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**The health of Irish-descended Catholics in Glasgow:
A qualitative study of the links between health risk and
religious and ethnic identities**

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**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Glasgow**

**MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit
Faculty of Social Sciences
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Abstract

The overall aim of this research is to provide qualitative data on Glasgow's Irish-descended Catholic community, which may help to explain the health disadvantage found in quantitative studies among many generations of Irish people in Britain. It examines the ways in which social factors linked to recognised health risks relate to Catholic versus Protestant identity and Irish versus Scottish origin. Using data from 72 qualitative interviews, with people in different religious/ethnic, gender, class and age groups, the analysis focuses on three key areas of social life: employment, communal life and family life. The impact of structural and cultural factors on health and identity, and the ways in which structure and culture are mutually and dynamically constitutive are examined.

The evidence points to the health relevance of structural factors (direct and indirect discrimination, and hidden and institutional sectarianism), which are dependent upon externally identifying a cultural difference, Catholic upbringing. These effects on health are theorised to be both via class position and psychosocial pathways, and directly connected to how Catholic identity is maintained and constructed. Health effects of self-defined aspects of Catholic culture are usually linked to what are felt to be positive health benefits, although a question hangs over family size, and involvement in football is likely to be double-edged, as are other cultural displays of Catholic identity, which in addition to positive outcomes, give opportunity for exclusive practices, and provide a 'cause' of bigotry and sectarianism for Protestants. Over time however, since both discrimination and Catholic religious practice are assessed as waning, it may be postulated that past discrimination, while undoubtedly a factor in relation to current ill health, may lose its explanatory force for future ill health. On the other hand, the positive health benefits to be gained by Catholics through being religious are also likely to wane, as a defined religious culture among Catholics becomes less prevalent.

The continued perception of the diffuse experience of anti-Catholic bigotry in social life appears to influence health negatively. It seems that it is in the experience of uncertainty and exclusion, that health may be compromised, a particular issue for men's health, and particularly for middle class 'younger' Catholic men who challenge exclusions and boundaries. Thus class is important, as is the 'classing' of religious identity. Also, while women may escape past identities, for men this option is not possible. Irish Catholic identity, even as the Irish component is often not explicitly referred to, but rather submerged, may link to health positively and negatively in a number of ways, and links also to an ever-changing culture which affects and is affected by wider structures, ideologies and past history. Irish Catholic identity is highly contextualised and differently experienced by gender, class and cohort.

How this research adds to the debate on Irish Catholic assimilation in Scotland is considered, and how it situates within wider debates on ethnicity, racism and sectarianism in Britain. The significance of the findings is considered in relation to the study of Irish identity in Britain, and a conclusion is reached about the contribution of this study to the question of how Irish Catholic ill health in Scotland might best be explained.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is all my own work, except where otherwise acknowledged.

Patricia Walls BA, MSc

CHAPTER ONE: Locating Irish Catholic health and Irish Catholic identity – an assessment of the literature

1.1 *Introduction*

This study is concerned with providing a sociological explanatory framework for processes affecting health among the Irish in Britain. The overall aim of the project was to provide qualitative data on the Irish community, which may help to explain the apparent health disadvantage of the Irish in Britain, and any processes associated with the persistence of health disadvantage across generations of people of Irish origin born in Britain. The main question which this research project sought to address was: in what ways do social factors linked to recognised health risks relate to Catholic versus Protestant identity and Irish versus Scottish origin in Glasgow?

The project was a response to an increasing body of work which revealed relatively poor health among Irish-born and Irish-descended people in Britain, alongside a failure to account adequately for the processes which might affect Irish ill health. While some theorists had revealed that factors such as social class were clearly important as explanatory models of much, but not all, of the Irish health deficit, what was clearly absent was an attempt to understand how structural elements, such as social class, and cultural aspects of Irish identity may link in ways which produced ill health. Part of the prior omission of consideration of culture and identity is due to methodological constraints, as much of the available data on Irish ill health is quantitative, and therefore removed from how people actually experience their ethnic identities. Another part of the problem can be located in the construction of ethnicity in Britain, whereby the Irish, and their experiences, are made invisible, both a cause as well as an effect, of the belief that the Irish are easily assimilated into British life.

During the 1990s, some sociologists and epidemiologists began to question why the health of Irish people was relatively and persistently poor. Of particular interest was that even if the migrant status of the first generation might explain health deficits among the Irish-born, that migrant status was clearly not a factor in the poor health status more recently found among Irish second and third generations in England and Wales, and generations further

back in the west of Scotland. At around the same time, there was an increasing body of work, unconcerned directly with health, but focused on the experience of identity among the Irish-born and descendants of people born in Ireland. This work located the experience of the Irish in its wider historical and contemporary contexts and clearly queried the assimilation thesis (Ullah, 1985; Bradley, 1994, 1995; Hickman, 1995; Bradley, 1996a; Hickman, 1996a, 1998; Campbell, 2000; Hickman et al., 2001; Mac an Ghaill, 2001; Mac an Ghaill and Haywood, 2003). In this context it became intelligible not only to ask how 'the experience of Irish people in England' (Kelleher and Hillier, 1996:112), might itself be a factor in the poor health of the Irish in England, but to go further afield as well as further back generationally, and to ask, whether the experience of being Catholic and Irish might provide an explanatory framework for explaining ill health among those of Irish descent born in Scotland.

In the time since this thesis began the research and policy landscape has changed to some degree with regard to the Irish and in relation to Irish health. The 2001 Censuses of England and Wales, and Scotland, included separate Irish ethnic categories (Walls, 2001), and the Irish samples have been included in key health research surveys in England, and in some policies addressing the needs of minority ethnic groups (Erens et al., 2001; O'Connor and Nazroo, 2002; Sproston and Nazroo, 2002; NIMHE, 2003). In Scotland, research data on the health and social disadvantage of Scotland's Catholics were integral to including a Catholic religion category in Scotland's Census of 2001, and since then academic, political and media discussion has been re-ignited on the social position and experiences of Scotland's Catholics, many of whom are of Irish descent. These moves make it all the more pertinent to addressing social factors relevant to Irish identity in different generations and in different geographical and political contexts.

While the field of ethnicity and health initially grew out of epidemiological underpinnings and amidst realistic political concerns about pathologising the experiences of ethnic minority groups, theorists now within the field have become increasingly focused on moving beyond descriptions of ethnic patterning to finding new ways to address the complexity of the processes whereby ethnic identity is linked to culture and to structural factors, so producing differential health experience. This welcome trend is geared towards recognition of the particular contribution which qualitative methods may make to redressing the weaknesses of an un-theorised (Nazroo, 1998) field of ethnicity and health.

This study emerged from within these changing contexts. It sought to examine the experiences of Catholics of Irish descent in a city with a long history of Irish immigration, particularly during the nineteenth century. The focus on Catholic/Protestant religious differences in experiences was taken as relevant within a context where being Catholic continues to be a marker of Irish ethnic minority status, long after initial migrations of Irish-born people, and this enables an examination of the ways in which religion and ethnicity are perceived to interlink. Comparing minority and majority religious/ethnic experiences was also considered the best way to isolate social factors specific to Irish Catholic experience of identity and health, thus addressing the key research question.

The focus on experience in Scotland was important because little research had been conducted on the experiences of Scotland's Irish in recent times, while a new and increasing interest was apparent on the experiences of the Irish in England, partly no doubt due to Scotland's Irish immigration being so overwhelming a feature of the nineteenth century, while England had experienced substantial Irish immigration particularly during the 1950s and 1980s. The Scottish context also enabled the exploration of specifically Scottish experiences, which not only facilitates comparison with other parts of Britain, but given Scotland's particular history, allowed a greater exploration of religion as a significant marker of ethnic identity, and of its relevance to the past and present racialisation of the Irish.

The background literature focuses on five key relevant areas: the health profile of the Irish in Britain; how Irish ill health has been explained (or remains unexplained); the literature on Irish immigration to Scotland, and on how the contemporary social position of Scotland's Irish Catholics has been shaped; earlier interpretation of this position as one of successful assimilation, and the deficits of this approach; and an appraisal of how current theories of ethnic health ground this study and provide a framework for later analysis.

1.2 Health profile of the Irish in Britain

1.2.1 Introduction

In this section the health research on the Irish is summarised and in the next, the possible explanations for ill health assessed. It is argued that the research on Irish health, and its

interpretation, reflects the wider problematic of the place of the Irish within debates on ethnicity in Britain, and this forms an obstacle to understanding of the health of the Irish. However the most promising routes towards understanding the health of Irish people in Britain have been proposed by medical sociologists, who argue that considering all the possible explanatory frameworks, 'the experience of the Irish (in England) is central to understanding' their poor health (Kelleher and Hillier, 1996:116) as is, 'the possibility of sustained disadvantage in a specialised minority environment in Britain' (Williams, 1992:97). These assessments together point to the importance of the experience of ethnic minority identity and the specificity of the experiences of the Irish as central to addressing their health.

Research on the health of Irish people has sampled people in different ways and utilised different indices of health. A key issue addressed later in the Methods Chapter is the difficulties of sampling a minority which has been made 'invisible' (Pearson et al., 1991) for so long (Williams, 1992). In summarising the evidence, Irish-born refers to those studies which only sampled those born in Ireland, otherwise, Irish is taken to refer to the wider ethnic group (which may include both migrants and the second generation) and where necessary, more specific terminology is highlighted. For example, the Scottish research uses the authors' terminology of Irish-descended, Irish Catholics, etc.

1.2.2 Mortality data

Over the last two decades studies have consistently shown higher mortality among the Irish-born living in Britain (Marmot et al., 1984; Balarajan and Bulusu, 1990; Raftery et al., 1990; Balarajan, 1995; Harding and Maxwell, 1997; Wild and McKeigue, 1997; Harding and Rosato, 1999). Most recent data from the 1990s show that there is a 35% excess in overall mortality among Irish-born men, with an excess of 73% in classes IV/V. Adjustment for social class still leaves statistically significant excesses for mortality by ischaemic heart disease, cerebrovascular disease, lung cancer, respiratory diseases, accidents and injuries, and suicides among Irish men (Harding and Maxwell, 1997). Both Irish men and women show significantly higher incidences of particular cancers (Harding and Rosato, 1999).

For thirty years, deaths by suicide of Irish-born people living in Britain have remained consistently and significantly high, with evidence that relative rates have increased over

time and are particularly high among younger age groups and among women (Raleigh and Balarajan, 1992; Balarajan, 1995; Walls, 1996; Bracken et al., 1998; Leavey, 1999). Latest published figures show Irish-born rates higher than the general population and all other ethnic groups, a 53% excess (Balarajan, 1995). Recent analyses on suicides and undetermined deaths over a three year period in inner London suggest that official suicide rates may be strongly underestimated, which would inflate further already excessive rates among the Irish-born (Neeleman et al., 1997). Irish-born people have highest rates of deaths by accidents among those aged 15-24 and over 65 years (Balarajan, 1995).

In England and Wales, the second and third generation Irish have also been found to have significantly raised mortality rates compared with the rest of the population (Raftery et al., 1990; Harding and Balarajan, 1996; Harding, 1998; Harding and Balarajan, 2001), with particular excesses among men and women for lung cancer and other cancers (Harding and Balarajan, 1996; Harding, 1998). Differences remain when controlled for social class and other measures of socio-economic status (Raftery et al., 1990; Harding and Balarajan, 1996), although social class explains a large part of Irish health disadvantage in England and Wales (Harding et al., 1999; Harding and Balarajan, 2001). In Scotland, excess mortality has also been found among people of Irish Catholic descent (Abbotts et al., 1998; Abbotts et al., 1999b), largely, although not entirely explained by social class position (Abbotts et al., 2001).

There has been no improvement in Irish-born mortality in Britain over the last two decades and comparisons have shown that over time, the Irish-born in Britain have elevated mortality compared not only to the British, but to the Irish living in Ireland (Marmot et al., 1984; Wild and McKeigue, 1997), the latter suggesting the importance of environmental factors relevant to migration and/or ethnic status. And clearly, the consistently documented poor mortality profile of Irish migrants continues into subsequent generations of British-born people of Irish origin.

1.2.3 General morbidity

Census (2001) data for London show that 14% of Irish people in London feel that they are not in good health, 23% of Irish people in London have limiting long-term illness, and 8% of Irish people aged between 16-74 years are permanently sick or disabled. This compares with 9% of White British people who feel they are not in good health, 17% with limiting

long-term illness and 5% of White British 16-74 year olds who are permanently sick/disabled, with marked differences in all age bands and among men and women. Overall, Irish people are less likely to report that their health is good compared with White British people (62% compared with 70%) (Walls, 2004). These findings mirror morbidity data from the 1999 Health Survey for England, which sampled first and second generation Irish (Erens et al., 2001), and data from the 1991 Census on the Irish-born (Owen, 1995). In samples of Irish-descended Catholics in Scotland, a pattern of excess morbidity has also been found (Abbotts et al., 1997).

1.2.4 Psychiatric morbidity

Early British studies focused on attempted suicide among those born in Ireland and found over-representation of the Irish-born among suicide attempters with statistically significant rates for young Irish women (Burke, 1976; Merrill and Owens, 1988). Smaller studies have found a link among Irish-born people between a history of attempted suicide and hospital admissions for depression (Walls, 1996). Recent studies of female suicide attempts, self-harm and ethnicity have excluded the Irish (Bhugra et al., 1999a; Bhugra et al., 1999b), even when Irish women clearly make up a large proportion (11%) of comparison 'white' attempters (Bhugra et al., 1999a). This inevitably leads to erroneous conclusions being drawn about other ethnic minorities in comparison with 'whites'.

Excessively high rates for depression have been found for Irish people admitted to psychiatric hospital and within community samples, particularly Irish-born women, and at both national and local levels (Clare, 1974; Bebbington et al., 1981; Cochrane and Bal, 1989; Walls, 1996). Community surveys have found higher than average scores on GHQ12, a measure of psychological ill health, among the Irish first and second generations (Erens et al., 2001) and higher than average rates of depression and anxiety among the Irish first and second generations (Sproston and Nazroo, 2002).

1.2.5 Health behaviours

The research evidence presents a complex picture of Irish use, non-use and misuse of alcohol. Alcohol misuse is importantly linked to physical and psychiatric morbidity as well as mortality among the Irish. There is significant over-representation of Irish-born people in psychiatric admissions for alcohol disorders (Cochrane and Bal, 1989; Walls, 1996), and the Irish-born are over-represented as users of community-based alcohol agencies (Luce et

al., 2000). There is evidence of high Irish-born alcohol-related mortality (Greenslade et al., 1995; Harrison et al., 1997), and over-use of alcohol among the Irish first and second generation (Erens et al., 2001). Smoking levels are also reportedly high among the Irish-born (Balarajan and Yuen, 1986; Harding and Allen, 1996) and second generation (Pearson et al., 1991), while data on longer established Irish communities suggest differences are practically non-existent (Mullen et al., 1996). When differences in smoking behaviour have been found, they have not been considered accountable for Catholic morbidity disadvantage (Abbotts et al., 1999a). However, it is clear that rather than Irishness *per se* being linked to negative health behaviours, that such behaviours are strongly linked to wider social and employment disadvantages (Harrison and Carr-Hill, 1992; Harrison et al., 1993).

1.2.6 Consulting behaviour

Early research showed that Irish-born people have markedly higher rates of consulting GPs for mental health problems, despite having lower than average overall general consulting rates (McCormick and Rosenbaum, 1990). More recently, Irish first and second generation women have been found to have significantly higher rates for consulting their GPs, and high rates for consulting about psychological problems. On the other hand, Irish men had lower than average overall consulting rates, except among the youngest age group, who had significantly high consultation ratios for psychological problems (Erens et al., 2001).

While much of the health research record is on Irish migrants, rather than the wider ethnic group, and much of it emanates from England rather than from Scotland, the Scottish data are perhaps the most challenging in that they reveal levels of health disadvantage long after initial migrations, and offer the most striking evidence against easy Irish assimilation in Scotland.

1.3 Explaining Irish health

1.3.1 Positive responses to evidence of Irish health disadvantage

Despite the wealth of data available on the health and mental health of mainly Irish-born people during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, findings on Irish health initially raised little attention at the level of research and policy (Balarajan and Soni Raleigh, 1993; Nazroo, 1997a, 1997b), as increasing interest developed in the field of ethnicity and health from the

mid-1980s onwards (Fenton et al., 1995). This situation persisted through much of the 1990s, although some theorists did include the evidence of Irish health as worthy of consideration (Smaje, 1995), and some key health studies of ethnic health in the last five years did include the Irish (Erens et al., 2001; Sproston and Nazroo, 2002). Explanations for overlooking the Irish in health studies have variously suggested that the Irish are not exotic or ethnic enough (Littlewood and Lipsedge, 1982), and revealed the operation of 'mental shutters' (Williams, 1992:81), in academia and elsewhere.

