

WSREC Report - Challenging Sectarianism Across Generations

October 2014

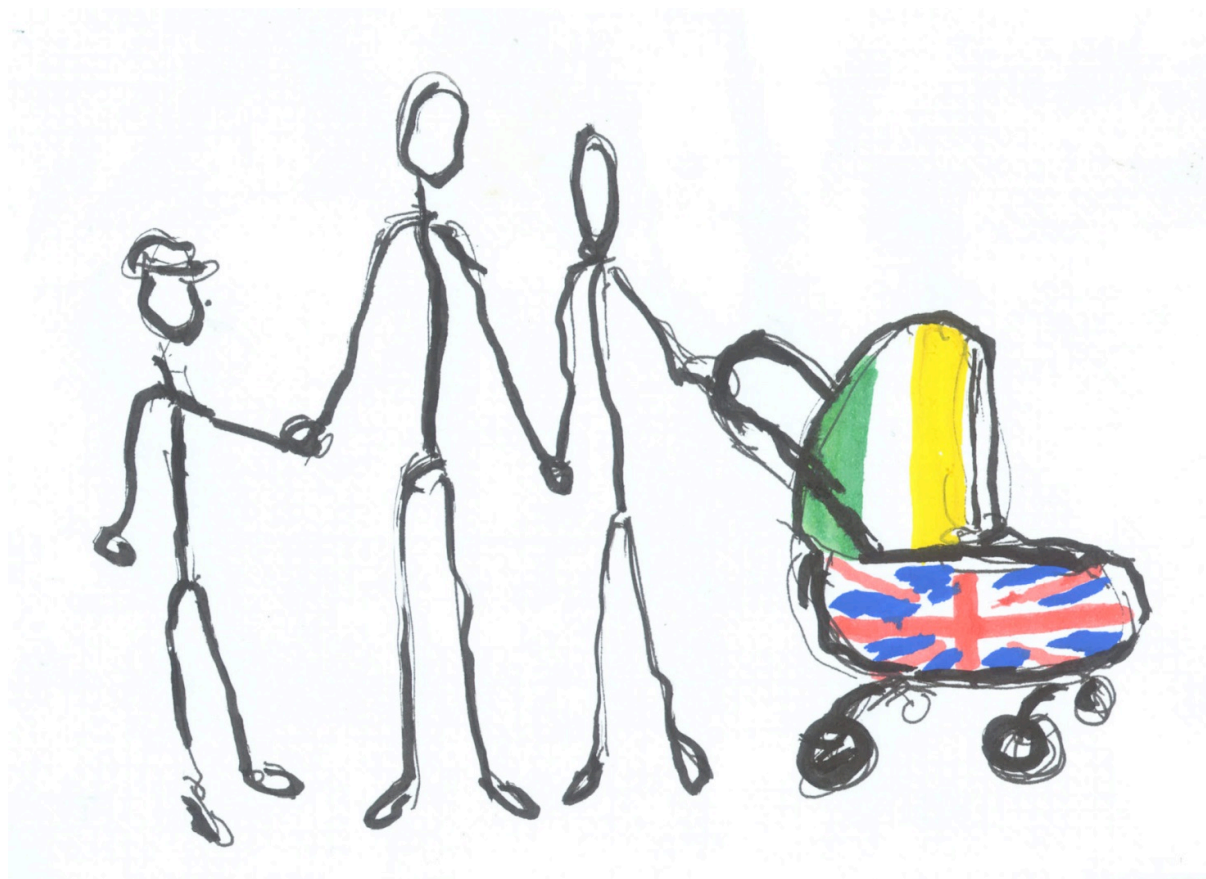


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Executive Summary

Introduction

Over the last decade sectarianism in contemporary Scotland has been recognised as a serious concern requiring political intervention (Devine, 2000; Clayton, 2005; Walls and Williamson, 2003). Forms of intervention have proved contentious as this is a complex issue which scholars in the field recognise has developed beyond the anti-Irish sentiments of the 20th Century (NFO, 2003; Paterson, 2000). This report summarises the findings of a literature review and mixed method empirical study undertaken between May - August 2014. Over 170 people living in the west of Scotland contributed their experience and thoughts on intra-Christian sectarianism in contemporary Scotland. This research was produced by, West Of Scotland Regional Equality Council who received funding from the Voluntary Action Fund on behalf of the Scottish Government.

The focus of the study is generational change, therefore contribution from a range of ages as well as religious experience was included. The core questions informing discussion focus on definitions of sectarianism, how and where it is manifest, how it affects individual life choices and how the experience has changed over time.

Method

This research project involved, firstly a review of literature followed by a mixed method empirical study which aimed to capture a range of views on salient issues from people living in the west of Scotland. The aim of the literature search was to identify public texts which report on, or analyse 'sectarianism' in Scotland. The findings informed the approach to fieldwork which involved, interviews, a survey and focus groups that generated empirical knowledge which adds to the current debate and policy on the subject.

The online survey attracted 108 respondents who varied in age, gender and religious orientation. Focus groups were developed in conjunction with community organisations working in different localities. These accessed different age ranges

and localities which have different histories relevant to the discussion. Five focus groups involved between nine and twenty members each. Nine adults aged between 19 and 71 participated in life history interviews. These people also varied in age and religious orientation. Life history (Alheit, 1995; Lynch, 2008) method is an ethnographic approach which promotes an understanding of the dynamic and complex interrelation of social, cultural, environmental influences which inform individual development, attitudes and decision making across the life course. The rationale for using this approach was to generate narratives which provide detail on how attitudes are constituted and informed in family, community and wider societal contexts.

Literature Review

The literature review which focused primarily on published articles and reports since 2000, identified a range of themes. These relate to the challenge of defining sectarianism as attitudes toward Catholics, Protestants and religion have changed over the past 150 years. The literature explores the relationship between sectarianism and race, culture and economic status as much as religion. There is a discernible fault-line between scholars who argue that contemporary sectarianism in the west of Scotland is a persistent form of anti-Catholic oppression and those who argue that it is substantively about identity politics, a form of tribalism involving tension between ostensibly equal groups.

The term 'sectarianism' is deeply contentious and many argue that 'bigotry' and prejudice are more apt terms to describe social divisions in Scotland, particularly in the context of secularisation. Some claim that 'racism' or a form of anti-Irish sentiment should be central to any definition, however others argue that Protestant Irish migrants did not face the same level of prejudice. Debates on definition relay tension on the degree to which sectarianism affects people's lives. While there are no statistically significant studies on sectarianism in the west of Scotland that there are a number of insightful empirical studies which enable identification and interpretation of key domains within which sectarian prejudice becomes manifest. These are employment, football, violence, parades and the school system.

The literature broadly agrees that sectarianism has diminished. There is agreement on the causes for this as; access to education and skills development by early Irish settlers; proliferation of mixed marriages; physical regeneration of 'ghetto' localities and the globalisation of the workplace which eradicated parochial employment practices. Tensions are apparent, around the 'impact' and 'perceived impact' of sectarianism in contemporary Scotland and to what extent this should occupy the time of policymakers as a major issue.

Findings

Contributions were analysed in relation to the themes which emerged from the literature review. These were, identity and belonging; religion; marriage; football; marches; violence; employment; schools and place. Additionally contributors were asked to comment on, the significance of sectarianism as a political priority in relation to other socially divisive issues.

Identity and Belonging

Contributors generally understood sectarianism in oppositional terms. That it was not simply belonging to a group but feeling aggrieved toward another. Those living in localities alongside more recent migrants wanted to focus on these divides, seeing Catholic/Protestant sectarianism as historical and of less contemporary relevance. Young people linked the idea almost exclusively to football rivalry. A number of people spoke in depth on the insidious production of sectarian views through intimate family relationships more than wider society. Even those who self-identified as holding 'bigoted' views saw these as problematic. The substantial significance of symbols carried by colours, flags and football paraphernalia was frequently mentioned. This was evident in the regularity of children being warned against wearing football colours. Despite the acknowledged issues of sectarian views, those involved in football pointed out the value of belonging to a group which was not fulfilled in other aspects of their lives.

Religion

All data re-enforces the idea of an increasingly secular society, with few younger people affiliating with or attending faith organisations. While many younger people

expressed bemusement at the idea of, being religious, older people tended to focus on the impact of low attendance on the church and the need for faith organisations to become more relevant. Regardless of age Catholics appeared more likely to identify as such even though they did not attend church. The few contributors who held strong religious beliefs claimed that, contemporary prejudice lay between those who have a faith and those who do not, more than between different faith groups.

Marriage

The survey indicated a widely held belief that people should not be influenced by faith in their choice of marriage partner. The few who did not express this belief almost exclusively indicated that they currently practise a religion. Mixed marriages between different Christian faith groups were seen as normal. Many of the eldest contributors reported family tensions in their youth, when they married into a different religion, but they claimed that such views belonged in the past.

Football

There was extensive discussion on football and the majority of people described sectarianism more in terms of a Celtic/Rangers divide than Catholic/Protestant. One contributor who self-identified as a 'blue nose' stated that Rangers employment policy was central in encouraging his ill-feeling toward Catholics. There was much discussion of the '90 minute sectarian' where the prejudicial chanting was understood more as an aspect of football rivalry than a genuine hatred. There was also discussion of how this permeated Scottish football where contributors who supported teams other than Rangers or Celtic were conscious of being subject to sectarian chants. There was wide agreement that the 'Old Firm' clubs had done much to mitigate sectarianism. However football fans were in agreement that both clubs benefitted from the contribution of 'extremist' support and there was skepticism around whether they would really want to 'stamp this out'.

Marches and Parades

Orange Marches and to a much lesser extent Hibernian Marches were frequently discussed. Survey contributions mirrored the view from interviews and focus groups, that these marches were aggressive and divisive, with a substantial majority

indicating that they should be banned. Many were preoccupied with those who follow the marches as dangerous more than the band members themselves.

Violence

There was a perception that sectarian violence was an issue, but very few contributors reported direct experience. The survey indicates that a tiny minority of participants had experienced verbal or physical abuse linked to religion, and those who did identified as Muslim, Sikh, or children. This suggests that the abuse related to race rather than intra-Christian sectarianism. Comments by those who had been involved in gangs and Glasgow 'young teams' strongly suggested that these were founded on territorial rather than religious divides. Gender violence linked to football was discussed and while those with experience stated that violence was more likely to occur following a negative result, they saw this as more complex. It was suggested that violence would take place regardless and that negative emotion and alcohol were the toxic combination on these occasions.

Employment

Both the survey and direct contributor reports showed little evidence of contemporary discrimination in the workplace. Any accounts of this were from over ten years ago. Contributors described situations where direct affiliation with a particular group such as the Masons or the Orange Lodge could create advantages but not simply identifying as Protestant.

Schools

Views on separate Catholic schools were mixed. Many reported that 'Catholic' schools were no longer Catholic and one was cited as nearly 100% Muslim. Some older contributors reported that early separation had played a significant role in their growing prejudice, however most did not. Many older contributors stated that regardless of the school they attended they would play with any children on the street and not question their religion. This was also evident in the youth focus groups which included young participants who attended different schools based on religion. Both such groups involved young people wearing Celtic and Rangers strips who proclaimed friendship to each other. There were no reported issues based on school

attendance by young contributors, which suggests that this did not present as a burning issue for people.

Place

There was a strong perception that some localities were 'hotbeds of sectarianism'. Those mentioned were, Bridgeton, Larkhall, Ibrox, Airdrie and Govan as 'Protestant' areas and Royston and Gorbals as Catholic. Some contributors could talk of their direct experience of living in these areas and felt aggrieved at what they described as negative 'misrepresentation'. Some spoke of living happily in these localities despite an awareness that they belonged to a minority 'football' or 'religious' orientation. The perceived problems were described by one contributor as more 'territorial tribalism' than religious sectarianism. There were also links to class where such tribalism was associated with 'poor' areas.

Social Conflict

When asked about major reasons for social divides there was a significant majority consensus around poverty and the associated ails of poor housing as the main concern. Secondary issues linked to migration and racism. These statements strongly correlated with discussion in published literature, that sectarianism in 2014 was more strongly linked to contemporary migration than to the Irish migration of the late 18th, early 19th centuries.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Recommendations evolve from the issues which contributors perceive as pertinent not simply to intra-Christian tension but to the manifestation of social divides more generally.

- Sectarianism is a complex issue which interweaves other social challenges. For many it takes place over the duration of a '90 minute' football match. However for those who experienced deeply embedded bitterness it appears a life long struggle which originates in a sense of grievance. Any approaches to addressing sectarianism should take this complexity into account.

- Strategies to address sectarianism should not enable the problem they seek to address. The strong perceptions of risk of sectarian violence appeared to fuel the problem. For example, where children are warned to be careful of 'dangerous others' this creates a sense of threat. Direct media and policy focus risk emphasising sectarianism as an issue, thus exaggerating the divide.
- Promotion of positive understanding of 'difference'. Tension around social 'differences' was never far from discussion as contributors described the struggle to manage social change through migration and the presence of different cultures. It was easy for people who had struggled with sectarian views to feel demonised and further alienated by negative attention. There were also concerns by those who held defined religious beliefs that they had become alienated by liberal society, where an 'anything goes' attitude had become the norm. This indicated the challenge of managing difference positively without the need for all to resolve into the same.
- Focus on equalities and poverty. This was a resounding message particularly from contributors who stated that they struggled financially. Inequality, financial hardship and the associated suffering were centred as the main reasons for grievance which leads to further suffering, blaming and conflict.

1 Introduction

Over the last decade sectarianism in contemporary Scotland has been recognised as a serious issue requiring political intervention (Devine, 2000; Clayton, 2005; Walls and Williamson, 2003). Forms of intervention have proved contentious as this is a complex issue which scholars in the field recognise has developed far beyond the anti-Irish sentiments of the 20th Century (NFO, 2003; Paterson, 2000). A recent report by the Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism (Scottish Government, 2013) recognises the challenge of defining sectarianism in contemporary Scotland and offers the following:

Sectarianism in Scotland is a complex of perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, actions and structures, at personal and communal levels, which originate in religious difference and can involve a negative mixing of religion with politics, sporting allegiance and national identifications. It arises from a distorted expression of identity and belonging. It is expressed in destructive patterns of relating which segregate, exclude, discriminate against or are violent towards a specified religious other with significant personal and social consequences.

The multifaceted and elusive nature of sectarianism is implicit in this definition which authors suggest should be 'tested'. This research proposal aims to contribute to the debate by providing insight into contemporary understanding of the experience and impact of 'sectarianism' across generations living together in localities across the West of Scotland. Qualitative methods and critical discourse analysis provide a means of navigating this complexity.

This report summarises the findings of a literature review and mixed method empirical study undertaken between May - August 2014. Over 170 people living in the west of Scotland contributed their experience and thoughts on intra-Christian sectarianism in contemporary Scotland. This number of contributors is not statistically significant and there is no intention to generalise the findings. It does, however provide valuable information which can inform future developments in policy and practice.

The focus of the study is generational change, therefore contribution from a range of ages as well as religious experience was included. The core questions informing discussion focus on definitions of sectarianism, how and where it is manifest, how it

affects individual life choices and how the experience has changed over time. This research was produced by, West Of Scotland Regional Equality Council who received funding from the Voluntary Action Fund on behalf of the Scottish Government.

2 Method - Research Design

This research project involved firstly a review of literature followed by a mixed method empirical study which aimed to capture a range of views on salient issues from people living in the west of Scotland. The methods used for these different aspects of the study are outlined below.

2.1 Literature Review

This project outline and core questions were developed following a review of literature. This review, which can be found in section 3, highlighted the salient concepts and issues across academic literature and public reports relevant to the theme of sectarianism in Scotland. While not systematic, literature from key sociological, cultural and educational journals was reviewed. Public reports were accessed through Scottish Government, local authority and Health and Social Policy websites.

The aim of the literature search was to identify public texts which report on, or analyse 'sectarianism' in Scotland. The findings informed the approach to fieldwork which involved, interviews, a survey and focus groups that generated empirical knowledge which adds to the current debate and policy on the subject. Search terms, 'sectarian', 'sectarianism' and 'Scotland' were used in search engines EBSCO, Social Sciences Citation Index and in specifically relevant journals, Ethnic and Racial Studies and Social & Cultural Geography. A search for policy documents and public reports related to sectarianism was made in the Scottish Government website, COSLA and local authorities in the west coast of Scotland. The emphasis of the search was on sociological views of sectarianism, a search of humanities literature may have added to the review. However the time and scope of this review was limited by the project constraints.

Articles which directly address the theme were scanned. A significant number of articles related to sectarianism in Ireland (Sinclair et al, 2004) and in other countries (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2007). The scale of the project did not support their use, however they would be useful for comparison as it is important to note that 'sectarianism' is not simply a Scottish issue and that many countries across the world face social problems linked to religious and political factions (Rieff, 2012).

Seven reports for local organisations and government have been included with forty-one academic journal articles and books. The majority of the academic articles are based in qualitative empirical research, some use census material and/or the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey and some use discourse analysis on public documents. None of the papers or reports is based in statistically significant quantitative evidence. This does not undermine any of the articles but shows that this is a very difficult area to explore and scholars have turned to research forms which engage with complexity. While this cannot claim to be an exhaustive list it covers all of the literature directly relevant to the search terms. The process of review also led to a level of saturation as the texts were frequently cross referenced. Of note, few of the texts were published prior to 2000. This is indicative of the re-emergence of 'sectarianism' as an issue for public debate during this time. The reasons for this are frequently alluded to and will be discussed in the opening section.

2.2 Fieldwork and Data Collection

The empirical approach was developed in line with the salient themes of the literature review. The following objectives underlay the fieldwork design and approach:

- To engage a cohort who represent a cross section of generations of people living in Scotland in terms of age, gender and social economic background.
- To deploy methods which are accessible to people who have different literacy capacities.
- To ensure informants are fully aware of the method and purpose of research.
- To ensure informant anonymity and data security.

- To ensure that ethical issues are addressed in the over all design and in the course of fieldwork.
- To engage participants from a general community setting as opposed to a specific religious affiliation.

The mixed method approach provided a varied and accessible range of perspectives. Methods used were, a survey, focus groups and interviews. The areas of focus was developed in response to the literature review and the specific affordances and limitations of informant contexts. The design of the different facets is outlined below.

Survey - The survey was limited by time and budget. It was designed as an online process which was promoted through social networks, where a clear description of the project and how the information would be used was given. It was not anticipated that it would result in statistically significant numbers more that it would provide a wider range of responses than the focus groups and interviews.

108 people contributed to the survey. A breakdown of ages can be found in Figure1 and religious orientation in Figure 2.

