to an Australian with family there, and with his Hong Kong born children, ‘unlikely to all remain in the UK’,³³⁸ he sees Hong Kong as a convenient base for his globally spread family. Alan Dalglish’s description, John’s recounting of his experience on Ben Nevis, and Stuart’s desire to visit Rum show an appreciation of rural Scotland’s greener environment, but significantly ignores the harsher reality of Scottish urban life. It also implies a recognition that Hong Kong’s environment is an alien one in terms of topography and climate, not to mention environmental pollution. What feeds into this identity marker is not Scotland as a whole, but a sanitised idyllic Scotland that reflects the cherry-picking of the different markers that can be used to create each individual’s Scottish identity.

4.2.3 Family, Friends, Hospitality and Humour as a Marker of Identity

Migrants to New Zealand cite family, friends, hospitality and humour as important character traits, more so than Hong Kong migrants. This suggests a sense of dislocation from Scotland and familial and friendship ties, which can manifest itself most clearly in narratives of homesickness. A number of interviewees recount stories of homesickness, although their intensity appears to diminish over time, as modern communications and transport links reduce distances figuratively. The initial dislocation can be traumatic, as Anne Bowden, a librarian from Dunfermline who met and married a Royal New Zealand Navy serviceman in Scotland, migrating to New Zealand in 1963, discovered: ‘I was homesick the first year, I cried every night I think ... but I wasn’t homesick for the place, it was the people.’³³⁹

³³⁷ John Budge, interviewed by Iain Watson, 31 July 2014, Hong Kong, interview transcript.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Anne Bowden, interview.

Jean Hanna, who migrated with her husband from Glasgow in 1958, suffered similarly, and her husband John would return home from work at lunch-times to see her. She coped with her first Hogmanay, in the height of the New Zealand summer, by being determined that,

it was going to be traditional, as John was in the pipe band, ... I made steak pie, potatoes and peas. ... I lit the fire, you always had a lovely fire when you had New Year at home and I made a pudding, a jelly, and it was so hot the jelly wouldnae set!³⁴⁰

For migrants to Hong Kong, the family and friends marker appears to be less of a concern. The transient nature of the sojourner's life with its expectation of return or moving on, visits home, easy access to air travel and telecommunications, mean that for them family and friends remain relatively close.

While migrants to New Zealand have benefitted from improved telecommunications and access to air travel, this was not always so for those migrating in the 1950s to 1970s. John Hanna, who migrated in 1958 on a six-week sea voyage, comments that,

[b]ecause I was involved in the [pipe] band we had ready-made friends. They weren't the friends we'd grown up with, and family and friends were back in Scotland, a long way away. And it was a long way away at that stage.

A long way psychologically, a long way physically. Telephone calls were horrendously expensive.³⁴¹

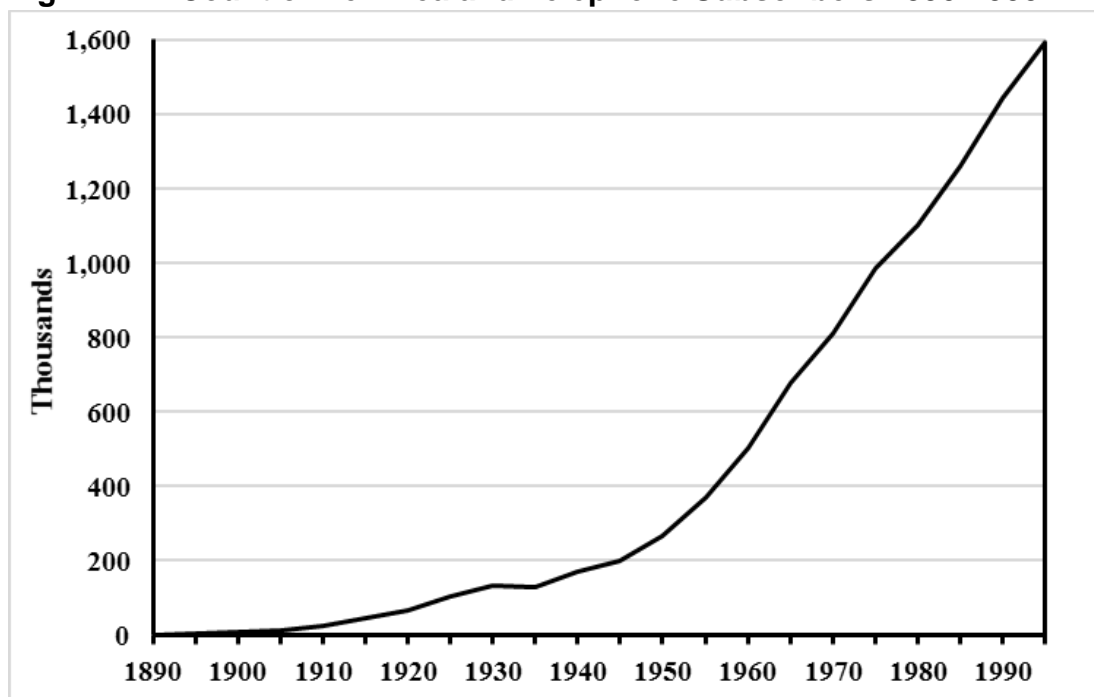
Access to telecommunications improved substantially from 1950 with subscriber numbers increasing threefold from 271,935 to 835,325 in 1970, by which time New Zealand was ranked fifth in the world for the number of telephones per 100 of population (Figure 4.1).³⁴²

³⁴⁰ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² SNZ, 'The New Zealand Official Handbook – 1972', Yearbook Collection: 1893-2012, accessed 14 March 2015. http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digital-yearbook-collection.aspx

Fig. 4.1: Count of New Zealand Telephone Subscribers 1890-1995



Source; A. C. Wilson. 'Telecommunications - Phones, faxes and satellites', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 17 Dec 2014.

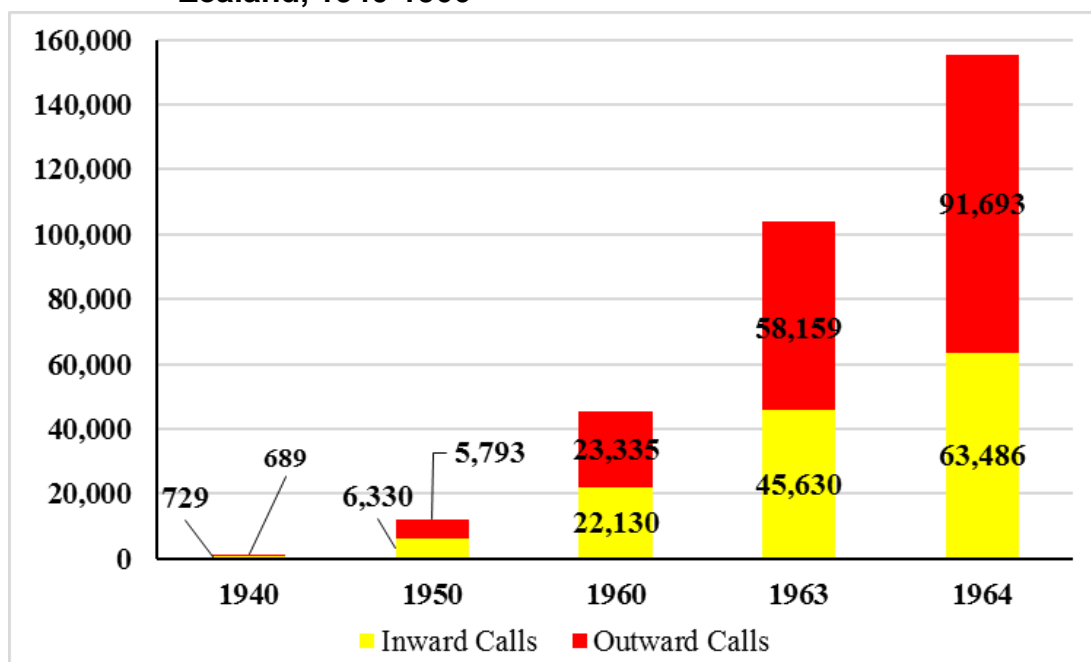
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/graph/22018/telephone-subscribers>

Yet, despite increases in subscriber numbers, access to international lines was limited. Improvements came in 1962 with an undersea cable connecting New Zealand to Australia and Canada and in 1965 when New Zealand joined INTELSAT, which provided access to Satellite telecommunications links with Britain.³⁴³ As Figure 4.2 shows, these advances resulted in a pick-up in the number of overseas calls. That said, costs remained high into the late twentieth century, making voice contact a luxury reserved for special occasions such as Christmas and New Year or birthdays and anniversaries. Even then, for many the cost was prohibitive as Anne Bowden points out: 'In those days phone calls were expensive. You'd never phone home ... there was no way of communicating like there is now. It was really quite hard. I had letters, of course.'³⁴⁴

³⁴³ A. C. Wilson. 'Telecommunications'.

³⁴⁴ Anne Bowden, interview.

Fig. 4.2: Overseas Telephone Calls (including corporate calls) – New Zealand, 1940-1966



Source; 'OVERSEAS TELECOMMUNICATIONS', *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McIntock, originally published 1966. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 22-Apr-09. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/post-office/page-4>

Many relied on letters to communicate, not always accurately, as Joyce Sillars admits. Her letters home glossed over the reality: 'we had never really admitted how dreadful it was and many members of our family still have no idea.'³⁴⁵ Some tried voice contact through the medium of taped messages, which did not always help, as John Hanna observes:

[W]e arrived in November [1958] ... and my dad, he had made a tape recording, which he sent us. And on this tape were the voices of our mums and dads, our aunts and uncles and cousins and our friends.

We didn't have a tape recorder so we had to borrow one, and we ... listened for two minutes and then we were both an absolute mess. We had to just howl.³⁴⁶

Adding to this sense of dislocation was the cost of return. Air travel was prohibitively expensive (Table 4.3).

³⁴⁵ Joyce Sillars, interview.

³⁴⁶ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

Table 4.3: London to Auckland Airfare Comparisons 1953-2015 ³⁴⁷

Year	London to Auckland Economy One-way (in GBP)	GBP Relative Value in 2014	London to Auckland Economy Return (in GBP)	GBP Relative Value in 2014
1953	299.00	7456.00	538.20	13420.00
1958	256.00	5500.00	461.70	9900.00
1963	253.00	4830.00	480.00	9160.00
1968	295.20	4790.00	560.90	9110.00
1971	310.75	3923.00	621.50	7846.00
2015	645.00	645.00	941.00	941.00

Sources: British Overseas Airways Corporation, *BOAC Timetable Speedbird World Air Routes, Effective 1st June 1953* (Great Britain: n.p., 1953), p. 9; British Overseas Airways Corporation, *BOAC Timetable World Routes, Effective March 1st 1958* (London & Watford: Sun Printers Ltd., 1958), p. 38; QANTAS Empire Airways Ltd., *QANTAS Timetable Schedules & Fares- Effective Date 1st August 1963* (n.p., 1963), p. 29; Air New Zealand, *Air New Zealand System Timetable – July, August, September 1968* (New Zealand: n.p., 1968) p. 25; British Overseas Airways Corporation, *BOAC Timetable 1 April 1971 – 30 June 1971* (n.p., 1971), p. 97; Air New Zealand, accessed 15 April 2015. <http://www.airnewzealand.co.uk/>

Nor was the six-week return voyage cheap, as it was rarely subsidised. Joyce Sillars who migrated with her husband by air in January 1957, notes that despite their difficulties, return was not an option as they ‘didn’t have the fare, ... and pride would not have allowed us to ask anyone else to pay our fare back to Scotland.’³⁴⁸

The completion of the airport at Mangere, South Auckland in 1965 and the introduction of jet powered airliners provided the impetus for international air travel numbers to swell (Figure 4.3). They grew twenty-two fold in the twenty years, from 1960 (88,136) to 1980 (1,933,019) exceeding 1,000,000 in 1974.³⁴⁹ However, it was not until the 1980s that the cost of air travel fell globally as a result of the deregulation of the commercial aviation industry.³⁵⁰ The impact on New Zealand’s passenger numbers from the mid-1980s was dramatic:

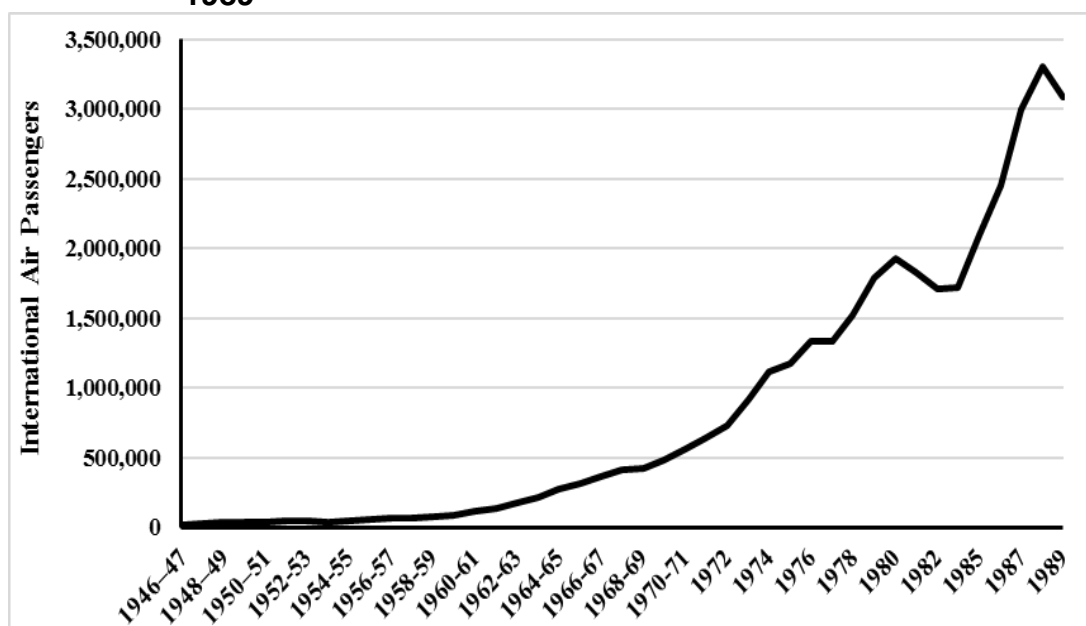
³⁴⁷ Real values calculated using a simple RPI (Retail Price Index) ratio multiplier. ONS, accessed 14 March 2014. <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/index.html>

³⁴⁸ Joyce Sillars, interview.

³⁴⁹ SNZ, *Yearbook Collection: 1893-2012*.

³⁵⁰ The USA passed the *Airline Deregulation Act* in 1978, which led to a series of multi- and bi-lateral aviation agreements, known generically as *Open Skies* agreements.

Fig 4.3: New Zealand International Air Passenger numbers 1946–1989



Source: SNZ, *Yearbook Collection: 1893-2012*.

It was not until 1979, twenty-two years after migrating to New Zealand, that Joyce Sillars was able to afford to return to Scotland for the first time, and even then it stretched her and her husband financially:

I went back for my sister's wedding, no-one knew that I sold my piano to pay my fare ... back and made most of my clothes. ... I had to become a good dressmaker. So I think they probably weren't aware and I tried to make my money go as far as I possibly could while I was there.³⁵¹

Similarly, for Allan Main it was not until the late 1970s that he and his parents who had migrated in 1957 could afford to return: 'Mum and Dad didn't return to Scotland until we were adults; there just wasn't the financial opportunity.'³⁵² Significantly the cost of return does not tend to feature in the narrative of those who have migrated since the 1990s. Voice and more recently video communication is commonplace, while access to the internet and Voice over Internet Protocol (VOIP) has greatly reduced the cost. In addition, the real cost of the return journey is now ten times cheaper than it was in the 1960s (Table 4.3).

³⁵¹ Joyce Sillars, interview.

³⁵² Allan Main, interview.

While the challenges may have been mitigated, this does not result in migrants being any less taxed by dislocation from friends and family. Alex Loggie who migrated in 2005 with his wife and two children aged 4 and 9, comments that he is aware that many migrants return, estimating that ‘something like 50 per cent of émigrés to New Zealand and Australia actually return.’³⁵³ His number is on the high side, as the OECD estimate ‘that 77% of the 1998 migration cohort were still present in the country in 2003’.³⁵⁴ However, the impact of telecommunications advances and cheaper airfares is demonstrated by Alex’s use of technology:

There has always been regular contact with her parents. They’ve been out twice. ... We’re planning to go back next year, and ... there is telephone contact every two weeks, so it’s just getting into a routine.

I set up a webpage, the first year we were here ... It became an integral part of our just being here and feeling settled ... It worked.³⁵⁵

Yet, there is no appreciable difference between the number of post- and pre-1970s migrants, who cite family, friends, hospitality and humour as a cultural marker. This suggests similar levels of separation anxiety, notwithstanding the advent of the global village. In contrast, interviews with Hong Kong migrants rarely reference dislocation anxiety. Regular return journeys and good telecommunication links mitigate this. Before the *Open Skies* era, sojourners worked long periods without taking leave, and ordinarily transport was by sea. Michael Meredith recalls that his father, an expatriate executive with Cable and Wireless in the late 1940s and 50s, had ‘6 months paid home leave ... every three years’³⁵⁶ and that they ‘were always spent in England/Europe ... travelling ... by sea.’³⁵⁷ Stan Robertson’s first tour of duty with HSBC took him to Sri Lanka, Hong Kong and Malaysia, until ‘it came time to go home, for my first leave after four years.’³⁵⁸ In 1961, his leave was

³⁵³ Alex Loggie, interview.

³⁵⁴ Jean-Christophe Dumont and Gilles Spielvogel with Claire André, “Return Migration: A New Perspective”, in *OECD International Migration Outlook 2008* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008), p. 172.

³⁵⁵ Alex Loggie, interview.

³⁵⁶ Michael Meredith, e-mail to author, 17 August 2016.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Diana and Stan Robertson, interviewed by Iain Watson, 29 May 2014, interview transcript.

for 8 months, and he took the opportunity to marry before he returned to Asia with his bride.

Care needs to be taken with the distribution of work and leave periods amongst those taking sea voyages. For instance, the voyage of five to six weeks was sometimes considered part of the working tour, as it was for Deborah Mercer's father who, 'worked for China Light and Power from 1963 until 1997 ... and had 3 months leave every 3-4 years until about 1970.'³⁵⁹ For others the sea voyage was a part of the leave period, as was the case for Stuart Gill who recalls that his RHKP father 'had 5-6 months leave after 2 and half years of service. Until 1965 this included going back to UK via P&O. After that it was via BOAC.'³⁶⁰ It would appear that it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that sea journeys began to be replaced by air travel. Nor do migrants mention the cost of return, as such costs are ordinarily included in expatriate employment contracts as the costs were as prohibitive as they were for New Zealand migrants until the 1970s:

Table 4.4: London to Hong Kong Airfare Comparisons 1953-2015 ³⁶¹

Year	London to Hong Kong Economy One-way (in GBP)	GBP Relative Value in 2014	London to Auckland Economy Return (in GBP)	GBP Relative Value in 2014
1953	182.00	4539.00	327.60	8169.00
1958	213.00	5500.00	383.40	9900.00
1966	208.00	4830.00	395.20	9160.00
1974	n/a	n/a	227.00	2113.00
2015	772.16	772.16	763.00	763.00

Sources: British Overseas Airways Corporation, *BOAC Timetable Speedbird World Air Routes, Effective 1st June 1953* (Great Britain: n.p., 1953), p. 9; British Overseas Airways Corporation, *BOAC Timetable World Routes, Effective March 1st 1958* (London & Watford: Sun Printers Ltd., 1958), p. 38; British Overseas Airways Corporation, *BOAC Timetable, Valid 22.3.66-1.6.66* (Great Britain: Harrison & Sons Ltd., 1966), p. 27; British Airways, "Poundstretcher Low Fares", 11 September 1974, *Punch*, p. 335; Cathay Pacific Airways Ltd., accessed 15 April 2015. <https://www.cathaypacific.com/>

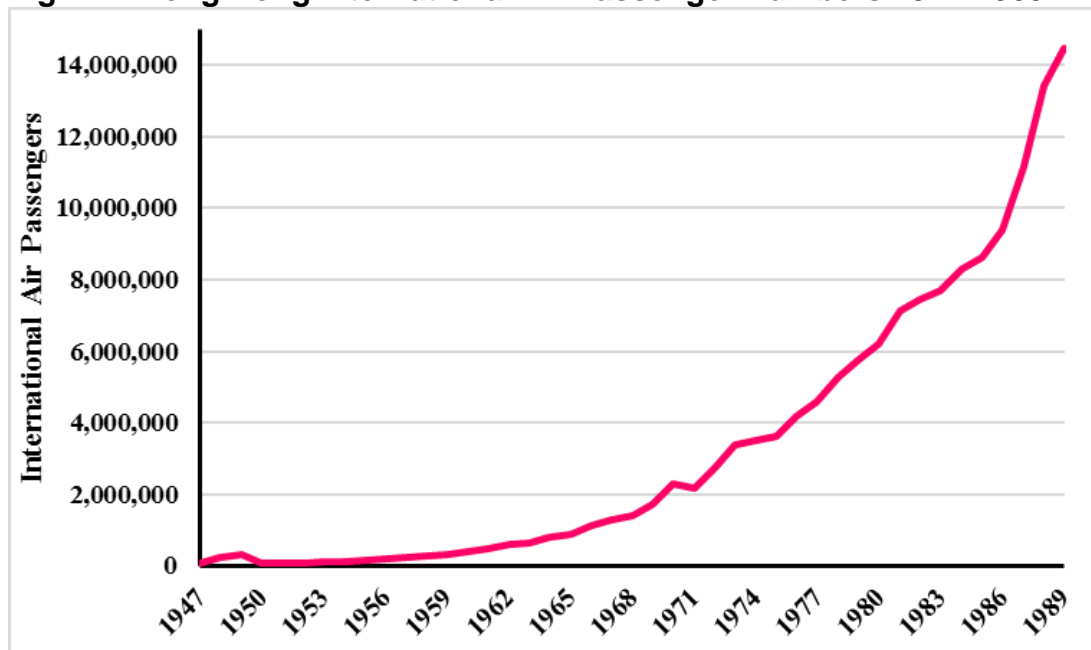
³⁵⁹ Deborah Mercer, "I Was In Hong Kong When It Was Still British" (Facebook comment), 17 August 2016.

³⁶⁰ Stuart Gill, "I Was In Hong Kong When It Was Still British" (Facebook comment), 17 August 2016.

³⁶¹ Real values calculated using a simple RPI (Retail Price Index) ratio multiplier, ONS.

Compared to New Zealand, Hong Kong's international airports have on average handled four times as many passengers since 1946, and with the advent of *Open Skies* annual passenger numbers increased two-fold during the 1980s.

Fig 4.4: Hong Kong International Air Passenger Numbers 1947-1989



Sources: Civil Aviation Department, GovHKSAR, *Kai Tak Airport 1925-1998*, Last Review Date: 4 October 2013, <http://www.cad.gov.hk/english/kaitak.html>; Census and Statistics Department, *Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967 (1967 Edition)*; *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics (1978, 1981, 1984 and 1990 Edition)* Last revision date: 28 November, 2014, <http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp140.jsp?productCode=B1010003>; Census and Statistics Department, *Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics (December 1972)* Last revision date: 15 May, 2015, <http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp40.jsp?productCode=B1010002>

Despite regular home leave and contact, not all Hong Kong migrants are unaffected by homesickness, as Diana Robertson remembers, when asked if she had wanted to return to Scotland earlier than planned:

when my father died, yes, ... sitting in [an apartment in Hong Kong's Peak District] in the fog, I would have gone home tomorrow quite honestly. Also, a little bit with going to Kuala Belait [Brunei].

... there were certain times being abroad that I wanted to be home but it was more to do with family than it was to do with actually coming back to Scotland as a Scot.³⁶²

³⁶² Diana and Stan Robertson, interview.

In this last sentence, Diana echoes the earlier sentiments of Anne Bowden, and as with much of the oral testimony, there is a gendered dimension to homesickness, which can be ‘a shorthand explanation which simplifies or even conceals a complex experience’.³⁶³ Males rarely mention homesickness directly, and when they do, it is often with regards to the emotional well-being of others in their families. Stan Robertson, reflecting on having to educate his daughters in the UK as a result of his multi-destination sojourning life, admits to being ‘a bit envious of people who have been in Hong Kong for the entire period of their children’s growing up because ... they don’t understand the traumas.’³⁶⁴

In New Zealand Alex Loggie’s narrative shows that he too was taxed by concerns for his children:

We thought Jake, who was nine when we came out, would have a harder job settling because, in our minds, he had more to lose because ... he was really sociable, popular and had tons of mates. What we hadn’t appreciated was that with Emma [aged 4], having a much smaller circle of very important people in her life, ... she suffered from separation anxiety.³⁶⁵

This is not to argue that males do not feel homesick, but rather as Alistair Thomson suggests there is ‘a hidden form of male homesickness’,³⁶⁶ reflected in Stan and Alex’s acknowledgments above. Men can experience significant bouts of homesickness but will rarely speak about them, as John Hanna’s testimony with regard to the playing of the tape suggests.

Women are more open to discussing homesickness, and Thomson’s study of UK returnees from Australia has led him to suggest that they are most vulnerable ‘when expecting a baby ... or were at home with young children while the father was

³⁶³ Alistair Thomson, “‘My Wayward Heart’: homesickness, longing and the return of British post-war immigrants from Australia” in *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants 1600-2000*, ed Marjory Harper, pp. 131-150 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 119.

³⁶⁴ Diana and Stan Robertson, interview.

³⁶⁵ Alex Loggie, interview.

³⁶⁶ Thomson, ‘My Wayward Heart’, p. 124.

working long hours'.³⁶⁷ Both environments call for 'the practical and emotional support of mothers and other members of the extended family back in Britain'.³⁶⁸ Thomson's observations are reflected in the interviews of those female migrants to New Zealand, who experienced homesickness. Anne Bowden was 9 weeks pregnant when she flew to New Zealand, while Jean Hanna found she was pregnant on her voyage out and was also at home with her young child for much of their early life in Palmerston North. As was Senga Imrie in Wanganui: 'I wasn't going out at night. I had to stay in and watch the kids. So I became homesick.'³⁶⁹

In this part of the chapter, it is argued that the attachment to friends and family, especially amongst the New Zealand migrant cohort, and its adoption as part of a Scottish identity, has its roots in separation anxiety or homesickness. Furthermore, the settler migrations to New Zealand intensify this identity marker. In contrast the multi-generational group with established friends and family networks are less taxed, as are Hong Kong migrants, whose more transient lives with the prospect of regular return mitigate such anxieties.

The comparison between the groups serves to demonstrate how environment plays a role in the selection of identity markers and for the New Zealand migrants the incorporation of what they believe to be a cultural marker of Scottish identity: family, friends, hospitality and humour, help explain any separation anxiety resulting from emigration. Their Scottish identity is thus expressed in the bonds of the family and friendships they have left in Scotland.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Senga Imrie, interview.

4.3 History and Identity

In Table 4.1 all groups identify Scottish history as an important front-of-mind identity marker, ranking it the second most referenced marker after bagpipes, music and dancing, by 28 per cent of all respondents. A closer examination of the role of Scottish history in migrant identity formulation is tabulated below:

Table 4.5: Scottish History Identity Markers

What historical events do you believe define Scotland and the Scottish diaspora?	Hong Kong Migrants % of responses	New Zealand Migrants % of responses	New Zealand Multi-generational Group % of responses
Bruce, Wallace, the Wars of Independence	40.0%	46.9%	26.0%
The Clearances	34.7%	49.0%	69.5%
The Union of Crowns & Parliaments	40.0%	42.9%	8.5%
(within which Union of the Crowns and the Stewart Kings)	24.2%	24.5%	4.0%
(within which; the Act of Union)	15.8%	18.4%	4.5%
Jacobite Risings and Culloden	23.2%	40.8%	40.1%
Industrial Revolution, inventions & exploration	13.7%	18.4%	10.7%
The Scottish Enlightenment	20.0%	2.0%	0.6%
Participation in the British Empire	12.6%	4.1%	4.5%
Highland Regiments and Scottish Military prowess	8.4%	8.2%	4.0%
Darien	5.3%	2.0%	0.6%
Migration	5.3%	8.2%	4.0%
Parliament/Nationalism/Independence/Referendum	13.7%	6.1%	2.3%
20th Century Industrial decline and Thatcherism	6.3%	26.5%	3.4%
The Reformation/The Church of Scotland	6.3%	4.1%	5.1%
Participation in the Slave Trade	1.1%	2.0%	0.0%
Education	3.2%	2.0%	1.1%
Radical politics and the Labour party	0.0%	6.1%	1.1%

Sources: BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Again, the question's responses are a front-of-mind assessment, with no prompts provided and allowing respondents to mention one or more events from Scotland's history. The numbers indicate the percentage of each group who reference certain events, while the highlighted areas (colour coded green for higher than Hong Kong and amber for lower) show where there is a divergence (>10 per

cent) between respondents in Hong Kong and New Zealand and the marker was identified by more than 20 per cent of respondents in any group.

4.3.1 Highlandism and Identity

The widest disparity between the multi-generational group and migrants in New Zealand and Hong Kong is the Clearances, predominantly the Highland Clearances.³⁷⁰ For the multi-generational group it is their most referenced historical marker. This is suggestive of a victim diaspora narrative, yet Rosalind McClean has shown that less than 5 per cent of the Scottish emigrants to Australasia in 1840-1880 were from the 'extreme peasant fringe',³⁷¹ and that the origins of those migrants mirrored the distribution of the Scottish population of the time. Building on McClean's study and utilising data gathered by the New Zealand Society of Genealogists – Scottish Interest Group, it has been determined 'that 70.03 per cent of Scots arriving in New Zealand between 1840 and 1920 were born in the Eastern or Western Lowlands or a Border county'.³⁷²

The migration to New Zealand does not constitute a victim diaspora nor does this narrative fit with the promotion of Scottish migration as integral to the evolution of the New Zealand nation-state. It is difficult to explain why the Clearances are so important to the multi-generational group. Even *Te Ara* categorically states that 'Few Scots emigrated as refugees of the infamous Highland Clearances'.³⁷³ This interpretation of history is redolent of Highlandism, which together with the multi-generational group's identification with Jacobitism, draws on a hardship narrative akin to the early pioneer experience. Such an explanation lends weight to Eric Richards' argument that the 'exceptionalism of the Highlands has been over-rated at

³⁷⁰ "Highland Clearances" accounted for 26.8 per cent of responses and "Lowland" 1.9 per cent, the balance "Clearances".

³⁷¹ McClean, *Scottish Emigrants*, p. 161.

³⁷² Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 25.

³⁷³ John Wilson. 'Scots - 1840–1852: organised settlement', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 13 July 2012, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/scots/page-2>, p. 2.

the expense of the significance of the Clearances as a well-documented exemplar of the perils facing a poor society on the edge of industrialisation'.³⁷⁴

There is also a disparity between Hong Kong and New Zealand migrants as regards Jacobitism, which interestingly, the New Zealand migrants reference as often as the multi-generational group. If we can assume that both migrant groups are as informed as each other concerning Scotland's history, and Table 4.5 would appear to indicate that apart from the "Enlightenment" and "Industrial decline" markers, this would seem to be the case. Then, the New Zealand migrants' engagement with Highlandist history suggests assimilative behaviour, where they are constructing a Scottish identity narrative that increasingly resembles the perceptions of the multi-generational group.

Reasons for this Highlandist interpretation lie in the histories the groups favour. Table 4.6 below shows whose histories they read and the percentage of each group who identify individual historians, without limiting the number they can name, although this time a 'tick-list' was provided with room for respondents to identify additional historians.

Table 4.6: Six Most Read Authors of Histories

Have you read any Scottish histories? (percentages are by number of respondents)	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sir Walter Scott	37	37.0%	25	48.1%	58	32.8%	120	36.5%
Nigel Tranter	29	29.0%	23	44.2%	33	18.6%	85	25.8%
John Prebble	32	32.0%	18	34.6%	32	18.1%	82	24.9%
Magnus Magnusson	28	28.0%	15	28.8%	22	12.4%	65	19.8%
Neil Oliver	15	15.0%	20	38.5%	26	14.7%	61	18.5%
T M Devine	23	23.0%	8	15.4%	12	6.8%	43	13.1%

Sources: BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

This demonstrates that all groups prefer the romantic historical novels of Sir Walter Scott and Nigel Tranter in addition to the more popular histories of John

³⁷⁴ Eric Richards, *The Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 2000), p. 328.

Prebble, Magnus Magnusson and T.M. Devine. Importantly, the three most read authors' works often use and/or portray Highlandist themes. The influence of modern media in formulations of identity based on histories is highlighted by Neil Oliver's ranking based on a single book, *A History of Scotland*. This is probably attributable to the success of the BBC Scotland documentary of the same name, which Oliver presented, and which was aired in New Zealand in late 2010, with Oliver's persona further promoted by his appearance in *Coast* (also aired on the Living Channel in New Zealand).³⁷⁵

4.3.2 Contemporary History and Identity

Table 4.5 also highlights how contemporary historical contexts can influence migrant identity. Given the proximity of the surveys to the 2014 Referendum and the debates concerning the Union and independence, it is perhaps unsurprising that the more recent migrants to Hong Kong and New Zealand identify more with the Acts of Union and the Wars of Independence than the multi-generational group. Indeed, in the survey conducted post-Referendum it is apparent that the migrant groups saw themselves as better informed than the multi-generational group:

Table 4.7: How well informed about the 2014 Referendum did the Groups believe themselves to be?

How well informed did you feel about the Referendum?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very well	24	36.4%	12	44.5%	12	13.2%	48	26.1%
Well	32	48.5%	10	37.0%	43	47.2%	85	46.2%
Poorly	7	10.6%	4	14.8%	20	22.0%	31	16.9%
Very Poorly	2	3.0%	1	3.7%	9	9.9%	12	6.5%
Rather not say	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	7	7.7%	8	4.3%

Sources: BOS, SinNZ, SofHK.

³⁷⁵ Neil Oliver, *A History of Scotland* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2009). *A History of Scotland*, BBC Scotland, 2008-2009. *Coast*, BBC, 2005-2014.

This engagement with Scottish affairs is mirrored in Table 4.8, which shows that both migrant groups consider themselves better informed about Scottish affairs than the multi-generational group. However, unlike their levels of engagement with the Referendum, New Zealand migrants perceive themselves to be less well informed than Hong Kong migrants when it comes to wider Scottish affairs. Arguably this is reflective of the need for settlers to assimilate in the host country, almost as if the act of migrating to settle prompts a weakening of the settlers' ties to the homeland, especially if the migrant is committed to remaining. If so, then Alex Loggie's insistence that 'This is where I live and this is home'³⁷⁶ would seem to support this interpretation.

Table 4.8: How well informed about Scotland do the Groups believe themselves to be?

How well informed do you believe yourself to be about Scotland and Scottish affairs?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Well	17	18.7%	8	16.7%	5	3.1%	30	10.0%
Relatively well	54	59.3%	21	43.7%	58	35.8%	133	44.2%
Neither well or poorly	12	13.2%	12	25.0%	55	34.0%	79	26.2%
Relatively poorly	5	5.5%	5	10.4%	20	12.3%	30	10.0%
Poorly	3	3.3%	2	4.2%	24	14.8%	29	9.6%

Sources: BOS, *SMtoNZ*, *SMtoHK*, *SinNZ*, *SofHK*.

In contrast, Hong Kong migrants have an expectation of return, and evidence a limited integration into the host society. They have their connections with Scotland refuelled by regular, sometimes annual, return visits 'home', combined with access to modern telecommunications and social networking. Sixty per cent of Hong Kong migrants keep themselves informed about Scotland from family in Britain and fifty-four per cent cite Scottish networks in Hong Kong as another source.³⁷⁷ As a result, they are unsurprisingly certain that they maintain well informed links with Scotland.

³⁷⁶ Alex Loggie, interview.

³⁷⁷ Appendix 1 – Table 7.

4.3.3 Twentieth Century Industrial Decline and Identity

Twenty-seven per cent of New Zealand migrants highlight the history of Scotland's twentieth-century industrial decline and the country's relationship with Thatcherism as a significant marker, especially as it is barely referenced by any other group. In this instance the marker speaks to another aspect of a migrant's identity; the reasons for departure. In the Settling and Sojourning chapter this economic motivation for migration was discussed and surveys reported that an intriguingly similar 29.8 per cent of New Zealand migrant responses cited economic motives for migrating.³⁷⁸ In addition, Scotland's industrial decline was reiterated in a number of the New Zealand interviews, as John Hanna, apprenticed as a marine engineer on the Clyde from 1951 to 1956, comments outlining his decision to emigrate:

After the Second World War it was okay for a wee while because the Japanese and German shipyards had been destroyed. And so there was a lot of work for the Clyde then, as the German and Japanese shipyards were rebuilt they rebuilt them with new technology and ... they got lots of subsidies from the government. So the work on the Clyde started to go down ... and things didn't look very good.³⁷⁹

Nor is John's sense of foreboding unusual. This is a recurrent theme, especially amongst male migrants from urban environments and in skills or professions related to Scotland's heavier industrial sectors. The rate of the restructuring and diversification of Scottish industry in the first six decades of the twentieth century have been characterised as glacially slow.³⁸⁰ The structural problems of many traditional industries were exacerbated by poor management decisions, lack of investment, and uncompetitive public ownership and obfuscated by ill-judged government initiatives. In addition, unemployment 'rising from 3.5 per cent in the early 1950s to 6.4 per cent by the mid-1970s – was much higher'³⁸¹ than

³⁷⁸ Table 2.10.

³⁷⁹ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

³⁸⁰ Peter L. Payne, "The Economy," in *Scotland in the 20th Century*, eds T. M. Devine and R. J. Finlay, pp. 13-45 (repr. 1996: Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p. 22.

³⁸¹ Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), p. 243.

that of southern England or the Midlands. Against such a backdrop, and faced with a career in shipbuilding John's concerns were very real and he, like other migrants link these fears to his identity as a Scot.

The advent of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative governments in the 1980s saw the pace of restructuring quicken dramatically, and in Scotland the shock was both sudden and keenly felt, with unemployment rising to an average of 12 per cent.³⁸² In the Settling and Sojourning chapter, Cathy Gunn specifically referenced '18 years of Thatcherism'³⁸³ as part of the motivation for her migration, and this experience feeds into a historical marker of Scottish identity. In both John and Cathy's testimony this has the appearance of a modern victim migration narrative, similar to that of the Clearances espoused by the multi-generational cohort, and at its heart is a theme of modern Scottish economic deprivation, with the Westminster government partially accountable. This then feeds into the higher levels of dissatisfaction felt by New Zealand migrants at the outcome of the 2014 Independence Referendum with 55.6 per cent of respondents poorly or very poorly satisfied with the outcome.³⁸⁴

In stark contrast, narratives of economic decline and anti-Thatcherism tend to be absent from interviews with Hong Kong sojourners, other than as a peripheral comment about Scotland in general. This reflects the predominance of the professions such as lawyers, accountants, bankers, engineers and civil servants amongst those migrants. While Table 2.10 indicates that the majority of Hong Kong sojourners have economic motives for migrating, these are very different from those of some of the New Zealand cohort, as theirs is not necessarily for financial survival, but to enhance their earnings potential. In addition, their ambivalence towards Westminster's governance is reflected in their attitudes towards the Referendum's outcome with 74.3 per cent of respondents either well or very well satisfied.³⁸⁵

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Cathy Gunn, interview.

³⁸⁴ Table 7.9.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

4.3.4 The Scottish Enlightenment and Identity

One in five Hong Kong migrants cite the Scottish Enlightenment as an historical marker of identity. Yet, the Enlightenment was not specifically raised in any interviews, although it is there in the guise of education and sometimes in a wistful recognition that Scotland's philosophical leadership of the world has passed, as Alan Powrie says: 'the rest of the world is not standing still ... and Scots are not as competitive as they once were. It's tougher and they've dumbed down a bit in Scotland at the same time as other parts of the world, particularly out in Asia, have raised the ante.'³⁸⁶ That said, he is also quick to suggest that 'the average Scot in Hong Kong is highly educated, and well business versed',³⁸⁷ suggestive of an Enlightenment legacy.

Given the lack of engagement with the Enlightenment shown in interviews, it is perhaps more likely that this marker is more about Scotland as a leading global player. For the migrants, it is the idea of the Enlightenment and what it says about the intellectual capacity of Scots that is relevant. When the Enlightenment is combined with Scotland's history of advances in fields such as engineering, technology and medicine it speaks to Alan's highly educated Scot. Yet, the Enlightenment does not hold the same value for New Zealand migrants. One possible reason for this is that in New Zealand the Enlightenment is subsumed by Scottish education, as *Te Ara* makes clear when discussing the impact of the Scots on the country's education system: 'In the 1700s the Scottish Enlightenment emphasised learning.'³⁸⁸ As a result, the Enlightenment as a marker has limited significance within the host society, and rather than use it as part of their identity construction, New Zealand migrants prefer to use the education marker (see 4.2.1), which has greater resonance.

³⁸⁶ Alan Powrie, interview.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ John Wilson. 'Scots - Education'.

If New Zealand migrants believe that education has more resonance within New Zealand society, then this would seem to suggest that for Hong Kong's migrants, the Enlightenment may have resonance with Hong Kong society. Above, it has been posited that it is used in combination with other markers to create the image of the highly educated Scot. This enhances Scottish human capital, which can be promoted to the host society. Indeed, if we look at the cultural and historical identity markers used by over one fifth of the Hong Kong respondents there are three markers, which could be said to enhance Scottish human capital: Law and Civil Governance; Integrity, equality, fairness and loyalty; and the Enlightenment.³⁸⁹ This promotion of Scottish human capital, the targets of its promotion and the reasons for the destination differences in its promotion require further consideration and are subject to this in the next chapter. However, for the purposes of this chapter the differences between destinations highlights how environment can influence the choice of identity markers.

4.4 Identity Construction and Assimilation

Throughout this and the preceding chapter, it has been suggested that assimilative and/or integrative behaviours have been observed amongst New Zealand migrants. In this chapter those behaviours are illustrated by a perception of a diminished engagement with Scottish affairs, a greater level of separation anxiety, a heightened engagement with Highlandism and a preference for the cultural marker of education over the historical marker of the Enlightenment.

As Table 4.9 shows, assimilation can be a rapid process for Scots in New Zealand.

³⁸⁹ Tables 4.1 and 4.5.

Table 4.9: New Zealand Migrant Ethnicity by Generation

Ethnicity by Generation	1st	2nd	3rd	4th or greater
Scottish	51.9%	5.3%	0.0%	0.8%
British	3.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
New Zealander	9.6%	73.7%	90.9%	84.3%
Hyphenated-Scot	34.6%	21.0%	9.1%	12.4%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%

Sources; BOS, *SMtoNZ*, *SinNZ*.

Pointedly, Scottish migrants appear to leapfrog many of the stages in assimilation models developed by US scholars, such as Elliott Barkan's six stage model.³⁹⁰ Such models are problematic for migration to New Zealand as they envisage assimilation as 'the point at which *individual* members of ethnic groups have shed the cultural, linguistic, behavioural, and identificational characteristics of their original group as well as disengaged from the associational or structural activities that have set them apart from others.'³⁹¹ Such a definition may work when applied to small minorities, but Scottish migrants are a part of the British derived core culture of New Zealand, making assimilation a comparatively easy process, in theory.

However, over half of the first generation migrants consider themselves Scottish, and notwithstanding the relatively speedy assimilation of the second generation, severing the links to Scotland can still present a challenge. John and Jean Hanna did not take New Zealand citizenship until twenty-three years after migrating in 1958, nor had they seen any need to do so until the lead-up to the 1981 New Zealand general election, when as Jean comments:

John had ideas that maybe we would go back for a term to Scotland and we could teach over there. But at this time, Muldoon, who was prime minister was very much against redneck Clydesiders as he called them, and we thought if we go ... and we don't have New Zealand citizenship, we might not get back but we've got children

³⁹⁰ Barkan, "Race, Religion, and Nationality," p. 53.

³⁹¹ Ibid, p. 47.

from here and we've got our own house. So I sent away, we sent away for papers to get the ball rolling for New Zealand citizenship.³⁹²

First-generation migrants evidence behaviours which see them re-appraising their identity on a regular basis, using and adjusting their Scottish identity and moulding their constructions with borrowed culture. Ian Johnstone describes how he first engaged inventively in this when, shortly after arriving in South Canterbury, he attended the Highland games which were opened by the association's president, a Māori with a Scottish name:

It was a wonderful moment of realising that all the old patterns of identity ... had here been mixed into something quite different. I've delighted in that ever since.

... Māori people ... will refer to ... "my Jewish bit, that's my Scottish bit and that's my..." They have this ability to acknowledge all the compartmental elements that they have inside a sense of being Māori New Zealanders ...

What they are doing is providing you with the compartments of their *Whakapapa*, whereas ... I would tend to say, "I am a Scots New Zealander. I'm a New Zealander of Scottish descent".

Because they have such strong memories and linkages back to their antecedents, ... they feel it necessary to tell you about the Scottish one and the Jewish one and the Irish, Spanish, whatever. It's all ... melded together into a Māori identity.

Nor was Ian the only New Zealand interviewee to borrow the genealogical taxonomic framework of *Whakapapa* from Māori culture, although their use of *Whakapapa* is perhaps inaccurate, as it is much more than a genealogical structure, but a

taxonomic framework that links all animate and inanimate, known and unknown phenomena in the terrestrial and spiritual worlds. *Whakapapa* therefore binds all things. It maps relationships so that mythology, legend, history, knowledge, tikanga (custom),

³⁹² John and Jean Hanna, interview.

philosophies and spiritualities are organised, preserved and transmitted from one generation to the next.³⁹³

The fact that migrants borrow the concept as a way of evaluating identity validates Jackie Kay's argument that where one is the other, the individual will question who they are on a more intensive level,³⁹⁴ and confirms that this is a liquid and ongoing process.

4.5 Concluding Comments

This chapter opened with Robert Louis Stevenson suggesting that the many aspects of the Scottish identity are potentially divisive, yet despite them, Scots can bond in 'ready-made affection'.³⁹⁵ It is evident that these many divisions are as valid today as they were at the end of the nineteenth century. If anything, the chapter has shown that an individual's Scottish identity cannot be modelled into some homogenous format, nor is it a national identity derived from scholarly historical research,³⁹⁶ or governmental diktat. There is a smörgåsbord of cultural and historical markers from which to construct a Scottish identity, such that no individual selection is likely to be the same. The use of these identities is conditioned by the environment and challenges each individual faces and the multiplicity of the facets of what may be described as Scottish allows for a wide range of identity permutations.

These possible identities can range from the militarism of the Highland soldier and the Wars of Independence, to the cultural legacies of the Enlightenment and Scottish education. Yet, despite this assortment of possible Scottish identities, Highland iconography is still widely used by Scottish migrants, even if they are

³⁹³ Rāwiri Taonui. 'Whakapapa – genealogy - What is whakapapa?', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 17 December 2014. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/whakapapa-genealogy/page-1>

³⁹⁴ Kay, "Jackie Kay Encore".

³⁹⁵ Stevenson, *The Silverado Squatters*, p. 48.

³⁹⁶ See; William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (1998; repr., Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999)

aware of its invented origins. That said, Highlandist iconography helps to identify migrants as Scots to other nationalities/ethnicities, establishes common bonds and facilitates networking with other Scots, affinity Scots and non-Scots. Inherent to the migrant experience is the need to site themselves, or to establish a social niche in the host environment, and by necessity that requires the use of their Scottish identity to be flexible. Migrants are selective about what markers they use and these need not only be for the external promotion of their Scottish identity, but are also an equally useful aid to siting the individual in their new environment.

Environment plays a significant role on a number of levels. A migrant's physical environment, such as the alien landscape of Hong Kong, promotes an identity that draws on an idyllic memory of Scotland's physical landscapes and iconography. In addition, those same landscapes can be used to facilitate integration as they did for Ian Johnstone, newly arrived in South Canterbury. Similarly, a more permanent dislocation from the homeland among New Zealand's migrants can heighten and intensify a sense of Scottish identity located in friends, family, hospitality and humour. It can also manifest itself in homesickness, which can be more keenly and overtly felt in the settler environment, especially amongst women. The main reason for this is because settlers are exposed to the likelihood of a more permanent separation from the homeland than sojourners.

All migrant groups place a similar value on Scottish history as a core aspect of their Scottish identity. There is, however, a variance between the multi-generational descent group's construction of a more victim-orientated narrative based on the Clearances and migrant constructions sited in the Wars of Independence and the Regnal and Parliamentary Unions. That said, the globally recognisable Highlandist identity of tartanry, clansmen and Jacobite romances plays a part in the building of the identities of all groups, perpetuated by the more romanticised histories of Sir Walter Scott and Nigel Tranter, together with the populist historical narrative of John Prebble.

There are two clear points to be drawn from the surveys and oral testimonies deployed in this chapter. Firstly, the choice and construction of a Scottish identity is based on a fluid and wide range of ethno-cultural markers. This manufactured identity serves as a tool to facilitate social integration within both sojourner and settler environments, and explains both where migrants come from and their otherness in a new social milieu. Secondly, they are often individual constructs derived from a personal selection of cultural markers. Intriguingly, this highly individual construction also works on a private level, and can be used to explain themselves and their value systems in a more intimate sphere. Claude Lévi-Strauss describes this ‘identity as a sort of *foyer virtuel* [virtual home] to which we must refer to explain a certain number of things, but without it really existing.’³⁹⁷

Mirroring the conclusions drawn in the previous chapter, the evidence is that the identities of Scottish migrants, whether they be settlers or sojourners, are individually manufactured, plural and fluid, subject to change, and as dependent on the demands of the environment and the individual’s needs as much as on any inherent national identity. The same is also true of the multi-generational descent group, although time and distance have altered their perception of a Scottish identity into a more romanticised one, but still one that can be reinvented and used to site them in their environment. Nor is there any Scottish exceptionalism here, as this conclusion mirrors Mary Waters’ research into Californian suburban multi-generational white ethnics, who also ‘choose how much and which parts of their ethnicity to make a part of their lives.’³⁹⁸

Identities that are constructed to suit the needs of the individual in response to his or her particular environment can be used on an internal basis to site the individual in that new environment. In addition, they can also be used externally to enhance the visibility of the migrant as an individual or an ethnic group to the host society, and the next chapter will explore this external use of the migrants’ Scottish identities.

³⁹⁷ Claude Lévi-Strauss, ed., *L’Identité* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977), p. 332 [author’s translation].

³⁹⁸ Waters, *Ethnic Options*, p. 16.

Ethno-cultural Capital

Scots made an immense impact across the entire extent and history of the British empire, but rarely more so than in Hong Kong.

They were responsible for the island becoming British. It was taken over in 1841 under the Treaty of Nanking, the conclusion of the war against China which had been fought to safeguard the interests of British opium traders.

The most important of these was Dumfriesshire [sic] native James Matheson - described by modern Scottish historian Thomas Devine as "a drug dealer on a massive scale" - whose business partner Thomas [sic] Jardine, also a Scot, successfully urged the British government into punitive action against the Chinese for seizing and destroying their opium.

The company they created in 1832 was one of the key architects of Hong Kong's commercial success. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank was founded by another Scot, Thomas Sutherland. And Scottish regiments were frequently garrisoned on the island.

Huw Richards³⁹⁹

5.1 Introduction

This excerpt from an article written by a Welsh sports journalist on the eve of the 2007 International Hong Kong Rugby Sevens tournament is typical of how Hong Kong's Scots see themselves, and succinctly brings together much of the context of Scottish involvement in Hong Kong articulated in the introductory chapter. In addition, this is how Scots wish to be represented to Hong Kong society. The piece is inaccurate, as it was Matheson who was a Highlander and William Jardine who was from Dumfriesshire but in some ways these inaccuracies are emblematic of how history can be remodelled. This narrative of the Scottish involvement in Hong Kong's origins and success has been derived from the tweaking of historical facts and events. These re-imaginings serve to enhance the social status of migrants in

³⁹⁹ Huw Richards, "Borders legend converted to global craze," *Financial Times*, 30 March 2007, <http://www.ft.com/home/uk>

Hong Kong as well as provide a cultural centre for their self-image in, what is for the many, an alien and sometimes surreal world. In the previous chapter, it was noted that three markers of Scottish identity could be said to enhance Scottish human capital: Law and Civil Governance; Integrity, equality, fairness and loyalty; and the Enlightenment.⁴⁰⁰ When combined with the history of Scottish Hong Kong this equates to a powerful message of Scottish commitment to Hong Kong, out of proportion to their small numbers but still promoting Scots as the right kind of migrants.

In contrast, New Zealand migrants appear to be much more reticent. Yet the theme of the Scottish role in the early history of colonial New Zealand is a recurrent one, although the level of investment in the promotion of Scots does not appear to be as anywhere near intense as in Hong Kong. To many, the Scottish role is self-evident, and is in any event enshrined in the narratives of the country's civil institutions. For instance, the Museum of New Zealand, *Te Papa Tongarewa*, declares that:

The Scots, like all migrants, were a mixed bunch. But certain values marked them out as a group: a belief in education and equal opportunity for all, and a sense of personal and social responsibility.