In Scotland, apart from the few studies cited here, there has also been a lack of wider interest in the health of Scotland's Irish Catholics. Nonetheless, these emergent studies contributed to the decision of the Scottish parliament to overturn initial decisions about Census categories to permit inclusion of religion as well as ethnic categories (Walls, 2001). Because health data focused attention on the need for further detailed data on Catholic social disadvantage, these findings became part of wider debates in Scotland which were articulated in religious rather than ethnic terms: in terms of anti-Catholic sectarianism, rather than Irish disadvantage or anti-Irish discrimination. In England on the other hand, Irish health data were an important resource affecting Irish community success in arguing for and getting an Irish ethnic category accepted in the 2001 Census. In particular, the data on the second generation Irish raised awareness of the existence of a group of people made even more 'invisible' than their parents. Health data on the Irish were thus integral to attempts to challenge the view that the Irish were meaningfully described within a 'white' category, and of locating them officially as an ethnic minority, on whom more detailed data were required.

1.3.2 Irish health disparities: shaking assumptions

The story of how the Irish became excluded from debates on ethnicity is discussed later, and is a complex one within which the Irish have been perceived as an easily assimilated group. However the myth of assimilation has been increasingly challenged by theorists of Irish ethnicity (Hickman, 1995; Hickman and Walter, 1995; Hickman, 1996b; Hickman and Walter, 1997; Hickman, 1998; Walter, 2000; Bracken and O'Sullivan, 2001; Hickman et al., 2001; Mac an Ghaill, 2001; Walter et al., 2002), as well as by the accumulated body of work on the health of Irish people (Williams, 1992; Kelleher and Hillier, 1996; Williams and Ecob, 1999), particularly beyond the migrant generation, as clearly assimilation in health has not occurred for those of second and subsequent generations of Irish.

Nonetheless, even in the absence of interest in Irish health among many in the field of ethnicity and health, and in the broader study of ethnicity and race relations in Britain (Mac an Ghaill, 2001), the foundations of the view that the Irish have much the same experiences as the British and are not 'ethnic' in the sense of other groups defined by skin colour, have been shown to be shaky.

The complexity of this is borne out by the research record on health, where even when the Irish have been included in health research, explanations for their poor health reveal reasons which contradict orthodox assumptions about ethnicity in Britain, while revealing views of Irish identity at odds with the assimilation thesis, yet confusingly set within a discourse which accepts the assimilation thesis. What has proved lacking is detailed examination of the experience of Irish identity over generations. While quantitative research has been important in revealing a pattern of health among Irish people, it necessarily prohibits explanation of patterns described, unless and until quantitative measures can be developed, which accurately reflect preceding qualitative appraisals of everyday talk about identities. Even commonplace quantitative controlling for variables such as social class and gender, while revealing important patterns of ill health, and pointing to directions for further explanatory research, can tell us little of how experience of identity may affect health. Nonetheless, quantitative researchers have given possible interpretations of their data, partly drawn from broad general understandings of the epidemiology of ethnic health, and partly based on untested assumptions about the experiences of Irish people living in Britain.

1.3.3 How Irish ill health has been explained

Explanations of Irish ill health have taken various forms and have generally, although not always, been in relation to Irish migrants. For example, Adelstein et al. (1986) propose negative selection as a precursor to Irish mortality in Britain, while others attribute mortality to health behaviours (Balarajan and Yuen, 1986), although among some there is recognition of the link between stress of some sort and engagement in health damaging behaviours (Adelstein et al., 1986). In addition to negative selection (Marmot et al., 1984), a dual process of both negative and positive selection of Irish migrants has been suggested as possibly explaining mental health (Williams, 1992). Others have stressed the importance of cultural and family patterns in mental health in Ireland as well as Britain (Cochrane and Bal, 1987), and religion, culture and identity sustenance problems have been linked to

mental and physical health (Kelleher and Hillier, 1996), or accounted for by the effects of the experience of colonisation on the Irish psyche (Greenslade, 1992). Regarding the second generation, the possible explanatory potential of cultural and lifestyle factors (Harding and Balarajan, 1996) has been noted. Social class has also been considered as a major factor, and this has been borne out by research, but such explanations rarely see Irish social class disadvantage as linked to ethnic status in the same way as other minorities, that is, the possibility of discrimination is not addressed. Meanwhile academics and activists within the Irish community have argued for a recognition of the validity of Irish ethnic status in Britain and how this links to social disadvantage and experiences of discrimination (Hickman and Walter, 1997), and postulated anti-Irish discrimination as a factor in migrants' health (Tilki, 2003). A quantitative study of historic Irish mortality in Britain has formulated a model based on these suggestions, specifying that, 'the social class distribution of the Irish, their occupational specialisations, their patterns of territorial concentration and religious endogamy may all have been maintained in existence as a defensive reaction to practices of domination and exclusion by the host population, and...this situation may have entailed patterns of health behaviour and psychosocial response which explain the excess mortality' (Williams and Ecob, 1999:364). This model was compared with two competing models representing regional economic factors and labour competition factors respectively, and the conclusion indicated that, 'If the LS data are a safe guide, the future lies with Model 2 (the exclusion model), and with the possibility that excess Irish mortality is caused by political and religious differences which have tended to disadvantage this group similarly across regions of England and Wales' (Williams and Ecob, 1999:365). Qualitative exploration of this quantitative finding is now indicated.

Apart from these new developments, however, the confusion surrounding how the Irish are viewed is typified by a comment made over two decades ago by Caulfield and Bhat (1981), and quoted at some length below, and reflects the analysis of Hickman noted later. Caulfield and Bhat (1981) advise that the Irish not be treated as a 'special case' compared with other immigrants as this treatment has resulted in a lack of data on them, and that the Irish share many features common to other immigrant groups. However, they assume that the Irish are treated as a 'special case', in part because of the assumed 'lack of obvious racial antagonism towards them', which is unproven, yet interestingly note that the historical connections of the Irish with Britain may in some way account for how they are

treated. Despite Caulfield and Bhat's (1981) appeals, it is still not commonplace to research the Irish in the same ways as other minorities, and many of the problems within the community have only caused concern within the community itself (Bracken and O'Sullivan, 2001).

Caulfield and Bhat's paragraph is as follows: 'We would like to point out that in the course of our researches we found that there was a tendency to regard the Irish as a special case of immigrants, both because of their historical connections with Britain and, of course, the lack of obvious racial antagonism towards them. This shows up most clearly in terms of the lack of data available on the Irish, whilst a plethora of information has been, and is being collected, on other immigrant groups.....The Irish share many features common to these other immigrant groups, and it is by regarding them as one of these, and not a special case, that we feel more light will be shed upon other characteristics and problems associated with this community' (Caulfield and Bhat, 1981:83).

Many of these explanations and interpretations given for Irish ill health have not been tested nor are easily amenable to testing, though apart from selection theories, which may only be liable to affect migrants, they provide possibilities for further research. What is notable is that the Irish present a conundrum for theorists, which is partly linked to how and whether they are perceived as an ethnic group. What is interesting is that even when some theorists deny their ethnic status, the Irish are inadvertently described as different from the British, often as though this (usually negative) difference is something which is essentially 'Irish'. This seems to be part of a wider practice of pathologising the culture of minorities (Sheldon and Parker, 1992; Ahmad, 1993). It is almost implied by some that not only does being Irish bring inevitable disadvantages (Peach, 1996a), but dissociating Irish disadvantage from the possibility of discrimination (Caulfield and Bhat, 1981), is reminiscent of nineteenth century accounts of the Irish being blamed for their misfortunes, including disease and poverty (Williams, 1992). More usefully, drawing on the clear health deficits among first and second generation Irish people, Raftery et al. (1990) have argued that regarding 'race' and ethnicity as synonymous is untenable with regard to health, and Nazroo, in a community study of mental health, which incidentally excluded the Irish, noted, that among Britain's major ethnic groups, 'factors associated with ethnic minority status might increase risk of mental illness regardless of skin colour' (Nazroo, 1997a:85-6).

What becomes clear is that there are contradictory ideas of whether the Irish are an ethnic group in the sense of other minorities, while at the same time it is acknowledged that social disadvantage is inevitably linked to health disadvantage, and that there is social disadvantage among the Irish; but the disadvantage is often assumed by those outside of the Irish community to be disconnected from experiences specific to Irish ethnic identity, as this proves a bridge too far within discourses which exclude the Irish from membership of ethnic minority communities. This results in the social disadvantage and health of the Irish being explained in different ways from other ethnic communities, and leaves out any possible causal links with discrimination, although ironically often in terms which view the Irish as still culturally different from the British. Thus unfounded assumptions, hypotheses and even stereotypes, provide a repertoire of possible explanations for others to pursue further, if only to disregard on the basis of later evidence. What this should illustrate is that theorists are part of the world they research, and recourse to seemingly racist stereotypes (Francis, 1993) within research, is occasionally perhaps inevitable in the absence of explanations drawn from empirically derived knowledge of the Irish community itself.

However, it is true to say that until fairly recently, efforts to locate scientifically grounded explanations which link poorer Irish health to the experience of Irish ethnic identity have been lacking, and that failure of the field of ethnicity and health to address Irish experiences merely mirrored that of other academic disciplines. Although the studies mentioned have shown patterns of Irish health disadvantage, many more have made the Irish invisible by locating them in an overarching ‘white’ category. Their place in contemporary health research is characterised as one of small dramatic appearances and larger disappearances.

1.3.4 Historically locating Irish ‘invisibility’

Developing an understanding of why the Irish have been made ‘invisible’ within discourses of ethnic health disadvantage (Nazroo, 1997b) as well as discrimination against minorities (Modood et al., 1997), even as their culture is often presumed to blame for their disadvantage, how they are both perceived as culturally different while also ‘culturally synonymous’ with the British (Hickman, 1998:289), requires locating the problematic of Irish health in Britain within its wider historical, geographical and political contexts.

The approaches taken by researchers mirror Hickman's (1998) analysis of aspects of the political processes whereby the Irish faced 'forced inclusion' within a British myth of homogeneity and therefore prey to the related myth of assimilation central to the development of British race relations since the 1950s. Hickman's interesting analysis of the processes whereby the Irish became written out of the official British account of 'race' and ethnicity reveals that the Irish have long been represented as a historically significant, and racialised Other, and of central concern in British Cabinet debates on immigration after the war. Nonetheless, in political moves, which had nothing to do with the Irish being white, and everything to do with political pragmatism and expediency, the Irish became excluded from immigration controls which affected other immigrant groups. During this process, the Irish were both seen as different from (and culturally inferior to) the British, while being part of the same 'race'. Along with the view on racial similarity came the creation of the myth of assimilation based on skin colour, and the attendant assumption that racism and racist discrimination could only affect people who were not white. These views continue to be reflected in approaches to Irish health in Britain. In upholding a particular view of Britishness, the Irish were thus made invisible.

While most theorists appear to accept that the view that because they are 'white', Irish people do not merit 'special' consideration, health research, and the wider connected literature on social disadvantage among different generations of Irish, would suggest that Irish identity (or in the case of Scotland, Irish Catholic identity) should be the focal point of research on health, together with the issue of how being Irish is experienced as a minority identity (Williams, 1992; Kelleher and Hillier, 1996; Williams and Ecob, 1999). From this one can explore how identity is linked to structural and cultural experiences, and in turn to health. A starting point might be to locate Irish experience in Britain today in its historical context (Hickman, 1995). For the purposes of this study, this necessitates a brief summary of the history of Irish migration and settlement in Scotland, including an outline of contemporary research on Scotland's Irish Catholics.

1.4 The Irish in Scotland: past and present

1.4.1 Introduction

In order to address experiences relevant to the health and identity of Catholics of Irish origin today, it is necessary to outline some of the main features of the history of the Irish

in Scotland, as Gallagher (1991) notes that an understanding of the Irish Catholic community in Scotland today depends upon the history which produced it. This summary is necessarily brief, general and focused upon Scotland. It considers the key aspects of social life relevant to later analyses.

Irish immigration to Scotland has been the main immigration of modern times (Devine, 1999). Not all migration from Ireland to Scotland was of Irish Catholics: a substantial proportion of immigrants were Irish Protestants (Handley, 1943; Walker, 1991; White McAuley, 1996). Despite the influx after the Famine, about which most has been written, people from Ireland had migrated to Scotland for centuries, on both a seasonal and a permanent basis, with permanent migration an increasing feature of Irish migration to Scotland during the nineteenth century.

1.4.2 Past and present profiles of Irish migration and the relevance of religion

The first major period of Irish immigration to Scotland was from the late 1700s to the middle of the nineteenth century. According to Devine (1999) the Protestant Irish made up about a quarter or a third of these early migrants. Daly (1986) suggests that the majority of earliest emigrants from Ireland were from the northern Irish province of Ulster, of Scottish descent and Presbyterian religion, whereas the latter migrants to Scotland were also of Ulster descent and predominantly Catholic (Collins, 1991). Some would have come from Sligo and Leitrim in north Connaught, reflecting their inclusion in the wider Ulster economic belt (Daly, 1986).

Fifty thousand Scottish people, many from Glasgow, had colonised the Irish province of Ulster by 1650 (Donaldson, 1971), the descendents of whom, although outnumbered in migration by the Catholic Ulster population, would have migrated to Scotland during the subsequent centuries. Ulster, during the early nineteenth century was a largely mixed economy and therefore people migrating would have become involved in both textiles and agriculture in Scotland, using skills which they already possessed but which were no longer useful within a deteriorating Ulster linen industry (Daly, 1986). In Blantyre and Pollokshaws in 1820 about two fifths of weavers were Irish and an estimated one third were Catholic (Aspinwall, 1996). Before the Famine, in the summer of 1841, nearly twenty thousand Irish from Ulster went to Scotland, mainly from Donegal, Derry and Tyrone, the majority of whom were males under 36 years (Handley, 1943). Scotland also was near and

both trade and travel were facilitated by transport services. From as early as 1818, the first steam packet sailed from Belfast to Glasgow (Swift, 1992). It has been estimated that by the mid nineteenth century a substantial minority (about a quarter to a fifth) were Protestants (Walker, 1991; Devine, 1999).

Initially the Irish in the west of Scotland worked in agriculture, later moving to the towns. In the early nineteenth century, a priest in Wigtownshire gave his impression of the extent of the Irish population in his area: 'The Irish are scattered over the whole of Wigtownshire and the western part of Kirkcudbrightshire...in some parts of the country, especially those near the coast, most of the common people you speak to have the Irish accent; the Catholics in my flock, either born in Ireland or of Irish extraction, certainly do not exceed 3000 souls; a large number of the Irish in the county are not Catholics' (Sinnot cited in Handley, 1943:76). Handley adds that some had been Catholics who would have lost their religion through lack of priests and intermarriage while others were Irish Protestants. Although information is sketchy prior to the 1841 census, one estimate is that of the 35 554 Irish in the city of Glasgow in 1831, 19 333 were Catholics, suggesting that the rest were Protestants (Cleland, 1840, cited in Handley, 1943).

The need to find rent pushed many, mainly Catholics, to migrate on a seasonal basis to Scotland to work in the harvest. The Irish migrant workers were also heavily involved in the building of Scottish canals and railways, encouraged by advertisements by employers in Irish newspapers, and there is evidence that many of these so-called 'Navvies' became permanently settled in Scotland (Handley, 1943). The Catholic Irish played a vital role in building the railways in the early to mid 1800s and were also heavily involved in mining, in the textile industry and building even in the period before the Famine; the majority were doing semi and unskilled work. Miles (1982) claims that the migration of labour from Ireland was a crucial factor in making possible the ascendancy of capitalist relations of production in Scotland. Ulster Protestants in the early period of migration similarly left Ireland because of economic reasons, compounded by Protestant insecurities following Irish political events. The failure of the United Irishmen's rebellion in particular affected Protestant emigration from Ireland as well as the passage of the Catholic Relief Acts of 1792 and 1793 which intensified the importance of sectarian issues (Devine, 1999).

By the 1850s there were a quarter of a million Irish-born people in Scotland (Devine, 1999). The second main period of Irish immigration was from the Famine of the 1840s to the early twentieth century. Even though Scotland attracted only 8% of Irish emigrants between 1841 and 1921, in terms of proportionality, the scale of Irish immigration to Scotland during the mid 1800s was greater than to England (Collins, 1991; Devine, 1999). Irish-born migrants formed 6.18% of Scotland's population compared to 2.49% of the population of England and Wales in 1871, which had reduced to 3.26% and 0.96% of the respective populations by 1921 (Aspinwall, 1996). By 1951 only one eighth of all Irish-born in Britain lived in Scotland (Collins, 1991). Evidently, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the numbers of Irish migrating to Scotland were falling in comparison to previous years.