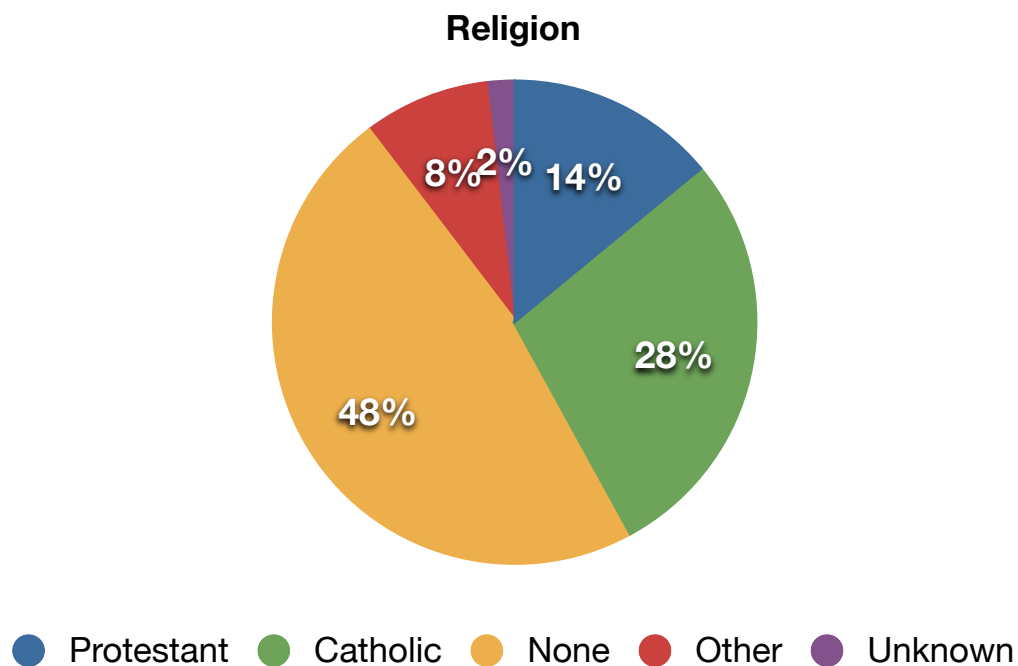


Figure 1 - Religion - Demographic information of religious affiliation

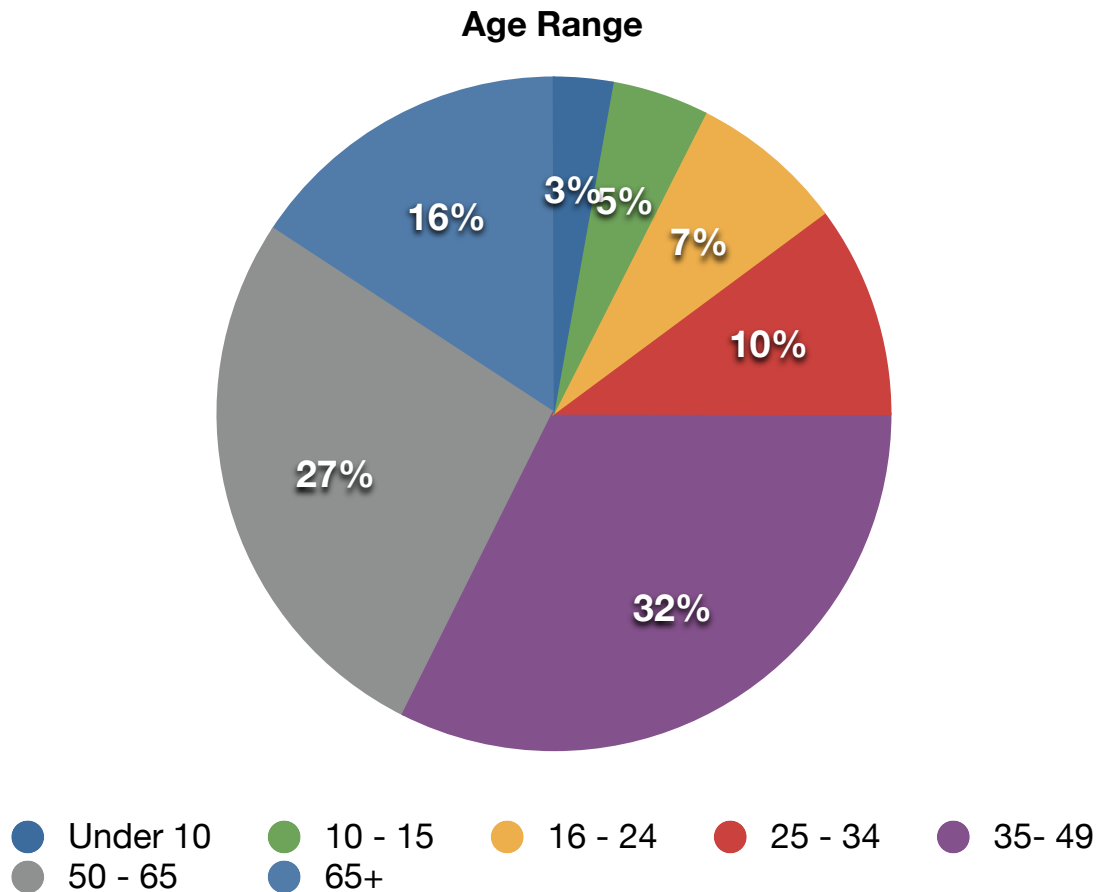


Figure 2 - Age Range - Demographic information of age

Focus Groups - Focus groups provide a forum within which contributors can respond to the research questions and develop their response through discussion and reflection (Hydén and Bülow, 2003; Silverman, 2005). Five focus groups were undertaken in community contexts which enabled contact with people who represent range in age, gender and social/economic background. Alongside semi-structured discussion, photo-elicitation (Frith and Harcourt, 2007; Banks, 2001; Kolb, 2008) and mapping techniques were also used. These approaches generated discussion through the provision of visual material which acted as a reference point for ideas. These methods aimed to be accessible to people whose literacy skills vary. Such methods are noted for their uses in informing policy and practice (Parkin and Coomber, 2009). The focus groups provide insight into areas of consensus as well as the tensions and differences of opinion which exist across communities. Focus groups involved between nine and twenty members each, and these were audio recorded.

Focus groups were developed in conjunction with community organisations working in different localities. These provided access to people who vary in age, gender and social-economic background based in localities which have different histories relevant to the discussion. Figure 3 provides an anonymised profile of the groups.

Focus Group	Age Range	Area
Focus Group 1	17 - 60 years old	Gorbals - South of Glasgow
Focus Group 2	6 - 11 years old	Gorbals - South of Glasgow
Focus Group 3	7 - 14 years old	Possilpark, Glasgow
Focus Group 4	20 - 65+	Govan, Glasgow
Focus Group 5	65+	Pollokshields/Govanhill

Figure 3 - Focus Groups

Interviews - Interviewees contributed a life history narrative linked to their experience of religion and sectarianism. Life history (Alheit, 1995; Lynch, 2008) method is an ethnographic approach which promotes an understanding of the dynamic and complex interrelation of social, cultural, environmental influences which inform individual development, attitudes and decision making across the life course. The rationale for using this approach was to generate narratives which provide detail on how attitudes are constituted and informed in family, community and wider societal contexts. Nine interviews were undertaken, seven were audio recorded and transcribed while two involved detailed notes. Interviewees were recruited through community groups across the west of Scotland. There was an intention to interview a diverse age range and religious background. Figure 4 provides an anonymised contributor profile and the pseudonyms used. Pseudonyms were given to aid the reader.

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Summary
Marie	35 - 49	Female	Marie spent her childhood in North Ayrshire, cared for by her Roman Catholic grandmother and other family who were members of the Orange Lodge. She was brought up in the Mormon Church until she rejected this. She moved back to Glasgow and gained a scholarship into a fee paying school.
Liam	35 - 49	Male	Liam was brought up in the North of Glasgow as a Roman Catholic. He reported that his daughter marches in the Hibernian walks and he was previously heavily involved in football, getting involved with fights. He stated that he has many Protestant friends.
Mary	65+	Female	Mary described herself as being brought up 'bitter' Catholic. She grew up in the Garngad, a place where many Irish Catholics settled. However, she and many of her brothers married Protestants and she has wrestled with the residual feelings around anti-Catholic sentiment. She reported that she tried to create a different experience for her children and grand children. Her son is a Rangers fan and daughter chose to join the Roman Catholic church.
Sheila	65+	Female	Sheila was raised by a Catholic mother and Protestant father as a Protestant, she reported that she was made to feel second class by her Catholic family. Although brought up in Garngad/Royston she reported that she never experienced sectarian animosity from others out with her family.
John	65+	Male	John was born and raised in the Gorbals and went to school in Bridgeton as it was the nearest 'Protestant' school. He thinks that this experience and supporting Rangers helped him to become a 'bigot'. He reflected on how his self-confessed bigotry has manifest and also how he has mellowed over the years.
Charlotte	35 - 49	Female	Charlotte grew up in North East England. She moved to Glasgow to study at university and then to Northern Ireland to live and work before recently moving back to Glasgow.

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Summary
Jean	65+	Female	Jean grew up in Larkhall and identified as a 'Christian'. She was keen to focus on her experience of growing up in Larkhall and her belief that the area is misrepresented. She described her family's relationship with a local Catholic family. She also described her experience of a divide between people who have a faith and those who do not.
Neil	16 - 24	Male	Neil is a young man who described his experience of growing up in a 'Catholic' family in a multi-ethnic locality. He focused on his experience of school and his current social network.
James	50 - 65	Male	James grew up in Southern Ireland to an Irish family who were 'not Roman Catholics', he moved to England to study and has spent his adult life living and working in the west of Scotland.

Figure 4 - Interviewee Information

2.3 Analysis

There were a number of challenges for the analysis of this material. Fore-mostly that this research engaged people who themselves held, either consciously or unconsciously, 'sectarian' or prejudiced views. It could not therefore be assumed that informant views were value free. The importance of interrogating what informs, informant views is brought under scrutiny by Bruce et al (2005). In order to address this, critical discourse analysis was employed. Discourse Analysis interprets words in relation to their social, cultural and political contexts (Fairclough, 2001, 2003; McKee, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). This form of interrogation provides a means of interpreting informant views from their given context. Content analysis (Silverman, 2006; Carley, 1990) was also be used to indicate salient and persistent themes and concepts.

2.4 Ethical Issues

This was a sensitive area of discussion for some informants. It was therefore vital that any discomfort caused by involvement in the research process was mitigated at the earliest stage. To this end the following methods were employed.

- Confidentiality was assured as all recorded data is held on an encrypted pen drive, accessible only to the research team. This will be destroyed following completion of the report.
- Data transcripts have been anonymised for use in the report. Places have not been anonymised as these have a direct relevance to the discussion. In order to ensure that anonymity is maintained information on contributing community organisations has not been included in the report.
- Informants were provided with an accessible 'common sense' statement which outlines the process and purpose of the research. Only contributions from people and groups who had signed to indicate understanding was used. In the case of children and vulnerable adults, permission was sought from relevant adults.
- Focus groups were designed to limit conflict. Extensive discussion was undertaken prior to the focus group to explore any potential risk. Information that the discussion was going to take place was given to group members several weeks in advance.

2.5 Limitations

While this design seeks to generate a varied and balanced range of views it is undoubtedly limited by the number and range of contributors. It is not unreasonable to assume that sectarianism may well be experienced very differently in micro geographic and social contexts. It is therefore inappropriate to generalise from the findings. The findings aim to provide a valid representation of informant experience which will enable an overview of concerns which have wider relevance, Other limitations relate directly to the specific methods. As an online survey, this is limited to people who have access to the internet. This has partly been addressed by the use of a hard copy survey which was made available to focus group contributors.

3 Literature Review

A range of themes emerged across the texts with great consistency. These are discussed in the following two sections. The first section explores the problematics of defining 'sectarianism' and its origins in Scotland. The second section explores the practical domains within which it is argued that a sectarian divide is most evident. This includes the frequently discussed domains of football, employment and schools as well as the less frequent but nonetheless relevant areas of marches and place or territory. The various and conflicting analysis of impact on the lives of the people of Scotland is discussed in the conclusion.

3.1 Defining Sectarianism in Scotland - Identities and Origin

The definition, origins and current practices of sectarianism in Scotland are interwoven. Issues around the use of the term fall between these different knowledge bases. As a standalone term the Oxford dictionary provides this definition: 'Rigidly following the doctrines of a sect or other group' (Oxford Dictionary, 2014), while the Collins Dictionary states it is 'strong support for the religious or political group you belong to, which often involves conflict with other groups' (Collins Dictionary, 2014). These definitions indicate that the weighting of 'sectarianism' is *toward* a particular set of shared beliefs either religious or political which are dogmatically held to the extent that they produce conflict with others who do not share these beliefs. This contrasts with 'prejudice' which implies hostility toward a group who are believed to be different. As will be shown the emphasis of these definitions is relevant to how the debate on the use of the term has developed.

A number of scholars (Rosie, 2001, 2004; Bruce et al 2004; Bradley, 1995) find the term 'sectarianism' of little value when discussing the social problems linked to a perceived Catholic/Protestant divide in Scotland. Rosie (2001) claims that it is 'a term so pejorative that there are grounds for avoiding it altogether' (33). This view is grounded in perspectives, linked to the contemporary secularisation of society and the lack of empirical evidence of limited life chance of Catholics or Protestants.

The increasing secularity of Scottish people is discussed widely in the literature. The decline of faith practices (Devine, 2000; McCrone, 2001; Bruce, 2011) is the base of

the argument that outside of the marginal religious groups such as the Orange Lodge or republican groups there are no unifying doctrines or shared belief, effectively no 'sect' upon which to build a sectarian divide. In contrast to this the evidence from churches, in particular the survey of Catholic parishes undertaken by Conforti (2014), suggests that in contemporary Scotland the divide is between those who have a religious belief and those who do not. This report indicates that the voice of Christian belief had diminished in the political sphere on issues such as same sex marriage. The rise of ecumenism and collaboration across faith groups is noted (McCrone, 2001; Clegg and Rosie, 2005) as evidence of a more relevant divide between faith groups as a whole and secular society. The many anti-sectarian campaigns where faith groups have come together to 'tackle sectarianism' is further evidence of the absence of actively dividing doctrine. Based on this understanding Rosie (2001) and Bradley (1995) find the term 'bigotry' more apt as this is premised on a dislike of the 'other' based on who they are, or are perceived to be, rather than a strongly held set of beliefs on the part of the holder.

It is argued by some that the divide is not about religion but about race and that 'sectarianism' is based in 'anti-Irish sentiment' and could more aptly be described as 'racism', again, an action against rather than for. This is premised in the widely held belief that sectarianism in Scotland finds its routes in the Irish migration which took place in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Historians Devine (1991) and McCrone (2001) have charted the history of Irish migration to Scotland. They describe the impoverished circumstances of Irish migrants who lacked finance and skills coming to dwell in overcrowded ghettos and taking poorly paid unskilled jobs. Bruce et al (2004) argue that they were a despised 'out group' because of their poverty and cultural difference. While the majority of these settlers were Catholic a significant number of Ulster Irish migrants were Protestant. Two relevant issues relate to this. Firstly that the Ulster Irish Protestants had greater cultural affinity within Scotland and some shared organizations such as the Orange Lodge. They therefore assimilated more easily than Irish Catholics.

Another argument is that 'sectarianism' was in fact imported from Ireland and was brought to Scotland by both Catholic and Protestant Irish when they migrated

(Walker, 2012; Finn, 2000; McMillan, 2000; Reilly, 2000; Bradley, 2000). Bradley (2006) claims that sectarianism is all too often viewed outside of its colonial history and that the impact of the original English Protestant settler communities in Ireland is often overlooked. There is no denial by those who have challenged the focus on sectarianism in Scotland (Rosie, 2001, 2004; Bruce et al 2005) that Irish migrants suffered racism linked to cultural difference and poverty. The Irish arrived in Scotland with little education, limited skills and no money. These material factors are argued as the reason for the challenges that they faced and their initial disadvantage. These scholars argue that there is no basis for institutional Scottish anti-Catholicism such as one that is evident in Northern Ireland. The suggestion is made that Irish settlers brought attitudes from Ireland but that this relates to an Irish problem not a systemic Scottish problem. Bruce (2003) uses the short life of Ratcliffe's Scottish Protestant League as evidence of a lack of widespread interest in Protestantism. Conversely Conroy (2001) claims that Scottish history since the reformation has had anti-Catholicism at its core. Smyth (2000) discussed the uniting force which the rise of the labour party has played with a focus on shared social issues. Some commentators point out that support remains for the Conservative Party on the basis of its unionist policy.

These debates between scholars indicate the complexity of the divides between people which are simultaneously but to varying degrees, cultural, economic and racial as well as religious. The fault line of the debate on the contemporary existence of 'sectarianism' rests on the extent to which it is systemic discrimination against a particular group or group identity politics. As such about attitudes between groups who are systemically level. Such discrimination could not be found through the type of empirical measures which generally reflect oppression. Those which have been explored include, poverty, access to education, representation and employment. Devine (2000) differentiates between those who focus on social attitudes and those who seek empirical evidence. In the social science domain Rosie (2001, 2004) argues that in Scotland, bigotry or prejudice are more apt descriptions as he finds no evidence to support the belief that 'sectarianism' 'materially affects the life chances' of particular religious groups. Bruce et al (2004) suggest that the only way to establish sectarianism is to compare the evidence on the life chances of Catholics

with the rest of the population. Along with Bruce, Rosie and McCrone (2000) state that no such evidence exists. Bruce (2004) argues that it never really did exist and that the 'troubles' debated as sectarianism in fact had their roots in poverty and low levels of skills and education.

Clayton (2005) focuses on sectarian identities in his comparison of racism with sectarianism in Scotland. He argues the need for a greater understanding of power relations between different social groups and the need to activate a more complex understanding of difference than 'we are all Jock Tamson's bairns'. This does not detract from the argument that if discrimination exists then it must be detectable in material/practical ways. However a number of the articles which present a Catholic discrimination argument have a personal message about what it feels like to be a Catholic in Scotland. These include Conroy's (2003) 'I live here too' and Reilly's (2000) 'Being Catholic in Scotland'. These arguments convince that there is certainly something important which appears to delimit Catholic identities.

In summary scholars are divided on whether 'sectarianism' in Scotland is about tribalism between groups of equal standing, or is a deeper rooted anti-Catholicism which has been evident since the Irish migration and continues to exist albeit in more insidious ways. The fields discussed below show where research has focused on life experience how these different perspectives have been shaped.

3.2 Practical Manifestations of Sectarianism

Those most often discussed were, employment, football, violence, schools, marches and places. These are discussed in turn.

3.2.2 Employment

Some scholars argue that there was employment discrimination against Catholics in the early 19th Century (Devine, 1991), while others claim that this disadvantage was not due to discrimination but a lack of education and skills (Paterson, 2000; Paterson and Ianelli, 2006). Williams and Walls (2000, 2003, 2005) attempt to show that Catholics continue to face discrimination in the workplace. The implication of their title 'Going but not gone' is that oppression remains. They use qualitative evidence to discern whether contributors or their acquaintances have been treated differently

in the workplace. Bruce et al (2004) refute this evidence and convincingly demonstrate that while in the past employment opportunities may well have been restricted by religious affiliation that this is no longer the case. They use the 2001 Census, the 2001 Scottish Attitudes Survey and the NFO Research (2003) to construct the argument; as there are fewer people who identify as Catholics living in Scotland and the numbers in various employment contexts proportionately reflect this. Others (McCrone, 2001; Rosie, 2001) argue that the globalisation of employment has effectively eradicated parochial discriminatory practices and this has been a key factor in eliminating employment exclusions premised on religion, either Catholic or Protestant.

3.2.3 Football

Football is the most frequently mentioned domain across the texts, with a number of articles dedicated to this field (Bradley, 2006, 2008; Giulianotti and Robertson, 2007; Kelly, 2011; Moorehouse, 2006; Murray, 1984; Malloch and Goodall, 2013; Rosie, 2013). In the 80's Murray's (1985) exploration of football and sectarianism in Scotland concludes that behaviour at football is about tribalism and camaraderie and the battle against sectarianism should not be fought here but in the segregated school system. However sectarian aggravated football aggression ultimately led to The Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012. Its significance is evident as it is the only domain to have attracted specific legislation.

Moorehouse's (2006) qualitative research with football fans from a range of Scottish teams illuminated some of the issues from a fan perspective. There was much discussion as to where the line between natural rivalry and problematic sectarianism falls. Moorehouse indicates that at the time of the research the Rangers fans tended to think that the situation had improved while the Celtic fans did not. He states that Celtic fans also felt aggrieved that both were held equally to blame and there was generally little consideration of the historical context of Irish migration and anti-Catholicism. It was noted that old firm culture had been imported by other Scottish clubs, "The Billy Boys", becomes 'The Killy Boys', 'The Caley Boys', 'The Airdrie Boys' (19) and 'Fenian blood' becomes 'Arab blood' or 'Ayr blood'. Moorehouse's

examples show how football culture and rivalry have deviated far from the origins of these songs. Further afield, Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) undertook research in expatriate culture in the US. They demonstrate that Celtic/Rangers rivalry is such a strong facet of Scottish culture that it has been exported abroad with Scottish emigrants.