Armed with these values, the Scots set about establishing in their new country the educational and scientific institutions that they had valued in the old. They focused their work ethic and commercial skills on the task of building profitable businesses and a solid infrastructure for the fast-developing country.⁴⁰¹

The simple question is why? Why is there a difference in the promotion of Scots and Scottishness between the two sets of migrants? However, the issue is wider than a comparison of differing Scottish behaviours in two destinations, and also goes to the question as to why some ethnic groups are more likely to promote their ethnicity than others. The most obvious example in the context of the two

⁴⁰⁰ See Tables 4.1 and 4.5.

⁴⁰¹ "Contributions – The Scots in New Zealand", *Museum of New Zealand – Te Papa Tongarewa*, accessed 15 June 2015, <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/exhibitions/thescots/segment.aspx?irn=61>

destinations is the relative lack of visibility of English migrants, although their numbers are greater in New Zealand and presumably greater in Hong Kong.

While this chapter compares the differences in the promotions of Scots and Scottishness between destinations, it also argues that this behaviour is not so much about changing the host society, but is a semi-conscious attempt to establish the value of Scottish migrants to the host society. This serves a purpose for both the migrants themselves and for any future immigrants. Nor does this promotion of Scottish achievements and culture sit easily within the frameworks of human, cultural and social capital. It spans the forms of capital, being both a personal resource, and providing the basis for usable networks. A more appropriate description would be *ethno-cultural capital*, which I have defined as the advantage or disadvantage which accrues to an individual from belonging to, or being associated with, a particular ethnic group.

Where migrants perceive their ethno-cultural capital to have value, they are willing to invest resources in both its promotion and preservation. The intensity with which this process is invested with resources is proportional to the benefit which the individual believes can be accrued. If it is perceived that there is limited or no real value placed on a migrant's ethnicity, then the incentive to promote ethno-cultural capital is diminished. While not specifically addressed in this study, this may explain why certain migrant ethnicities are less visible within host societies.

5.2 Human, Social and Cultural Capital

The concepts of human, social and cultural capital are used in a number of academic disciplines from sociology and history to anthropology, politics, economics and geography. Unfortunately, definitions are as numerous and varied, often subject to disciplinary focus. As a result, a standard definition is not readily available, and

for the sake of the clarity of this chapter it is necessary to define what the terms mean in relation to migration history and this thesis.

Probably the most succinct human capital definition comes from the British social historian Alan Tomlinson, whose *Dictionary of Sports Studies* defines the concept as the ‘competencies, talents, skills and knowledge embedded in people, and their ability to create and contribute to economic value through work and labour.’⁴⁰² The concept was initially advanced by the American economist, Gary Becker, in the 1960s, and essentially argues that monies, in addition to traditional capital investments, can be invested in an individual’s education, training and health to improve their earnings potential and outputs. Importantly these investments ‘produce human, not physical or financial, capital because you cannot separate a person from his or her knowledge, skills, health or values’.⁴⁰³

The theories of social and cultural capital were first proposed by the French sociologist and anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu in 1985. He outlined three capital forms, cultural capital, social capital and economic capital, the latter being ‘immediately and directly convertible into money’.⁴⁰⁴ Bourdieu argued that social capital existed in the networks, relationships and institutions an individual may deploy to achieve success or status. Unlike human capital these resources are those of a particular group, and membership is necessary for an individual to be able to utilise them.⁴⁰⁵ Cultural capital operates similarly, although his interpretation of cultural capital builds on the debates surrounding social status, stratification and inequality. Bourdieu theorises that class and/or social status confer on individuals a cultural milieu or ‘habitus’ that provides them with an inherent status in social

⁴⁰² Alan Tomlinson, "human capital." In *A Dictionary of Sports Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199213818.001.0001/acref-9780199213818-e-589>

⁴⁰³ Gary S. Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*, 3rd ed. (Chicago and London: The Chicago University Press, 1993), p. 16.

⁴⁰⁴ P. Bourdieu, “The forms of capital” in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1985), p. 244.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 248.

exchanges.⁴⁰⁶ It follows then that a higher level of cultural competencies provides a greater likelihood of life-success.

Both Becker and Bourdieu's concepts of capital can be 'convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital'.⁴⁰⁷ Similarly, human, cultural and social capital forms may from time to time require investment, which as with any investment must be perceived to have value in terms of outputs. Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, visiting these terms through the lens of migration history, describe human capital as including a migrant's 'social skills, professional expertise, languages, capability for emotional coping, and strategic competencies',⁴⁰⁸ and social capital as their 'ability to mobilize resources, to use structures and institutions, and to form supportive associations'.⁴⁰⁹ In their interpretation, cultural capital in the form of social skills becomes a part of human capital. Unfortunately, none of these explain the investment in time and money that individual Scottish migrants are prepared to make in their Scottish identity.

Discussions concerning the forms of capital tend to result in macro level interpretations. For instance Harzig and Hoerder argue that 'migrants leave and enter evolving societal and state structures and, in the process, change societies of origin and arrival, ... which 'is dependent on the "*human capital*" or personal resources and on the "*social capital*" or networks a person has been encouraged to develop in the process of socialization and has augmented in adolescent and adult life'.⁴¹⁰ This argument has resonance where the number of migrants are sufficient to affect both societies, for instance the modern migrations of Latino-Americans to the USA and South Asians to the United Arab Emirates. However, the modern migrations of Scots to Hong Kong and New Zealand do not represent a sufficient inflow or outflow to affect such change. Yet despite this, Scottish migrants appear keen to promote themselves and their culture to the host society. In this context, migrants who can establish a Scottish identity can also choose to deploy this identity as a resource and

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 244.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Harzig et al, *What is Migration History*, p. 79.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

for this to be effective, being Scottish has to have a perceived value to the migrant. Before discussing how ethno-cultural capital is deployed the following section addresses how it is constructed.

5.3: The Construction of Ethno-Cultural Capital

5.3.1 Using History

In the introductory chapter, the received interpretation of Scottish Hong Kong reflected in Huw Richards' article was brought into question. However, this is a mainstream perception amongst Scots in Hong Kong, as is demonstrated in two testimonies. Hong Kong Government lawyer, Stuart Stoker, comments:

Historically of course, Jardine Matheson. The Bank [HSBC] was set up by a Scot, ... of course, the Scottish governors. We never had a Scottish attorney general but the Scots have been in the fabric of the place since day one. Even in my area of law, I think the Scots lawyers have been significant.

There's been Scots judges, lawyers in government, in private practice, etcetera, etcetera. Yes, ... Hong Kong today reflects a fair amount of Scottish input over the years.⁴¹¹

While in the words of educator David Bruce:

[I]n the 1800s they introduced the commercial infrastructure, for sure, and, obviously, you've got to talk about the Jardine Group and HSBC. And HSBC, as you know, stands for Home for Scottish Banking Clerks.

And it was Scottish law, and that is why lawyers coming out, working for the law firms that dealt with the banking industry in Hong Kong, had to be Scots, because it was all based on Scottish banking law.⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Stuart Stoker, interview.

⁴¹² David Bruce, interview.

The introductory chapter identified a kernel of truth supporting such interpretations, as there is in Stuart and David's citing of Scottish influence in the law. Despite Hong Kong's legal system being based on English law, Elaine Longmore, who qualified with a law degree from the University of Glasgow in 1980, found she was able to practise in Hong Kong:

I thought ... I wouldn't be able to work in Hong Kong, because I was Scottish qualified and Hong Kong was English law.

Which is why, when my parents went out I never ... thought about Hong Kong as an option, until I found out that you could be admitted in Hong Kong with a Scottish qualification, and practice English law even though you were Scottish qualified.⁴¹³

It appears to have been a little known fact that Scottish lawyers were able to practise, yet as these migrants indicate they were present in Hong Kong, although their impact on Hong Kong in terms of a Scottish legal legacy was probably limited. As Elaine Longmore points out, their numbers were small and it wasn't until 'the late-80s, mostly mid- to late-80s [when] quite a few came out from Scotland'.⁴¹⁴

The Scoto-centric interpretation of Hong Kong's history seeks to emphasise the role of Scots in Hong Kong's development and success, and while it is arguably inaccurate, it may have been fostered by a lack of competing accounts. The Scottish narrative of colonial Hong Kong's origins and financial success is embodied in Jardines and HSBC, and would seem to have over-emphasised the Scottish role, although perhaps not deliberately. Rather, the migrants have chosen to promote a received history adopted and passed down by those who have preceded them, as Michelle McEwan experienced:

I was at a night that was organised by the St Andrews Society ... Somebody was talking to me and saying ... "Scots have been integral in Hong Kong, have you not read such and such a book, and such and such a book?" And I went "No" ... "Where do you think Jardine House comes from, where did you think this came from. Scots are the

⁴¹³ Elaine Longmore, interview.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

backbone of Hong Kong.” ... I suppose ... Scots are the backbone of Hong Kong but I can’t define how.⁴¹⁵

Conversely, New Zealand’s Scottish story is a mainstream one, relatively well researched and understood within New Zealand. The obvious fundamental difference is that New Zealand is a nation-state, which has a vested interest in its history. This does not mean that New Zealand’s history is either uncontested or unreviewable, but it does mean that its application and teaching are largely uniform throughout the country and its ethnicities. In contrast, Hong Kong has, for much of its time since 1841, survived in a limbo between its British colonial and Chinese cultural masters, struggling to understand its identity. This struggle remains unresolved as the 2014 political protests or *Umbrella Movement* attest.

In Hong Kong, Scots have never accounted for a significant proportion of the population and Scottish settlement is rare, whereas New Zealand’s Scottish legacy in terms of population and settlement has been extensive. ‘Scots accounted for up to a quarter of all migrants to New Zealand from the British Isles to the early 1920s’⁴¹⁶ and ‘for at least one-fifth of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century migrants to New Zealand’.⁴¹⁷ Nowhere else in the world did the Scots account for a greater per capita density other than in Scotland. The promotion of ethno-cultural capital is not as intense, nor is there a consistent narrative. Some like Mike Dolling even decry a perceived lack of recognition: ‘I feel that the Scots have done a lot in New Zealand, but it hasn’t been recognised.’⁴¹⁸ Yet within his position there lies a belief that Scots have been key to New Zealand’s development. Conversely, Cathy Gunn sees Scottish influence as a given: ‘They had such huge influence that you can’t even necessarily measure it ... back in the early days of settlement, a lot of the significant people in politics and government were Scottish.’⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁵ Michelle McEwan, interview.

⁴¹⁶ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 4.

⁴¹⁷ Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity*, p. 2.

⁴¹⁸ Mike Dolling, interview.

⁴¹⁹ Cathy Gunn, interview.

A basic understanding of Scotland and Scottish/British history appears to be widespread amongst New Zealanders as John and Jean Hanna note when describing John's metamorphosis from engineer to teacher in 1968:

John H. [T]he school was in the working-class district of Petone and the kids gave me a hard time. ... the kids were lovely but rough, the language was vile, but they were goodhearted kids. They used to, in my classroom, throw paper darts and say "remember Culloden Jock", and I thought; what am I doing here?

Jean H. They must've had a background in some kind of history, if they were saying that.⁴²⁰

The nation's Scottish legacy is understood and national institutions acknowledge that legacy as in *Te Ara; The Encyclopedia of New Zealand's* entry concerning the Scots:

From porridge to Presbyterianism, there are numerous signs of Scotland's traditions. Surnames such as Campbell and MacDonald are very common. Many of today's Caledonian and other patriotic societies have lasted since the earliest days. In 2004 there were over 80 pipe bands.

... The Scots contributed in many fields, particularly in farming, politics, education, industry, medicine and science. Notable Scots include Peter Fraser (Labour prime minister in the 1940s), women's rights campaigner Margaret Sievwright, and teacher, politician and judge Robert Stout.⁴²¹

While the intensive use of history to promote Scottish ethno-cultural capital is not obviously apparent, both migrants and the multi-generational group do preserve the Scottish legacy. However, the need to promote Scottish ethno-cultural capital is diminished by a national understanding of both who the Scots are and their contribution to New Zealand's origins.

⁴²⁰ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

⁴²¹ John Wilson. "Scots".

5.3.2 Using Perceptions of Scottish Cultural Impact

Table 5.1 tabulates the survey responses to migrant perceptions of the Scottish cultural impact on Hong Kong. It is another ‘front-of-mind’ assessment, with no choices provided and allowing respondents to mention as many areas of cultural impact as they wish. The numbers indicate the percentage of migrants who believe that Scots have had a particular cultural impact. However, of the 100 migrants surveyed, 14 per cent did not believe that the Scots had had an impact.

Table 5.1: Migrant Perceptions of the Scottish Cultural Impact on Hong Kong

List areas in which Scottish culture has had an influence on Hong Kong, in your opinion.	Response Count	Per cent of respondents
Trade and Business	38	38%
Civil administration, Governance and policing	35	35%
Banking and Finance	33	33%
Pipe Bands	17	17%
Scottish Associations	14	14%
Work ethic/character	15	15%
Education	10	10%
Community/Philanthropy/Meritocracy	11	11%
Law	9	9%
Sport	9	9%
Heritage and History	8	8%
Music, Arts & Media	7	7%
Road & Place Names	5	5%
Engineering	4	4%
Religion	3	3%
Medicine	2	2%
Little or no influence	14	14%

Sources; Bristol Online Surveys, *SMtoHK*, *SofHK*.

As Huw Richards and the migrant testimonies suggest, trade and business (of which 20 per cent of responses name Jardines) are considered to be the core Scottish influence on Hong Kong, with civil institutions and banking and finance sectors running close in the migrants’ estimation. Surprisingly, despite 55 per cent of respondents coming from a financial services background, they account for just 44

per cent of the responses citing banking and finance as a Scottish legacy (this equates to just 27 per cent of this group). This holds true for other job sectors, for instance none of those in the education sector cite education as a Scottish input.

Yet, of the Hong Kong migrants interviewed, only one made no mention of Jardines and one no mention of HSBC. Hong Kong's Scots clearly see the Scottish story as linked to the colony's founding and Scottish involvement in trade, finance and its civil institutions. Some tempering of these perceptions is evident in interviews, for instance, David Bruce accepts that there may be some embellishment of the Scottish contribution. However, he still places an emphasis on historical events, commenting that, 'I suppose, like any culture, the stories are overdone, and ... it's probably more in the past, what we did, than the present.'⁴²²

This circumspection is not infrequent amongst interviewees, as demonstrated by Peter Caldwell in two contiguous statements. After referencing HSBC and Jardines he adds that 'there are a lot of Scottish roots, deeply sunk roots in Hong Kong. Obviously therefore Scots have had an enormous influence in the development of Hong Kong.' Then responding to the question of whether there is a Scottish cultural legacy in Hong Kong, he qualifies the historical contribution by commenting: 'Apart from that [the Hong Kong Police pipe band], I can't think of anything that I would say shouts out as being Scottish. There are a lot of things that still are very British, because all of the institutions were obviously set up under British administration and that British administration was very often Scottish.'⁴²³ Interestingly Peter brings his discourse back to promoting the role of Scots, nor is this behaviour unusual amongst interviewees. Although migrants are aware that Scottish impact is slight, this does not militate against them promoting Scots as having had an impact, and as was highlighted in the introductory chapter's discussion concerning the Scottish history of Hong Kong, this is a long-lived behaviour.

⁴²² David Bruce, interview.

⁴²³ Peter Caldwell, interview.

New Zealand migrants and the multi-generational groups' perceptions differ substantially from those of Hong Kong's migrants. Table 5.2 shows the survey responses to migrant and multi-generational group perceptions of the Scottish cultural impact on New Zealand. It is another 'front-of-mind' assessment, again with no choices provided and allowing respondents to mention as many areas of Scottish cultural impact as they wish. The numbers indicate the percentage of migrants who believe that Scots have had a particular cultural impact.

Table 5.2: Migrant and Multi-Generational Perceptions of the Scottish Cultural Impact on New Zealand

List areas in which Scottish culture has had an influence on New Zealand, in your opinion.	Migrants		Multi-generational Group	
	Response Count	% of respondents	Response Count	% of respondents
Music, Dance, Arts & Media	21	33.3%	72	43.6%
Pipe Bands	21	33.3%	53	32.1%
Education	18	28.6%	36	21.8%
Heritage and History *	14	22.2%	37	22.4%
Highland Games	8	12.7%	31	18.8%
Scottish Associations	12	19.0%	26	15.8%
Religion	6	9.5%	31	18.8%
Work ethic/character	6	9.5%	27	16.4%
Community/Philanthropy/Meritocracy	7	11.1%	20	12.1%
Family & Clan	4	6.3%	15	9.1%
Farming	5	7.9%	13	7.9%
Engineering/Invention/Exploration	4	6.3%	10	6.1%
Politics	8	12.7%	5	3.0%
Food & Drink	2	3.2%	10	6.1%
Architecture	3	4.8%	9	5.5%
Tartanry	3	4.8%	9	5.5%
Trade and Business	6	9.5%	6	3.6%
Sport & Leisure	4	6.3%	5	3.0%
Language	4	6.3%	5	3.0%
Place & Street Names	0	0.0%	8	4.8%
Banking and Finance	4	6.3%	3	1.8%
Law	4	6.3%	2	1.2%
Civil administration and policing	2	3.2%	2	1.2%
Medicine	1	1.6%	1	0.6%
Little or no influence	9	14.3%	10	6.1%
* (ww Waipu, Dunedin, Otago & Southland)	(9)	(14.3%)	(27)	(16.4%)

Sources; Bristol Online Surveys, *SMtoNZ*, *SinNZ*.

Both groups express similar levels of circumspection as to whether the Scots have had any influence, and between the two cohorts there is significant homogeneity. Of the six most commonly cited Scottish influences, five (Pipe Bands, Education, Heritage and History, Highland Games and Scottish Associations) are cited within seven percentage points by each group. Additionally, the top six outlier of Music, Dance and Arts is still ranked as the most common legacy by both groups even if there is a disparity of ten percentage points between the cohorts. This is perhaps unsurprising as Scottish country dancing societies are fairly common, as are Burns celebrations, while Highland dance competitions are an integral part of Caledonian games throughout the country.

The Royal Scottish Country Dancing Society (RSCDS), a Scottish charity promoting and developing Scottish country dance in Scotland and worldwide, reports 73 branches in Scotland,⁴²⁴ while its New Zealand branch lists 85 clubs/societies throughout New Zealand.⁴²⁵ However, this is not an isolated phenomenon as other communities in the Scottish migrant world are also active in Scottish country dance with 206 societies and clubs in England and Wales,⁴²⁶ 111 in Australia,⁴²⁷ at least 59 in Canada and 193 in the USA.⁴²⁸ Interestingly, much of the historiography surrounding Scottish associationalism focuses on St Andrew's societies, Caledonian societies, Burns societies, pipe bands and Highland games. Little scholarly time has been focused on country dance as a Scottish associational behaviour, yet of the 23 interviews conducted in New Zealand, 18 cited dance and of the 21 Hong Kong interviews, 12 mentioned dance.

⁴²⁴ rscds Dance Scottish - Edinburgh, accessed 14 June 2015. <https://www.rscds.org/Content.aspx>

⁴²⁵ Royal Scottish Country Dancing Society, New Zealand branch Incorporated (RSCDSNZ), *Regions, Clubs, Groups 2015*, accessed 14 June 2015. http://www.rscdsnz.org.nz/stored/Web_per cent20Directory per cent20Regions per cent20Clubs.pdf

⁴²⁶ rscds Dance Scottish – Edinburgh.

⁴²⁷ rscds Dance Scottish - Australia, accessed 24 July 2015.

http://www.rscds.org.au/attachments/20150606Club_Directory.pdf

⁴²⁸ The inter-city Scot, *SCD Groups in Canada and the United States*, accessed 24 July 2015. <http://www.intercityscot.org/groupList.php>

While the surveys demonstrate an appreciation for the legacy of Scottish associations and dance amongst migrants, in interview their enthusiasm and engagement is generally limited. Joyce Sillars, keen to rekindle her love of Scottish country dance, only found disappointment:

I went along one evening, and I absolutely hated it. It was so strange, because I'd remembered all the dances, but somehow it was an artificial situation. I was used to going dancing with all my friends and having fun with all my friends and here I was, among a whole lot of strangers and it was just a kind of mechanical exercise, you might say. It wasn't the same at all and I never went back.⁴²⁹

This contrasts with multi-generational involvement in country dance even amongst younger interviewees such as Sandi Black who comments of her introduction to the form: 'I went along and tried it and really enjoyed [it], ... Looking at the dancing group, I was certainly the youngest there by a good 15, 20 years, but that's not going to stop me. (Laughter) I'll go back and join when my son's a little bit older.'⁴³⁰ This, despite having to learn traditional dances at school where the prevailing adolescent viewpoint was, 'why do we have to learn all this stuff? We're in New Zealand. We're not in the UK.'⁴³¹

A hint as to a reason for the disparity between the cohorts lies in the testimony of Anne Bowden, who also revisited country dance in Auckland and while she enjoyed it, the activity also raised issues of integration for her:

I did do Scottish Country Dancing for a wee while. ... I quite enjoyed it. However, I was wondering why I found it too Scots for me? Now that sounds ... weird, but you know? It's like they're just trying to be Scots living in New Zealand instead of living in New Zealand. ... I can't really explain it.⁴³²

Integration appears to be a major consideration for migrants, and activities such as country dance can be perceived to militate against that goal. In addition,

⁴²⁹ Joyce Sillars, interview.

⁴³⁰ Sandi Black, interviewed by Iain Watson, 19 July 2014, interview transcript.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Anne Bowden, interview.

engaging with New Zealand's Highland Games culture and other associations can be similarly challenging. Some migrants initially look to avoid them, as Alexandra Bruce highlights:

We made a decision not to join Scottish associations and things like that. We thought we'd integrate and meet as many people as we could. We've continued that. Now that I'm older I go to the Burns Association but that's only two hours every two months. We haven't been rabidly Scottish but we've gone to Highland Games ... We remember we're Scottish but we're not living as Scots.⁴³³

Despite this stance, Alexandra's husband took up piping in New Zealand, and she recounts a story dating from the early 1970s that illustrates how welcoming New Zealand was to Scots: 'we had just built this house [in Birkenhead, Auckland], he was playing the bagpipes out on the deck there and another piper answered him and they were playing backwards and forwards. He never found out who the other piper was.'⁴³⁴

Also worthy of note is religion, cited by just under 19 per cent of the multi-generational group, but holding less significance for the migrant group (9.5 per cent). Furthermore, the attitude of migrants appears to be in line with the increasing secularity of British society, where in 'the year 2000 less than 8 percent of people attend Sunday worship in any week, [and] less than a quarter are members of any church'.⁴³⁵ Callum Brown estimates that in 2000, 'only a fifth of babies ... in Scotland ... [were] baptised in either the Church of Scotland or the Roman Catholic Church'.⁴³⁶ Church attendance numbers are difficult to ascertain and are complicated by the religious affiliation numbers collected at censuses. Scottish church attendance estimates from 1914 to 1986 show a continual decline despite a short-lived hiatus in the mid-1950s that coincided with the US evangelist Billy Graham's 'Crusade' at the invitation of the Scottish churches (Figure 5.1).

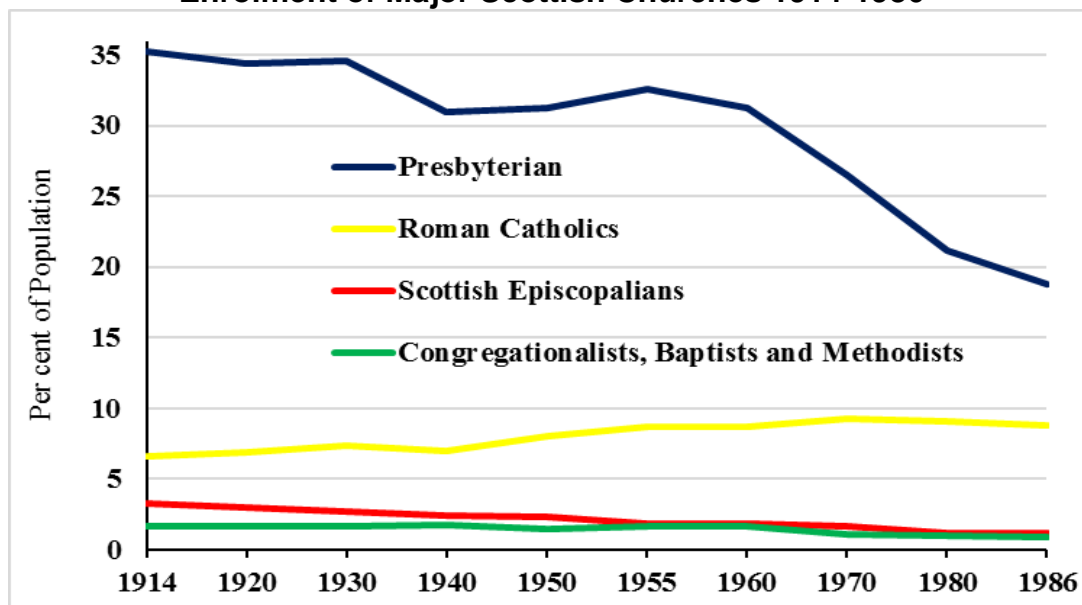
⁴³³ Alexandra Bruce, interviewed by Iain Watson, 28 July 2014, interview transcript.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001) p. 3.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

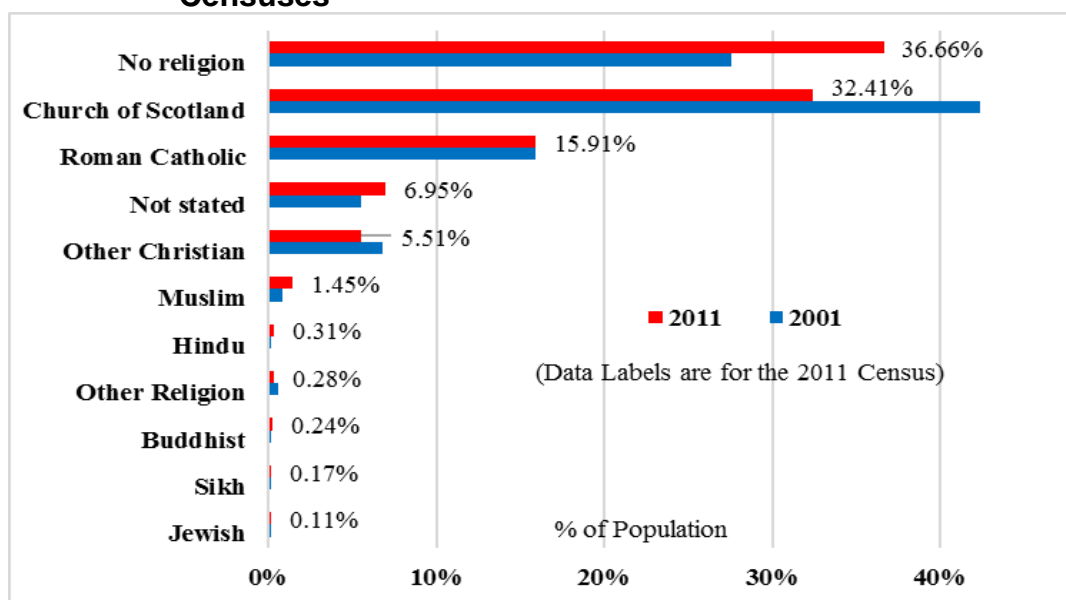
Fig. 5.1: Estimated Membership/Active adherence/Sunday School Enrolment of Major Scottish Churches 1914-1986



Source; Callum G. Brown, 'Religion and Secularisation,' in *People and Society in Scotland: Volume III, 1914-1990*, eds. A Dickson and J H Treble, pp. 48-79 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1992), p. 49.

Census religious affiliation statistics indicate that the secularisation of Scottish society has continued into the twenty-first century:

Fig. 5.2: Scottish Religious Affiliations at the 2001 and 2011 Censuses



Sources; NRS, *Scotland's Census 2011 - Table KS209SCb – Religion*, accessed 13 November 2015. <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-analyser/jsf/tableView/tableView.xhtml>; NRS, *Scotland's Census 2001 - Table KS07 - Current religion*, accessed 13 November 2015. <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-analyser/jsf/tableView/tableView.xhtml>;

The issue here is not so much the debate that Brown's work has fostered concerning the causes for the decline, rather that there appear to be similar levels of religious adherence in Scotland and New Zealand (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). This, despite the secularisation of New Zealand society being a long-established process. John Stenhouse observes that by 1863 the 'colonial state [was] dominated by Auckland business interests ... [and] lay politicians, not clergy, had decided what kind of religion they would heed and what kind they would ignore.'⁴³⁷ In addition, Keith Sinclair questions whether the early 'population was in any sense more religious' than it was in the 1950s⁴³⁸ and James Belich observes that 'there is ... considerable evidence that organised religion was not enormously strong in colonial New Zealand.'⁴³⁹ It would appear that 'church attendance [was] never ... particularly high, with the 1881 census indicating approximately 20 per cent of the population attended church. ... By the 1960s it was probably still at a similar level, but by the end of the century had declined to about 10 per cent.'⁴⁴⁰

The 1966 census identified 22 per cent⁴⁴¹ of the population as espousing Presbyterian adherence falling to below 10 per cent at the 2006 census and at 2013 was 7.8 per cent.⁴⁴² The most significant movement in religious adherence is the proportion of the population that profess no religion or decline to answer the census question, which has risen from 8.5 per cent in 1945 to 42.6 per cent in 2013.⁴⁴³ In part this is due to the growing social acceptability of being openly areligious within English speaking Western cultures. The 42.6 per cent combined percentage of *no religion/no answer* is similar to Scotland's 2011 census totals of 43.7 per cent.

⁴³⁷ John Stenhouse, "Church and State in New Zealand, 1835-1870: Religion, Politics, and Race," in *Church and State in Old and New Worlds*, eds. Hilary M. Carey and John Gascoigne, pp. 233-259 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 258.

⁴³⁸ Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p. 105.

⁴³⁹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 438.

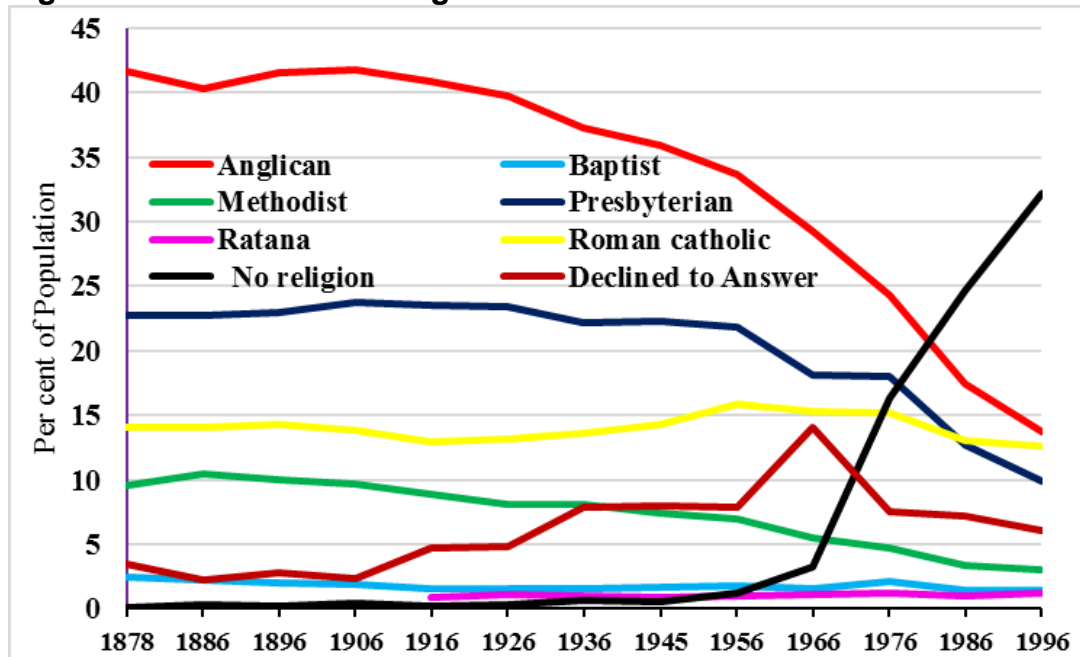
⁴⁴⁰ Kevin Ward, "Religion in a Postaquarian Age - The Tide Is Running Out", *Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand*, accessed 14 June 2015. <http://www.presbyterian.org.nz/about-us/research-resources/research-papers/religion-in-a-postaquarian-age>

⁴⁴¹ SNZ, quoted in Ben Schrader, 'Presbyterian Church - Growth, reform and challenges', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 13 April 2015. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/interactive/31080/presbyterian-adherents-1878-2006>

⁴⁴² SNZ, *Religious Affiliation (Total Responses) by regional council area - 2013*, accessed 25 July 2015. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/searchresults.aspx?q=religion>

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

Fig. 5.3: New Zealand - Religious Adherence 1876 to 2006



Source; SNZ, quoted in Schrader. 'Presbyterian Church – Growth.'

In their survey responses, the multi-generational group is making the connection between New Zealand's history and both the founding of Dunedin as a Free Church colony, and the atypical 1850s settlement of Waipu by some 800 Gaelic-speaking Nova Scotians of West Highland descent led by their Presbyterian minister, Norman McLeod. As these histories are less well-known to the migrant group and church attendance is low, the disparity between them is unsurprising. However, it is clear that there is little evidence of a Scottish religious legacy, yet it still feeds into a positive perception of the Scottish contribution to New Zealand for the multi-generational cohort.

While New Zealand migrants may appear to be less interested in promoting their Scottishness than the multi-generational group, they are not averse to others celebrating the country's Scottish heritage, as Tom Dodd makes clear:

There's quite a place in New Zealand's heart for Scottish things and Scotland and the pipe bands and that, even the Highland Games up here are still going on, people are into it and they love it, so I think there's a place for it. Other people who want to do that, good on them.

Go for it ... I haven't got a strong aversion to it, it's just that it hasn't really been that strong [an] attraction to me to do that sort of stuff.⁴⁴⁴

The levels of migrant investment in ethno-cultural capital are low as integration is their key concern, and displays of overt Scottishness could militate against this goal. The multi-generational group evidences a greater level of investment, devoting time to genealogy research and participating in Scottish associational activities. Sandi Black, an anthropologist, working at the Whanganui Regional Museum, provides a useful insight into these behaviours:

part of my job ... is helping people with genealogical research. Two out of three people have ... family [who] came out from Scotland, ... and they're aware of that side of the family and they want to know more about it.

And I think there's quite a number of them involved in the Burns Society or the Caledonian Society, they go to the Highland Games. And it is important to them as a way of connecting them to their past ..., yes they are Kiwis, third, fourth, fifth generation Kiwis, ... but they know where they're from ... even though they've never been there, ... never been out of New Zealand in a couple of cases. ... "Yes, that's where I'm from".

And it's just a way to, I don't know, identify, set themselves apart.⁴⁴⁵

In this account, Sandi notes that the majority of those researching their genealogy are focused on their Scottish forebears, prioritising them over other ethnicities and notes that they are also likely to be engaged in Scottish associational activities. The prioritisation of Scottish genealogical activity speaks to a successful promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital amongst the multi-generational cohort.

As highlighted in Sandi's testimony, it is the multi-generational cohort, settled in their New Zealand identities, who are more likely to be actively engaged in Scottish associational and heritage activities:

⁴⁴⁴ Tom Dodd, interview.

⁴⁴⁵ Sandi Black, interview.

Table 5.3: Membership of Scottish Associations and Heritage Groups amongst Survey Respondents in New Zealand

Are you a member of a Scottish Heritage or Historical interest groups and/or Scottish Associations?	New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-Generational Group	
	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	28	44.4%	115	69.3%
Was a member	1	1.6%	3	1.8%
No	34	54.0%	48	28.9%

Sources; Bristol Online Surveys, *SMtoNZ*, *SinNZ*.

The surveys were distributed through Scottish societies and other Scottish affiliated groups, which inevitably skew the numbers. However, Table 5.3 does show that migrants are less likely to be members of such groups. Despite this, migrants see Scottish associationalism as much of a cultural legacy as the multi-generational group. Scottish associations, as sites of memory, serve to preserve Scottish ethno-cultural capital, although as the next chapter observes the nature of associationalism in New Zealand is changing. Migrants tend to be comfortable with the engagement of the multi-generational cohort and are more than happy to let them take on the task of preserving Scottish ethno-cultural capital, which leaves migrants able to focus on integration. This is demonstrated most emphatically below:

Table 5.4: Survey Responses to the Importance of Scottish Associations and Heritage Groups to Scottish Cultural Preservation

Do you agree that Scottish Heritage or Historical interest groups and Associations are important for the preservation of Scottish culture?	New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-Generational Group	
	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly agree	23	36.5%	91	20.5%
Partially agree	29	46.0%	48	36.7%
Neither agree nor disagree	8	12.7%	19	28.9%
Partially disagree	1	1.6%	1	3.0%
Strongly disagree	1	1.6%	3	1.2%
Prefer not to answer	1	1.6%	4	9.6%

Sources; Bristol Online Surveys, *SMtoNZ*, *SinNZ*.

Table 5.4 shows the two groups' attitudes towards the preservation of Scottish culture through Scottish associations, and the migrants clearly view these groups as important to cultural preservation with 82.5 per cent of respondents agreeing. In contrast the multi-generational group, with just over 57 per cent agreeing and nearly 30 per cent unsure, is less certain perhaps aware that their associationalism is not necessarily representative of modern Scotland.

Edinburgh-born Cathy Gunn, who migrated to New Zealand in 1995, edits the Clan Gunn society newsletter, and articulates how the associational relationship between migrants and the multi-generational group works:

I've got mixed feelings about the society anyway. In Auckland, there are some great people who I've connected with through it, but the mainstream activities of the Society are really things that I am not so interested in.

Most of the members are on the South Island, most of them are quite a mature age, and they do those kinds of Scottish things, like they have Burns suppers, and at their AGM, they always do some activity that is usually, what I would call, old-school Scots.⁴⁴⁶

For Cathy, old-school Scottish activities such as dances and tartan pageantry have limited attraction, and this mirrors the opinions of a number of migrant interviewees, although she also offers an explanation for these behaviours:

I think there is something about culture freezing at the point in time when people emigrate, and so what a lot of people brought to New Zealand were the bagpipes, the Highland Games and the Burns suppers. I mean, I'm sure they still do happen in Scotland. A lot of other things have happened [in Scotland] since then, but they haven't really come here.⁴⁴⁷

Yet despite any concerns she may have, Cathy remains active in the society, even attending the 2012 Clan Gunn gathering in Caithness, although she adds that this was 'just out of curiosity.'⁴⁴⁸ Reflecting the attitude of the majority of migrant

⁴⁴⁶ Cathy Gunn, interview.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

interviewees, she is not critical of the multi-generational group's performance of Scottishness. Rather she is empathetic towards them and displays an understanding of their motives:

It just seems to be like a social club ... for most people.

For the ones ... looking for ancestors and where family came from, that is probably a need, but I think for most of our members ... it's just largely something ... they choose, like some people might go to a bowling club and some will join a clan society because it's something they relate to.

... some people feel a greater need for it than others, and certainly than I do, because I don't feel any need to find social networks through the Clan or through things Scottish.⁴⁴⁹

The surveys show that both groups are well aligned in their opinion of the Scottish legacies in New Zealand. However, oral testimony indicates that migrants may be less inclined to engage in Scottish associationalism and/or the promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital, although they are not averse to the multi-generational group doing so. Part of the reason for this is that the multi-generational cohort has been successful at promoting and preserving Scottish ethno-culturalism. Their activities have meant that the need for migrant investment is low, and this frees migrant time and capital for deployment elsewhere.

From the surveys and interviews it appears that the multi-generational group is just a little more aware of the historical impact of Scots in New Zealand, as evidenced in their survey responses highlighting religion. However, the most striking aspect of the survey responses is their similarity, and whatever concerns migrants may have about the messages the multi-generational group may advance, they are not too dissimilar to their own. Also conspicuous is the value migrants place on the activities of Scottish cultural and associational groups, while not necessarily being active participants themselves. This suggests that migrants need not invest significant time or capital in ethno-cultural promotion, while the counter-

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

factual question is whether they would dedicate more time and investment if it were not for the activities of the multi-generational cohort. Comparing the intensity of their ethno-cultural promotion to that of Hong Kong's sojourners, it would seem to indicate that very possibly, they would invest more time and resources.

5.3.3 The Culturally Aware and Adaptable Migrant

Asked to write a piece about being Scottish, Law professor Sheila McLean writes that it means having 'an equal appreciation of other cultures – something of which I believe we can be justly proud.'⁴⁵⁰ In the surveys this perception was relatively lowly referenced with just between 11 to 12 per cent of the cohorts citing the community/philanthropy/meritocracy marker (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2). However, in interviews it is a recurrent theme with migrants promoting Scots as adaptable and culturally aware, as Ian Seabourne notes:

[I]f you meet the Chinese in Hong Kong, they say the Scots are always a wee bit different. They're a wee bit more outspoken. They don't rely on patronage so much.

... I think the Scots are less up [themselves], ... they're more prepared to get involved and not look at themselves as being superior. You get a lot of non-Scots in Hong Kong who think that they're superior to Chinese people because they're white or whatever. I never met anybody from Scotland who's like that.⁴⁵¹

This opinion is pervasive throughout Scottish sojourning communities, as Gordon Watson, a National Serviceman in Hong Kong in the 1950s, who sojourned as a shipping executive in Singapore, Malaysia, Jamaica and Nigeria attests:

The Scots were respected [in Asia] ... I think it was because we were more down to earth ... that was something I learnt from ... an engineer friend ... he was teaching the Chinese and ... the Chinese thought he was terrific because he was just basically a down to earth, good old Scots engineer.

⁴⁵⁰ Sheila McLean, in *Being Scottish; Personal Reflections on Scottish Identity Today*, eds Tom Devine and Paddy Logue, pp. 171-173 (Edinburgh: Polygon at Edinburgh, 2002), p. 173.

⁴⁵¹ Ian Seabourne, interview.

... Once you were accepted by the Chinese, you were asked to all sorts of weird and wonderful things ... Being a Scot ... helped.⁴⁵²

Adaptability and the ability to eschew homesickness and get on with life in the new host environment are also prized characteristics, as Alan Powrie comments: 'Some people didn't adapt and some people would get homesick. I would say from observation through the accountancy community. That seemed to be more of an English thing than a Scottish thing. I didn't see many Scots being in the slightest bit homesick.'⁴⁵³

Comparisons with English migrants are common and include a narrative that distances the Scots from involvement in the colonial past, leaving other Britons, particularly the English, to bear the burden of colonial imperialism, as Calum Watson testifies:

CW: In an office environment, if I'm dealing with an American or a local Chinese person, if they're ... dealing with an English person and they're having a go, then it's great, just to start saying, 'Yes, you know, I'm Scottish and yes, they're always fussing and whiney and all that.' ...

IW: Do you find that using a Scottish identity means that you're not as connected, say, with a British colonial identity?

CW: Yes. There seems to be a little less of a view that you're involved in suppression. If you say you're Scottish, you're perhaps viewed as an underdog as well.⁴⁵⁴

Nor is this promotion of the culturally aware, adaptable non-imperial Scot restricted to sojourners. It is a recurrent theme amongst New Zealand migrants, and like Hong Kong migrants, often couched in terms that distances Scots from colonialism and especially English imperialism, as Alan Main reflects:

⁴⁵² Gordon Watson, interviewed by Iain Watson, 13 November 2012, interview transcript.

⁴⁵³ Alan Powrie, interview.

⁴⁵⁴ Calum Watson, interview.

I think that there was a closer relationship between the Scots and the Māori than there ever could have been between the English and the Māori. Part of that are the parallels between the tribal and the clan system and the respective heritage of each being oppressed by the English.⁴⁵⁵

Another repeated feature of this narrative is Scottish intermarriage with Māori and Patterson et al suggest there may be some evidence supporting this.⁴⁵⁶ However, K. A. Pickens' study of nineteenth century colonial marriage patterns in Canterbury on which this suggestion is based, makes no mention of intermarriage with Māori and simply submits that Scots were not as endogenous as the Irish or English. Indeed, Pickens adds that Scottish exogeny may have been a 'necessity rather than [a] preference' as 'there were more Scottish males per 100 Scottish females reported at each census than there were English or Irish males'.⁴⁵⁷

Alex Loggie raises intermarriage, but also highlights the contradiction between a benign Scottish interaction with Māori and the historical reality of colonialism, commenting that the 'Taranaki region was the seat of some of the most bitter, acrimonious and atrocious violations of human rights against Māori. Yet, because there were a lot of Scots settled in the area, there is that strong association. A lot of Scots married into Māori families.'⁴⁵⁸ The connections that migrants draw between Māori culture and Scots culture are apolitical, and sometimes humorous. A number of interviewees mention the late Māori/Scottish comedian Billy T James whose famous stereotypical quip about his identity was, 'I'm half Scottish, half Māori. One half wants to get drunk, and the other doesn't want to pay for it.'⁴⁵⁹ The narratives deployed are about portraying Scots as acceptable migrants to both Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders. This is reflected in Tom Dodd's comment: 'I think Scotland and I think the culture of New Zealand, ... certainly, for European culture,

⁴⁵⁵ Alan Main, interview.

⁴⁵⁶ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 202.

⁴⁵⁷ K. A. Pickens, "Marriage Patterns in a Nineteenth-Century British Colonial Population", *Journal of Family History*, Volume 5 Issue 2 (1980), p. 189.

⁴⁵⁸ Alex Loggie, interview.

⁴⁵⁹ "Billy T James", *Whangarei Boys' High School Old Boys' Association (Inc)*, © 2015, <http://wbhsoba.co.nz/old-boys/billy-t-james/>

although I do think the Māori have quite a strong affinity to the Scots people, they get on very well, they speak very well of people from Scotland.’⁴⁶⁰

Nor is this cultural awareness a one-way street. There is a willingness amongst migrants to adopt and adapt the cultural practices of others, and promote these adoptions/adaptions as an example of Scottish cultural awareness. Cathy Gunn sees this cultural interaction as having currency in modern New Zealand, especially in the arts, observing that:

there are musicians who have brought together traditional Māori and traditional Scottish music and instruments.

There is a very famous Māori woman weaver. I think her last name is Ferguson or something. She is married to a Scot. She is using Scottish and Māori techniques. There is a real fusion of those cultures, which I think is wonderful.⁴⁶¹

The adoption of *Whakapapa* amongst migrants, as discussed in the previous chapter, is an example of cultural adaptation, as Alex Loggie highlights: ‘I suppose a lot of Māori culture made me conscious of my sense of belonging. Māori use the term “Whakapapa” ... it’s your place of standing in the world.’⁴⁶²

While the desire to promote Scottishness in New Zealand appears to be less intense, as these testimonies evidence, it is still there. New Zealand is a polity where Scottish migrants are a part of a mainstream culture, and where the protection of a version of the Scottish identity and values resides with the multi-generational group. This comparison of cultural awareness has highlighted that both migrant groups promote ethno-cultural capital by representing Scots as culturally aware and importantly a benefit, not a threat, to the culture of the host society.

⁴⁶⁰ Tom Dodd, interview.

⁴⁶¹ Cathy Gunn, interview. The music she refers to is that of the Māori, Celtic, Pacific fusion all female trio *Pacific Curls*, while the weaver is Roka Ngarimu-Cameron from Porirua.

⁴⁶² Alex Loggie, interview.

5.4 Why is there a difference in the intensity of Ethno-Cultural Capital promotion between Hong Kong and New Zealand?

In section 5.3 the differing constructions of Scottish ethno-cultural capital in the two destinations were visited, and the groups' use of history, perceived Scottish legacies and stereotypes to form these constructions were discussed. The narratives structured seek to portray Scots as beneficial to the receiving society but it has been argued that the use of ethno-cultural capital differs in intensity between the two destinations. This section explores the reasons for the difference, and key is the different environments in which migrants find themselves. The previous section also highlighted differences between the New Zealand groups, and made the argument that the multi-generational cohort's success in preserving Scottish ethno-cultural capital has meant that migrants can invest time and capital in assimilation and integration into a society where Scots and those of Scottish descent are a part of the mainstream. In contrast, Hong Kong's environment sees Scots located on the fringes of local society.

Scottish culture and its legacy are not immediately visible to the majority of Hong Kong's population. As David Bruce says, 'we are a very small community in a Chinese city'.⁴⁶³ Mike Dowie, a retired Senior Assistant Commissioner of the Hong Kong Police, takes this further:

I think the majority of Hong Kong people, ... are still quite naïve as regards what goes on outside of Hong Kong ... for example, the Chinese newspapers have very little international coverage.

I call Hong Kong the international city with the village mentality. That's what it is. The vast majority of people are still more interested in what's affecting them on a day to day basis ... than what's going on around the world.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶³ David Bruce, interview.

⁴⁶⁴ Mike Dowie, interview.

While the Hong Kong Tourism Board likes to market Hong Kong with the strap line: *Hong Kong - Asia's World City*,⁴⁶⁵ Hong Kong is, as Mike Dowie suggests, not as worldly a city as it seems. Another retired police officer, Ian Seabourne, explains the history behind this when recounting his return to the UK on leave with his Chinese wife on her first visit to the UK in December 1975:

In those days, the Chinese from Hong Kong didn't travel. They did not leave. The only place they ever went was Macau. They weren't allowed to go to China. It was very difficult to get into China, so they were locked in Hong Kong from the fifties all the way through to the early nineties.⁴⁶⁶

On their return from leave, Ian observed that, 'her family was just so inquisitive about what it was like on the other side of the universe, as they saw it.'⁴⁶⁷

Mike Dowie sees post-1997 Hong Kong as changing but not necessarily becoming any more outward looking, as in his opinion, 'Hong Kong is going to become more and more part of the Pearl River Delta, it's going to become more of a Chinese city.'⁴⁶⁸ There is a wealth of evidence to support this, for despite the return of 500,000 of 'the nearly 800,000 Hong Kongers [who] emigrated from the territory' between 1984 and 1987,⁴⁶⁹ the number of mainland immigrants has burgeoned. In 2013 the *South China Morning Post* reported that '[a]bout 760,000 mainlanders have settled in Hong Kong through the one-way permit scheme since the handover in 1997, making up more than one in 10 residents.'⁴⁷⁰ It is estimated that 13.6 million mainlanders visit Hong Kong each year and as many as 500,000 people live 'on one side of the border but work on the other.'⁴⁷¹ This is the new frontier of Hong Kong emigration and immigration diluting the impact of those who returned after 1997.

⁴⁶⁵ The Hong Kong Tourism Board, *Our Brand*, updated February 2015.

<http://www.discoverhongkong.com/uk/about-hktb/our-brand.jsp#ixzz3jknaDZ1D>

⁴⁶⁶ Ian Seabourne, interview.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Mike Dowie, interview.

⁴⁶⁹ Nan M. Sussman, *Return Migration and Identity: A Global Phenomenon, A Hong Kong Case* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010) p. 6.

⁴⁷⁰ Stuart Lau, "Mainland Chinese Migrants since 1997 now make up 10pc of Hong Kong population," *South China Morning Post*, 21 March 2013. <http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1195642/mainland-chinese-migrants-1997-now-make-10pc-hong-kong-population>

⁴⁷¹ Sussman, *Return Migration*, p. 257.

Unsurprisingly, given its proximity, size and ethnicity, it is China that consumes the attention of the majority of Hong Kong's population. Reflecting on whether the population differentiates Scots from other *gweilos*⁴⁷² Mike Dowie comments: 'I don't think they do differentiate and really care that much.'⁴⁷³ This latter comment probably sums up the relative significance of Scots to much of Hong Kong's population.

It has been estimated that in 2011 the Scottish population of Hong Kong amounted to just 1,791 individuals or 0.025 per cent of Hong Kong's population.⁴⁷⁴ The number of British nationals at 33,733 accounts for just 0.45 per cent of the population.⁴⁷⁵ Care should be taken with this number as it does not mirror Britain's ethnic distribution, and sees white Britons accounting for just 57.5 per cent of Britons equating to just 35 per cent of all white ethnics in Hong Kong in 2011.⁴⁷⁶

At its core Hong Kong is a homogenous Chinese city by measures of nationality,⁴⁷⁷ ethnicity (93.6 per cent)⁴⁷⁸ and language, with 94.3 per cent of the Chinese population speaking Cantonese at home while 1.5 per cent speak Putonghua and 4.2 per cent other Chinese dialects.⁴⁷⁹ In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Hong Kong has been less than welcoming to non-professional migrants. Whereas migrants with seven-years continuous residency are eligible for permanent residency, the ordinance's definition of residency excludes approximately 257,500 (including 129,000 Indonesians and 112,000 Filipinas) foreign domestic helpers who account for 52 per cent of Hong Kong's non-Chinese population.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷² Patrick J. Cummings and Hans-Georg Wolf, *A Dictionary of Hong Kong English: Words from the Fragrant Harbour* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), p. 69. **gweilo** (also **gwailo**): Source Language: Cantonese. Definition: A Caucasian male (possibly derogatory, literally "ghost man").