In 1841 the Irish-born population of Glasgow was estimated to be 16.2% of the population, a proportion that did not dramatically alter during or after the Famine. Later statistics for Glasgow show a high point of 18.22% in 1851, 15.7% in 1861, 10% in 1891 and 6.7% Irish-born in 1911 (Aspinwall, 1996).

Recent Census figures show that 1.1% of the Scottish population were born in Ireland (55 302 persons - Table 8 - Registrar General for Scotland, 2003), the Irish-born forming 1.7% of Glasgow city's population (Registrar General for Scotland, 2003). Less than 1% of the population (49 428 persons) are ethnically Irish (Scottish Executive, 2004). Of the Irish ethnic group, 40% were born in the Republic of Ireland, 26% in Northern Ireland and 28% in Scotland. Comparing these figures with others on current religion and ethnic group, although many Northern Irish Protestants are likely to have identified as British, this table shows that 13% of those who identified as Irish were either Church of Scotland or other Christian (non-Catholic), while 69% were currently Catholic (Scottish Executive, 2004). The finding that 28% of those identifying as Irish are born in Scotland, shows that identifying as Irish is not confined to the Irish-born, even though Irish self-identification by the large numbers who might identify as Irish in the light of past Irish migration to Scotland is not realised; that only a small proportion of those of Irish descent in Scotland do identify as Irish. The question of how these groups identify themselves in ethnic terms is thus a primary one for this thesis on health and identity.

1.4.3 The Catholic Irish population in Scotland

Figures of the Irish-born do not include numbers of those who formed the wider ethnic group of Irish people born in Scotland of Irish parents and grandparents. Handley suggests that before the Famine the Catholic Irish made up about 10% of Scotland's population and more than a quarter of Glasgow's population (Handley, 1943; Miles, 1982). Although there have been problems with gathering statistics on religion over time (Darragh, 1979), Eyre (1878) estimated that there were over 300 000 Catholics in Scotland in 1878, with over 200 000 of these in the parish of Glasgow (Eyre, 1878 cited in Darragh, 1979). Drawing on a number of sources, including the Catholic Directory for Scotland, Darragh (1979) assesses the number of Catholics in Scotland as 145 900 in 1851, 750 600 in 1951 and 822 900 for 1971, rising from 5% to 16% of the Scottish population over a 120 year period.

Most recent Census figures reveal that 17% of Scots come from Catholic backgrounds and 16% are current Catholics (Registrar General for Scotland, 2003; Scottish Executive, 2004). However, only 4.2% of current Scottish Catholics identify as ethnically Irish (derived from Scottish Executive, 2004). Twenty four per cent of Glasgow's adult population (141, 846 persons) come from Catholic backgrounds (Bruce et al., 2005). It has been estimated that in Clydeside, which encompasses Glasgow, about 80% of Catholics are of Irish descent (Williams, 1993).

1.4.4 Comparison of Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant experience in Scotland

Although there has been criticism that much of the research on the Irish abroad has tended to focus on Irish Catholic experiences (Akenson, 1992; White McAuley, 1996), Hickman's (1995, 2002) points in this regard on the situations both in the US and in Britain are relevant, and continue to have particular pertinence in the case of Scotland. Hickman's argument in response to the focus on Irish Catholics is that it was not only Irish Catholics who constructed their experiences as those of '*the Irish*' (Hickman, 2002:14) abroad, but also that anti-Catholic and anti-Irish discourses were part of their negative construction as Other within host societies, a similar situation to that in Scotland and one which has a continuing salience in Scotland today.

1.4.5 The construction of the racialised Irish Catholic as 'Other'

The comparison of Catholic and Protestant experience in Scotland is illustrative of Hickman's essential argument and explicitly addressed by a number of authors. Smout

(1986) for example in comparing experiences of Catholic and Protestant Irish immigrants to Scotland suggests, 'The Ulster Protestant immigrant, who often had a Scottish name, found it easier to integrate than the Catholic and aggressively asserted his Orangeism and anti-papist sentiments as a way of allying himself to the native Scots and dissociating himself from his fellow Irishmen' (Smout, 1986:22-3). In this way Smout refers not only to the greater facility with which Irish Protestants integrated into Scottish society, but also that an essential part of this integration was to assert anti-Catholic attitudes which would in turn align the Protestant incomers with the indigenous population. Similarly Devine (1991) notes that the Irish Catholic both in Ulster and in Scotland became defined as 'alien', unlike the Protestant Irish who 'did not stand out as different' in Scotland (Devine, 1991:vi). These perceived differences in turn meant that the Protestant Irish were able to identify a common ancestry with the Protestant Scottish, one that was based on opposition to Catholic religion and *Catholic* Irish ethnicity. The alien and Otherness based on religion and Irish ethnic identity was essentially racialised (Miles, 1982), and Miles argues that this process of regarding the Catholic Irish as a separate 'race' was based on ideas of their physicality and beliefs about a range of negative cultural characteristics, within which being Catholic was significant.

This racialising of Irish Catholics, and not Irish Protestants, was notable in the now infamous report of the Church and Nation Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, produced in 1923. The report was part of a wider Church campaign fuelled by the passing of the 1918 Education Act, which continued throughout the interwar years, and sought to have the Catholic Irish-born (and their Scottish-born children) repatriated. In it, the Catholic Irish were described as unable to 'be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race. They remain a people by themselves, segregated by reason of their race, their customs, their traditions and above all by their loyalty to their Church, and gradually and inevitably dividing Scotland racially, socially and ecclesiastically' (Handley, 1964:358). On the other hand, of Irish Protestants, the report commented that they did not present a problem of immigration: 'of the presence of an Orange population in Scotland, they are of the same race as ourselves, and of the same faith, and are easily assimilated into the Scottish population' (Handley, 1964:358; McFarland, 1994:79). Thus religion, was part of the process of racialising the Catholic Irish, and integral to their experiences in Scotland.

1.4.6 Scottish identity and religion

The significance of religion in Scotland derives from its particular history. One reason for Scottish anti-Catholicism Miles attributes to the Scottish Kirk, which following the Act of Union in 1707 assumed greater power as the Church of Scotland, and came to serve as the focus for national sentiment. According to Miles (Miles, 1982), if political power was to be exercised through the Kirk, then the religious dominance of the Kirk had to be preserved for both political and religious reasons. Scotland was able to retain a distinctive religion as well as separate legal and educational systems preserving a separate if stateless nationhood (Hickman, 1995). As an illustration that Scottish Protestant identity was built on anti-Catholicism, and that sectarianism as is often implied was not merely imported by Irish Protestants, Murray (1984) notes that 1780 riots against parliamentary relief for Catholics were so severe in Scotland that parliament decided to abandon Catholic relief for Scotland, at a time when in Glasgow, individual Catholics were outnumbered by anti-Catholic societies (Murray, 1984 cited in Hickman, 1995:34).

1.4.7 Irish Protestant identity in Scotland and the Orange Order

As already noted, Irish Protestants, being Protestants, were not considered to have a problem assimilating into Scottish society. With the indigenous Scottish Protestant population, they shared a common ancestry and religion, and a common antagonism towards Irish Catholics. McFarland (1990) argues that membership of the Loyal Orange Order seems to have been a way for Irish Protestants immigrants to maintain a distinct identity and distinguish themselves from Catholics.

In the early 1800s lodges were formed in Scotland, the first in Maybole sometime in 1799 (McFarland, 1994). Orange Lodges had originally been formed in Ireland to defend Protestants against Catholic secret societies, and were a main vehicle for this Irish Protestant identity in Scotland (Walker, 1991). In Scotland initial formation of Lodges mirrored settlement of Irish migrants (McFarland, 1994). The Order was strengthened in the 1860s by a large influx of Protestants from Belfast into Glasgow's shipyards, and White McAuley (1996) sees this time as the beginning of the real history of Scottish Orangeism. By the late nineteenth century Lodge membership was a family tradition in many working class communities (Devine, 1999). The public face of Lodges was always seen as confrontational. In 1848, there were only about 600 members of Lodges in Scotland (McFarland, 1994), although this rapidly increased over the next decade as Irish

issues dominated British politics (Aspinwall, 1996). Irish Protestants remained the backbone of the Orange movement in Scotland, and this reveals the impact of Irish politics on Scottish life.

MacFarland's (1994) work shows that the Orange faction had difficulty being accepted in Scotland and the Orange lodge members did not want to be seen as though they were foreign in this regard. The Masonic Order was the more familiar territory of the average Scot and Masonry was more widespread then and had members from the upper classes in contrast to the Lodges. According to McFarland (1994) the Scottish view was that the Orange Order was bringing 'Irish quarrels' to Scotland, and was part of the reason for its unpopularity in mainstream Scottish life.

However, this did not deter the Orange Order from having influence in Scottish life. As White McAuley (1996) notes, Orangeism was deeply rooted in the lowlands of Scotland and following on from the practice of the Belfast shipyards from which many Irish Protestants came to work in the Glasgow shipyards in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Orangeism and the opportunity to work in skilled work were linked, a feature which became entrenched in Glasgow shipyards by the late 1870s.

As a focus for Irish Protestant identity over generations, the Orange Order is interesting in that it was clearly a vehicle not only for the maintenance of Irish Protestant identity in Scotland, but a vehicle also for instituting discriminatory practices and aligning the anti-Catholicism of Protestants from Ireland with Scottish anti-Catholicism. It is interesting that it permitted the celebration of Irish Protestantism, while its specifically *Irish* roots militated against its gaining political recognition. It is an interesting example of the tension of finding Irish solutions to Scottish problems. Its continued existence two centuries after the first lodges appeared in Scotland may suggest that Irish Protestants were not so wholly and easily absorbed into Scottish life. As Brown notes, 'the cultural impact of Orange marches in urban Scotland has always been far greater than its membership or political influence would suggest' (Brown, 1993:36). Even today its presence is felt and membership today is estimated from 50 000 to 80 000 in the Scottish lowlands, where the Order continues to have 'Walks' and where lodges make a contribution to the social and leisure activities of the working class areas where they have their members (McFarland, 1990).

In contrast to Irish Protestants however, Irish Catholics presented the problem of Otherness in Scotland, and their religion was insurmountable as a major factor in their lack of assimilation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As well as ethnic identity, therefore, contemporary religious identity is a key question for this thesis. For this reason too, the apparent success story of Irish Catholic assimilation during the twentieth century requires to be considered and scrutinised.

1.5 A Scottish success story? Accounts of Irish Catholic assimilation

Smout (1986) considers that ‘the absorption of the Irish into the social fabric of Scottish life must be considered one of the achievements of Scottish history’ (Smout, 1986:248), while for Devine (1991), a key issue for historians of the Irish in Scotland is ‘how this once alien group have been assimilated in the second half of the twentieth century into the mainstream of Scottish life’ (Devine, 1991:v). Even though this assimilation, if it has occurred, appears to have taken a long time, the ‘achievement’ of assimilation and the loss of ‘alien’ status mentioned in these comments, is startling when contrasted with the belief perpetuated by the Church of Scotland during the inter-war years that the Irish Catholic could not be assimilated into Scottish society. In assessing the case for the presumed assimilation of the Catholic Irish, a number of points need to be addressed: who has been assimilated, the meaning of assimilation and factors considered to have affected assimilation, and an assessment of the evidence supporting assimilation.

1.5.1 Irish or Catholic assimilation?

From the terminology used by authors, there is a notable blurring of the issue of whether it is the Catholic Irish, or Catholics, and therefore by implication the Irish, who are said to have been assimilated. Although it is argued in this thesis that Catholics, particularly in the west of Scotland, are overwhelmingly of Irish origin, and that being Catholic is an implicit marker of Irish identity, the lack of explicit focus on Irish identity among theorists itself suggests a denial of the relevance of Irish origin among today’s Catholics. It could also be argued that the focus on Catholic identity, while justifiable in terms of how the Catholicism of Irish migrants was a key factor in their racialisation, thus sidesteps the issue of Irish identity, or rather implicitly supports a thesis of the Irish unquestioningly becoming Scottish, a perspective which undoubtedly is located within the myth of homogeneity addressed by Hickman (1998), but taking a specifically Scottish form.

Until recently explicit reference to Irish identity was missing from much of the work emanating from Scotland, giving the impression that it was specifically religious identity which had become submerged or absorbed into mainstream Scottish life, with little attempt to interrogate the extent to which, if inferiorised Irish ethnicity once clearly meant Catholic, Catholic might still mean Irish now. Does arguing for Catholic assimilation mean that Catholics are now acceptably and undeniably Scots, even if also Catholic?

Some Scottish theorists have been particularly disparaging about attempts to investigate or locate the meaning of Irish identity in both Britain and more specifically Scotland, beyond the first generation (Bruce et al., 2004). While Hickman's thesis of the myth of British homogeneity applies equally well to Scotland and of necessity incorporated the Scots, there seems room for arguing that alongside her thesis is space for contesting contemporary notions of specifically Scottish homogeneity.

Among those authors who have commented upon the assimilation of the Irish, Devine (1999) notes that at the same time as Catholic identity was becoming more established, Irish identity was too, affected by upsurges in Irish nationalism due to events occurring in Ireland, notably the campaign for Home Rule. By 1900 the Irish community is seen to have developed into a distinct (Catholic) community with a range of sporting, cultural, political, welfare and religious establishments. However, despite this distinctiveness, Devine (1999) cautions against taking this notion of separateness too far, as the Irish and Scots worked together and shared many common interests. Devine assesses that it was after the first world war that ties with Ireland weakened, at the point also that Catholic schools became part of the state system in 1918, and with the formation of the Irish Free State.

For Gallagher (1991) Irish assimilation occurred as the Irish gave political support to the Labour Party. However, Hickman (1995) criticises this view which privileges class over religious and national identities, rather than viewing this as part of a migrant community's response to their material conditions, as well as a response to the racial and sectarian hostilities encountered, and the difficulties in relations between the place where they had left and the place where they now lived.

It is interesting that the moment at which Devine and Gallagher view Irish assimilation as becoming closer, which they understand to be connected with a limited, partial Irish freedom from British rule, with strong support for Scottish mainstream working class identity politics, and with the achievement of a separate education system under Church control yet within the state system, coincides with the inter-war years when anti-Irish and anti-Catholic antagonism reached its pinnacle (Gallagher, 1987). As well as hostility fuelled by the measures regarding Catholic education, large scale unemployment was also considered a factor in interwar anti-Irish and anti-Catholic hostilities (Brown, 1993), unsurprising as employment was a key site in which the Irish had long been seen as threatening (Handley, 1964; Miles, 1982). This politicised anti-Catholic movement (Gallagher, 1987) took the form of sectarian gang warfare on the streets, mobilisation of anti-Catholic Protestant political parties, and an ongoing Church of Scotland campaign (Brown, 1993), to rid the country of the threat to the nation which the Irish were perceived to present (Handley, 1943; Miles, 1982; Miles and Dunlop, 1987), already noted.

Within the accounts of Devine and Gallagher regarding assimilation is the implication that increasing Catholic assimilation did not necessarily involve the loss of Catholic identity, but rather the development of a strong Catholic community, which lost its links with Ireland and Irishness. Thus the key means of distinguishing Irish identity in the nineteenth century became one of the key means of incorporation of Catholics into Scottish life. This view of assimilation is representative of one of the problems Brown suggests with regard to assimilation, that ‘researchers do not always resolve the tension between what might be termed ‘separateness’ and ‘assimilation’ (Brown, 1993:22), meaning that assimilation was understood by some as Catholics becoming involved in similar pursuits to the rest of the population, such as church-related activities and sports, while maintaining the separateness of these institutions.

The role of the church itself has been regarded as key to the assimilation of Catholics, by upholding a distinct Catholic community, while in Britain generally the Catholic Church had a strategic role in denying the Irishness of Catholics (Hickman, 1995). In this regard Brown (1993) notes that tensions in Scotland resulting from these different strategies for assimilation were evident in the Catholic Church’s moves to ban and then unban Irish organisations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

1.5.2 What is assimilation?

As well as Brown's (1993) contention about the lack of resolution in accounts between separateness and assimilation, it could be added that other difficulties are apparent in accounts of Catholic assimilation suggesting a general woolliness in approach to the concept. While there is general agreement that Catholics (and de facto additionally the Irish) have been assimilated, what assimilation means to different authors can only be deduced from the evidence they give to support its occurrence in the absence of its clear conceptualisation. So too, evidence of assimilation and factors explaining assimilation converge: the evidence becomes the explanation and explanation becomes evidence.

The problem of the concept of assimilation is noted by Hickman (1995) in her analysis of religion, class and identity, where she argues that it is 'illusory' to chart the point at any one time of a group between segregation and assimilation, and asserts that accounts of assimilation in relation to the Irish which look at communality and habits are, 'not an adequate way of grasping the complexity of Irish experience' (Hickman, 1995:233), nor demonstrate the eradication of ethnic Irish identity. Her account therefore is at odds with most commentators on Scotland who have assumed assimilation on the basis of broad patterns of behaviours but without examining the meanings attached to identities.