Rosie (2001) muses that other societies would look to the political system not to sport. Despite the perceived improvements by some fans in Moorhouse's 2006 research, a series of events which evolved around Celtic manager, Neil Lennon occurred in 2011. As an Ulster Catholic he attracted hostility from loyalists on both sides of the water. The seriousness of the threats made to him and other staff, which further aggravated fans led to direct political intervention. All of the literature is supportive of the manner in which Rangers and Celtic football clubs responded to these incidents through the 'Straight Red' campaign of banning orders for supporters who engage in sectarian singing or promote religious bigotry. However the dispute around the measures imposed by the Scottish Government to combat sectarianism in football came from supporters of all persuasions. This is further indication of the complexity of this issue and the question of the limits on when exercising rights to demonstrate a belief becomes a problem. There are various facets to this debate and the literature identifies the role of the media and the links between football tribalism and belonging with violence and aggression.

The argument for direct legislation rests on the belief that football acts as a centre point for the sectarian debate as many of the reported tensions and conflicts are performed in this context. The weight of discussion rests on the premise that the behaviour within football is in fact the tip of an iceberg which runs deep within Scottish society. Rosie (2001, 2004) opposes this idea and uses the example of the meagre 300 dissenting voices at an oppositional rally in Govan around Gerry Adams visit, while 40,000 had only days previously been vocalising sectarian chants in Ibrox. Rosie claims that the 'culture of the football terrace need not translate into actual political behaviour.' (14)

Recently the Conforti (2014) research, which qualitatively explored attitudes by practicing Catholics toward sectarianism, indicates that most people find football less of an issue since the old firm now play in different leagues. Their contributors did however report being conscious of avoiding wearing football colours. This enforces the view that football is an arena which enables tribal camaraderie and that alcohol fueled football hooliganism may in fact be the core issue.

In a rare positive framing, Deuchar and Holligan (2010) describe the valuable social capital which benefits young people who affiliate with supporters. They claim that many of their research contributors found a sense of belonging which they could not find at home. They describe the 'mood enhancing' effect of singing partisan songs.

Many authors, particularly (Kelly, 2010; Waiton, 2013; Bruce et al, 2004) state the press have had a huge role in invigorating the idea that Scotland's football hooliganism has its routes in sectarianism. Kelly (2010) uses discourse analysis to convince that the language of the press itself is both emotive and provocative. The assertion is made that the media have fetishised sectarianism. While Waiton (2013) interrogates the changed position of football pundit Graham Speirs to demonstrate the shift in the press as a whole. He describes 'the strange rise of sectarianism' (104) and argues that this indicates a growth of intolerance. He views this from sociological perspective where society is more conscious of 'vulnerability' and 'risk'. This, he argues, has produced a need to protect which requires greater political intervention. However the focus on football has undoubtedly emanated from the sometimes fatal violence which has ensued.

3.2.4 Violence

In all discussion contemporary sectarian violence was at some point linked to football. 'Sectarian' 'violence' and 'murders' are frequently cited as a reason for the need of political intervention (Flint, 2008; Bradley, 2006, 2008). The tragic murder of Mark Scott, a young Celtic fan walking home from a match in Parkhead is an often cited example and the motivation behind the campaign Nil by Mouth. Mark was brutally murdered by a young man, with Ulster affiliations, in Bridgeton for no other reason than that he was wearing a Celtic scarf. Bruce et al (2004) state that this

terrible event has become the 'microcosm of what sectarianism now means to people in Scotland: the Ulster conflict, street violence and football rivalry' (124). However Bruce et al wish to bring other significant factors to the fore and go on to provide an analysis of 13 murders which claim sectarian aggravation as a factor. They find that in only 6 of these could sectarianism be argued to be the central factor and that all involved working class young men, alcohol and football. They argue that poverty, misplaced machismo and alcohol were more salient factors in these tragedies than sectarianism. They conclude that sectarian hostility was present but not the source of the problems.

The NFO (2003) research on attitudes toward sectarianism in Glasgow backs the view that there is a mix of public opinions as to whether football violence is about religious sectarianism or alcohol fueled football rivalry. Some of their respondents suggest that football is its own religion. They found that 0.7% of their respondents believed that they had been physically assaulted because of their religion. That is 5% of those who reported assault. Although this is too small a survey sample to draw any generally applicable conclusions it adds weight to the argument of those who promote the prevalence of other social factors.

Williams et al (2013) conducted a study which explored the impact of old firm matches on domestic violence and find that there is a consistently higher reporting of domestic violence following Celtic/Rangers football matches than other comparable fixtures. They carefully do not link this to religion but more to the social significance of these matches. They state that this needs further work but talk of alcohol fueled tribalism and machismo as significant. In response Malloch and Goodall (2013) suggest that women who experience domestic abuse say that a football match is more likely to be an excuse for abuse rather than a cause.

3.2.5 Youth

Deuchar and Holligan's (2010) qualitative research on youth and sectarianism supports the argument that underlying factors are more significant to behaviour than sectarianism. Their evidence suggests that violence amongst young people has more to do with tribalism than with religion. This work, as well as Deuchar's (2009)

earlier work, indicates that 'young teams' tend to be constituted in terms of place rather than religion and that most 'young team's' in Glasgow include both Catholics and Protestants. While they report 'friendly conflict' around football differences, territory trumps religion in all of the reports they generated from young people.

3.2.6 Parades

Marches such as Orange Walks and Catholic Parades are another frequently mentioned area of tension with the potential to lead to religious conflict. Bradley (1995) makes a compelling case against Orange Walks. He presents a range of anti-Catholic quotes from representatives of the Orange Order and describes the Orange Walk as 'the mass anniversary of what we can do against Catholics.' (97) Both the Conforti (2014) and NFO (2003) research find that Catholics and Protestants alike perceive both Catholic marches such as the James Connolly Society and the more widespread Orange Order Walks to be hatred fueled and provocative. While this was tempered by some who recognise the value of the right to march, many were concerned that tax payer's money is misspent on occasions which are for a minority interest.

Murray's (2005) telephone survey of 676 people to establish public opinion on marches and parades in Scotland establishes a number of relevant issues. Firstly that in general these are seen as important aspect of culture and caused disruption to only 12% interviewed. She reports strong recognition of the value of freedom of speech which outweighed any problems which marches might cause. She concludes that this is a complex area which requires sensitive handling by policy makers.

3.2.7 Place

Place was less frequently mentioned. It was widely acknowledged that while Northern Ireland remains strongly territorialised (Kelly, 2002; Sinclair et al, 2004) this is not the case in Scotland. While areas such as the Gorbals, the Garngad and Coatbridge were associated with Irish Catholic settlers and Govan and Larkhall with Protestant, waves of regeneration had for the most part broken this down (McCrone, 2001; Devine, 2000; Bruce et al, 2004, Rosie, 2004). Bruce et al (2004) suggest that all religions frequented the same dance halls in Scotland and mixed marriages

quickly ensued. Rabb and Holligan (2013) analysed 111,627 couples from the 2001 Census and found a marked increase in 'mixed' marriages.

Slum clearances in typical migrant areas of the Gorbals and the Garngad further broke up any territorial grouping. Some research (Deuchar and Holligan, 2010; Conforti, 2014) suggests that there are perhaps enclaves where people might avoid wearing football colours due to a perception of intolerance. This is limited as indicated by NFO (2003), where their study reports, that amongst many other more prevalent issues, only 5% of people would avoid any parts of Glasgow because of religion.

3.2.8 Schools

The state provision of 'Catholic' schools is reported as a tense and conflicted area (McKinney, 2008). The 1918 Education Act, which enabled state funded Catholic education, is widely viewed (Paterson, 2000; Devine, 2000; McCrone, 2001) as successful in enabling Irish migrants who lacked education to become upwardly socially mobile. Conroy (2001, 2003) defends Catholic schools as a right which does more to reduce sectarianism through the promotion of values of compassion and tolerance for others than to encourage division. It is widely acknowledged (Paterson and Ianelli, 2006; Bruce, 2003) that Catholic schools consistently outperform non-denominational schools and that many parents of other religions choose to send their children to Catholic schools as they want them to gain from a spiritual and faith based education even if not their own. The argument that separate schools are not necessarily divisive is endorsed by the aforementioned Deuchar and Holligan's (2010) youth research which finds young people who live in the same areas but attend different schools belonging to the same young teams.

Conversely Bruce (2003) argues that separate state funded education is difficult to justify and that if Catholics wish separate schools then these should be paid for privately. He draws on research (Paterson, 2001) which indicates that many Catholics no longer see the need for separate schools. The crux of the argument is, on the one hand that different educational arrangements segregate and encourage negative divisions, and on the other hand that different orientations are an aspect of

a society and should be encouraged as positive manifestations of diversity. There is no discussion of Catholic schools in light of the recent support for state funded independent schools in England which are entirely based on the latter view.

3.3 Conclusion

This review indicates that the issue of 'sectarianism' in Scotland is complex and conflicted. A number of key theorists have been debating issues from different vantage points. There is wide support for the belief that the impacts of sectarianism have lessened and that the type of disadvantage faced by earlier generations of Irish migrants no longer exists. There is agreement on the causes for this as being; access to education and skills development by early settlers; proliferation of mixed marriages; physical regeneration which fragmented 'ghetto' localities and the globalisation of the workplace which eradicated parochial employment practices. There are however some very real tensions around the 'impact' and 'perceived impact' of sectarianism in contemporary Scotland and to what extent this should occupy the time of policymakers as a major societal issue. There is a passionate argument which claims that although there is improvement in the areas mentioned that prejudice toward Catholics remains. This view proposes that sectarian chanting at football matches is evidence of the hatred bubbling under the surface of Scottish society which delimits people's lives.

The social science evidence largely refutes this claim. Empirical studies by NFO (2003), Conforti (2014) and Holligan and Deuchar (2010) ostensibly suggest that people living in the West of Scotland are not significantly affected by religious discrimination or religious violence. While there is an indication by NFO (2003) that perception delimits people's life choice and assumptions this is less evident in the later studies. The youths interviewed by Deuchar and Holligan describe sectarianism as an 'older man's' problem. Even football as the central battleground which instigated the legislation and many of the articles is reported to have lessened as an issue by 2014, largely due to the fact that Rangers and Celtic have not met in recent years. Recent police reports indicate that there has been a sharp decline in religiously aggravated violence over the past two years (Skivington and McKenna, 2014a, 2014b)

This leaves some serious questions for researchers and policy makers on how to progress work in this area. Some suggest that media ‘fetishisation’ and policy attention serves more to provoke antagonism than reduce it (Kelly, 2010; Waiton, 2013). While for others ‘sectarianism’ is an important historical facet of Scottish society and its exploration can provide valuable insights which inform future developments. It is evident that religious bigotry underpinned by migration and a fear of cultural others has had a lasting negative impact. Knowledge on how this has been mediated to both negative and positive affect across generations is helpful in not only informing policy on this issue but on understanding how to best support current and evolving issues around religious difference and migration relevant to new migrant communities.

4 Findings

Section 4 outlines the main themes which emerged across the different forms of data gathered. These have been analysed in relation to key areas of interest from the literature review with a view to exploring how this body of evidence, supports, refutes or builds on what has gone before. Attention is also given to indicators of generational shift. The first section explores wider issues such as how contributors define sectarianism, and how this relates to issues around identity and belonging. The second section looks at specific areas upon which existing research has focused, football, violence, parades, employment and place. The final section provides a discussion around wider perceptions of contemporary social conflict in Scotland and where contributors believe policy should focus.

4.1 Definitions

‘Sectarianism’ was broadly understood as oppositionality, not simply belonging to a particular group but being opposed to another. This survey comment describes it explicitly as an offense:

The difficult but essential threshold to consider is the perception of the offender and the intended recipient which requires a broadening of

accepted definitions of sectarianism - a wider perspective will capture all essential and complex pervasive ingredients that create sectarian situations. In essence, what I'm saying is that, the causes of sectarian behaviour are inside the heads of the abuser and (more importantly) the potential abuser (survey comment).

Many contributors described sectarianism in much broader terms than a Catholic/Protestant dynamic and there was wide awareness of how prejudice affects different cultures and ethnicities. Focus Group 5 was undertaken in an area where there is significant religious and ethnic diversity. Contributors found it slightly frustrating to focus on sectarianism between Catholics and Protestants as this was not an important facet of their current experience. Instead they wanted to focus on the challenges of integration with people from other countries.

In terms of generational difference, it proved a difficult concept for younger focus group contributors to grasp. Some had undertaken projects on sectarianism in school and their focus was explicitly attached to 'Celtic' and 'Rangers' football rivalry. Those who had not participated in such projects showed a good understanding of different religions possible, but only appeared to understand conflict between groups when this was linked to 'Celtic' and 'Rangers' or to racial difference. This quote from a child in a focus group indicates relations to football and ethnicity, inherent in their definition of sectarianism.

- See some people they think it's because they come from some country and they want to be the boss of that national team. Like say you were in a stadium and then in the whole football stadium, everybody was wearing a Celtic top, that's like one country, and you came in wearing a different top, that's like another country.

(Focus Group 2)

4.1.2 Identity and Belonging - Creating an Identity

All contributors even those who self-identified as holding sectarian views were keen to point out that they were aware of the moral problems incumbent in such views. They also showed a desire to understand how these views had formed and informed their life course and values. Much discussion took place on how notions of sectarianism quickly followed identification with a particular group, particularly if that group had a history of opposition to another. Life history contributors and some focus group discussions give insight into how their identities were shaped and how much control they felt that they had in this process. The discussion focused on how a sense of identity is passed on through family and environment.

Mary repeatedly used the word 'bitter' to describe her Catholic upbringing:

Ah wus brought up bitter Catholic, bitter. Ah wus in the Hibernians when ah wus a wee lassie. Ah wus brought up tae be bitter Catholic, anti-orange walk, anti-Protestant. Ah would go out tae, ah mean its jist the same as the Orange walk, the Hibernian walk. We were, it was drummed intae ye, fae ye were wee. But the thing is ah married a Protestant. (Mary)

'Drummed intae yeh' was a phrase which John, a self-identified Rangers fan frequently used:

Ye goat it drummed intae ye, ah wid be lying to say to you exactly from where but ye goat it drummed intae ye fae somewhere that this wus a Protestant country an 'they' hud awe come oor fae Ireland. Dae ye get whit ah mean? (John)

Once 'drummed in', these views appeared extremely difficult to shift. John had close Catholic friends and expressed repulsion at some of his own thoughts, however he described these as so deep they were indelible, a 'disease'.

Naw, its no a personal thing, its the idea ah Catholicism offends me, unless thur shoutin thur heed aff about it, no the Catholic thersel.

Unfortunately that bit is deep in me now.....As ah say tae me its inbred, maybe too strong, but its inbred it's like hivin a disease, a genetic disease, its just a part of you, before ye know it, ye hiv got it. (John)

Marie described similar views from a Catholic perspective, she saw her only real choice was not to allow the same 'drumming in' to happen to her own children.

Ah always swore blind ma kids wid not git brought up that road, that they wid choose whit they wanted tae choose. Ah always remember ma da watching the TV when Celtic were playing and saying ya dirty Orange B and awe the Irish rebel records wid get played. (Mary)

This comment indicates that the choice which she could make was not to expose her children to this type of 'bitterness' and therefore offer them a choice. The ability to choose however is not always a solution as one focus group discussed aligning yourself in one direction or another is a necessity in particular social environments:

Q. Do you think you decide or get put in the position where it's not a choice?

- Ah think ye get put in the position

Q. Is it hard to hold a neutral position?

- it depends on your upbringing but if yer getting pressurised intae supporting a team. Ah got it fae ma da, ah use to go and watch him play football.

- Maist ae it, is fae yer ma or yer da

(Focus Group 4)

As indicated in this quote, it was evident that this need to choose 'depends on your upbringing'. Many contributors described such scenarios when they were younger but had extricted themselves from environments where being Protestant or Catholic was in any way relevant. This ability to move beyond such contexts generally came with education and increased wealth. Sheila described living in a scheme which was full of factional statements such as Tricolour or Union Jack flags, as a child. However

when she had employment and money as an adult to buy a house in a residential area, this issue disappeared. For others it was simply never an issue:

Growing up in the North East (of England) I was totally unaware of any differences between Catholic/Protestants and when I came up to Glasgow to University I was very aware that I was English, but religion just wasn't spoken about. (Charlotte)

There was a strong explicitly stated belief that you could live in the West of Scotland and avoid any form of Catholic/Protestant sectarianism if your social group was not involved in this. However for those occupying environments where it mattered it appeared as an inescapable choice.

Generational transfer of awareness of conflict was often reported to be passed on through a perceived need to protect. The story below shows how a young contributor was introduced to a sectarian interpretation of the Union Jack:

- that's a Union Jack

- I don't like the Union Jack

Q - Why don't you like the Union Jack

- My mum says I'm not allowed a Union Jack top

Q - Why is that?

- because, because it's Protestant

Q- Why is that?

- because it would cause a fight, because I was out one time with a Celtic top and there was an Orange Walk on.

Q - Why did that matter?

- The Orange Walk is they fight back about different people's religions

(Focus Group 2)

4.1.3 Symbols

As indicated above there is a strong aesthetic dimension to sectarianism, visual symbols appeared important to people in relation to their identity and how they

wanted others to perceive them. There was extensive discussion in focus groups on how to dress in ways which did not attract trouble. Survey contributors also responded to questions on whether they had experienced a monitoring of their dress due to worries of conflict or indeed gave such advice. Figure 5 shows how contributors responded to the first of these questions:

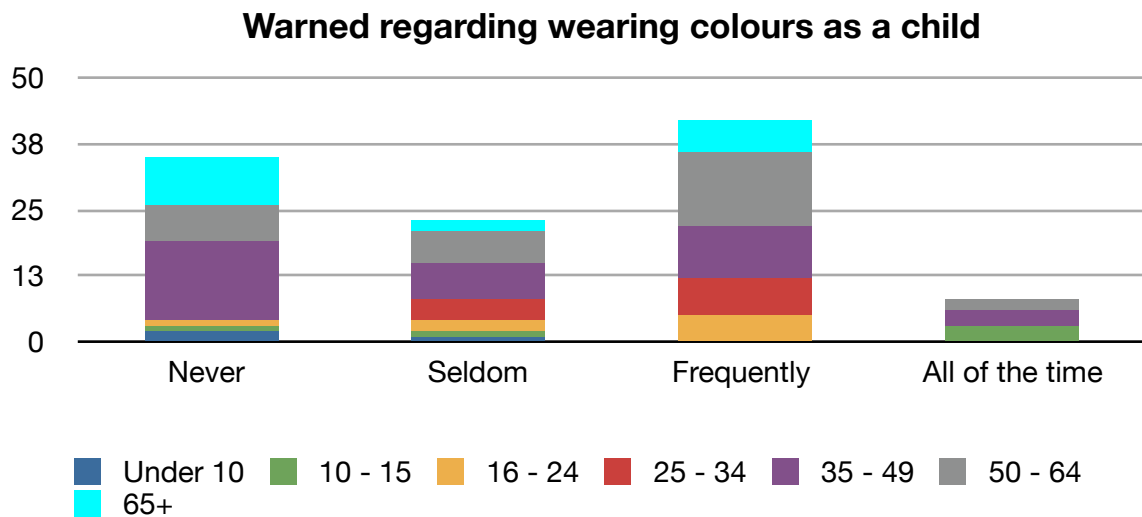


Figure 5 - Warned of risks of wearing colours as a child, by age

This graph shows that most contributors experienced some warning, with highest indication of frequent warnings. This was shared across age groups. The graph below, Figure 6, provides the same information according to religion and once more there is a spread, with no religious or non-religious group more or less likely to feel the need to think about dress in certain contexts:

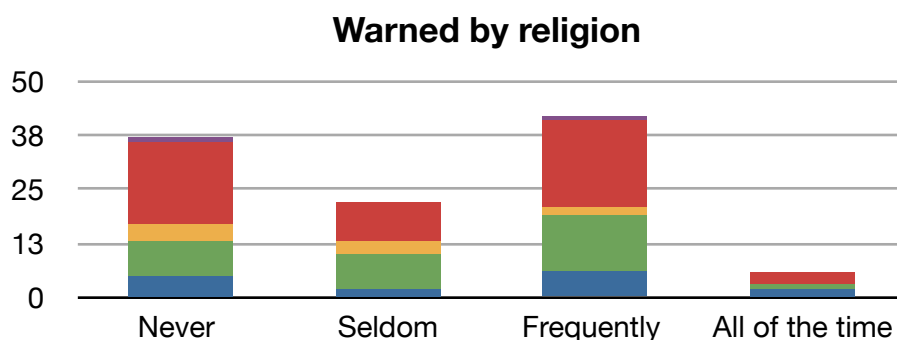


Figure 6 - Warned of risks of wearing colours as a child, by religion

The associated question, do you warn children that you know to dress in ways which do not attract sectarian attention, shows a decline, with seldom or never the dominant responses.