⁴⁷³ Mike Dowie, interview.

⁴⁷⁴ See Table 2.8

⁴⁷⁵ See Appendix 1 - Table A1: Hong Kong's Population by Nationality 1991-2011.

⁴⁷⁶ See Appendix 1 - Table A2: British Ethnicities in Hong Kong as at the 2001 and 2011 Censuses.

⁴⁷⁷ See Appendix 1 - Table A1.

⁴⁷⁸ See Appendix 1 - Table A3: Hong Kong's Population by Ethnicity as at the 2001 and 2011 Censuses.

⁴⁷⁹ CSD-GovHKSAR, *2011 Population Census – Summary Results*, p. 39.

⁴⁸⁰ CSD-GovHKSAR, *2011 Population Census: Ethnic Minorities*, pp. 27 -29. Calculated using gender ratios and assuming that Foreign Domestic Helpers are mostly women.

In contrast, New Zealand is ethnically more diverse.⁴⁸¹ At New Zealand's 2013 census there were nearly 5,000 more Scottish-born residents than British-born Britons in Hong Kong in 2011.⁴⁸² New Zealand's 25,953 Scottish-born amount to 0.65 per cent of the population and 2.6 per cent of the country's overseas-born population, which in turn accounts for 25.2 per cent of New Zealand's resident population.⁴⁸³ Thus the country's ethnic background continues to evolve with a flow of new immigrants. Additionally, the country is more ethnically mixed than Hong Kong. Nearly 15 per cent of the population are of mixed ethnicity in comparison to just 0.41 per cent of Hong Kong's population.

In this Chinese environment there is a tendency for Scottish migrants, especially those on expatriate terms, to become segregated, gravitating to accommodation in affluent neighbourhoods, and living in complexes in which there are expatriate communities. For many, this may not be a conscious choice but one made by their employers. These are referred to as 'expat ghettos', and while the dictionary definition of a ghetto normally applies to slums, these affluent neighbourhoods fulfil part of the definition in that they are significantly 'occupied by a minority group.'⁴⁸⁴ Accommodation in these neighbourhoods commands rents comfortably in excess of what would be affordable for many in Hong Kong, where the average median monthly domestic household income in 2014 was HKD23,500.⁴⁸⁵ As only 4.7 per cent of Hong Kong's population earn in excess of HKD100,000 per month,⁴⁸⁶ these are very privileged ghettos.

⁴⁸¹ Appendix 1 – Table A4: New Zealand's Population by Ethnicity as at the 2013 Census

⁴⁸² IDDS, CSD-GovHKSAR.

⁴⁸³ SNZ, "2013 Census QuickStats - Table 11", published 15 April 2014.

<http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity.aspx>

⁴⁸⁴ *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "ghetto."

⁴⁸⁵ CSD-GovHKSAR, *Hong Kong the Facts* (Hong Kong: Information Services Department - Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government, 2015) p. 2.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Table 5.5: Hong Kong Mid-Range Luxury Apartment Average Rent per Month

District	HKD
The Peak	96,000
Discovery Bay	89,000
Mid-Levels	88,000
Happy Valley	82,750

Source: Savills Research quoted in Edward Ngai, 'Expat Cuts Hit Hong Kong Luxury Rentals,' *The Wall Street Journal*, updated 31 July 2014, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/hong-kong-rental-market-suffers-as-expat-numbers-decline-1406809967>. Price per 2,500 sq.ft. (gross) as at 1Q2014.

Unlike modern urban ghettos, where populations concentrate their economic activity in enclave economies, migrants participate in the higher end of the wider economy. This would appear to be a global phenomenon, as Alba and Nee's research in the USA also shows that professional immigrants are ordinarily employed in the upper end of the labour market, 'where they hope to re-establish their middle-class lifestyle[s]'.⁴⁸⁷ In the Choosing Ethnic Identities chapter it was argued, that where an individual needs to establish a social niche in society his 'culture becomes his identity'.⁴⁸⁸ Isolated from mainstream society the same dynamic is at work. Scottish migrants invest time in their Scottish identity so as to establish their social niche.

Language can also be a source of social dislocation as Fiona Donnelly describes of her frustration at not being able to use Cantonese:

My Cantonese is rubbish. I've made a big effort over the years to really try, but it's just, - at the end of the day I don't even hear the language, the nine tones ... My final attempt was about a year or so ago, with another book and more lessons and whatever else. I just don't get it.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁷ Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, p. 48.

⁴⁸⁸ Gellner, *Thought and Change*, p. 157.

⁴⁸⁹ Fiona Donnelly, interview.

She sums up this sense of exclusion by concluding that: 'it's been my volition to live in a town that I actually don't understand ... it's quite weird to live your life for 20 years in that kind of bubble.'⁴⁹⁰

Even police officers who were given Cantonese training and married into the Chinese community found language a problem as Ian Seabourne highlights:

In the first five years, my language skills weren't bad, ... because I was posted to CID ... and you have to speak Chinese when you're in CID.

Having said that, my Chinese now is very basic. My two daughters are fluent. ... When I speak Chinese, they just say, 'Dad, don't worry. Don't embarrass the family.' I was one expat ... that was immersed more with the Chinese than many others were, because you could be totally expat there. You had your subordinates under you, who were all Chinese, but you could be totally expat.⁴⁹¹

In New Zealand, migrants are met with an English-speaking society in which 'there are more ethnicities ... than there are countries in the world.'⁴⁹² That is not to say that a common language which is spoken by 96 per cent of the population is necessarily unproblematic.⁴⁹³ In general, misunderstandings due to accents and colloquialisms are worked around, and with time become less of an issue. However, they can be a cause of angst in the early stages of migration and English usage in New Zealand can be a challenge to a migrant's sense of identity, as John Hanna explains:

We speak English in Scotland and we speak English in New Zealand, but it's a different English. And the words and the phrases we had used in growing up, people couldn't understand. They couldn't understand our accent. We had to change the way we speak ...

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ian Seabourne, interview.

⁴⁹² Sarah Minson, quoted in "New Zealand has more ethnicities than the world has countries." 2013 Census, SNZ. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/data-tables/totals-by-topic-mr1.aspx>

⁴⁹³ SNZ, "Table 19 - Languages spoken (detailed total responses)", 2013 Census QuickStats about culture and identity, published online 15 April 2014. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity.aspx>

Well when you change your language, you change something in yourself and you become a different person because you don't express yourself; and your thoughts are never expressed as clearly as in your own language.

Your own language is always the one you grew up with and you've got phrases and words and ways of saying things that you say in exactly the way that you've grown up with, but it's yourself. You change when you come to a new country.⁴⁹⁴

John's narrative is about accommodating with New Zealand English language culture, whereas in Hong Kong language can be a barrier to social accommodation, in an environment where many expatriates are unable to speak the local language proficiently.

Leo Goodstadt, Head of the Hong Kong Government's Central Policy Unit from 1989 to 1997, argues that government officials like the rest of the privileged European minority were largely alien to and isolated from the Chinese community.⁴⁹⁵ Sojourners and even those who have lived in Hong Kong for most of their lives acknowledge the difficulty of integrating into the local Chinese community. Ian Seabourne met and married his Chinese wife a little over a year after arriving in Hong Kong, yet despite being proficient in Cantonese at that time and versed in local customs and culture by his wife, it was difficult to feel a part of local society:

I went out in the Chinese community, and people would stare ... You were seen holding hands ... but they would stare at you, because it was so unusual. Hong Kong had had 120, 130 years of British rule, and people had married Chinese ladies, but still, people would stare at you in the street if you were with a Chinese girl.⁴⁹⁶

Some do build links with local Chinese, but they are a minority and more often than not, these come on the back of personal relationships with a Chinese partner or the Chinese environments in which they work. The latter is most common amongst RHKP officers, whose status in European expatriate society was perceived

⁴⁹⁴ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

⁴⁹⁵ Leo F. Goodstadt, *Uneasy Partners: The Conflict between Public Interest and Private Profit in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1997), p. 27.

⁴⁹⁶ Ian Seabourne interview.

to be low. As Mike Dowie notes; ‘people who were in business, [including] Scots ... didn’t want to speak to policemen unless they were looking for a favour ... Generally, policemen were looked down upon, seen as being less educated thickos, and you only go to them when you need them.’⁴⁹⁷ However, despite working in a Chinese environment, expatriate police officers invariably found themselves living amongst expatriates and being housed with other expatriate civil servants in government quarters.

However, to suggest that expatriate seclusion is a one-way street would be inaccurate. Hong Kong society can be unwelcoming towards foreigners. In 2013 York Chow Yat-ngok, Chairperson of Hong Kong’s Equal Opportunities Commission, observed that ‘surveys and studies ... in recent years, still point to the existence of bias against our ethnic minorities and the prevalence of racial discrimination.’⁴⁹⁸ Nor is he alone in this view. In 2014 the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights recommended that ‘the State party ... consider introducing comprehensive anti-racial discrimination laws ... [and] expressed concerns [about] ... the situation of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong ... and urged the State party to ensure that ethnic minorities can integrate in public schools.’⁴⁹⁹

This marginalisation extends to newer mainland Chinese immigrants, who are disproportionately represented amongst Hong Kong’s least wealthy, with ‘median monthly family income ... about 34%-46% of the overall Hong Kong median household income for ... 1998 to 2003.’⁵⁰⁰ A legacy of the post-war colonial era is the concept that governmental legitimacy is derived from economic success, and this perception is widely held.⁵⁰¹ In such an atmosphere, the inclusion of those who may be less able to contribute to economic prosperity or be a drain on that prosperity is

⁴⁹⁷ Mike Dowie interview.

⁴⁹⁸ York Chow Yat-ngok, “Racist Hong Kong is still a fact,” *South China Morning Post*, 25 May 2013. <http://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/1245226/racist-hong-kong-still-fact>

⁴⁹⁹ United Nations Human Rights Council, *Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and Reports of the Office of the High Commissioner and the Secretary-General*, A/HRC/25/30 (17 March 2014), pp. 9-10, available from <http://search.ohchr.org/results.aspx?k=A%2FHRC%2F25%2F30>

⁵⁰⁰ Law and Lee, “Citizenship, economy and social exclusion”, p. 224.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 235.

unlikely. Those who contribute, like European expatriates, are tolerated if not socially included, a position exacerbated by the short-term nature of the migrant sojourn, which does not reflect a longer-term commitment to Hong Kong's economic success.

Yet despite, or more probably because of their isolation from mainstream society, Hong Kong's small community of Scots is willing to invest in the promotion of their ethno-cultural capital despite its limited impact on the wider population. To have any appreciable effect, its promotion is targeted at specific social groups which include potential employers and Hong Kong's plutocratic governing elite. Here the point made in the previous paragraph is key. For the promotion of ethno-cultural capital to be a success in Hong Kong, it must show itself to be contributing to Hong Kong's economic success, and this theme is a recurrent one in interviews, as Alan Powrie comments:

Most of the professions, even the law, which is a different legal system, had a very strong Scottish component, banking in particular and accountancy, and medical, everything, had a very strong component.

The Chinese community, for those who were fairly well knowledgeable about it, know this as well, both here and up in Mainland China.⁵⁰²

Additionally, it requires active promotion and reiteration, as Mike Dowie observes: 'I think in the business area ... the Scots have had a tremendous influence. Now, speaking to many Chinese friends, ... many of them don't realise until you tell them, "These are all Scottish companies, Scottish things"'.⁵⁰³

Hong Kong sojourners are active promoters of their identity because their number and wider impact are low. Any real, embellished or imagined Scottish legacy is largely unknown to the population, which is Sino-centric, and where white

⁵⁰² Alan Powrie, interview.

⁵⁰³ Mike Dowie, interview. Major companies of Scottish origin operating in Hong Kong in 2015 include - Jardine Matheson Holdings Ltd, Inchcape plc, A S Watson Group and Hutchison Whampoa Ltd.

ethnicities are not differentiated. Consequently, sojourner activities are tightly targeted to specific societal niches for greater impact than the number of migrants warrant. In contrast, migrants to New Zealand find that a version of the Scottish identity has been preserved by the multi-generational group, with the Scots and their contribution to New Zealand society an established fact, very much mainstream and integral to the country's social fabric and identity. In such circumstances the need for a combative promotion of Scottish identity is low. Nor is the posture of Hong Kong's expatriate migrants wholly defensive. They may be ghettoised with other whites, and alienated linguistically and culturally from the majority of the population, but the narrative they employ emphasises the positives of the Scottish contribution to Hong Kong.

5.5 Concluding Comments

The peripheralism of the Scottish experience in Hong Kong is very different to the more mainstream experiences of Scottish migrants to New Zealand, who are dispersed throughout the country and have not gravitated towards ghettos. An Australian study describes post-war British migrants to Australia as Australia's invisible migrants, although it considers this lack of visibility to be due to an assumption amongst authorities and researchers 'that twentieth-century British immigrants would assimilate easily and thus 'disappear' into such a familiar society.'⁵⁰⁴ The same holds true for New Zealand, where Thomson and Trlin in their misleadingly entitled 1970 book, *Immigrants in New Zealand*, dismiss British migrants on the assumption that they would 'settle easily and almost imperceptibly into the host society' as their migration was 'more akin to a transfer from one to another branch of essentially the same culture.'⁵⁰⁵ Instead their book addresses Chinese, Indian, Yugoslav, Polish, Greek, Dutch and Cook Island migrants.

⁵⁰⁴ A. James Hammerton and Alistair Thomson, *Ten pound Poms: Australia's Invisible Migrants* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 9.

⁵⁰⁵ K. W. Thomson and A. D. Trlin, "Introduction" in *Immigrants in New Zealand*, eds K. W. Thomson and A. D. Trlin (Palmerston North: Massey University, 1970) p. 11.

Yet, it is the very lack of visibility that encourages migrants to Hong Kong to develop and exploit their ethno-cultural capital, and make them visible where they believe it matters most. At its heart visibility is a choice. For migrants to be motivated to increase their visibility, they must believe that there is sufficient return to be gained to warrant the real or potential cost in financial or personal terms. When discussing Scots and Scottishness it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the majority of British migrants to New Zealand and Hong Kong were and are English.⁵⁰⁶ For instance, at the 2013 census the English-born in New Zealand were the largest overseas-born group at 215,589 or 5.4 per cent of the population.⁵⁰⁷ Yet English visibility appears limited. In Hong Kong, colonial history has been adapted and adopted by the Scots, and the reasons for this are not immediately apparent to the migrants themselves, as Ian Seabourne reflects: 'we always called it a Scottish colony. I don't know why; there were more English expats. There were probably more Americans, but we always thought it was a Scottish colony.'⁵⁰⁸

For Anglophone destinations, English culture can be the normative against which other migrants are benchmarked. William E. Van Vugt argues that all migrants to the United States 'have been measured against the English and the Anglicized native-born Americans in terms of their language and behaviour'.⁵⁰⁹ To a certain extent this also holds true in New Zealand, where Terry Hearn's *Te Ara* entry reads somewhat vaguely that 'because the English were the first and largest group, after Māori, to come to New Zealand, they did not need to protect their culture with special organisations like most other immigrant communities. Instead, they shaped some of the main institutions of New Zealand.' He concludes his entry by adding: 'from Yorkshire pudding to fish and chips, the diet of New Zealanders showed

⁵⁰⁶ See; Brad Patterson, "Cousin Jacks, New Chums and Ten Pound Poms: Locating New Zealand's English Diaspora" in *Locating the English Diaspora, 1500-2010*, eds. Tanya Bueltmann, David Y. Gleeson and Donald M. MacRaild (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), pp. 150-168.

⁵⁰⁷ SNZ, 2013 Census QuickStats.

⁵⁰⁸ Ian Seabourne, interview.

⁵⁰⁹ William E. Van Vugt, "The Hidden English Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century America" in *Locating the English Diaspora*, eds. Bueltmann et al, p. 70.

English origins, and many social manners and rituals, such as weddings, owe their character to the English.⁵¹⁰

The English contribution to New Zealand is greater than the entry implies, and it is perhaps unfair to consign their legacy to food pathways, manners and rituals. The limited research conducted to date, and consequent lack of understanding are perhaps as much to blame. As Patterson suggests, English ‘legacies await consideration.’⁵¹¹ However, Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy note that the English comprised the greatest part of the UK-derived population throughout the Empire, and New Zealand was no exception, although their proportional numbers were the lowest amongst the colonies of settlement.⁵¹² Yet, despite the numbers it would appear that ‘their contribution was rather modest’,⁵¹³ and in comparison to the Scots, visibility appears to be an issue. Why this lack of comparative visibility should be replicated in the non-Anglophone environment of Hong Kong is difficult to explain and bears further scrutiny.

The comparisons made in this chapter have outlined the differences in the visibility of migrants in Hong Kong and New Zealand, and their promotion of Scottish identity. Clearly environment plays a role in the strategies deployed by migrants. Much revolves around perceptions of Scottish impact on finance, commerce and governance in Hong Kong, in stark relief to the softer cultural legacies of dance, the arts, music and education in New Zealand. While both groups of migrants value Scottish associationalism, its use in Hong Kong is more focused on networking and social capital. This will be discussed further in the next chapter, comparing associationalism in both destinations. It has been argued above that New Zealand’s associationalism, and particularly the multi-generational group’s engagement with it, has a wider role in the preservation and promotion of ethno-

⁵¹⁰ Terry Hearn. 'English', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 9-Nov-12. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/english>

⁵¹¹ Brad Patterson, "Cousin Jacks ", p. 168.

⁵¹² Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy, "Introduction," in *Far from 'Home': The English in New Zealand*, eds. Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012), p. 9.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

cultural capital, and by extension in reducing the need for migrants to engage in ethno-cultural capital promotion.

This chapter has sought to propose the existence of a variant of Bourdieu's cultural capital model, ethno-cultural capital, which is intended to help explain ethnic identity promotion behaviours amongst migrants. It is a hybrid form of cultural capital in that the migrant's ethnicity confers on the individual a cultural milieu or 'habitus' that provides them with an inherent access to that culture's achievements, history and legacies, which in turn can deliver social status. However, its use is dependent on the agency of the individual, and use implies a capital commitment in terms of time and possibly funds. Thus, the resources employed are in proportion to the individual's perception of the relative benefit of the outcome. David Hamilton outlines this point, when recounting that on his first leave in Scotland: 'something told me that having a kilt overseas would be better than wearing this dinner jacket that I had bought as a trainee to go abroad with, because everybody had dinner jackets. So I bought a kilt on leave.'⁵¹⁴ Fiona Donnelly recounts her partner as saying 'I've had my kilt on more often in Hong Kong than I have in Scotland.'⁵¹⁵

The idea of ethno-cultural capital makes it possible to explain the unequal visibility of migrants of differing ethnicity and in differing environments. For instance, Hammerton and Thomson make the point that despite the relative invisibility of the Scots and English in Australia, 'the Scots resisted the "Pommy" label and were keen to ensure that their Australian hosts did not confuse them with English "whingers".'⁵¹⁶ Here, Scots migrants appear to believe that there was sufficient benefit to them in drawing this distinction, and were thus willing to invest effort in making the distinction. Conversely, English migrants do not appear to have drawn such distinctions as their perception was likely that to draw attention to themselves as English could be counter-productive.

⁵¹⁴ David Hamilton, interview.

⁵¹⁵ Fiona Donnelly, interview.

⁵¹⁶ Hammerton, *Ten Pound Poms*, p. 14.

Hammerton and Thomson's study is sprinkled with the testimony of a number of English migrants who chose to subdue their Englishness to facilitate integration, such as Ray and Irene Spencer 'who didn't want to live in "a very British area ... 'cause there were a lot of whingers amongst them, ... they gave us migrants a very bad name".'⁵¹⁷ Or Jackie Smith who 'absorbed 'this overwhelming feeling that it was not good to be English', and has never lost the habit of suppressing her Englishness.'⁵¹⁸ In these circumstances the migrant's perception is that there is nothing to be gained from their ethno-cultural background, and thus use is restricted.

Another key factor for Scottish migrants is the perception that being Scottish will be well received by the host society, and interviewees are of the almost universal opinion that Scots are well respected. This sentiment was most explicitly articulated by Gordon Watson and Ian Seabourne. It is also a recurrent theme for New Zealand migrants, underlined by one New Zealander of English descent, the Head of St Kentigern College, Steve Cole, who adds that 'there is huge affection in New Zealand for all things Scottish. There's no doubt about that.'⁵¹⁹ The fact that a migrant's ethnicity does not play well in certain environments does not mean that it is eschewed altogether as it may well be used for defensive purposes. In such a context expressions of ethno-cultural capital are directed at fellow ethnics and stray into the realms of social capital.

Hong Kong's Scottish migrant community is small and ethno-cultural capital is not embedded in any settler personas. It thus needs to be created, preserved and passed on by those living and sojourning there. As well as providing Scots with a focus for their identity in what is a near wholly Chinese environment, it serves to provide migrants with social status, which cannot be assumed from the cultural capital they travel with, as that cultural capital is alien to the overwhelming majority of Hong Kong's population. Their promotion of their ethno-cultural capital is targeted at a narrow segment of Hong Kong's population and leverages aspects of

⁵¹⁷ Ibid, p. 144.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid, p. 150.

⁵¹⁹ Steve Cole and Warwick Bell, interview.

Hong Kong's colonial past, which have been partially embellished to suit the needs of the Scottish sojourning community.

In New Zealand, the need to promote Scottish ethno-cultural capital is diminished by a past that is understood and preserved in the settler personas of those who have come before them. Migrants can therefore focus the investment of their time and capital on the path to accommodation with and integration in New Zealand society.

Associationalism and Networking

Since 1920 Auckland has held an annual Scottish Highland Games complete with traditional events like caber-tossing, sheaf and haggis tossing, tug o'war and historical fighting. Naturally the music comes courtesy of pipe bands ... and there is highland and country dancing. In Clan Avenue historians share their knowledge of Scottish history, migration and how Scottish heritage stays alive in New Zealand. ... The kids will love the Highland Cattle.

Dionne Christian⁵²⁰

6.1 Introduction

The newspaper article above promotes the 2013 Auckland Highland Games taking place under the aegis of a number of New Zealand Scottish groups and societies,⁵²¹ and supported by a range of local businesses with a distinctively Scottish flavour. Christian's article further asserts that 'Caledonian clubs and societies keep Scottish heritage alive in New Zealand through dance or music while the Scottish Clans Association hosts traditional Burns Night celebrations and the Kirking o' the Tartan ceremony.'⁵²² Interestingly, the article associates the Caledonian societies with maintaining Scottish heritage, yet the societies have been on the decline since the late nineteenth century, when Tanja Bueltmann estimates that there were '100 Caledonian societies and twenty other associations, including Burns clubs and Gaelic societies.'⁵²³ A survey of internet and social media sites reveals that only five Caledonian societies remain active with four of them listed on

⁵²⁰ Dionne Christian, "Flowering of Scotland", *New Zealand Herald*, 23 November 2013.

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=11161355

⁵²¹ These include the Auckland Branch of the RSCDSNZ; The Auckland District Scottish Clans Association; the Auckland Scottish Fiddle Club; The Pipe Bands of the Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Auckland; The Auckland Curling Club and The Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand. Source; "Auckland Highland Games & Gathering", *The Combined Council of Scottish Societies (Auckland NZ)*, accessed 22 December 2015.

<http://www.scottish.org.nz/HighlandGamesAuckland.html>

⁵²² Christian, "Flowering".

⁵²³ Tanja Bueltmann, "Ethnic Identity, Sporting Caledonia and Respectability: Scottish Associational Life in New Zealand to 1910", in *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora*, eds. Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton (Guelph: Centre for Scottish Studies, 2009) p. 169.

the Combined Council of Scottish Societies (CCSS) website.⁵²⁴ However, not one of them was involved in the 2016 Auckland games. Yet, the connection between the games and Caledonian societies lives on in public perception.

This perception pictures the Scots as endemic associationalists, and an oft used joke concerning ‘two Englishmen, two Scotsmen, two Welshmen and two Irishmen ... stranded on a desert island’ portrays the Scots as stereotypically starting ‘a Caledonian Club and ... playing the bagpipes, tossing the caber and eating haggis.’⁵²⁵ Taken from a collection of jokes by Australian, Allan Pease,⁵²⁶ the joke covers the range of associational behaviours and iconography with which Scots are linked in Australasia, through to the haggis that is a staple of Burns suppers. Additionally, the joke would work equally well in Hong Kong. Emphasising these stereotypes, Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton describe Scottish associationalism as ‘one of the Scottish diaspora’s defining characteristics.’⁵²⁷ Nor is it a stereotype restricted to Australasia, a variation of the joke appearing in a chapter entitled ‘Scottish Associationalism’ in the same book,⁵²⁸ while Morton and R. J. Morris comment that by 1921 in North America it was claimed that there was ‘no city of any size ... that [did] not have its St Andrew’s Society, or Burns, or Caledonian Club’.⁵²⁹

Ethnic associations and kinship networks can be used to mitigate what may be a traumatic dislocation from the home environment. More often, these networks act as venues for the generation and use of social capital or patronage. This ‘explains why they are a central characteristic of the migrant community life of a wide range of ethnic groups in diverse locations and over time.’⁵³⁰ Interestingly, Christian’s article

⁵²⁴ CCSS, *Caledonian Societies Listing*, accessed 22 December 2015.

<http://www.scottish.org.nz/CaledonianSocieties.html>

⁵²⁵ Alan Pease (ed), *The Ultimate Book of Rude and Politically Incorrect Jokes* (repr. 2001; London: Robson Books, 2003), p. 89.

⁵²⁶ Pease International, accessed 18 December 2015. <https://www.peaseinternational.com/>

⁵²⁷ Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 115. .

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Graeme Morton and R. J. Morris, “Civil Society”, in *The New Penguin History of Scotland*, p. 362.

⁵³⁰ Tanja Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 3.

does not equate the Auckland games or the associational activities around them to any Scottish networking or social capital facilitation, rather the games and the clan societies together with the genealogists are seen as sites of heritage and memory. This was not always the case, for in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ‘many of the Scots involved in Caledonian Societies were at least equally interested in using the societies for their personal advancement’.⁵³¹ Nor was this a New Zealand exception. In South Africa, as John MacKenzie notes, the ‘educated, elite and business Scots ... recognised that the Caledonian Societies could not only maintain contacts with their homeland and people of a supposed fellow ethnicity but also benefit them in a variety of ways.’⁵³²

While the number of Caledonian societies has dwindled to just five from the estimated number of 101 in 1930,⁵³³ they continue to find resonance within New Zealand. The question is whether this is a vestigial legacy of their numbers in the early 1930s, or whether there have been changes in the nature of Scottish associationalism which have preserved the Caledonian societies’ roles in popular imagination. If so, why have there been changes, what were they, and how do they provide for the continuity of Scottish associationalism in twenty-first century New Zealand? Finally, are these societies relevant to the migrant, or do more recent migrants develop alternative networks and outlets for social capital, which may not be as ethnically based as they would have been in the early twentieth century?

In contrast, Hong Kong’s Scottish associationalism appears to have changed little, and actively provides venues for the generation and use of ethno-cultural and social capital. Associationalism has been dominated for over a century by the Hong Kong St Andrew’s Society (HKSAS), which traces its roots to 1881.⁵³⁴ If anything, the number of Scottish associations has grown in the latter half of the twentieth century, which has seen the addition of societies such as the Reel Club, founded in

⁵³¹ Bueltmann, “Ethnic Identity”, p. 174.

⁵³² John M MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 248.

⁵³³ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 175.

⁵³⁴ HKSAS, *About Us – Overview*, accessed 14 June 2013, <http://www.standrewshk.org/en/page/overview>

1947, and the Hong Kong Highlanders (HKH), founded in 1988. However, is this apparent continuity and relative strength of associationalism in Hong Kong, necessarily accurate? If true, have any changes occurred to maintain associational health, or is the narrative one of continuity, and if there have been changes what are they, what was their purpose, and how have they contributed to associational health?

Structurally, this chapter will map the modern associational landscapes in both destinations individually, answering many of the questions posed above. Understanding the nature of modern associationalism in New Zealand and Hong Kong provides the basis for a comparison of those activities along the lines of migrant perceptions of associationalism to determine whether the associations satisfy migrant networking needs, or whether migrants look to other forums to develop social capital, and promote ethno-cultural capital.

6.2 The Scottish Associational Landscape

6.2.1 The Changing Scottish Associational Landscape of New Zealand

The story of Scottish associationalism in New Zealand is as old as New Zealand's formal colonisation. Patterson et al date it to 1850 when a St Andrew's gathering took place in Auckland.⁵³⁵ However, a newspaper article dated 5 December 1840 shows that St Andrew's day celebrations took place in Wellington and Petone in November 1840.⁵³⁶ The Caledonian Society of Otago, founded in 1862, lays claim to being 'the first Scottish Society in New Zealand',⁵³⁷ while the

⁵³⁵ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 176.

⁵³⁶ "Commemoration of St Andrew", *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Volume 1, Issue 34, 5 December 1840, p. 3. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=NZGWS18401205.2.8&srpos=1&e=-1839---1851--100--1-byDA--0Robert+Burns-ADVERTISEMENT%2cARTICLE->

⁵³⁷ "Caledonian Society of Otago", *Otago Daily Times*, issue 15339, 30 December 1911, p. 5. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi->

‘Scottish ethnic associational scene was driven through Caledonian societies and the development of Games.’⁵³⁸ Only five Caledonian societies; Canterbury, Otago, Waipu, Hamilton and Turakina, appear to be still active. This is a far cry from 1930 when ‘there were at least 154 Scottish associations ... and the majority, 101 associations were Caledonian societies.’⁵³⁹ The Waipu and Turakina societies still host and manage their own Highland Games, while the Caledonian Society of Otago conducts ‘displays of traditional Scottish Events at the Summer A [Agricultural] and P [Pastoral] Shows operating in the Otago area.’⁵⁴⁰ The Canterbury and Hamilton Caledonian Societies’ activities have been pared back, but still include Highland Dancing, Scottish Country Dancing, and piping and drumming. Such activities are common to the other three societies, although the reduced activities of the Canterbury and Hamilton societies are a reflection of one of the paths that Scottish associationalism has taken in New Zealand.

In 2015 there were 85 Scottish country dance clubs and societies accredited to the Royal Scottish Country Dancing Society’s New Zealand branch and possibly more non-accredited clubs and dance groups.⁵⁴¹ Additionally, the Piping and Dancing Association of New Zealand claims that throughout the country ‘there are over 1,700 registered pipers and dancers, 60 Societies and over 200 competitions are held during the year.’⁵⁴² Many of these societies are involved in the country’s calendar of Highland Games dependent on funding and location. The CCSS website lists 16 Highland or Caledonian Games for 2016 and New Zealand’s annual pipe band championship in November.⁵⁴³ The organisation of many of these games lies with hybrid coalitions of Scottish associations, local businesses and local government entities. In addition, as the example of the Caledonian Society of Otago

[bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=ODT19111230.2.21&srpos=114&e=-1911---1912--100-ODT-101-byDA---0Caledonian+Society-ARTICLE-](http://paperspast.bic.org/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=ODT19111230.2.21&srpos=114&e=-1911---1912--100-ODT-101-byDA---0Caledonian+Society-ARTICLE-)

⁵³⁸ Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together*, p. 106.

⁵³⁹ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 175.

⁵⁴⁰ “Newsletter Number 20”, *Caledonian Society of Otago*, 14 April 2015.

<http://otagocaldoniansociety.blogtown.co.nz/newsletters/>

⁵⁴¹ RSCDSNZ, accessed 14 June 2015.

<http://www.rscdsnz.org.nz/stored/Web%20Directory%20Regions%20Clubs.pdf>

⁵⁴² The Piping and Dancing Association of New Zealand Inc., *About Us*, accessed 22 December 2015.

<http://www.piping-dancing.org.nz/about.htm>

⁵⁴³ CCSS, *Guide to Highland Games. Gatherings, Competitions and Festivals*, accessed 23 December 2015. <http://www.scottish.org.nz/HighlandGames.html>

demonstrates, dancing, piping and games displays are not an unusual feature of rural agricultural shows.

Added to this mix are the celebrations of Robert Burns' birth. According to Patterson et al the 'first celebration to be traced took place in Dunedin in 1855,' although Burns' and Scott's poetry would have been heard at the early St Andrew's functions as well and not just the obligatory 'To a Haggis'.⁵⁴⁴ At the 1840 St Andrew's dinner in Wellington one of the toasts proposed by the Chairman, George Hunter, was to 'the genius of Scotland, and especially her poesy and romance with a glimpse of her two brightest luminaries – Burns and Scott.'⁵⁴⁵ Today there are three New Zealand Burns clubs (in Auckland, Whanganui and Dunedin) currently affiliated with the Robert Burns World Foundation, although there are probably more than that throughout the country. In addition, the Caledonian societies, pipe bands, and many of the dance clubs and clan societies also hold dinners or suppers of their own, as do many other clubs and associations without an overtly Scottish affiliation.

The Dunedin-based Gaelic Society of New Zealand was founded in 1881, and there were Gaelic speaking communities in Turakina (settled by Scots in the 1850s) and most significantly in Waipu (settled by Nova Scotians of West Highland descent in the 1850s). Today only two Gaelic societies appear to remain active, the Auckland Gaelic Society and the Wellington Gaelic Club, and the two Gaelic-speaking communities are now English-speaking. In Waipu, this occurred through gradual dilution by English speaking incomers and most significantly because 'from the beginning education was in English.'⁵⁴⁶ Why one of the community's most significant markers of identity should have been relinquished so easily is difficult to fathom. In 1925, Gordon MacDonald, a Gaelic-speaking historian of Waipu⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁴ Robert Burns, *Poems*, eds. William Beattie and Henry W. Meikle (1947, repr., Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979), pp. 142-3.

⁵⁴⁵ "Commemoration of St Andrew", *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Volume I, Issue 34, 5 December 1840, Page 3. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=NZGWS18401205.2.8&srpos=1&e=-1839---1851--100--1-byDA--0Robert+Burns-ADVERTISEMENT%2cARTICLE->

⁵⁴⁶ Maureen Molloy, *Those Who Speak to the Heart: The Nova Scotian Scots at Waipu 1854-1920* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, 1991), p. 130.

⁵⁴⁷ Gordon MacDonald, *The Highlanders of Waipu or Echoes of 1745: A Scottish Odyssey* (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd., 1928).

lamented that Waipu's people were 'bi-linguists, and very shortly ... mono-linguists.'⁵⁴⁸ This was a refrain he reiterated in 1926 when he revisited his article for the *Auckland Star*, commenting that the 'first and second generations of the native-born Waipians speak Gaelic and English, but the school children of to-day are almost all entirely English speakers.'⁵⁴⁹ Maureen Molloy maintains that there 'was no intention to maintain Gaelic', which 'came to have symbolic rather than practical value.'⁵⁵⁰

There are still a number of Scottish societies in existence although many have transformed themselves from exclusively Scottish origins to focus on their pipe bands and Highland and Scottish country dancing.⁵⁵¹ Many have folded, such as the Jocks Society, the Wellington Association of Scots and the Caledonian societies, as have many of the regional or localised societies such as the Glasgow Society. However, some of these regional/localised societies have survived, such as the Shetland societies, of which seven are claimed to exist.⁵⁵² Some societies and pipe bands have combined, while others have moved away from their exclusively Scottish roots to survive and attract members, such as the Wellington Scottish Athletic Club.⁵⁵³

The reasons for the decline are three-fold. Firstly, there has been a sharp decline in the number of the Scottish-born in New Zealand and, as discussed below,

⁵⁴⁸ Gordon MacDonald, "The Highlanders of Waipu or Echoes of 1745: A Scottish Odyssey", *Northern Advocate*, 10 October 1925, p. 12. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=NA19251010.2.65&srpos=22&e=-1918---1928--100--1-byDA---0Waipu+gaelic-ARTICLE->

⁵⁴⁹ Gordon MacDonald, "The Highlanders of Waipu: Echoes of 1745: A Scottish Odyssey: Migration from Nova Scotia to Auckland", *Auckland Star*, Volume LVII, Issue 216, 11 September 1926, p. 27. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=AS19260911.2.195&srpos=29&e=-1918---1928--100--1-byDA---0Waipu+gaelic-ARTICLE->

⁵⁵⁰ Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, p. 130.

⁵⁵¹ See; "Chief's Message", *Manawatu Scottish Society*, accessed 23 December 2015. <http://www.manawatuscottishsociety.com/pages/Welcome.html>; "Scottish Society of New Zealand", *Community Information Christchurch*, accessed 23 December 2015, <http://www.cinch.org.nz/categories/a-z/s/905/entries/2160>

⁵⁵² Susan Buckland, "Scotland: The Shetland connection", *New Zealand Herald*, 24 November 2011. http://www.nzherald.co.nz/travel/news/article.cfm?c_id=7&objectid=10767872

⁵⁵³ "Wellington Scottish", *Wellington Scottish Athletics Club*, accessed 15 January 2016. <http://scottishathletics.org.nz/Home>

their engagement with traditional associational activities is limited. Secondly, there has been a shift in the nature and purpose of associationalism amongst the New Zealand-born, which associations have had to respond to or simply fold. Thirdly, alternative forms of associationalism have emerged, which have moved associationalism from the public to the private sphere.

On the surface, many of the older associations appear to have been targeted at the promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital, although the roles of Scottish associations in New Zealand are more nuanced than such a mono-causal interpretation. Bueltmann provides a useful typology for evaluating the behaviours of New Zealand's Scottish associations until 1930. She characterises Caledonian societies and Burns clubs as being more outwardly-orientated and inclusive, with their activities being vehicles for integration, while Gaelic societies, Scottish societies and other localised societies are more inwardly-oriented and exclusive, with activities as vehicles for ethnic identity.⁵⁵⁴ Importantly, she identifies them as being sites of memory, spaces 'in which memory, familiar cultural plots and myths [can] be asserted.'⁵⁵⁵ This means that in the context of the associations, the more exclusive they are, the more potent they are as sites of memory when compared to more inclusive associations, such as the Caledonian societies.

The model works well for pre-World War II associationalism, but as the numbers of New Zealand-born have increased, so associational foci have changed. Scottish societies have become more inclusive, and outward oriented. The dance clubs and pipe bands have a clear New Zealand community focus and are open to all irrespective of ethnic heritage, as are Burns celebrations. Gaelic societies remain exclusive, although this is on linguistic rather than ethnic grounds, while regional/localised societies retain a diminished exclusivity. For instance, the Shetland Society of Wellington describes itself as 'a group of people with an interest in Shetland – some of us were born there, some have a family connection, and others

⁵⁵⁴ Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity*, p. 121.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid, p.16.

are just “interested”.⁵⁵⁶ Pointedly, the society does not require members to evidence Shetland descent, and the same page acknowledges that ‘over time the focus of the Society has shifted as the flow of immigrants from Shetland has diminished.’⁵⁵⁷

The more inclusive associations become, the less potent they are as sites of memory, and in many cases the memories espoused do not strike a chord with new migrants. Senga Imrie comments of her time as secretary of Whanganui’s mainly multi-generational Scottish Society, that the members ‘believe in Scotland, and they are ... proud to be Scottish. But they think they know all there is to know about Scotland, and some of their ideas are wrong. If I try to say something different ... [I am told] I don't know what's happening. I don't know about Scotland.’⁵⁵⁸ As such, the societies no longer provide either a vehicle for identity or integration, and newer immigrants would empathise with Allan Main’s attitude towards them: ‘I’m neutral about it; if that’s important to people, by all means.’⁵⁵⁹ The number of the Scots-born has declined, and their numbers are thinly spread throughout the country. The lack of any significant concentrations has largely obviated the basis for exclusive migrant societies, and it is the multi-generational group that has been the catalyst of newer forms of associationalism.

The internet and the digitisation of birth, marriage and death records, census records, parish registers, phone books, and ship passenger lists have fuelled a global boom in family histories and heritage. Websites such as *ancestry*, *findmypast*, *The Genealogist*, and *familyrelatives* have burgeoned.⁵⁶⁰ In addition, *ScotlandsPeople*⁵⁶¹ provides access to Scotland’s statutory birth, marriage and death records, old Parish Registers, Catholic Registers, Census records from 1841 to 1911 and Valuation Rolls from 1855 to 1925. The take-up in genealogical/family history research has been

⁵⁵⁶ “About the Society”, *Shetland Society of Wellington*, accessed 23 December 2015.

<http://www.shetlandwellington.org.nz/about-the-shetland-society.html>

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Senga Imrie and Nancy Martin interview.

⁵⁵⁹ Allan Main, interview.

⁵⁶⁰ *ancestry*, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk/>; *findmypast*, <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/>; *The Genealogist*, <http://www.thegenealogist.co.uk/>; *family relatives*, <http://www.familyrelatives.com/>, all last accessed 15 February 2016.

⁵⁶¹ *ScotlandsPeople*, last accessed 15 February 2016. <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/>

phenomenal, and Paul Basu cites a 1999 *Scotland on Sunday* article which claims that ‘genealogy, or family history research ... is reckoned to be the second most common use of the internet (after pornography).’⁵⁶² The United Kingdom’s umbrella group, the Federation of Family History Societies, lists 179 member societies of which 20 are Australian societies, 3 Canadian, 3 American and 2 New Zealand. In addition, it also lists the Scottish Association of Family History Societies as a member, and this umbrella association has a further 35 full member societies and 7 associate societies, of which the New Zealand Society of Genealogists’ (NZSG) is one.

New Zealand’s family history research infrastructure is well developed, and a useful online guide is provided by the National Library of New Zealand.⁵⁶³ Individual research is supported by a number of societies and institutions, the largest and most prominent being the NZSG with approximately 1,900 members,⁵⁶⁴ and its Scottish Interest Group (SIG) with a membership fluctuating around 300 but peaking at 600 ‘a few years ago’.⁵⁶⁵ In addition, support is provided by regional societies such as the Christchurch based Family History Society of New Zealand, and local libraries like the Whanganui District Library, which manages the Alexander Heritage and Research Library. These are further supplemented by the work of regional museums like the Waipu Museum, which has built a database of ‘ninety-thousand something’⁵⁶⁶ from its 1980s starting point of an estimated 940 names collated in hand-written ledgers.⁵⁶⁷

The NZSG has 67 branches throughout the country⁵⁶⁸ and cannot be considered a small or loose association of amateur family history researchers. Rather, it is a sophisticated historical research society with its own central offices in

⁵⁶² Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, p. 2.

⁵⁶³ “Family History”, *National Library of New Zealand - Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa*, accessed 16 January 2016. <https://natlib.govt.nz/researchers/guides/family-history>

⁵⁶⁴ “Home”, *Facebook*, accessed 10 February 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/NZSocGen/>

⁵⁶⁵ Lois Fawcett (Secretary NZSG - SIG), e-mail message to author, 8 February 2016.

⁵⁶⁶ Margaret Gentil, interviewed by Iain Watson, 10 December 2014, interview transcript.

⁵⁶⁷ “Genealogy”, *Waipu Museum*, accessed 20 May 2015.

<http://www.waipumuseum.com/html/genealogy.htm>

⁵⁶⁸ “NZSG Branch Lists”, *New Zealand Society of Genealogists*, correct as at 12 October 2015.

http://www.genealogy.org.nz/NZSG-Branches_55.aspx

Manukau - South Auckland and a Family Research Centre in Panmure - Auckland, which includes a lending library with research resources. Between 1992 and 2005 the SIG compiled a register of Scottish-born New Zealand immigrants arriving before 1 January 1921, which ‘consists of over 7000 individual forms, completed primarily by the descendants of migrants,’⁵⁶⁹ and which has been used by historians to supplement and validate data from other sources.⁵⁷⁰

Concurrent with the growth of this interest in family histories has been an increased interest in clan societies. The Auckland District Scottish Clans Association maintains a website of contacts for 37 clans in New Zealand.⁵⁷¹ The Clan Donald Society provides a good example of how family history and genealogy have had an impact on clan societies. A Clan Donald society has been in existence in Invercargill, Southland since 1959, while an attempt to start a society in Otago in 1960 failed in 1962. However, as interest in genealogy increased, the Otago society was re-established in Dunedin in 1990. Other Clan Donald societies have since formed in Christchurch in 1991, Auckland in 1997, Wellington in 2007 and Hawke’s Bay in 2010.⁵⁷²

Increased levels of clan society activity appear to have occurred concurrently with family history research growth. Cathy Gunn alludes to this when talking of the motives of many who attended the Clan Gunn Gathering in 2012: ‘it was a real journey back to family they had never known’.⁵⁷³ The resultant growth in roots-tourism has attracted the attention of the Scottish Government, which in 2012 it estimated accounted for 213,000 trips at a value of GBP100 million, with the potential for a five-fold growth in the five years to 2017.⁵⁷⁴ However, the full impact of genealogy and family history research is still to be understood both in receiving

⁵⁶⁹ Rebecca Lenihan, *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand's Scots Migrants 1840–1920* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015), Kindle edition, Locations 3045-3048.

⁵⁷⁰ see Lenihan, *From Alba to Aotearoa* and Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*.

⁵⁷¹ “Scottish Clans Association Directory”, *Scottish Clans Association Auckland District Inc.*, accessed 20 January 2016. <http://www.scottishclans.co.nz/directory.htm>

⁵⁷² “Welcome to Clan Donald”, *Clan Donald New Zealand*, accessed 15 January 2016. <http://clandonald.org.nz/index.html>

⁵⁷³ Cathy Gunn, interview.

⁵⁷⁴ “In search of relative success (From Herald Scotland)”, *heraldscotland*, 5 June 2013. http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/13107927.In_search_of_relative_success/

and sending countries. The phenomenon is still in its first iteration, and how the fruits of current research are used and interpreted by subsequent generations is still to be determined. As with identity selection there is no preordained process structured along primordial ancestral lines for the researcher to follow. Individuals may have a number of ethnic lines to pursue, and in the Scottish context, this may be a choice between Border, Lowland or Highland strands. Yet, the jumping-off point is a matter of individual choice, akin to identity selection. In addition, genealogy is not the preserve of those of Scottish descent, but a growing global interest amongst those able to access the relevant records.

In the previous chapter, it was noted in Sandi Black's testimony that there was a prioritisation of Scottish genealogical activity amongst researchers visiting the Whanganui Regional Museum.⁵⁷⁵ While there may be an element of bias in the narrative given the context of the interview, it does at least demonstrate that Scottish family history research is a common activity. Those most interested in their genealogy appear to be the multi-generational group. Sue Broad, whose father was born in Scotland and whose New Zealand-born mother was of English parentage, recalls her parents using New Zealand identities and raising her as a New Zealander. However, in 1994 she and her husband moved to Dunedin for 7 years, and this appears to have prompted her interest in her Scottish genealogy. This interest resulted firstly in a visit with her mother to England in 2000 'to see where her mother had lived'.⁵⁷⁶ Then in 2003 after more research Sue returned to Scotland, and met with members of her grandfather's sister's family in Glasgow, one of whom 'was excited to learn that on the other side of the world, he had got blood relations too'.⁵⁷⁷

In contrast migrant interest in genealogy seems limited. Joyce Sillars demonstrates this in a passage from her interview, identifying her nephew in Scotland as the one who had taken to family genealogy. Her comments also usefully highlight the issue of choice as to ethnic starting points:

⁵⁷⁵ Sandi Black, interview.

⁵⁷⁶ Sue Broad, interview.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

He's my sister's son. His father's family are actually from Denmark, they're from Copenhagen. He became very interested, I think particularly on the Danish side, so he has learnt Danish and done a lot of research there. So he's working his way through all the different sides of the family and going into it in great depth. So I've given up my small bit that I started to do, because I didn't really see any point. It's so much more difficult to do it from this side of the world.⁵⁷⁸

This split in levels of engagement is also evident within relationships. After retirement from their fruit orchard business, Margaret Miller, a second-generation New Zealander of Scottish descent, took a course in genealogy and would go to the Genealogy Centre in Nelson while Bert, the migrant, would 'go to a German class at Nayland College, which is ... just across the road'.⁵⁷⁹

Whereas the Caledonian societies and their like have faded, their roles as sites of memory have been assumed by a different form of associationalism, in the form of family history and genealogy research. However, where the societies preserved a generic and sometimes romanticised memory of Scotland, these new sites of memory are very much more individual. While findings can be shared in forums run by the NZSG, they are primarily personal, and as such each family tree is an even more potent site of memory than the exclusive associations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What will become of the stories collected, and how they are used or shared by future generations is difficult to anticipate, but they could provide historians with an as yet untapped source of material from which to interpret history from below.

6.2.2 The Scottish Associational Landscape of Hong Kong

In contrast, Hong Kong's associational landscape has been relatively stable. Associationalism has been dominated by the Hong Kong St Andrew's Society (HKSAS), whose membership in February 2016 stood at 557.⁵⁸⁰ While formally

⁵⁷⁸ Joyce Sillars, interview.

⁵⁷⁹ Margaret Miller, interviewed by Iain Watson, 13 July 2014, interview transcript.

⁵⁸⁰ Alan Dalglish (Vice-Chieftain 2016/17, HKSAS), e-mail message to author, 25 February 2016.

founded in 1881,⁵⁸¹ in all likelihood an informal society was arranging functions prior to the HKSAS's formal establishment, and a report of an 1867 dinner states that it was held 'under the auspices of the St. Andrews Society.'⁵⁸² Furthermore, the Royal Society of St George traces its origins to 1868 'when the Society competed against the St. Andrews Society for the Shanghai Golf Cup.'⁵⁸³ Indeed, the Society's history states that St Andrew's dinners had taken place initially in Canton in the 1830s and were probably annual affairs. By the 1850s celebrations were being held in Hong Kong at Jardine Matheson & Company's offices in East Point (modern Causeway Bay) before moving to the Hong Kong Club in the 1860s.⁵⁸⁴

The HKSAS makes the claim that these early dinners became an annual ball from 1877, with the ball 'coming under the auspices of the newly formed Society' in 1882.⁵⁸⁵ However, there are indications that the Society was still arranging dinners after this date and as the tone of this newspaper report, in the form of a biblical parody suggests, they were convivial events:

1. For it came to pass in the year one thousand eight hundred and four score and eight ... certain wise men from a far country beyond the great Tweed ... assembled themselves together, and they said one to another ... let us remember our brethren whom we have left ...
7. And, behold a great feast was prepared.⁵⁸⁶

The purpose of these early dinners is difficult to fathom. The 1888 dinner appears to have been a social event targeted at networking amongst Scots and their guests and enhancing social ties, as was the 1867 dinner when after 'a sumptuous banquet ... hot punch was brewed from the pure "mountain dew," and flowed

⁵⁸¹ HKSAS, "Overview". <http://www.standrewshk.org/en/page/overview>

⁵⁸² "The St. Andrews Dinner", *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 2 December 1867, p. 2. <http://tinyurl.com/jru3phs>

⁵⁸³ "History", *The Royal Society of St. George, Hong Kong Branch*, accessed 21 January 2016. <http://www.stgeorghk.com/index.php/about-us/history/>

⁵⁸⁴ HKSAS, "St Andrew's Dinners", accessed 14 October 2013. <http://www.standrewshk.org/en/page/st-andrews-dinner>.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ Bonaccord, "Ye Chronicle of St. Andrew", *The China Mail*, 9 February 1889, p. 4. <http://tinyurl.com/zjsutqv>

without limit ... [while] a steady flow of speech and song continued to enliven the company'.⁵⁸⁷ In contrast, the HKSAS records the 1871 dinner as being 'a more staid affair' with a speech given by the Congregationalist missionary, the Reverend Dr. Legge on 'the literary worthies of Scotland'.⁵⁸⁸ This interpretation may well be correct as Legge's lecture on John Knox at the Union Church on 29 November 1871, in which he described Knox as 'a boon to the world' and encouraged his listeners to 'receive a new impulse to follow his [Knox's] faith',⁵⁸⁹ suggests that conviviality may not have been appropriate at this dinner.

Attendance at these early dinners appear to have been in the low hundreds and the number of non-Scots guests is not discernible, but the newspaper reports tend to reference a theme of Scottish brotherhood, implying that they were Scottish networking forums. In contrast, the St Andrews Ball appears to have fulfilled a different purpose. Buettner addressing celebrations of Scottish identity in Imperial India, argues that they 'acquired social and political dimensions that went far beyond the celebration of a romanticised vision of Scotland among expatriates'.⁵⁹⁰ The same appears to hold true for Hong Kong, and the St Andrew's Ball rapidly became one of the most important events of the expatriate social calendar. The inaugural 1877 ball was greeted with acclaim and described as 'one of the most successful assemblies of the kind ever given in this Colony'.⁵⁹¹ The following year, the ball was said to have 'worthily inaugurated "the Season" in this colony'.⁵⁹²

While the function was not the only society Ball, reports in the Colony's press often benchmarked other events against the St Andrew's Ball: 'The ball given by the English residents of the Colony at the City Hall on Wednesday evening was a fitting sequel of the memorable display made by the followers of the guid Sanct Andrew two months ago ... reciprocity for the oft-repeated hospitality of the St.

⁵⁸⁷ "The St. Andrews Dinner", *Hong Kong Daily Press*.

⁵⁸⁸ HKSAS, "St Andrew's Dinners".

⁵⁸⁹ "Lecture at the Union Church" *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 30 November 1871, p. 2.