Recent research and events in Scotland, detailed later, query the positive spin taken on the social class position of Catholics; and the Irish Catholic health record already documented, and the continuing debate on the existence, nature and extent of sectarianism, would suggest that Hickman's comments in this regard have substance, and that a more complex approach is required to understanding assumptions of assimilation and experience of religious identities.

In this context assertions of assimilation may seem premature, devoid as they are of analysis of how people understand and constitute (and have constituted) their identities in everyday life, to be carried out later. However, while it can be questioned whether theorists have revealed assimilation, their analyses nonetheless point to important features of social life which no doubt impact upon and shape the experiences of Catholics of Irish origin, and in so doing, affect how identity is constructed, understood and experienced, including in relation to health.

There are at least two overlapping approaches to assimilation, the first one which assesses with pride the accomplishment of a disadvantaged community in developing resources, largely through its religion, which helped it to get on its feet and achieve material success and political power against the odds; and the other perspective which posits changes in the social position of Catholics over time as evidence of the achievement of the Scottish nation in accommodating Catholics within this sense of nationhood, largely by pointing out that Catholics no longer differ much in terms of views, practices, politics and material circumstances from the rest of the Scottish population. In the first of these types of account Catholicism is perceived as increasingly effecting assimilation, where it was once clearly perceived as a barrier to assimilation and a key threat to Scottish national homogeneity. In this type of account, assimilation means that Catholics have acquired, through education and active community involvement, social mobility over time, while maintaining a distinct religious identity. This type of account focuses on the attainment of status and equality as permissible while retaining a Catholic identity.

In the second type of account, decreasing disparities in particular experiences between Catholics and non-Catholics in terms of political allegiances, evidence of intermarriage, attitudes to moral issues, social class, etc., are used to justify the application of the assimilation thesis, within a view which regards increasingly common attitudes and behaviours among Catholics and non-Catholics as evidence of the lack of real differences in terms of religion: that there is no longer much to distinguish between religious groupings, and that this is evidence of the assimilation of the Catholic minority.

Part of this account also suggests that a greater equalising of social class position illustrates that sectarian discrimination is a thing of the past (an interesting twist while arguing that education rather than discrimination explains past social class disadvantage), and that if it did exist it lost its ability to survive when Scotland's economy was transformed due to multinational investment and the expansion of the public sector after the second world war. Within this account much of Catholic social class disadvantage was eradicated by improvements in Catholic education which gave Catholics the credentials they needed for access to better jobs. From this stance, the prevalence of intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants is evidence of religious and sectarian barriers in social life being broken down. Assertions that sectarianism in football represents a microcosm of wider relations

are here countered by a view which regards football violence as merely a ritualistic display of working class masculinity.

The first view is essentially class-based, while the second might be said to focus more on culture. In the class-based view, assimilation is felt to have occurred as Catholics became more actively involved in working class politics and involvement in sports and trade unions, while becoming increasingly socially mobile due to enhanced education and changes in the employment structure. In the same vein, Smout (1986) summarises this Irish assimilation as evidenced by their, 'joining the trade unions, who first blamed them for coming over and taking Scottish jobs, by forming football clubs (albeit often rivals to Protestant ones), and by ultimately joining political parties with other working men' (Smout, 1986:248).

The culture-based view is that the distinctiveness of Catholics in terms of social class, allegiances and practices has disappeared over time. Devine, referring to the earliest eighteenth century Irish migrants in Scotland, argued that the 'speed of their assimilation' was 'striking' (Devine, 1999:488), and largely attributed this to intermarriage and the lack of priests and chapels in Scotland (see Handley, 1943 too), which is contrasted with the period after the Famine when there was a massive expansion in church-building, the creation of church-based institutions, and increases in numbers of priests to match the increases in the Irish immigrant population. Interestingly, Devine's argument about speedy early Catholic assimilation has resonances in the culture-based view of assimilation already noted, except that now in the twentieth century it is largely ascribed to secularisation, as well as intermarriage, and having the effect of dissolving the distinctiveness of Catholics.

1.5.3 An assessment of the evidence to date supporting assimilation

There can be little dispute that by the beginning of the twenty first century, that Catholics have achieved upward social mobility in Scotland, one feature of accounts of their assimilation. During the nineteenth century, the Irish were a predominantly working class group, working in unskilled and semi-skilled employment and fulfilling the needs of Scottish capital as a reserve army of labour (Miles, 1982) including both the migrant Irish and their children (Handley, 1964). While Irish Catholics predominated in unskilled and semi-skilled work, Irish Protestants fared better: they were able to use skills acquired in the

Ulster economy, and, particularly in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Irish Protestants were able to transfer skills from Belfast to Clydeside shipyards. Although not all Irish Protestants were well off (Walker, 1991), their skills ensured a better social class position than Catholics, and their religion ensured that their employment status was enhanced by anti-Catholic discriminatory practices.

Religious and ethnic identification and a common hostility towards the Catholic Irish 'Other' formed the basis for exclusionary practices in access to material advantage. Gallagher (1991) notes that in the nineteenth century, the Irish Catholics were able to get jobs in mills and mines but were unable to get jobs in engineering by lack of skill, being excluded from shipbuilding by the Orange Order and from skilled trades by the craft unions. Being Irish Catholic was essentially a classed identity. Apart from a general anti-Catholicism, apparent in the concern of the Church of Scotland during the interwar years, there was a connected concern that intermarriage of Catholics and Protestants would break down not only sectarian barriers, but also occupational ones (Smout, 1986).

Becoming socially mobile was therefore considered essential to, as well as indicative of, Catholic assimilation (Devine, 1999). Catholic support for Labour has been one of the main ways in which Catholic assimilation has been judged (Brown, 1993) and according to Gallagher (1987), this support 'set them on the road to assimilation' (cited in Brown, 1993:350). Social class has therefore been strongly linked with Irish Catholic identity in the past, and some suggestion made that even among Catholics, there has been concern about the actual progress of Irish Catholics towards mobility (Handley, 1943; Brown, 1993). However, as Brown (1993) has noted, the degree and speed of assimilation is affected by the reactions of the host society, and arguably, the extent to which the Catholic population could assimilate, was governed by the extent to which exclusionary practices in employment and the wider society operated against them. Part of any assessment of whether assimilation of Irish Catholics has been complete, would therefore involve not only an examination of any differences and meanings attributed to the social class position of Catholics today, but also an examination of whether hostility and exclusionary practices operate today in different areas of social life, including in the realm of employment. For both purposes, a close account of job histories can provide material which has so far been lacking in both Scottish and broader British research, and this is a further task undertaken in this thesis.

Among those who have focused on how Catholics in Scotland have lost their distinctiveness, as measured by voting patterns, intermarriage, church attendance, feelings about national identity etc., reference is made to the present-day apparent and increasing similarities between Catholics and non-Catholics, which are argued to follow both overall trends in secularisation, and a tendency among those who continue to identify as Catholic increasingly to disregard specifically Catholic teachings.

The evidence in support of these changes in behaviour is important to state, even if it may be argued that it does not represent Catholic assimilation *per se*. Changes in practices of Catholics during the twentieth century were not confined to Scotland, but rather in large part were due to increasingly liberal interpretations of doctrine as the Church itself and its members struggled with wider social change, most notably since the 1960s. Some of this evidence of change over time is illustrated below, and where relevant is placed in a wider context of change among Catholic communities in Britain.

1.5.3.1 *Fertility change*

Data from England show that among the Irish Catholic migrant population in the 1970s, Irish Catholic birth rate fell markedly during the first half of the 1970s, suggesting that Catholic women were clearly using contraception (Caulfield and Bhat, 1981), which is supported by smaller surveys on use of different methods of contraception among Catholics, mothers born in Ireland, and others, from 1967 to 1975 (Woolf, 1971; Bone, 1973; Cartwright, 1978). These surveys showed high rates of Catholic women using artificial as well as 'natural' forms of contraception. Data from a longer and earlier period in Scotland show that even though the Catholic percentage of live births increased from 1901 until 1975, from 14.3% in 1901/5 to 21.7% in 1970/5, the ratio of Catholic to national rates narrowed over this time from 1.5 at the beginning of the century to 1.3 in the 1970s (Darragh, 1979), reflected also in birth/marriage rates over the 74 year period.

Darragh (1979) argues that while overall Catholic birth/marriage rates remained higher, and religion is likely to be a factor, increasing reductions in the Catholic birth rate from the turn of the century suggest other factors influencing birth rates, in common with the rest of the population. Iain Paterson (2000) cites evidence that the combined fertility rate in 'highly Catholic' areas was 21% higher than the Scottish average in 1957, reduced to 13% higher in 1964 and to 5% by 1977 (I.R. Paterson, 2000).

It is important to note that by the 1960s, Catholic doctrine on birth control was tackled by a Commission, which resulted in the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* in 1968, following on from the Second Vatican Council, which started in 1962. It is often said that by the time of *Humanae Vitae*, which prohibited the use of artificial methods of birth control, but not 'natural' means, many Catholics felt that birth control was an issue for families to decide, and evidence clearly suggests that Catholics in Britain adopted a range of contraceptive methods.

These changes prompt questions about the meaning and value of fertility to religious groups in Glasgow today, and with these questions come issues about the management and economic welfare of large families to which this study can contribute. These questions form part of the family and gender issues which are explored in this thesis.

1.5.3.2 *Marriage, divorce and mixed marriages*

Catholic marriages in Scotland steadily increased from 8.9% of all marriages in 1855/60 to 16.5% in 1961/1970 reflecting overall increases in the Catholic population. However, despite Church doctrine, those married in Catholic churches in the 1970s appeared to be as likely to divorce as others, and to do so sooner than other denominations (Darragh, 1979).

Darragh (1979) examined five dioceses which accounted for 90% of Catholic marriages in Scotland during the 10 year period from 1966-77. He found that the percentage of mixed marriages of total Catholic marriages increased from one third to one half during this time. For Glasgow, the percentage of mixed marriages of Catholic marriages increased from 28% in 1966 to 44% in 1977; while figures for England and Wales (65% in 1977) and Edinburgh (63%) showed much higher rates.

Bruce and others (Bruce and Glendinning, 2003; Bruce et al., 2004) provide later figures showing that intermarriage is related to age group: among older Catholic respondents aged 65-74 years, 94% are married to another Catholic; this falls to 86% for those aged 55-64 years and among those aged 25-34 years, they claim that more than half of Catholics are married to non-Catholics, using data from the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2001. Using other data from a Glasgow survey (NFO Social Research, 2003), they note that 80% of older Glaswegian (aged 65-74 years, born 1937 or before) Catholics are married to other Catholics, 69% of those 55-64 years are married to other Catholics, and among the

youngest group, 40% of Catholics with spouses have non-Catholic partners (Bruce et al., 2004), again showing that as time goes on, Catholics who marry increasingly marry Protestants.

In the light of these data, it is important for this study to explore the relation of marriage to religious and ethnic identity and to health, and in particular intermarriage, and the extent to which it signifies patterns of assimilation.

1.5.3.3 Catholic Church attendance and membership and schooling

While in the past conversion to Catholicism would have accounted for some Catholic membership, even in the light of high rates of intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants noted above, according to Darragh (1979), adult conversions play no significant part in the Catholic Church in Scotland, which suggests that within mixed marriages Catholic partners have little influence (or interest) in converting their partners, and raises the question whether intermarriage is a factor in the secularisation of Catholics.

On church attendance, Iain Paterson's (2000) figures on data derived from The Catholic Directory of 1998/9 for 1997, suggest that the proportion of Catholics attending weekly Mass has fallen by to 33% in Scotland, with weekly attendance lowest in Glasgow (30%) despite Glasgow having the largest number of Catholics, a fall of about 30% in nearly forty years. He also provides data from the West of Scotland Twenty-07 Study (Macintyre et al., 1989) which show that 30% of 23 year old Catholics attend weekly Mass, similar to the overall proportion in the derived from The Catholic Directory. Although he mentions the problems with comparing the data from these two sources, he concludes that there is unlikely to be any age-effect in operation, and assumes that decline in Catholic Church attendance cuts across all age groups. However, other data, which do permit comparison by age group, query this assumption.

Recent data (Bruce and Glendinning, 2003) show that among younger Catholics, 25% attend weekly, while among older age groups, the percentage attending rises to 65% (Bruce et al., 2004), a cohort effect showing increasing secularisation, but one which has affected other denominations more quickly and more critically. Younger Catholics now represent more than half of all young churchgoing Scots (Bruce et al., 2004).

Given the rate of intermarriage and increasing secularisation, it might be expected that numbers attending Scotland's Catholic schools would fall. There is evidence from the 1970s that some Catholics did send their children to non-denominational schools (Darragh, 1979), and Bruce et al. (2004) reveal evidence from two surveys showing that while 47% of Catholics in 1992 favoured the phasing out of Catholic schools, this figure had risen to 59% in 2001. From a Glasgow survey conducted in 2001 (NFO Social Research, 2003) Bruce et al. (2004) cite evidence that while older Catholics are largely in favour of Catholic schooling, younger Catholics are less so, and Protestants of all ages do not support separate Catholic schooling.

How far religious differences remain, therefore, and how far they influence differences in family and communal life which can affect health, are additional issues for this thesis.

1.5.3.4 Voting behaviours and social attitudes

Bruce et al. (2004) provide evidence that on a range of moral and ethical issues traditionally associated with religious views, although religion has an effect on views, it is usually less important than age, class and education.

With regard to voting behaviour, Catholics overwhelmingly support Labour in Scotland and do so even when class is controlled for. In descending order, political preferences of Catholics can be assessed as supporting Labour (51%), SNP (5%), Liberal Democrats (4%) and Conservatives (0%) and 34% who did not vote, which contrasts with the political preferences of Scottish Protestants: Labour (36%), Liberal Democrats (14%), SNP (12%), Conservatives (12%) and 22% who did not vote. They note that among younger Catholics these patterns are diminishing, although younger Catholics overwhelmingly support Labour. Bruce et al. (2004) interpret this distinctiveness of the Catholic vote as not divisive, and as showing that Catholics are 'hyper-Scottish' (Bruce et al., 2004:102), supporting as they do the party which most Scots now support. This analysis is a fascinating piece of ethnocentrism: the original reasons for Catholic support for Labour are overlooked, as are the strong, but dwindling connections between Scottishness, Protestantism and Conservatism. Rather than the Scots becoming less Scottish, those of Irish descent are regarded as becoming more Scottish. Thus the historical roots of the strength of Catholic identification with Labour, which includes the Irish Catholic rejection

of Conservative Unionist politics in Britain, as well as in Scotland, and derives from ethnic/national origins as well as historical class allegiances, are not considered.

In later data chapters, aspects of some of these changing features of Catholic life will be analysed in relation to how they may implicate Irish Catholic identity in health risk. However, before that analysis is laid out, it is important to examine other evidence not addressed already, which appears to query the assimilation thesis. This evidence, some of which emerged prior to the 1990s, presents a profile of Catholic experience in Scotland which contradicts some of the arguments raised earlier to support Catholic and Irish Catholic assimilation. It was brought to light, perhaps tellingly, as the new Scottish parliament was inaugurated, and opened up a debate which many academics in Scotland had assumed was largely over.

1.5.4 Querying the assimilation thesis

In 1999 the debate about sectarianism was re-ignited when the famous Scottish Catholic composer James MacMillan gave a lecture at the Edinburgh International Festival, in which he called sectarianism ‘Scotland’s shame’ (MacMillan, 2000). This led to heated media debate, and a collection of essays of the same name, edited by Devine (2000).

During the last few years, discussion of the extent, nature and seriousness of sectarianism in Scotland has continued. Public, political and academic debates have addressed evidence of sectarian killings, football violence and everyday bigotry, as well as data on the relatively poor social class and health status of Scotland’s Catholics. The Scottish parliament, in considering what might be done to address sectarianism, opted to include religion questions in the Census of 2001, which would get detailed up-to-date information on the social position of Scotland’s Catholics (Walls, 2001). Since then, legislation has been introduced to tackle sectarian hatred, and following consultation with a range of organisations and public figures (Scottish Executive, 2003), many initiatives funded to promote religious tolerance.

In 1999 most Scottish social scientists appeared wrong footed while the issue of sectarianism was hotly debated in the press, since they had largely accepted the view that anti-Catholic sectarianism was a thing of the past. This view was for the most part based on simple tables showing social class by religion (L. Paterson, 2000; Rosie and McCrone, 2000). *On the same data*, however, sharp and significant differences in social class

between Catholics and others were shown when more complex analyses by age and region were done (Williams and Walls, 2000). Only after this work and that of Lindsay Paterson (2000) that year, did such breakdowns begin to be standard on survey data concerning this issue.