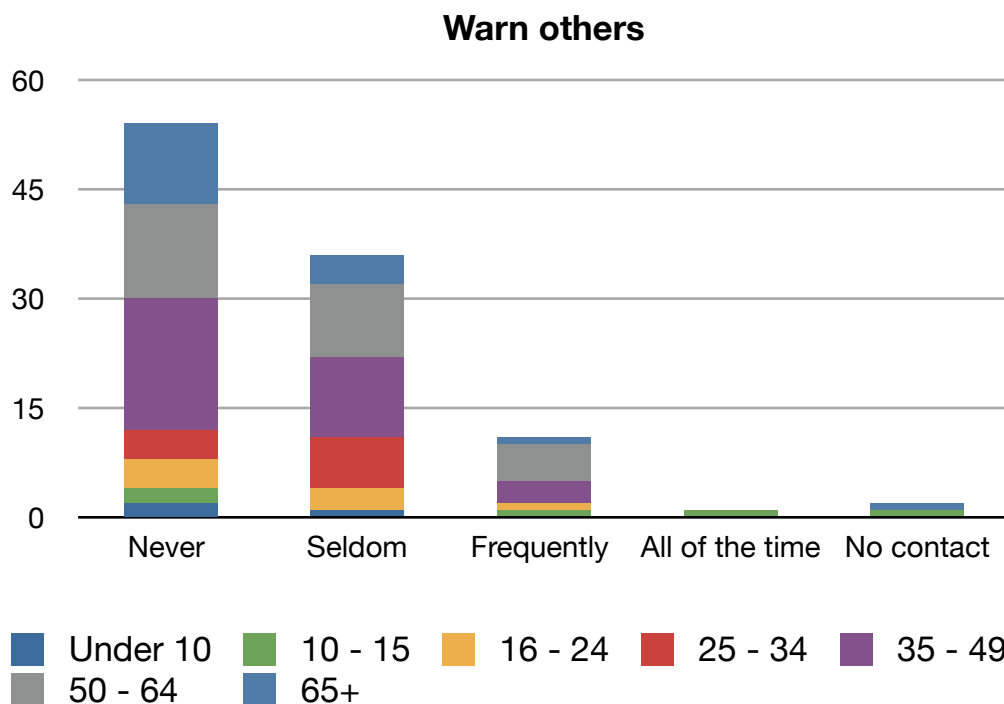


Figure 7 - Graph indicating those who warn young people regarding the wearing of colours currently.

In focus groups people reported that they might only consider the colours they were wearing if they were going to a football match or there was an Orange Walk taking place in the vicinity. Charlotte saw attention to the visual expression of identity as a significant indicator of just how much more extreme Northern Irish sectarianism was, in contrast with the west coast of Scotland:

You know when people say from over here, when I talk about sectarianism in Northern Ireland they say, it's like that in the West of Scotland and I say, it's not like that in the West of Scotland, because in Northern Ireland you can't escape it. It is just in the fabric of the place and people are making decisions and choices all the time about where they live, what colour everything is. I mean I was picked up so many times when I was wearing maybe the wrong thing, pronouncing letters the

wrong way. It's just, you know 'H' pronounced aitch is Protestant but if you pronounce it with a 'h' 'haitch'; its Catholic. So that can give away where you went to school, your surname gives you away but also your first name, the colour of your car the colour of your bag. Ehm just everything.
(Charlotte)

There was some evidence that these issues exist in Scotland in specific contexts. John described conversations on his marriage partner some 50 years ago:

She wusnae Catholic but her name wus Rosemary T right? Which was doubtful. Ah mean the Rosemary well it could have been and the T, you cannae tell. Ah think theres two spellings actually. G, is a funny name, it could be anything. (John)

The example of such forensic attention to detail was not in any respect reported as a part of mainstream living. The vast majority of contributors, of all ages, indicated that they did not analyse their environment in search of sectarian symbols, nor did they apply this to their own choice of dress or residence.

4.1.5 Benefits and Costs of Belonging

The potential for sectarian divides appeared implicit in any identification of belonging to a particular group. However benefits of belonging to a close group were also identified. Being part of a group and having an identity which was collectively supported was viewed as something that can make people feel like they belong.

Focus Group 1 described an intensified need to belong with material disadvantage:

- It's about people just wanting tae believe in something and belong to a group, ah mean really
- yeh (Wide agreement)
- especially in a lot of areas that are a more deprived, people have a lot less tae hold onto, less to bring them together. Kinda follows on from their parents talking about religions and groups, its identity

(Focus Group 1)

This indicates a need for a sense of purpose which might be fulfilled through being part of a collective. It also indicates the perception that people from economically poorer areas have less choice about where they might find this. One focus group contributor described her close knit community and the sense of safety which that brought from a young age:

- ah hud a season ticket tae Parkhead, fae when ah wus six. An ah use tae go tae fitbaw every week wae ma da. Ma da is from the Calton and ah use to go and ston ootside the pub weh ma crisps and juice an that, but ah never felt unsafe because ma da was from the area and ah knew everyone. (Focus Group 4)

Contributors who expressed an affiliation frequently described the associated enjoyment of being a part of something bigger than themselves. However they also described the problems which this can bring. Some suggested that it was better to hide any affiliation as this in itself could cause trouble:

- As far as I am concerned what religion somebody is, is not relevant it is their own business
 - yes, it causes trouble
 - trouble between Catholics and Protestants, especially the football aspect of it
- (Focus Group 5)

The desire to allow your children to share in your sense of belonging also brought tensions in family life:

- See me and ma husband, ma wee girls only 20 months and we're awready fighting about which school she will go to. We want her tae have whit we had. Ah want her to experience awe the things that ah experienced, ah want her tae make her holy communion. (Focus Group 4)

Many people described the challenges of forming an identity where they were being pulled in different directions. As the child of a mixed marriage in the 1940's, Sheila was very aware of being pulled in different directions by family members:

- probably through my mother's family that I became aware that I was different, because I didn't go to the same church, that I was different, I was made to feel like a second class citizen. Well they would say things like when your 16 you can make up your own mind, you will be a Catholic then. (Sheila)

This comment describes a sense of 'otherness' not belonging, where the only positive identity might be found through assimilation. This was the most common experience described in interviews and focus groups, where contributors had to negotiate identity amidst multiple pulls.

4.1.6 Hybrid Identities

As indicated by the comment above this was most often described by adult contributors who reported that their parents and grandparents may have had a fixed and secure sense of belonging to a particular group. However for their generation this was changing. Marie described her family as 'nothing', the only possible position where there were so many tensions. Identity was given by default so there was no attachment to it:

- 'We were a nuthing family. We were part of that generation where you know if you weren't Catholic you were probably Protestant by default. (Laughs). We went tae, well although its a non-denominational school now it hud Protestant prayers. It was the local authority primary school. So there wus a schizophrenic existence where there wus the auld Catholic granny in the hoose and the Protestant school. (Marie)

Although fraught with challenges these hybrid identities appear to have brought greater mobility to identity operations. It enabled contributors to move freely in and out of different states of belonging.

Oh aye ma daughter, she's usually in a Celtic strip, constantly, she goes tae the Celtic marches the, Hibs marches. That's her choice, she kin make that choice cos her ma stays in Royston, so. There's D he's a Rangers supporter and S ma best pal he's a Rangers supporter. We hiv banter but it's no problem. Life is too short. (Liam)

The '90 minute sectarian' is possible where people can move into and out of different modes of belonging. One woman who identified as an avid Celtic fan described her relationship with her husband, an avid Rangers fan on match days. She spoke of how they sat at either ends of the Rangers/Celtic matches and chanted 'abuse' at each other:

- like see, ye hud a hate, but see like yer relatives, ye only hated them fur 90 minutes and then when ye went hame ye were awe fine again.

(Focus Group 4)

A young contributor described growing up in a family where people supported different teams:

- Ma full family is Celtic

Q - Would you bother if somebody was a Rangers fan?

- I've got some friends that are Rangers

- There are people in ma family that are Rangers, ma full aunty's family's Rangers and ma nana

Q - Does it matter?

- no it doesnae matter, there yer family

(Focus Group 3)

This indicates a widely evident expectation that families will be mixed and can hold extreme positions within that mix, and that this can be managed. This ability to manage, 'difference' within families, strongly contrasts with Sheila's previously mentioned experience of being made to feel other, within her family and Mary's belief

that if her father were alive he would have forbid her marriage to a Protestant. It appeared that for some there was a pressure to align with a particular group. However there was also much evidence of people navigating these different alignments, within their family and friendship networks, with much less conflict than experienced by the older generation.

4.2 Focal Areas for Sectarianism

This section explores the areas of focus which emerged in the literature and empirical data. These include, religion, marriage, football, violence, parades, employment, schools and place.

4.2.1 Religion

The role of religion in Scottish intra-Christian sectarianism was discussed in all facets of contribution. However it did not occupy a central role, contributors mainly discussed where it belonged and how much contemporary relevance it has in influencing people’s lives and decisions. Discussion tended to explore the demise of religion yet how it remains relevant to cultural and political affiliation.

Survey contributions show a decline in religious affiliation linked to age. Figure 8 indicates that the majority of contributors expressed no religious affiliation.

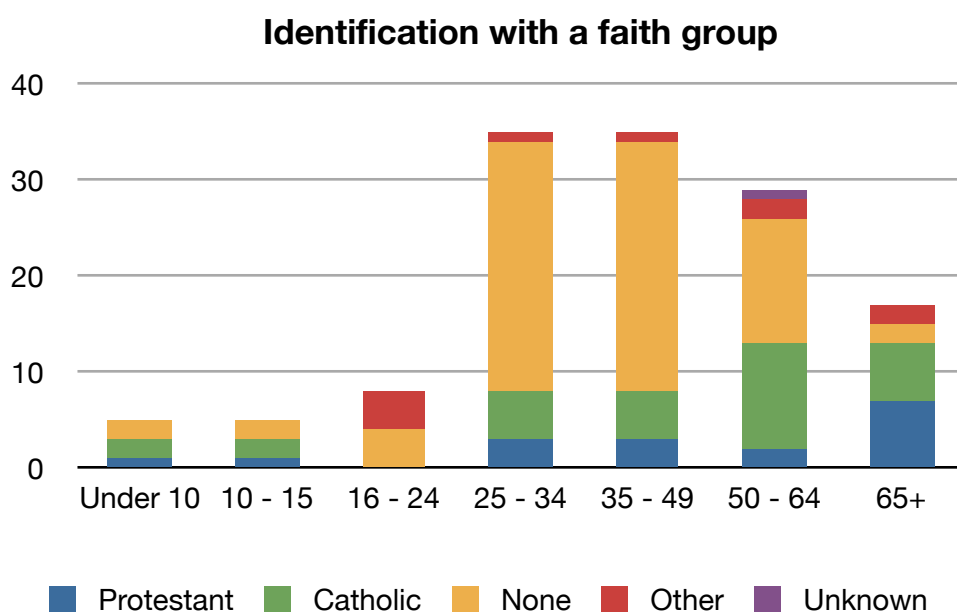


Figure 8 - Identification with a faith group

However nearly all contributors aged 65+ identified with a particular religious group, with a greater percentage of the 50 - 64 year olds than the younger age range. This graph also shows a greater proportion of people who did indicate religious belonging, identifying as Catholic. This relates to the idea of how people occupy religious positions which was discussed in interviews.

No because it's that whole Glesga Catholicism where ye go tae chapel at Christmas for midnight mass or ye were jist baptised, so ye wur a Catholic, so there doesnae seem to be any necessity to regularly go tae chapel tae identify as a Catholic. Same wae being a Protestant, jist seems tae be if ye are no a Catholic ye are a Protestant. So its no an active thing wan wae or the other, its jist by default. (Marie)

This statement suggests that having a Catholic identity even a marginal one is stronger than a Protestant identity which is 'by default'. Statistics indicate far fewer Catholics living in the west of Scotland than Protestants and within this range of contributors there appears to be a higher ratio of Catholic identification than Protestant. Mary stated that she came from a 'bitter Catholic' family but married a Protestant and now lived a very mixed context. She expressed concern that there continued to be a suspicion of Catholics despite increasing secularism.

Even noo tae this day ah think Catholicism is frowned upon. Generally ah dae. A lot of folk will say, ah didnae know you were a Catholic, and I'll say, whit made ye think ah wisnae, ah mean ah always wear that (points to holy medal around her neck) but apart fae that ah don't broadcast it. Ask me ma religion and Ill say I am a practicin Catholic before ah would have said Catholic but non-practicin, Ah do think ye should say that. (Mary)

For Mary being Catholic is a strong aspect of her identity whether she is 'practising' or not. Fewer people who have Protestant backgrounds were identifying as such. Figure 9 shows that active attendance was approximately half of those stating

affiliation for both Protestants and Catholics. With those identifying with other religious mostly likely to be regular attenders.

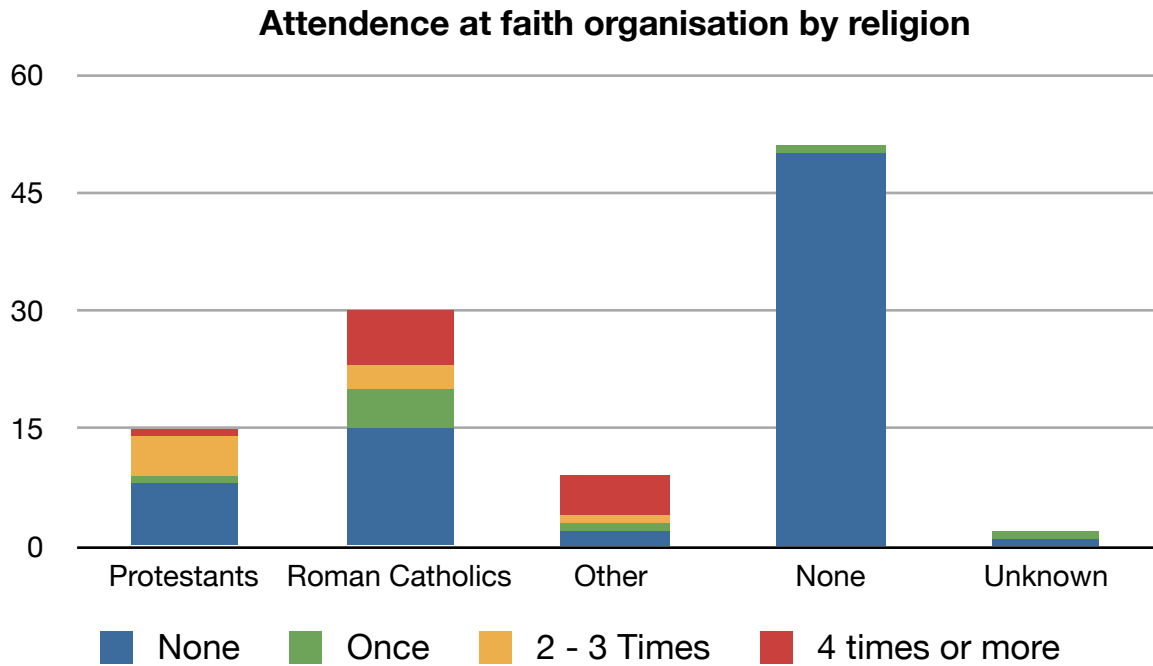


Figure 9 - Attendance at a faith organisation by religion

In terms of age Figure 10 shows a greater proportion of the older age range were likely to be actively practising their religion.

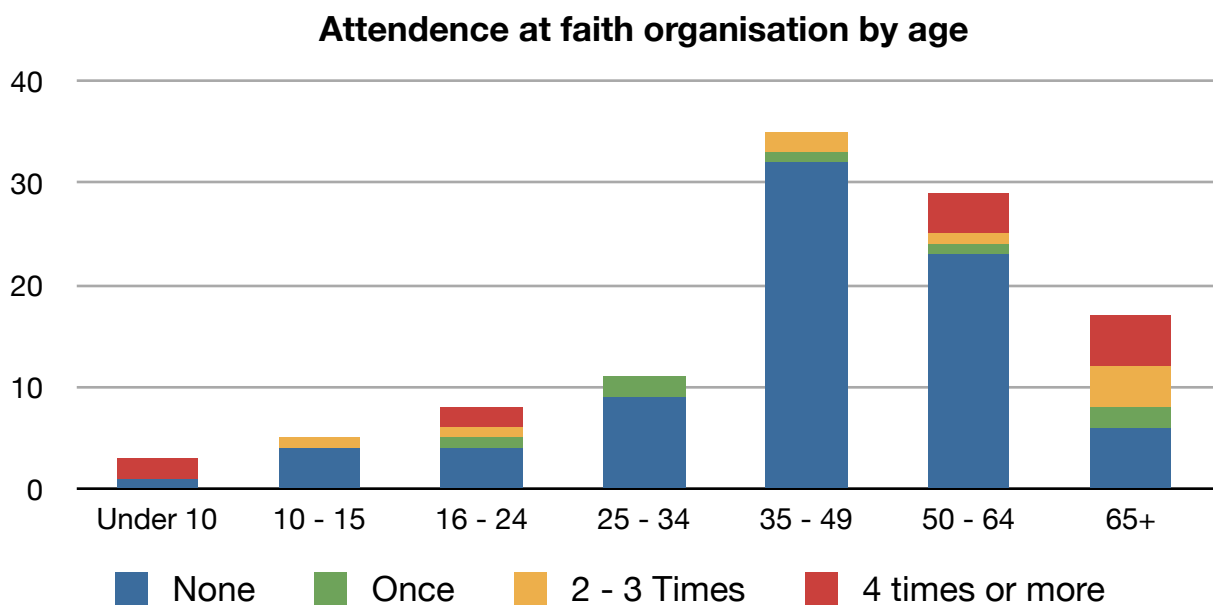


Figure 10 - Attendance at faith organisation by age

All age ranges expressed a persistent belief that religion was peripheral to contemporary life in Scotland. Younger and middle aged adults in one focus group expressed a bemusement that people would hold beliefs in God at all:

- I am still quite surprised when ah meet a deeply religious person, cos ye really don't come across that many. Ah know that the Orange Walk happens a lot but ah don't know religious people.
- That actually believe in God
- Or people say that they do, but its just ma mum told me this or that, and I have been tae church a few times and its just thats what happens, practisin religious people, ah don' really know any.

(Focus Group 1)

Focus group 5, which involved mostly older people similarly recognised the demise of religious belief but saw this as the responsibility of the church. Their view was more that the church had not kept up with modern life, than that it was no longer necessary. The following comments were a part of a wider conversation on how important church was for these contributors.

- ye see a lot of the churches services don't appeal tae the young and the older people are dying off
- Well this is it, the churches are closing and services are getting cut
- Well we have a friend who is a Sikh and he says well its happening to us as well
- Young people are rejecting religion

(Focus Group 5)

For the most part contributors in this focus group did not express personal experience and largely linked sectarianism with football, hence the difficulty in understanding the relationship. In contrast the contributor who described her personal experience of sectarianism as entirely linked to religious difference within her own family saw the demise of religious beliefs as directly linked to the decline of sectarianism:

The other thing that happened that I always remember was that the priest came in one day and he asked us, my sister and I, had we set our first communion. and we said no. He said but you must have, you look as though you are 9 or 10 and my granny let us sit there, she never said to him, they are not Catholic. I was actually sitting there, willing her to say, you don't have to ask them that, they are not Catholic, cos I think she was ashamed that we were not Catholic. She didn't want to tell him incase she was disowned by her own religion or something. I don't think that younger people have a lot of interest in religion. They don't go to church do they? So they're not interested in people's religion.