<http://tinyurl.com/j2otnd7>

⁵⁹⁰ Elizabeth Buettner, "Haggis in the Raj: Private and Public Celebrations of Scottishness in Late Imperial India", *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume LXXXI, 2: No. 212 (2000), p. 221.

⁵⁹¹ "St. Andrew's Ball, 1877", *The China Mail*, 1 December 1877, p. 3. <http://tinyurl.com/hvfwheh>

⁵⁹² "St. Andrew's Ball, 1878", *The China Mail*, 30 November 1878, p. 5. <http://tinyurl.com/zbeo44a>

Andrew's Society.⁵⁹³ Nor have the years dulled these sentiments, as David Hamilton's testimony reflects:

Yes, there's a St George's night, but there was never a St George's do per se, on the same sort of scale. There was never a Welsh night. There was a St Patrick's night. That was the same everywhere I was. In fact, in both Kuwait and Abu Dhabi, there were no English celebrations at all. English people would vie to get invited to these Scottish nights and enjoy it very much.⁵⁹⁴

It is easy to see these events as the promotion of Scottish ethno-culturalism, and to a large extent they were. However, similar to Buettner's Indian analysis, they served a wider purpose and became an integral part of British colonial life in Hong Kong. They were inclusive events, at least for European expatriates, and in addition to promoting Scottish ethno-cultural capital, they were venues for articulating colonial values, such as an equal brotherhood with other Britons, loyalty to the crown and commitment to the Imperial project. An article in the *Hong Kong Daily Press* on St Andrew's Day 1915 articulates this perfectly: 'When at last they came to join hands, instead of joining issue, with those across the border it was as equals and not as vassals. Since that day they have ever been loyal to the common cause, and have contributed their full share in blood and brain to its advancement.'⁵⁹⁵

Even in the extreme adversity of the Japanese occupation (1941-45) and internment in the civilian camp at Stanley, these values are apparent in the 1942 St Andrews Day celebrations (Figure 6.1). The programme included the one-act play, *Campbell of Kilmohr*,⁵⁹⁶ a Jacobite tale of loyalty and betrayal in the face of an oppressive and devious regime. The play's message, that one should remain loyal and wary of the false promises of one's oppressors, would have found resonance with the camp's inmates, irrespective of ethnicity.

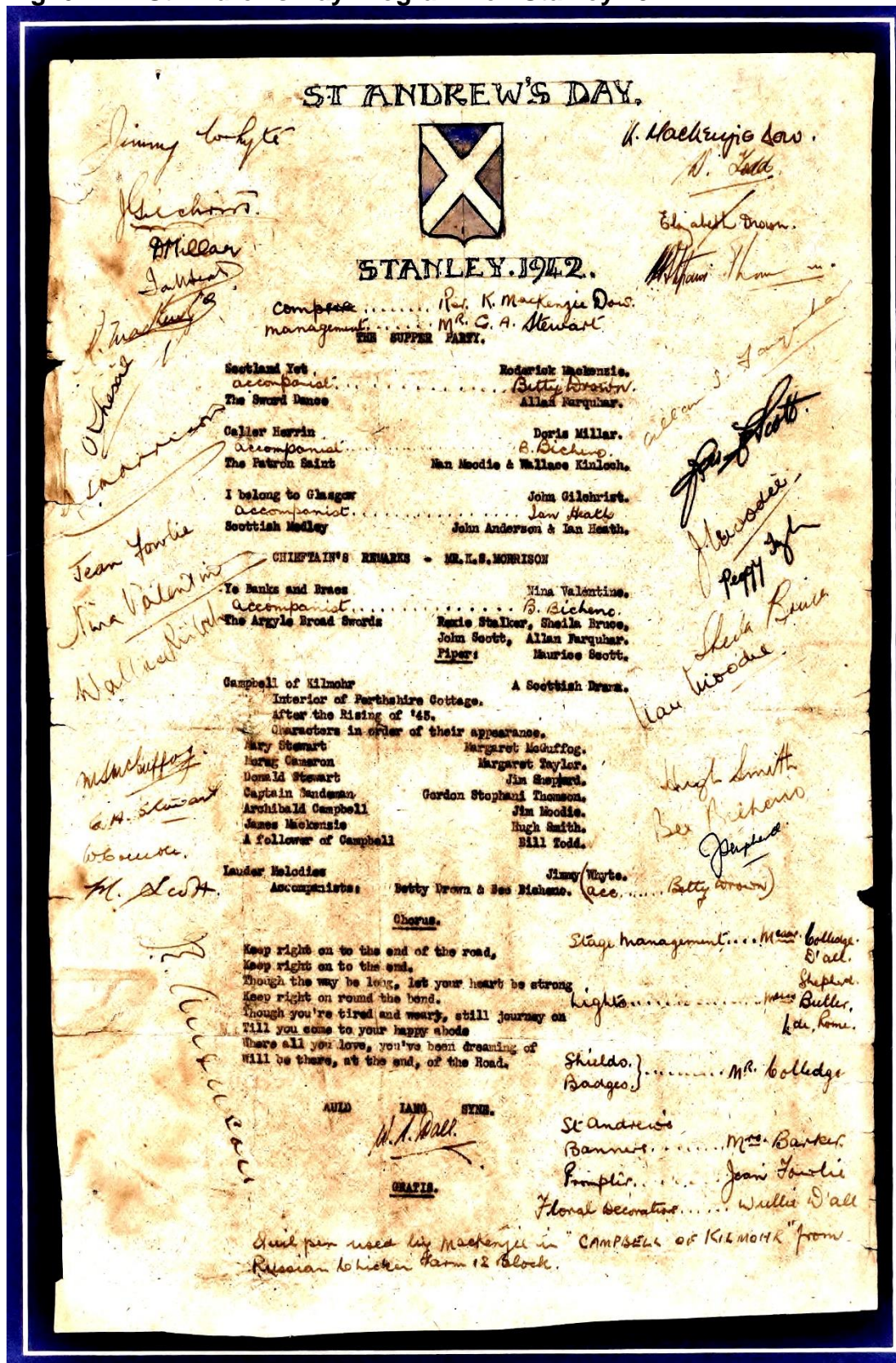
⁵⁹³ "The English Carnival", *The Hong Kong Telegraph*, 25 January 1895, p. 2. <http://tinyurl.com/hwgoox4>

⁵⁹⁴ David Hamilton, interview.

⁵⁹⁵ "Scotland For Ever", *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 30 November 1915, p. 4. <http://tinyurl.com/hxduxgf>

⁵⁹⁶ J. A. Ferguson, "Campbell of Kilmohr" in *Eight Modern Plays*, ed. John Hampden (1946; repr., London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1927), pp. 125-144.

Fig. 6.1: St Andrews Day Programme - Stanley 1942



Source; Alan McTaggart (Chieftain HKSAS 2012/13), e-mail message to author, 3 May 2013. (Image adjusted by author for legibility).

Perhaps the most inclusive of Scottish events in Hong Kong are those celebrating the birth of Robert Burns, as this 1895 newspaper advertisement implies:

On Friday night, 'Burns' Anniversary', all Scotsmen who owe allegiance to their national poet will have the opportunity of partaking of an essentially Scottish dinner at the Hongkong Hotel. We have seen the *menu* which the manager, Mr E. J. Richardson, has prepared, and can recommend it to residents of all nationalities.⁵⁹⁷

Burns' nights and suppers are celebrated throughout Hong Kong. The largest and arguably most prestigious is hosted by the HKSAS, and remains an all-male function. However, like the Hongkong Hotel's 1895 dinner above, there are many other clubs and societies that celebrate the poet's birth date, including the Hong Kong Football Club, Kowloon Cricket Club, Hong Kong Cricket Club, Ladies Recreation Club, Royal Commonwealth Society, Hong Kong Highlanders and the Hong Kong Police. A number of these Burns' nights or suppers are arranged to both satisfy demand for those unable to attend the HKSAS supper and to provide venues for mixed gender events.

Ian Seabourne highlights this demand, commenting that in the 1980s the Royal Hong Kong Police 'developed our own Burns' Society, because [the] St Andrew's [society] always had the Burns' Night'.⁵⁹⁸ The police function like the HKSAS's is an all-male event and in interview, Fiona Donnelly, the first female chieftain of the HKSAS (2009/10), outlined how it was that despite two female chieftains in the new millennium the event remained male:

I think I was 114th Chieftain. I figure you don't win friends by being the first [female chieftain] ... taking away their favourite toy. So I just decided that if it took them 114 years to get a lassie, do you know what, we'll maybe allow them a handful more years to get that mixed. I'm sure it will happen at some stage.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁷ *The China Mail*, 23 January 1895, p. 2. <http://tinyurl.com/hqjo7xo>

⁵⁹⁸ Ian Seabourne, interview.

⁵⁹⁹ Fiona Donnelly, interview.

The HKSAS allows its members two non-Scots guests while events without the HKSAS are open to all members of those societies or clubs irrespective of ethnicity. Nor do variations in the numbers of Scots appear to have diminished demand. For instance, the Police Burns' Night continues:

Even though there are only ... 50 Scots, or maybe ... 30 Scots left, they still have an annual Burns' Night, although the chief there at the moment is an English guy. They're struggling for a Scots guy to do it, but it's still there, and it's a sought-after ticket.⁶⁰⁰

Burns' celebrations across Hong Kong are not just the preserve of Scottish expatriates. Burns' wit and irreverence, his criticism of hypocrisy, his belief in a just reward, his romanticism, and most of all his celebration of brotherhood and social equality speak to a global audience. In Hong Kong, non-Scottish associations engage with Burns' Night. For instance, Hong Kong's Ohel Leah Synagogue holds an annual Burns' Night celebration where it was reported that 'their brave attempts at a Scots accent were almost successful!'⁶⁰¹ Nor are Burns' celebrations an exception, St Patrick's day celebrations being similarly non-exclusive.

Also inclusive is country dance. A core part of the St. Andrew's Ball, dance has a wide appeal. The Reel Club was established in 1947 'by the then minister of Union Church with the intention of providing British servicemen with wholesome entertainment and keeping them away from less salubrious areas of Hong Kong'.⁶⁰² However, since 1997 the Reel Club has been affiliated to the dance-orientated Hong Kong Highlanders which has a current membership of 50-60.⁶⁰³ The date of the affiliation is an interesting one as it coincides with a growth in the numbers of associations, and a more interlocking Scottish associational landscape.

⁶⁰⁰ Ian Seabourne, interview.

⁶⁰¹ "Burns Night, Hong Kong Style", *Jewish Times Asia*, accessed 14 February 2014.
<http://www.jewishtimesasia.org/regional-news-topmenu-53/500-2013-03/2529-burns-night-hong-kong-style>

⁶⁰² HKH, "The Hong Kong Highlanders Reel Club", accessed 5 January 2016.
<http://www.hkhighlanders.com/new-page-2/>

⁶⁰³ HKH, e-mail message to author, 27 January 2016.

Anthony Ho notes that '[p]iping competitions came to an end in 1995 because piping began to decline in the general community as British regiments began to depart from Hong Kong'.⁶⁰⁴ Prior to 1997, pipe bands had followed the British military model, and were distributed amongst the Hong Kong Government's disciplined services. Significant amongst these, and still in existence, are the Hong Kong Police Pipe Band⁶⁰⁵ and the two Correctional Services Department Pipe Bands, which both include inmates. Other bands with government links include the Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Pipe Band, the Civil Aid Service Pipe Band and the Auxiliary Medical Service Pipe Band, all of which are no longer subsidised by the government. In addition, there is a number of private bands which have a disciplined hue, including the Boys' Brigade, Sea Scouts, Air Cadets, the Scouts and the St. John's Ambulance Service. The very nature of these bands, and their martial uniforms, has meant that pipe music was 'firmly associated with officialdom and colonial authority' in the minds of the Hong Kong public.⁶⁰⁶ As the People's Liberation Army does not have a pipe band, this perception has diminished, and the break-up of many of the disciplined services bands has resulted in pipers and drummers without bands, prompting a growth in unaffiliated pipe bands.

These unaffiliated bands include the Hong Kong St Andrew's Pipe Band, the Red Tartan Pipe Band and the Oriental Pipes and Drums. Additionally, their repertoires have moved away from the martial marching music to include other musical styles such as the *Piobaireachd*, which is 'less known in Hong Kong, as it is seldom performed and is not conducive to public ceremony.'⁶⁰⁷ This growth has seen the 2008 formation of the Hong Kong Scottish Piping and Drumming Association with the goal of helping 'pipers and drummers in Hong Kong to reach higher standards, as soloists and in bands.'⁶⁰⁸ Indeed, since 1997 a number of other associations have been formed, such as the Hong Kong Scottish Rugby Club (2011)

⁶⁰⁴ Anthony Ho Wai-chung, "The Highland bagpipe in Hong Kong: a study of its role, function and development." (MPhil Thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2001), p. 140.

⁶⁰⁵ "Police Band", *Hong Kong Police Force*, accessed 25 November 2015.

http://www.police.gov.hk/ppp_en/07_police_college/ftc_pb.html

⁶⁰⁶ Ho, *The Highland bagpipe in Hong Kong*, p. 131.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 127.

⁶⁰⁸ "Chairman's Message", *The Hong Kong Piping and Drumming Association*, accessed 25 November 2015. <http://www.hkspda.org/chairmans-message.html>

and the Chinese language medium Hong Kong Scottish Country Dance Group. Arguably, as the colonial dimension has faded, the associational landscape has become less regimented. In addition, there have been an increasing number of co-operative enterprises between Hong Kong's Scottish associations. A visit to the Hong Kong St Andrew's Pipe Band's Facebook page includes flyers for various associational events, including the Reel Club's St Andrew's Day celebrations at which the band was to perform.⁶⁰⁹

The HKSAS has not been immune to change. Women were first admitted as members in 1997, and the reasons for their inclusion are probably twofold. Firstly, the colonial hierarchies and structures of pre-1997 Hong Kong had been eroded since the 1984 announcement of the return of Hong Kong to China. Additionally, those who remained in the post-colonial period saw no need to perpetuate colonial structures. Secondly, the number of Scots in Hong Kong is estimated to have fallen by nearly 32 per cent between 1991 and 2001 (Table 2.9), which resulted in a fall in membership numbers. The Society's response was to open membership to women and reduce the levels of exclusivity by opening the list to anyone with a Scottish affinity: 'a strong interest in or connection with Scotland'.⁶¹⁰ Additionally, there were precedents throughout the region: for instance the Singapore St Andrews Society has had eight female Chieftains since 1998/99. In comparison the HKSAS still retains a male orientation, with only two female Chieftains: Fiona Donnelly (2009/10) and Jacqui Donaldson (2011/12), since membership was opened to women. Fiona Donnelly describes the HKSAS as having been 'an old boys club ... It used to be a real Jardines and Bank [HSBC] ghetto. ... I think it was very much a career enabler ... very crusty. It's ... why I didn't join when I first came over [in 1995] ... I'd just heard bad things'.⁶¹¹ This is in stark contrast to the way she views the Society today:

⁶⁰⁹ "Hong Kong St Andrew's Pipe Band," *Facebook*, posted 26 November 2015.

<https://www.facebook.com/HKStAPB/timeline>

⁶¹⁰ HKSAS, "Membership", accessed 14 June 2013.

<http://www.standrewshk.org/en/page/membership-overview>

⁶¹¹ Fiona Donnelly, interview.

it's now more social. We still have the formula events ... you want them to stay, but we're just trying to insert other things ... there are less-formal drinks on a six-weekly basis. So it's more social. It's not as intimidating. It's a younger crowd that are coming along, ... a big hug that's just waiting there for you. It's up to you to take from that what you want, if it's just somebody to go and have a can of Irn Bru with fine, or if you want to milk it for business purposes fine.

Hopefully we're getting the balance right between preserving the tradition ... and the gravitas of the organisation, but hopefully we're knocking a few crusty bits off the sides and just making it more relevant for today.⁶¹²

The HKSAS has also coordinated its activities with other associations. For instance, Stewart Saunders was both the HKSAS Chieftain in 2014/15 and the Chairman of Hong Kong Scottish Rugby Club from 2012 to 2015. The two associations combined resources and promoted the Hong Kong Scottish Day event in September 2015 (Figure 6.2). The main driver for these co-ordinated activities has been to ensure that membership numbers are sufficient enough to ensure the survival of associationalism in Hong Kong as a space for networking and ethno-cultural capital promotion. Stewart Saunders, re-emphasising Fiona Donnelly's sentiments, notes that while 'membership is still growing, ... we're [still] having to reinvent ourselves ... We've got to bring in younger people, with younger ideas, to get the young people involved who have a link with Scotland, to get married couples with children, to do something with kids as well.'⁶¹³

Interestingly, these changes have coincided with the change in Hong Kong's governance, with tradition being a feature of the colonial period. This would seem to suggest similarities to Buettner's argument for a political dimension to Imperial India's associationalism, which as the Raj was drawing to its close 'relied upon their traditional elements dating from the late nineteenth century in ways that were meant to make the significant changes taking place ... in the context of ... the wider Imperial arena appear less abrupt ... [helping participants] to cope with and understand the altered political terrain.'⁶¹⁴

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Stewart Saunders, interview.

⁶¹⁴ Buettner, *Haggis in the Raj*, pp. 236-7.

Fig 6.2: Hong Kong Scottish Day Flyer



The flyer is for 'Hong Kong Scottish Day' and features a central text area surrounded by logos and illustrations. At the top left is the HK St Andrew's Society crest, and at the top right is the Hong Kong Scottish lion logo. A banner of colorful pennants is positioned above the main title. The central text provides details about the event, including the time, date, location, and activities. At the bottom left is an illustration of Scottish dancers, and at the bottom right is the Scotland national flag logo with the website address.

HK ST ANDREW'S SOCIETY

Mini Highland Games

Hong Kong Scottish Day

Please join us for a fun filled day

12:30 - 17:30
Saturday 5th September 2015
King's Park, Ho Man Tin

Entertainment

12 Rugby Teams

Mass Pipes & Drums, Highland Dancers,
Toss the caber, face painting,
bouncy castle and lots more!

F&B and Scottish fare available !

 **SCOTLAND**
www.scotland.cn

Source; "Hong Kong St Andrew's Society", Facebook, posted 2 September 2015. <https://www.facebook.com/hkstandrews/>

HKSAS celebrations had traditionally been attended by high-ranking colonial government officials, either as members or guests and sometimes as speakers, especially at the HKSAS's annual Burns' Supper, where Sir Philip Haddon-Cave (Financial Secretary 1971-81 and Chief Secretary 1981-85) and Sir John Bremridge (Financial Secretary 1981-86) both spoke in the 1980s. Since 1997 any political capital to be made from HKSAS activities has largely gone, but then so has the rigidity of the HKSAS's traditions, while a more diverse associational culture more responsive to sojourner needs has come to the fore.

Fiona and Stewart's observations and the flyer also highlight a fundamental difference between associationalism in New Zealand and Hong Kong. Hong Kong's is managed and run by sojourners for sojourning migrants and responds to their needs. As a result, for the majority of Hong Kong interviewees, Hong Kong's associationalism remains relevant. In contrast, New Zealand migrants find that associationalism is in the hands of the multi-generational cohort and has limited relevance or value to them, other than as a means of preserving and promoting Scottish ethno-cultural capital in New Zealand society.

6.2.3 New Zealand Migrant Engagement Levels and Attitudes towards Scottish Associationalism

In the previous section it was argued that New Zealand's associationalism, in the hands of the multi-generational cohort, is less attractive to newer migrants, and can appear to be too anachronistic and too rooted in a romanticised or imagined Scottish past to be relevant to the needs of the modern migrant. However, is this conclusion necessarily true, or are migrant perceptions more nuanced? In comparison, Hong Kong's sojourner-driven associationalism, freed from the traditional rigidity of the colonial period, appears to have experienced greater acceptance and engagement amongst migrants. Such a narrative would also suggest that associational engagement levels would be similar amongst New Zealand's multi-generational group and Hong Kong's sojourners, and Table 6.1, comparing associational membership amongst the survey groups, indicates this to be the case:

Table 6.1: Associational Membership

Are you a member of a Scottish association?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	65	65.0%	19	36.5%	118	66.7%	202	61.4%
No	35	35.0%	33	63.5%	59	33.3%	127	38.6%

Sources: BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Care should be taken with these numbers as associational groups were the main distribution channels for the surveys. However, in light of this, the low membership levels of New Zealand migrants is particularly telling. That said, the table does support the premise that Hong Kong migrants are likely to be more engaged with associationalism than New Zealand migrants.

Yet despite lower engagement levels, when asked if they believed that Scottish associations were too traditional to be relevant, 42 per cent of New Zealand migrants did not necessarily agree:

Table 6.2: Are Scottish Associations too Traditional for the 21st Century?

Scottish associations are too traditional to be relevant in the 21st century.	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly agree	3	3.0%	2	3.8%	3	1.7%	8	2.4%
Partially agree	18	18.0%	16	30.8%	31	17.5%	65	19.8%
Neither	24	24.0%	11	21.2%	40	22.6%	75	22.8%
Partially disagree	26	26.0%	14	26.9%	42	23.8%	82	24.9%
Strongly disagree	26	26.0%	8	15.4%	48	27.1%	82	24.9%
Prefer not to answer	3	3.0%	1	1.9%	13	7.3%	17	5.2%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Numbers for the multi-generational and Hong Kong cohorts are again fairly similar, with just 20 per cent to 21 per cent agreeing and 51 per cent to 52 per cent disagreeing. Excluding the 'Neither' and 'Prefer not to answer' responses, the survey splits for Hong Kong migrants (29:71 per cent) and the multi-generational

group (27.73 per cent) are fairly close to the distribution of associational membership. There is, however, clearly sufficient doubt (including those who responded ‘Neither’) amongst 45 per cent of all surveyed as to the relevance of Scottish associations.

Interestingly, despite the low associational engagement of the New Zealand migrant cohort, only 35 per cent believe associations to be too traditional to be relevant. One reason for this is that while many migrant interviewees eschew participation in Scottish associationalism, a small majority of migrants appear to believe that it has some value for new migrants (Table 6.3). Indeed, the migrant relationship with and interpretation of associationalism is often a conflicted one.

Table 6.3: Are Scottish Associations Important to New Scottish Migrants?

Scottish associations are important to new Scottish migrants.	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly agree	28	28%	9	17.3%	36	20.3%	73	22.2%
Partially agree	45	45%	21	40.4%	68	38.4%	134	40.7%
Neither	15	15%	18	34.6%	50	28.3%	83	25.2%
Partially disagree	6	6%	2	3.85%	5	2.8%	13	4.0%
Strongly disagree	0	0%	0	0.0%	2	1.1%	2	0.6%
Prefer not to answer	6	6%	2	3.85%	16	9.1%	24	7.3%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Apart from those involved in pipe bands, most interviewees reflected Tom Dodd’s attitude towards associations: ‘The tartan, pipe bands and all that, ... was not really my thing.’⁶¹⁵ It would appear that migrants link tartanry, pipe bands and Caledonian societies with associationalism, yet many partake in other Scottish social pursuits, which they do not necessarily view as an associational behaviour. For Tom Dodd it is ‘a fondness for Robbie Burns’, a sentiment shared with Alexandra Bruce in Auckland who regularly attends ‘Burns’ Association [meetings for] ... two hours

⁶¹⁵ Tom Dodd, interview.

every two months,⁶¹⁶ and Mike and Lorraine Dolling, members of the Whanganui Burns' Club. Others participate in Scottish Country Dancing, Anne Bowden went for 'a wee while',⁶¹⁷ as did Joe Dodd's wife. John and Jean Hanna, in addition to their Whanganui Burns Society commitment, also formed 'a group called the *Highlanders* ... and we made a CD of Scottish music and played for all sorts of people; rest homes and concerts'.⁶¹⁸

In addition, there are other avenues for practising Scottishness, which may not be perceived to be associational behaviours. This perception appears to connect the associations with the romanticised Highlandist imagery of Scotland, which Allan Main steers clear of, commenting that 'I can get my social buzz from my whisky club, so I can create my own Scottishness'.⁶¹⁹ Others engage in different ways without necessarily considering their engagement to be associational. For instance, Cathy Gunn edits the Clan Gunn newsletter while Anne Bowden joined the Clan Johnstone society, although her engagement was limited: 'I get the newsletter and I went to their thing here in Auckland but I haven't been to anything else. But I quite enjoy reading the newsletter and stuff.'⁶²⁰ Senga Imrie was secretary of the Scottish Society in Whanganui and her daughter Nancy, was the treasurer.

Yet, even those who are involved in clan and Scottish societies are circumspect about their relevance. Cathy Gunn comments that 'there is something about culture freezing at the point in time when people emigrate, and what ... people brought to New Zealand were the bagpipes, the Highland Games and the Burns' suppers. ... A lot of other things have happened since then, but they haven't really come here.'⁶²¹ Senga Imrie is similarly taxed by the multi-generational cohort's preconceptions of being Scottish: 'they have different ideas, [and believe] ... their ideas are correct ... they are headstrong in that.'⁶²²

⁶¹⁶ Alexandra Bruce, interview.

⁶¹⁷ Anne Bowden, interview.

⁶¹⁸ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

⁶¹⁹ Allan Main, interview.

⁶²⁰ Anne Bowden, interview.

⁶²¹ Cathy Gunn, interview.

⁶²² Senga Imrie and Nancy Martin, interview.

The discussion thus far has highlighted the complexity of associationalism in New Zealand, which contrasts with the simpler associational landscape in Hong Kong. Additionally, Hong Kong's associations provide spheres for networking and the promotion of ethno-cultural and social capital. In contrast, New Zealand migrants are faced with a disparate landscape, which does not provide them with the same networking or social capital opportunities.

6.3 Migrant Networking

Those survey respondents, who were, or had been, members of Scottish associations, were asked to provide reasons for associational participation and were offered a tick list of responses from which they could select a maximum of two responses (Table 6.4). The results reflect the conclusion of the previous section with 49.4 per cent of Hong Kong migrant responses identifying their associationalism with networking opportunities and social activities compared to just 18.7 per cent for New Zealand migrants and only 10 per cent of the multi-generational group. With only 37 per cent of the New Zealand migrants being members of associations (Table 6.1), the 18.7 per cent figure is a low number indeed. However, this number may be tempered with less overt forms of associationalism, such as Burns' celebrations and country dance, which migrants may not consider to be associational.

These forms of alternative associationalism such as Allan Main's whisky club serve to promote Scottish ethno-cultural capital in an inclusive environment where other participants need not be Scottish. Mike Dolling notes that the Whanganui Burns club provides a similar function, as well as providing his wife and himself with a fun social outlet: 'We enjoy [it] – and ... a lot of spouses aren't ... Scottish, [and] there are Scottish ladies with Kiwi spouses. ... [and] we've got Māori

people'.⁶²³ Nor would he participate if it were a serious literary society as 'I wouldn't think Robert Burns would be there either.'⁶²⁴

Table 6.4: Reasons for Associational Participation

What are your reasons for participating [in Scottish associations]?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
An interest in Scottish History	6	6.5%	10	23.3%	49	18.2%	65	16.0%
An interest in Scottish Culture	18	19.4%	10	23.3%	43	15.9%	71	17.5%
An interest in Scottish Affairs	8	8.6%	3	7.0%	10	3.7%	21	5.2%
An interest in family history/genealogy	3	3.2%	9	20.9%	107	39.6%	119	29.3%
To help preserve Scottish Culture	4	4.3%	1	2.3%	10	3.7%	15	3.7%
To preserve Scottish identity in my family	8	8.6%	2	4.6%	24	8.9%	34	8.4%
Networking	15	16.1%	2	4.6%	9	3.3%	26	6.4%
Social activities	31	33.3%	6	14.0%	18	6.7%	55	13.5%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

The lower levels of engagement with associationalism amongst New Zealand migrants suggests that they look elsewhere to develop their social capital. The following section will ascertain whether this is the case and what the nature of those networks are. In Hong Kong, migrants are more engaged with associationalism, but does this necessarily limit their networking activities, or do they develop alternative networks?

⁶²³ Mike and Lorraine Dolling, interview.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

6.3.1 Networking amongst New Zealand Migrants and the Impact of OE

For some migrants, associations or alternative associational behaviours may not be readily available. While Cathy Gunn now edits the Clan Gunn newsletter, her initial networks were not overtly Scottish. Initially, hers was a work related network: 'I had the beginnings of a couple of networks already when I came here because I had met somebody from the University of Auckland at a conference [in the U.K.].'⁶²⁵ Although, as she intimates, however, that being Scottish may have helped: 'the work network was something that grew really quickly thanks to her. She's a Graham. I mean, her family are all Scottish from a few generations back as well. That wasn't the reason for the ties, but it was an interesting point.'⁶²⁶ In addition: she 'had been sharing a house with a solo mum in Edinburgh who was a New Zealander. There were friends of hers who I had met in Scotland, who were, by that time, back here, so I quite quickly got into a social network through those people.'⁶²⁷

In the absence of ethnic networks, work or professional networks are important for migrants. Alex Loggie observes that when settling into life in New Zealand he 'always had that escape of work.'⁶²⁸ For Mary Earle her initial network was her husband's large family but when she started working at Massey University she began to establish networks of her own. With an expertise in food technology, which was in its infancy in New Zealand, she found that people came to her: 'So I started building up ... these industrial contacts.'⁶²⁹ Anne Bowden, with her naval husband away at sea and alone with her infant son, found herself 'going spare talking to a two-year old and using words of one syllable.'⁶³⁰ However, this changed when she took a job in a Teachers' College library where she met 'some wonderful people ... And we started a Children's Literature Association and ... I was on the Social Committee at work and things.'⁶³¹ She then expanded her networks by enhancing

⁶²⁵ Cathy Gunn, interview.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Alex Loggie, interview.

⁶²⁹ Mary Earle, interview.

⁶³⁰ Anne Bowden, interview.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

her qualifications, and on a practical level learnt to drive, thereby increasing her access to Auckland.

Work-related networks operate outside ethnic networks, and establish common ground and shared experiences that can be translated into social capital. Key to their success is commonality and this can be found in other ways. Joyce and Jim Sillars had found their migration to New Zealand hard, and it was not until they moved closer to Jim's brother, who had emigrated ten years earlier, that things became easier. There Jim built new networks, not with fellow Scots but with 'returned [New Zealand] servicemen around Cheviot',⁶³² who had seen more of the world and with whom Joyce and Jim could share common interests.

Indeed, it is probably this easier access to the wider world that New Zealanders now enjoy that makes the building of local networks easier for more recent migrants. This is augmented by the New Zealand cultural phenomenon of the *Overseas Experience* or OE, which sees young New Zealanders travelling to Europe for an average of 2 to 5 years. The 'typical OE participant departs New Zealand whilst in their 20s, usually after completing some tertiary education or training [with] London ... a popular destination for employment and ... [a] base from which to travel.'⁶³³ The extent of this phenomenon and its impact on New Zealand society are substantial and worth exploring.

SNZ estimates that between 1,000,000 and 600,000 New Zealanders were living abroad in the period 2000 to 2006, equating to 24 to 14 per cent of the total resident population of 4,184,600⁶³⁴ as at 30 June 2006. In 2006 the majority of New Zealand-born expatriates lived in the Anglophone destinations of Australia (477,000), the UK (58,000), the USA (23,000) and Canada (9,500).⁶³⁵ This

⁶³² Joyce Sillars, interview.

⁶³³ Jude Wilson, David Fisher and Kevin Moore. "Reverse Diaspora and the Evolution of a Cultural Tradition: The Case of the New Zealand 'Overseas Experience'". *Mobilities*, 4:1 (2009), p. 166.

⁶³⁴ "Subnational population estimates (RC, AU), by age and sex, at 30 June 2006-15," SNZ – NZ.Stat, accessed 26 May 2016.

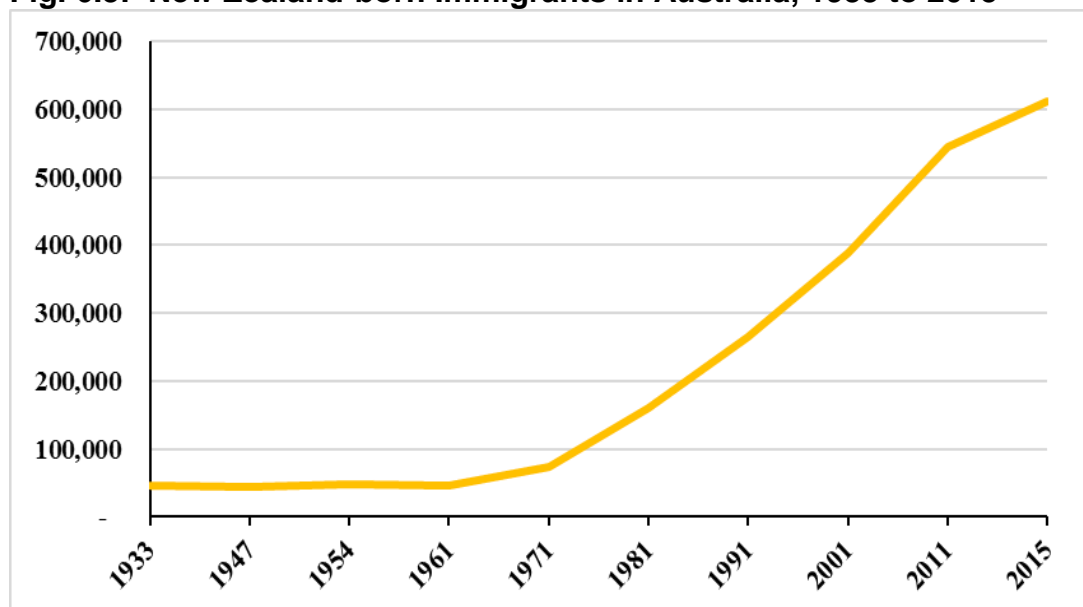
<http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE7501>

⁶³⁵ SNZ, *At least 1 million New Zealanders live overseas*, published 22 June 2012.

http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/mythbusters/1million-kiwis-live-overseas.aspx

phenomenon began in the 1970s when an informal understanding that New Zealanders and Australians could live and work in each other's country was formalised in the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement. Concurrently, jet-airliners and increased passenger capacity provided further impetus.

Fig. 6.3: New Zealand-born Immigrants in Australia, 1933 to 2015



Sources; "3105.0.65.001 - Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2006 – Tables 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82 & 84," ABS, accessed 12 May 2016.

<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3105.0.65.0012006?OpenDocument>

"Estimated Resident Population by Country of Birth, 30 June 1992 to 2015," ABS.Stat, accessed 12 May 2016. <http://stat.abs.gov.au/Index.aspx?QueryId=743>

The second most popular destination is the UK and the 1991 census enumerated 41,203 New Zealand-born residents in the UK, of whom just 5.7 per cent were in Scotland. By 2001, this had grown by 40 per cent and stood at 57,916 with 5.9 per cent in Scotland.⁶³⁶ This represents an average population of 57,700 from 2001 to 2014 (Figure 6.4). In 1962 the first of three Acts restricting Commonwealth immigration was passed.⁶³⁷ For New Zealanders, they restricted entry into the UK, but introduced Ancestry Visas based on patriality (a UK parent or grandparent),

⁶³⁶ "Born Abroad: An Immigration Map of Britain," *BBC News*, accessed 12 May 2015.

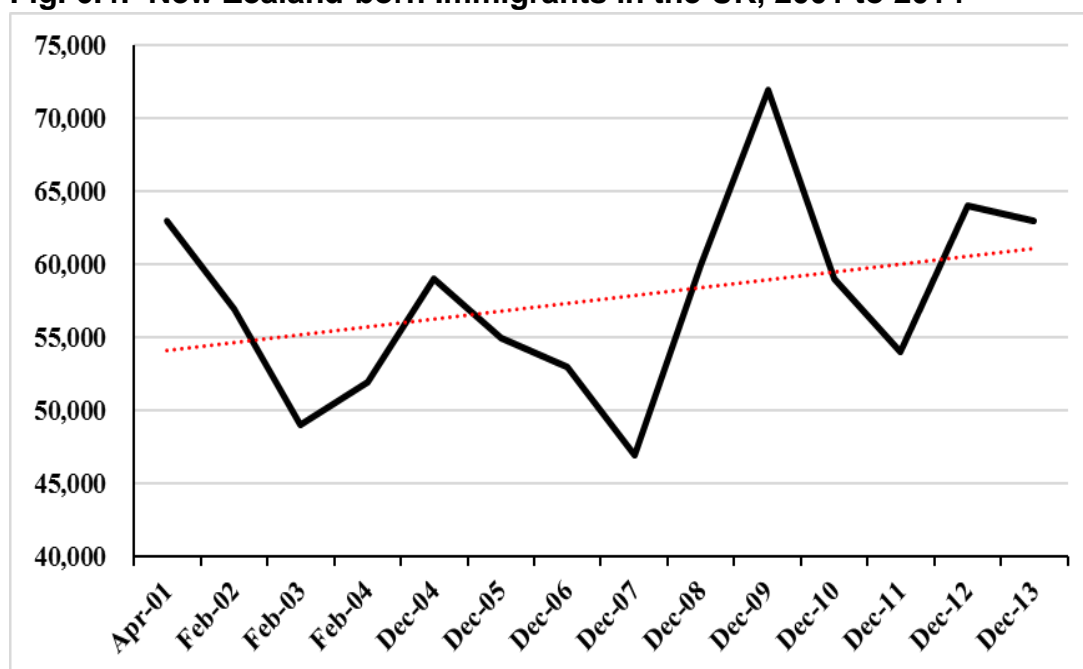
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born_abroad/countries/html/new_zealand.stm

⁶³⁷ The Commonwealth Immigration Act, 1962, Commonwealth Immigration Act, 1968 and The Immigration Act 1971, see "The Cabinet Papers 1915-1988 - Commonwealth Immigration control and legislation," *The National Archives*, accessed 14 January 2016.

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/commonwealth-immigration-control-legislation.htm>

allowing migrants to live and work in the UK, originally for four years, but now five years, with the potential of converting to UK citizenship.⁶³⁸

Fig. 6.4: New Zealand-born Immigrants in the UK, 2001 to 2014



Source; ONS, *Population of the United Kingdom by Country of Birth and Nationality*, accessed 12 May 2016.

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality>

For those unable to claim patriality, and aged between 17 and 30, two year working-holiday visas were created, and the UK allocates these visas on an annual quota system, with New Zealand's 11,000 representing the highest per capita allocation after the bizarre outlier, Monaco (Table 6.5). Statistical data concerning Ancestry Visas is not available but given that the UK-born population of New Zealand in 1961 was 221,386 and 246,158 in 2013, it would seem likely that the majority of visas issued would be Ancestry Visas. The number of New Zealanders in the UK is hard to determine. In 2003 the British Government estimated that 400,000 New Zealanders held British passports, while *Te Ara* estimates that the resident number may lie 'somewhere in the 60,000–150,000 range.'⁶³⁹ Many will be on their

⁶³⁸ "UK Ancestry visa," *GOV.UK*, last updated 4 April 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/ancestry-visa/overview>

⁶³⁹ Carl Walrond, "Kiwis Overseas - Staying in Britain", *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 13 July 2012. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kiwis-overseas/page-3>

OE and the fluctuations in the UK's New Zealand-born population from year to year would seem to support this (Figure 6.4).

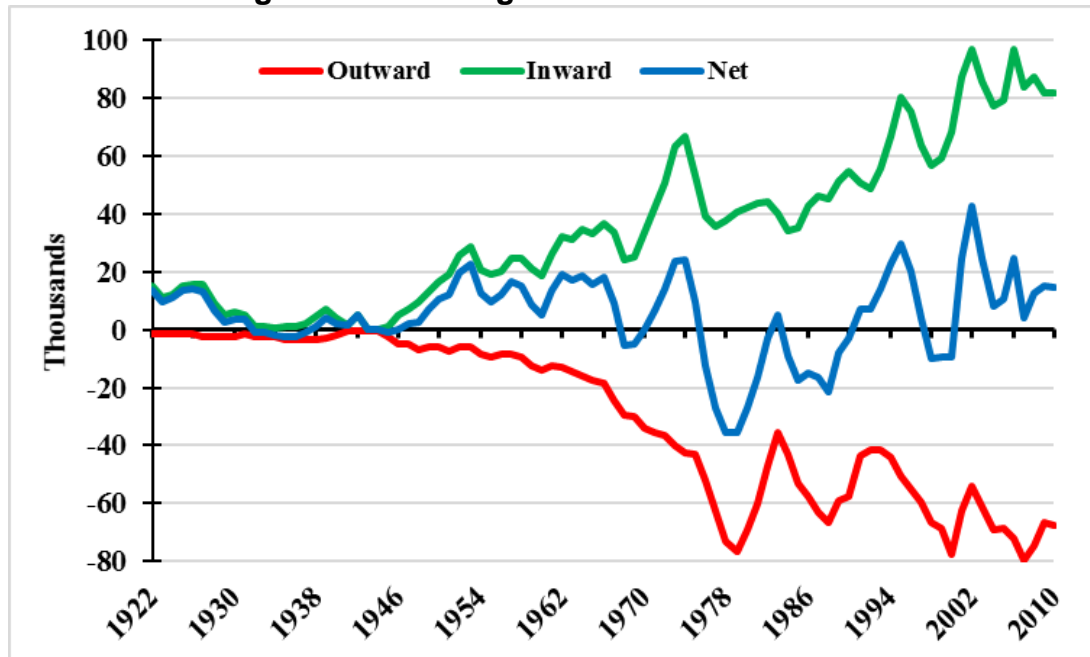
Table 6.5: Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) Visa Quotas

Country	2015 Visa Quotas	2015 Population Estimates	As a % of Population
Australia	38,000	22,751,014	0.167%
Canada	5,000	35,099,836	0.014%
Hong Kong	1,000	7,141,106	0.014%
Japan	1,000	126,919,659	0.001%
Monaco	1,000	30,535	3.275%
New Zealand	11,000	4,438,393	0.248%
Republic of Korea	1,000	49,115,196	0.002%
Taiwan	1,000	23,415,126	0.004%

Sources; "The World Fact Book," *Central Intelligence Agency*, accessed 25 May 2016. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html>. "Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme) visa," *GOV.UK*, last updated 4 April 2016. <https://www.gov.uk/tier-5-youth-mobility/eligibility>

However, in terms of New Zealand's social connectivity with the rest of the world the most significant numbers are those of residents who leave and return each year after periods exceeding a year. For the last quarter of the twentieth century an average of 58,700 residents left each year for a period longer than a year and were partially replaced by an average of 52,500 new immigrants or returning residents. As Figure 6.5 demonstrates, the numbers have continued to grow, although in the first decade of the new millennium, the dynamic has reversed, with the average exodus of 67,700 being replaced by an average inflow of 85,900. These flows, which include the OE, bring ideas and cultures from around the globe, providing New Zealand society with a multi-cultural understanding.

Fig. 6.5: New Zealand - Annual Permanent and Long-term Immigration and Emigration 1922-2010



Source; "Demographic Trends: 2010," SNZ, accessed 22 November 2014.

http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/demographic-trends-2010/chapter5.aspx

- The 2010 numbers are for the year ended August 2010.
- SNZ's definition of a Permanent and Long Term' immigrant is 'overseas migrants who arrive in New Zealand intending to stay for a period of 12 months or more (or permanently), plus New Zealand residents returning after an absence of 12 months or more'. The emigrant definition is 'New Zealand residents departing for an intended period of 12 months or more (or permanently), plus overseas visitors departing New Zealand after a stay of 12 months or more'.

The immigrant and emigrant flows of New Zealand society and the New Zealand phenomenon of the OE mean that migration and cultural differences are understood. The New Zealand OE, described as 'the earliest and longest-standing example of a culturally encouraged working holiday',⁶⁴⁰ is a mainstream part of New Zealand culture. To describe the experience as a working holiday diminishes its cultural impact, as the key phrase is 'culturally encouraged'. This is a phenomenon that does not seek to 'preserve or retain "homeland" culture but to 'test' ... it'.⁶⁴¹ The recycling of the flows of OE migrants, the cultural encouragement of the activity and their return, together with new cultural and social experiences, all work to the benefit of Scottish migrants. As a result, it is often easier for newer migrants with

⁶⁴⁰ Wilson et al, "Reverse Diaspora," p. 160.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid, p. 173.

similar educational backgrounds to establish common ground with an often reasonably well travelled and globally aware population.

Building networks on common ground or on shared experiences and interests is widespread. For migrants in the late 1950s and early 1960s prior to the expansion of transport links this was often with other migrants. Senga Imrie's early network was first-generation migrant 'Scottish, Swiss, Dutch [and] Irish',⁶⁴² while Jean and John Hanna's first non-work network was derived from the families around them: '[w]e had Dutch people living on one side of us, Māoris on the other side of us and of the other three lots one was Irish ... and later on an Australian couple.'⁶⁴³ Apart from the Māori family, the other families were all new migrants. John observes that they had 'gravitated towards people who were first stage immigrants like ourselves',⁶⁴⁴ but they also sought out other Scots and 'formed a wee Scottish society called the Bluebell Scottish Society, and these were all first-generation immigrants'.⁶⁴⁵

While the number of Scottish-born migrants in New Zealand is declining, there appears to be a perception that they can find themselves fairly easily. New Zealand born Lorraine Dolling, appraising the comfort her husband, Mike, feels in the company of other Scots, comments that '[a]s soon as they start yacking, they seem to find one another.'⁶⁴⁶ Cathy Gunn reiterates this, pointing out that as a result there is no real need to develop a Scottish network: 'You don't have to go out and search for them in this country. They are very easy to find. Yes, I have a number of Scottish friends and we do gravitate towards each other, but I didn't go out looking'.⁶⁴⁷

Absent from all New Zealand interviews is a discussion of networking to improve social capital, rather networking is seen as a means by which to integrate

⁶⁴² Senga Imrie and Nancy Martin, interview.

⁶⁴³ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Mike and Lorraine Dolling, interview.

⁶⁴⁷ Cathy Gunn, interview.

oneself within New Zealand society, this is further evidenced in an optional question about networking posed in the 2015 survey:

Table 6.6: Networks Used by New Zealand Migrants

Did you develop or use a ...	Definitely		Somewhat		Not Really	
Local New Zealand network?	11	40.8%	7	25.9%	9	33.3%
Scottish network?	4	15.4%	3	11.5%	19	73.1%
British network?	1	3.7%	7	25.9%	19	70.4%
Wider immigrant network?	3	11.1%	3	11.1%	21	77.8%
Job related/professional network?	7	25.9%	8	29.6%	12	44.5%

Source; BOS, SinNZ.

While this is not a large sample, it does support the argument that New Zealand migrants use networking to facilitate integration within New Zealand society. Although the interviews did not address social capital promotion in detail, it is probably amongst job related and professional networks that this activity occurs, especially as New Zealand's Scottish associations lack the arenas for such activities. What the above discussion shows is that networking for New Zealand migrants tends to occur outside the associations and ethnic networks. However, Scots appear to have little difficulty finding each other even though they, like Bert Miller did not go looking for a Scottish network: 'I didn't put any emphasis... on it. Not to my knowledge.'⁶⁴⁸

6.3.2 Networking amongst Hong Kong Migrants

Of those Hong Kong migrants surveyed 65 per cent are members of Scottish associations (Table 6.1) and of those, 33.3 per cent use associations for social activities and 16.1 per cent for networking (Table 6.4). Scottish associations are clear as to their roles in this respect, and the HKSAS website couches these activities in terms of cultural empathy: 'While Hong Kong is our home, for the long or short term, the Society allows members to come together to celebrate a common affinity

⁶⁴⁸ Bert Miller, interview.

with Scotland, our culture and our heritage.’⁶⁴⁹ In the previous chapter, the alien nature of Hong Kong society was highlighted, and of those surveyed only a little over 16 per cent believed that their Scottish ethnicity helped them integrate into wider Hong Kong society.⁶⁵⁰ The Cantonese language can be a barrier, although not for all. Mike Dowie, a police officer, ‘found the language quite easy’,⁶⁵¹ but as ex-police officer Ian Seabourne notes, some European officers ‘didn’t bother speaking the language’.⁶⁵² Unsurprisingly, not many migrants believe that they develop local Chinese networks and those who do, such as police officers, work within local Chinese environments where they have access to intensive language training:

Table 6.7: Networks used by Hong Kong Migrants

Did you develop or use a ...	Definitely		Somewhat		Not Really	
Local Hong Kong Chinese	13	19.7%	21	31.8%	32	48.5%
Scottish network?	24	36.4%	18	27.2%	24	36.4%
British network?	28	42.4%	26	39.4%	12	18.2%
Wider expatriate network?	29	43.9%	30	45.5%	7	10.6%
Job related/professional network?	40	60.6%	21	31.8%	5	7.6%

Source: BOS, *SofHK*.

Job related and professional networks are clearly the most important arenas for social capital promotion. Calum Watson did not pursue Scottish associational networks: ‘I went to a few Burns’ Nights and St Andrews Nights, ... But, to me, that was all just part of a drinking thing ... the same as any other’.⁶⁵³ Instead, he relied on a ‘work related ... professional network’, developing his ‘own environment ... based on sports ... swimming and rugby and work’.⁶⁵⁴ Indeed, sport is often used as a networking environment. For Alan Powrie it was hockey which provided him with a diverse ethnic network of ‘[o]ther British, Australian, New Zealand, Dutch, German occasionally, European mainly, and then Indian’⁶⁵⁵ expatriates.

⁶⁴⁹ HKSAS, “Overview”, accessed 14 November 2015.

<http://www.standrewshk.org/en/page/overview>.

⁶⁵⁰ BOS, *SMtoHK*, *SofHK*.

⁶⁵¹ Mike Dowie, interview.

⁶⁵² Ian Seabourne, interview.

⁶⁵³ Calum Watson, interview.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Alan Powrie, interview.

In the majority of interviews work-place networks are supplemented by wider expatriate networks. For instance, Fiona Donnelly's initial networking 'was very much through work ... deliberately for the first ... few years ... I didn't go near the Scottish community, because I thought, "What is the point in coming to Hong Kong to hang around with Scots?"'⁶⁵⁶ However, she notes that her social network was an international one which included international Chinese friends, 'Canadian born Chinese, or American Chinese, Aussie Chinese, British Chinese, yes some Hong Kong Chinese as well, but you would find that you would have an awful lot more common ground with the international people'.⁶⁵⁷

Michelle McEwan, the only European teacher in the Po Leung Kuk (a leading Hong Kong Chinese charity) highlights how a migrant might access these wider expatriate networks. After having lived within a primarily Chinese environment for her first six years in Hong Kong, and having developed a work-place network, she found herself a little isolated after her partner's return to Scotland in 2011, commenting that 'I had very few friends ... outside of my work, and so it became operation make pals for me.'⁶⁵⁸

She sought to develop networks amongst Hong Kong's wider expatriate community, some of which were Scottish. How this came about was through an Anglo-Scottish friend within whose networking activities Michelle became embroiled:

she came here as a single woman with no children and no employment and no ties, she joined everything. Now, she joined the American Women's Association, the Australian Women's Association. She had joined the St Andrews Society, ... the Hong Kong Highlanders ..., she joined everything ... becoming friends with her, I started to get drawn into these different things.

The American Women's Association has a bazaar at Christmas time, so I went with Christine ... The St Andrews Society have the

⁶⁵⁶ Fiona Donnelly, interview.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ Michelle McEwan, interview.

Chieftain's Bottle once a month, so a few times I went to the Chieftain's bottle.⁶⁵⁹

These activities can be supplemented by websites such as *GeoExpat*⁶⁶⁰ and *AsiaXPAT*,⁶⁶¹ which provide networking forums for expatriates in addition to classifieds and general information about life in Hong Kong. Pointedly, there are no such websites exclusively targeted at Scottish expatriates, nor do the websites of Scottish associations provide such forums. As Michelle comments and Table 6.7 identifies, the most common starting point for building networks is the work-place. The days when companies such as Jardines might have employed Scots as a matter of preference or cultural heritage are long gone, and the higher end work-places and professions that most Scottish migrants inhabit tend to be multi-cultural environments, predominantly staffed by Hong Kong Chinese. This does not mean that Scots do not network or promote social capital with other Scots, but that there can be competing networking opportunities and avenues for social capital promotion. David Hamilton, a retired banker and returned sojourner whose career took him across the globe to Libya, Kuwait, the Lebanon, Jordan, Hong Kong, the USA, Armenia and Brazil, notes that in Hong Kong his networking was characterised by

the little fish in the big pool thing. I never networked because I was never, as were some people in Hong Kong, a big fish in a little pond because of the way their companies were structured. I was in this goliath, Hongkong Bank.

I did meet other people who networked all the time, Lindsey's boss networked ... his Scottishness, ... but I didn't have a need, I don't think we did in the Hongkong Bank, other than it had been full of Scots and Irishmen at one stage or another.⁶⁶²

This does not mean that David eschewed Scottish networks altogether, indeed in countries where the Hongkong Bank was a minor player, his Scottish networking was more pronounced, and even in Hong Kong he was and remains a keen Scottish Country dancer.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ *GeoExpat*, accessed 5 August 2014. <https://geoexpat.com/>

⁶⁶¹ *AsiaXPAT*, accessed 5 August 2014. <http://hongkong.asiaxpat.com/>

⁶⁶² David Hamilton, interview. (Lindsey is his wife).