Commenting on significant social class differences found among the older age group, Lindsay Paterson has argued for the influence of educational levels, while also noting that, among this group, 'Catholics' higher educational qualifications have not always been fully rewarded in the labour market' (L. Paterson, 2000:364). This latter comment echoes Payne and Ford's work from the 1970s, when they suggested active and passive discrimination as potential contributors to the lack of Catholic social mobility (Payne and Ford, 1977:94). Other work has raised concern that among young Catholics who left school in the early 1980s, 'educational advantage...did not buy them jobs' (Willms, 1992:208).

All of this work suggested that not only were there unresolved issues about the social class of Catholics, and the possibility that sectarianism might be a factor in Catholic social class disadvantage, but that younger as well as older age groups were not beyond concern as had previously been suggested. Evidence of mid-career faltering among Catholics (Williams and Walls, 2000), pointed to the possibility, originally mooted by Payne et al. (1979), that organisational processes might be a key to understanding problems of Catholic social mobility.

While it was clear that Census data would be invaluable in providing comprehensive data which could be analysed in detail, and perhaps settle the dispute among academics for good (Williams and Walls, 2000; Walls, 2001), qualitative experience of discrimination was a clear gap in the evidence needed to assess the existence and nature of discrimination in people's lives, and something which this project sought to remedy. Assessing career histories (a feature of the interviews employed in this study, addressed in the Methods Chapter) also allowed exploration of the ways in which religious identity affected employment over time. Some of the findings from this study were published (Walls and Williams, 2003, 2004) and are reported in more detail in Chapter Six.

One of these papers prompted a joint rebuttal from a number of authors mentioned earlier (Bruce et al., 2005), who had argued previously that Catholics were no longer distinctive

from other 'Scots' and faced no discrimination, and these authors sought to undermine an analysis of evidence of anti-Catholic discrimination in employment (Walls and Williams, 2003). In their critique of the paper these authors both misrepresented and misunderstood key aspects of the analysis, and instead offered evidence from two recent Scottish surveys and 2001 Census material, which they claimed supported their contention that sectarianism is a myth. While the Census data used were not analysed using standard classifications and showed other deficiencies of categorisation, the conclusions reached were not demonstrated and there were evident problems with the authors' interpretations of their data on Catholic views of the existence and experiences of discrimination. The authors generally chose to interpret survey findings of beliefs about and experience of discrimination as showing either such small numbers as to be of no great significance, or as revealing of the power of (in their view, erroneous) shared perceptions. This paper is important in highlighting the contentiousness of the issue of sectarianism, even among academics, and the ways in which evidence is produced to bolster claims made earlier in the absence of evidence (see Bruce's claims in – The Herald, 1999, August 10th).

These events meant that social class and sectarian discrimination had once more become explicitly intertwined, and challenged the view that Catholics had been assimilated. However the debate on sectarianism, which emerged from the late 1990s, was not confined solely to an appraisal of social class issues and how sectarianism might be implicated in this. In support of their contention that sectarianism is a myth, Bruce et al. (2004, 2005) gave the same evidence they had previously used in order to support a thesis of Catholic assimilation – the extent of intermarriage, lack of cultural distinctiveness among Scotland's Catholics, the lack of political force of the Orange Order and the unproblematic nature of football violence - arguments similar to those Bruce had used in a number of contexts before (Bruce, 1985, 1988, 1998), while at the same time they disparaged survey evidence showing that a majority of Catholics feel that sectarianism exists and large proportions claim to have suffered it. Apart from arguing that sectarianism is a myth, Bruce has gone further to account for this myth and claimed that the, 'decline in sectarianism in Scotland was driven mainly by the lack of opportunity to act in a sectarian manner' (Bruce, 1998:141). It is impossible to think of a situation where such an argument would be proffered to claim that racism had ceased. This has been in a context where, until very recently, sectarianism in Scotland, unlike racism in Britain, was not considered an offence in the eyes of the law.

The analyses of Bruce in particular miss a number of serious points: sectarianism in everyday life cannot be deduced merely from patterns of marriage and employment while accounts of experience are dismissed as evidence of false consciousness. There have been a number of clearly sectarian murders in Scotland which Bruce et al. (2004) catalogue and dismiss partly as over-exaggerated and partly as too few, and their analysis fails to reveal any understanding of the myriad, routine ways in which religious identity emerges in everyday life which continue to locate Catholics as 'Other', with the attendant knowledge that this location may be invested with meanings and practices which serve to remind Catholics that they are not quite Scottish and prey to possible social exclusions. Bruce's, in particular, incomprehension of routine (as well as structural aspects of) bigotry can be deduced from his remarks that he knows what sectarianism means: 'I know real sectarianism when I see it. That is when the house gets burnt down if you marry someone of a different religion' (Scotland on Sunday, 2004, October 10th).

While this perspective is interesting in the light of Bruce's denials that sectarian murders represent real evidence of sectarianism, what it shows is that defining sectarianism in such a narrow way by extreme actions dismisses much of the reality of most people's understanding and experiences of sectarianism as noted in various surveys including the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2001 (NFO Social Research, 2003; Bruce et al., 2004). Another approach of Bruce's is to compare the situation in Scotland with that in Northern Ireland, the latter situation 'proving' that Scotland has no real problems. However, Bruce also appears to misunderstand that most people in Northern Ireland regard their society as sectarian, not only because of evidence of killings, but also because in the contexts of their daily lives, their identities may evoke responses which give a significance to these identities, which may be followed through with discriminatory and excluding actions.

Public figures as well as the public at large appear willing to accept the view that sectarianism is an unwelcome reality in Scottish life. Bruce's assertion that sectarianism is a myth has this year been directly attacked by a member of the Scottish Parliament with the words, 'Pretending sectarianism does not exist is not a constructive contribution to improving this aspect of Scottish life' (Gorrie, 2004). More recently Bruce has re-iterated his view in the press and argued against the 'unnecessary' introduction of classes teaching children about tolerance and anti-sectarianism (Scotland on Sunday, 2004, October 10th).

1.5.4.1 *Taking a broader view of sectarianism and identity*

Part of the task of social scientists would seem to be to locate the contexts in which bigotry and sectarianism emerge in Scottish social life. One key area connected with sectarianism has been its place in football allegiances and rivalries. While Bruce et al. (2004) regard football violence and the prevalence of sectarian chanting as merely a feature of working class masculinity, and 'a boy's game', others have argued that football is a key site for the expression of ethnic/religious identities which act as mirror for wider society.

In the 1990s the links between identity, religion and sport were analysed by a number of theorists, and football rivalries seen as reflecting, not perpetuating, wider sectarian divisions (Murray, 1984; Finn, 1994a; Jarvie and Walker, 1994; Bradley, 1995). Part of the explanation for football as a site for conflict, lies in the Irish immigrant response to poverty and social exclusion during the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to Finn (1994b), the foundation of Catholic clubs in Scotland indicated a willingness among Irish Catholics to participate in Scottish life, and to demonstrate their competence to the disdainful majority community, while holding out the belief that anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudices against them would lessen if they had sporting contact with Protestants. And Wilson (1988) has contended that the name 'Celtic' was chosen because it had Scottish as well as Irish connotations, suggesting that the naming of the club would have some kind of assimilative force. In reality this does not appear to have happened.

Others have argued that sport reflects the socio-political nature of the wider society (Jarvie, 1991) and that football is more than just a game, but rather a symbol of Scottish nationality (Bairner, 1994). For Bairner, one's choice of team is 'directly related to the histories of Celtic and Rangers and to the persistence of religious division in Scotland of which those histories are part' (Bairner, 1994:18). For these authors, football is clearly not just a game, but rather a key site for the expression of identities. Much of the empirical work on football has been done by Bradley (1994; 1995; 1996b), who regards supporting Celtic as part of a repertoire of actions which allow people of Irish origin in Scotland space to enact their ethnic identities, although Bradley claims that Irishness has become 'both private and reduced' (Bradley, 1994:15).

Apart from supporting Celtic, Bradley (1994) claims that other displays of Irish identity are evidenced by St. Patrick's Day celebrations, giving children Irish names and holding onto particular feelings about the Irish political situation. While these aspects of identity are important, they take as narrow a view of how identity or culture might be 'read' as the cultural assimilationists, and as some sociologists of health mentioned later. However, Bradley's analysis does suggest that the meaning of identity and experience is important if one is to locate the complexity of Irish experience referred to by Hickman (1995) earlier. Bradley's account is clearly in dispute with those who claim that the Irish have been assimilated, and reveals that ethnic identity may have a meaning in Scotland which is separate from religion, while also marking religious origins, and the view of Hickman that a religious identity may be rejected as an ethnic one is adhered to (Hickman, 1995).

1.5.4.2 Religion, ethnicity and identity

What the 'sectarian' nature of football brings back in is the importance of ethnic identity, largely overlooked in accounts of the assimilation of Catholics. Locating identity as football allegiance queries a key tenet of much of the work of assimilationists, that religious practice, rather than religious identification (by self and others), is of primary relevance. While Bruce and Glendinning (2003) argue that falling religiosity is evidence of a decline in sectarianism, what is perhaps more relevant is why religious identification persists in Scotland as religiosity declines.

Bruce and Glendinning (2003) have shown that half of Church of Scotland identifiers go to church less than once a year and that the proportion of Scots attending a weekly service has fallen from 24% to 15% since 1972 (this figure includes Catholics), showing that most Scots have no connection with the churches. While these data show important trends in churchgoing, they are clearly not the whole story. They need to be assessed alongside 2001 Census data which reveal that 86% of those brought up as Catholic still identify as Catholic, presumably in the absence of weekly attendance among many, while 82% of those claiming to have been brought up as Church of Scotland still claim current Church of Scotland membership (Registrar General for Scotland, 2003).

This summary of the position of Scotland's Catholics, and of views about their assimilation, is relevant to much of the later analysis. In starting with the evidence that Catholics in Scotland have clearly not been assimilated in terms of health, the evidence to

date of general Irish Catholic assimilation has been assessed and queried. The contentious nature of the debate on sectarianism has been discussed as it has relevance to the assimilation thesis and points to the continuing salience of religious identification in everyday life, which is increasingly detached from any relevance to religious practice. The detachment of religious practice from religious identity in much of the research also opens the way for an examination of how religious identity is constructed in everyday life, as well as locating the overlapping of religious with ethnic identities, as a number of authors have suggested, and others as vehemently scorned (Bruce et al., 2004). The arguments so far suggest that understanding how identity is linked to health necessitates evaluation of how identity relates to culture as much as how it relates to structure, and this includes analysing the impact of externally defined meanings of identity as much as any impact of religious/ethnic self-identification on health.

As is discussed in the next section, variations of this approach are now becoming increasingly conceived of as ways to move the field of ethnicity and health forward, although this work is still mainly at a theoretical rather than empirical level. The focus on the meaning of identity also addresses the evident shortfall in evidence of the experiences of Irish Catholics, made invisible in definitions of their situation derived from broader structural analyses, which do not permit linkages of structural processes with lived experiences.

As was noted in relation to the confusions attached to the meanings of assimilation, where selective descriptions became their explanation, so too, the nascent area of ethnicity and health has suffered from the lack of an approach which moves beyond descriptions, for the descriptive approach, falling short of explanation, leaves room for 'explanations' and interpretations grounded in stereotypes and poor social science. As was noted earlier, this has been a particular feature of much research on the Irish, and in part due to their wider, enforced political invisibility. In the next section, the relevance of general explanations for disparities in the health of ethnic minorities are discussed, with particular reference to how these relate to research on the Irish. Following on from this a clearer case is made for the research approach taken in this project, which places identity centre-stage.

1.6 Theorising Irish ethnicity and health: taking lessons on board

There are a number of explanations given for ethnic health inequalities, summarised by Smaje (1995) as artefact explanations, material explanations, cultural explanations, social selection, the effects of migration, the effects of racism and genetic explanations. Williams (1992), and Kelleher and Hillier (1996), have systematically assessed these explanations in relation to the Irish. Kelleher and Hillier (1996) argue for the importance of material factors as contributory, as well as for the importance of the influence of culture and exploring the issue of Irish identity in England, while Williams (1992) analysing both the historical and contemporary records on Irish health in Britain, reveals that notions of heredity which locate the problem of Irish health squarely with the Irish, are not only inadequate but also revealing of cultural racism. Williams (1992) shows that Irish assimilation in health or otherwise does not explain Irish health either in the past or today, but rather, that examining the disadvantaged minority environment of the Irish is the place to look for explanation. Further, modelling of explanations suggests that patterns of dominance and exclusion by the majority culture are a key factor, which now needs investigating (Williams and Ecob, 1999). What is missing, therefore, are the processes whereby identity, minority disadvantage and cultural factors may be linked. From this view, cultural factors are located not as something inherently Irish which the Irish bring with them, as in nineteenth century accounts, but rather how culture is dynamic and shaped within a new environment, and itself affected by wider structural aspects of disadvantage and experience of discrimination.

The attempt to marry the material and cultural aspects of experience and to address how these link with ethnic identity, has been developed in different ways by Smaje, Nazroo, and Nazroo with Karlsen. Smaje (1996) argues that the 'the well-worn debate about the competing claims of 'material' versus 'cultural' accounts of ethnic patterns in health has outlived its usefulness' (Smaje, 1996:154). Nazroo (1998), while highly critical of how cultural accounts of ethnic health in the past have amounted to pathologising ethnic minorities, with socio-economic factors therefore losing their explanatory role (having been 'explained away' to leave culture or ethnicity), also argues for bringing culture back in again by exploring the contextual nature of culture and ethnicity and how this links to other identities of class and gender.

Smaje's (1996) position is a much more straightforward one than Nazroo's (1998). He rightly argues that the omission of cultural explanations is purposely ignoring the importance of cultural practices in both promoting and damaging health, while arguing that a broader view of culture needs to be taken, rather than the previous reliance on certain lifestyle factors as indicative of culture. Smaje (1996) equates ethnicity with culture and argues for the importance of understanding ethnicity and how this (as culture) relates to socio-economic status in different groups. In understanding the 'social consequences' of ethnicity, Smaje (1996) seeks to understand ethnicity as both identity (culture) and structure, and in so doing he argues, by understanding how ethnic identities are constructed and maintained, that we may begin to understand the ways this might affect health.

Nazroo (1998), on the other hand, drawing on the work of Smaje (1996), proposes addressing ethnicity as structure, which includes an exploration of the links between ethnicity, class and health, and also examines ethnicity as identity, which is more concerned with how cultural traditions and ethnic affiliation might be related to health. Nazroo (1998) argues that only by exploring ethnicity as identity (culture) can one explore the relationship of ethnicity as structure. However, as is noted later, in addressing ethnicity as identity empirically using survey data, Karlsen and Nazroo (2000, 2002) conclude that ethnicity as identity is not related to health, although health is related to ethnicity as structure (both in terms of class experience and experience of racism). The problems with how Karlsen and Nazroo came to this conclusion are discussed later.

In discussing the impact of structural factors on health, Smaje (1996) and Nazroo (1998) are broadly in agreement with many others about the crucial importance of addressing structural and material factors in any account of ethnic health. Both are in agreement on the inadequacy of epidemiological approaches to health, which have merely treated socio-economic status as a confounding variable. However, where Nazroo (1998) argues for the importance of the need to understand the impact of ecological effects, a lifetime perspective and the impact of racism on socio-economic position, Smaje (1996) appears to go further than Nazroo in arguing for an explication of the processes which might reveal how material factors may influence ethnic health, a more general problem of the under-theorisation of the links between class and health (Scambler and Higgs, 1999).

Additionally, where Nazroo gives racism a key role in how structural issues affect health, which deduces much of ethnic social disadvantage from racism, Smaje's model, while also

recognising the importance of the direct and indirect effects of racism on health, and crucially the importance of past, as well as present racism on socio-economic patterns and racial meanings, appears more helpfully to locate racism as part of the experience of ethnicity as identity, as much as structure, and therefore more effectively weds the various strands of identity/ethnicity/culture/structure as inextricably inter-related in the production of health, in much the same way as is suggested by the specifically Irish findings of Williams and Ecob (1999) quoted earlier.