(Sheila)

Despite the decline in active religious belief, contributors described the number of ways in which religious affiliation continued to exert influence. Focus group 4 expressed frustration on how inclusion and exclusion operated when they saw no substance to this:

- Yeh well I'm Catholic and ma family are Catholic and support Celtic but how many actually are practicing. They sing and talk about it, being Catholic, and have not practised for years noo.
- Ma aunties actually Protestant, ma uncle when they got married ah think they got married in the Registry Office and got a blessing or whatever and ye know she is mair ae a practicing Catholic than awe ae them. She goes tae chapel every Sunday and confession and pits a novena oan for this wan and that wan, and pay such n such tae whitever monks. She's mair ae a Catholic than any of us, and she's a Protestant.

(Focus Group 4)

There was also an expression of annoyance that religious affiliation continued to exert an influence on politics. Some contributors saw this explicitly in attitudes which they had encountered toward the forthcoming Scottish Referendum on independence:

- Ah think whit annoys me is where dis the religion come intae it?
- See weh this referendum coming up, people hive made it intae...
- aye awe the Rangers supporters are gonnae say naw
- They are gonnae say naw cos ae the Irish thing and stayin part of Britain, its embarrasin the way that football has been seepin intae politics.
- (Focus Group 4)

The annoyance which was widely expressed by contributors appeared to be grounded in the aforementioned, belief that, many or most people, who were doing things in the name of religion, neither believed nor practiced the religion. A minority of contributors expressed religious beliefs as central to their lives. Most of whom did not identify as Protestant or Catholic, but as 'Christian' or belonging to a non-Christian faith group. Jean was raised in Larkhall. An area widely believed a 'hotbed' of sectarianism. She defended the area, as not nearly as bad as its reputation suggested. She identified as Christian and claimed that the most pressing current religious sectarianism was not between Catholics and Protestants but between those who have a faith and those who do not:

- As a Christian I think that it is people who have a faith that are discriminated against, as they are the minority. (Jean)

Moreover, Mary, who described herself as 'bitter Catholic' welcomed the approach to youth engagement in a Protestant church and thought that this was something that her own church could learn from:

Now this is whit I'm sayin about oor chapel, I mean when we go tae the local church and the minister is brilliant, ah took the wean tae midnight mass, well 10 o'clock, for Christmas, jist oot aye curiosity cos ah had never been tae a Protestant service myself. Noo ah wus amazed. In the chapel the kids jist hiv tae sit there nae running about. But this minister he says there's a wee guy wae a gun, and he's goan peong, peong (gun

noises). Noo when ah wus wee ye jist hud tae sit there and ah wus taught in Latin. well ye never got taught Latin as a language, ye got taught Latin in mass. The stark contrast tae how a service is done the chapel tae how its done in the Protestant church. Ye need tae go there, ye know where it is, ye need tae see it. Thats taught me. (Mary)

This statement suggests an affinity with other religions in terms of reaching people rather than focusing on separatism. The clear generational change in relation to religion was the demise of its importance and the complex negotiation between religions which was reported to be a part of most contributor's lives. Religion and religious identity was woven into all areas of discussion as can be seen in the sections below.

4.2.2 Marriage

Life history and focus group contributions most often evolved around reflection on family and intimate relationships. These were the places that people appeared to experience the most pressing need to negotiate their identity in terms of affiliations to groups and belief systems. Marriage is an area where contributors noted the most significant generational differences. Three of the older life history contributors spoke about the major issue of mixed marriages when they were growing up. The following quote describe the experience of being a child of a 'mixed' marriage in the 40's.

Tell you the truth, I wouldn't have known, as I would not have been aware of other people's religion. I just was aware that I was different from my mother's family, they made me aware of it and as I got older I could not understand how they could do that to one of their own child. Like my mother, she was treated like a second class citizen, because she gave up her religion to marry outside her church. They never spoke to her for three years after she got married. (Sheila)

Sheila went on to reject religion entirely and saw this type of attitude as belonging to another age. Mary, described a similar experience for herself and her brothers:

- No it was a brother that married one sister and another brother was engaged to the other, so the families awe joined in any road. But if ma faither hud been livin then no way, no way. Aye ma daddy wus Irish. When ma wee lassie wus primary school, no maybe the year before, the priest told me that ma daughter wus a bastard. He said ma daddy wid be turnin in his grave, cos he knew ma daddy, he wus ma daddy's pal, he wus an old priest. The same man baptised ma seven brothers and refused ma oldest brother communion at the funeral, cos eh that, cos he married a Protestant. (Mary)

This indicates how clergymen at that time were implicated in endorsing a negative view of difference. However some narratives suggest that the idea of mixing religions in marriage was a fault line of conflict. John, who stated outright that he was a 'bigot', mused over the fact that he could not countenance the idea of going out with a Catholic:

- Ahm no sayin ave never been involved weh a Catholic lassie, but it wus quick sort ah style, you know whit ah mean. Yer at the dancing an mibbe ye had too much drink tae get roon tae that but once ye fund oot, it wus, end of.

Q - Was that about you? or about what your mates might say?

- Noh it wus mair me, because ah mean ah wusnae, never hiv been the greatest looking guy so ah widnae git shiriked, they wid be surprised if ah goat a wumun no matter who it wus. Ah wis never kidded on aboot that but it wus mair me, myself and as ah say thur wus nuthing goin on like that in the hoose but when ah got serious weh ma wife tae be. The eyebrows were up weh the Rosemary, mah faither says, ah know she's telling you she's Protestant but ye better check it oot. or I'll check it oot. (John)

John repeatedly stated that his father did not promote sectarian views overtly, but this statement strongly suggests that he harboured suspicions toward Catholics.

All reported that this situation had substantially changed and would not be acceptable for current generations. Responses to the survey question, seen in Figure 11, on choice of partner is a strong indication of this.

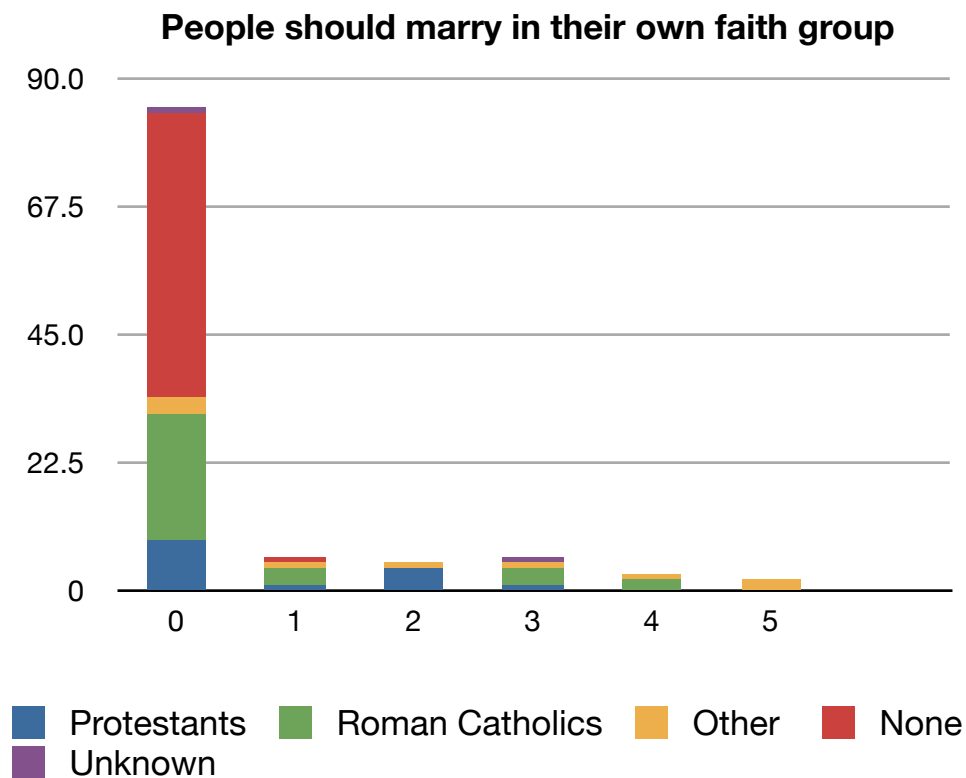


Figure 11 - Disagreement(0)/agreement (5) with the statement that, people should marry in their own faith group

Of interest, people most likely to agree with this statement actively practiced their religious beliefs. As is evident most people did not think religion should influence marriage. Most contributors reported that mixed marriages were normal.

4.2.2.1 Normalising of Mixed Marriages

Oh aye, ma daughter's partner, ah mean she's been married for 12 years, he's Catholic and she is nothing. Ah can quite honestly say ah don't know anybody, ah mean ma pal her man is Protestant but changed Catholic tae be married for her. But ah honestly don't know anybody. (Mary)

Q - So do you think it's always been a minority that get involved in conflict
 - oh aye most people are not bothered, most people have got Catholics in their family, most people have a mix, some have Muslims and Jewish

people and even then in ma day people had mixed marriages, loads of mixed marriages which weren't approved of. (Sheila)

Q - Do you think that coming from a mixed family is the norm now?

- years ago it might have mattered a lot, years and years ago, but now families are much more mixed

- yes

- Yes they are

- its more acceptable to have a mixed marriage.

(Focus Group 5)

Contributors have developed their skills in negotiating difference and widespread acceptance of the most intimate relationship. This, coupled with reports on how people tried to keep their children free from bigotry within these contexts, is a strong indicator of generational shift.

4.2.3 Football

Football and sectarianism were inseparable in the discussions. There were questions as to the contemporary relevance of religion and to its connection to football, there was no doubt that contemporary sectarianism in Scotland related to football. The survey question asking for levels of agreement/disagreement on the statement 'religious bigotry in the west coast of Scotland is more about football than religion' shows this.

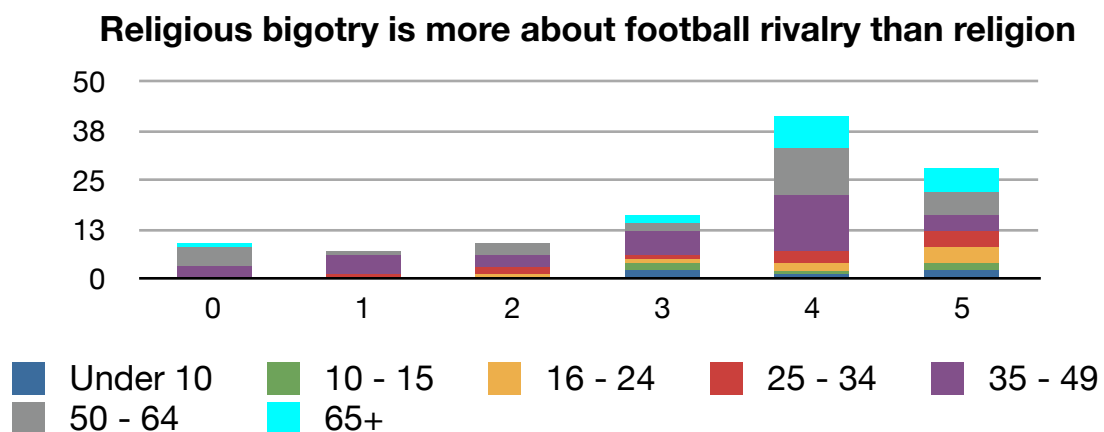


Figure 12 - Agreement (5)/ disagreement (0) with the statement that, religious bigotry is more about football than religion

Contributors with an active interest in Celtic or Rangers spoke of it almost in religious terms, 'mah whole family's Celic'. Sheila, described football fans as 'worshipping in the Church of Parkhead or Ibrox'. Contributors appeared fascinated by the ways in which football, religion and Irish heritage had become so entwined, they also discussed allegiance to a team as tribalism which was difficult not to have some kind of relationship to. Most were in agreement that football was changing and that this was a good thing.

4.2.3.2 Football and Religion

Sheila grew up in Royston, the daughter of a 'mixed marriage'. She claimed that football was always at the heart of the Ireland, religion, football triad:

If you were born and brought up a Glasgow Catholic and in Glasgow it was more to do with football than the actual church. (Sheila)

John, who described himself as 'true blue', commented on how Ranger's policy toward Catholics had a huge part to play in his journey into self-identified bigotry:

Oh aye, aye. Ah mean Ranger's policy has changed, at mah time a Catholic widnae get in tae sell pies at Ibrox. (laugh) Yeh know whit ah mean, that wus jist the way it wus, an unfortunately it wus clouding yer way of thinking without you realising it. Ye know whit ah mean? (John)

Outwith his father's suspicions on his wife's religion he reported that he did not hear much bigotry at home while growing up and that his parents were not football fans. He even stated that his father was upset when his uncle took him to see Rangers as a child, the implication being that he did not want him to be exposed to extreme attitudes. However he stated throughout his narrative that Rangers explicit anti-Catholic employment policy had a huge part to play in cultivating a dislike and distrust of Catholics. This policy was frequently mentioned by contributors as tangible evidence of the sectarian attitudes which prevailed until recent changes.

Charlotte, a migrant from the north of England, stated that while she knew of the epic rivalry between Rangers and Celtic, she did not know that it had a religious or political aspect.

Yes I was always aware there was football, you know Rangers and Celtic, that was somewhere in my brain but then again, I didn't realise there was a religious divide, I just thought that was your team. A bit like Newcastle/Sunderland. But they are not divided religiously its just an area thing. I am trying to remember when I came across that it was a religious thing. Really I remember one place I lived we were getting the close painted and my next door neighbour said I don't care what colour it is, so I arranged with the workmen that they were going to do the close blue, the doors red and the walls white. I remember him coming across and saying about the colours. I said what about them? and he said, red, white and blue, you know Union Jack and I said so? and it just really didn't enter my consciousness at all and he was like really. We ended up with maroon and still I didn't really get what the problem was. (Charlotte)

She did however relate to the tribalism of opposing teams from the same area, an idea that was widely discussed.

4.2.3.3 Tribalism

John commented on how much football support related to immersion in the team and its values more than the football itself. He described how Rangers decline has barely diminished the veracity of the support. He also commented that despite the change of employment policy that Catholic players continue to need to be regulated as any demonstration of this could lead to hostility:

Ah couldnae tell ye whose Catholic and who is no Catholic in the Rangers team cos, ahm no being silly but they should know better, but you will occasionally get wan ae them crossing thersel when they are coming aff or goin on which does not go down well weh the crowd. Ye know whit ah mean. An ah think that the club should tell them ye know that is seen as incitement, ye know, don't dae it. Dae yer bit in the tunnel cos ye will get

the mob. Ah mean Rangers cannot turn a blind eye and say we don't have a part sectarian support. Ah mean it's still rife. Ah mean Rangers quality ah fitbaw disnae deserve support fae a fitbaw sense yet yeh hiv 34000 buying season tickets. Thats no for value for money that is jist because, 'ah uhm a true blue'. (John)

The indelible affiliation described relates to the questions of identity and belonging. Being a part of a team provides a sense of place in the world. This is captured in slogans, notably:

'We are the people' 'we are the people' thats them saying. We are the people, meaning, naebody kin touch us and its oor country anyway.
(John)

It was very clear from contributors who were part of a fan base that the experience of being a part of a collective was exhilarating and hugely exciting. In many ways it seemed that this intense feeling was the real draw:

- Ah think it is because thurs no been awe the old firm games and awe the excitement. But actually when ah use tae go tae the fitbaw when there wus an old firm game there wid jist be a buzz and ye wid be awe revved up. And ahm a lassie but ah wus intae ma fitbaw
 - yer a tomboy
 - but see the adrenilin....
 - Me an mah husband were talking about that, see this Green Brigade thats on at Parkhead, ah know they cos a lot of controversy, but see if when they are not in Parkhead thurs nae atmosphere. Ah think they get things goin, it the buzz
 - Thats whit ah think. If they are not there the atmosphere just gets lost.
- (Focus Group 4)

The depth of feeling associated with the feeling of euphoria appears to be led by those who have the most devoted and absolute beliefs. Contributors spoke about

how this feeling was time limited, hence the term '90 minute sectarian'. The most tangible example of this is the woman described above whose husband was as avid a Rangers supporter as she was Celtic. She claimed that after 90 minutes the 'hate' passes. Many people spoke about how the two 'old firm' clubs were careful about just how much they clamped down on sectarianism, as this could limit the very reasons that people attend the games to gain this euphoric experience. There were a few examples of tribal rivalry which were described more as fun.

Well because where we lived it was near wan ae the main arterial routes tae Ibrox and we would go because of the fitba and position yirselves on top of the hill and gesticulate furiously at the buses goin past tae the fitba. Ah suppose at some level that is sectarian, but ah think it is much mair tribal. ye know it was about ye seeing the people that you considered your opponents, no yer enemy, wer gonnae pass through yer area. It was jist a noise up, it wis something tae dae, we did not have this deep seated hatred of these people and we were looking for opportunities to vent that. It was more we were a bit bored and come and we will go, we will be able to git a rise out ae these people so come and we will go an gee them the vicky. It wus nae mair than that. (Marie)

- Ah remember one time ah was going to the park with ma dog, and and ah was brought up a Rangers supporter and ah just happened to be wearing a green and white top and ah walked past a bus full of Rangers fans. Just to wind them up ah went (makes a dance showing off her top- Laughs) (Focus Group 1)

These stories, and many other comments gathered, suggest that people can play with their affiliation and difference, and that this often does not lead to conflict. There was frequent discussion around what was generally described as 'banter'.

4.2.3.4 Banter and Chants

Banter was described as jovial exchange between people who support opposing teams. Although jovial in nature most people felt that it could be strong but never the

less, a joke. There were very few focus group or interview contributors who did not subscribe to the view that banter was harmless. The comment below indicates a belief that no matter how 'vicious' it was an exchange between people who generally had a good relationship and did not indicate deep rooted sectarian hatred.

But ah mean people that are interested in football say terrible things to each other, but it's just a joke. You know they text each other really vicious things if their team is winning or losing but it's just a joke. They, you know, it's not taken seriously, it may be the people that ah mix with but it's just a joke, sectarianism is not an issue. (Sheila)

This was the strongest view of such exchanges across contributor's age range and religious orientation. Views are slightly less certain on the question of exchanges which are between groups. This comment captures the view that many people chanting in football grounds are unaware of the meaning of the chants and that genuine intent to cause harm is limited to a few.

I suppose to me they were just football chants, and its raising awareness of what you can and can't say and how abusive they are. I guess there are a hardcore who want to be abusive but most don't realise it.
(Charlotte)

Another argument was that the chants allow people to 'let off steam'.

Ah think there is a difference, some people would argue that at least you are letting aff steam and thats it away oot the road, yer no as likley tae. But if you are that bit mair bitter y'll maybe no talk to your neighbour, create havoc weh your neighbour. Playing music blah blah. In a way its littin aff steam at the max but for that 90 minutes, you're every bit as much a thug as the next wan. (John)

A focus group contributor gave an example of her family where it appeared possible to oppose each other in the football park and return home with no harm done. In focus groups people of all persuasions tended not to find the chanting an issue as

long as it stayed inside the ground. There was a general view that this was part of the experience of football rivalry. One contributor voiced that attempts to regulate chanting in practice created more tension.

Q - So what do ye make of the recent legislation banning chanting at football matches?

Nah ah don't agree weh it. Ah think it makes for a more tense atmosphere. Ah mean some people might take it personal if they are Irish and they are at the Rangers game an they are singing FTP an awe that carry oan. Buts its vice versa init. Some people can take it too far, there are always some. But tae be honest wae ye, see since they took alcohol away fae the fitba there's no so much trouble, than there was anyway, Ye very seldom see it. Ah guess the Polis reports wid show it but ye don't see it so much. I think it's gone right doon. (Liam)

This idea of 'too far' was one frequently mentioned. Neil spoke of the cocktail of 'football and drink' as the main source of problems. This appears much more difficult to regulate where people have stated that for the most part the chanting and banter does not cause offense as long as people remain in control. However the disinhibiting influence of alcohol creates the potential for things to go 'too far'.