While competing networks and interaction within a wider expatriate community would appear to dilute Scottish networking, similar to the testimony of New Zealand migrants, it is not uncommon for Scots in Hong Kong to gravitate towards each other. Carol and Geoff Carson had both fostered professional networks of their own and their social network was initially 'a few Australians, but then the Scottish ... after about two years, we were going out with the same Scottish group of friends on Saturday night and junk trips. ... we spoke Scottish on Saturday nights. All the old jokes.'⁶⁶³ Again, as with the experience of New Zealand migrants, neither Carol or Geoff felt that they had sought out a Scottish network, rather it was something that happened. Carol maintains that this occurred because it 'was more comfy. It was so much more comfortable to be with Scottish people who had a similar background, who knew what you were talking about ... It was very much easier.'⁶⁶⁴

While associationalism may provide a greater avenue for networking in Hong Kong than in New Zealand, the majority of modern networking and social capital promotion for migrants tends to take place in the work or professional environment. Here the promotion of ethno-cultural capital plays a key part in establishing value and social capital. Interestingly, the primary motivations for network development run parallel to the reasons for migration as identified earlier. New Zealand migrants appear to develop networks that assist in their long-term goal of settling, while Hong Kong's sojourners are more engaged with short-term social capital development and career advancement. That said, it would appear that in both locations, migrants develop networks with those with whom they share common ground. This includes fellow Scots, to whom they tend to gravitate for social interaction, not necessarily deliberately, but more by happenstance fostered by an ethnic social affinity.

⁶⁶³ Geoff and Carol Carson, interviewed by Iain Watson, 28 July 2015, interview transcript.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

6.4 Concluding Comments

A core theme of this chapter has been the change in the nature and uses of associationalism. In New Zealand the number of Caledonian societies has shrunk, as has the number of Caledonian or Highland games, of which only two are now run by Caledonian societies. Some games have been incorporated into displays at A and P shows, while others are managed and promoted by coalitions of Scottish associations, local businesses and local government bodies. Yet, in the public perception the Caledonian societies are believed to be sites of Scottish culture. Whereas at the beginning of the twentieth century it would be reasonable to argue that they ‘facilitated the operation of networks and patronage systems, ... maximizing opportunities for advancement’,⁶⁶⁵ by the end of the century this was no longer the case. The relevance of these associations to migrants is now limited and migrants are more focused on integrating themselves within New Zealand society than performing ritualised expressions of Scottish identity.

Migrants tend to see the games and Caledonian societies as largely irrelevant to their circumstances and in some cases anachronistic, but they are ambivalent towards them. In the previous chapter it was argued that this tolerance is due to a perception that they preserve Scottish ethno-cultural capital in New Zealand, and this holds true here. That said, some features of Scottish associationalism continue to flourish, for instance the country’s numerous country dance clubs and the celebrations of Burns’ birth. The latter are widely spread throughout the associations, clubs and pipe bands to informal groups and Burns’ clubs and societies, and importantly they reflect a more inclusive form of associationalism. In addition, the family history and genealogy phenomena have diminished the associations’ role as sites of memory, since these new sites by the very nature of the phenomenon are highly personalised. Family history and genealogy, stimulated by the growing access to and availability of internet resources, are relatively recent additions to the landscape, and are still largely in their first iteration. How the fruits of the initial

⁶⁶⁵ Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists*, pp. 174-5.

generation's work are interpreted and used by succeeding generations is still to be determined.

Hong Kong's associational landscape has on its surface changed little, and its leader remains the HKSAS. It and the other associations continue to provide for the promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital, access to networks and the enhancement of social capital. However, the post-colonial era has seen changes in the well-trodden traditions of Hong Kong's Scottish associationalism. The most obvious has been the inclusion of women as members of the HKSAS and this has run concurrent with an update of the Society's activities. The testimonies of Fiona Donnelly and Stewart Saunders show that this process is an ongoing one, whose goal is to ensure that the society remains as relevant to new sojourners as it does to old China hands.

Also apparent is an increase in the diversity of Scottish associations since the 1997 handover, and their willingness to combine activities in the interests of widening the Scottish ethno-cultural reach. The end of colonial rule appears to have loosened the rigidity of the associations and contributed to an air of co-operation amongst associations, a growth in affinity participation and a reduction in the more martial and colonial undertones of Scottish culture. Hong Kong's is a more vibrant associationalism driven by sojourners and looking to update and reinvent itself, while New Zealand's traditional associational culture is weighted towards a romanticised Scottish past and led by those of multi-generational descent. In New Zealand, migrants are few in number compared to the multi-generational, while their numbers are insufficiently concentrated to influence New Zealand's existing associations. Conversely, the predominantly sojourning nature of Hong Kong means that the majority of Scots are Scottish born, and to survive the associations need to ensure that they remain relevant to a community that is being continually refreshed by new migrants. Demography sees them inhabiting a minority expatriate milieu where they may come across and gravitate towards other Scots. Similarly, where numbers are sufficient, Scottish migrants in New Zealand also find themselves gravitating towards each other.

Given that New Zealand's migrants do not see their associations as arenas for networking, they use alternative environments, and most seek to forge networks with New Zealanders, many of which are based on work-related networks. The main reason for this is a desire to integrate with New Zealand society supporting the longer term goals of their migration. From testimony, this is easier where there is common ground and that commonality has improved as New Zealand society has become more global in outlook. Settling and integrating are not a feature of Hong Kong migrant society, yet networking again supports the economic sojourning goals of the majority of migrants. As the majority are business sojourners it is unsurprising that work-place networks are more common, while wider expatriate networks supplement these. Hong Kong's associations are a part of this networking environment, with Scottish events used to promote Scottish ethno-cultural capital in addition to developing networks.

Highlandism and Nationalism

I love Scotland but I hate the way nationalists think
they own the place. I don't like nationalism. I think
history proves it to be an incredibly dangerous thing.⁶⁶⁶

Billy Connolly

7.1 Introduction

This quote, attributed to the sojourning and sometimes returned Glaswegian comedian, Billy Connolly dates to 2007 when Alex Salmond, as leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP), became devolved Scotland's first SNP First Minister. While the quote was given airplay in the *NO* campaign's narrative during the 2014 Independence Referendum, Connolly is reported to have said that 'he was remaining neutral.'⁶⁶⁷ Migrants and those of multi-generational descent were bystanders during the Referendum, watching with interest but excluded from the process. This was trying for disenfranchised sojourners contemplating return to Scotland or elsewhere in Britain. Many see their attachment to their Scottish heritage in cultural terms, but find themselves in a contested political space, wrestling with interpretations of nationalism in an increasingly politicised environment, which is further complicated by the intersection of Highlandism and the performance of Scottishness to nationalism and the question of a national political and/or cultural identity.

In the 2007 Scottish Parliament elections, the Scottish National Party (SNP) emerged as the largest party with 47 seats, just one more than Scottish Labour. In 2011 they were returned with 69 seats, the first majority government since devolution. With the election of the SNP and the Referendum debate, nationalism and national identity have become increasingly politicised. This has been reflected in voter turnouts. For the 2003, 2007 and 2011 Scottish Parliament elections turnouts were 49.4, 51.8 and 50.4 per cent respectively, and for the 2001, 2005 and

⁶⁶⁶ "Page 3 Profile: Billy Connolly Comedian." *The Independent*, 13 December 2012, NEWS; Pg. 3, Section I, LexisLibrary.

<http://www.lexisnexis.com/uk/legal/home/home.do?randomNum=0.4407804852646373>

⁶⁶⁷ Jane Merrick, Jonathan Brown and John Rentoul, "It's the 'Braveheart tendency vs the women of Scotland; The independence referendum takes place in a year's time." *The Independent on Sunday*, 15 September 2013, NEWS; Pg. 28, LexisLibrary.

2010 Westminster elections 58.2, 60.6 and 63.8 per cent. However, the 2014 Referendum saw 84.5 per cent of the electorate vote followed by a 71.1 per cent turnout for the 2015 Westminster elections, which saw the SNP garner 56 of the 59 Scottish seats.

The politicisation of nationalism has seen the SNP claiming leadership. Yet, for most of the 300 years since the Union the nature of Scottish nationalism has been mostly apolitical. Within migrant destinations the apolitical nationalism of Scottish migrants has meant that they are an unthreatening presence to host societies, improving their chances of acceptance and the viability of their ethno-cultural capital. For those migrants who are not aligned with the SNP politically or are opposed to independence, the SNP's assumption of the ownership of nationalism represents a challenge to their sense of national identity, especially as many may see themselves as nationalists. Indeed, they would likely empathise with Billy Connolly's dislike of nationalists and their nationalism engages with Scotland's cultural heritage rather than its politics, making interpretations of nationalism a contested area.

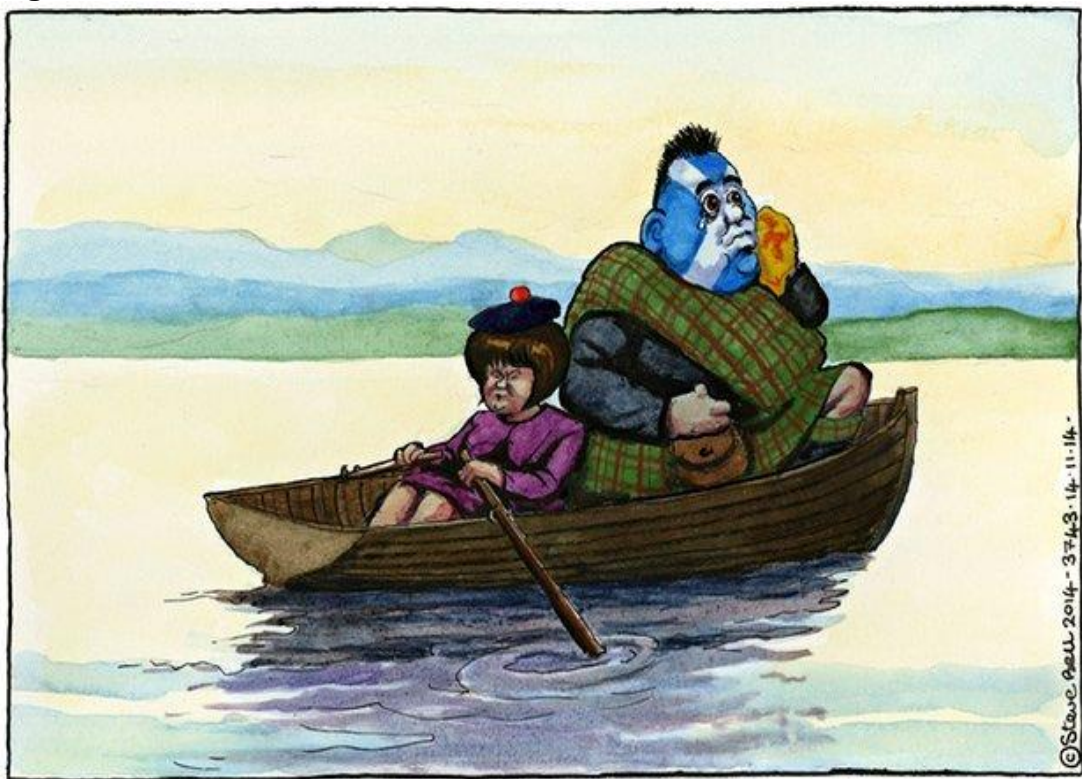
While this study did not initially envisage engaging with the political landscape that has evolved since 2011, it did take place over the period of the 2014 Independence Referendum and the two main surveys took place either side of the Referendum, in January to August 2014 and February to August 2015. Although the 2014 survey did not include any questions concerning the Referendum, the 2015 survey did, and this chapter will evaluate those responses against the backdrop of the oral history interviews. Of those, thirty-four of the interviews were conducted within the two months prior to the Referendum and nine in the ten months afterwards.

Before addressing migrant positions with regards nationalism, it is first necessary to revisit what it is today's migrants believe are the symbols of Scottish identity. Earlier chapters demonstrated that there was more to Scottish identity construction than a reliance on the stereotypical markers of the Highlandist identity, although Highland iconography could be called upon if required. Similarly, the

discussion of associationalism identified that traditional associational behaviours and iconographies can also be linked to Highlandism.

To non-Scots the icons and shortbread tin images of the Highlands are representative of a Scottish national identity. However, in general Scots and Scottish migrants are well aware that such images are not representative of modern Scotland. For non-Scots, this distinction is blurred by modern media representations of Scotland ranging from Australian-American Mel Gibson's Highlandisation of Wallace in the 1995 Academy Award winning film *Braveheart*⁶⁶⁸ to Englishman Steve Bell's satirical political cartoon:

Fig 7.1: Steve Bell on Alex Salmond



Source; Steve Bell, "Steve Bell on Alex Salmond," *The Guardian*, 13 November 2014, accessed 12 February 2016. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cartoon/2014/nov/13/steve-bell-cartoon-alex-salmond-scotland-snp-leader-outgoing>

The cartoon uses an iconic Jacobite image to satirise Alex Salmond's resignation from the post of Scotland's First Minister in November 2014. However,

⁶⁶⁸ *Braveheart*, directed by Mel Gibson (1995; Los Angeles, CA: Twentieth Century Fox, 2004), DVD.

Scots can be just as complicit in the perpetuation of Highlandism and use of its iconography, as this cartoon by Scottish cartoonist, Frank Boyle, demonstrates using the same imagery as Bell's:

Fig 7.2: The king over the water – Frank Boyle



Source; Frank Boyle, "BBC Newsnight Scotland. The king over the water. SNP leader Alex Salmond rowed by deputy Nicola Sturgeon", Boyle, accessed 12 February 2016.
<http://www.boylecartoon.co.uk/html/colour/018.html>

Arguably, Boyle's cartoon is representative of how Scots and their descendants are willing to utilise Highlandism to garner a wider audience, despite being aware that it is mostly imagined and unrepresentative of modern Scotland. The use of iconography in this way is a part of the promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital, and this globally understood brand represents a convenient starting point from which to both establish ethno-cultural capital and identify individual migrants as Scottish to non-Scots. As Andrew Blaikie comments, 'for those with an eye for the main chance the fruits of tartanry, the Kailyard, Clydesidism, or Highlandism are continually rebranded and marketed.'⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁹ Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, p. 13.

Given that earlier chapters have suggested that Scottish migrants can and do engage with Highlandism at various levels and intensity, this chapter assesses the extent and purpose of its use amongst the migrant groups. It also seeks to identify if or how Highlandism informs nationalism amongst migrants, and understand how this plays out in the contested ownership and politicisation of Scottish culture and nationalist sentiment in the early twenty-first century.

The prioritisation of Highlandism over the other forms of cultural sub-nationalism mentioned by Blaikie above, and most obviously the Kailyard, is deliberate, as it is the iconography of Highlandism that is most referenced by migrants. The term Kailyard was originally coined to describe a sentimental Scottish literary genre of the late nineteenth century, whose proponents included J. M. Barrie and Ian Maclaren. It has since evolved to define all manner of Scottish kitschness. While this umbrella term is widely used within Scotland, migrants make no reference to it in surveys or in interviews, in contrast to regular references to the Highlands. The chapter argues that in the migrant milieu the dominant Highlandist culture has subsumed other forms of cultural sub-nationalism, blurring the distinctions between them.

7.2 Being Scottish

The features of Scottish culture that were considered distinctively Scottish were discussed in the *Liquid Identity* chapter, as were the historical events that best defined Scotland and its diaspora for the migrants. It was argued therein, that these markers were used as the basis for the construction of individual Scottish migrant identities, such that no two identities were the same. The same identifiers also provide an understanding of what it is that Scots consider to be the characteristics of the Scottish people. Those markers can be broadly segmented into three groups. Firstly, physical culture is the landscapes of Scotland, its food and drink, the performance of Scottishness as embodied in Highland Gatherings and

associationalism, and the Highlandist iconography of tartanry, bagpipes and music. Secondly, there is the non-physical culture of religion, civil governance, education and art and literature. Finally, there are the even less tangible character traits that migrants believe to be a part of being Scottish, such as hospitality, industriousness, integrity, loyalty and fairness to name but a few.

Table 7.1 is a summary of the types of identity markers used by the survey groups taken from Appendix 1 – Table A5:

Table 7.1: Markers of Scottish Culture

Types of Scottish Identity Markers Used	Hong Kong Migrants	New Zealand Migrants	New Zealand Multi-generational Group	All New Zealand Migrants	All Groups
Physical Culture	29.0%	22.5%	36.8%	33.5%	32.0%
Non-Physical Culture	37.2%	38.0%	31.6%	33.1%	34.4%
Charatcter Traits	33.8%	39.5%	31.6%	33.5%	33.6%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

The table shows that responses from Hong Kong migrants and the multi-generational group are fairly evenly distributed between physical and non-physical cultural markers and character traits. New Zealand migrants cite physical culture less than the other cohorts, and in the previous chapter it was observed that New Zealand migrants tend to be less engaged with associationalism and its attendant physical iconography, which would account for this disparity. Broadly, the reasons for this lie in the control exercised over associationalism by the multi-generational group, which results in a perception that associations are of limited relevance to modern migrants. Cathy Gunn highlights this lack of relevance, when drawing on her experience of the multi-generational led Clan Gunn Society in New Zealand, commenting that Scottish culture in New Zealand has frozen ‘at the point in time when people emigrate.’⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁷⁰ Cathy Gunn, interview.

In a collection of essays on *Being Scottish* at the dawn of the twenty-first century, 100 ‘famous and not-so-famous [Scots] ... and non-Scots with an ... interest or connection [to Scotland]’⁶⁷¹ were asked to write about what being Scottish meant to them. In their responses, Tom Devine discerns a ‘pride in Scottish values and achievements’⁶⁷² throughout as highlighted by Broadcaster Billy Kay, who defines the characteristics of the Scots as: ‘our human kindness in adversity, our rampant egalitarianism, our wild, dark humour, the power of our stories, music and songs, our insatiable thirst for knowledge, our passionately shared desire for sense and worth.’⁶⁷³ All of which feature in Appendix 1 – Table A5.

That table demonstrates that there is more to being Scottish than Highlandist iconography, and amongst Hong Kong migrants there is a strong sense of identity drawn from a sense of place and history. Interestingly, the editors of *Being Scottish* note that many of their ‘contributors refer to the importance of place, landscape and belonging.’⁶⁷⁴ Whereas in excess of 29 per cent of migrant respondents cite the bagpipes, music and dance marker, it is the multi-generational cohort that cite it most, and where bagpipes are referenced it is common that tartan is as well. One essay in *Being Scottish* provides an insight into this response. Alan Bain, an American of Scottish parentage, writes that in Scotland “‘Tartan’ seems not only irrelevant to many, but, worse, it is felt to make a mockery of their past and distort their present. Yet, I, ... am proud to wear my family’s tartan as a symbol of my heritage and of my attachment to it.”⁶⁷⁵

It is this symbol of identity that many of the multi-generational cohort relate to. For instance, Patsy Montgomery, the Manager of the Waipu Museum, whose Lowland family migrated to New Zealand in the late 19th century, comments: ‘[t]he symbolic representations of what it is to be Scottish are incredibly clichéd and are probably more a modern invention in many respects. They are something that’s powerfully universal and you’re able to instantly hang your hat on some element of

⁶⁷¹ Tom Devine and Paddy Logue, “Introduction” in *Being Scottish*, pp. xii.

⁶⁷² Tom Devine, “Postscript: Being Irish and Being Scottish” in *Being Scottish*, p. 299.

⁶⁷³ Billy Kay, *Being Scottish*, p. 113.

⁶⁷⁴ Devine and Logue, “Introduction” in *Being Scottish*, pp. xiii.

⁶⁷⁵ Alan L. Bain, *Being Scottish*, p. 8.

Scottishness.’⁶⁷⁶ Here, Patsy also offers an explanation for the use of Highlandist iconography as a recognisable identity marker. The fact that both migrant groups cite these markers indicates that they are also important to their sense of Scottish identity, but possibly more as an outward projection of Scottishness.

All migrant groups engage with Scotland’s past as a marker and this is the second most referenced marker. Of note is the Anglophobia, nationalism or patriotism of Hong Kong migrants, which as we shall see, is at odds with their attitude towards the 2014 Referendum. Devine and Logue also remark on the number of *Being Scottish* essays that similarly refer to ‘the English ... in delineating the sense of identity, the impression ... given [is] of an older step-brother who is at best patronising, most of the time indifferent, and at worst a bully.’⁶⁷⁷

Table 7.2: Ten Most Cited Identity Markers

Ten most cited Identity Markers	Hong Kong Migrants	New Zealand Migrants	New Zealand Multi-generational Group
Bagpipes, Music & Dancing	29.0%	29.2%	45.3%
History, Tradition & Customs	25.8%	25.0%	29.4%
Integrity, equality, fairness and loyalty	25.8%	29.2%	18.2%
Education	17.2%	31.3%	19.4%
Family, hospitality and humour	16.1%	29.2%	18.2%
Tartanry	15.1%	8.3%	14.7%
Food and Drink	11.8%	10.4%	15.3%
Anglophobia, Nationalism & Patriotism	21.5%	6.3%	8.8%
Language & Dialect	9.7%	14.6%	11.8%
Physical Environment/Landscapes	21.5%	6.3%	7.1%

Sources; BOS, *Pilot*, *SMtoNZ*, *SMtoHK*, *SinNZ*, *SofHK*.

The history marker leads to two main narratives (see Appendix 1 – Table A6 for a detailed breakdown); a Highlandist narrative in the guise of the Highland Clearances (only 2 respondents out of the 180 who cited the Clearances distinguished between Lowland and Highland Clearances and cited both), and the Jacobite Risings

⁶⁷⁶ Patsy Montgomery, interviewed by Iain Watson, 11 January 2013, interview transcript.

⁶⁷⁷ Devine and Logue, “Introduction” in *Being Scottish*, pp. xiii.

which were referenced by 56.1 and 35.2 per cent of all respondents respectively. Unsurprisingly, given the evidence in previous chapters, it is the multi-generational cohort that engages most with this narrative. The other historical theme was the Wars of Independence and the Unions of Crowns and Parliaments, and it has been suggested that the prominence of these markers for migrants was as a result of the heightened political and nationalist environment surrounding the 2014 Referendum debate. This is addressed in more detail in section 7.4.3.

While the Highlandist narrative plays well to the multi-generational cohort, its iconography and history also provide input into a part of what it means to be Scottish for migrants, and are worthy of discussion to evaluate whether it also feeds into migrant notions of nationalism.

7.3 Highlandism

7.3.1 What is Highlandism?

The term Highlandism is used by scholars to describe a complex process that includes the construction, adoption, depiction and imitation of a romanticised Scottish Highland culture that remains stubbornly ill-defined. A number of scholars have attempted to define the term, ranging from Ann Brophy's succinct definition of Highlandism as 'a nostalgic reconstruction of northern Scottish culture',⁶⁷⁸ to T. M. Devine's more detailed definition that it was 'part of a wider process ..., through which (mostly) imagined and false Highland "traditions" were absorbed freely by Lowland élites to form the symbolic basis of a new Scottish identity'.⁶⁷⁹ Devine's observation that it was a wider process is of note, as there are a number of strands to

⁶⁷⁸ Ann Brophy, review of "*Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South*", by Celeste Ray, *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (2002), pp. 550.

⁶⁷⁹ T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (1999; repr., London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2012), p. 233.

Highlandism; literature, militarism, physical iconography and symbolism. Furthermore, it is not a one-way street. While Highland culture and traditions form the basis of Devine's 'new Scottish identity', this identity has also incorporated aspects of Lowland history and culture, such as William Wallace, Robert Bruce and Robert Burns. As a result, the distinctions between the two cultures have become blurred and the 'new Scottish identity' is a hybrid formed and performed from both.

For the majority of scholars Highlandism's roots lie in the political emasculation of the Scottish nation-state in the 1707 *Union with England Act*. The Act's passage through the unrepresentative Scottish parliament had been secured despite there being 'overwhelming popular opposition to the loss of the parliament'.⁶⁸⁰ This emasculation provides the basis for Celeste Ray's suggestion that the creation of the modern myths of Highlandism are derived 'from Scotland's inferior social, economic, and political situation within Great Britain'.⁶⁸¹ Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull argue that Scotland's inferiorism was fostered by the Scottish intelligentsia, whose discourse has portrayed Scotland as 'a country, which can be exhaustively described in terms of poverty, philistinism, bigotry, repression - a land of no gods or heroes.'⁶⁸² They draw heavily on Frantz Fanon's theories of cultural inferiority as outlined in *The Wretched of the Earth*, and expressly the idea that the colonised (in this instance the Scot) is brought to 'admit the inferiority of his culture ... [and] ... to recognize the unreality of his 'nation'''.⁶⁸³

The term inferiorism has been used to describe this behaviour, although the word does not have a dictionary definition as such. The dictionary definition of the phrase, *inferiority complex* comes close: a 'generalized and unrealistic feelings of inadequacy caused by a person's reactions to actual or supposed inferiority in one sphere, sometimes compensated for by aggressive self-assertion'.⁶⁸⁴ So if

⁶⁸⁰ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, p. 16.

⁶⁸¹ Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage; Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill; University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. xiii.

⁶⁸² Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), p. 112.

⁶⁸³ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 1961, trans. Constance Farrington (1965; repr., London: Penguin Books, 2001), p. 190.

⁶⁸⁴ *Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, 1996 ed., s.v. "inferiority complex."

Fanonesque inferiorism was both a cause and outcome of the Union, it in turn was compensated for by the search for an indigenous culture that differentiated Scotland. This was not an inconsiderable task given that Lowland culture in the eighteenth century was already fairly similar to that of provincial England, nor were its predominant linguistic traditions sufficiently different. In such an environment the adoption of the other-world culture of the Scottish Highlands becomes explainable. However, there remained obstacles. Lowlanders held Highlanders in low esteem and considered them an ‘inferior race, violent, treacherous, poverty-stricken and backward’.⁶⁸⁵

The rehabilitation of the Highlander into the Scottish and British body politic from its low point after the 1745 Jacobite rebellion came quickly. As early as the 1750s William Barrington, Lord of the Admiralty, was recruiting Highlanders for the British army.⁶⁸⁶ In contrast Lowland military prowess had failed, the result of a change in Lowland self-perception, which positioned them as a ‘polite and commercial people, ... dissociating themselves from the martial traits which had typified Scottish national identity in the early modern period’.⁶⁸⁷ Outwith the military sphere, scholars such as Devine, Colin Kidd, Michael Lynch and Murray Pittock are generally agreed that the intellectual catalyst for the rehabilitation of Highland culture was James MacPherson's purported discovery of the poems of the third-century Gaelic bard Ossian in the 1760s.⁶⁸⁸

The raising of the Highland regiments saw Highlanders incorporated within the Hanoverian imperial project and cleansed them politically. In addition, the

⁶⁸⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (1992; repr., London: Vintage, 1996) p. 15.

⁶⁸⁶ William Cobbett (ed), *The Parliamentary History of England from The Earliest Period to The Year 1803. From which last-mentioned epoch it is continued downwards in the work entitled “The Parliamentary Debates”, Volume XIV* (London, T C Hansard, 1813), p. 729.

⁶⁸⁷ Matthew Dziennik, Whig Tartan: Material Culture and its use in the Scottish Highlands, 1746-1815, *Past and Present*, no. 217 (2012), p. 118.

⁶⁸⁸ See; T. M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War; The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994) Chapter 6; Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British identity 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Chapters 10 & 11; Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, Pimlico, 1991) Chapter 21; Murray G.H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland; The Stuart Myth and Scottish identity, 1638 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1991), Chapter 3; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008).

Scottish bourgeoisie had been quick to involve themselves in the Empire. Nowhere was Scotland's eighteenth-century engagement with Empire more pronounced than in the tobacco trade, where 'on the eve of the American Revolution, ... the Scots were reckoned to control over half the trade in the key areas of colonial tobacco production.'⁶⁸⁹ While the promotion of the tartan martial brand was important for the Highlands, so too was the establishment of credible literary and linguistic traditions. Coincidentally, Lowlanders fearing being subsumed by provincial English culture were also looking for a distinctive culture of their own to cement their sense of nation within the Union. Here, James Macpherson's discovery of Ossian's work suited, somewhat too perfectly, the needs of the Highland élites, Lowland intellectuals and Scottish bourgeoisie.

This need is well demonstrated by the combative defence of the work against members of the English literati led by Horace Walpole, who were largely sceptical of the work's provenance, of which Samuel Johnson commented: 'I believe they never existed in any other form than that which we have seen.'⁶⁹⁰ The defence of Ossian was often passionate, which Fanon would consider explicable, as 'the demand for a national culture and the affirmation of the existence of such a culture represent a special battle-field.'⁶⁹¹ Ossian was in reality part of a wider political debate in that it 'was seen through ... ideological lenses that had little to do with that literature's own concerns.'⁶⁹² This search for an alternative to a Lowland cultural past reflects Fanon's argument, that through the discovery of an indigenous culture the 'past is given back its value.'⁶⁹³ Arguably, it was the failure of Lowland arms in 1745, combined with increased engagement with the Empire and the Anglicisation of the Scottish bourgeoisie, which resulted in the fear that Scotland might become little more than a cultural periphery of England. This prompted the search for a Scottish

⁶⁸⁹ T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (London; Penguin Books, 2003), p. 70.

⁶⁹⁰ Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775, Project Gutenberg e-book, 2005) Kindle edition, location 1686.

⁶⁹¹ Fanon, *The Wretched*, p. 168.

⁶⁹² Cairns Craig, "The Study of Scottish Literature", in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature: Volume 1: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, eds. Ian Brown, Thomas Owen Clancy, Murray Pittock and Susan Manning (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p.22.

⁶⁹³ Fanon, *The Wretched*, p. 170.

cultural identity, that both differentiated and identified Scotland's role within the Empire and the Union as a partnership.

Of the 301 respondents to the 2014 and 2015 surveys, only 7 had read Ossian (Table 7.3), thus its relevance to constructions of modern Highlandism is limited. The Highlandist iconography which characterises Highlandism for the modern migrant was the 'hallucination' of the 'Celtified pageantry',⁶⁹⁴ of Sir Walter Scott's stage-management of George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. An event, which Devine describes as a 'Celtic fantasy ... [which produced] a distortion of the Highland past and present and the projection of a national image in which the Lowlands had no part'.⁶⁹⁵

T. C. Smout is particularly disparaging, writing that Scott was not, and did not 'want to be a realist dealing with living people in the Scotland of his day', adding that 'underlying his art, [there was] a nostalgia for the Scottish past that seems to say that which is Scottish and that which is past must ... be admirable'.⁶⁹⁶ However, it is important to note that Scott would have been unlikely to have understood what the ramifications of his work would be, and that he was not operating in a cultural vacuum. As a successful novelist, he was both reflecting and reacting to the needs and tastes of his public.

Significantly, despite the adoption of Highland Dress and the veneration of Highland martial skills, there has been no real shift in the underlying cultural life of the Scottish majority. Gaelic did not become the mother tongue of the country, while from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century the nation's cultural and intellectual leadership and legacy remained a predominantly Lowland one. Lowlanders such as David Hume, Adam Smith, Robert Adam, Robert Burns, James Hogg, Robert Louis Stevenson, Walter Scott, Mungo Park, David Livingstone, James Hutton, Joseph Black, James Watt, Robert Stephenson, Thomas Telford and others

⁶⁹⁴ J. G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.; Volume V*. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1837) pp. 159 & 161.

⁶⁹⁵ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 235.

⁶⁹⁶ Smout, *The Scottish People, 1560-1830*, p. 467.

providing that leadership. As Smout comments, ‘virtually the only Highlanders to make an impact on the outside world were James MacPherson of the Ossianic forgeries and Adam Ferguson the philosopher’.⁶⁹⁷

7.3.2 Literature as an Influence on Modern Highlandism

Literature and visual media are important sources for the construction of Highlandism amongst migrants, and it is not just tartanry that places Scott at the centre of Highlandism, but his literature as well. It was Scott who updated a version of the Highland past and placed it centre stage in an imagined Scottish identity. Novels such as *Waverley* (1814), *The Antiquary* (1816), *Rob Roy* (1817), *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), *A Legend of Montrose* (1819) and *Redgauntlet* (1824) looked back to a romanticised Jacobite culture steeped in honour and justice. He also included Jacobite themes in his romanticised version of Scottish history, the three volumes of *Tales of a Grandfather* (1827). As a body of work, they did much to foster the link between the Highlands and Scottish identity.

Scott was a Tory and a staunch Unionist, yet he was enamoured with the romanticism of the depoliticised Jacobite movement, and was ‘the most successful writer of his day. Not only did he sell more books, but he was the author most generally admired. His books sold right through the nineteenth century, and he retained his reputation until the 1890s’.⁶⁹⁸ He was widely read throughout Britain, Europe and North America, and remains extensively read amongst the survey cohorts with a little under 50 per cent having read his poetry and 55 per cent his novels. In addition, some of his works have been adapted for television.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 471.

⁶⁹⁸ David Hewitt, ‘Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24928>

⁶⁹⁹ For example; *Redgauntlet*, written by E. J. Bell and Walter Scott, British Broadcasting Corporation. 1959; *Redgauntlet*, directed by Clarke Tait, written by Ian Stuart Black and Walter Scott. Scottish Television Enterprises. 1970; *Rob Roy*, written by E. J. Bell and Walter Scott. British Broadcasting Corporation. 1961.

Scott's poetry was not Highlandist, his first collection, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, being a collection of genuine Border folk poetry published between 1802 and 1803. Even when his poems use romantic Highland settings they intersect with medieval Lowland themes as in *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) and *The Lord of the Isles* (1815).

Table 7.3: Top Ten Most Read Scottish Poets (and James Macpherson)

Have you read any Scottish poetry?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Robert Burns	79	86.8%	42	87.5%	133	82.1%	254	84.4%
Robert Louis Stevenson	50	54.9%	29	60.4%	82	0.5062	161	53.5%
Sir Walter Scott	41	45.1%	43	89.6%	65	40.1%	149	49.5%
Hugh MacDiarmid	27	29.7%	20	41.7%	8	4.9%	55	18.3%
William McGonagall	30	33.0%	10	20.8%	11	6.8%	51	16.9%
James Hogg	15	16.5%	12	25.0%	9	5.6%	36	12.0%
Robert Fergusson	16	17.6%	7	14.6%	12	7.4%	35	11.6%
George Mackay Brown	12	13.2%	12	25.0%	6	3.7%	30	10.0%
Liz Lochhead	17	18.7%	9	18.8%	3	1.9%	29	9.6%
Carol Ann Duffy	12	13.2%	7	14.6%	7	4.3%	26	8.6%
James Macpherson	2	2.2%	3	6.3%	2	1.2%	7	2.3%

Sources; BOS, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Amongst migrants, Scott, Burns and Hogg feature among the most read poets. Burns and Hogg, both non-Highlanders, engaged with Jacobite themes. Burns' songs, the *White Cockade*, *Killiecrankie*, *It Was A' For Our Rightfu' King* and *O'er the Water to Charlie* and Hogg's two volumes of *Jacobite Relics*, are examples of this type of depoliticised Jacobite literature. However, they both used Lowland themes in their work and those blended themes contributed to the forging of this new Scottish identity.

Burns expressed concern for the Highlands, and while touring the Highlands in 1787, wrote in his journal that 'the country is sadly poor & unimproven, the houses,

crops, horses, cattle &c, all in unison.’⁷⁰⁰ He appears to have seen no distinction between the Highlands and Lowlands in the common cause of Scottish nationhood. Poems such as *Scots Wha Hae*, which ‘Burns himself confessed, had Jacobite roots’,⁷⁰¹ look to call for the defence of the threatened freedoms and liberties of a Scottish nation that encompassed all Scots. Burns had ‘taken the idea of Scottish history as a struggle for liberty [and] linked both with the Wars of Independence and the Jacobites’.⁷⁰²

Fig 7.3: Hong Kong Highlanders – Burns Supper Hong Kong - 2008



Source; Hong Kong Highlanders, accessed 7 June 2013. <http://www.hkhighlanders.com/gallery.html>

Burns’ suppers and Burns’ nights occur all over the world, and they reflect what is perhaps Burns’ most important contribution to Highlandism, the melding of Highland and Lowland cultures. Nowhere is the blurring more apparent than in the

⁷⁰⁰ Robert Burns, *MS: The Highland Journal, August-September, 1787* (1787; Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, National Trust for Scotland, 2012), p. 17, <http://www.burnsmuseum.org.uk/collections/transcript/3382>

⁷⁰¹ Murray G H Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 218.

⁷⁰² Ibid, p. 219.

Highlandist iconography and ceremony used to celebrate the birth of a Lowland poet in what is a quintessential expression of a global Scottish identity (Figure 7.3).

Notably, the table of poets also includes Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94) amongst the top three. Like Scott, his poetry is not necessarily Highlandist but he is associated with Jacobite themes most notably in his novel *Kidnapped* (1886). He is the most read Scottish author amongst the survey cohorts, with Scott ranked sixth. Stevenson's entry into Jacobite-themed fiction with *Kidnapped*, *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889) and *Catriona* (1893) represents a continuation of Scott's Jacobite legacy and suggests that over 60 years later there was still an appetite for Highlandist fiction which, if the success of Diana Gabaldon's *Outlander* series is anything to go by, remains unquenched to the present day.

Table 7.4: Thirteen Most Read Scottish Authors

Have you read any Scottish literature?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Robert Louis Stevenson	67	73.6%	41	85.4%	114	70.4%	222	73.8%
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle	67	73.6%	36	75.0%	110	67.9%	213	70.8%
Sir J M Barrie	54	59.3%	30	62.5%	113	69.8%	197	65.4%
Alistair MacLean	59	64.8%	34	70.8%	96	59.3%	189	62.8%
John Buchan	59	64.8%	35	72.9%	91	56.2%	185	61.5%
Sir Walter Scott	53	58.2%	32	66.7%	82	50.6%	167	55.5%
Kenneth Grahame	38	41.8%	26	54.2%	94	58.0%	158	52.5%
Ian Rankin	63	69.2%	33	68.8%	46	28.4%	142	47.2%
Sir Compton MacKenzie	48	52.7%	30	62.5%	54	33.3%	132	43.9%
Alexander McCall Smith	46	50.5%	24	50.0%	57	35.2%	127	42.2%
Iain Banks	58	63.7%	32	66.7%	32	19.8%	122	40.5%
Dame Muriel Spark	34	37.4%	23	47.9%	50	30.9%	107	35.5%
A J Cronin	26	28.6%	19	39.6%	52	32.1%	97	32.2%

Sources; BOS, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Scott's work placed the Highlands centre-stage in the construction of this new Scottish identity. In addition, his role as the pageant-master of George IV's 1822 visit did much to connect the physical iconography of the Highlands with

mainstream Scottish culture. However, that iconography would not have the currency it still has were it not for its adoption by Lowland Scots. Lowland élites and the bourgeoisie embraced this fanciful form of Highland culture, which has since been communicated widely throughout Scottish society and the diaspora. It has also retained its material trappings into the twenty-first century, both in Scotland and amongst emigrants. Scott was a continuation of a process that had started in the mid to late eighteenth century when the Jacobite Highlanders of the '45 were rehabilitated into the body politic, metamorphosing them from 'threat to pet'.⁷⁰³ Indeed, Murray Pittock describes Burns as 'a packager, an image-maker [and] a presenter'.⁷⁰⁴ He was and is a potent contributor to and continuation of this cultural process.

Nor has this process dulled with time. Global perceptions of Scottish identity remain resolutely Highlandist. Despite the responses to the Table 7.4 question being offered in a survey tick list, a small number of respondents (no more than 10 per cent) took the time to manually add additional authors to their responses. Two names feature more than others. Firstly, J K Rowling, the English author of the Harry Potter series, probably due to a perception that she may be Scottish because of her connections to Edinburgh where she is said to have written her earlier books in some of the city's cafés. Secondly, Diana Gabaldon, an American author of Mexican and English descent, probably because of the Highland setting of her novels. Her first book, *Outlander* (*Cross Stitch* in the UK and Australasia) was published in 1991, the first of a nine-volume series of books⁷⁰⁵ of which the eighth, *Written in my own Heart's Blood*, was published in 2014, while a ninth novel, *Go Tell the Bees that I am Gone*, is in the pipeline.

⁷⁰³ Rob Clyde, foreword to *From Rebel to Hero: the Image of the Highlander, 1745-1830* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995).

⁷⁰⁴ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p. 219.

⁷⁰⁵ Diana Gabaldon, *Outlander/Cross Stitch* (1991), *Dragonfly in Amber* (1992), *Voyager* (1995), *Drums of Autumn* (1997), *The Fiery Cross* (2001), *A Breath of Snow and Ashes* (2005) (London: Arrow Books). *An Echo in the Bone* (2010), *Written in My Own Heart's Blood* (2014) (London: Orion Books).

In 2014, the *Outlander* TV series was first aired in the USA, and in 2014/15 was aired on cable channels in Australia and New Zealand, and on Amazon Prime in the UK in 2015. Both her books and the TV series' genre is difficult to pin down, even for their author. If anything, it is time-travelling historical romantic fiction set in the Highlands of 1743. The books and TV series have generated a significant fan base, and this has been unashamedly seized upon by VisitScotland, which provides an extensive webpage dedicated to *Outlander* locations.⁷⁰⁶ In 2015 VisitScotland advised that those locations were 'reporting a surge in visitor numbers',⁷⁰⁷ while Historic Scotland reported 'a 44 per cent surge in summer visitor numbers at Doune Castle',⁷⁰⁸ a key location. This is not a new phenomenon, as Paul Basu argues that 'Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* and *Waverley* inspired the first Scottish tourism boom in the nineteenth century.'⁷⁰⁹ Additionally, the late twentieth century saw films such as *Rob Roy*, *Braveheart* and *Loch Ness* have a similar impact with 'an estimated GBP7 – GBP15 million of tourist revenue being attributed to the 'Braveheart effect'⁷¹⁰ in the 1997 Hydra Report.

Like Scott, Gabaldon has not conjured her novels from a cultural vacuum, but from the starting point of modern Highlandism, which in her words is 'the rather vague images conjured up by a man in a kilt. Which is, of course, a very powerful and compelling image! Scotland grew on me quickly, as I did research and began to sense the personality of the place and its people.'⁷¹¹ Gabaldon's fiction, and the TV series' interpretation of Scottish history, are examples of romantic Highlandism, and articulate a Scottish identity that has a global appeal amongst non-Scots and those of Scottish descent. In addition, Scottish agencies such as VisitScotland and the many companies that offer "Outlander" and "Braveheart" tours, again with an eye for the

⁷⁰⁶ "Outlander", VisitScotland, accessed 5 February 2016. <https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/>

⁷⁰⁷ "Scotland feels 'Outlander effect'", VisitScotland, 30 October 2015.

<http://mediacentre.visitscotland.org/pressreleases/scotland-feels-outlander-effect-1244066>

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, p. 88.

⁷¹⁰ David Martin-Jones, *Scotland: Global Cinema: Genres, Modes and Identities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p. 14. The Hydra Report was commissioned by the British Film Commission, Scottish Screen Locations and the Scottish Tourist Board.

⁷¹¹ Jean Brittain, "The Outlander Lady", *Scottish Memories*, May 2009.

<http://www.dianagabaldon.com/resources/interviews-articles-and-panels/the-outlander-lady-interview/>

main chance, are complicit in the perpetuation of such imagery. Gabaldon is not answerable for how her creation is used, and similarly Scott cannot be held responsible for how Scots, within and outwith the borders of Scotland, have used and reinterpreted the iconography that he may have fathered.

7.3.3 Migrant Historical Perceptions and Highlandism

The argument made above is that Highlandism continues to play a role in modern Scottish identities and that literature and audio-visual media have played a role in its propagation, as have artworks such as Sir Edwin Landseer's *Monarch of the Glen* (1851) and Thomas Faed's *Oh Why I left my Hame?* (1886) and the iconic *Last of the Clan* (1865). Additionally, in section 7.2 it was noted that the cohorts' most commonly referenced historical themes were Highlandist ones (see Table 7.5 below, an abbreviated reiteration of Tables 4.5 and Appendix 1 - Table A6):

Table 7.5: Five Most Cited Scottish History Identity Markers

What historical events do you believe define Scotland and the Scottish diaspora?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
The Clearances	33	34.7%	24	49.0%	123	69.5%
Jacobite Risings and Culloden	22	23.2%	20	40.8%	71	40.1%
Wars of Independence	38	40.0%	23	46.9%	46	26.0%
Union of Crowns & Parliaments	38	40.0%	21	42.9%	15	8.5%
Industrial Revolution	13	13.7%	9	18.4%	19	10.7%

Sources; BOS, *Pilot*, *SMtoNZ*, *SMtoHK*, *SinNZ*, *SofHK*.

When considering Table 7.5 it is worth noting that the Wars of Independence can also be incorporated into Highlandism. For instance, in two posts Paul Basu takes from a 'Braveheart Experiences' message board, the posters make connections between Wallace or *Braveheart* and Glen Shee and the MacKinnon clan from Mull.⁷¹² Highlandism permeates an extensive Scottish milieu, which includes Scots,

⁷¹² Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, pp. 89-90.

their descendants and the wider global community. The histories with which migrants engage (see Table 7.6 below, a reiteration of Table 4.6) also feed into a Highlandist perception of Scottish history that is conflated with that of the Wars of Independence. The two most read authors, Scott and Nigel Tranter (1909-2000) are writers of historical fiction. Scott's work was discussed in section 7.3.2 and the majority of Tranter's work covers the period from the Wars of Independence to the Union of the Crowns (1286-1603), although he did write a small number of books covering the Jacobite period. Combine this with the Highlandist literature and it is unsurprising that such interpretations of Scotland are so pervasive in the construction of Scottish migrant identities.

Table 7.6: Six Most Read Authors of Scottish Histories

Have you read any Scottish histories? (percentages are by number of respondents)	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sir Walter Scott	37	37.0%	25	48.1%	58	32.8%	120	36.5%
Nigel Tranter	29	29.0%	23	44.2%	33	18.6%	85	25.8%
John Prebble	32	32.0%	18	34.6%	32	18.1%	82	24.9%
Magnus Magnusson	28	28.0%	15	28.8%	22	12.4%	65	19.8%
Neil Oliver	15	15.0%	20	38.5%	26	14.7%	61	18.5%
T M Devine	23	23.0%	8	15.4%	12	6.8%	43	13.1%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Such constructions speak to a victim diaspora born out of the struggles of the Wars of Independence and most significantly the Clearances, which are a feature of a number of John Prebble's histories,⁷¹³ an author whom nearly 25 per cent of respondents have read, although readership is greater amongst the migrant cohorts. This understanding of Scottish history has found its way into the work of modern scholars of international migration history. Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder describe Scotland's migrations simplistically as one in which 'Scottish Highland

⁷¹³ John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966): While this book is significant to the story of a victim diaspora born out of the Clearances, other Prebble histories have tangentially contributed, see also; John Prebble, *Culloden* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1961): *Glencoe: The Story of the Massacre* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966): *The Lion in the North : A Personal View of Scotland's History* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1971): *Mutiny: Highland Regiments in Revolt, 1743-1804* (London : Secker and Warburg, 1975).

crofter families were displaced by their own upper classes, who deprived them of their sustenance-producing family plots for the new economy of sheep-raising'.⁷¹⁴ Robin Cohen's only reference to the Scottish diaspora in his influential book *Global Diasporas* likens 'those dispossessed in the "clearances" of the Scottish Highlands' to Irish famine migrants 'forced to leave by grinding poverty'.⁷¹⁵

This interpretation of Scottish history is reflected in the adoption of the physical iconography of Highlandism, which is itself steeped in an invented tradition and lore. An example is the lore that surrounds the wearing of the modern kilt or *Philabeg*, which has replaced the traditional large tartan wrap or *Féileadh Mor*. The philabeg's introduction has involved the creation of a kilt-wearing lore or etiquette which has many interpretations. A web search for "kilt etiquette" provides as many as 183,000 results and Debretts' online "Highland Dress and Kilt Etiquette" provides dress code guidance for men and women concluding:

It is best not to wear a specific tartan unless connected to a specific clan. Many Scottish clans have one or more tartans ... which may be worn by members of that clan and their wives. Daughters may continue to wear it after marriage. For Highland balls men not entitled to wear the kilt may wear black or occasionally white tie.⁷¹⁶

Reflecting the invented nature of the dress code, and the eye for the main chance, one lowland kiltmaker's blog guide has a different take on kilt etiquette: 'Anybody can wear a kilt! ... Nowadays people tend to choose tartan for its aesthetic value, a family or clan connection; or to coordinate with wedding colours.'⁷¹⁷

The inconsistency of kilt lore is allegorical of the invented nature of Highlandist traditions, and survey respondents and interviewees are more than aware of their contrived nature. For instance, one survey respondent noted that it 'doesn't

⁷¹⁴ Harzig et al, *What is Migration History?* p. 33.

⁷¹⁵ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, p. 67.

⁷¹⁶ "Highland Dress and Kilt Etiquette," *DEBRETTS'S*, accessed 24 April 2015. <http://www.debretts.com/british-etiquette/british-behaviour/h/dress-codes/highland-dress-and-kilt-etiquette>

⁷¹⁷ "Houston Kiltmakers Official Kilt Etiquette Guide 2013 ©," *Houston's Blog*, Houston Kiltmakers, 16 April 2013. <http://blog.kiltmakers.com/2013/04/houston-kiltmakers-official-kilt-etiquette-guide-2013-%C2%A9/>

matter if some of it was invented – it’s still our culture’,⁷¹⁸ a sentiment echoed by a number of interviewees. Edinburgh-born Gordon Watson, who was a National Serviceman in Hong Kong with the King’s Own Scottish Borderers, is equally aware that the kilt is a garment steeped in myth, but argues that ‘[i]t doesn’t matter if you’re a Highlander or a Lowlander, the kilt is your dress, because it represents ... it’s part of being a Scot.’⁷¹⁹ For Geoff Carson, the icons were a celebration of identity: ‘Everybody’s wearing tartan. Whisky everywhere. It was a real celebration of being Scottish ... That was another thing that helped the settling in process.’⁷²⁰

A visit to Hampden or Murrayfield when Scotland play only emphasises this point. Soccer and rugby replica shirts are paired with kilts, while headgear such as the Tam O’ Shanter, Glengarry and the *See You Jimmy* hat (see the referee in Figure 7.4) are all displays of nationality and show how the iconography of Scotland continues to evolve. Indeed, ‘an early modern Scot of the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries [would] have some trouble recognizing the ‘mythical Scotland’ of the early twenty-first century imagination’.⁷²¹

Fig 7.4: Rugby at Caledonian Park, Waipu, New Zealand – Waipu (in kilts) v Whangarei Golden Oldies – Tartan Week 2010



Source; Julie Crean, “Waipu: Kilts and Rugby, and the Kiwi Way,” *planmyplay*, 9 July 2010, [http://planmyplay.co.nz/kiwi_life/waipu_kilts_and_rugby- and the kiwi way](http://planmyplay.co.nz/kiwi_life/waipu_kilts_and_rugby-_and_the_kiwi_way)

⁷¹⁸ BOS, *Pilot*.

⁷¹⁹ Gordon Watson, interview.

⁷²⁰ Geoff Carson, interview.

⁷²¹ Colin Kidd and James Coleman, ‘Mythical Scotland’ in *Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, eds., p. 62.

The iconography of Highlandism is used extensively throughout New Zealand, as noted in the previous chapter. It is most obviously used in Dunedin, the city founded as a Scottish settlement and where its Super Rugby franchise is called the Highlanders and sports a Highlandist logo to match. Other towns with Scottish links such as Turakina and Waipu also avail themselves of Highlandist iconography.

Fig 7.5: Highlanders Logo



Source; The Highlanders, © 2016 Highlanders Trust. <http://thehighlanders.co.nz/>

This evolving Highlandism has also incorporated twentieth-century

Fig 7.6: S'iocha'Ana, the Scottish Trow - Waipu 2015



Source; “Scottish Trow snaps up Supreme Award at sold-out Waipu Art 'N Tartan Show”, *Whangarei Leader*, 22 July 2015.

inventions with origins in North America such as Kirking o’ the Tartan and Tartan Day/Week, which are celebrated more in New Zealand’s associational life, than in Hong Kong’s. Waipu’s Tartan Day celebrations were first held in 2006 and since then have snowballed into a fortnight of tartan inspired events from the rugby match above (Figure 7.4) to an ArtNTartan wearable art fashion show, where continuing the Highlandist theme, the 2015 winning entry was named after a troll of Orcadian folklore (Figure 7.6). The link to Highlandism is obvious in the Tartan tagline, but made all the more so on the festival’s web pages where the first two sub-headings are ‘The Battle of Culloden of 1746’ and ‘The Act of

Proscription.⁷²² The event is now promoted as *Waipu in Tartan* and has replaced the town's annual winter festival, spawning a similar event at Roxburgh in the Teviot Valley of Central Otago.