In contrast, Nazroo (1998), while rightfully taking issue with previous attempts to pathologise ethnic minority cultures, and attempting to provide a more useful theoretical approach to health which attempts sensitively to account for both material and cultural factors on health, in practice with Karlsen, inadvertently reduces structure and culture to an unnecessary dualism by locating racism as part of structure, rather than as also a part of culture (Karlsen and Nazroo, 2000, 2002). Smaje's approach, following Bourdieu (1977), appears rather to regard 'identity and structure as dynamic and mutually constitutive' (Smaje, 1996:163). What becomes Karlsen and Nazroo's dichotomised approach therefore, even as it attempts to overcome criticisms of epidemiological approaches (Sheldon and Parker, 1992; Ahmad, 1993), is not adequately sociological, and in attempting not to pathologise ethnic identity, has the outcome of reducing culture to a narrow set of behaviours, and meanings of ethnicity (in spite of arguing for the fluid contextual nature of identity), to something apparently unaffected by racism, which leads to the conclusion that ethnicity as identity is not related to health. This is best illustrated in the empirical work of Karlsen and Nazroo.

In two largely similar papers, Karlsen and Nazroo (2000, 2002) show the results of an attempt to test the relationship to health of ethnicity as constituted by identity versus ethnicity as structure, using data from the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities. Recognising perhaps that quantitative methodology may not be best suited to explore 'processes' and 'experiences' and 'meanings' of ethnicity and the issue of 'agency', Karlsen and Nazroo do acknowledge 'the contextual nature of ethnic identity makes it hard to operationalise in a quantitative study' (Karlsen and Nazroo, 2002:5), and then proceed to attempt this operationalisation. They use factor analysis of, 'questionnaire items relating to ancestry, ethnic affiliation, lifestyle, experience and perception of racism, and social and community involvement' (Karlsen and Nazroo, 2002:6). Apart from the factor analysis of

items relating to racism, all the other factors were assumed to be linked to ethnicity as identity, whereas racism was related to identity as structure. Dimensions of ethnic identity were tested for importance and consistency across different groups, and analyses conducted by age, class and other variables, leading to the not new conclusion that ethnicity is influenced by both external and internal definitions. After analysing these definitions against a variable on self-reported health and some specific health conditions, the authors concluded that 'ethnicity as identity does not appear to influence health' (Karlsen and Nazroo, 2002:18), unlike racism and class.

The problems with this analysis are probably apparent. Operationalising ethnicity in this way does not move much beyond stereotypes of culture, but rather reduces culture to a fixed set of descriptions and behaviours which does not illuminate how ethnicity is produced and maintained, and misses, 'more finely grained processes' (Smaje, 1996:159) of ethnic cultural formation. Additionally, operationalising racism and deciding that racism is only a feature of ethnicity as structure leads to a tautological conclusion, made possible by the methodological stance taken (and therefore artefactual), that it is structure, not culture which is linked to poor health. It is difficult not to feel that in attempting to redress some of the worst aspects of interpretation of ethnic minority health found in epidemiology, that Karlsen and Nazroo have merely reproduced something similar. Rather than really addressing the complexity of culture and the impact of cultural processes which may enhance or damage health, they have accomplished the task of reducing ethnic identity, as it affects health, to class and racism, and written off the possibility of examining culture (and the impact of racism on culture), in much the same way as epidemiologists have controlled out class in the past. It suggests, even though the authors might say otherwise, that culture is defined independently of other social experiences centred around class, gender, and racism' (Brah, 1992:129). This work suggests that while progress has been made towards theorising ethnicity and health, progress with identifying the full empirical expression of the theoretical constructs has not yet followed.

Overcoming some of the problems of the pathologising of culture, and of excluding racism as a key component in ethnicity as identity, is more likely to yield results if approached using qualitative methods, for these locate qualitatively the detailed empirical meaning of culture and how this interplays with ethnicity and wider structural experiences. Analysing

how identities are constructed and maintained in different broad cultural contexts and how this links to perceived ethnic cultures and to health seems important in this regard.

As is noted in later analyses, there is as much cultural similarity as dissimilarity among people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, and although the focus is on locating cultural and structural *differences* which may explain poor health, increasing similarities in culture may not represent a decreasing importance of distinctive identities, but rather suggest the need for greater depth of analysis of nuanced cultural differences and the complexity of ethnic belonging as constantly in flux. Smaje's (1996) theoretical position seems adequate to this view and supportive of the view that ethnic health needs to be explored through the use of qualitative methods.

Before moving on to address how this project explored the main research question - in what ways social factors linked to recognised health risks relate to Catholic versus Protestant identity and Irish versus Scottish origin in Glasgow, it is important to summarise how structural and cultural factors in Irish Catholic identity may be linked to health, as a background to the analysis of later chapters.

1.6.1 Structural factors and Irish Catholic health

These explanations give a direct role to socio-economic and environmental conditions in producing ill health in the general (Townsend and Davidson, 1982) as well as among ethnic minority populations. Much of Irish and Catholic health disadvantage in different locations and among different generations of Irish people has been thus 'explained' by controlling for social class (Marmot et al., 1984; Harding et al., 1999; Abbotts et al., 2001), although importantly, not all of Irish health disadvantage is reducible to social class factors. With regard to this study, an effort is made to address how socio-economic factors produce ill health among Irish Catholics as well as how their experience of material determinants of health comes to differ from the rest of the population (Smaje, 1995).

General work on class differences in health has shown that class is linked to different understandings of health and different ways of talking about health (Blair, 1993), which go beyond the assumed material effects of class itself. However, there is a lack of data on how different ethnic groups from different classes, including the Irish, share or diverge from understandings of health found in the general population, and particularly there is a dearth

of qualitative data on how people from minority populations experience social class and opportunities for social mobility, specifically as these relate to their minority status (Davey Smith et al., 2000). Although quantitative examination of patterns of social mobility among minorities is important in assessing group career progression, evidence suggests that there are problems with mobility among Irish-born in England and Irish Catholics in Scotland (Payne et al., 1979; Research Development and Statistics Directorate, 2001), although high rates of mobility have been found particularly among those with two Irish-born parents in England (Hickman et al., 2001). It is also important that qualitative work contributes to understanding of processes and contexts perceived as affecting mobility, which may relate directly or indirectly to health, and be linked to ethnic minority identity. There is a place for qualitative work which explores how health status links to experiences among minority groups and thus to wider social structural patterns (Chamberlain, 1997), or to locate these within a historical context (Williams, 1985; Walls and Williams, 2003, 2004).

Quantitative data on Irish Catholic health suggest social class explains much of Irish Catholic ill health, but there is something over and above their social class position which explains health, often ascribed to ethnic factors. While undoubtedly an argument for exploring ethnicity, as has been argued already, material and ethnic or cultural factors are inextricably linked, so that as class affects culture, so culture affects class. Although quantitative work suggests that some material disadvantage among Irish Catholics as well as those from other minority groups may be explained by both class exclusion (high levels of unemployment and low paid work) and class segmentation (being confined within particular segments of work or within lower rungs of broad class groupings) (Cross, 1994), these are issues which are more ably addressed by quantitative researchers, and are likely to be relevant to the present case, given the class profiles and histories of the Irish in Britain and Irish Catholics in Scotland. In relation to the Irish, though, not enough research has been conducted which addresses qualitative aspects of location and experience within broad class categories, or factors affecting class location itself (including discrimination), as well as factors relevant to social mobility. Moving away from quantitative patterning means finding out how people understand poverty and the resources drawn upon in order to manage and improve their situations, and how these aspects of life may relate to religion and identity, and these issues are discussed in later chapters.

The neglected area of discrimination against the Irish (Hickman and Walter, 1997), both historically and contemporarily, as well as sectarian discrimination against Irish Catholics in Scotland, are inevitably key factors to be addressed in relation to experience.

Discrimination is one possible experience of relevance to social class positioning (Modood et al., 1997) and mobility. However, discrimination not only has effects in relation to socio-economic status and so to health, but discrimination outside of employment may also affect health via psychosocial pathways (Krieger et al., 1993; Krieger, 1999) as well as having direct health effects (Krieger, 1990; Benzeval et al., 1992; Krieger et al., 1993), and be implicated in poor health through an experience of relative deprivation (Wilkinson, 1996).

The increasing body of work on the psychosocial effects of health (Elstad, 1998) has provided a greater possibility of analysing ethnicity and health using qualitative means, while allowing for the dissolution of the material/culture dualism of earlier approaches. Qualitative work also allows for the possibility of making empirical connections between micro-level processes and experiences with wider structural patterns. Rather than a feature of structure, as Karlsen and Nazroo have regarded it, discrimination, past and present, is more arguably formative of the cultural responses of ethnicity, and reflected not only in how a group is perceived from the outside, but also in how they see themselves. Nonetheless, however much an ethnic minority group's culture may be affected by exclusionary measures enacted by the majority, there are also, as Karlsen and Nazroo have pointed out, important ways in which an ethnic group defines itself which may be linked to health.

1.6.2 Cultural explanations and Irish Catholic health

It is in linking cultural explanations with health that the Irish (Williams, 1992), as well as other minorities (Sheldon and Parker, 1992; Nazroo, 1998) have been pathologised, as is noted earlier, and this shows that researchers are part of the racialised culture (Francis, 1993). This may be even more the case for the Irish who for centuries have been largely blamed for their social circumstances and their health in Britain, a practice still evidenced today. Part of the problem invariably lies in the paucity of qualitative attempts to research contemporary Irish experience in the diaspora, and in the tendency to view the Irish as culturally different, yet the same, as the white British, and located outside of the discourse of ethnicity in Britain. In this no-man's land within ethnicity debates, and despite an

enormous historiography of the Irish at home and abroad, has reigned much misunderstanding about Irish culture.

Notwithstanding these problems, there remains the issue in the context of this study of what Irish Catholic culture in Glasgow is like, and what aspects of Irish Catholic culture may be related to health. The approach taken in this study in order to resolve this question has been to explore life histories of Glaswegians, and in so doing, to locate experiences, which are arguably confined to those of Catholic backgrounds, while recognising that identities are fluid and also variegated by gender, class and age, and historically as well as geographically located. This approach also implicitly acknowledges that minorities share common experiences with the general population, and as health patterns clearly show, their health is similarly affected by the commonplace rather than the exotic. Thus, in cultural aspects the inquiry which follows is directed to the common themes of all cultural studies, marriage, fertility, and family life, schooling and educational aspiration, and communal organisations, including those involved with religious and ethnic concerns, and those promoting more general sports and leisure activities. Particular questions which arise in these areas from the existing evidence have already been noted, and differences in health will imply that possible corresponding differences in culture will eventually be selected for discussion, but the selection will be made from the much broader evidence of things found to be held in common which are thus obtained.

How the analyses presented in later chapters confirm or disconfirm general findings on ethnic health experience from other studies both in Britain and abroad, and how and in what ways this analysis aids explanation of the health of Catholics in Glasgow, and of the wider Irish ethnic group in Britain, is advanced in the Conclusions later. Before that, given this background, the next chapter sets out the methods used in this study.

CHAPTER TWO: Methodology

2.1 Methodology: rationale and theoretical approach

The research used qualitative methodology to study the phenomenon of relative Irish Catholic ill health, using semi-structured interviews to derive and, where possible, test hypotheses, which might explain patterns already described in quantitative work. The rationale for taking a qualitative approach was partly derived from the previous failure of quantitative work adequately to explain Irish Catholic ill health, and partly an attempt to examine some of the processes whereby identity and experience might be linked to ill health. As Kelleher and Hillier (1996) had previously noted, understanding the relatively poor health of the Irish might start from an examination of how the experience of being Irish in Britain was itself a factor in poor health. In focusing on the importance of identity and experience in Britain, and how these may be intertwined to produce poor health, a qualitative method was chosen which would generate data which would give an insight into people's experiences. While others had used qualitative methods to examine experiences of the Irish in Britain before, none had attempted to explore how such experiences might be linked to ill health.

Although qualitative methodology appeared a logical next step in researching the health of the Irish or of Catholics, ongoing quantitative work proved invaluable in situating this study (Harding and Balarajan, 1996; Abbotts et al., 1997; Abbotts et al., 1998; Abbotts et al., 1999a; Abbotts et al., 1999b; Abbotts et al., 2001; Harding and Balarajan, 2001). In turn, findings of this study later point to the need for further quantitative work in order to test the prevalence of some of its findings (Walls and Williams, 2003). This point about the interdependence and value of both methodologies in addressing a research issue are being made here, in order to emphasise that no particular privilege is given to one type of methodology over the other: that there is an invaluable interplay between methodologies which can only be of benefit in understanding the subject under consideration.

While not wishing to give greater credence to one type of methodology, attempts were made to address within the design and analysis used in this study many of the usual criticisms of qualitative work, usually made by quantitative researchers (see Silverman,

1993 for an overview). Ironically, given the thoroughness of the approach taken, some published work from this project drew unwarranted criticism of its methodology (Bruce et al., 2005), which prompted a defence of and re-iteration of the methods used (Walls and Williams, 2005). Nonetheless such criticisms appear to point to a deeper problem attributed to qualitative research, that readers often fail to see how conclusions are derived, or consider that qualitative analysis cannot provide the rigour which is taken-for-granted in quantitative work. While Bryman's contention that, 'there is a tendency towards an anecdotal approach to the use of 'data' in relation to conclusions or explanations in qualitative research...There are grounds for disquiet in that the representativeness or generality of these fragments is rarely addressed' (Bryman, 1988:77), may be true of some qualitative approaches, it does not reflect the rigour with which this project was approached. However, as the approach to this project was so recently both misrepresented and misunderstood, it is described in some detail. While the analysis used here sought to avert the type of criticism levelled by Bryman (1988), as well as particular critics (Bruce et al., 2005), it is worth restating that the approach taken here was not one of finding the 'best quotes', but rather a thorough, systematic attempt to interrogate all of the data and to account for deviant cases in devising hypotheses.

Issues of representativeness, rigorous analysis, as well as reliability and validity of data and interpretation were therefore importantly addressed in this study. While not regarding the qualitative sample as representing the wider population in a strict quantitative sense, sampling was done in such a way as to ensure a wide representation of views, which is often neglected in qualitative work. Notably, ethnic and religious *majority* views provided an important and neglected comparison, often absent in qualitative work on ethnic minorities (Doane, 1997).

According to Silverman, 'everything depends on the status which we accord to the data generated in interviews' (Silverman, 1993:106). In his outline of the various opposing theoretical approaches to interview data, the approach taken here is broadly in agreement with Silverman's stance that viewing interviews as representing 'facts' out there, *or* as situated accounts, is a misleading polarity (Silverman, 1993). Rather following Holstein and Gubrium (1995), these interview data are regarded as two intertwined forms: data about the subject matter of the research, and data about how the subject matter is organised in narrative experiences.

In this study interview data were gathered on what may be considered ‘facts’ of experience (for example, size of family in childhood, type of housing, education, etc), as well as data on meanings attributed to experiences (why jobs were left, why discrimination was felt to have occurred, why parents separated, etc), which drew upon wider cultural understandings in order to produce these meanings. Interviews were both stories of events and experiences as well as arenas for interpreting stories. With regard to issues of the validity of interview accounts, accounts were viewed *both* as representing interviewees’ experience of their world, and as situated accounts, each type of account resonant with references to a wider cultural universe. Interviewee accounts therefore, revealed not only personal experiences, but also ways of talking about the world.

Interview accounts were therefore evaluated on the one hand as potentially ‘true’ accounts of individual experiences and as representing a reality outside the interview. Consistency within interviews, for example, was treated as strengthening and supporting the likelihood of truth. On the other hand, interviews revealed ways of talking of phenomena viewed as both constitutive of the interview situation itself and representing the wider common discourses and norms of everyday life.

In seeking to cover new ground by exploring experiences relevant to the health of Irish-descended Catholics in Scotland, and in order to produce new knowledge of possible mechanisms for the transmission of relatively poorer health, the design of the methods drew on an existing broad body of research on health outlined in Chapter One, and on Irish and Catholic identity and experience (Ullah, 1985; Gallagher, 1991; Greenslade, 1992; Fielding, 1993; Bradley, 1994; Hickman, 1995; Kells, 1995; McRobbie, 1995; Hickman, 1996a; Campbell, 2000; Walsh and McGrath, 2000; Walter, 2000; Ryan, 2002; Mac an Ghail and Haywood, 2003). The aim was both to generate and test hypotheses, relevant to Irish Catholic experiences relevant to health, derived from the existing literature and the new data. Previous research was therefore crucial in the development of the research questions and locating a theoretical sample (Glaser, 1978; Coyne, 1997) for interview.

2.2 Methods

2.2.1 Research aim and research questions

The overall aim of the research project was to provide qualitative data on the Irish community in Britain, which may help to explain the apparent health disadvantage of the Irish in Britain (Scotland, England and Wales), and any processes associated with the persistence of health disadvantage across generations. The overall question which this research project sought to address was: in what ways do social factors linked to recognised health risks relate to Catholic versus Protestant identity and Irish versus Scottish origin in Glasgow? Component questions addressing the main mediating factors (represented by the sampling indicators of ethnic/religious identification, social class, gender, and age group/period) were:

1. How does religious background relate to ethnic background in Glasgow, and how might this explain health disadvantage of Catholics/Irish in the west of Scotland?
2. How does employment experience and social class relate to Catholic background/Irish ethnicity and produce health risk?
3. In what ways do cultural factors (gender, family and communal life) interact with Catholic background/Irish ethnicity to produce health risks?
4. Has the experience of being Catholic/Irish changed over time and how might this relate to recognised health risks?
5. Overall, to what extent does Catholic/Irish identity relate to health risk via structural factors and cultural factors?