Another example of 'too far' was where animosity turned to racism:

- But ah went weh ma son, we got the van fae the work and several others and we all went down tae Bradford and ah wis sickened cos they were all at it. Ye know Bradford has got an Asian community. They were intae the Asians, giving them dogs abuse, ah mean it's their toon and we have descended

Q - So was that Rangers?

- Aye that wus Rangers playing Bradford in 'a friendly' a 'FRIENDLY". An they took oor the toon an ah wus sickened, ah wus sickened.

Q - So there was a racist thing going on?

- Well ye don't see much ae it here, but maybe it's because there wus no Celtic supporters tae shout at. But it wusnae even an English thing, a Scots/English thing, it wus you yah black B, away back tae Pakistan and ahm talkin about wummin shoutin at wummin. (John)

This description appears to indicate where the momentum of opposition has taken strong hold and of interest where this contributor felt that chanting against Catholicism was acceptable that racism was not. This is perhaps an indication of a wider sentiment that opposition between Catholics and Protestants is so commonplace that it no longer shocks. A further issue was the role of women in fact, this will be discussed later in the section on violence.

4.2.3.5 Outsiders

Most contributors did not express an interest in football and their comments were coming from the perspective of observer. These people generally reported that sectarianism did not affect their lives and that when you did not engage in support which would bring you into opposition with another group then you could live life without thinking about such divisions.

Q - Have you have had any kind of direct experience of sectarianism yourselves?

- well actually I have never had an interest in football so I have stayed apart from it.
- Personally I have witnessed but I have had no part in football.
- Yeh me too, I have seen it and heard about it but not personally. Its never had any part of my life, but maybe its because I do not take part in religion or football.

Q - So you can live your life in this part of Glasgow and not be affected?

- absolutely
- unless yer trains delayed because there are crowds of football fans.

(Focus Group 1)

Of note the question was experience of 'sectarianism' and this was immediately linked to football, indicating that football is perceived as the main site of sectarianism. The views voiced by this group were echoed across contributors; that if you are not brought up in an area with direct affiliation, or you are not interested in football, then you can live unaffected by sectarianism.

There were other 'outsider' experiences described from within football sites. Firstly, the experience of supporting a team which was not Celtic or Rangers. You therefore don't quite fit and Celtic/Rangers opposition feel compelled to frame you in sectarian terms.

But ah mean, ma weans growing up, their only experience of sectarianism has been when Rangers and Celtic came tae play against St Mirren and even then it wus the 90 minute sectarian. They never hear anything oot in the street aboot whether they were a Catholic or whether they wur a Protestant but they knew when Rangers came tae play St Mirren they were Fenian bastards and when Celtic came they wur Orange bastards.
(Laughs) (Marie)

Some people reported that the tighter regulation of Parkhead and Ibrox meant that fans were more likely to express sectarian chants in the grounds of other teams. Another outside experience is found in John's narrative. His grandson's football ability had led him to be selected to play for Celtic boys club. He was therefore faced with the predicament of how to support his grandson while he was wearing the green and white hoops of Celtic. John self-reported an inability to comprehend 'Protestants' who support Celtic. He provided a very honest description of feelings which prevented him achieving a more balanced general view. Instead he experienced a desire to dissociate his grandson from his team mates.

No tae me, theres something the metter weh them. Ah mean ah know Protestants that support Celtic and tae me there is something the metter weh them. Ye know whit ah mean. But as ah say the crux ae it awe is, noo mah grandson (that played for Celtic boys club) ah went in watched him

playing for Celtic boys club but ah wus annoyed, an it might sound funny, at people shouting get in tae these fenian Bs. Ah felt ah wanted tae turn roon an say well at least he's no. No ye shouldnae be daein that. Don't call him that, shout at the rest ae them but leave him out. which is ridiculous again. (John)

This contributor acknowledged that there was a problem with his own thinking and that this reinforces the profound nature of his feelings. However of itself the story indicates the changes within the relationship between football and sectarianism.

4.2.3.6 Football and Change

Despite John's deeply held allegiance to all things, Rangers, Protestant and Orange and dislike of Celtic and Catholicism, he put this aside in order to support his grandson playing for Celtic. Moreover he reported that his son, the father of his grandson was deeply entrenched in similar views. However his response to whether he would have played for Celtic in his own professional footballing days indicates a significant generational shift in attitudes.

- Aye but then ah started playing. Its much similar tae noo ye were playing on a Sunday morning an ah went for years. Then ah went tae Queens Park for a while, so then ah wusnae going tae Ibrox but the moment ah finished playing ah wis back in Ibrox.

Q - If Celtic had offered you a contract would you have taken it then?

- Naw

Q - Would you not?

- (Emphatic) Naw. But ma grandson, he wus at Celtic Boys Club for three seasons. Eh which raised a lot of eyebrows. Because mah son, he's pretty mired in the 'we are the people'. (John)

John described the mellowing of his views, but indicated that despite his belief that his son held stronger views than him, his son had not allowed these to obstruct his own son's ambitions and had indeed facilitated and supported his position in Celtic. Interview contributors were asked where the critical moments in any changing

attitudes around sectarianism had occurred, there was one incident which was most frequently mentioned. Unsurprisingly this was football related and is summarised in the extract given below:

I suppose the big thing that happened in ma life time was when Morris Johnson signed for Rangers and that was the most shocking thing. I mean people were throwing their season tickets away and swearing that they would never come back. I mean Morris Johnson signing for Rangers in of itself did not change the world but what it did wus create a catalyst that started people thinking, noo why is that such a big deal. And ah believe that Celtic had Protestant players but Rangers never had a Catholic player and they certainly hadnae had the Celtic captain that had been wheeled oot the week before for Celtic. And that started the process of well why should that be a problem and ah think the levels of violence and scrutiny that him an his family were put under, was really hard to justify. I mean you might be really angry wae this person that you believe has betrayed you but does that mean that his family deserves intolerable cruelty. Ye cannae justify that and you are left thinking well why am I angry. I don't mean me, it was nothing to me, ah thought it wus a rare tare. I thought it wus hilarious, but people had to think well why am I so upset. Start tae realise that yer arguments mibbee don't hod awe that much water. They belang tae a previous generation, maybe several previous generations. Because it is really hard tae justify no likin somebody cos they are or the unrnae a particular faith group. Especially when yes are awe staying together and gawn tae the same supermarket.
(Marie)

The significance of this change in policy is endorsed by John's claim that his evolving bias against Catholics was nurtured by Rangers' prior attitude toward signing Catholics. Despite the widespread belief that generally sectarianism had improved there was still reservation in relation to football that it had changed that much. While some people reported that the absence of Old Firm games in recent years had made a difference on the streets, John warned that when they finally meet

that 'Armageddon' will ensue as the frustrations of years are finally given a space to be vented.

4.2.4 Marches

Orange Marches and to a lesser extent Hibernian Marches, were raised in discussion frequently as activities which promote sectarianism. Several contributors had affiliation with the Orange Lodge or the Hibernian Order. These people brought some authority on the experience of being involved. Others spoke of their perceptions based on the marches which they had witnessed.

Whenever this was raised a discussion around the potential negative influence of the marches contrasted with rights to march more generally occurred. The survey also contained a question which invited people to comment on where they positioned themselves in relation to the opposing views that marches should be banned as they promote division or that they should be allowed as people should be able to exercise their rights.

As indicated the majority of contributors believed that marches cause trouble and should be banned. This view was based in the belief that the marches stood in opposition to a particular group of people, and that their route frequently actively sought to incite an angry response. In discussion people generally focused on Orange marches with many people unaware that there were Hibernian marches. Only those with direct involvement in the Hibernian Order spoke directly of these.

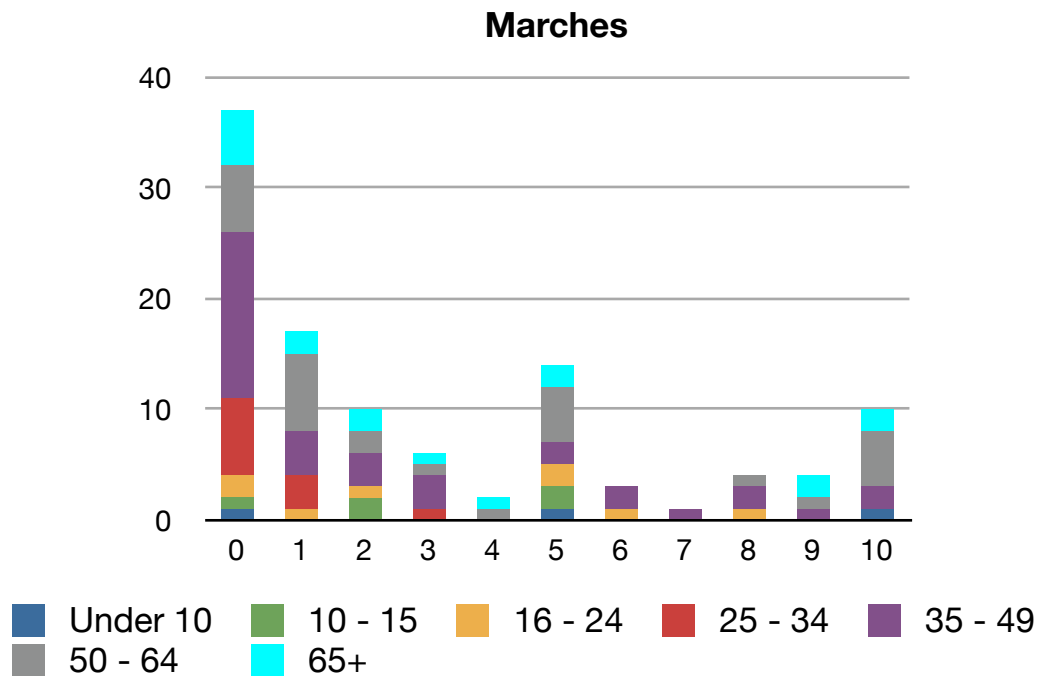


Figure 13 - Religious marches are divisive and should be banned(0)/ religious marches are people exercising their rights and should be allowed

4.2.4.2 Purpose

The majority of discussion indicated that the perceived purpose of the marches was to incite trouble. They were not comparable to protest walks such as those against the ‘bedroom tax’ or wars.

- Ah don’t approve of these walks, ah think that they cause, ah mean, they cause incitement, really ah mean they do. They are all out and they are all drunk.

Q - Is there a difference between these and the marches against war for example”?

- oh aye thats a different thing, its entirely different, ah mean what are the Orange Walk marching for? Ah mean what are they trying to prove, ah don’t understand it, what are they trying to prove? There is no point to it (Sheila)

The following extracts show agreement from a focus group and a survey contributor:

- aye it disnae look like a celebration
- yeh its like they are doing it with the purpose of pissing people off. The way they march past the Gallowgate. Ye know if we want to promote

unity and peace then doing an Orange walk past a well known Catholic area is just looking for trouble

(Focus Group 1)

I don't like the Orange marches in Glasgow and they feel oppressive to me but I struggled to veto the idea of religious parades all together as I feel there is nothing wrong with celebrating your religion as long as that doesn't involve degrading and offending others as unfortunately the Orange Marches do. (survey comment)

This notion of incitement was expressed by those who had, had involvement with the Orange Lodge in the past. Contributor views focused on the, perceived, type of people marches attract and the type of interaction which they promote.

- Noh ah wus never tempted tae join because ah liked the music but tae me ah saw too much low life involved in it.

Q - What do you mean low life?

- Jist too rigid, ah mean again this comes back tae, if ah went intae church it wid faw roon about me and ah um sure a loat ae them they will go tae church parade, but i'll bet ye they are no at church every week, so there is a bit of a sham about it. (John)

- Aye they go looking for fights

- Ah think people who go on walks from both sides and are drinking, are no actually going there for anything that they are parading for, they are thinking I am goanne have a drink and if anybody wants tae say anything tae me thurs gonnae be trouble today.

- See if ye stopped half ae them an said whits this actual parade fur, whits the reason, they widnae be able tae tell cos they are jist there for a fight.

- it use tae be worse cos ye use to be able tae go tae the walk and you could huv a drink, but because ye cannae drink on the streets they are sneaky about it. (Focus Group 4)

Marie described how she had been brought up by her family who were immersed in the Orange Lodge. She spoke affectionately on how they had opened their house to her 'Catholic granny' and made no difference on the mixed nature of the rest of her family. She showed a more complex and nuanced understanding of what the Lodge means in the lives of individuals and local communities, beyond the Catholic hating stereotype. However when she spoke directly about the marches she was very clear that these showed the worst aspects of affiliation, particularly in relation to who they attracted.

I think there are people in the Orange Lodge who see the Orange Lodge as a pro-something, not an anti-something, as a brotherhood and about preservin a particular way ah life, a code of conduct, a set of standards. Ah underston awe that but that message husnae reached the people, awe the fuckin wallopers that walk along beside it, right. In thur fitba tops wae thur kerry oots, an ye know there wives wae the black eyes that are gonnae get a doin when the go hame that night. That message husnae reached the masses. (Marie)

Liam reported that he had previously been involved in gang fights stated that he believed that the Orange Marches were a meeting point for people who wanted to fight.

See noo adays, most ae they younger wans, say 20 odds, they go tae the Orange Walk for trouble. Rangers fans will go tae the Orange walk wae other Protestant pals for trouble, for a territory thing, tae meet other gangs. (Liam)

A focus group where members had direct experience expressed a similar view:

- Personally ah don't bother weh the marches it's the idiots that follow them weh their drinks

Q - So not the marches in themselves?

- tae me it's just music but its awe the people that walk wae them, drinking and they end up fighting, ah cannae be daein with them, an ye know yerself, well there awe lined up weh their Rangers tops on, an both sides, ye'll see Celtic supporters goin doon weh their Celtic tops on and it ends up in a fight.
 - See it's the minority that would cause trouble and would cause trouble anyway
- (Focus Group 4)

Others who did not have direct experience described them as, 'intimidating' and 'military'. John pointed out, that due to the antagonism generally felt toward the walks that any trouble was media worthy and blown out of proportion in comparison with other more social acceptable gatherings.

Again if thur is an incident it's highlighted. You know, noo there was the incident this year weh the lassie getting hit by he bottle, if that had happened at T in the Park, who would have known about it. (John)

Another contributor sought to defend the Masonic Lodge which she believed was frequently perceived as anti-Catholic and similar to the Orange Lodge. She drew on her mixed non-sectarian social network to evidence that this was not the case.

- No, some people still would but I wouldn't, I never have. It has never been an issue with me, people's religion. When ah went to the freemasons things to the dances we had Catholic friends that came with us and were quite happy to come with us. Eh you know even when they played the Queen at the end they still stood up, there was never any bother. (Sheila)

4.2.5 Violence

Despite the prevailing attitude that sectarianism could be ignored and was not a big aspect of contributor's lives, there was discussion of violence and awareness that this can and does happen and there is a need for vigilance.

4.2.5.2 Perception

The perception that violence was possible largely came from the media and anti-sectarian campaigns. During every focus group and nearly every interview the murder of Mark Scott was discussed. This, more than any other sectarian act of violence appears to have captured the consciousness of people living in the west of Scotland. Most of the time people did not recall his name, but could describe in detail the events around his murder. This appeared to act as a reminder of the type of violence possible and the need for vigilance. It was in this context that parents would discuss how they regulated their children's wearing of football colours. Not because they had any issue with the clubs themselves but because they did not want to attract any negative attention from people who might be looking for trouble.

Ehmm I remember being told about the incident in Bridgeton where was a boy from Celtic was walking through and other ones ran out and murdered him and I thought crikey, over sport, I realised that it was deep. (Charlotte)

It was often the people who were not football fans themselves who were most conscious of the risks. In both of the areas where the youth focus groups took place young people arrived clad in Rangers, Celtic and other club colours. Both of these localities feature in the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation as having high crime rates. However children played happily together and had no issue with each other's football allegiance or worry of violence. Neil, until recently attended a Catholic school was quick to point out that his worries on the street were more linked to alcohol, he highlighted that football in conjunction with alcohol caused most concern. An interviewee who reported previous involvement in gang fighting and who was very aware of street violence had no issue with his daughter wearing her Celtic strip. One explanation is that amongst those who had experienced violence this was rarely attributed to sectarianism. One contributor claimed that this heightened awareness came from the media hype of any sectarian incident.

Aye,aye, but they are all pinpointed, they get highlighted, there was the guy done in Bridgeton and the other in Govanhill, they are not treated like other murders, the papers lap it up. (John)

4.2.5.3 Experience

There was little by way of direct experience of violence reported. The graph, shown in Figure 14 based on the survey question on direct experience of assault shows this.

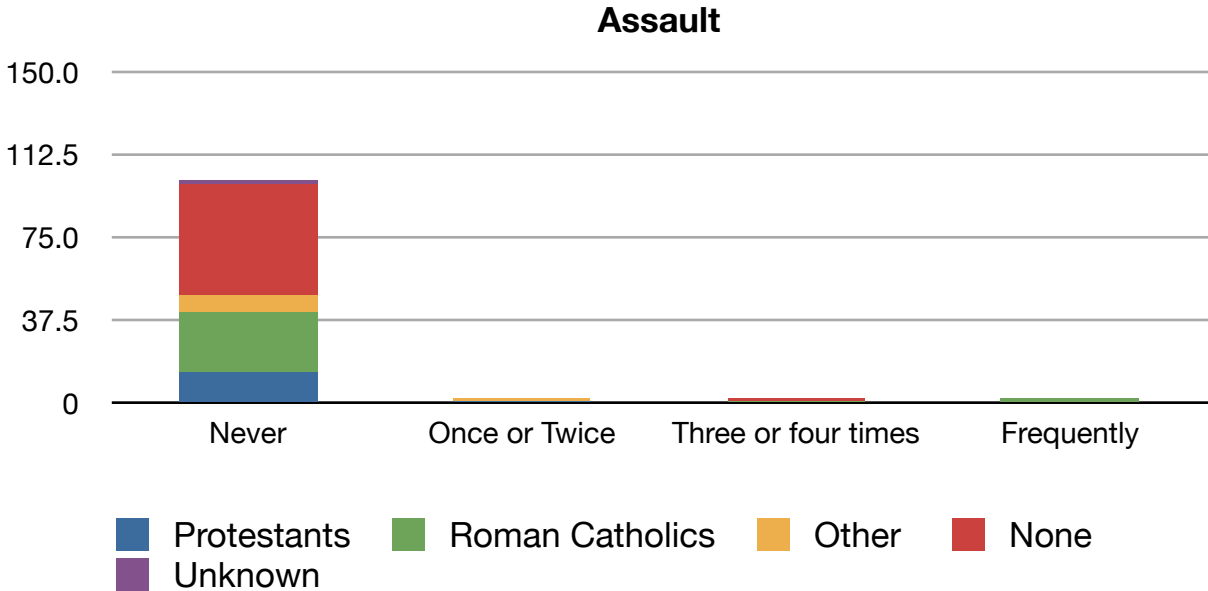


Figure 14 - Indication of experience of assault over the last year, by religion

Those who did report violence with the exception of one man were either under 15's in a context of bullying or adults who were South Asian and believed that the assault was more racially motivated than sectarian. Figure 15 shows similar results for verbal abuse:

Verbal Abuse

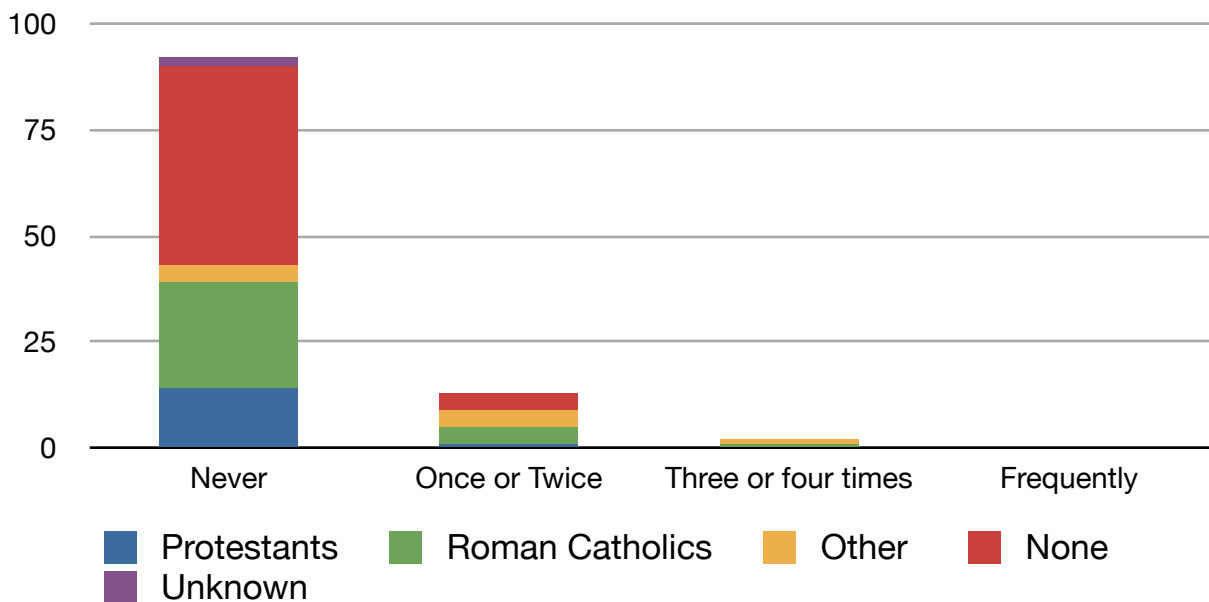


Figure 15 - Indication of experience of verbal abuse over the past year by religion

There were questions posed around what constitutes sectarian violence and how other reasons for violence can superficially present as such. Examples of this from different domains will be discussed, but the narrative of one assault raises questions. This was John's reported assault on leaving Ibrox one night:

Ah goat a kickin coming fae Ibrox wan night, oan Govan Road, at the side of the dock, no fawr fae Govan Town Hall and ah goat jumped. They said 'yah Fenion B', noo had nae colours or anything and a thought ahm gonnae try an fight ma way out this, but no way wid ah pit mah hons up an say ahm a blue nose. Because thur wus something about me that had annoyed them and if had says then it wid yeh know, been worse. (John)

The use of language suggests that he was attacked for sectarian reasons, however there was no reason for his assailants to believe that he was associated with Celtic or Catholicism. Of more interest he did not see that protesting that he was a 'blue nose' would make things better in fact he believed that this would make things worse. He perceived his attackers to be looking for a fight and that the language that they used merely indicated that they had taken a dislike to him, not that they were motivated by sectarianism. This idea of people who were 'looking for a fight' used

sectarian views as a way of framing this, but this was not necessarily the primary motivation

Despite the fact that the vast majority of adults did not have direct experience of sectarian violence, young people had many stories to tell about this:

- See if a Rangers, is walking doon the street an a Celics is coming the other direction they will punch in kick in awe that

How do you know that have you seen it?

- It happened tae ma da, he goat a brick drapped on his heed noo he canny smell or taste.

Q - When did that happen?

- years ago

Q - Do you think things like that still happen now?

- aye

- aye

Q - Recently last month, last year

- Ah think last year a guy was walking down the road and it wus a Rangers walk, they were awe punching and kicking and they awe killed him.

(Focus Group 3)

In this focus group young people, who reported friendship, sat next to each other wearing Celtic and Rangers strips. Despite their ability to establish relationships with people who supported different teams they had many stories to tell of violence to others. The threat of violence appeared a substantial part of their lives.

4.2.5.4 Gangs and Young Teams

A number of contributors reported prior involvement with gangs and young teams across the city. With the exception of one gang these were reported as defined by territory and not religion. The exception was the 'Billy Boys' of Bridgeton which was widely viewed as an area with an exceptional bias towards the Orange Lodge, the

British Union and Rangers FC. The predominance of territorialism is evident in the extract below:

- So its no like Celtic or Rangers or that, its a territory thing.

Q - are you saying that generally, territory trumps religion or football?

- As far back as ah hiv known cos ah use tae dae it maslef, ye know go an fight up the parks over the various territories around here. The only way ye wid go an fight about anything sectarian wid be at the fitba match, ah guess it might still happen. (Liam)

4.2.5.5 Gender

Another area which has been linked to sectarianism is gender based violence. This was discussed with regard to the likelihood of women getting involved in sectarian violence and to domestic abuse. Discussion around woman holding sectarian views was discussed in focus groups and interviews. The widespread and uncontested opinion was that if a woman held sectarian views that she was just as likely to become hostile, as seen in these extracts:

Do you think women are as likely to carry sectarian animosity?

- Ah think if women are that interested in football then, they will be every bit as aggressive. (Focus Group 5)

- See when ye see people weh drink, ah wid say the women are jist as bad as the men. See when it comes tae football an religion. (Focus Group 4)

The other area which came up was experience of domestic abuse. One woman shared her experience during a focus group:

- he wus bitter Celtic and if Rangers bet Celtic, ah knew ah wus gonnae get it that night. (Focus Group 4)

-

She expanded on this and indicated that this was one of many aggravating factors, more a reason to, than the reason for assaulting her.

4.2.6 Employment

A number of the papers reviewed focus on employment biases which may or may not have been present in previous generations. Employment was one area in which people rarely volunteered experience, they generally had to be asked directly for an opinion, this suggests that it was not an immediate area of association.

The survey report, shown in Figure 16, strongly indicates that workplace discrimination was experienced over ten years ago by very few people from the older age ranges. In this small sample it was only Catholics or those belonging to 'other' religious groups who reported this experience. This concurred with the statements of focus group and interview contributors.

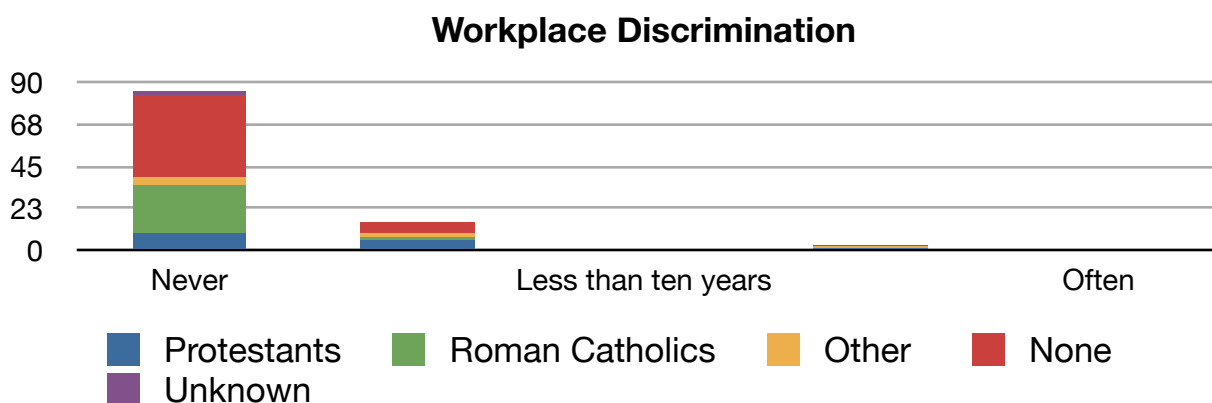


Figure 16 - Experience of workplace discrimination

4.2.6.2 Prevalence and disadvantage

It was predominantly people from Catholic families who reported disadvantage. This extract is from a woman who was raised as a Protestant but whose closest family members were Catholic:

My aunt use to say stuff, like that, oh they won't employ me cos I'm Catholic. You were aware of it. I have never heard Protestants say that but I have heard a lot of Catholics say that.

Q - You have never heard a Protestant say that they were disadvantaged?

No seemingly the Irish Catholics got quite a hard time when they came over here. Because they all came over during the potato famine, over to Glasgow and Liverpool. But they certainly found their feet, I mean Glasgow City council was all Catholic. (Sheila)

While prior discrimination was acknowledged there were few who believed that discrimination continued to exist in anywhere but in discrete workplaces.

4.2.6.3 Beyond Religious Affiliation

While self-identified Protestants, who contributed, did not report active discrimination, there were two stories of how advantage might be played. These did not relate to simply being a Protestant or not being a Catholic, but to being affiliated to a particular established group:

I remember it was when my son got a job there. There was a big thing in the school to do with trades and my husband went and this company had a stand at it, and he went up and spoke to them because my son had applied and he had all of the qualifications and he hadn't got the job. Anyway after we came out, my husband said to me it will be alright now because I have given them the handshake. Then my son was given the job. he said that he had given them the wobbly handshake and whether that worked it or not, I have not a clue. (Sheila)

Ah mean ah worked in the railway and when they were doing interviews and ye heard a certain name, no masel cos ah wasn't in management but the lapel badge went in when ye knew who was doing the interviews. Ye know and that was common.

Q - So was there a leaning in the railway?

It was predominantly Protestant but ye would have a better shout if ye showed yer true colours. If ah went in and the guy in front of me had been wearing Orange Ludge or Masonic ye could near as well say that, depending who was taking the interviews that you were on a darkie, that yeh weren't in the hunt. (John)

This suggests not a sectarian bias so much as a group affiliation advantage. The contributor who spoke about her husband's membership of the Masonic Lodge also described how Catholic friends joined in order to benefit from these group advantages.

4.2.6.4 Generational Change

Employment was the area where people appeared most convinced that change had taken place. This is indicated in an extract from an older people's group:

Q - Has anyone had any direct experience of feeling discriminated against in the workplace?

- Ave heard of places where people say you have not got a chance of getting in there because you are a Catholic or you have not got a chance of getting in there because you are A Protestant.
- yes
- It did happen
- yes it did but I doubt very much that it still goes on,
- I think that affected our parents more than us because when I was going out to work it wasn't who you knew it was sit an exam and you had to pass that exam to get onto the next one.

(Focus Group 5)

4.2.7 Schools

Contributors frequently raised questions around, perceived segregation of education. There was little support for state supported Catholic schools apart from Marie, who reported a strong Catholic faith. However even she had sent her children to a non-denominational school because their father was non-Catholic. She however defended the values of having specific religious education. Others questioned the purpose and the role of schools in promoting animosity.

4.2.7.2 Purpose

Questions of purpose evolved around the role of 'Catholic' schools in a largely secular and multi-ethnic society, that this was difficult to justify, one comment goes as far as to call this 'apartheid.'

Sectarianism in Scotland is created, propagated and developed in our ridiculous "apartheid" schooling system. Children sent to schooling because of their parents religious beliefs is ridiculous divisive and costly. Secular schooling in my opinion is long overdue in the west of Scotland.
(Survey comment)

Ah mean thats whit ah don't underston, when they decided they wur goanna educate the masses why did they no jist hiv schools? Why did they hiv tae hiv Catholic schools, ah mean why did they hiv tae hiv schools of thur ane. (John)

Some contributors had direct experience of both Catholic and Protestant schools and spoke about the difference in culture and attitude toward discipline which was perceived between the two. They interpreted this as being the choice and not any religious focus. there were also comments which suggested that in the most ethnically diverse areas that people from other faiths elected to send their children to Catholic schools. One focus group described a local Catholic primary which was nearly 100% Muslim.

4.2.7.3 Early Grievance

The argument against separate Catholic schools was strongly made by John, who described the growth of his sectarian values which began not in the home but with the demise of a childhood friendship which he believes entirely due to separate schools.

Naw it fell away because obviously ah wis at another school an wis mixin weh other people at school. An he met new people at school. Actually he wis actually Lithuanian, his people were Lithuanian. An the M was an adaptation of whit ever thur real name was, Bit they hud changed it to M.

But they wur staunch Catholics, so it sort a dwindled and then they moved but it wis never the same again, he and I were never the same, wance we went to different schools. As ah say then ye learned about football, ye know at that school. (John)

He went on to describe how this sense of grievance developed where he had to cross the River Clyde to access the nearest non-denominational school in Bridgeton. When he arrived in Bridgeton he readily adopted anti-Catholic views as the seed had been sown. In contrast Sheila, of the same age bracket, grew up as a Protestant in the Catholic area of Royston, and did not report conflict at school. She described playing with other children in the street and the fact that they went to different schools was not an issue.

4.2.8 Place

Place came up frequently as a key sectarian issue, with some localities identified as hotbeds of sectarianism. There was also discussion on how territoriality developed and was manifest. Many contributors reported the need to develop skills in navigating different places.

4.2.8.2 'Problem' Areas

Some places had developed a general knowledge where stories were told about them which carried into contributor's belief systems. Often people who came from these areas engaged in myth busting as they had become frustrated with stereotyping. Areas widely reported as sectarian in Glasgow city were, Bridgeton, Ibrox and Govan as Protestant and Royston and the Gorbals as Catholic. Contribution came from all of these areas. Beyond Glasgow it was claimed that Lanarkshire was largely Catholic with the exception of Larkhall, Airdire and Bellshill and that Ayrshire was predominantly Protestant. The majority of contributors currently lived in Glasgow City but many reported experience of living in these other areas and the consensus of opinion was that the outlying areas had not progressed toward integration nearly as fast as the city. Some self-identified diehard Rangers and Celtic fans reported being shocked at the visible level of bigotry in these outlying areas. One woman reported her experience of growing up in a small Ayrshire town with a Catholic granny:

But ma upbringing, my first understanding of bein aware of Protestants and Catholics wus of marchin season in Ayrshire, which wus mental, Orange walks 5 times a day, ye know Muslims pray 5 times a day, in Ayrshire the Orange ludge are oot marchin five times a day. An they'd probably awe stone woman as well if they hud a chance. Ah always remember ye being told ye know, don't tell people yer granny's a Catholic, cos people'll no talk tae her. An a couldnae underston that as sectarianism or as anti-irish. Ah mean my granny wusnae Irish, but ah jist knew that if locals knew that ma granny wus a Catholic that they wouldnae talk tae her. (Marie)

She went on to describe how this staunchly Protestant family went to great lengths to protect her and her granny from any conflict which might be experienced. She saw the affiliation as being more 'tribal' than sectarian:

But ahh suspect for them its because its less for them about sectarianism and mare geographically tribal. Ye know they hiv thur local Orange Lodge an thats where they go like someone else has thur local bowling club and thats where they'll go. It just so happens that this lot go a few times a year marchin u and down in silly outfits and playing flutes. (Marie)

Jean was brought up in Larkhall as a 'christian', she was keen not to be associated with either Catholicism or Protestantism as she believed that this detracted from her core beliefs in Christ and the Bible. She protested that Larkhall did not match its image and the representation of this as a hostile area was imbalanced. She recited tales of Catholic neighbours with established and happy households in the area. It was her view that the stories misrepresented and negated her home town. Moreover that they encouraged rather than addressed any divisions which existed.

Sheila and Mary grew up in, Royston and the Garngad, the area of Glasgow reputed to be most Catholic.

Very very bitter, very bitter. It wan point in ma living memory at the Gargad, noo its awe motorway of course but if you come up by the Royal infirmary. If you were jist turning and St Rochs would be on yer left side and there was tenements on yer right in 6 feet writing it wus always, 'Keep Gargad Catholic' an every time it got removed it got put back up. Ah think its the wan area that the orange walk dis not walk, the wan area tae this day. Very very very prominently Catholic.

The experience of how their own views developed appeared not so much linked to the area itself but to the behaviour of their respective family members. The tangible symbols of identity described in the extract above were regularly linked with the identity of an area. What people relayed was then more of a kind of territorialism coloured by religion than a religious divide between people.

4.2.8.3 Territorialism

There were frequently tales of the Subway in Larkhall which had to be painted blue instead of green. There was also discussion of flags being used to indicate allegiance:

I would think, ah don't know, ah would think if you were going to go up to Castlemilk or places like that you would get people hanging the Irish flag out of their window or a Union Jack out their window to let their neighbours know what they are. Which sometimes is incitement. Aye ah would think it is, anybody with any sense is not going to put a flag out of their window are they? But they use to do that.

Q - Do you think that is wrong to put a flag out of your window?

Well Ah guess its up to to people what they want to do but at the end of the day if you live in an area where you have got neighbours that you know are, that practice sectarianism then you would be a bit silly to put a flag out, but some people don't care. Ah don't know if that still happens. It use to happen a lot years ago. Happened a lot in Castlemilk when I was younger. I would say mostly in housing schemes it would happen. (Sheila)

There are two issues here which emerged in other narratives and discussion. Firstly the issue of class, that this type of territorial behaviour happens in 'housing schemes' suggesting that it is in areas of multiple deprivation that you will find this. Secondly the interrelated need to advertise your position. In one of the focus groups there was extensive discussion on how people swam against the tide in areas where one position dominated:

- naw he knows them awe so they don't bother. An he plays his music ye know Celtic songs. An when the marches walk up and down his cul de sac bit the music gets louder and louder at his door jist tae let them know that they are there. But he gets on fine with them awe?
- This wan in the scheme he aways wears a Celtic tap, jist oot ah determination, he's been attacked three times but even in winter he wears it weh a per a gloves, withoot a jekit

Q - Attacked because he was wearing a Celtic top?

- Well he lives doon at Bridgeton where thur awe Rangers
- Him his da are oot wantin tae prove that they are Celtic supporters, seeming awewis been like that, even since secondary school. It wus jist constantly fighting there wus windaes getting put in and everything.

(Focus Group 4)

The first of these extracts appears benign with no serious repercussion, almost an enactment of banter, where those involved are playing with the perimeters of their identity. The second much more hostile with a family setting themselves up against conflict in order to prove their strength. There are serious questions to be asked as to why these types of identity demonstrations are evident in economically disadvantaged areas when most contributors agreed that that bias toward one team or another was not a class issue. This will be developed more in the discussion section.

4.2.8.4 Navigation Skills

Contributors spoke of how they learned to navigate within areas where there was one affiliation or another. Nearly all of the 65+ contributors spoke of being

confronted, as children, with the poem 'are you a Billy or a Dan or an old tin can?'. They all reported learning that the safest response was 'old tin can' followed by a speedy exit. There were skills in understanding how people in different local areas and belonging to different groups function and that this could have benefits. Similar to the narrative of the Catholics who wished to join the Masonic Lodge Marie used her knowledge of a 'Catholic' scheme to get the house that she wanted:

The place ah moved to was a tenants cooperative and it was awe Catholics, it jist wis, and ye hud tae be nominated by somebody there for a hoose and then ye had to be seen by a tenants panel who wid approve ye or no approve ye for a hoose. When ma granny lived there an she nominated us and because me granny wus a Catholic thur wus an assumption made that we wur Catholics as well an thats when we got oor hoos. (Marie)

When she moved in she reported no problems about her not being a Catholic as being in the area was more important than being a Catholic. She had in fact used the knowledge of how groups function which she had gained in her mixed upbringing.

4.3 Areas of Social Conflict

Across the modes of engagement a question was posed towards the end which explored reasons for social conflict in contemporary Scotland more generally, and where sectarianism was viewed in terms of significance. The survey question offered a range of options and invited contributors to select their first and second in order of importance. Figure 17 one shows first choice.