For migrants, Highlandism and its iconography are outward displays of a Scottish identity. Its origins or any political imperatives surrounding its adoption are largely immaterial to migrants, whose adoption of Highlandism is more about displaying to other Scots and non-Scots that they are Scottish. It is no longer the preserve of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie or military and perhaps fulfils Sir Walter Scott's underlying aim of representing Scotland as a unified nation or ethnicity with a cohesive identity. Nor does the migrants' Highlandism come with any political undertones. It is not identified with nationalist sentiment nor does it represent a threat to the socio-political environment of the destination societies.

Scott, despite his romanticised Jacobite sentiments, was not a political writer. As Hewitt notes, 'Scott's creative impact on Scotland was to define Scottishness in cultural rather than political terms, and so to maintain the idea of nationhood in a country which for the following two centuries was without independent political institutions'.⁷²³ This de-politicisation of Scottishness is important as it both allows for the incorporation of Highland and Lowland Scots into an imagined nation, and presents Scottishness as an unthreatening apolitical cultural identity easily incorporated into the cultural milieu of younger nation-states. Highlandism is a marker of Scottish identity or descent and is not synonymous with political nationalism.

⁷²² "Tartan Day – the history behind it," *Waipu and Bream Bay*, last accessed 12 November 2015. <http://www.breambay.co.nz/bream-bay-events/tartan-day-waipu-northland/tartan-day-history/>

⁷²³ Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832)'.

7.4 Nationalism

Scotland's constitutional status means that in the eyes of the migrants' host nations the Scots are British immigrants. Few countries make the distinction between the nations of the UK, and this is reflected in the estimates that have been presented throughout this thesis. Even New Zealand, which provides numbers for its Scottish-born residents, does not make the distinction elsewhere in its statistical analyses of its population. Scots emigrate and travel under British passports and often it is easier to respond to the question; are you English? By saying; Yea. Many migrants express resigned annoyance about England being conflated with Britain when overseas, although they may not have any objection to being identified as British. Peter Caldwell highlights this, commenting that: 'I will always tell people that I think understand the distinction, I'm Scottish, otherwise I'm happy to say I'm British.'⁷²⁴

Interviewees also tend to find common cause with other Britons in their destinations. For instance, Anne Bowden, new to New Zealand, tells of her relationship with an English woman who gave birth on the same day five hours apart: 'Betty whom I met in the maternity hospital ... she'd emigrated out here about the same time as I had ... so her and I are still good friends.'⁷²⁵ Here she had found common cause in gender, childbirth and the migration experience. However, the fact that she built a relationship with a newly arrived English migrant not with any of the New Zealanders in the maternity hospital speaks to a shared British identity. Nor are such stories unusual, especially in the early part of the migration experience.

In New Zealand, with one quarter of the resident population overseas-born, national/ethnic duality is common and most Scottish migrants can swap the British/Scottish duality for a New Zealand/Scottish duality easily. In Hong Kong, where expatriate numbers are low, relationships and networks are built across many ethnicities, including fellow Britons, and this can be reflected in sojourner attitudes

⁷²⁴ Peter Caldwell, interview.

⁷²⁵ Anne Bowden, interview.

towards nationalism, with a significant number of Hong Kong migrants comfortable with the Union's preservation. This does not necessarily mean that they see themselves as any less Scottish, as Calum Watson outlines when discussing the 2014 Referendum:

Scotland, it's the place where my father and my relatives are from. It's where I went to school. It's got ... strong cultural elements ... like the kilt, strong history, strong identity. For me, that's what Scotland's all about.

If that [the Referendum] means sailing off into the sunset on your own, then I would withdraw from that statement and say that, "Being Scottish doesn't mean I'm ... uncomfortable being British".⁷²⁶

7.4.1 Unionist-nationalism or a British identity?

Since the latter half of the eighteenth century, Highlandism has been used to construct a recognisable Scottish identity. However, this identity did not necessarily become a separatist one. Highlandism did not instigate any visibly aggressive nationalist societies such as The Society of United Irishmen or Young Ireland, and it is arguably the apolitical nature of the Highland identity that makes it acceptable for use amongst Scots in Hong Kong and New Zealand. Indeed, Scottish ethnic identities appear to be largely devoid of nationalism as a political ideology. Rather it appears to manifest itself as a romantic ethnic construction amenable to incorporation within other political and national frameworks without posing a challenge to receiving societies. Rosalind McClean's essay evaluating how seven nineteenth-century Scottish migrants looked back and interpreted their pasts, notes that 'none of the seven authors provides a clearly nationalist narrative', and when Scotland was invoked it was as 'part of an adaptive strategy to live comfortably inside a new national or communal boundary by actively maintaining a sense of ethnic

⁷²⁶ Calum Watson, interview.

distinctiveness or solidarity with others of similar background.’⁷²⁷ Not at all different to the narratives advanced in the interviews.

In 1977 Tom Nairn unequivocally divorced nationalism from nineteenth-century Highlandism, stating that between 1800 and 1870 ‘there simply *was* no Scottish nationalist movement’.⁷²⁸ Yet, there does not appear to have been a cohesive British national identity to fill this vacuum. Even those who advance the idea of an over-arching British identity do not deny underlying cultural identities. Linda Colley argues that it ‘was their common investment in Protestantism that first allowed the English, the Welsh and the Scots to become fused together, and remain so, despite their many cultural divergences’.⁷²⁹ The implication that Britain’s cohesion as a unitary nation-state is underwritten by a shared confessional position may have had validity for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the erosion of church congregations and the increased multi-culturalism of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries suggests that other forces are at work.

Colley takes her argument further by suggesting that underlying ethnic, cultural and nationalist diversities are viable within a dominant British identity. On the other hand, Graeme Morton contends that a British identity continues to elude the British state.⁷³⁰ He has re-interpreted Scottish national identity in the nineteenth century, arguing that Colley confuses ‘patriotism with nationalism’.⁷³¹ His argument is grounded in the fact that the Union had left many of Scotland’s civil institutions intact, which resulted in a ‘Scottish nationalism [that] was loyal to the Union of 1707, but was in no way inferior as an (abstract) nationalism. To coin another phrase, this form of nationalism was ‘Unionist-nationalism’.⁷³² Within such a framework an apolitical form of nationalist sentiment could exist within a Scotland

⁷²⁷ Rosalind McClean, “‘Writing my History’ Seven Nineteenth-century Scottish Migrants to New Zealand Revisit their Pasts,” *Migrations & Identities*, Volume 1, Issue 1 (2008) p. 70.

⁷²⁸ Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (Thetford: Lowe and Brydon Printers Ltd., 1977), p. 105.

⁷²⁹ Colley, *Britons*, p. 5.

⁷³⁰ Graeme Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism; Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Linton; Tuckwell Press, 1999), p. 1.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷³² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

that increasingly appropriated the ‘Highlands and the Highlanders ... [as] the national image’.⁷³³ David McCrone views this cultural content as ‘relatively weak’ when compared to other nationalisms such as the Irish, and ‘less ready to call up the ghosts of the nation’.⁷³⁴

In nineteenth-century New Zealand this apoliticism contrasted with the activities of Irish societies, who ‘frequently articulated political aims and objectives [whereas] Scottish societies were predominantly cultural in their intent’.⁷³⁵ Indeed, when considering the responses of Irish and Scottish New Zealanders to Home Rule, Bueltmann observes that amongst the Scots ‘connections channelled through politics were less pronounced than in the Irish community’.⁷³⁶ The Hibernian Society founded in Greymouth, New Zealand in 1869 was tinged with Fenianism from inception. In addition, the South Island’s West Coast had seen mock funerals in 1868 for the Manchester Martyrs, convicted and executed for killing a Manchester police officer in 1867. The funerals included the planting of a memorial cross in the Hokitika cemetery ‘where prayers were said by an Irish-born priest, Father William Larkin and an estimated 3,000 sympathisers’.⁷³⁷

However, it would be misleading to suggest that the majority of Irish Catholics in New Zealand were involved in nationalist politics, as the Hibernian Society’s leaders, concerned by such behaviours ‘distanced the Society from Irish political enthusiasms’.⁷³⁸ This is an example of a deliberate reduction in ethno-cultural capital investment as promotion was seen to be injurious. Arguably this preference for distance from nationalism may have contributed to the claim that ‘Irish Catholic practices and traditions have not radically impacted ... New Zealand

⁷³³ Ibid, p. 13.

⁷³⁴ McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, p. 174.

⁷³⁵ Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011) p. 142.

⁷³⁶ Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity*, p. 197.

⁷³⁷ Rory Sweetman, “The Importance of Being Irish – Hibernianism in New Zealand 1869-1969” in *A Distant Shore; Irish Migration and New Zealand Settlement*, ed. Lyndon Fraser (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000) p. 137.

⁷³⁸ Ibid, p. 138.

culture'.⁷³⁹ In Hong Kong, where permanent settlement by Europeans was rare and the majority of the population was Chinese, the connection with the British Imperial project importantly ensured the mutual security and survival of the privileged British minority, whatever their ethnicity.

The question of why Scottish nationalism did not move to being politically active is one that has taxed historians. Gellner definitively asserted that '[n]ationalism is a political principle which maintains that similarity of culture is the basic social bond'.⁷⁴⁰ However, Gellner's nationalist model is heavily biased towards linguistic differences as both a source of friction and nationalism. This does not necessarily hold true for the Scottish experience, where Gaelic was not the language of the majority and the Scots language was a dialectic cousin to English and not considered a threat to the Union. That said, Gellner cites Highlanders in Glasgow becoming Anglophone as an example of entry into the culture of a dominant nation,⁷⁴¹ which he understands to be Britain, but which could just as easily be Lowland Scotland.

Nairn argues that culture has a key role to play in nationalist politics, and that 'an intimate link between nationalist politics and *romanticism*'⁷⁴² is a necessity. Gellner also insists that for nationalism to exist it requires 'intellectuals-awakeners' to sustain and protect 'the newly born, or re-born ... culture'.⁷⁴³ This equates to Frantz Fanon's 'fighting phase' when the writer 'turns himself into an awakener of the people ... [creating] ... a fighting literature, a revolutionary literature, and a national literature'.⁷⁴⁴ The literature of Highlandism does not fit this bill. True, it is romantic, but it is a depoliticised romanticism and was not developed into revolutionary literature, its weakness proving McCrone's point. An exception is the twentieth-century poet Hugh MacDiarmid, who has been read by 29.7 and 41.7 per

⁷³⁹ Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn. *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England Ireland and Scotland, 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008) p. 179.

⁷⁴⁰ Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (London, Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, 1997) p. 3.

⁷⁴¹ Gellner, *Thought and Change*, p. 165.

⁷⁴² Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain*, p. 104.

⁷⁴³ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited, 1983), p. 97.

⁷⁴⁴ Fanon, *The Wretched*, p. 179.

cent of Hong Kong and New Zealand migrants respectively. Yet, even MacDiarmid's world is partially fantasy. His name was Christopher Murray Grieve, a Border Scot from Langholm, while the adoption of his pen-name 'marked the poet's commitment to a specifically northern culture',⁷⁴⁵ a path trodden by those before him.

Nor has Scotland's Highlandist military tradition been anything other than Unionist in nature. Linda Colley suggests that rather than being divisive this militarism was a catalyst for the creation of a British nation in that it 'was an invention forged above all by war'.⁷⁴⁶ In the twentieth century, this British cohesiveness underwritten by war holds currency for those migrants, who have lived during or in close proximity to global war, and consequently have a greater affinity to the British nation-state. As Gordon Watson says of his unionist sentiments derived from a wartime childhood: '[y]our thoughts were influenced by what you read in the paper or heard over the radio. All you could think about really was we British. ... You just got on with it and the war sort of governed your thinking, that we're British and we're all together in this.'⁷⁴⁷

Nairn describes this muted national identity as sub-nationalism and elegantly sums up the peculiarity of Scotland's sense of nationalism: as a 'nationality which resigned statehood but preserved an extraordinary amount of the institutional and psychological baggage normally associated with independence – a decapitated national state, as it were, rather than an ordinary 'assimilated' nationality.'⁷⁴⁸ For the Scottish aristocracy and bourgeoisie Unionist-nationalism had provided positions of power within the Empire and an incentive to remain within the Union. If Scotland's statehood was the cost for sharing in the profits of the Empire, then this position begs the question as to whether the corollary to the loss of Empire could be the repoliticisation of Scottish nationalism. David McCrone argues that in the post-

⁷⁴⁵ Roderick Watson, 'Grieve, Christopher Murray [Hugh MacDiarmid] (1892–1978)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31174>

⁷⁴⁶ Colley, *Britons*, p. 5.

⁷⁴⁷ Gordon Watson, interview.

⁷⁴⁸ Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain*, p. 129.

imperial, post-war period, relative British economic decline heightened nationalism. The rise of Thatcherism in the late 1970s saw a mobilisation of British nationalism, but ‘it became clear – at least to the ‘periphery’ – that it had become an empty shell, or at least was indistinguishable from English nationalism ... so competing nationalisms asserted themselves.’⁷⁴⁹

For the purposes of this study, the issue is less the cohorts’ engagement with any awakening of nationalist sentiment in Scotland in the latter half of the twentieth century. Rather, it is the relevance of Scottish nationalism to them and their perceptions of nationalism. For those in New Zealand, a competing national identity is being created in an independent and multi-cultural state that is itself only a little over a century old. In Hong Kong, which just under twenty years ago was a British colony, the vestigial legacy of Empire remains a competing ideology to nationalism. Furthermore, for many their attachment to their national identity is both apolitical and cultural. To describe this as a form of nationalism is probably inaccurate and patriotism would be a more accurate reflection of their position, although the concept has fallen out of favour and none of the interviewees use the word. For clarity patriotism is defined as ‘love of one's country or zeal in the defence of the interests of one's country. Patriotism as such does not necessitate a programme of action; it stimulates and informs nationalism, but is not always nationalistic.’⁷⁵⁰

7.4.2 Nationalism amongst Migrants

In *Unionist-Nationalism* Graeme Morton argues that ‘nineteenth-century Scottish nationalism [was] no more than a non-threatening component of romantic nationalism seen elsewhere in Europe’,⁷⁵¹ adding that romantic nationalism in Scotland was superseded in a union where ‘the gaps between nation and state

⁷⁴⁹ McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, p. 209.

⁷⁵⁰ Allison, Lincoln, "patriotism." In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199207800.001.0001/acref-9780199207800-e-990>

⁷⁵¹ Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, p. 18.

produce contradictory and conflicting identities'.⁷⁵² This explains how Scots could retain a sense of nationhood within a British identity, and making the suppression of Scottish identity unnecessary. Importantly, this sense of nationhood was not a political one, which facilitated assimilation and participation in societies where migrants were not a majority. Arguably, there are similarities between this argument and the notions of a national identity expressed by migrants today.

Choosing between conflicting ethnic identities is not an unusual experience for migrants, and Table 3.1 showed that only 56 per cent of Hong Kong migrants and 52 per cent of New Zealand migrants described their ethnic identity as solely Scottish, while 80 per cent of the New Zealand multi-generational group describe themselves as New Zealanders or New Zealanders of Scottish descent. This demonstrates the malleability of migrant identity choice over time and especially where it finds itself competing with other identity formations. Yet in New Zealand, the multi-generational cohort still perceives its Scottish roots to be a part of its Scottish identity, albeit an apolitical one that does not conflict with its New Zealand identity. Here the union in *Unionist-nationalism* has been replaced by allegiance to the host state. However, there are no Scottish civil institutions acting as bastions of a national identity. Consequently, this nationalism has little to do with the state and can more appropriately be described as cultural nationalism.

Table 7.7: Heritage as a Cultural Attachment

My attachment to my Scottish heritage is cultural in nature	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strongly agree	48	48.0%	28	53.8%	77	43.5%	153	46.5%
Partially agree	40	40.0%	19	36.6%	83	46.9%	142	43.2%
Neither	7	7.0%	4	7.7%	13	7.3%	24	7.3%
Partially disagree	3	3.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%	4	1.2%
Strongly disagree	0	0.0%	1	1.9%	2	1.1%	3	0.9%
Prefer not to answer	2	2.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%	3	0.9%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

⁷⁵² Ibid, p. 20.

Table 7.7 shows that nearly 90 per cent of the migrant cohorts see their national heritage in cultural terms and there are only small deviations across the groups. To validate this, migrants were also asked if they saw their Scottish heritage in political terms:

Table 7.8: Heritage as a Political Attachment

My attachment to my Scottish heritage is political in nature	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strongly agree	3	3.0%	6	11.5%	3	1.7%	12	3.6%
Partially agree	7	7.0%	18	34.6%	13	7.3%	38	11.6%
Neither	16	16.0%	8	15.4%	39	22.0%	63	19.1%
Partially disagree	11	11.0%	5	9.6%	16	9.0%	32	9.7%
Strongly disagree	61	61.0%	15	28.8%	103	58.2%	179	54.4%
Prefer not to answer	2	2.0%	0	0.0%	3	1.7%	5	1.5%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

The most striking thing about Table 7.8 is that 46.1 per cent of New Zealand migrants consider that their attachment to their Scottish heritage is to some extent political in nature compared to 38.5 per cent who would disagree. This is at some odds with the Hong Kong and multi-generational cohorts where the ratios are 10 per cent to 72 per cent and 9.1 per cent to 67.2 per cent respectively. The interviews also reflect this split, with Cathy Gunn observing that ‘I think a greater degree of autonomy has done a lot for the national psyche in Scotland.’⁷⁵³ This preference for a more localised government is in part stimulated by comparisons of New Zealand’s relationship with Australia, Scotland’s with England and the relative population sizes of those countries.⁷⁵⁴ This preference for smaller government is reflected in Cathy’s

⁷⁵³ Cathy Gunn, interview.

⁷⁵⁴ New Zealand’s population was 4,242,048 in 2013 (“2013 Census,” SNZ, updated 14 July 2015, <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census.aspx>); Australia’s 21,507,717 in 2011 (“Census of Population and Housing,” Australian Bureau of Statistics, accessed 20 June 2015. <http://www.abs.gov.au/census>); Scotland’s 5,295,403 in 2011 (“Population and Households,” Scotland’s Census, accessed 16 June 2015. <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/population-households>); England’s 53,012,456 in 2011 (“2011 Census ad-hoc tables,” ONS, accessed 22 June 2015. <http://web.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/census-data/2011-census-ad-hoc-tables/index.html>)

perception of a Scotland that is improving ‘economically and socially ... it’s coming back with really good alternatives like social enterprise, community empowerment legislation and all kinds of things that are going on that are not relying on central government ... [rather] people in communities taking these things into their own hands.’⁷⁵⁵

On the other hand, Tom Dodd, whose testimony also includes an antipathy towards the sectarianism he experienced in Glasgow as a boy, expresses a dislike for nationalism, which he equates with an animosity towards the English learnt as a child in Scotland:

I also have a bit of an aversion to nationalism ... When I left Scotland ... I met a lot of English people, I thought, “I quite like them, they’re all right.” ... when you were living in Scotland they were the absolute arch-enemy, you know, football and all that, oppressive bastards ... but, then you go to New Zealand, ... [they] were kind of dislocated as well and facing some of the similar things ... you’d kind of get friendly with them.⁷⁵⁶

Alexandra Bruce’s concerns about nationalism follow a similar vein to Tom’s, saying of the Referendum debate, ‘I saw an interview on television, some people were very enthusiastic about independence and seemed quite angry, which worried me. Being aggressive isn’t the right way to make decisions’.⁷⁵⁷ In these testimonies, different perceptions of nationalism are in evidence. Cathy’s is a politically-based consideration derived from observations of economic improvement and a belief in government closer to the electorate, whereas Tom and Alexandra’s understanding is based on a distrust of bigotry and divisiveness. Like identity selection, these are individual interpretations.

The majority of Hong Kong migrants are opposed to the Scottish National Party (SNP) and independence on political grounds, but not necessarily on the basis of nationalism. The experience of being a small minority on the periphery of a

⁷⁵⁵ Cathy Gunn, interview.

⁷⁵⁶ Tom Dodd, interview.

⁷⁵⁷ Alexandra Bruce, interview.

Chinese society where their cultural values are shared with other Britons may play a part, but so does the competing desire to promote Scottish ethno-cultural capital. In addition, Hong Kong's colonial past is still a recent memory, yet it would be simplistic to suggest that the nationalism of Hong Kong's Scots is influenced by a colonial legacy.

Ian Seabourne, who describes himself as a lifelong nationalist, argues that the reason for Hong Kong migrants' opposition has a political basis because '[t]hey're rich. You don't have to be a nationalist if you're rich. They don't see the poor. They don't know what Govan is like ... If Labour or the Tories were that great, they would have done something about the parts of Glasgow that are just totally unforgiving.'⁷⁵⁸ His assessment is worth considering as only 10 per cent of Hong Kong migrants attach politics to their Scottish heritage. Nor is his interpretation of the adjunct of wealth to the outcome of the referendum without basis. In the vote's aftermath, psephologist John Curtice noted that 'those in working class occupations were more likely to vote Yes than those in more middle class ... jobs ... 65% of those living in the 20% most deprived neighbourhoods ... voted Yes compared with just 36% of those in the one-fifth most affluent.'⁷⁵⁹

Elaine Longmore articulates the political position of the majority of Hong Kong migrants towards separatist nationalism and the SNP: 'The trouble is there's a difference between nationalism and independence ... They're on the wrong side of the political spectrum from me ... you have to disassociate their politics from the independence issue, but you can't because they make it intertwined.'⁷⁶⁰ Here, she makes the point that it is the left-leaning nature of the SNP which she has difficulty coming to terms with, and mirroring the opinions of many of the Hong Kong migrants, she divorces nationalism from independence. Elaine, though, remains a cultural nationalist, remarking that 'nationalism is a good idea ... I think the nice side of it should be maintained,'⁷⁶¹ by which she means an apolitical national culture and

⁷⁵⁸ Ian Seabourne, interview.

⁷⁵⁹ J. Curtice, quoted in T. M. Devine, *Independence or Union: Scotland's Past and Scotland's Present* (UK: Penguin Books Ltd., 2016), p. 250.

⁷⁶⁰ Elaine Longmore, interview.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

identity. In addition, she is a supporter of regional government and believes ‘that there should be a Scottish parliament and they should have ... greater devolved powers.’⁷⁶²

Elaine’s attitude towards Scotland and nationalism is fairly representative of Hong Kong migrants. As suggested by Ian Seabourne, the political leanings of the largely bourgeois sojourners and mistrust of the SNP appears to play a role, while the issue of nationalism has been heightened by the Referendum debate. In the charged politics that have surrounded Scottish nationalism in the first two decades of the twenty-first century, it is perhaps unsurprising that there is no discussion of patriotism as an alternative to nationalism. Instead, those who find themselves opposed to separatist nationalism advance an alternative cultural nationalism or ‘sub-nationalism’,⁷⁶³ which sees Scottish nationalism within the Union. This positions them as nationalists and protectors of Scottish identity, rather than allowing nationalism to become the sole preserve of the SNP. Here, they appear to align themselves with the sentiments expressed by the comedian, Billy Connolly, in the opening of this chapter.

The 2014 Referendum heightened this contest for ownership of nationalism. As mentioned in the chapter’s introduction the project’s oral history interviews and surveys coincided with the Referendum. While the pre-Referendum survey steered clear of questions concerning the Referendum, the post-Referendum survey included related questions. The responses, to which indicate a difference in opinion between the two migrant cohorts.

⁷⁶² Ibid.

⁷⁶³ Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain*, p. 129.

7.4.3 Migrants and the 2014 Referendum

The post-Referendum 2015 survey was completed by 66 Hong Kong migrants, 27 New Zealand migrants and 91 New Zealanders of multi-generational Scottish descent. They were asked a number of questions about the Referendum, of which three sets of responses are tabulated below (Tables 7.9, 7.10 and 7.11).

Respondents were asked to evaluate their levels of engagement with the debate and both migrant groups appraised their levels of engagement substantially higher than the multi-generational group.

Table 7.9: Engagement with the Referendum Debate

How well engaged did you feel with the [Referendum] debate?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very well	17	25.8%	7	25.9%	6	6.6%	30	16.3%
Well	28	42.4%	14	51.9%	32	35.1%	74	40.2%
Poorly	16	24.2%	5	18.5%	27	29.7%	48	26.1%
Very Poorly	4	6.1%	1	3.7%	15	16.5%	20	10.9%
Rather not say	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	11	12.1%	12	6.5%

Sources; BOS, SinNZ, SofHK.

In New Zealand prior to the Referendum, Mary Earle was asked, ‘What do you think is going to happen?’ adding that in her opinion ‘[t]here [was] no real great discussion about the Referendum.’⁷⁶⁴ With regards the substance of the debate she comments that there was ‘no discussion at all, ... about where the heck Scotland is going to get its economic future. They don’t really discuss that sort of thing either’.⁷⁶⁵

The lower level of engagement amongst the settled multi-generational group, who have fewer direct ties to Scotland other than descent, is unsurprising. In

⁷⁶⁴ Mary Earle, interview.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid.

contrast, Hong Kong's sojourners, with expectations of or the ability to return to Scotland, were clearly engaged. Typical was Alan Dalglish's comment in August 2014: 'I'm clearly following it with great interest, I'm ... very proud to be Scottish but equally proud to be British, you can probably tell which way I'm leaning'.⁷⁶⁶ However, it is interesting to note the response of the New Zealand migrant cohort, which indicates that they still see themselves as having strong ties to Scotland despite migrating. This level of engagement is also unsurprising given their response concerning the political nature of their affinity to their Scottish heritage.

Yet, despite New Zealand migrant testimonies to the effect that the multi-generational group was not as knowledgeable, that group considered themselves relatively well informed about the Referendum:

Table 7.10: Perceptions of Referendum Information Flows

How well informed did you feel about the Referendum?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very well	24	36.4%	12	44.5%	12	13.2%	48	26.1%
Well	32	48.5%	10	37.0%	43	47.2%	85	46.2%
Poorly	7	10.6%	4	14.8%	20	22.0%	31	16.9%
Very Poorly	2	3.0%	1	3.7%	9	9.9%	12	6.5%
Rather not say	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	7	7.7%	8	4.3%

Sources; BOS, SinNZ, SofHK.

That said, such perceptions are only as good as the sources of information upon which they are based and the New Zealand multi-generational group's sources of information are more heavily reliant on local media than Scottish or UK domiciled sources, which the migrant cohorts access to a greater extent.⁷⁶⁷ As a result the majority of information they receive is drawn from that which the New Zealand media agencies choose to carry. The quality of this information is probably reflected

⁷⁶⁶ Alan Dalglish, interview.

⁷⁶⁷ Iain Watson, "Understanding Scottishness among Sojourners, Settlers and Descendants in Hong Kong and New Zealand" in *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora Since 1600*, eds Angela McCarthy and John MacKenzie (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016) pp. 189-90.

in Mary Earle's comments above and Alexandra Bruce's impression of the debate based on local television coverage.

Unsurprisingly, the Hong Kong cohort was largely satisfied with the outcome, while the multi-generational group was mostly ambivalent, with those without an opinion or neutral about the outcome accounting for 51.6 per cent of respondents. The latter reflects multi-generational engagement with the debate (Table 7.9) and speaks to an erosion of political connectivity to Scotland over time. Disappointment with the Referendum's outcome appears to have been most keenly felt amongst New Zealand migrants, where 55.6 per cent were poorly satisfied with the outcome:

Table 7.11: Referendum Result Satisfaction

How satisfied are you with the outcome of the Referendum?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very well	31	47.0%	3	11.1%	10	11.0%	44	23.9%
Well	18	27.3%	6	22.2%	21	23.1%	45	24.5%
Neutral	8	12.1%	3	11.1%	24	26.4%	35	19.0%
Poorly	3	4.55%	7	26.0%	7	7.7%	17	9.2%
Very Poorly	3	4.55%	8	29.6%	4	4.4%	15	8.2%
Have no opinion	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	23	25.2%	24	13.0%
Rather not say	2	3.0%	0	0.0%	2	2.2%	4	2.2%

Sources; BOS, SinNZ, SofHK.

No New Zealand migrant interviews were conducted in the Referendum's aftermath. However, 51.9 per cent of post-Referendum migrant respondents see their Scottish heritage in political terms (Table 7.12 below), an increase from 45.1 per cent pre-Referendum.⁷⁶⁸ This appears to imply that the Referendum heightened political nationalism amongst this cohort, as it appears to have also done amongst Hong Kong migrants, with political attachment increasing to 13.6 per cent from 2.9 per cent.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁸ See; Appendix 1 – Table A8.

Table 7.12: Heritage as a Political Attachment Post-Referendum

My attachment to my Scottish heritage is political in nature. [Post-Referendum]	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strongly agree	3	4.5%	4	14.8%	2	2.2%	9	4.9%
Partially agree	6	9.1%	10	37.1%	8	8.8%	24	13.0%
Neither	10	15.2%	6	22.2%	24	26.4%	40	21.7%
Partially disagree	7	10.6%	3	11.1%	8	8.8%	18	9.8%
Strongly disagree	39	59.1%	4	14.8%	48	52.7%	91	49.5%
Prefer not to answer	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	1	1.1%	2	1.1%

Sources; BOS, SinNZ, SofHK.

Four post-Referendum interviews were conducted with returned Hong Kong sojourners and three did not raise the Referendum, preferring to focus on their Scottish identity in cultural terms. The single exception was Elaine Longmore, who also sees her Scottish identity in cultural nationalist terms. Her earlier comments about the SNP and nationalism highlight the struggle for ownership of nationalism between the political nationalism embodied by the SNP and cultural nationalism, with its roots in an interpretation of a national cultural identity derived in part from Highlandism. In addition, five interviews with migrants currently in Hong Kong were conducted post-Referendum. Ian Seabourne, who spends his time between Hong Kong and Scotland and maintains a property in Edinburgh, returned to vote, but was ‘bitterly disappointed’ and for 24 hours afterwards ‘wouldn’t leave [his Edinburgh] house.’⁷⁷⁰ More representative is Mike Dowie’s post-Referendum opinion: ‘I don’t think Scotland could be an independent country, ... I think most Hong Kong Scots ... feel the same way.’⁷⁷¹

This brief analysis of the cohorts’ engagement and response to the 2014 Referendum confirms that Hong Kong migrants were fundamentally opposed to the end of the Union, and were interested bystanders, as evidenced by their engagement with the debate. Their interest and engagement was unsurprising, as sojourners typically retain strong ties with the homeland, and are able to or are actively

⁷⁷⁰ Ian Seabourne, interview.

⁷⁷¹ Mike Dowie, interview.

considering return. The multi-generational group was less absorbed and ultimately less engaged with the outcome. This is unsurprising as they are citizens of a nation-state at the opposite end of the world, on which the Referendum's outcome would have had no real impact either way. However, the same cannot be said of New Zealand migrants, whose politicisation of their heritage and engagement with the Referendum indicates that they retain strong ties with Scotland. That said, caution needs to be exercised with the data, as the timing of this study may well have coloured the findings of this chapter.

In a post-Referendum interview, Hong Kong sojourner, Calum Watson comments that 'I never knew the Referendum would have such an effect on me.'⁷⁷² His engagement with the debate, politics and Scotland was intensified, and he observes that 'it's the first time I've really avidly turned my all seeing eye to Scotland. I never normally do'.⁷⁷³ Reflecting the interest the Referendum generated in Scotland, which saw a record breaking voter turnout, Calum notes that '[i]t's the only time I've ever been interested in politics'.⁷⁷⁴

7.5 Concluding Comments

This chapter has argued that Highlandism continues to evolve and will likely do so as long as there is sufficient interest in Scottish culture, especially outside Scotland. Examples of this evolution are the invented twentieth-century North American traditions of Kirking o' the Tartan and Tartan Day. Additionally, Highlandism has been combined with Lowland Scottish traditions, the most obvious example being the tartanry of a modern Burns' Night or Supper. At its heart this hybrid Scottish culture relies heavily on the iconography of the Highlands that is globally understood by both non-Scots and the descendants of Scots migrants. The

⁷⁷² Calum Watson, interview.

⁷⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid.

creation of a widely recognisable coherent Scottish culture would have seemed a distant pipe-dream to many in the early nineteenth century, when the physical forms of modern Highlandism were fashioned in the romanticised imaginings of Sir Walter Scott. Scott did not provide Scottish culture with anything new in the form of origin myths, but built on a highly romanticised and apolitical past. His role as pageant-master of the 1822 visit of George IV to Edinburgh did much to cement tartanry and by extension Highlandism as the cornerstone of a Scottish national identity encompassing both Highlanders and Lowlanders. To this end, Highlandism has delivered on Scott's dream of nationhood in a divided country without independent political institutions.

In New Zealand, Highlandism preserves migrant and multi-generational Scottish identities and promotes ethno-cultural capital, while allowing the cohorts to express loyalty within and to a young nation-state developing its own identity. In Hong Kong, ethno-cultural capital promotion and identity preservation are similarly key to Highlandism's use, all the more so in the latter instance due to the likelihood of return. While the majority of the study cohorts are aware that Highlandist iconography, literature and history are romanticised and prone to fabrication or mythologizing, they continue to engage with its themes, as they promote a globally recognisable brand that identifies them as Scottish. Highlandism is thus invoked as a reference point for the construction of Scottish migrant identities and/or Scottish heritage. While Highlandism informs individual identity constructions, it is not the only basis for identity construction and the intensity of its practice and deployment remains an individual choice. It also serves to advance a national identity for non-Scottish consumption, thereby intersecting with concepts of Scottish nationalism. However, this blurring of the distinctions between Highlandism and nationalism is not necessarily political in nature.

While the Scottish national identity deployed amongst the cohorts is not necessarily separatist in nature, it is one that has its roots in politics and the Parliamentary Union of 1707. This was a time when Scotland's political institutions were unrepresentative and divorced from the sentiment of the wider nation and

where its civil institutions were more relevant to the population. The Scottish political élite was complicit in the loss of Scotland's political institutions, and it was bourgeois self-interest, a share of the spoils of empire and the retention of Scottish civil society that were powerful deterrents to any nascent populist nationalism. This legacy continues to influence the attitudes of Hong Kong's mostly bourgeois migrants. Their sense of nationalism reflects the conflicted identity of unionist-nationalism, and tends to be cultural in nature rather than political. In contrast New Zealand's migrants attach a greater degree of politics to their Scottish heritage. This demonstrates an ongoing connection with Scotland, which has not been diminished by migration or distance, but pointedly still does not manifest itself in any form of political activism. The multi-generational group is substantially less politically engaged and sees its Scottishness in terms of a cultural heritage. This is evident in the responses of this group to the Referendum questions, which show them to have been interested in the process and the debate, but less engaged with it than the migrant groups and demonstrating a certain ambivalence to its outcome.

The overall satisfaction (74.3 per cent within which 47 per cent were very satisfied) of Hong Kong migrants with the Referendum's outcome emphasises their opposition to independence, which contrasts with the disappointment felt by a small majority of the New Zealand migrants (55.6 per cent within which 29.6 per cent were very disappointed). These latter numbers correlate closely to the 51.9 per cent of New Zealand migrants who, post-Referendum, see their heritage in political terms. However, the Referendum casts a shadow over the evaluation of nationalism in this study. Calum Watson's testimony and the engagement levels of the two migrant groups reflect a heightened political environment similar to that experienced in Scotland during the campaign. Additionally, care needs to be exercised over the level of political attachment New Zealand migrants evidence towards their Scottish heritage, which may have been heightened similarly.

Significantly, the Referendum appears to have stimulated a debate as to the nature of nationalism amongst those supporting and opposing independence. Those opposed to independence reject any implication that they may be any less nationalist

than those who support independence, while the SNP's positioning of themselves as the owners of Scottish nationalism polarises those who do not share the SNP's politics or the politics of independence, as articulated in Elaine Longmore's testimony and Billy Connolly's opening quote. Those opposed to independence see themselves as no less Scottish despite their Unionist sentiments, quite the opposite. They see themselves as both protectors of Scotland's cultural heritage and as Scotland's gatekeepers, opposing a path that, in their opinion, would damage the nation's future. Mary Earle and Mike Dowie's testimonies highlight those concerns. As a result, those opposing independence see themselves as nationalists.

Pointedly, given the choice of an attachment to a cultural or political Scottish heritage, their choice of attachment is a cultural one and they see themselves as cultural nationalists. This is neither a different form of nationalism nor is it apolitical, but it represents an attempt to differentiate non-separatist nationalist sentiments from the SNP's political nationalism. In other decades this would probably have been described as patriotism. However, the language of the Referendum debate has seen the term patriotism become largely absent from migrant narratives.

Return

We wander in our thousands over the face of the earth,
the illustrious and the obscure, earning beyond the seas
our fame, our money, or only a crust of bread; but it
seems to me that for each of us going home must be
like going to render an account. We return to face our
superiors, our kindred, our friends— those whom we
obey, and those whom we love;⁷⁷⁵

Joseph Conrad

8.1 Introduction

As Joseph Conrad suggests, return invariably requires that the migrants or their descendants evaluate the migration against their perceptions of the consequences for their lives if they or their forebears had remained. The key phrase is perception, as there is unlikely to be any empirical evidence on which to base any assumptions other than comparisons with the lives of family members who remained in Scotland. However, return is not solely about evaluation: for some it may be regular or irregular pilgrimages to reaffirm family and friendship links. For others it can involve a longer term stay, which may be temporary until other migration or sojourning opportunities become available, or may be a permanent return to settle or retire after a failed migration or a period of sojourning. Finally, roots return is largely a multi-generational activity, and sees them revisiting/discovering their families' histories and origins.

Return therefore covers a range of dissimilar migrant activity and is further complicated by the plethora of terms used such as re-migration, retro-migration, second migration and so on, which do not indicate the underlying reasons for return. In addition, those who return can be variously described as returners, returnees, tourists or retirees. Attempts have been made to settle on typologies to provide a

⁷⁷⁵ Joseph Conrad. *Lord Jim* (1917: Project Gutenberg e-book, Kindle edition, 2012), locations 2631-2633. www.gutenberg.org

basis for research,⁷⁷⁶ but these remain open to debate.⁷⁷⁷ Rather than add to the debate, this chapter addresses three types of return and uses the following definitions:

1. *Re-migration* – further migration by one who has already migrated.
2. *Return migration* – encompasses definitions 3, 4 and 5 below.
3. *Temporary Return* – Short-term visits, often a part of sojourner leave (holidays), but also includes settler migrant family and friends home-visits.
4. *Roots Return* – A visit for the purposes of tourism and/or roots-tourism the latter more common amongst the multi-generational cohort.
5. *Permanent Return* – Permanent or longer-term return.

Work conducted on Scottish return in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries has tended to focus on the two most significant aspects of return. Firstly, the significant cross-border flows between Scotland and the UK,⁷⁷⁸ which from 1992 to 2013 averaged 216,000 immigrants and 197,000 emigrants annually.⁷⁷⁹ In contrast, Scotland's international immigration and emigration flows averaged just 12.7 and 11.5 per cent the size of the UK flows respectively for the same period. Secondly, the phenomenon of Scottish roots-tourism, which VisitScotland estimated in 2012 to have the potential of stimulating 4.3 million visits and generating revenues of GBP2.4 billion over the following 5 years.⁷⁸⁰ Paul Basu's book *Highland*

⁷⁷⁶ See: Francesco P. Cerase, "Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of Return Migration from the United States to Southern Italy", *The International Migration Review*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1974), pp. 249-261; George Gmelch, "Return Migration", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 9 (1980), p. 138.

⁷⁷⁷ For a discussion of the typologies in the Scottish context see Mario Varricchio, "Introduction: The other side of leaving", in *Back to Caledonia: Scottish homecomings from the seventeenth century to the present*, ed. Mario Varricchio (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012), pp. 1-33.

⁷⁷⁸ See Michael Rosie, "Who are You? National identity and contemporary migrants in Scotland," in *Back to Caledonia*, ed. Mario Varricchio, pp. 242-261; David McCrone and Frank Bechhofer, "Coming Home: Return Migrants in twenty-first century Scotland," in *Back to Caledonia*, ed. Mario Varricchio, pp. 262-280.

⁷⁷⁹ NRS, *Migration between Scotland and the Rest of the UK*, last updated 22 July 2015.

<http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/statistics-and-data/statistics/statistics-by-theme/migration/migration-statistics/migration-between-scotland-and-the-rest-of-the-uk>

⁷⁸⁰ VisitScotland, *Ancestral Audit - Executive Summary*, published January 2013.

<http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/Ancestral%20audit%20summary.pdf>

Homecomings provides a detailed analysis of the phenomenon, as does VisitScotland's 2013 *Ancestral Audit Report*.⁷⁸¹

Both Marjory Harper and Angela McCarthy have addressed later twentieth century migrant returns as part of their work. However, settler return is still little understood. We do not have the statistical base on which to quantify the extent of settler or sojourner returns. Nor is it easy to get interviewees to discuss failed migrations, although returned sojourners who characterise their sojourns as a success are comfortable with being interviewed. McCarthy highlights these shortcomings, calling for 'more research into the experience of return migration ... combining [both] quantitative and qualitative approaches.'⁷⁸² However, McCarthy does draw the conclusion from her research that no matter the original intention of the migration, 'they were not set in stone',⁷⁸³ and again migrants display individual mutability dependent on context.

This individuality also extends to the reasons for return, and Harper's work has highlighted how 'persistent and crushing homesickness'⁷⁸⁴ can affect the success of an individual's migration. Indeed, migrant settler return can be longer-term and in some cases permanent with 'the most common reasons for return migration ... [being] feelings of obligation, loss and displacement.'⁷⁸⁵ Yet, as Harper acknowledges, dislocation or obligation are not the only reasons for return. Some return for vocational reasons or are serial migrants moving onto the next challenge.⁷⁸⁶ In this latter instance, they display behaviours that are similar to those of Hong Kong's sojourners. While Harper notes that '[s]ojourners have always constituted a significant part of the Scottish exodus',⁷⁸⁷ work on late twentieth and

⁷⁸¹ VisitScotland, *Ancestral Audit – Scoping Survey Report*, published January 2013. <http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/Ancestral%20audit%20report.pdf>

⁷⁸² McCarthy, *Personal Narratives*, p.220.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ Harper, *Scotland No More?*, p. 214.

⁷⁸⁵ Mary Holmes and Roger Burrows, "Ping Pong Poms: Emotional Reflexivity in Return Migration from Australia to the UK," *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2012) p. 109.

⁷⁸⁶ Harper, *Scotland No More?*, p. 218.

⁷⁸⁷ Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*, p. 324.

early twenty-first century returning sojourners is scarce, although this chapter sheds some light on the experience.

Return has been a constant of the Scottish migration experience, from the sojourning planters of the Caribbean and the nabobs of the Raj, to the settlers of the Anglophone Empire. The advent of regular steamship sailings saw return migration increase and by 1900 ‘around one third of Scots who left came back sooner or later.’⁷⁸⁸ Shorter, less risky and cheaper journeys, especially in terms of lost earnings, fuelled return migration. From 1853 to 1920 ‘1.4 million persons, virtually all of them British, went to New Zealand, and ... nearly a million (not all ... emigrants) returned.’⁷⁸⁹ These are significant numbers, as the average British-born population of New Zealand from 1858 to 1916 was 172,000.⁷⁹⁰ Given these numbers, it is clear that many of these journeys would have been temporary returns.

In addition, it demonstrates that migration and return are part of the same process and even though the cost of travel in the last quarter of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries was cheap enough to allow for increased settler temporary returns, this is not new, but rather a continuation of a process that existed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, albeit one that can be executed more often. Nor are these returns necessarily due to failed migrations. Some returns are celebrated by family members as representing successful contributions to the homeland. Typical of this is Patsy Montgomery’s narrative of her great aunt who ‘became one of the first New Zealand women to become a doctor but she was never ... noted within ... [New Zealand] because they sent her back to Scotland to graduate in medicine and she actually never came home. She did amazing things like go to the Spanish Civil War and then she became a public health doctor in London.’⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁸ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 475.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 476.

⁷⁹⁰ SNZ, *Census: 1871-1916*, published 21 August 2013.

http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digitised-collections/census-collection.aspx

⁷⁹¹ Patsy Montgomery, interview.

Tanja Bueltmann has suggested that ‘the roots of roots-tourism can be found in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.’⁷⁹² Bueltmann identifies Scottish associationalism as playing a key role, fostering and preserving memories of Scotland, as well as channelling ‘interactions and active connections’.⁷⁹³ However, associationalism in New Zealand has faded, but its role as a site of memory has been assumed by the family history and genealogy phenomenon. This has resulted in a shift in the maintenance of cultural memories from the public to the private sphere. There, they have become part of the individual’s identity, reflecting the intimacy inherent in the pursuit of family histories. These activities have been given a boost by cheaper air fares since 1978. As a result, roots returns, like temporary settler returns, can be made more often.

For sojourners in Hong Kong the *Open Skies* agreements saw employers amending employment terms from three to five-year tours with long vacation periods to tours with annual holidays/leave. Annual leave has also allowed for sojourners to accommodate competing leave destinations especially in instances of mixed marriage/relationships. Marjory Harper, reflecting on the contribution of sojourners in the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, notes that ‘[s]uccessful sojourners were ... potent recruitment agents, spreading a knowledge of overseas conditions and incentives’.⁷⁹⁴ This was certainly true then, although it does not appear to have remained the case since the late twentieth century. Today, potential sojourners have ready access to information through the internet, and interviewees report that their friendship networks show little interest in their sojourning. This chapter seeks to understand how wide this perception is amongst sojourners, and advance reasons for it.

Sojourns in Hong Kong tend to be for the short to medium term and the number who stay and retire in Hong Kong is few, but growing. Of the project’s twenty-two Hong Kong interviewees, five had either retired or semi-retired in Hong

⁷⁹² Tanja Bueltmann, “ ‘Gentlemen, I am going to the Old Country’: Scottish roots-tourists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries”, in *Back to Caledonia*, ed. Mario Varricchio, p. 150.

⁷⁹³ Ibid, p. 163.

⁷⁹⁴ Marjory Harper, “Introduction”, in *Emigrant Homecomings*, ed. Marjory Harper, p. 1.

Kong, nine were still there, seven were returnees to Scotland and one to England. However, New Zealand returnees have largely eluded the project, although two New Zealand interviewees returned for periods before re-migrating, one of them twice. A small number of permanent returnees was identified, but declined to be interviewed, leaving a gap in this research. Additionally, sojourners in New Zealand have similarly evaded coverage.

That said, this chapter seeks to address returnee experiences and the strategies they adopt for return. However, to start there is a need to quantify the extent of return migration. Unfortunately, this is hampered by the registration processes of many countries, which allow for the ‘assessment of the number of incoming immigrants [and] ... typically [there are] no procedures in place that register immigrants who leave a country.’⁷⁹⁵ This is complicated by the difficulty in statistically determining whether migrations are temporary, short, mid or longer-term.

8.2 Quantifying Return

In the absence of definitive return data, the next two sections attempt to estimate the return rates of Scottish migrants to New Zealand and Hong Kong.

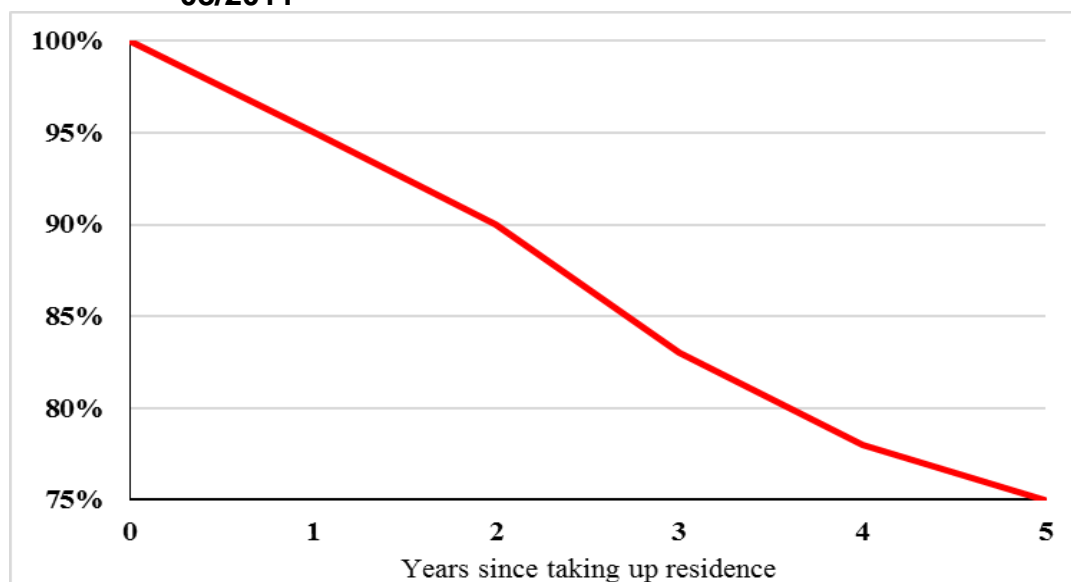
8.2.1 Quantifying New Zealand Migrant Return

While finding data on which to evaluate return from Hong Kong is difficult, the New Zealand government is more accommodating. As they consider immigration key to ‘grow[ing] a stronger economy, creat[ing] jobs and build[ing a]

⁷⁹⁵ Christian Dustmann and Yoram Weiss, “Return Migration: Theory and Empirical Evidence from the UK,” *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 45:2 (2007), p. 239.

diverse communit[y]’,⁷⁹⁶ they have commissioned reports evaluating re-migration. Eric Krassoi-Peach’s 2013 study of skilled migrants, who took up residence in New Zealand between 2004 and 2011, identified that 25 per cent re-migrated within five years, with a small peak in the risk of re-migration between years two and three:⁷⁹⁷

Fig. 8.1: New Zealand Skilled Migrant Retention Rate – 03/2004 to 03/2011



Source; Krassoi-Peach, *How Permanent*, pp. 19 & 23.

Whether a migrant returns or not is influenced by a mix of inputs, including educational qualifications, age, employment, marital status, children and country of origin. Thus, rates differ dependent on the yearly mix, and studies have provided a range of retention rates. For instance, a 1998 study put male re-migration rates after 15 years at 45 per cent and female at 39 per cent,⁷⁹⁸ while a 2006 study found that ‘23 percent of those approved for residence in 1998 were “long-term absent”’ after 7

⁷⁹⁶ Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE), *Migration Trends and Outlook 2014/2015* (Wellington: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2015), p.1. <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migrants---monitoring/migration-trends-and-outlook-2014-15.pdf>

⁷⁹⁷ Eric Krassoi-Peach, *How Permanent is Permanent Migration? Identifying the Determinants of Re-migration for Skilled Migrants in New Zealand* (Wellington: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2013), pp. 1-2. <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migrants---settlement/how-permanent-is-permanent-migration.pdf>

⁷⁹⁸ L. and R. Winkelmann, “Immigrants in the New Zealand labour market: A cohort analysis using 1981, 1986 and 1996 census data,” *Labour Market Bulletin* 1 & 2 (1998), pp. 34–70, quoted in Krassoi-Peach, *How Permanent*, p. 8. <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migrants---settlement/how-permanent-is-permanent-migration.pdf>

years from residence approval,⁷⁹⁹ and a study of the 1998-2011 cohort observed that of those who took up residence, 28 per cent had left New Zealand for in excess of 6 months.⁸⁰⁰ That said, New Zealand ranks well amongst OECD destination countries, for migrant retention.

Table 8.1: New Zealand 7-Year Re-Migration Rate Compared to Selected OECD Countries' 5-Year Rates

Country	Entry Period	Remigration Rate
Ireland	1993-1998	60%
Belgium	1993-1999	50%
UK	1992-1998	40%
Norway	1996-1999	40%
Netherlands	1994-1998	28%
USA	1999	19%
New Zealand*	1998	23%

Sources; Dumont et al, "Return Migration," p. 171; Shorland, *People on the Move*, p. 11. (*as at 30 June 2005).

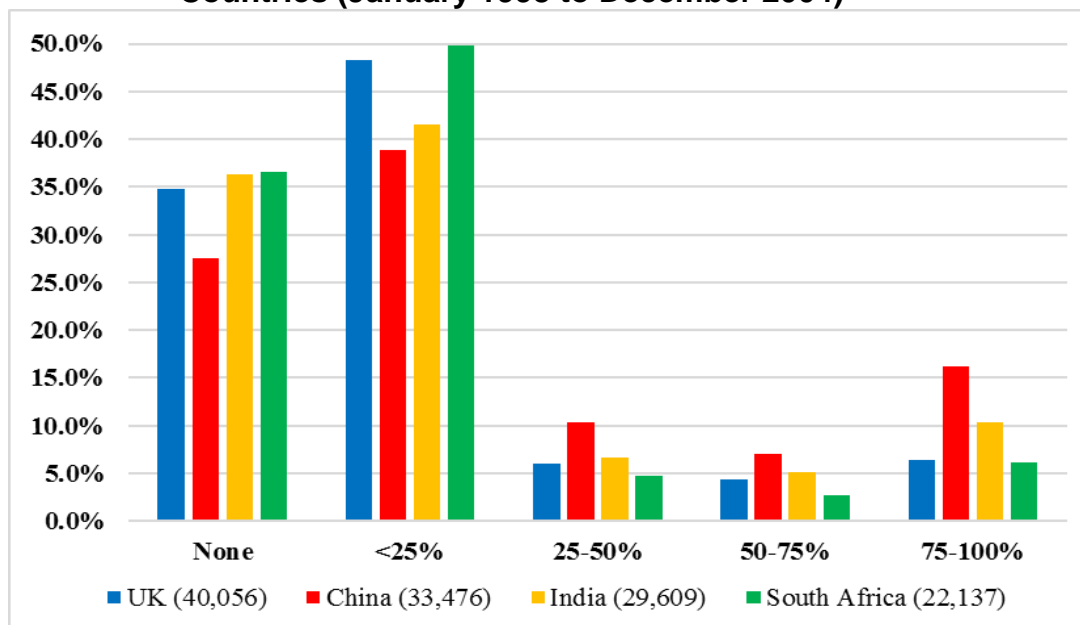
Philippa Shorland's 2006 study of migrant absenteeism notes that between January 1998 and December 2004 (inclusive) long-term British absenteeism proved to be the lowest of the top four source countries.⁸⁰¹ Overall only 16.8 per cent of Britons were absent in excess of 25 per cent of the time since taking up residence. The 48.3 per cent who were absent for less than 25 per cent of the time indicates that significant numbers remain mobile. Some of these absences may be home visits, although this cannot be determined from the data.