It will be noticed that the health questions posed here all relate to health risk, not to proven health effects, which would require carefully designed quantitative studies to confirm them. The literature chapter has made clear that quantitative studies have for the moment exhausted their standard repertoire in accounting for ill health among the Irish in Britain, without achieving anything like a complete explanation. There is thus a need for qualitative work to explore aspects in the situation of Irish-descended people living here, which could represent possible health risks. This study seeks to carry out this remit, and leaves the confirmation of health effects from the possible risks it identifies to future quantitative studies.

Quantitative work to date has established that Irish ill health in Britain goes well beyond diagnostically specific problems. There is an Irish excess in most diagnostic categories, including the very broad category of heart disease (Marmot et al., 1984; Balarajan and Bulusu, 1990; Raftery et al., 1990; Balarajan, 1995; Harding and Maxwell, 1997; Wild and McKeigue, 1997; Harding and Rosato, 1999). Similarly, the explanatory factors which have so far explained most ill health in England and Wales, (Raftery et al., 1990; Harding and Balarajan, 1996; Harding et al., 1999; Harding and Balarajan, 2001) and even more so in Scotland (Abbotts et al., 1998; Abbotts et al., 1999b; Abbotts et al., 2001), and most historic Irish excess mortality in England and Wales (Williams and Ecob, 1999), are of a very general kind, which affect broad categories of disorder, that is, low social class, poverty, and regional deprivation. The health risks which qualitative work on the present topic must look for are thus general health risks across a number of diagnostic categories, of which the most favoured current candidates are first, factors which could act to hold populations in low social class positions or at generalised risk of poverty (Davey Smith et al., 1997), factors threatening childhood nutrition (Barker, 1992), and factors bringing about generalised psychosocial distress (Hemingway and Marmot, 1999).

Qualitative studies are in a fairly good position to recognise factors related to low social class and poverty, and factors related to generalised psychosocial distress, which emerges in interviewees' own accounts of their psychological well-being. They may also pick up indications of severe childhood malnutrition, but otherwise dietary assessment is too complex and quantitative. Aside from this, factors encouraging other risky health behaviour (smoking, drinking, lack of exercise, risk-taking) can also be picked up at a gross level, though again finer assessment requires quantitative study. Standard quantitative measures of health behaviour have had only minor success in accounting for Irish ill health in Britain (Balarajan and Yuen, 1986; Pearson et al., 1991; Harding and Allen, 1996; Mullen et al., 1996; Abbotts et al., 1999a), but factors which encourage taking a wide range of risks with health could be picked up by qualitative methods.

Health risks found in the following data, then, need further confirmation, and health risks, which do not feature in these data, are not ruled out. The aim is to open up a fresh range of possibilities for study.

2.2.2 Sampling strategy

The sampling strategy developed from consideration of a number of issues, addressed in the research questions. There was a the need to address issues of class, gender and cohort as importantly linked to experiences of health as well as experience of identity. There was effort made to overcome some of the sampling shortfalls of previous research on the Irish and on Catholics, and particularly in addressing the Scottish literature, it became incumbent to attempt to explicate the varying effects of ethnicity and religion, and to examine the links between them. The aim was that the sample would be drawn from as wide a range as possible, to include groups omitted from some research studies (women, Irish Protestants, those of Irish origin who would not self-identify as Irish).

Sampling on religion was relatively straightforward once the decision was made to take religious background as the key variable (see section below: The religion variable).

Sampling for Irish ethnicity was more challenging (see Chapter One – an assessment of the literature, on invisibility issues). Previous work on Irish ethnicity and health carried out in England and Wales had sampled on the basis of ancestry derived from birthplace of parents (Harding and Balarajan, 1996, 2001). Sampling on ancestry, rather than on self-defined ethnicity, was therefore considered of greater relevance, because of the fact that it was ancestry data rather than self-defined ethnicity data, which had originally located issues of poor Irish health beyond the first generation. But it was also expected to be of greater validity, given known problems around Irish self-identification beyond the first generation illustrated by 2001 Census data (Office for National Statistics, 2003; Registrar General for Scotland, 2003).

It was also felt that crosstabulating ancestry with religion would not only permit locating those who might be unfound using self-identification, but would also allow further investigation during interviews of links between religion and ancestry and ethnicity. Breaking with one tradition of qualitative sampling for research on ethnic/religious minorities, the sample included the majorities as well as minorities. This was considered important in order to assess the extent to which experiences of the Catholics of Irish origin diverge from common experiences, that is, to assess to what extent experiences may be defined as relating *specifically* to Irish identity and/or Catholic background.

2.2.3 The sample

Interviewees (aged around either 46 years or 66 years in 1998 when they were interviewed; born either in 1932 or 1952) were sampled from the two oldest cohorts of the West of Scotland Twenty-07 Study, a longitudinal study of everyday life and health among three cohorts, aged 15, 35 and 55 at the start of the survey in 1987/88. These cohorts were originally obtained for studies of area and health through a two-stage stratified random sample in two areas of Glasgow, selected to reflect the high to low socio-economic range in the city (Macintyre et al., 1989). Previous waves of the survey had gathered information on religious background, and in 1997, in response to plans for this study, a follow-up postal survey had requested ancestry data on birthplace/s of respondents, their parents and grandparents (MRC, 1997). For the purposes of this study, those from the two older cohorts of the West of Scotland study are later referred to in data chapters as being ‘older’ (66 years old at time of interview) or ‘younger’ (46 years old at time of interview).

From this survey, interviewees were theoretically sampled (Glaser, 1978; Coyne, 1997) to represent the known influences on health risk of age, class and gender. ‘Theoretically sampled’ is intended to indicate here sampling on factors expected on a theoretical basis to affect health risk, but does not include the implication of progressive sampling, which is often added to this term. In addition, they were sampled on ancestry data (ethnicity) and religious background. This sample was essentially purposive, and attempted to map the characteristics of the wider population, which are relevant to answering the research questions. Sampling on the basis of both ethnicity and religion allowed investigation of links between ethnicity, religion and health among four ethnic/religious groups (Irish Catholic origin, Scottish Catholic, Scottish Protestant, Irish Protestant). These comparisons, it was assumed, would most rigorously test the main emergent hypothesis that being of both Irish and Catholic background (rather than Irish and Protestant, or non-Irish and Catholic) was linked to disadvantaged minority status and in turn linked to the health disadvantage described in the literature, while also allowing comparisons by class, gender and age group.

At an early stage in the research it was thought that sampling only those of Irish Catholic background would be sufficient. However, as time went on it became apparent from the literature that sampling a wider population which included Protestants as well as those without Irish ancestry, would be more appropriate in more fully addressing the research

questions, and be a particular strength in a qualitative study which was seeking to illuminate how structural and/or cultural *differences by religion/ethnicity* might account for differences in experiences relating to health.

Those for whom data on ancestry were missing, or whose ancestry was neither Scottish nor Irish, were excluded from selection. Those with one or more grandparents or parents born in Ireland or Irish-born themselves were defined as 'Irish', while those having no parents or grandparents born in Ireland and some in Scotland, were defined as 'Scottish'. However, during interviews it became clear that Scottish Catholics frequently were of Irish descent, but further back than grandparents, reflecting long-term Irish Catholic immigration to Scotland (see Appendix 1: Tables 1a and 1b).

There were 549 possible cases for interview: of these 72 people were interviewed, 38 from the younger cohort and 34 from the older, randomly selected within class/gender/religion/ethnicity/age groups with all categories represented. The final numerical representation of those in the 32 relevant categories is presented in Appendix 2. Eighty seven people were written to over the course of the fieldwork and asked for interview. Ten people refused to be interviewed, with reasons given as loss of interest in the West of Scotland Study, lack of time or illness. Five other people who were written to proved incontactable in person. The response rate was therefore 83%.

2.2.3.1 *The religion variable*

Data on the religion variable were gathered from previous Twenty-07 surveys of middle and older cohorts. These data (Appendix 3) on religious background from the surveys were used to assign people as 'Catholics' or 'Protestants'. In interviews, people were also asked how they would define their religious identities (reported in Chapter Three). The categories open to respondents in the surveys were more complex than Catholic/Protestant categories and categories slightly differed in surveys of the different cohorts. Although survey respondents provided responses on their own current religion, they were sampled on the basis of their religion of background, that is, whether their parents (Appendix 3) were Protestant or Catholic (older interviewees) or what religious group or church they were born into (younger interviewees). Religious background rather than current religion was used because early explorations suggested that religious identity was assigned in this way by other Glaswegians.

In the case of the older interviewees, three people (C29, C39, P11) (see Appendix 3) who had defined themselves as having both Catholic and Protestant parents were also sampled but categorised by their current specified religion as Catholic. Two Catholic women (C22, C36) became Protestant on marriage but are classified according to their childhood religion. Another woman specified that her father was Catholic and her mother of no religion: she was categorised as non-Catholic because she did not assign a current category to herself, and had not been brought up practising Catholicism or attending Catholic schools (P26). According to these definitions there were 39 Catholics and 33 Protestants.

A comparison with how people identified their current religion in the surveys and at interview revealed a number of interesting features, which raises questions about the meaningfulness of data gathered using different methods. People rarely identified as Christian in surveys even though this was common in interviews, particularly among younger people. Many Protestants defined themselves as 'Church of Scotland' in the surveys even though in interviews they mainly defined themselves as Protestant. People very rarely defined themselves as Church of Scotland in interview.

Quite a number of people from Protestant backgrounds who defined themselves as having no religion in the survey defined themselves as Protestant at interview, whereas there was only one case of a Catholic defining herself as having no religion in the survey and defining herself as Catholic at interview. Ten younger people and six older people identified themselves as atheists, or having no religion in the survey questionnaires, but some of these responses changed in interviews, particularly among older working class people. Overall there was much greater consistency in how people from Catholic rather than Protestant backgrounds labelled themselves in both surveys and interviews.

Some of the reasons for this may be methodological (giving fixed denominational choices in the surveys meant that Protestants were more likely to denote themselves in terms of a denomination rather than under the broad label of Protestant, as at interview), and also may be partly to do with how religious group identity is differently understood among Catholics and Protestants (see Chapter Three), and partly an effect of the interview situation, where religion drew on multiple meanings of religion (practice, secular group identity, external identifications, etc).

2.2.3.2 Ancestry – the code for externally identifying ethnicity

Interviewees were also sampled on survey information indicating where they, their parents and grandparents were born (MRC, 1997). Those with any Irish grandparents were defined as Irish and those with none, Scottish (Appendix 3). Later these data were compared with detail on origins gathered at interview. Although survey data had indicated that 22/39 Catholics had Irish-born grandparents, during interviews a further 12/39 revealed Irish ancestry but further back than grandparents, so 34/39 Catholics had some known Irish origin (Appendix 1). Among Protestants, 19/33 revealed some Irish-born grandparents, but interviews did not reveal any more examples of ancestry known about further back. It is clear also that Catholics were more likely to have two Irish-born parents (6/39), or four Irish-born grandparents (14/39), than Protestants. None of the Protestants had two Irish-born parents and only two had four Irish-born grandparents, which indicates a much higher level of in-marriage in this sample in Scotland among Catholics born in Ireland, compared with Protestants born in Ireland.

There was a higher degree of consistency between ancestral origins as described in the survey and in discussion during interviews, than with religion. This may be partly to do with a lesser time lag between survey and interview responses in relation to the former. However, it is more likely to be the case that place of birth data present unchanging facts, not self-perceived identity, while religious self-definition reflects the dynamic contextual nature of identity, apparent in later analyses.

2.2.4 Development of the interview schedule

In order to devise a schedule for the semi-structured interviews, exploratory interviews were carried out with individuals and couples representing the different religious/ethnic groupings, but sampled through community-based organisations and snowballing. These initial ‘informal’ interviews focused on issues of identity rather than health. They generated data which were critical towards formulating identity questions, particularly on the salience of religious identity as a boundary marker in Glasgow, for later further examination. These early interviews were therefore important in shifting the initial primary research focus from ethnic to religious categories, even though it was apparent that the Irish ethnic origins of Catholics were understood as underlying perceptions of religious differences. These informal interviews are excluded from the main analysis of the 72

interviews discussed here, because of the lack of a health focus and because the sampling strategy was likely to make them a biased sample, particularly because those connected with Irish and Catholic community organisations in Britain would not necessarily reflect a broad spectrum of people of Irish Catholic origin.

The interview schedule for the 72 semi-structured interviews reported here covered a range of issues spanning the life course and of relevance to health. Questions were included among other things, on experience of illnesses, housing, family size and relationships, education and schooling, career history and experiences within employment, experience of traumatic life events, parents' and children's experiences, experiences of ethnic/religious hostility/discrimination, health behaviours (diet/smoking/alcohol use/exercise, etc), feelings about community, and understandings about ethnic/religious identity (Appendix 4). The schedule was devised from exploring a number of possible routes by which ill health might be transmitted, derived from the literature on Irish health disadvantage, Irish and Irish Catholic experience in Britain, and the wider health literature.

2.2.4.1 Life and family history approaches

The schedule was designed as a life history, moving from childhood to adult experiences. The value of this approach is in assessing the subjective side of possible institutional processes. This approach took on increasing relevance over time as media and academic debate erupted on the experiences of Catholics, clearly taking place in the absence of evidence of the subjective experiences of Catholics in Scotland. Taking a life course approach meant that interviewees were able to indicate not only their experiences over time, but also their understandings of how their experiences were part of a wider social and cultural context which itself changed over time. The project was named the Family Health and Family History Project, because it elicited not only individual life stories but also data on relationships and experiences among wider families.

As well as revealing individual histories, accounts revealed that time and time period was a crucial prism through which experience was understood: stage of life was clearly relevant to particular experiences as was the wider cultural context and era in which particular life events were being experienced. In later data chapters, the importance of time period is apparent in noted differences in accounts between the cohorts. This approach also allowed exploration of the ways in which experiences had cumulative effects over time. Family

histories it was hoped would add a completeness to the profile of Irish health provided by more quantitative studies. As Aspinwall and McCaffrey have noted in referring to historical studies, 'the individual leaves few records to allow us to see much of the substance behind the shadows thrown by statistical categories, and the more one looks at the statistics, the more one realises that only individual case histories could do justice to the whole' (Aspinwall and McCaffrey, 1985:131). This seems as relevant today as historically. As well as focusing on the need for case histories to embellish the dry statistical record, individual histories also provide a means to assess how beliefs about and experiences of the past colour present day perceptions.

Family histories also allow a sociological account which focuses on individual and wider histories. As Goldthorpe explains, the failure to attend to the historical within sociology, results in an inability to, 'appreciate or to explain how (these) social milieux (defined as communities, local associations, etc) have emerged from, and are conditioned by, the structure of the wider society in which they are set or how ongoing changes at the level of the milieux are related to changes at a societal level' (Goldthorpe, 1984:167). This perspective seems particularly pertinent in relation to the Irish, who as noted earlier are made invisible within debates about ethnicity, considered an effect of 'historical amnesia' (Mac an Ghail, 2001:191).

Although the schedule was designed to elicit information about experiences of religious identity, it was important that the schedule was constructed in such a way that interviewees could reveal the significance (if any) of religious identities in different contexts, rather than having any significance of religion imposed by the interviewer. This was achieved by dealing with questions on religion at the end of sections when other issues had been addressed, unless interviewees themselves raised these issues earlier. Presenting the interviews as focused on family histories and health histories as noted in the naming of the project, was also important in this regard.

2.2.5 Fieldwork

Once the research design had been decided upon, an ethics form was submitted for approval to the ethics committee of Glasgow University (Appendix 5). This form clarified what action would be taken to protect research subjects. Additionally, a risk assessment form was completed (Appendix 6) which set out the guidelines for the researcher in

undertaking the research, which had a clear system worked out whereby the researcher would contact a named person following return to work or home after completion of each interview, with details of where each interview was taking place, likely time away from the office, and names and contact details of those involved.

Once the interview schedule was devised, random selection of those falling into each of sixteen cells representing the key variables of class/gender/religion/ethnicity/age groups under study was made (see Appendix 2). Letters were sent in waves to those sampled explaining that the study was an extension to the Twenty-07 Study and proposed to investigate differences in health linked to different ancestral origins, through interviews about family health and histories (Appendix 7). If a potential interviewee refused to be interviewed, or could not be contacted following a number of attempts, they were replaced by another randomly selected individual possessing similar characteristics. The aim was to interview 2 people from each cell as representing a wider population, defined by the key variables of interest, with a total number of target interviews estimated as 64. Because of the empirical distribution of the sample available, the result was less even (see Appendix 2). When the total number of interviews carried out reached 72, with all categories represented, interviewing halted.