Social Conflict 1

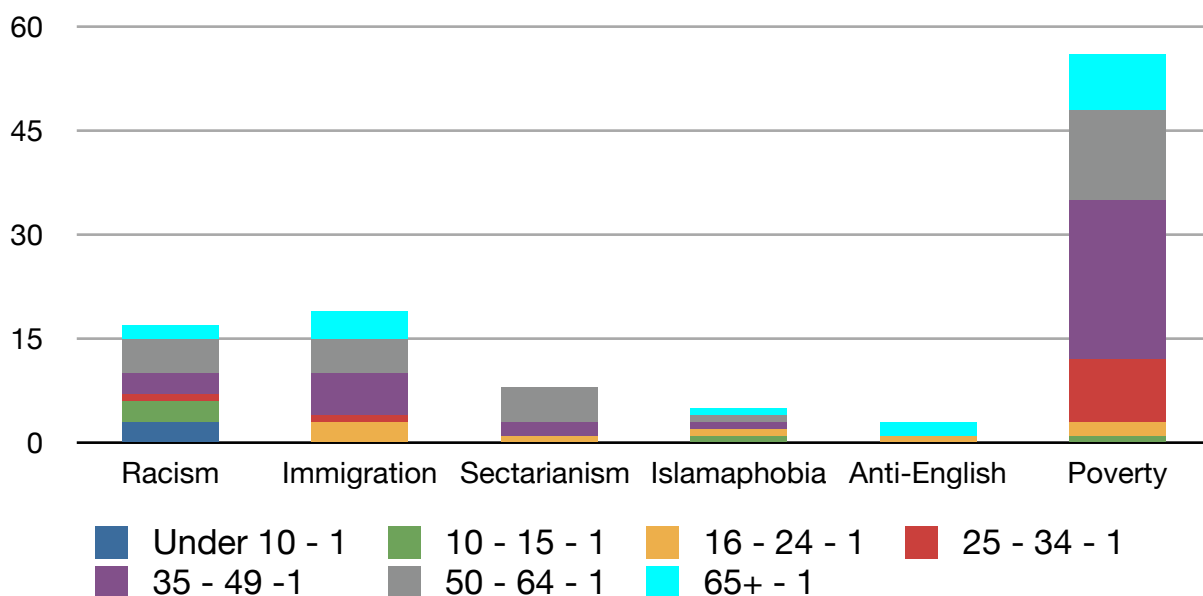


Figure 17 - Major area of social conflict, by age

Across the age ranges poverty was the clearest concern reported, with sectarianism attracting a small percentage. Sectarianism attracts slightly more importance as a second choice, however it maintains fourth place behind poverty, racism and immigration. These three areas were discussed by focus group and interview contributors, the main points are noted below in Figure 18.

Social Conflict 2

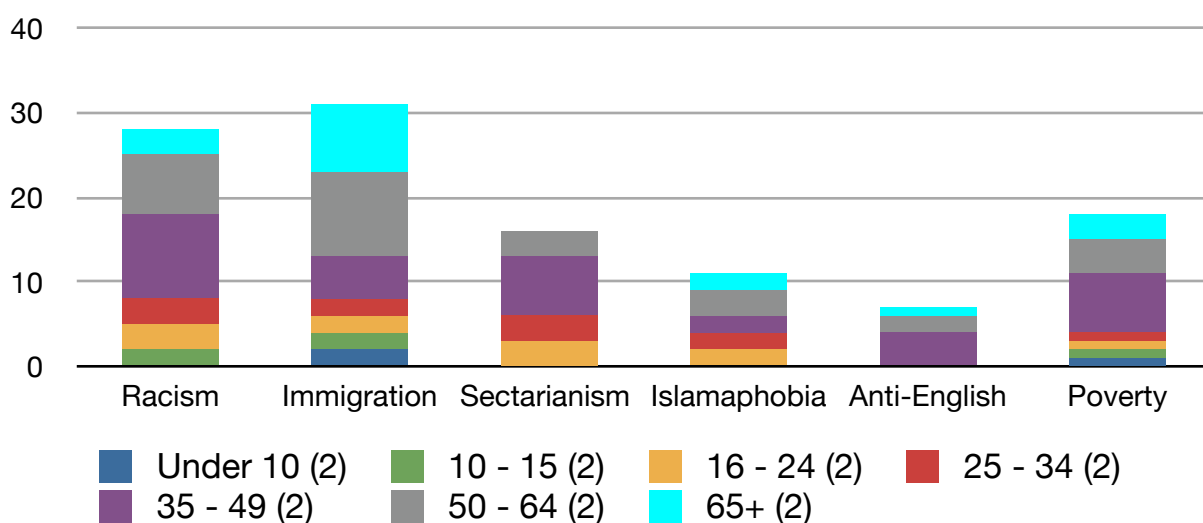


Figure 18 - Second choice major area of social conflict, by age

4.3.2 Poverty

Contributors to many of the focus groups and interviews came from areas of poverty and their views on current issues were seen from the perspective of economic hardship. It is therefore not surprising that concerns such as benefits cuts, housing and the 'bedroom tax' were of great significance.

Q - Are there other issues that the government should focus on?

- Poverty

- Aye people hiv no got enough money

(Focus Group 4)

People who theorised as to why poverty is so significant linked this to questions of agency and where your sense of power comes from. This contributor captures much of what others also had to say:

I think it awe comes back tae economics, ah really dae. Ah think its hand tae mouth. Ah think when people hiv quite limited options, leading tae quite unhappy lives, because they cannae git jobs, people don't feel empowered, don't have access to decent housing. Then it almost reenforces that tribalism, ye see wae UKIP, ye point the finger at somebody else and think, see if it wus jist oor one wee group then everything wid be fine. These things for me are always economic. (Marie)

With money limited access to basic resources can become difficult. An issue frequently mentioned was how budget cuts over past decades had led to the closure of local resources which would promote positive relationships between community members. The following statement is from a woman who perceived discrimination based on her Catholic upbringing across her life. However when asked what was important she spoke about access to local resources and services.

There are a lot more important things than sectarianism. Ah mean we don't hiv a community centre, ye have tae walk for ages along busy roads. They shut oor community centre doon and told us ye could use 'this other

place' but ye couldnae afford tae hire it. Cos when ma wee grandson's wee brother wus getting baptised they wanted £500 for three hours in the afternoon, cos they have go tae hiv whit is it 5 staff for five hour. That wis jist tae hire it. (Mary)

4.3.3 Racism

Racism was mentioned frequently in discussion. It is relevant to point out that while the vast majority of survey contributors reported that they had never experienced verbal abuse because of their religion that all contributors who identified as having a non-western ethnicity reported verbal abuse. One of the focus groups was undertaken in a multi-ethnic locality and here people had to focus hard to stay thinking about intra-Christian sectarianism as it was clear that their main concern was around racial tensions and establishing community life which accommodated cultural difference. Their discussion indicated a live negotiation of the parameters of identity and difference.

Q - So you think that we need to think about sectarianism as wider?

- yes

- yes

- You know over at the bridge there's two gangs on either side an their all Asians

- but see the shops down that way - one of the shops was set on fire and it turned out that it was between and Indian shop owner and a Pakistani shop owner,

- So there is

- so they have got bigoted of their own, but we wouldn't know about it

- So for us its about white and Asian

- For them its between Indian and Pakistani

- Seemingly they get quite upset if you don't know the difference

- Ah mean ah accept that everyone has their own ways, but ah still maintain that when in Rome do as the Romans do

(Focus Group 5)

4.3.4 Immigration

Issues around European migration and refugees were discussed as relevant in some areas. There was wide acknowledgement that the cultural challenges within communities were focused on new migration and that the Irish Catholic/Protestant divide, outside of some niche groups, was not at the forefront of the minds of most.

Mibbe years ago ye got sectarianism in Possil but noo. Ah lot ah people think that it is Catholic and Protestant but its no really is it? Its awe the new people that are movin in. (Liam)

Many described the issue of one of how to adjust while others pointed to the scaremongering of the media as the problem which provoked division.

- Ah suppose thats something with Glasgow that there is a lot focus on Protestants/Catholics, Celtic/Rangers and its is not really discussed the prejudice against other religions. Maybe that is a bit more pertinent now. Ah mean there is a lot of stories in newspapers about immigrants and muslims, a lot of scaremongering and that should be included in the discussion.

(Focus Group 1)

5 Discussion

The narratives, generously contributed for this research, provide a rich social history. Contributions strongly suggest that there has been a significant generational shift in the depth of feeling between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland. This is reported to continue to exist in the context of football rivalry, but for the most part people did not report that their lives were limited by sectarianism. The narratives and discussion relay a sense of how this change came about and also raises some questions on how to progress from here.

5.1 Generational Shift

Evidence of generational change in attitude can be found across contributions, in the self-reporting, the ways in which people describe their experiences and observation of interactions between groups. There was also some evidence to back the view from the literature that the situation was not as bad as it sometimes assumed.

In terms of self-reporting, all of the older adults who recalled the tensions which existed in their childhood around a Catholic/Protestant divide stated that this was no longer present in the way that they remember. Their stories indicate that their generation undertook this negotiation by living through the tensions and conflicts which surfaced through mixed marriages. Most reported this as deeply personal with some claiming that discrimination was much more of an issue within their family than it was out with.

The ways in which people relayed their stories in past terms was a further indication that for the most part such divides were in the past. There were fewer instances of current experience of sectarianism. There were pauses in conversation where contributors had to search for relevant experience. This contrasts with how people described current matters, such as racial tension and concerns such as housing and poverty. Reactions to questions on marrying out with your religion were also telling. While older adults told stories of the shame that this carried in their youth, young people were often bewildered that the question would even be asked.

While planning this research approach consideration was given to the possibility of conflict within groups while discussing this potentially emotive and divisive issue. At no point was this worry an issue. All of the focus groups contained a Catholic/Protestant and an ethnic mix. The youth groups involved young people clad in the colours of Rangers, Celtic and other teams. At the end of one session a girl in green and white hugged her friend outfitted in a Rangers strip beside her endorsing that this was not an issue between them.

- Noh she's our pal and it wouldn't matter if she was Rangers or Celtic we jist want tae play wae her

- We're pals an everybody's happy that's what we do all the time, everybody's a different team. We don't care we just play with them and then have lots of fun. (Focus Group 3)

The instances of conflict tended to be described as 'tribal', related to territories and close knit communities, more than to a convicted set of beliefs around a particular faith. Even those who identified themselves as 'bigoted' stated that trouble was caused by the minority.

- It's like everything else obviously, noo and then ye will get rebels letting you know that they are about. But they are obviously trying to change, ah mean who would have thought that McGuinness would meet the Queen. Ah mean that would have been an outrage at war time on both sides. (John)

This is not to suggest that there were not issues which presented as sectarian, but that these issues are interrelated and there was a strong tendency to view sectarian conflict as effect rather than a cause. This aligns with the preference to focus on issues other than sectarianism when asked about the main reasons for social conflict. This emphasis of sectarianism as an outcome of underlying issues rather than a cause endorses Bruce et al (2005) and Rosie's (2001, 2004) arguments that it was ever so. The following section explores the issues which people lingered on. These speak not just to Catholic/Protestant divide but to other contemporary social tensions.

5.2 The Issues

The issues which contributors discussed functioned on both a personal level and collective level.

5.2.2 Personal

Contributors who reported most experience of sectarianism, from both Protestant and Catholic perspectives, tended not to describe it using this term. They did not claim to actively want to oppress the perceived opposing group, but more they themselves harboured a sense of grievance which tainted their view. Terms most

often used were 'bigot' and 'bitter'. 'Bitter' most aptly describes the type of sentiment which they relayed, which was distaste of symbols and reminders of the existence of the other.

This appeared to act on the level of sensibility more than rationale choice. The two contributors, who claimed to hold residual bitterness from their upbringing, both stated clearly that they did not hold any grudge against individuals, indeed one had married in the Protestant church and the other reported that his closest most highly regarded friendships were with Catholics. Their reported difficulty in understanding their own reactions, that they appeared unable simply to think differently, is an indicator of just how deeply inscribed these feelings are. This suggests that any work undertaken to address these negative feelings should operate as much on the senses as through cognition.

People who reported such views were clearly undertaking a struggle between their own feelings and sense of reason. This is perhaps why people appear able to constrain the negative sentiments conveyed through chants. Contributor reports endorsed Rosie's (2001, 2004) view that chanting does not regularly turn into aggressive politics and Bruce et al's (2005) report on the low levels of sectarian violence. Evident in the many stories where marriages, friendships and family relations remained in tact despite sometime vicious 'banter'.

This factor also relates the problems with the ways in which the media sensationalises sectarian incidents as proposed by Kelly (2010), Waiton (2013) and Bruce et al (2004). Contributors indicated that stating a religious alignment at all, risked being cast as sectarian. People identified as holding sectarian views appear as the despised out group, as dangerous extremists resulting in a moral panic around any indication of activity. This type of reaction could push people into an 'out' group position. The pejorative descriptions of those who follow the Orange Walk were almost dehumanising in the language used. While many of the stories of direct experience of Orange Lodge members produced an image of people who were more than capable of being sensitive to needs of others.

There is a similarity with the reports of those who held a clear set of religious beliefs. These contributors also reported feeling despised and outcast because they were deemed outside of liberal values. Implicit in the language used and the content of narratives is the idea that to be socially acceptable you need to be entirely liberal. Responses to the question on marriage speaks directly to this issue. From the basis of being a 'Christian' Jean defended a view that if you have a strong faith and set of beliefs then it is difficult if not impossible to share your life with someone who does not hold these. Her argument was that this would lead to internal and shared conflict. The question of how society responds to people who hold a strong and defined belief system goes far beyond intra Christian issues in the west of Scotland, as it relates to global conflicts and the rise of religious movements across the world. Islamophobia to some degree was raised by most focus groups and interviewees. This was polarised between concerns that Scottish Muslims were being negatively targeted as extremist to the worry that, Islam was in fact a worrying force in the UK which needed to be halted. People cited the concern in Birmingham schools which has received recent media attention.

On a personal level, how to navigate 'difference' where ever it might be encountered emerged as a concern. Many contributors appeared particularly influenced by the media and the moral panic (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994) tactics which are often used to mobilise and polarise opinion. If anything the ways in which contributors had addressed their own prejudices was by engaging directly with the 'other' and recognising the complex nature of their own feelings. It was this type of activity which enabled them to develop more fluid, hybrid identities.

5.2.3 - Collective

Individual and focus group discussion led to a significant amount of theorising on how to improve relations and limit social conflict. For most this was not about addressing a specific site of conflict but about supporting environments which allow people to develop and feel a sense of control over their lives. These two extracts capture much of what was said:

Ah wid say tackle poverty and tackle inequalities across the board because ye need to hiv, its like, gardening, we get this amazing compost that anything will grow in, and if you get a basic level of equality its like really good organic compost and what will grow out of that is a really healthy, really inclusive society but if your, ye know, using land thats awe infected wae toxins, thats yer unequal impoverished setting and thats where people want tae separate intae tribal groups and blame each other for the misery they are experiencing. If the Scottish government want tae tackle sectarianism then they need tae deal wae basic economics and equal access tae services and if they dae that they will deal wae racism, sectarianism and whatever ye want in wan big hit. (laughs) (Marie)

- Ah think see what is being said about having a sense of unity, ye know that people need a grounded sense of themselves and if they are not getting that then everything else can fall. If you are giving people a sense of community, feeling like they are a part of something then can be a good starting point for the rest of it, but its not to say that those things don't need funding but to look at one particular issue - such as sectarianism - isn't always helpful.

- Ah suppose ye need tae look at the causes. Ye cannae treat the symptoms, ye need to think about why is sectarianism an issue. (Focus Group 1)

The experience of economic disadvantage not only produced some of the hardships which promote a general sense of grievance but also generates the ground for further interpersonal difference. Marie was very clear that, the fact that she attended a fee paying school marked her significantly more as an outsider than any religious affiliation.

6 Conclusion and Recommendations

Although this research does not present statistically significant numbers, there is prevailing consistency of thinking on the place of sectarianism in contemporary Scottish society and where the issues lie. This underpins the following

recommendations on how to approach the possibility of intra-Christian conflict in Scotland.

6.1 A Complex Issue

Firstly any thinking around this must acknowledge at the outset that this is a complex issue. While the evidence from this empirical study and literature review indicates that sectarianism has diminished in terms of reach, the residual 'bitterness' experienced by some is complex and multi-layered. Often linked to intimate family relationships more than wider society. Conversely many reported that they could easily live in the west of Scotland and not encounter sectarian attitudes at all. Based on contributor evidence this relates to where you live and whether or not you are affiliated to football culture. People also reported the benefits they gain from belonging to a group with collective beliefs. Additionally people who did report sectarian views did not present this as a lack of knowledge as these attitudes were embedded in their sense of belonging much more deeply than any cognitive understanding. The points below aim to tease out areas of focal areas which seek to enable a response which takes this complexity into consideration.

6.2 Strategies Which do not Promote the Issue they Seek to Address

Indicated in the concerns over sensationalist media reporting is the worry that constantly highlighting perceived sectarian events is likely to cause further grievances, therefore perpetuating the problem. Sectarian sentiments appeared to operate on an emotional and aesthetic level. Individuals reported their own struggle with these feelings, this suggests that any strategy to alleviate these requires non-linear thinking.

John's description of his experience shows that knowledge alone of the harm that prejudice causes is not sufficient to address the feelings. He described wrestling with feelings and attitudes, which were problematic across his life course. The life experience of being offered help on an unrelated set of issues by a Catholic organisation, caused him to review his own assumptions about Catholicism as dangerous. When he talked of the attitudes of the football media he perceived this as judgement upon him. So rather than making him think that he should change his views, he felt more entrenched and under attack. Mary's experience of involvement

with a multi-ethnic organisation was a social experience which was not directed at 'sectarianism' but provided an informal opportunity for her to understand the belief systems of others.

Another way in which the media and political promotion of the prevalence of sectarianism has fueled feelings is through the production of fear. While Mary was very clear that she did not want her children and grandchildren to be 'bitter' she was conscious of the need to protect them by drawing attention to potentially 'risky' situations. In practice this means telling her grandson to be wary of people waving Union Jack flags at marches. It was evident from the young contributors that they may not have held a prejudice linked to religion but they did hold attitudes informed by fear of others who bear the symbols of the group perceived as dangerous. As indicated above self-reports and police reports suggest that a tiny percentage of violent crime is aggravated by sectarian attitudes. However the need to be vigilant was expressed by many. Giving sectarianism a huge amount of attention risks fueling the perception of greater risk and associated fear than is proportionate.

6.3 Thinking 'Difference' Positively

There were some very consistent messages from people who did align with a particular set of beliefs, that they had become the problem 'other' in a liberal society where it appears that to align with any view point risks being branded as an extremist. This message speaks not just to the Scottish situation but to global conflicts and the rise of extremism. This speaks on how to support a form of democracy which respects clearly structured belief systems which hold to an internal set of values and norms as much fluid belief systems which orient to the centre.. It was evident from contributor reports that there were personal gains from gaining a sense of belonging to a clearly structured group with collective values. However as mentioned above, there were reports that negative representation served to entrench these fixed alignments. This poses questions as to how a 'distorted sense of identity' might arise.

This indicates that the promotion of 'difference' as a positive even where people hold substantively varied beliefs is more likely to promote harmony than, the suspicion and judgement which contributors indicated led to the type of fear which underpins prejudice. Contributors who reported negotiating hybrid identities, appeared to have arrived at a position where they could move between societal divisions without these becoming dangerously conflicted.

6.4 Focusing on the Substantive Equalities/Inequalities Issues

The most pervasive and clearest contributor recommendation to the government was to focus on the substantive issues of inequality, particularly in relation to poverty. The sense of grievance which underpinned the 'bitterness' described was above all fueled by feelings of being disallowed opportunity and being disenfranchised. Despite the fact that many people said that the affluent who attended football matches were just as likely to participate in sectarian chants, the issue of class was evident in focus groups and interviews.

This was evident in the fact that the people who said that they could live life free from sectarianism also reported being educated and living in areas which would not be perceived as economically disadvantaged. Sheila spoke of moving out of areas where sectarian symbols were common into a residential area. The type of deeply embedded views reported by individuals who identified as sectarian could be understood through Frost and Hogget's (2008) work on 'double suffering' where, they argue, grievance and loss, experienced by those least privileged in our unequal society cannot be named or expressed. This then leads to the production of further suffering.

Participants articulated strong views about dealing with poverty, and the idea that the oppression of inequality was the 'cause' which needed to be addressed, not a lack of knowledge of the rights of different groups. Without using the theoretical language many articulated this idea of 'double suffering' and the need for this to become the central focus for policy.

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