⁷⁹⁹ Philippa Shorland, *People on the Move: A Study of Migrant Movement Patterns to and from New Zealand* (Wellington: Department of Labour, 2006), p. 11. <http://www.mbie.govt.nz/publications-research/research/migration/Migrants-absenteeism-from-NZ.pdf>

⁸⁰⁰ M. Tausi, "Outward Migration from New Zealand" (paper presented at Pathways to Metropolis in the 21st Century, Auckland, New Zealand, 24 October 2012). http://newsettlers.massey.ac.nz/publications_pdfs/Tausi%20M%202012.pdf

⁸⁰¹ Absentees are migrants, who do not remain after taking up residence. This might not be failed migration, but may include overseas business and family commitments.

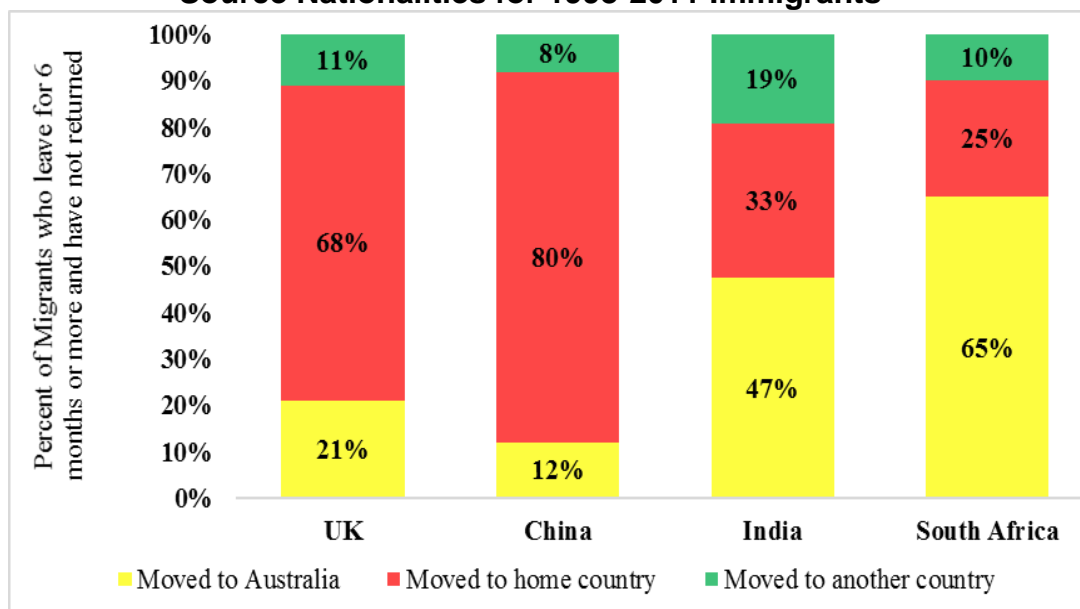
Fig. 8.2: Time Spent Absent from New Zealand – Top 4 Source Countries (January 1998 to December 2004)



Source; Shorland, *People on the Move*, p. 29.

The 6.4 per cent of UK migrants absent for 75-100 per cent of the time suggests return or re-migration, and while Shorland does not identify which, Manuila Tausi's 2012 paper does, for the 1998-2011 cohort:

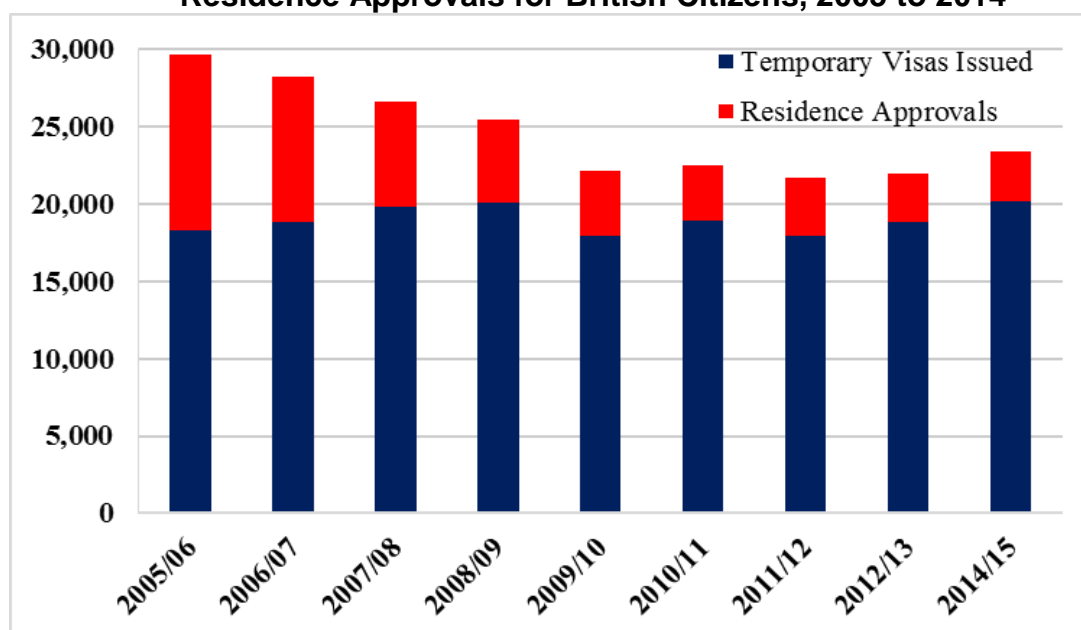
Fig. 8.3: New Zealand - Migrant Re-Migration Destinations by Top 4 Source Nationalities for 1998-2011 Immigrants



Source; Tausi, *Outward Migration*, p. 22.

Seasoning this data with the Scottish-born as a percentage of the UK-born at the 2001 census (13.1 per cent),⁸⁰² an estimate of between 360 (7.3 per cent) and 228 (4.35 per cent) Scots may have been returnees in the January 1998 to December 2011 period.⁸⁰³ These numbers are small when compared with the number who return after a one- to three-year sojourn on temporary work visas:

Fig. 8.4: Comparison of New Zealand Temporary Work Visas and Residence Approvals for British Citizens, 2005 to 2014



Source: MBIE, *Migration Trends 2014/2015*, pp. 21 & 45.

The percentage of British citizens transitioning from temporary work visas to residency is low, at 15 per cent in 2009/10 and 16 per cent in both 2010/11 and 2011/12.⁸⁰⁴ This suggests that on average a little over 15,000 Britons on temporary work visas returned to the UK in each of those years and given that 10.5 per cent⁸⁰⁵ of the British-born in New Zealand in 2013 were Scottish, an estimate of returning Scottish sojourners would be 1,600 per annum.

⁸⁰² SNZ, 2001: *Census Cultural Diversity Tables – Table 6*.

⁸⁰³ Number of Scottish migrants calculated at 13.3 per cent of British migrants. Number re-migrating arrived at using Shorland's 50-75% and 75-100% buckets (Fig. 8.2), and return to UK percentage from Fig. 8.3.

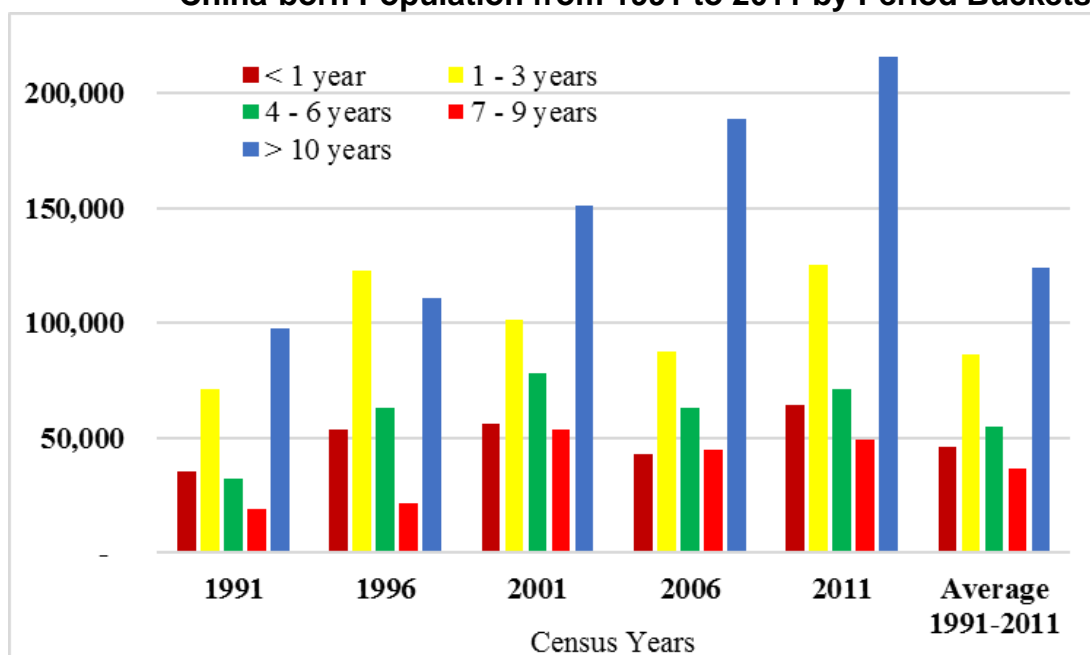
⁸⁰⁴ MBIE, *Migration Trends 2014/2015*, p. 33.

⁸⁰⁵ SNZ, 2013 *Census QuickStats About Culture and Identity*.

8.2.2 Quantifying Hong Kong Migrant Return

The extent of return migration amongst Scots in Hong Kong is anecdotally believed to be high, but cannot be determined to any statistical degree. Hong Kong's governments have not produced re-migration statistics by nationality, but since 1991 they have segmented the population statistically by broad place of birth and duration of residence (Appendix 1 – Table A9). Table A9 shows that the majority of the non-China born (including non-Hong Kong and Macau-born) stay in Hong Kong for up to 3 years, with on average 53.5 per cent residing in Hong Kong for no longer than 6 years. For those who stay for 7-9 years there is a 75 per cent likelihood of their extending their stay to in excess of 10 years.

Fig. 8.5: Residence Duration of the Non-Hong Kong, Macau and China-born Population from 1991 to 2011 by Period Buckets



Sources; CSD-GovHKSAR, 2006 *Population By-Census*, p. 37; CSD-GovHKSAR, 2011 *Population Census Summary*, p.38.

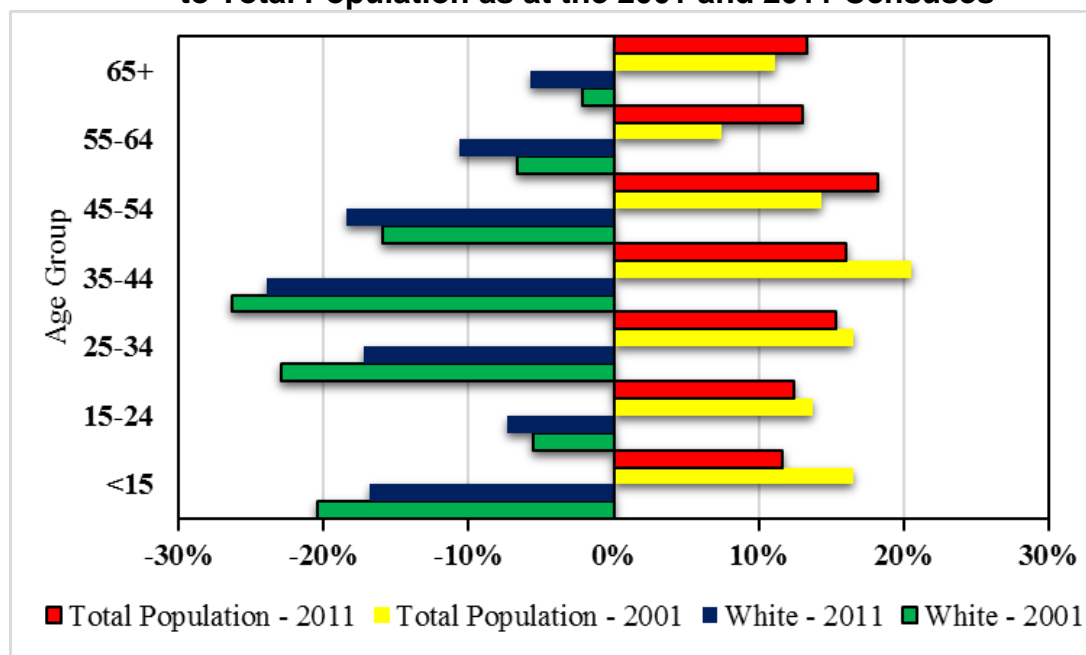
Figure 8.5 shows the flows between residence duration periods, which supports a commonly held perception amongst expatriates, that ‘[i]f you stay three years, then you'll likely stay five. If you stay beyond five, you will never go back’⁸⁰⁶ or stay until retirement. On average, 37.5 per cent of the non-China born, over the

⁸⁰⁶ David Bruce, interview.

20-year period to 2011, remained for longer than 10 years. These numbers are understated as those expatriates based in Hong Kong for the long-term but absent on sojourns for regional or multi-national corporations have the clock reset statistically when returning to Hong Kong.

Further evidence of transience amongst white ethnics can be found in the comparative demographic pyramid below (Figure 8.6), showing that the small white ethnic population (0.78 per cent of the total population) peaks in the 35 to 44-year-old group. Additionally, the age group bulge between 25 and 54 years fits an inflow of professional migrants, with their sojourns tailing off in the 45 to 54-year-old group, as the peak concentrations move to other destinations or return.

Fig 8.6: Hong Kong Demographic Pyramid comparing White Ethnics to Total Population as at the 2001 and 2011 Censuses



Source; CSD-GovHKSAR, 2011: *Ethnic Minorities*, p. 27.

Two features are worth noting here. Firstly, the drop in the number of whites in the 15 to 24-year-old group, which can either be attributed to adolescents and young adults being resident overseas for education purposes, or most likely to parental return coinciding with adolescent schooling. Additionally, there appears to be a growing number of white ethnics remaining in Hong Kong post-retirement

(65+). This age group increased threefold from 1,010 in 2001 to 3,197 in 2011⁸⁰⁷ and will be discussed further in section 8.5.

8.3 Temporary Returns

8.3.1 Sojourner Temporary Return

In 1956 Stan Robertson went overseas with HSBC, four years later after sojourns in Sri Lanka, Hong Kong and Malaysia he returned to Scotland on his first leave, which was for eight months.⁸⁰⁸ The length of these sojourns varied dependent on employer policies, although Hong Kong Government expatriates appear to have been employed on two to two and a half year tours. Fiona Paterson's father was a Government civil engineer and she recalls how these terms changed in the 1970s:

he would work for 2 years then have 6 months home leave. We would travel to the UK/Scotland by plane. It was a long 24 hour BOAC flight!! This eventually changed when I was ... a teenager in the 70s ... and it was shortened to 18 months working and a 6 week leave.'⁸⁰⁹

By the 1980s annual leave terms were the norm. As expatriate employment typically includes a travel package, and as the cost of air travel had fallen substantially, the time between leave could be reduced without increasing employment costs. The move to annual leave also reduced pressure to use leave to make family visits, allowing for alternative holiday and leisure pursuits. However, sojourners still tend to include a family visit every other year on average, but now combine those visits with journeys to other destinations. Peter Caldwell, who went onto annual leave terms in the late 1970s, reflects this commenting: 'I don't think I went back to Scotland every year. I think sometimes we took annual leave outside of

⁸⁰⁷ CSD-GovHKSAR, 2011: *Ethnic Minorities*, p. 27.

⁸⁰⁸ Diana and Stan Robertson, interview.

⁸⁰⁹ Fiona Paterson, e-mail to author, 17 August 2016.

UK, but most years I would have been back at least part of the holiday, but not usually the whole holiday, I'd usually go somewhere else as well.'⁸¹⁰

Dependent on the stage of the sojourn, the temporary return can serve different purposes. In the early stages it can serve to alleviate any concerns. In the late 1980s, Carol and Geoff Carson's start in Hong Kong had been challenging. Geoff worked in Sha Tin, a long commute from their flat in Hong Kong's Mid-Levels, while Carol worked as an English Schools Foundation primary school teacher on Hong Kong Island. Initially their social life was limited, especially when compared to their life in Edinburgh. Then, within six months of arriving their six-year old son was hospitalised with pneumonia. A short holiday in Thailand helped, but it was their visit to Scotland in July and August 1989 that stabilised their sojourn. Geoff recalls that they 'rented a house up in the north of Scotland with some friends. And the weather was good ... I was into hill walking in those days. ... The holiday was great, and I was not too bothered coming back to Hong Kong.'⁸¹¹

For those settled in their sojourn, temporary returns are first and foremost about refreshing their links with family. This is especially important to those with children. David Bruce says of his temporary returns with his children, that 'we've been very careful to expose them to their family background. So every summer, since all of them were born, ... we stay with Vicky's parents [in England] ... and [visit] my father, he lives in a small flat in Blackhall, [so] we rent a house.'⁸¹² For those without children the temporary return to see family can appear to be more of a duty when there were competing attractions elsewhere. Elaine Longmore highlights this, commenting that '[a]fter my parents went back ... to the UK, I had to go home once a year and see the family. It was a right pain. I couldn't go travelling. I would rather have gone somewhere else, but duty call[ed]'.⁸¹³ Others find the draw of Scotland diminished by time and competing family commitments. After 42 years sojourning, Peter Caldwell recognises that he does not 'have a strong affinity with

⁸¹⁰ Peter Caldwell, interview.

⁸¹¹ Geoff and Carol Carson, interview.

⁸¹² David Bruce, interview.

⁸¹³ Elaine Longmore, interview.

people [in Scotland] ... [But] I go back and I talk to my sister for example who has lived in Glasgow, [much of] her life.'⁸¹⁴ His returns are now more occasional than regular, as there are a number of competing family demands owing to the dispersal of his family, who are located across the globe from York and Glasgow in the UK to New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong and the USA.

Towards the end of their sojourns, those planning for permanent return use temporary returns to prepare for return to Scotland/UK, and the purchase of a property is a key activity. Lindsey Hamilton says that her husband had bought property when back on leave 'as soon as he was able to',⁸¹⁵ letting it out between leaves. Others, like Carol and Geoff Carson retained their property, in their case unlet, as an earlier sojourning experience had resulted in them not having access to their home and living 'out of a suitcase. ... We didn't like it. So ... we kept the house. ... All our stuff was there ... That was big in staying in touch with the life. So we were living two lives.'⁸¹⁶ In addition the Carsons invested time and effort in maintaining their friendship links, and their return strategies are discussed further in section 8.5.

Whereas, in the past, sojourners may have been advertisements for overseas life, this no longer appears to be the case. Leave is individually tailored and the dissemination of information about life overseas is usually restricted to family or those friends, who have themselves been sojourners, irrespective of whether their sojourns had been in Hong Kong or elsewhere. Stuart Stoker recalls that when he and his wife Lizzie first returned to Scotland after being in Hong Kong; 'we caught up with the same crowd of people that we'd known. [However], you realise ... very quickly, ... that your chums ... aren't remotely interested in the life elsewhere ... You realise there is a disconnect. I think everybody I know has exactly the same experience.'⁸¹⁷ As Stuart notes, this is common to fellow expatriates and is a

⁸¹⁴ Peter Caldwell, interview.

⁸¹⁵ Lindsey Hamilton, interview.

⁸¹⁶ Geoff and Carol Carson, interview.

⁸¹⁷ Stuart Stoker, interview.

perception that is widely held amongst sojourners in Hong Kong, as Alan Powrie makes clear:

Your life starts to diverge ... the longer you're away ... and it becomes extremely difficult to talk to people.

Indeed, one of the other pieces of advice I was given, ... was when you're going back to ... Scotland, don't talk about what you've been doing over here because they just do not want to know, because they'll be reminded, "I could have done that too."⁸¹⁸

Diana Robertson suggests that non-sojourners are fixated on images of wealth and 'hot and cold running helpers',⁸¹⁹ but do not appreciate the job commitment or hours worked, commenting that 'the envy is ... there ... Everybody looks at your lifestyle [but] ... I think there was perhaps not a lot of knowledge ... about actually what happened work wise.'⁸²⁰

The modern non-sojourning population with access to a wide range of media, no longer need sojourners for information on life overseas, although contact can be a catalyst for those considering leaving Scotland. David Hamilton's stimulus was his meeting with banker Paddy Sherman, whose LP collection had impressed him.⁸²¹ Similarly, settler migrants can also be influencers, as David Bruce notes of his migrant relatives in America and Australia: 'as a child, [I] associated going overseas with wealth, relative wealth, because we could not afford the toys that they would buy me when they visited.'⁸²²

8.3.2 Settler Temporary Return

Settlers also conduct temporary returns, and again these have become more common since travel costs have fallen. Like sojourner temporary returns, they are

⁸¹⁸ Alan Powrie, interview.

⁸¹⁹ Diana and Stan Robertson, interview. By 'helpers' Diana means domestic servants.

⁸²⁰ Ibid.

⁸²¹ David Hamilton, interview.

⁸²² David Bruce, interview.

primarily targeted at the maintenance of family links. They tend not to engage in property purchase or return preparation, and like sojourners do not consciously engage in promoting migration to friends or relatives unless asked to do so. Yet, amongst those who migrated with developed memories of Scotland, temporary returns prompt reflection on the success of the migration as highlighted in this chapter's opening quote.

Prior to the 1980s the cost of a temporary return was prohibitive, as Anne Bowden's testimony concerning the mid to late-1960s reflects:

I think I knew I couldn't go home. I didn't have enough money to go home ... in those days it was the same price to fly home as it is now ... if you were lucky you earned GBP1,000 a year and that's what an airfare was, so there was no way. It was ... out of reach.⁸²³

This is characteristic of the narratives of those who migrated prior to the 1980s, while the realisation that temporary returns were financially out of reach is common, and it is not unusual for the first return to occur decades after initial migration. For instance, Joyce Sillars' first temporary return was in 1979, twenty-two years after migrating,⁸²⁴ and Jean Hanna's was in 1981 after twenty-four years in New Zealand, while her husband John's was in 1991, thirty-four years after migrating.⁸²⁵

Visit Britain produces estimates of the number of New Zealand resident visitors to Scotland segmented into 3 main groups, business visits, which accounted for just 18,686 visits in the fourteen years to 2015, holiday visits totalling 130,364 and visits to friends and relatives (VFR) of 181,387.⁸²⁶ The VFR numbers are tabulated overleaf (Table 8.2). These numbers are arrived at by extrapolating estimates from the International Passenger Survey (IPS), which samples passenger arrivals at ports and airports. New Zealand resident VFR visits account for the

⁸²³ Anne Bowden, interview.

⁸²⁴ Joyce Sillars, interview.

⁸²⁵ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

⁸²⁶ Visit Britain, *Inbound nation, region and county data*, accessed 15 May 2016.
<https://www.visitbritain.org/nation-region-county-data>

majority of New Zealand visitors, the most spend and the most nights over the fourteen-year period to 2015.

Table 8.2: Inbound New Zealand VFR Visits to Scotland 2002-2015

Year	Visits	Spend (GBP)	Nights	Average nights per visit	Average spend per visit (GBP)	Average spend per night (GBP)
2002	12,099	4,915,736	206,113	17	406	24
2003	7,275	2,982,773	55,455	8	410	54
2004	12,309	3,997,187	120,748	10	325	33
2005	17,788	10,077,648	218,132	12	567	46
2006	16,082	6,498,436	331,484	21	404	20
2007	17,913	10,333,223	361,574	20	577	29
2008	13,418	5,173,192	173,033	13	386	30
2009	15,171	11,859,764	246,926	16	782	48
2010	14,296	10,086,334	177,618	12	706	57
2011	12,153	7,631,905	120,782	10	628	63
2012	8,261	11,010,285	163,181	20	1,333	67
2013	10,614	4,426,206	115,189	11	417	38
2014	11,217	12,596,215	189,570	17	1,123	66
2015	12,762	8,555,047	189,913	15	670	45
Totals	181,357	110,143,952	2,669,718	15	607	41

Source; Visit Britain, *Inbound nation, region and county data*.

Alex Loggie's discussion of family visits to and from New Zealand highlights the comparative ease of contemplating such temporary returns in the new millennium: 'My stepmother ... has been across three times now. She came across our first Christmas here, which would have been 2005 ... We're planning to go back next year'.⁸²⁷ As his testimony suggests, the draw for migrant temporary returns is family contact. Su Leslie, who was five when her parents migrated in 1967, made her first journey to the UK in 1991. She added her journey to a business trip to the USA and 'spent time with my gran, which was lovely because I hadn't really known her'.⁸²⁸ The following year she returned to the UK on OE with her New Zealand-born partner. This time the temporary return was a sojourn and she and her partner

⁸²⁷ Alex Loggie, interview.

⁸²⁸ Su Leslie, interview.

lived and worked in Southern England for nine years, even starting a family with the birth of a son in 1998. During the sojourn they had contact with Su's Scottish family: '[w]e would holiday in Scotland and visit my relatives, but we were very much Kiwis.'⁸²⁹ Being so young when her parents migrated she 'felt like a tourist ... I suppose ... because I didn't have any particular memories of places.'⁸³⁰

Mike Dolling arrived in New Zealand in 1972 after sojourning in Germany and Australia. He made his first temporary return from New Zealand in 1981 with his wife and three children. Again, family is a key part of his narrative, in which Mike connects his children to his own childhood memories: 'It was when my mother was still alive. The kids had never had sweets when we were in New Zealand. They got back to Scotland ... you opened the cupboard and there were all these sweets.'⁸³¹ Having migrated as an adult, Mike used his returns to maintain friendships with friends he had 'known since pre-school. And they've been over here and I've been over there.' His maintenance of these links had their reward in 2014, when he had his sixtieth birthday in Whanganui 'and a lot of them came over'.⁸³² Mike has also encouraged his children to undertake their own temporary returns and one daughter, an optometrist, has sojourned in the UK, working in Shetland and Cornwall.

Mike's visits also prompted him to evaluate the success of his migration, and as is common, the benchmark used is the success and welfare of his children, commenting that: '[I]like all parents, we're very proud of our children. They did well.'⁸³³ The implication is that they might not have done so well if they had grown up in Glasgow, a message he reiterates when describing what has become of his childhood haunts:

When I went back [to Barrowfield], there was not one child. I never saw a human being. I never saw an adult. ... And all the closes had doors on them. ... We used to go in and out the closes. So the kids weren't playing in the street. ... And I went down the Cart [White

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

⁸³⁰ Ibid.

⁸³¹ Mike Dolling, interview.

⁸³² Ibid.

⁸³³ Ibid.

Cart Water] and there were no birds ... and they had built a walk with a paling so the kids couldn't go down and fish like we used to ... That was gone ... So there's a sadness when you go back.⁸³⁴

The same benchmark is used by John Hanna:

our kids ... love being outdoors. ... They've all finished up in good situations and they've got jobs that make them secure financially in a way that we never were. I don't know that they would have had those opportunities ... we went back ... to Shettleston, ... it's not a very healthy place.⁸³⁵

Such benchmarks do not really allow for differential outcomes, and as such are a comfortable basis on which to evaluate migration as a success. They do, however, allow migrants to develop a narrative of success built on a risk-taking pioneering sacrifice for the welfare of the family. This in turn can obviate any disappointment in the achievement of personal migration goals and cannot be easily challenged. Interestingly, the New Zealand-born children of migrants such as Kirsten Main, who has visited Scotland, are more circumspect about the better opportunity motive, as Kirsten says 'Gran's always said the opportunities that the family has had, they wouldn't have had in Scotland. I don't know what that means, but that's what Gran's always said to me.'⁸³⁶

Additionally, descriptions of temporary returns by the New Zealand-born children of migrants are typically tourism-orientated, as they have little sense of place other than parental input. Kirsten comments of her visit that: 'I really enjoyed doing the touristy things, so we went to the castles and all the touristy attractions.'⁸³⁷ Her experience is reflected in that of migrants with little memory of life prior to migration, like Su Leslie, who describes her first visit to Scotland in similarly romantic terms: 'I can remember hiring a car and driving up to Oban and a few other

⁸³⁴ Ibid.

⁸³⁵ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

⁸³⁶ Kirsten Main, interview.

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

places. I think it was pretty, a very perfect postcard Scotland ... but I enjoyed being a tourist and I felt like a tourist.’⁸³⁸

The use of the word tourist is an interesting generational distinction. Adult and older adolescent migrant settlers avoid using it when describing their temporary returns, which are to places they remember and in some cases know intimately, as was the case for Mike Dolling’s return. In contrast, those who migrate as children or are young returners on their OE or visits to family they have never met, are comfortable describing themselves as tourists. Some, like child migrant, Allan Main do draw a distinction between these temporary return activities: ‘We had a period allocated to family and did the family things for that, but it was important to us that we also did the country as tourists as well, so that was a key aspect of that trip back.’⁸³⁹ Those with adult memories tend to not to see themselves as tourists in what they perceive to be their country, whereas those whose childhood memories are of New Zealand do not have such a deep sense of belonging or place, even if they identify themselves as Scots or Scottish New Zealanders. The temporary return is an experience in which they are creating new memories, not building on remembrances of a Scotland left behind.

8.4 Roots Return

VisitScotland commissioned a study of ancestral research in 2012 and its key findings were that annual estimated trips were 213,000 with the potential for 4.3 million visits over the following 5 years. The estimated value to the Scottish economy was GBP101 million per annum and potentially GBP2.4 billion over the next 5 years, and that there was a high likelihood of repeat visits and recommendations of Scotland to family and friends.⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁸ Su Leslie, interview.

⁸³⁹ Allan Main, interview.

⁸⁴⁰ VisitScotland, *Ancestral Audit - Executive Summary*, published January 2013.
<http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/Ancestral%20audit%20summary.pdf>

In 2007, Paul Basu noted that VisitScotland/Scottish Tourist Board research failed to answer the question as to ‘[w]hy ... people make these genealogical journeys’,⁸⁴¹ and the 2012 survey leaves this question unanswered. These journeys tend to be conducted by the multi-generational cohort rather than migrants. However, this section does discuss homecoming visits where they intersect with migrant temporary returns and the visits of the children of migrants.

Table 8.3 provides data on holiday visits, which would include roots returns by New Zealand residents:

Table 8.3: Inbound New Zealand Holiday Visits to Scotland 2002-2015

Year	Visits	Spend (GBP)	Nights	Average nights per visit	Average spend per visit (GBP)	Average spend per night (GBP)
2002	6,217	3,618,535	91,359	15	582	40
2003	10,678	8,454,197	168,156	16	792	50
2004	9,992	7,711,715	105,987	11	772	73
2005	11,549	5,347,852	84,374	7	463	63
2006	12,376	5,780,493	85,865	7	467	67
2007	10,101	3,788,710	55,846	6	375	68
2008	6,788	3,080,395	58,277	9	454	53
2009	9,907	3,614,764	99,654	10	365	36
2010	8,500	4,850,401	66,044	8	571	73
2011	7,351	3,928,860	65,712	9	534	60
2012	7,276	2,758,343	31,055	4	379	89
2013	2,931	3,816,008	33,097	11	1,302	115
2014	8,138	3,063,765	43,758	5	376	70
2015	18,559	12,671,627	155,839	8	683	81
Totals	130,364	72,485,664	1,145,023	9	556	63

Source; Visit Britain, *Inbound data*.

Unfortunately, this data does not segment holiday visit data further to help identify the full extent of roots return, although Table 8.4 does show that visits to

⁸⁴¹ Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, p. 2.

friends and relatives are on average 60 per cent longer than holiday visits and cost 33 per cent less per night:

Table 8.4: Comparison of Average Inbound New Zealand VFR and Holiday Visits to Scotland, 2002-2015

Visit Type	As a % of total NZ visits	As a % of total NZ spend	As a % of total NZ nights	Avg nights per visit	Avg spend per visit (GBP)	Avg spend per night
VFR	53.6%	54.9%	63.8%	0	576	39
Holiday	38.5%	36.1%	27.4%	0	525	58
Combined	92.1%	90.9%	91.2%	0	556	45

Source; Visit Britain, *Inbound data*.

The longer stays and more frugal spend of VFR visits suggests that a percentage of these may involve less expensive homestays, which are characteristic of visits to family and friends. This does not provide an understanding of the extent of roots return, other than to suggest that, at best, this could represent close to a third of New Zealand resident visits to Scotland per annum.

Like temporary returners, who migrated as adults, roots tourists ‘rarely consider themselves to be tourists at all’,⁸⁴² and the few multi-generational interviews conducted would seem to support this. However, younger multi-generational interviewees like Kirsten Main see their experience of Scotland as being one of tourism and when Sandi Black imagines seeing Scotland it is: ‘Take me on a tour.’⁸⁴³ There is a distinction between the tourism that takes in Scotland’s iconic sites and the more personal visit to research family history/genealogy, which can encompass visits to towns and villages associated with the family’s origins rather than a visit to Edinburgh Castle for example. In section 8.3.2, migrant Allan Main hints at such a delineation of activity during his temporary return. Genealogical visits are akin to pilgrimage, and as such engender a sense of ownership of Scotland’s past similar to that identified amongst adult migrants. In contrast younger

⁸⁴² Paul Basu, “Roots tourism as return movement: semantics and the Scottish diaspora” in *Emigrant Homecomings* ed. Marjory Harper, p. 133.

⁸⁴³ Sandi Black, interview.

New Zealanders and those on their OE are more interested in the experience than a study of heritage and see themselves as tourists. This may change over time and over generations as memories of living relatives pass and older migrants and the multi-generational cohort engage with their family histories.

For instance, New Zealand-born Sue Broad first visited Scotland while sojourning in England in the early 1970s. Her initial feelings were characteristically tourist-like, and she draws a distinction between her pre- and post-family history impressions: '[we] did some touring around, including going to Scotland. I thought, "It's a beautiful country," but at that stage, ... I hadn't gone more into the family history.'⁸⁴⁴ Sue's interest in her family history started in the 1990s and was given impetus when her last direct Scottish relative, an aunt, passed away in 1999. Thereafter, visits to Scotland became orientated towards family history and she was able to make 'contact with a distant cousin' in Glasgow.⁸⁴⁵

One migrant, Cathy Gunn, editor of the New Zealand Clan Gunn Society newsletter, provides an insight into the differences between the migrant and multi-generational cohorts. Cathy, who migrated in 1995, went with other society members to the Clan's Gathering in Caithness in 2012 and comments that:

a lot of the members ... were all decked out in ... their traditional outfits ... For those people, it was a real journey back to family they had never known; whereas, for me, my family is all still there. I don't have to go and look for them. I know exactly where they are and where they had come from'.⁸⁴⁶

While it is rare for migrants to experience roots returns, Cathy's testimony shows that it can happen. Similarly, Su Leslie and the Main family's experiences demonstrate that homecoming in the form of tourism can also be experienced by the children of migrants. Additionally, these experiences can be combined with home visits where they intersect and/or re-establish links with family members, as

⁸⁴⁴ Sue Broad, interview.

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁶ Cathy Gunn, interview.

happened for Sue Broad. However, visits like Sue's lack the intimacy of migrant or near migrant temporary returns where a direct relative is involved and there is the possibility of a home-stay.

On her first visit, Sue Broad took in the traditional tourist sites of Scotland, which did little to dispel her image of Scotland as being like 'those amazing old paintings, with a stone house in the distance, gardens and parks, and then there is a stag up there'.⁸⁴⁷ On her subsequent family history/genealogy visits, she travelled to Glasgow where she realised that '[t]he reality was just the complete opposite.'⁸⁴⁸ Her preconceptions had their origins in the reimagined world of her Gorbals-born and raised paternal grandmother, who told her tales of being in service on a Highland estate. Despite the singularity of Sue's experience, it is illustrative of the creation of imagined Scotlands amongst migrant communities. Drawing on a Salman Rushdie essay,⁸⁴⁹ Basu argues that these are 'a product of the diasporic imagination, a mythic place, a virtual ... reality'.⁸⁵⁰ Importantly, roots tourists do not visit to see modern Scotland, their Scotland is the 'places and landscapes they think their ancestors saw'.⁸⁵¹ While their mythic romanticised images of Scotland may appear to be a distortion to Scotland's resident population, it should be remembered that tourism provided jobs for 196,000 people or 7.7 per cent of Scotland's employment in 2014.⁸⁵² As a result, those who depend on the industry, in addition to Scottish Government institutions such as VisitScotland, remain willing to 'sell "Scotland the Brand" and therefore reinforce diasporic expectations'.⁸⁵³

Amongst migrants it is not unusual for these mythic or romanticised images of Scotland to be passed down by parents, although with access to the internet, their offspring are more circumspect. As Sandi Black comments, 'I have no doubt that the

⁸⁴⁷ Sue Broad, interview.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁹ Salman Rushdie, "Imaginary Homelands" in *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981-1991* (London: Granta Books, 1992), pp. 9-21.

⁸⁵⁰ Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, p. 66.

⁸⁵¹ Celeste Ray, "Ancestral Clanscapes and Transatlantic Tartaneers," in *Back to Caledonia*, ed. Mario Varricchio, p. 179.

⁸⁵² Scottish Government, *Tourism*, updated 18 October 2016. <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Business-Industry/Tourism>

⁸⁵³ Celeste Ray, "Ancestral Clanscapes", p. 186.

Scotland now is not the Scotland that Dad grew up in. I even think he's probably romanticised it a bit more than maybe he'd like to admit.'⁸⁵⁴ In addition, these romanticised images may conflict with reasons given for the family's departure, which may partially explain the confusion experienced by Kirsten Main in face of her grandmother's insistence that New Zealand offered better opportunities than Scotland could.

Not all travel with romantic visions of Scotland. Some have different parental narratives consistent with the reasons for departure. In 2011, and in his early seventies, Eric Churton, whose migrant mother never returned to Scotland, made his first visit. He had early twentieth-century photographs of his mother's birthplace, the coal mining town of Cowdenbeath, which showed that 'it was a dirty, grubby little town'.⁸⁵⁵ Yet, Cowdenbeath provided the greatest surprise of his visit, as he found it to be 'a lovely green place with green fields, and no sign of the coal mining.'⁸⁵⁶

Roots returns tend not to play a significant part in the return activities of migrants and to some extent, their children. The key issue for migrants is that they are likely to still have living, relatively close family connections in Scotland, and as highlighted by Cathy Gunn there is no need to go searching for the ancestors. Child migrants, who have limited memories of life in Scotland, can bridge and combine visits to relatives with forms of roots tourism, with the emphasis on tourism rather than family history, and the New Zealand-born children of migrants behave similarly. Interviews also highlight the participation of parents in constructing an imaginary Scottish homeland, although, that said, the New Zealand-born children of migrants, appear to be circumspect with regard to their parents' constructions, and the visits of the younger cohort are more for the experience than engaging with family history, yet as Sue Broad's testimony highlights, this can change with time.

⁸⁵⁴ Sandi Black, interview.

⁸⁵⁵ Eric Churton, interviewed by Iain Watson, 19 July 2014, interview transcript.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

8.5 Permanent Return

An estimated 1,623 Scottish migrants returned from New Zealand per annum between 1998 and 2011, of whom 98.6 per cent were sojourners. This is nearly as great as the estimated Scottish population of Hong Kong. Unfortunately, the project was unable to identify New Zealand sojourner and permanent returnees for interview. However, New Zealand migrants do reference returnees in interview and two interviewees had been returnees before re-migrating to New Zealand.

Hong Kong sojourners return to the UK to retire, resume their UK lives or re-migrate to other destinations. The interviews provide the basis for discussing the challenges and strategies employed by sojourners to reintegrate or assimilate themselves within what can seem to be a new host society. In addition, as highlighted in the demographic profile of Hong Kong's white ethnic population, there appears to be a growing trend for whites to remain in Hong Kong after retirement (Figure 8.6).

8.5.1 Hong Kong Sojourner Permanent Return

Returnees are confronted with similar challenges to those they faced when first migrating. These challenges intensify the longer they are away from the UK. Those who return after a lifetime of sojourning find their homeland much changed from the one they left. This potential unfamiliarity may have been mitigated by temporary returns and the purchase of property, but does not diminish changes in social status, socio-political attitudes, and most importantly, the migrant's social and friendship networks. In addition, a lifetime of sojourning also sees the growth, development and change of the individual's social, human and ethno-cultural capital in a foreign environment, which may not necessarily be convertible into similar levels of capital upon return.

For each migrant family, the decision if and where to return to needs addressing, and is one that is both highly individual and complex, but not for all. David and Lindsey Hamilton were both from Edinburgh and for Lindsey it had always been their intention to return. Lindsey cannot recall whether there was a conscious plan or decision, but recognises that it was an easier decision for them compared to others.

[W]hat made it easier was that we were both from Scotland. So it's not a case of, well, you're from Australia, you're from Scotland. Where are we going to settle? ...

And David always kept a house here ... So we always had somewhere to stay and of course, our families were both here. That meant every year, for part of our leave, we came back to ... Scotland. It was always enforced. We were always going to come home.⁸⁵⁷

David remembers discussing return, and at the end of his last sojourn in Brazil was tempted to retire there. He recalls Lindsey convincing him that, without his work, Brazil would have limited appeal, and so 'we got on a plane ... visited our old place in New York and arrived back in Edinburgh.'⁸⁵⁸ Lindsey's testimony raises a number of key issues faced by the sojourner. Firstly, those with more complicated family ethnicities and dispersal, such as Peter Caldwell's mix of Hong Kong, UK, USA and Australia, have a more complex decision to make. Secondly, that ties with the homeland or return location need to be maintained through temporary returns. Finally, the purchase and maintenance of a property creates a physical connection for permanent return.

Even with a shared ethnicity, family in Scotland, regular temporary returns and property ownership the process of assimilation and integration cannot be assured, even when the sojourner has always been committed to return. Stay-at-home Scots do not appear to be interested in the overseas lives of sojourners, and establishing new friendships and networks with them based on common ground can be difficult. Glasgow-born Diana Robertson comments that over the thirty years of

⁸⁵⁷ Lindsey Hamilton, interview.

⁸⁵⁸ David Hamilton, interview.

her sojourn 'I always intended to come back to Scotland when Stan retired and that's what happened.'⁸⁵⁹ Despite this commitment, Stan observes that when they returned 'it was like arriving in a new country. Although I'd been home on leave ... I was very busy with the kids at school and what not. When I came home permanently it was like being posted to a new posting.' They had to work at creating new networks. As Stan comments, 'I had to go and make my mark, as you do when you're posted to any new country. The first thing to do is to get out and meet people so they know who you are ... I think that's very important.'⁸⁶⁰ Ironically, life as a sojourner has provided Stan with the skills to acculturate, adapt and accommodate to his 'new posting' in Scotland.

Further assimilation and integration are harder to achieve and Diana and Stan acknowledge that they have tended to gravitate towards those with some experience of a sojourning expatriate life. Stan says of his circle of friends in Scotland that '[y]ou've got the guys who have lived there [in Hong Kong] all their career. You've got the guys who have frequently visited there and know the place [and] who can understand a lot more of what you're talking about than the layman would.'⁸⁶¹ Diana concedes that they feel more comfortable in the company of other expatriate returnees, not necessarily as returnees but because 'the people that you keep in contact with ... are friends you met overseas ... You have common ground and when you start the "I remember when" bit, you actually have somebody who knows what you're talking about, whereas you get a glassy look from ... other people.'⁸⁶² Elaine Longmore, whose sojourn lasted 15 years and returned in her late 30s, observes that many of her and her ex-RHKP partner's friends remain Hong Kong ones, as 'we all made some very good friends in Hong Kong, and they're still friends. We may not see them for six months, or six years or whatever, but you can still pick up where you left off.'⁸⁶³

⁸⁵⁹ Diana and Stan Robertson, interview.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁶¹ Diana and Stan Robertson, interview.

⁸⁶² Ibid.

⁸⁶³ Elaine Longmore, interview.

This preference for those who have shared the experience of sojourning is understandable given that those who stay in Hong Kong for the medium to long term become reliant on those relationships. Nor is this preference solely of their own making. Geoff Carson, mirroring the comments of Diana Robertson and others, notes that his non-sojourning friends were ‘not interested in Hong Kong ... One or two of them had been out to see us. But several hadn’t, so they weren’t even interested enough to come out and stay with us while we were there.’⁸⁶⁴ This indifference sees returnees not necessarily searching out other returnees, but naturally gravitating towards others with whom they can share their life’s experiences.

The effort required to facilitate successful re-integration is highlighted by that deployed by Carol and Geoff Carson. Financially comfortable after ten years in Hong Kong, they ‘thought ten years was long enough. We were repeating a bit. The same places, the same holidays.’⁸⁶⁵ Carol missed Scotland and ‘being able to walk into shops and along streets. And being the same as everybody else, instead of being different ... I just wanted to feel at home again. I never felt at home in Hong Kong ... I always felt that I was a stranger.’⁸⁶⁶ They had been committed to returning from the start and emphasised this by returning to their Edinburgh home every summer. For Carol, who worked as a schoolteacher, this was for two months and for Geoff, a month. Importantly, they made every effort to maintain their Edinburgh social capital by meeting and spending time within their Scottish social networks.

For Carol, return proved easy and she ‘slotted back in without a backward glance’.⁸⁶⁷ The time and investment they had made in maintaining their friendship networks paid off: ‘Everybody was still there for us and we just went back to the same old routine that we’d done for years and years before ... it worked out fine.’⁸⁶⁸ While Geoff was comfortable with return socially, employment was a different matter: ‘I thought I would get a job. I thought there would be work. I thought there

⁸⁶⁴ Geoff and Carol Carson, interview.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid.

would be something that would come up. But there wasn't ... Nobody was in any way impressed by what I'd been doing for the last ten years in Hong Kong.⁸⁶⁹ He considered returning to Hong Kong, and eventually through contacts there secured a brief sojourn in Australia, with Carol remaining in Scotland.

The transferability of job skills is not an unusual challenge for sojourners. For instance, returning RHKP officers could not just slot into similar roles in the UK and those few who joined a UK police force would typically start at the bottom unless they had been with and were re-employed by specialist units such as Special Branch. In contrast, those working for multi-nationals like HSBC can return to the UK on better terms than when they left, with their overseas experience representing an increment to their human capital. Better job security was also available to those on secondment from UK employers, like Stewart Saunders, who worked with China Light and Power, 'and after two and a half years ... went back as managing director of MANWEB.'⁸⁷⁰ Indeed, it would appear that the shorter the sojourn the better the likelihood of return employment at least on the same terms as when the sojourner departed.

As Figure 8.6 demonstrates, there is an increasing number of white ethnics who continue to reside in Hong Kong after retirement. Age distribution data by ethnicity has only been available from 2001 and this shows a three-fold increase in the number of white ethnics aged 65+ as at the 2011 census.

Table 8.5: Hong Kong's White Ethnic Resident Population aged 65+ as at 2001, 2006 and 2011 Censuses

Census Years	Count	As a percent of white ethnics
2001	1010	2.17%
2006	1585	4.36%
2011	3197	5.79%

Source; CSD-HKSAR, 2011: *Ethnic Minorities*, p. 27.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁰ Stewart Saunders, interview.

Among the reasons for staying are the networks that sojourners construct while in Hong Kong, which widen and deepen the longer they are there. David Bruce intends to stay and observes that, '[m]any people ... are retiring in Hong Kong ... I would say 50 per cent of the people we know will stay in Hong Kong.'⁸⁷¹ David also notes that there are financial benefits: 'pension income is tax free in Hong Kong, if you structure it correctly. And if you have your own place, it's actually very liveable from a retirement point of view.'⁸⁷² Put these advantages together with the long-term sojourner's social capital and, as David comments this retiree community is 'growing more and more'.⁸⁷³ John Budge, who is semi-retired in Hong Kong, also comments on these quasi-settler behaviours, noting that if you own 'your own home, Hong Kong is a cheap place to live',⁸⁷⁴ although more important to him and his wife, given the global dispersal of their family, is that

it's a good place to have as your base, fantastic communication systems, super airport with huge connectivity and so great jumping off point. More and more ... people use Hong Kong as their base but they've got a place in Phuket ... [and] in London, some of their kids are in America and they spend their life travelling the world.⁸⁷⁵

8.5.2 New Zealand Migrant Permanent Return

As highlighted above, the project has limited survey data or interviews concerning permanent return from New Zealand, although on average an estimated 23 Scottish settlers and 1,600 Scottish sojourners returned each year from 1998 to 2011. Studies of return migrants from New Zealand are limited, although James Hammerton and Alistair Thomson's *Ten Pound Poms* provides a useful, if self-admittedly incomplete evaluation of the phenomenon for Australia,⁸⁷⁶ whose rates of

⁸⁷¹ David Bruce, interview.

⁸⁷² Ibid.

⁸⁷³ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁴ John Budge, interview.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁶ See Hammerton et al, Chapter 9 - "'My Wayward Heart': The British Exodus from Australia" and Chapter 10 - "Coming Home" in *Ten pound Poms*, pp. 264-298 & 300-324.

migrant return for British couples range anywhere between 24 and 29 per cent,⁸⁷⁷ reasonably similar to those of New Zealand.

The main reasons for British returns from Australia identified in Hammerton and Thomson's surveys were:

Table 8.6: British Migrants to Australia – Top 10 Reasons for Return

Reasons	Count	Percent of Total Responses	Percent of Total Returns
Homesick	52	12.7%	23.6%
Family care responsibilities in Britain	32	7.8%	14.5%
Return to be with family in Britain	28	6.8%	12.7%
Ill-health	28	6.8%	12.7%
Employment-related problems	24	5.8%	10.9%
'Trapped' on return visit to Britain	24	5.6%	10.5%
Returned as planned from the outset	23	5.6%	10.5%
Marital tensions or breakdown	18	4.4%	8.2%
Pregnancy or birth of children	16	3.9%	7.3%
Financial difficulties	15	3.6%	6.8%

Source; Hammerton et al, *Ten Pound Poms*, p. 277. The total of 411 reason responses relate to 220 returns where reasons were identified.

Earlier homesickness was identified as an integral component of the family and friends identity marker. Interestingly, Hammerton and Thomson's study emphasises this point, identifying family issues and homesickness as two of the top three reasons for return. When permanent return is cited amongst New Zealand migrants, it is most often connected with homesickness. John Hanna, commenting on the return of their friends Alec and Ann, who left after just two years, notes that 'Alec would have stayed; ... But Ann, she was very homesick. So they went home'.⁸⁷⁸ John and Jean visited them on their first temporary return together, and John observed that when Ann returned 'she finished up looking after her family and her husband [who] ... took a stroke ... and Ann said that the biggest mistake she'd made was going back to Scotland.'⁸⁷⁹ This sort of narrative, which positions migration to

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 264.

⁸⁷⁸ John Hanna, interview.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

New Zealand as a success compared to that of returnees, is common in migrant interviews.

A different narrative is provided by returnee Senga Imrie, who had migrated to New Zealand with her husband in 1963. In 1968, suffering from homesickness, she returned to Scotland with her two children. Initially this was to be for a year but ended up being 5 years. In 1970, her husband returned to join the family, and then in 1973 'we made up our mind, "We'll go back and give it another try"'.⁸⁸⁰ However, in 1988, with her marriage in trouble, she 'went back to Scotland for a holiday, and I was there six weeks. And I thought to myself, "You know, I could stay here"'.⁸⁸¹ After returning to New Zealand the marriage broke up and she left for Scotland, leaving her two adult children in New Zealand. This time the reason for return was the marriage break-up and she stayed in Scotland for twelve years, re-migrating to New Zealand in 2010. Her daughter Nancy, asked about the twelve-year absence, comments that 'I felt a bit sad, but I knew that it was the best thing for her ... and I was happy for her.'⁸⁸² She was also very happy when she came back. For Senga the reason for returning to New Zealand was simply 'family'.⁸⁸³

Unlike the Hong Kong sojourners, Senga had no problem re-integrating herself into Scottish life on either occasion, and on both returns she went back to her home town of Markinch. 'Everyone there knew me ... It was like I'd never been away. They would talk to me, "You know so-and-so?" And you know, I would think, "Who was that?" But of course they took it that I would remember all these people'.⁸⁸⁴ Again, in contrast to the Hong Kong sojourner experience, there is no mention in either of the New Zealand returnee testimonies of any sense of exclusion from Scottish life.

Homesickness did not play a role in Joe Dodd's return experience, but family did. Born in Govan, he was orphaned by the age of 7 and ended up in an orphanage

⁸⁸⁰ Senga Imrie and Nancy Martin interview.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸⁸² Nancy Martin, interview.

⁸⁸³ Senga Imrie and Nancy Martin interview.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid.

in Dumfries. An aunt from New Zealand came and took him back with her in 1949 when he was 13. At the age of 16 he became a merchant seaman working the trans-Tasman and New Zealand coastal routes until 1955 when he signed onto a British ship and made his way back to London and onto Glasgow to meet up with his half-brother and half-sister. His intention had always been to get back to New Zealand but he married a Glasgow girl with family commitments and it was not until 1973 that her family commitments were diminished and he could take his family, which included three children, back to New Zealand.

Joe's commitment to re-migrating was unwavering. The six years he had spent in New Zealand prior to return had left an impression of a better quality of life. It was certainly better than his childhood in Govan and that which he experienced raising his family in Drumchapel. However, the delay in migrating meant that his eldest daughter, who was 14, felt leaving Scotland keenly, and found it difficult to assimilate to New Zealand society. She went on to marry an Edinburgh-born New Zealander, who had also migrated as an adolescent, and they have since returned to Scotland. If any theme emerges from this brief discussion of return in the settler context, it is that homesickness and family dynamics play an important role. Even then, homesickness is not so much about place, but the friends and family left behind. Here these brief vignettes seem to support the findings of Hammerton and Thomson.

8.6 Concluding Comments

Return behaviours between the two groups are very different. For sojourners temporary returns provide a space in which they can maintain contact with family and friends, and dependent on where they are in their sojourn's life-cycle, its purpose changes. Initially, temporary returns can mitigate separation anxiety and refresh the sojourn, as it did for the Carsons. Mid-sojourn, temporary returns are used to maintain family links and reaffirm the intention to return, when the returner makes

homeland property or capital investments. Finally, towards the end of the sojourn, visits are used to prepare for return. For migrant settlers the temporary return is less frequent, but also usually for family reasons. Having settled in another country they tend to be less likely to be involved in homeland capital investment, nor do they look to prepare for permanent return.

Roots returns are largely the preserve of the multi-generational cohort and Cathy Gunn's observation of the difference between her tangible connection to her relatives and the multi-generational cohort's more tenuous connections is particularly apposite. For most migrants their journeys are homeland returns, as they have developed memories of Scotland and their living relatives. However, for those who migrated as children this is not necessarily the case. Undeveloped or indistinct memories of Scotland and family mean that for them, temporary returns are more journeys to discover and reconnect with their immediate living Scottish family. In some aspects these visits are similar to multi-generational roots returns, although, unlike multi-generational roots returners, they are happy to see themselves as tourists rather than serious heritage seekers. This distinction is also evident amongst the visits of the children of migrants in their early adulthood, when the experience rather than an understanding of their forebears is key, although this may change with time, as it did for Sue Broad.

While the evaluation of return behaviours was hampered by the lack of data concerning New Zealand returnees, what was available has highlighted some interesting comparisons. Hong Kong returnees can find it difficult to reintegrate into Scottish society, gravitating towards a returned sojourner network, and emulating the minority social structures of their sojourns. This is unintentional, but understandable as they perceive that Scottish society is indifferent to them and it is in this ex-sojourner network that they can share their common ground and life experiences. In contrast, migrant settler returnees experience no such sense of exclusion. There may be a number of reasons for this. One could be the non-sojourner perceptions and envy of sojourner wealth that Diana Robertson identified, another would be the length of the sojourning period which can affect sojourner assimilation.

Alternatively, it could be the reasons for return. Return for homesickness and family issues may appear to the returnee to be more involuntary and require a commitment to make the return work, whereas sojourner retirement/return is a matter of choice and if it does not work, there are other places the sojourner can choose to be.

Conclusion

There's a race of men that don't fit in,
A race that can't stay still;
So they break the hearts of kith and kin,
And they roam the world at will.⁸⁸⁵

Robert W. Service

At its core this thesis has highlighted the individuality and malleability of migrant identity constructions. Importantly, these constructions are subject to the context in which migrants find themselves, and that context varies from individual to individual. In addition, the context of each migration changes over time, and is dependent on changing inputs or circumstances, the most obvious being changing family dynamics, location and/or workplace.

In the introductory chapter, a number of overarching themes were identified to support this key argument. Firstly, migrants draw upon the culture and history of where they come from to construct identities, while their use serves to site them, and provide the basis for their future in their new home. Secondly, that these constructions are subject to continual reappraisal and change dependent on individual needs and changing circumstances. Thirdly, that the individual nature of these constructions and their use, together with combinations of motives for migration, choices of identity, identity deployment, use of networks and interpretations of nationalism, are peculiar to each migrant.

While the experience of migration is a singular one, there can be a perceptible homogeneity in migrant responses to the challenges presented by the host society's cultural, physical, economic, social and political environments. These challenges in turn can elicit discernibly similar destinational responses. Furthermore, the nature of the migratory transaction, whether sojourning or for settlement, can play an observable role in migrant responses.

⁸⁸⁵ Robert W. Service, "The Men That Don't Fit In", *The Spell of the Yukon, and Other Verses* (New York, Newark: Barse and Hopkins, 1925), p. 75

9.1 The Individuality and Malleability of Migrant Identity Constructions

Choosing an identity is an important step in the migration process. Not all migrants will assume the ethnic identity they travel with. Some settler migrants may prefer to take a local identity as soon as practicable. However, language and/or accent tends to militate against immediate assimilation. Choosing and constructing an identity for use in a new environment is not some pre-ordained structured process dependent on rules of primogeniture and ancestry. Many individuals have access to a number of ethnicities, and as the interviews of Ian Johnstone, Don Rider and Alex Loggie show, there may even be differing identity choices amongst siblings. Identities have any number of possible inputs, including social class, gender, age, sexuality, a sense of place, culture, nation, religion, ethnicity, history, politics and belief systems. In addition, public statements about identity can be made through appearance, clothes (most obviously for Scots through tartans and kilts), language, art, musical preferences and so on. Taken together this makes them highly idiosyncratic.

Similarly, migrants do not adopt a formulaic stereotypical Scottish identity. This, too, is individual and based on a number of Scottish physical, cultural and historical markers of identity, ranging from the militarism of the Highland soldier, to the Enlightenment and Scottish education. The values chosen by each individual to mark out their Scottish identity probably says more about their personal identity and values than a homogenous Scottish identity. The two clear findings to be drawn from the project surveys and interviews, as regards the migrant concept of Scottish identity, is firstly that they are fluid and draw on a wide range of markers. Secondly that they are individual constructions, which work for the migrant in both public and private spheres, helping to explain themselves to other Scots and non-Scots, in addition to siting them in their host environment.

However, the identity adopted upon arrival at destination, need not be fixed for the life of the migration. Most migrant testimonies reflect changes in identity, for

instance John Hanna returning to Palmerston North in 1970 for the second time said it was easier as ‘I think we [had] become more ... New Zealanders at that stage.’⁸⁸⁶ There is also a recognition amongst returned sojourners that the experience had changed them and that they no longer necessarily identified with the Scotland they had left. For instance, Stan Robertson observes: ‘I think I’ve got a different view on Scotland [now] ... I see it as a very small country with a very big ego. I don’t object to that ... but sometimes I think the ego is misplaced. When you’re looking internationally, you appreciate just how small this place is.’⁸⁸⁷

That said, there is a widespread belief that identifying oneself as Scottish has benefit. In New Zealand 72 per cent of migrant survey respondents believed that being Scottish helped them integrate into New Zealand society.⁸⁸⁸ Unsurprisingly, the number for Hong Kong is much lower at just 25 per cent, although 70 per cent believe that being Scottish helped their integration into expatriate society.⁸⁸⁹ These results also demonstrate one of the reasons why migrants are prepared to invest time and resources in their ethno-cultural capital. However, to be able to use Scottish ethno-cultural capital, migrants require access to a Scottish identity. The way these identities are constructed and deployed, and the basis of their construction differ from individual to individual and are dependent on environment. Nor are they necessarily immutable, but subject to change based on a wide range of inputs and perceived needs.

A common theme amongst Hong Kong interviewees is the idea that the identity of Scottish sojourners is intensified overseas. Lindsey Hamilton makes this point explicitly, while Elaine Longmore felt that her Scottish identity had diminished since her return to the UK, and living in England with her English partner. This is not to suggest that New Zealand migrants do not intensify their Scottish identity, just that this is less evident in interviews and does not fit a narrative which is more about integration into a wider British-derived society. Indeed, when intensification was

⁸⁸⁶ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

⁸⁸⁷ Diana and Stan Robertson, interview.

⁸⁸⁸ BOS, *SMtoNZ*, *SinNZ*.

⁸⁸⁹ BOS, *SMtoHK*, *SofHK*.

raised it was not by the migrants themselves, but in the observations of their children or grand-children.

Throughout these expressions of identity runs the underlying current of Highlandism which, at its least intrusive, informs identity construction, as well as providing the physical iconography that declares that identity outwardly. Highlandist themes are common to all three groups surveyed. However, it is amongst the multi-generational cohort that it has its greatest resonance. Nearly 70 per cent reference the Clearances as an historical marker of identity, yet the Clearances would have had little impact on the majority of New Zealand's nineteenth century Scottish migrants.⁸⁹⁰ This romantic construction is not one that is recognised as keenly by the migrant groups. Most migrants recognise that Highlandism and its iconography are romanticised and prone to providing a false image of Scotland, and in particular modern Scotland. Yet despite this, they remain comfortable engaging with its themes, as this globally recognizable brand identifies them as Scottish and plays into the creation and promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital. As long as there remains a global appetite for this brand, it will likely continue to be promoted and used in this manner.

While not political, the distinctions between Highlandism and Scottish nationalism can become blurred in the eyes of non-Scots. Scottish emigrants have typically espoused an apolitical national identity, which poses no threat to the political landscapes of their destinations. However, the rise to power of the SNP and the 2014 Independence Referendum have politicised nationalism in Scotland, and in the eyes of the wider world. This is not likely to change in the immediate future, especially in the aftermath of the UK's 2016 European Union (EU) Referendum. For migrants, the 2014 Referendum, in which most were unable to vote, has both challenged and politicised their understanding of nationalism and by extension what it means to be Scottish.

⁸⁹⁰ Rosalind McClean, *Scottish Emigrants*, p. 161.

Both migrant groups were engaged by the debate, but they evidenced quite different reactions to the Referendum's outcome. In Hong Kong 74 per cent were satisfied with the outcome, whereas in New Zealand 56 per cent were dissatisfied. Hong Kong's Scottish expatriates living on the edge of Hong Kong society fall firmly into the class that was more likely to have voted No.⁸⁹¹ In addition, they share common ground with other UK expatriates in Hong Kong, consequently their response was unsurprising. The response of New Zealand migrants is more complicated. Like Hong Kong's migrants the majority are not from the more deprived sectors of Scottish society. In interview, there was a distinct sentiment that smaller government was better than big government. This is probably more a reflection of a comparison of Scotland to New Zealand and New Zealand's relationship with its larger Trans-Tasman neighbour.

While identity and its uses are key themes, they do not exist in isolation. They are the primary responses to the challenges that migration poses and the responses these challenges elicit.

9.2 Challenges and Responses

9.2.1 Cultural and Physical Challenges and Responses

On the broad measure of population density, Hong Kong's 6,958 persons per square kilometre compared to New Zealand's 17,⁸⁹² speaks to very different physical environments. While there is an obvious difference in land mass, New Zealand's two most densely populated urban centres, Auckland and Wellington, still have comparatively low population densities of 1,272 and 969 persons per square

⁸⁹¹ T. M. Devine, *Independence or Union*, p. 250.

⁸⁹² The World Bank, *Population density (people per sq. km of land area)*, accessed 15 October 2016. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.POP.DNST>

kilometre respectively as at the 2013 census.⁸⁹³ New Zealand's green environment and benign climate are compared favourably to Scotland's by nearly all interviewees. Hong Kong does not get the same plaudits, with one interviewee assessing Hong Kong as 'getting increasingly dirty and noisy.'⁸⁹⁴ His assessment is not inaccurate, as measurements indicate that Hong Kong's air quality is nearly five times worse than that of Auckland.⁸⁹⁵

A common theme throughout the chapters has been the alien nature of Hong Kong's Chinese culture in comparison to New Zealand's Anglophone British-derived culture. Scottish migrants to New Zealand find themselves in a culture, which while not completely the same, can be referenced to British culture and is comprehensible. In addition, there is a significant history of Scottish migration. As a result, New Zealand has, and continues to maintain a Scottish legacy as part of its cultural mainstream. The maintenance of which is largely in the hands of the multi-generational cohort, whose ideas of Scotland and what being Scottish means may differ from those of the migrants.

This does not equate to Scottish migrants assimilating quickly and completely. Cultural and linguistic differences remain, but in general they can be easily worked around. Megan Hutching quotes one of her British survey respondents as commenting that 'we never quite belong from [New Zealanders'] point of view as well as ours.'⁸⁹⁶ This mirrors the sentiments of many of this project's interviewees. In Hong Kong most expatriates evidence a studied ignorance of any resentment towards them, and their adoption of the derogatory Cantonese term *gwailo*,⁸⁹⁷ suggests that from a position of privilege they are not overly concerned with what the majority of the population might think of them. Indeed, for many Scottish

⁸⁹³ SNZ, *Data Table Results – Population Estimates*, accessed 15 October 2016. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/searchresults.aspx?q=urban+Population>; SNZ, *New Zealand: An Urban Rural Profile*, accessed 15 October 2016. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/~media/Statistics/browse-categories/maps-and-geography/geographic-areas/urban-rural-profile/maps/nz-urban-rural-profile-report.pdf>

⁸⁹⁴ Gordon Lamb, interview.

⁸⁹⁵ World Health Organisation, *WHO Global Urban Ambient Air Pollution Database (update 2016)*, accessed 15 October 2016. http://www.who.int/phe/health_topics/outdoorair/databases/cities/en/

⁸⁹⁶ Hutching, *Long Journey*, p. 173.

⁸⁹⁷ Cummings and Wolf, *A Dictionary of Hong Kong English*, p. 69.

expatriates, Chinese culture and language are impenetrable, and as Ian Seabourne's testimony shows, even those who are more closely acculturated to Chinese society can find it difficult to adapt to. Hong Kong's alien cultural environment results in Scottish migrants living on the periphery of Hong Kong society, where their frames of reference and social status are derived primarily from expatriate society. Acculturation is difficult to achieve with language representing a significant barrier, and the temporary nature of sojourning diminishing incentives to spend time and human capital on acculturation.

Post-colonial Hong Kong's focus is inevitably drawn towards the behemoth across her border and the numbers of Scots in Hong Kong are so small and culturally insignificant that they, like other white expatriates, are generically lumped together in the minds of most of the population. Thus, largely isolated from mainstream Hong Kong society, Scots gravitate towards an expatriate cultural milieu whose lingua franca is English, and where it is estimated they account for a very small four per cent of the expatriate population in the twenty-first century.⁸⁹⁸ This lack of numerical visibility in terms of Hong Kong's expatriate society, let alone the wider population, has elicited a response of a targeted promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital, in the belief that this enhances the image and role of Scots within society. Hong Kong's Scots have targeted their investment in this form of capital to where they believe it may have the greatest impact. These targets include other expatriates, potential employers and Hong Kong's plutocratic governing elite. Here we see the core theme of identity at play, as to access this form of capital, migrants need to identify themselves as Scottish.

One of the more significant vehicles for the way in which this capital is promoted is a narrative of Hong Kong's history that emphasises the role of Scots in Hong Kong's government, business and financial success. This plays well in a society where a widely-held perception is that governmental legitimacy is derived

⁸⁹⁸ CSD-GovHKSAR, "Population by Nationality, 2001, 2006 and 2011 (A105)" 2011 Population Census Office, Last Revision Date: 21 February 2012. <http://www.census2011.gov.hk/en/main-table/A105.html>; Also see Table 2.8.

from economic success.⁸⁹⁹ This narrative also represents Scots as committed to Hong Kong's long-term success, and despite a narrative of engagement in colonial Hong Kong, seeks to distance them from the colonial past. Scottish associationalism plays a part, yet prior to 1997, associationalism had been used to articulate colonial values characterised by formalistic structures, hierarchies and events. Since 1997, freed from colonial rigidity, the associations have become more inclusive and more willing to widen and combine their activities to facilitate both the promotion of Scottish ethno-cultural capital, and provide venues for Scottish networking and social capital enhancement.

With a mainstream Scottish cultural heritage, New Zealand is culturally familiar, and its physical environment less alien than that of Hong Kong's. However, the once significant Scottish immigration flows have diminished. UK immigrants remain the largest group, but Scottish numbers have declined from around one in five at the turn of the twentieth century to one in ten in the early twenty-first century, more closely resembling the ethnic split within the UK. Migrants also find the Scottish cultural landscape dominated by an active multi-generational cohort preserving Scottish legacies, promoting ethno-cultural capital and performing Scottishness, as a well-established and well-recognised part of New Zealand's cultural heritage. Accessing their Scottish identity means that migrants are also the beneficiaries of these legacies and their preservation. Nevertheless, it does mean that New Zealand migrants need not engage or invest in ethno-cultural capital promotion to the same extent as Hong Kong migrants.

There is not an environment where Scottish migrants inhabit the fringes of society. They are dispersed throughout the country and employed in a range of skilled or professional roles. With less time and capital spent in promoting Scottish ethno-cultural capital, migrants can respond by focusing time, effort and capital on integration and assimilation with New Zealand society. Unlike Hong Kong, where the post-colonial associations have become inclusive and more focused towards the

⁸⁹⁹ Kam-yee Law and Kim-ming Lee, "Citizenship, economy and social exclusion of mainland Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 36:2 (2006) p. 235.

needs of modern Scottish sojourners, New Zealand's traditional associations have dwindled in number. Nor do the associations necessarily cater for the needs of new immigrants. The associations that remain, such as the Scottish Country Dance societies and the Clan societies, tend to be run by and for the multi-generational cohort. A number of migrant testimonies have attested to a certain discomfort with these associations, which some have suggested are fixed in an imagined Scotland that is not relevant to them. However, migrants are largely ambivalent towards them. They appear to appreciate that they are also the beneficiaries of the of the multi-generational cohort's efforts to ensure that Scots are recognised as a valued part of New Zealand society.

Without migrant interaction to refresh these associations, decline is perhaps inevitable. As they have waned, the need for sites of memory amongst the multi-generational cohort does not appear to have diminished at the same rate. The family history and genealogy phenomenon, stimulated by growing access to and availability of internet resources, has replaced the associations as sites of memory, and these by their nature are highly individual and personalised. Family history and genealogy research is in its first iteration, and how the research is used by future generations is still to be understood.

9.2.2 Economic and Political Challenges and Responses

In neither destination did the migrants surveyed or interviewed come from unskilled labour backgrounds. In Hong Kong, they were likely to be tertiary educated professionals, while in New Zealand they were either similarly educated, or were employed in higher-end skilled occupations. Both host societies have access to less-skilled labour resources locally or in close proximity, and source higher-end skills and professionals from a global market-place, to augment their needs as required.

Whereas New Zealand's post-war GDP per capita ranked it the sixth wealthiest economy in the world, ahead of the UK by as much as 22 per cent, by the mid-1980s the UK had overtaken New Zealand, and on the basis of earnings data for the period from 1998 to 2011, average New Zealand earnings were 19.8 per cent lower than the UK's.⁹⁰⁰ As a result, economic motives for migration are more common amongst those who migrated in the third quarter of the twentieth century while later migrants are driven by social and environmental factors, often recognising that their earnings are likely to be less.

Hong Kong's Scottish sojourners are significantly enmeshed with Hong Kong's economy and 'on average, expats earn nearly USD170,000 per year'.⁹⁰¹ In addition to receiving higher than average incomes, Hong Kong's low tax regime means that Scottish expatriates are able to save considerably more than they could in the UK. The 60 years from 1950 have seen Hong Kong's GDP per capita increase by a staggering 1,285 per cent.⁹⁰² However, Hong Kong's wealth is thinly spread and income inequality high. With only 4.7 per cent of Hong Kong's population earning in excess of HKD100,000 per month⁹⁰³ or the equivalent of USD154,000 per annum,⁹⁰⁴ expatriate incomes sit well within the top five per cent of the population. Consequently, Scottish expatriates have been well placed to share in Hong Kong's economic success.

Hong Kong's colonial political structures were unashamedly undemocratic, and the engagement of Scottish expatriates with colonial Hong Kong's little understood political landscape was largely restricted to roles within the colonial administration. Hong Kong's post-colonial political world has seen attempts to negotiate and define a Hong Kong identity, under the disapproving eyes of its Mainland masters, and is even less well understood and largely avoided by Scottish expatriates. In contrast, New Zealand's migrant Scots find themselves in familiar

⁹⁰⁰ International Labour Organization, *Median Monthly Earnings of Employees*, online.

⁹⁰¹ HSBC Expat, *Expat Explorer Survey: Hong Kong Report*, accessed 20 October 2016. <https://www.expatexplorer.hsbc.com/survey/country/hong-kong/report>

⁹⁰² The Maddison-Project.

⁹⁰³ CSD-GovHKSAR, *Hong Kong: the Facts*, p. 2.

⁹⁰⁴ USD/HKD @ 7.79.

political surroundings. The National Party is similar to the British Conservative party and the Labour Party is a left of centre social democratic party with an ideology similar to the centre-right of Britain's Labour party. This environment poses few challenges for migrant Scots, who adapt and fit into the political milieu without difficulty.

In neither environment does accessing a Scottish identity appear to play a significant role, although three New Zealand interviewees expressed concerns with regards anti-immigrant prejudice in the late 1970s and early 1980s. For John and Jean Hanna this occurred in the lead up to the 1981 elections when Prime Minister Robert Muldoon spoke out 'against redneck Clydesiders',⁹⁰⁵ while Senga Imrie recalls that

when Muldoon was standing for re-election in the 70's. He put an advert on TV with cartoon troops goose-stepping across the screen and dressed in uniforms with the German type hard hat. No swastika though. The voice overlay was saying about all those immigrants coming in to the country taking your jobs, your houses etcetera. This caused a lot of racism. My husband was sacked from his job. The boss told him he was getting too much strife from customers about his accent. There was a different atmosphere about the place.⁹⁰⁶

Such testimonies are an exception, and even amongst those who reported instances of prejudice, the dominant narrative is that the Scots are welcome immigrants and assuming a Scottish identity is of value. In contrast Hong Kong migrants choose to ignore any prejudice towards them, and many take it as read, although as identified in the previous section they remain willing to invest in their Scottish identity for promotion to more influential elements of society.

⁹⁰⁵ John and Jean Hanna, interview.

⁹⁰⁶ Senga Imrie, e-mail message to author, 31 July 2014.

9.2.3 Transactional Challenges and Responses

Migration presents different transactional challenges for migrants starting with the motives for migration. This chapter's opening verse, from the Scottish poet and author Robert Service, is symptomatic of the uncertainty of sojourner migration. Service's experience has much in common with that of the sojourning migrants. Service was Scottish educated, but born in Lancashire to Scottish parents. He left Scotland, and a career in banking, to roam the world as a serial sojourner. The poem is autobiographical, yet Service cannot explain his compulsion to seek adventure and travel, and only offers the explanation: 'He's a rolling stone, and it's bred in the bone';⁹⁰⁷ in the poem's penultimate line. Migrants are often similarly unsure of their motives for migrating, which tend to be specific to each individual. In addition, they can be subject to change dependent on environment, perspective and time.

Sojourning by its very nature implies that return or a move to another destination is the most likely outcome, but not for all. Sojourns can be converted into settlement, although that settlement can have a temporary feel. Interviewees in this quasi-settler position all commented that they remained flexible, and if Hong Kong's political situation were to make living there untenable, they all have the option to return to the UK, and in many cases other destinations due to their globally dispersed family links.

Hong Kong's sojourners require little in the terms of capital outlay to facilitate their initial sojourn. The surveys show that the majority (84 per cent)⁹⁰⁸ migrate with a job pre-arranged. Additionally, expatriate terms ordinarily come with a travel package, a health package and either housing provided, financed or at least subsidised. Modern Hong Kong's excellent telecommunication and travel links mean that contact with family and friends can be easily maintained. The minimal capital investment involved means that they need not unravel investments at home.

⁹⁰⁷ Service, "The Men That Don't Fit In", p. 76.

⁹⁰⁸ BOS, *SMtoHK*, *SofHK*.

Not all Scottish migration to New Zealand is for settlement. For some it was a sojourn that was extended by marriage or career opportunities, while for others it had been intended as a step in a migration to another destination, most often Australia. In contrast to the minimal capital outlay of the sojourners, settler migration requires significant capital investment. Typically, those with property sell up in advance of migration, or when they are sure their migration has been a success, as was the case for the Loggie family. However, there can be more risk involved in the migration, as 46 per cent of survey respondents did not have jobs to go to, and 54 per cent had self-funded their migration. That said, 70 per cent of migrants had contacts in New Zealand prior to departure with family accounting for 53 per cent of those contacts.⁹⁰⁹

The choice to migrate is a generic one. It does not play into identity construction, and none of those interviewed based the decision on their Scottishness or perceptions that being Scottish would give them an advantage. However, upon arriving at their destination, all migrants find themselves in a situation that sees them having to engage with their identity in a more conscious manner. This is a process that continues throughout the life of the migration, in some cases resulting in an intensification of their Scottishness as was the case for Jackie Kay's grandmother and in other cases, such as that of Tom Dodd's, closer assimilation with the destination's core society.

Throughout the migration, maintaining links with the homeland can present a challenge for migrants. Prior to the 1980s, the cost of travel and telecommunications were prohibitively expensive. As a result, a number of migrants found the early stages of migration difficult and some reported separation anxiety or homesickness. This was less common amongst Hong Kong's sojourners, due to the temporary nature of the sojourn and access to regular temporary return. Advances in technology, cheap telecommunication services and cheaper airfares have enabled New Zealand migrants, at the turn of the twenty-first century, to maintain closer links to Scotland and facilitated more temporary returns. This increased connectivity has

⁹⁰⁹ BOS, *SMtoNZ*, *SinNZ*.

not necessarily diminished homesickness, suggesting that this often complex phenomenon has its roots more in the permanent nature of settler migration than ease of communication with family and friends.

A corollary to improved information flows, telecommunications and cheaper travel has been the roots return, which is primarily experienced by the multi-generational group in search of the origins of their forebears. For migrants, both the research phenomenon and roots return do not have as much appeal, as one migrant observes: 'for me, my family is all still there [in Scotland]. I don't have to go and look for them. I know exactly where they are and where they ha[ve] come from'.⁹¹⁰

As return is the likely option at the end of a sojourn, migrants respond by taking measures, not always successfully, to prepare for their return. Temporary returns during the sojourn can be used to maintain ties with family and friends and to purchase a property to return to, as well as to network to ascertain what employment options are available upon return. Alternatively, migrants can consider remaining in Hong Kong or explore alternative destinations for settlement. For sojourners, more permanent return poses the challenge of reintegration into Scottish society. They often feel more comfortable within returned sojourner networks, which need not be exclusively Scottish. Ironically, they can find that return imitates the minority and peripheral experiences of their sojourns. In contrast, migrant settler returns are less challenging as the primary reasons for settler return, homesickness and family issues, which may be forced or voluntary, require a commitment to make the return work.

All forms of return require migrants to evaluate their identities in some way. For some settlers, their visits are for the purposes of tourism, in which case their engagement with their Scottish identities is subordinated to their New Zealand identity. For others, especially the multi-generational roots tourist, the visit is more akin to a pilgrimage and they may experience a sense of belonging and identity shared with the Scottish people. For first generation settlers, the visits often prompt an evaluation of their identity in conjunction with a personal debate as to the success of

⁹¹⁰ Cathy Gunn, interview.

their migration. For sojourners, the temporary return serves to maintain their connections to their Scottish identity, whereas, as was the case for Stan Robertson, the permanent return can challenge sojourner perceptions of Scotland.

9.3 Closing Comments

The argument that identity construction is both flexible and fluid, and is conditioned by situation and environment is not new. It is a theme that has been repeated in the works of migration historians and sociologists. The study has emphasised that this has continued into the twenty-first century and is axiomatic to the experience of migration. Migrants need to constantly reappraise and recalibrate their identities to align themselves to the processes of acculturation through to assimilation. In brief, it is a constant and circular renegotiation of change.

With regard to settler migrants, this study builds on Angela McCarthy and Marjory Harper's research into Scottish migration to New Zealand in the twentieth century and takes those studies into the twenty-first century. However, there is a lack of any substantial research into British or Scottish migration to Hong Kong, although there is a growing body of work addressing modern expatriates and sojourners in Asia. In addition to the gap in Scottish sojourning to Hong Kong, this study has sought to update existing studies with late twentieth and early twenty-first century migration data and interviews. Where the thesis presents new research is in addressing Scottish sojourning to Hong Kong in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and in comparing this to Scots settling in New Zealand, particularly in the early twenty-first century.

Additionally, the thesis has advanced new ideas with regard to the identification of ethno-cultural capital as a hybrid form of capital, and in its appraisal of changes in Scottish associationalism in both Hong Kong and New Zealand. Ethno-cultural capital has been proposed to explain why it is that Scottish migrants

are prepared to invest time and capital in the promotion of Scottishness, when other ethnicities are less engaged in such promotions. As regards Scottish associationalism, it has been argued that freed from the rigidity of colonial structures, Scottish associationalism in Hong Kong has broadened its reach and become more responsive, whereas in New Zealand, traditional Scottish associationalism is being superseded by family history and genealogy research, and that these are replacing the traditional associations as sites of memory.

Unfortunately, there are gaps in this research in the form of two migrant groups that have not been appraised, mainly because the methods used to find survey respondents and interviewees did not identify them. Firstly, Scottish sojourners in New Zealand. Statistics show that in the ten-year period to June 2016, there were over three times more temporary work visas issued to UK citizens than residence visas. The median age of these temporary work visa holders in 2014/15 was 26.⁹¹¹ This differs from that of Hong Kong's white ethnic population, where between 2001 and 2011 the 15 to 34-year-old age group accounted for an average of only 26 per cent of Hong Kong's white population, with the majority of 43 per cent being in the 35 to 54-year-old age group.⁹¹² These statistics suggest a fundamental difference in the nature of the sojourns, which would have made for an interesting comparison. The New Zealand sojourners are more likely to be young adults on their gap years or working holidays, while Hong Kong's are more experienced professional mid-career sojourners. Secondly, a small number (possibly 276 in the 12 years to 2011)⁹¹³ of New Zealand settlers return home permanently each year due to family demands/commitments or as a result of failed migrations. While some of the interviewees returned to Scotland prior to re-migrating, more permanent returners have eluded identification, or declined to be interviewed.

The migrations of young UK sojourners and the impact of those migrations on them and their proclivity to migrate thereafter, could bear further investigation. In New Zealand, studies have been conducted into the phenomenon of OE and these

⁹¹¹ MBIE, *Migration Trends and Outlook 2014/2015*, pp. 45 & 51.

⁹¹² CSD-GovHKSAR, 2011: *Ethnic Minorities*, p. 27.

⁹¹³ See section 8.5.

UK sojourns are similar in nature to the OE, the development of which has come under some scholarly scrutiny in New Zealand.⁹¹⁴ As regards recent changes in Hong Kong's associationalism, the suggestion that this may have had its origins in the end of colonialism was largely derived from Elizabeth Buettner's study of associationalism in colonial India, especially where the study addresses the end of the Raj. This comparison could be updated by comparing Hong Kong to changes that have taken place elsewhere in British colonial Asia and the most obvious examples would be Singapore and Malaysia. The evaluation of Hong Kong's sojourners has highlighted a change in the nature of return. Whereas sojourners in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries spread 'a knowledge of overseas conditions and incentives',⁹¹⁵ it would appear that in the post-war period they have kept their counsel. This behaviour and the dislocation they feel from Scottish society upon return needs further study, comparing their experiences to those of earlier sojourners.

While the above areas are worthy of further consideration, the area that is in most need of further investigation and validation is the concept of ethno-cultural capital. While this thesis has highlighted its promotion amongst Scots, it has not addressed other possible aspects, such as the deliberate diminishing of ethno-cultural capital to lessen the visibility of migrants or ethnic groups. Nor is its promotion an example of Scottish exceptionalism. Other ethnic groups promote their ethno-cultural capital assiduously, the Irish with St Patrick's Day and the globally ubiquitous Irish pub spring readily to mind. To test the idea more fully there are several obvious comparisons within the British Isles, including a comparison of ethno-cultural promotion and its use amongst Britain's South Asian ethnic minorities.

However, the most obvious comparison would be between Scottish and English migrants, and not only in destinations outside the UK. As identified in the Settling and Sojourning chapter, there are significant intra-UK migration flows

⁹¹⁴ Jude Wilson, *Flying Kiwis: A History of the OE* (Dunedin: Otago University, 2014).

⁹¹⁵ Harper, "Introduction", in *Emigrant Homecomings*, p. 1.

between the countries which merit further study and not only in respect of ethno-cultural capital promotion and use. The impact of the increasing levels of English immigration to Scotland could be usefully researched as an adjunct to a comparison of ethno-cultural capital promotion.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Additional Tables

Table A1: Hong Kong's Population by Nationality 1991-2011

Nationality	1991		2001		2011	
	Count	% of Total	Count	% of Total	Count	% of Total
Chinese (HK domiciled) [a]	5,191,545	94.01%	6,281,864	93.36%	6,849,492	92.17%
Chinese (non-HK domiciled)	48,029	0.87%	76,898	1.14%	97,084	1.31%
Indonesian [b] & [c]	-	-	54,629	0.81%	137,403	1.85%
Filipino [c]	64,658	1.17%	143,662	2.14%	135,081	1.82%
British	68,502	1.24%	25,418	0.38%	33,733	0.45%
Indian	14,329	0.26%	16,481	0.24%	26,650	0.36%
Pakistani			9,922	0.15%	17,253	0.23%
American	18,383	0.33%	14,379	0.21%	16,742	0.23%
Australian [b]	-	-	9,505	0.14%	15,949	0.21%
Nepalese	-	-	12,379	0.18%	15,943	0.21%
Thai [c]	11,787	0.21%	14,791	0.22%	14,211	0.19%
Japanese	10,850	0.20%	14,715	0.22%	13,858	0.19%
Portuguese [d]	18,488	0.33%	-	-	-	-
Canadian [e]	15,135	0.27%	-	-	-	-
Others	60,575	1.10%	53,746	0.80%	58,177	0.78%
Total Population	5,522,281		6,728,389		7,431,576	

Sources; CSD-HKGov. *Hong Kong 1991 Population Census* (Hong Kong: The Government Printer, 1993), p. 41; "Population by Nationality, 2001, 2006 and 2011 (A105)" 2011 Population Census Office, CSD-HKSAR, Last Revision Date: 21 February 2012. <http://www.census2011.gov.hk/en/main-table/A105.html>

[a] 1991 numbers are comprised of Chinese domiciled in Hong Kong and British citizens with right of abode in Hong Kong only. [b] Included in Others in the 1991 census. [c] Indonesian, Filipino and Thai nationals are predominantly domestic helpers. [d] Probably Macanese as in 1981 Portuguese Nationality laws were changed providing a passport, with full citizenship rights to anyone born before 1981 in Macao. Some will have left before or after 1997, but those that remained are included in the post-1997 censuses as Others (Portuguese) or Hong Kong domiciled Chinese. [e] In the 1980s as 1997 drew near and often with employer assistance, individuals sought to obtain passports from Western countries and Canada was one of the preferred nations, along with USA, Australia and Britain. Some will have left before or after 1997, but those that have remained are included in the post-1997 censuses as Others (Canadian) or Hong Kong domiciled Chinese.

Table A2: British Ethnicities in Hong Kong as at the 2001 and 2011 Censuses

British Ethnicities	2001 Census		2011 Census		UK 2011 Census Ethnic distributions
	Count	% of British Ethnicity	Count	% of British Ethnicity	
White	19,350	76.1%	19,405	57.5%	87.17%
Chinese	1,310	5.2%	6,893	20.4%	0.69%
Indian*	-	-	2,337	6.9%	2.30%
Pakistani*	-	-	1,047	3.1%	1.86%
Nepalese*	-	-	829	2.5%	-
Filipino	138	0.5%	227	0.7%	-
Thai*	-	-	98	0.3%	-
Indonesian	68	0.3%	40	0.1%	-
Japanese*	-	-	40	0.1%	-
Other Asian*	-	-	273	0.8%	2.07%
Others	4,552	17.9%	2,544	7.5%	5.91%
Total	25,418		33,733		

Sources; IDDS, CSD-HKSAR; "2011 Census - Ethnic group, local authorities in England and Wales – Table KS201EW" Office for National Statistics (ONS), released 11 December 2012. <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcn%3A77-286262>; "2011 Census -Ethnic group by sex by age - Table DC2101SC", Scotland's Census, last revised 16 June 2015. <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/standard-outputs.html>; "Ethnic Group – Table KS201NI", Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, accessed 22 June 2015. <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/SearchResults.aspx?sk=Table;KS201NI>;

* Included in Others in the 2001 Census.

Table A3: Hong Kong's Population by Ethnicity as at the 2001 and 2011 Censuses

Ethnicity	2001 Census		2011 Census	
	Count	% of Total	Count	% of Total
Chinese	6,364,439	94.87%	6,620,393	93.62%
Indonesian	50,494	0.75%	133,377	1.89%
Filipino	142,556	2.13%	133,018	1.88%
Indian	18,543	0.28%	28,616	0.40%
Pakistani	11,017	0.16%	18,042	0.26%
Nepalese	12,564	0.19%	16,518	0.23%
Japanese	14,180	0.21%	12,580	0.18%
Thai	14,342	0.21%	11,213	0.16%
Korean	5,263	0.08%	5,209	0.07%
Other Asian	7,572	0.11%	7,038	0.10%
White	46,584	0.69%	55,236	0.78%
Mixed w Chinese parent	16,587	0.25%	24,649	0.35%
Other Mixed	2,854	0.04%	4,352	0.06%
Others	1,394	0.02%	1,335	0.02%
Total non-Chinese	343,950	5.13%	451,183	6.38%

Sources; CSD-HKSAR, *2011 Population Census Summary*, p. 37; CSD-HKSAR, *2011 Population Census: Ethnic Minorities*, p. 27.

Table A4: New Zealand's Population by Ethnicity as at the 2013 Census

Ethnicity	2013 Census		
	Count	% of Total Respondents*	% of Total Population
Single Ethnicities			
European Only	2,604,162	64.92%	61.39%
Maori Only	278,199	6.94%	6.56%
Pacific Peoples Only	200,322	4.99%	4.72%
Asian Only	431,130	10.75%	10.16%
Middle Eastern/Latin American/African Only	39,459	0.98%	0.93%
Other Ethnicity Only	57,780	1.44%	1.36%
Dual Ethnicities			
European/Maori	260,229	6.49%	6.13%
European/Pacific Peoples	38,562	0.96%	0.91%
European/Asian	21,195	0.53%	0.50%
European/Middle Eastern/Latin American/African	4,449	0.11%	0.10%
European/Other Ethnicity	5,271	0.13%	0.12%
Maori/Pacific Peoples	22,884	0.57%	0.54%
Maori/Asian	2,613	0.07%	0.06%
Pacific Peoples/Asian	4,776	0.12%	0.11%
Other Dual Ethnicities	3,846	0.10%	0.09%
Mixed - 3 or more Ethnicities			
European/Maori/Pacific Peoples	23,520	0.59%	0.55%
European/Maori/Asian	5,052	0.13%	0.12%
Pacific Peoples/European/Asian	2,070	0.05%	0.05%
Other Mixed	5,889	0.15%	0.14%
Total	4,011,408		94.56%

Source; "Ethnic group (detailed single and combination) by age group and sex, for the census usually resident population count, 2013 (RC, TA)," SNZ, published 15 April 2014.

<http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/WBOS/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE8028>

* Total population at census date was 4,242,051. Ethnicity responses were lower.

Table A5: Markers of Scottish Identity

What do you believe are the distinctive features of Scottish culture?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		All New Zealand Migrants		All Groups	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
<i>Physical Culture</i>										
Bagpipes, Music & Dancing	27	29.0%	14	29.2%	77	45.3%	91	41.7%	118	37.9%
Physical Environment (Mountains, Lochs, Hills & Glens)	20	21.5%	3	6.3%	12	7.1%	15	6.9%	35	11.3%
Tartanry	14	15.1%	4	8.3%	25	14.7%	29	13.3%	43	13.8%
Food and Drink	11	11.8%	5	10.4%	26	15.3%	31	14.2%	42	13.5%
Scottish Associations & Highland Games	6	6.5%	3	6.3%	15	8.8%	18	8.3%	24	7.7%
Totals (as a percentage of total responses per group)		29.0%		22.5%		36.8%		33.5%		32.0%
<i>Non-Physical Culture</i>										
History, Tradition & Customs	24	25.8%	12	25.0%	50	29.4%	62	28.4%	86	27.7%
Education	16	17.2%	15	31.3%	33	19.4%	48	22.0%	64	20.6%
Art & Literature	10	10.8%	7	14.6%	16	9.4%	23	10.6%	33	10.6%
Language & Dialect	9	9.7%	7	14.6%	20	11.8%	27	12.4%	36	11.6%
Law & Civil Governance	25	26.9%	6	12.5%	3	1.8%	9	4.1%	34	10.9%
Church & Religion	16	17.2%	2	4.2%	11	6.5%	13	6.0%	29	9.3%
Totals (as a percentage of total responses per group)		37.2%		38%		31.6%		33.1%		34.4%
<i>Charatcter Traits</i>										
Family, hospitality and humour	15	16.1%	14	29.2%	31	18.2%	45	20.6%	60	19.3%
Anglophobia, Nationalism & Patriotism	20	21.5%	3	6.3%	15	8.8%	18	8.3%	38	12.2%
Integrity, equality, fairness and loyalty	24	25.8%	14	29.2%	31	18.2%	45	20.6%	69	22.2%
Pride, passion and perseverance	5	5.4%	5	10.4%	12	7.1%	17	7.8%	22	7.1%
Industriousness and Entrepreneurialism	10	10.8%	4	8.3%	14	8.2%	18	8.3%	28	9.0%
Inventiveness, science and enlightened & rational thought	7	7.5%	6	12.5%	11	6.5%	17	7.8%	24	7.7%
Individuality, independence and self-reliance	10	10.8%	5	10.4%	19	11.2%	24	11.0%	34	10.9%
Totals (as a percentage of total responses per group)		33.8%		39.5%		31.6%		33.5%		33.6%
Total Respondents	93		48		170		218		311	

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Table A6: Scottish History as Markers of Identity

What historical events do you believe define Scotland and the Scottish diaspora?	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		All New Zealand Migrants		All Groups % of total responses	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Bruce, Wallace, the Wars of Independence, Flodden	38	40.0%	23	46.9%	46	26.0%	69	30.5%	107	33.3%
The Clearances	33	34.7%	24	49.0%	123	69.5%	147	65.0%	180	56.1%
The Union of Crowns & Parliaments	38	40.0%	21	42.9%	15	8.5%	36	15.9%	74	23.1%
(within which Union of the Crowns and the Stewart Kings)	23	24.2%	12	24.5%	7	4.0%	19	8.4%	42	13.1%
(within which; the Act of Union)	15	15.8%	9	18.4%	8	4.5%	17	7.5%	32	10.0%
Jacobite Risings and Culloden	22	23.2%	20	40.8%	71	40.1%	91	40.3%	113	35.2%
Industrial Revolution, inventions & exploration	13	13.7%	9	18.4%	19	10.7%	28	12.4%	41	12.8%
The Scottish Enlightenment	19	20.0%	1	2.0%	1	0.6%	2	0.9%	21	6.5%
Participation in the British Empire	12	12.6%	2	4.1%	8	4.5%	10	4.4%	22	6.9%
Highland Regiments and Scottish Military prowess	8	8.4%	4	8.2%	7	4.0%	11	4.9%	19	5.9%
Darien	5	5.3%	1	2.0%	1	0.6%	2	0.9%	7	2.2%
Migration	5	5.3%	4	8.2%	7	4.0%	11	4.9%	16	5.0%
Parliament, Nationalism, Independence & the 2014 Referendum	13	13.7%	3	6.1%	4	2.3%	7	3.1%	20	6.2%
20th Century Industrial decline and Thatcherism	6	6.3%	13	26.5%	6	3.4%	19	8.4%	25	7.8%
The Reformation/The Church of Scotland	6	6.3%	2	4.1%	9	5.1%	11	4.9%	17	5.3%
Participation in the Slave Trade	1	1.1%	1	2.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	2	0.6%
Education	3	3.2%	1	2.0%	2	1.1%	3	1.3%	6	1.9%
Radical politics, the Labour party and Red Clydeside	0	0.0%	3	6.1%	2	1.1%	5	2.2%	5	1.6%
Total Number of Respondents	95		49		177		226		321	

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Table A7: Sources of Information about Scotland

How do you normally keep yourself informed about Scotland?	New Zealand Migrants		Hong Kong Migrants		All Surveyed Migrants	
	Count	% of respondents	Count	% of respondents	Count	% of respondents
Family in the UK	39	67.2%	55	60.4%	94	63.1%
Family elsewhere	8	13.8%	7	7.7%	15	10.1%
Family locally	7	12.1%	17	18.7%	24	16.1%
Scottish friends and contacts in the UK	32	55.2%	58	63.7%	90	60.4%
Scottish friends and contacts elsewhere	14	24.1%	17	18.7%	31	20.8%
Scottish friends and contacts locally	25	43.1%	49	53.8%	74	49.7%
Other friends and contacts in the UK	7	12.1%	12	13.2%	19	12.8%
Other friends and contacts locally	4	6.9%	8	8.8%	12	8.1%

Sources; BOS, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK, SinNZ, SofHK.

Table A8: Pre-Referendum political attachment to Scottish Heritage

My attachment to my Scottish heritage is political in nature. [Pre-Referendum]	Hong Kong Migrants		New Zealand Migrants		New Zealand Multi-generational Group		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strongly agree	0	0.0%	2	8.0%	1	1.2%	3	2.1%
Partially agree	1	2.9%	8	37.1%	5	5.8%	14	9.7%
Neither	6	17.6%	2	8.0%	15	17.4%	23	15.9%
Partially disagree	4	11.8%	2	8.0%	8	9.3%	14	9.7%
Strongly disagree	22	64.7%	11	44.0%	55	64.0%	88	60.7%
Prefer not to answer	1	2.9%	0	0.0%	2	2.3%	3	2.1%

Sources; BOS, Pilot, SMtoNZ, SMtoHK.

Table A9: Non-Hong Kong, Macau and China-born Population by Duration of Residence at Census Years from 1991 to 2011

Duration of Residence (Years)	1991	% of non-HK and China-born	1996	% of non-HK and China-born	2001	% of non-HK and China-born	2006	% of non-HK and China-born	2011	% of non-HK and China-born
Less than one	35,500	13.9%	53,389	14.4%	56,197	12.8%	43,123	10.1%	64,019	12.2%
One to Three	71,403	28.0%	122,644	33.0%	101,037	23.0%	87,590	20.5%	125,369	23.9%
Four to Six	31,949	12.5%	63,104	17.0%	78,107	17.8%	62,698	14.7%	71,150	13.5%
Seven to nine	18,664	7.3%	21,655	5.8%	53,847	12.2%	44,649	10.5%	49,151	9.4%
Ten and over	97,660	38.3%	110,921	29.8%	150,736	34.3%	188,486	44.2%	215,844	41.1%
		% of Total Population		% of Total Population		% of Total Population		% of Total Population		% of Total Population
Total	255,176	4.6%	371,713	6.0%	439,924	6.6%	426,546	6.2%	525,533	7.4%

Sources; CSD-GovHKSAR, *2006 Population By-Census* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2007), p. 37; CSD-HKSAR, *2011 Population Census Summary*, p.38.

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Appendix 4

Abbreviations

BOS	Bristol Online Surveys
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
CCSS	Combined Council of Scottish Societies New Zealand
CSD-HKGov	Census and Statistics Department of the Hong Kong Government
CSD-GovHKSAR	Census and Statistics Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
GBP	UK Pound
GovHKSAR	The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (Hong Kong's post-1997 Government)
HKD	Hong Kong Dollar
HKGov	The Hong Kong Government (Hong Kong's colonial Government)
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment (New Zealand Government agency)
NISRA	Northern Ireland Statistics & Research Agency
NRS	National Records of Scotland
NZD	New Zealand Dollar
NZSG	New Zealand Society of Genealogists
OE	Overseas Experience. A New Zealand term which ordinarily refers to young New Zealanders travelling to Europe and working for an average of 2 to 5 years before returning to New Zealand.
ONS	Office of National Statistics

PRC	People's Republic of China
Pilot	Scottish Diaspora and Migration - Pilot Survey (conducted between 7 June 2013 and 1 August 2013)
RHKP	Royal Hong Kong Police (the colonial police force)
RSCDSNZ	Royal Scottish Country Dancing Society, New Zealand branch Incorporated
SIG	Scottish Interest Group (sub-group of the NZSG)
SinNZ	The Scots in New Zealand (project survey conducted between 1 February 2015 and 15 August 2015)
SMtoHK	Scottish Migration to Hong Kong (project survey conducted between 3 January 2014 and 1 August 2014)
SMtoNZ	Scottish Migration to New Zealand (project survey conducted between 15 January 2014 and 1 August 2014)
SofHK	The Scots of Hong Kong (project survey conducted between 1 February 2015 and 15 August 2015)
SNP	Scottish National Party
SNZ	Statistics New Zealand
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USD	US Dollar

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Oral History Interviews

(All held at The School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive, University of Edinburgh)

Allen Jr., Doug. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 16 July 2014, Pahiatua, New Zealand.

Allen Sr., Doug. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 16 July 2014, Pahiatua, New Zealand.

Bell, Warwick. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 22nd July 2014. Auckland, New Zealand.

Black, Sandi. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 19 July 2014. Wanganui, New Zealand.

Bowden, Anne. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 28 July 2014. Auckland, New Zealand.

Bruce, Alexandra. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 28 July 2014. Auckland, New Zealand.

Bruce, David. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 1 August 2014. Hong Kong.

Budge, John. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 31 July 2014. Hong Kong.

Caldwell, Peter. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 2 August 2014, Hong Kong.

Carson, Carol. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 28 July 2015. Edinburgh, Scotland.

Carson, Geoff. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 28 July 2015. Edinburgh, Scotland.

Cole, Steve. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 22nd July 2014. Auckland, New Zealand.

Dalgleish, Alan. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 6 August 2014. Hong Kong.

Dodd, Joseph. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 29 July 2014. Auckland, New Zealand.

Dodd, Tom. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 28 July 2014. Auckland, New Zealand.

Dolling, Lorraine. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 19 July 2014. Wanganui, New Zealand.

Dolling, Mike. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 19 July 2014. Wanganui, New Zealand.

Donnelly, Fiona. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 4 August 2014. Hong Kong.

Dowie, Mike. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2015. Edinburgh, Scotland.

Earle, Mary. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Gentil, Margaret. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 10 December 2014, Waipu - New Zealand.

Gunn, Cathy. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 28 July 2014, Auckland, New Zealand.

Hamilton, David. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 9 April 2014, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Hamilton, Lindsey. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 29 April 2014. Edinburgh, Scotland.

Hanna, Jean. Interviewed by Iain Watson 18 July 2014. Wanganui, New Zealand.

Hanna, John. Interviewed by Iain Watson 18 July 2014. Wanganui, New Zealand.

Imrie, Senga. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Johnstone, Ian. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 15 July 2014. Wellington, New Zealand.

Lamb, Gordon. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 6 August 2014. Hong Kong.

Leslie, Su. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 22 July 2014. Auckland, New Zealand.

Loggie, Alex. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 18 July 2014. Wanganui, New Zealand.

Longmore, Elaine. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 14 July 2015. Glasgow, Scotland.

Main, Allan. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Main, Kirsten. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Martin, Nancy. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 17 July 2014, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

McEwan, Michelle.

Montgomery, Patsy. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 10 December 2014, Waipu, New Zealand.

Montgomery, Patsy. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 11 January 2013, Waipu, New Zealand.

Powrie, Allan. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 31st July 2014. Hong Kong.

Rider, Don. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 5 December 2014. Auckland, New Zealand.

Robertson, Diana. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 29 May 2014. Edinburgh, Scotland.

Robertson, Stan. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 29 May 2014. Edinburgh, Scotland.

Saunders, Stewart. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 7 December 2014. Hong Kong.

Seabourne, Ian. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 10 July 2015, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Sillars, Joyce. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 14 July 2014. Nelson, New Zealand.

Stoker, Stuart. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 2 August 2014. Hong Kong.

Watson, Calum. Interviewed by Iain Watson. 6 December 2014. Hong Kong.

Watson, Gordon. Interviewed by Iain Watson, 13 November 2012, Blainslie, Scotland.

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