The vast majority of interviews were carried out in interviewees' homes for their convenience. Prior to interviews starting, it was explained to interviewees that they had been selected from survey data they had supplied on ancestry, that the project was concerned with exploring health differences in people with origins in different places. Also, as the researcher had encountered extreme resistance during the very first interview to any discussion of religion, subsequent interviewees were told that there would be some questions about religion; if they did not feel comfortable discussing these, that this would be acceptable. No-one subsequently declined to discuss religion issues. People were reassured that interviews were confidential, and that their identities would be anonymised in any data subsequently used, and signed a form prior to interviews showing that they understood the research, its purpose and how any data would be used and given the option to stop the interview at any point if they chose to (Appendix 8).

As interviews were semi-structured, this allowed scope for interviewees to elaborate at length, as they chose, on issues of interest which emerged in the course of interviews on

their life stories. Interview lengths varied from one and a half to four and a half hours, with most averaging around three hours. The interviews were generally highly interesting and enjoyable events, although on some occasions interviewees became upset when relating accounts of aspects of their lives, as might be expected, in particular when relating their experiences of deaths of loved ones and other family traumas.

It was apparent that for some people, particularly the older cohort, experiences and feelings about some events had not been articulated before or for a very long time, or even considered in a particular way, and that for some, the interviews provided a kind of forum for reflecting on their lives. There were no memorable moments of people failing to talk about any of the issues raised (apart from the first interviewee already cited who was the only one to have reservations about discussing religion), and the facility with which most people propounded their experiences of sensitive issues including poverty, mental health, marital problems, alcohol abuse, children's drug abuse, family violence, etc., suggest that given an empathetic, confidential environment, research interviews may be therapeutic for some.

People clearly viewed completing the interviews as an achievement (particularly the case for those who talked for four plus hours), and something which had to be done to a high standard. The commitment to cooperating with these interviews was no doubt attributable in part to interviewees' ongoing involvement in the Twenty-07 study. While wishing to achieve a good interview might suggest that interviewees may have been liable to present themselves in ways which might undermine the truth status of interviews, the impression given was not that people were creating a false self in interviews (practically unsustainable anyway over such a long period of time), but rather that being a good interview candidate showed an eagerness to relate the truth as they understood it, with efforts being made to relate as much detail of this truth as they could. Findings that interviewees admitted personally behaving in ways that they were ashamed of at various points of their lives (for example accounts of being drunken and abusive, being imprisoned for theft, doubting the existence of God, etc), or who admitted upholding discrimination or having close relatives with clearly prejudicial views, rather suggests that interviews were honest, open accounts of how they viewed their experiences and sought to understand them.

2.2.5.1 Interviewer effect

The effect of the interviewer on the interview is one which needs to be considered in relation to the validity of interviews. Undoubtedly the attributes of the interviewer will impact on how the interview is accomplished, as well as any skills brought to bear which facilitate the generation of data. The interviewer was female, mid-thirties (at the time), of Catholic background and had a Northern Irish accent. Within interviews these identities were occasionally referred to, in ways which suggested that they needed to be addressed in order that understanding of interviewees' experiences could be established. For example, being Northern Irish meant that interviewees used this identity to reinforce their perceptions of how they felt sectarianism in Northern Ireland was similar to or differed from sectarianism in Glasgow, which was a key point of comparison in assessing the seriousness of sectarianism in Glasgow. Among male interviewees, the fact of the interviewer being female meant that some lengths were gone to when explaining what were mainly male experiences of youth violence, football allegiance, etc. Age was a factor among older people when discussing aspects of experience known to be outside of the experience of the interviewer, for example, experiences during the war.

It was not clear whether interviewees judged that the interviewer was of Catholic background. Some interviewees did establish this (both Protestants and Catholics), but this did not appear to have any particular bearing on how people recounted their experiences: as is evident in later data chapters, Protestants and Catholics recounted episodes of experience of anti-Catholic hostility. Otherwise, coming from a Catholic background was used by those from both religions to produce understanding of perceived positive, as well as negative aspects of religion. On the issue of Irish ethnicity, some of those of Irish background clearly felt that this identity was a positive one which created a kind of understanding with the interviewer, while on the other hand it was evident that a number of people were quite disparaging about Irish identity, yet the interviewer's Irish identity did not appear to be an obstacle to expressing views which might be considered vaguely anti-Irish.

Although it is impossible to measure actual interviewer effects, the failure to locate any problems in accomplishing interviews showing differences by age, gender, religion, ethnicity, etc, would suggest that the identities of the interviewer were resources to be managed in recounting life histories, which did not impinge on the production of valid

accounts, but rather became resources which were skilfully used in the production of accounts. The occasional lack of sensibility shown towards the interviewer's identities is probably a strength of the data, in that people, while taking the interviewer's identity on board, essentially disregarded the option of being polite if this appeared to get in the way of recounting the truth of their opinions and experiences.

2.2.6 Data management and storage

All tapes were coded following interviews in order that interviewees would not be recognised in any way. Tapes were given to an agency for transcription, the agency having given written agreement to adhering to Unit policy guidelines on dealing with confidential data. Copies of all tapes were made prior to being handed over for transcription in the event of original tapes being damaged or lost when away from the research unit with agency staff. When tapes and transcriptions were complete, assurances were given from the owner of the agency that all transcript data had been removed from agency computer hard drives. During the course of the research, tapes were stored in locked cabinets in the research unit, and later transferred for storage in secure vaults.

2.2.7 Analysis

The analytic process in essence started when the research began, with a reading of the literature and a development of the research design, research questions and interview schedule. Throughout the process of data gathering, insights were being developed which later took shape as avenues to be followed in further analysis. Due to the sheer amount of data generated by 72 lengthy interviews, it became apparent that ways would have to be devised to deal efficiently and rigorously with the data generated, while it was also becoming clear that some areas of analysis were emerging as more interesting than others.

It became clear early on that while interviewees of Irish origin had views on what this meant to them (see Chapter Three), they predominantly identified as Scottish, and that religious labels had a particular salience in this geographical context (along with ethnic undertones). Religion therefore began to be seen not only as an axis of difference in Glaswegian life, but also as a key category of comparison during analysis. Not only was taking religion as a key axis important theoretically and empirically, but this proved a useful practical approach to analysis, whereby religious differences, when found, opened

up further lines of analysis, thus isolating the specifically religious (and possibly ethnic experiences), and the possible connections of religious differences to health differences.

As fieldwork and analysis continued, it became evident that there were three key social contexts which were linked in different ways to aspects of wider literatures on health, as well as being strongly linked to religious self-identity and externally defined identity: the contexts of work, family life, and communal life. These contexts became the focus of later data chapters.

Initial coding of data was done with the use of QSR Nud*ist. Initially all the transcripts were coded as baseline data according to the variables used for sampling: gender, religion, age, class and ethnicity. This allowed subsequent comparison of accounts by gender, age etc., as well as the facility to contrast accounts simultaneously according to a number of variables. For example, it was possible to compare only accounts of younger Catholic working class men with Protestants sharing similar characteristics, etc. This aspect of the computer software therefore was an important asset in that as analysis continued, initial hypotheses often became more finely tuned, as it became apparent from comparison of accounts by religion, that sometimes it was not the accounts of the entire group which showed contrasts by religion, but rather some qualification was needed, for example that particular accounts were specific to men of a particular religion or people from a particular age group (these points are clarified in later data chapters).

Comparison of accounts by religion of baseline data, and comparison of data where religion was important within interviewees' accounts, was also a key method of disentangling and contrasting the importance which interviewees themselves ascribed to issues relevant to health, with occasions when accounts revealed clear differences by religious belonging, but where religion was not referred to by interviewees themselves (see Chapter Six). This technique was important in a number of contexts and increased the depth and scope of the analysis, as is illustrated in later data chapters.

The data were initially categorised according to 8 main descriptive codes: 'health and health risk', 'work', 'class', 'ethnicity and religion', 'social and communal life', 'family life', 'gender', and 'area and locality'. These codes had memos attached which outlined the criteria for inclusion of data under particular nodes. Sometimes codes overlapped, for

example, texts on churchgoing and being Catholic or Protestant would have overlapped nodes on 'social and communal life' and 'ethnicity and religion'. Initial codes, and connections between codes, increased during analysis and writing up of various sections of the research. While the initial codes were helpful in delineating a broad area of interest (for example, work), much further finer, detailed coding was done in order to focus on specific analyses as analysis progressed. For example, data generated by overlapping of work and health nodes became a focus when accounts were contrasted by religion (see accounts of stress in Chapter Six). It became apparent through further analysis that what was significant was not Catholic experiences of work *per se*, but rather how experiences of leaving work differentiated accounts of Catholics from Protestants, which widened the analysis to account for experiences of leaving work for reasons other than stress, while narrowing the analysis on those who faced greatest problems (Catholic men attempting upward social mobility).

It became apparent that as the primary concern was the influence of social factors relevant to identity and health, various functions of Nudist could facilitate not only reducing data to manageable, workable units for analysis, but assist in the analysis by quickly producing all the data which overlapped at a number of nodes at the same time (for example overlapping of work/identity/health codes). This assistance was crucial in making sense of an otherwise overwhelming volume of data, and delimiting text for analysis. However, much checking and rechecking was done back and forth between sections of data for particular analyses and the larger dataset. Occasionally, search features were used to investigate and strengthen aspects of analysis. For example, it became apparent that while the literature on Catholic/Protestant differences tends to use discourses of discrimination, prejudice and disadvantage, Glaswegians used a panoply of other terms and expressions (bigotry, being 'Orange', being bitter, being hardline, being a good Protestant, etc) in discussing religious antagonisms. Searching with Nudist allowed a quick assessment of the extent and use of different terminologies associated with experiences of different attitudes and behaviours. Alongside this function, having some numerical oversight of the prevalence and contexts of language was important in gaining greater understanding of how interviewees understood and experienced religion as significant in everyday life. Although counting can be regarded as almost heretical in qualitative research, it can have its place (Silverman, 1993). These quasi-statistics can give overviews of occurrences for in-depth qualitative

analysis (Becker, 1958; Silverman, 1984) (see Chapter Six, on the numerical identification of a broad tendency).

The general approach to analysis was that of analytic induction (Znaniecki, 1934; Mitchell, 1983; Huberman and Miles, 1994; Robinson, 1999), whereby analysis formulated logical connections between themes in the interviewees' terms, and then connections between themes and a relevant indexed data category, taking account of all cases within the category, after which statements about connections between themes and categories were revised until all *prima facie* deviant cases were incorporated or at least noted. Themes and categories were thus linked inductively in a hypothesis. Then verification was sought through trying to confirm, qualify *and disqualify* the finding, which in turn progressed the analysis onto a new inductive cycle. Initial cases were inspected to locate common factors and provisional explanations. As new cases were examined and initial hypotheses were contradicted, explanations were reworked in one of two ways: redefining the initial hypothesis, or revision of the explanatory factors so that all cases display the necessary explanatory conditions. In this way, 'all exceptions are eliminated by revising the hypothesis until all the data fit' (Fielding and Fielding, 1986:89). Reliability of interpretation was tested by assessing with another researcher how categories were induced from relevant data.

2.2.7.1 *Anonymising and coding interviews*

Throughout the data chapters, efforts have been made to disguise interviewees' identities by removing references to real names and occasionally disguising company names and other details, but without losing the sense of what is being imparted. Interviewees are occasionally identified in terms of specific issues – for example in Chapter Six: Employment, Identity and Health, specific occupations are identified where relevant, and in Chapter Four: Family life, Identity and Health, details on family size are given where relevant. Otherwise, in text and in tables, interviewees are identified by standardised, anonymised coding, whereby Catholics are identified as C1-C39, and Protestants P1-P33. Further standard detail on ethnicity, age, gender and class is also given for each interviewee, and this information is numerically sequenced by ethnicity (Scottish 1, Irish 2); religion (Protestant 1, Catholic 2); gender (male 1, female 2); age group (younger 1, older 2); and social class (working class 1, middle class 2). Thus, C7-12212 means that this interviewee is Scottish (1), Catholic (2), female (2), younger (1) and middle class (2). C25-

22222 means that this person is Irish (2), Catholic (2), female (2), older (2) and middle class (2). P1-11112 means this person is Scottish (1), Protestant (1), male (1), younger (1) and middle class (2), etc. The coding corresponds to interviewee data summarised in various appendices. The interviewer's words in excerpts are in *italics*, and interviewees' words in plain roman type.

2.3 Conclusion

The methods used in this study are described at some length, although as noted earlier, rigorous analysis and explication of methods does not necessarily prohibit incomprehension of methodological stance (Bruce et al., 2005; Walls and Williams, 2005). In grappling with the methodological problems of accessing for sampling an unusually invisible group, and attempting to address research questions as comprehensively as possible by gaining a wide representation of opinion, this study necessarily gathered more data than is usual for a qualitative project. This presented a challenge both in terms of data management and in terms of focusing on key areas for analysis in line with the research questions. As a result, analysis had to be focused on differences between groups, as the many commonalities between experiences of Catholics and Protestants negated the possibility of these accounting for *differences* in health. The informal early interviews, as well as the wider literature, established the importance of religious, rather than ethnic difference as the key axis of categorisation and comparison during much of the analysis, although addressing how ethnicity and religion are linked is importantly addressed in the first data chapter (Chapter Three). Other chapters focus on aspects of differences in experiences between Catholics and Protestants in experiences of family life (Chapter Four), communal life (Chapter Five), and employment (Chapter Six), and address how experiences of gender, social class and cohort interweave with religion to produce experiences of relevance to health.

Finally, in the Conclusions, the argument returns once more to assessing the relevance of ethnicity, in a project which started as one on ethnicity and health, and considers how far the conclusions reached contribute to a wider understanding of the health of the Irish in Britain, and to what extent its local specificity may prohibit greater generalisation with Irish-descended populations outside of Scotland.

CHAPTER THREE: Ethnic and Religious Identity: self-definitions, practices and factors influencing change

3.1 *Introduction*

This chapter explores religious and ethnic self-identities and how these are linked. Data on current self-definitions are analysed including how self-definitions relate to cultural displays of identity (schooling, religious adherence), and analyses factors which appear to influence change in displays of religious identity and religious self-identification over time (secularisation, intermarriage), and change in ethnic identification over generations (assimilation, discourses on nationality, conflicting ethnicities, official discourses).

As noted earlier in the Introduction, this thesis is addressing the overall question, ‘In what ways does being Irish and/or Catholic affect social factors relevant to health in Glasgow?’, and the thesis explores (in later chapters) how ethnic/religious identity is linked to health within the contexts of work, family life and community life. As these later chapters will show, self-identification and externally-defined identification have different relevancies in different contexts, and to an extent influence each other. This chapter is a foundation chapter for these later specifically health-focused chapters.

3.2 *Ethnic self-identification*

The majority of interviewees defined their ethnicity as Scottish, with only a few saying they were British (7 people) or Irish (3 people). Some people gave a number of views of their ethnicity before deciding on what they felt most comfortable with. Some accounts incorporated combined official categories and religious categories (eg White Protestant) and these are discussed later as they shed light on the peculiarities of Glaswegian understandings of ethnicity. Particular attention is given to the reasons why 34/39 Catholics and 19/33 Protestants who claimed some degree of Irish ancestry, did not assign themselves as ethnically Irish (apart from three people born in Ireland).

3.2.1 The 'British'

Those who identified as British did so for a number of reasons: being British was a broad label which could incorporate also being Scottish or Northern Irish, Britishness was accepted as official on passports and immigration papers, and being British evaded narrow, parochial connotations of Scottishness.

3.2.2 The 'Scottish'

The majority of interviewees self-identified as Scottish, which was often asserted in opposition to Englishness or Britishness, both viewed negatively and as synonymous. Quite a number of accounts revealed antagonisms towards English people. As though in consideration of this predictable antagonism between Scottish and English ethnicities, some others pointed out that they were not anti-English. For others dissociating with Britishness, and instead feeling Scottish, was an attempt to dissociate from Britain's imperial past. More positively it was emphasised that being Scottish was connected with distinctive, common cultural experiences, characteristics, traditions and understandings among Scottish people, and with belonging to a country with impressive natural beauty. The following quotes exemplify the defensiveness and oppositional nature of Scottish identity:

I know I'm British, but Scots first.....I find the English quite good people, individuals, but see as a nation, I don't like them.

(P18-21121)

Scottish....because that's what I am

Why would you not say British?

Because I don't agree with it...because England's all for Englandto me the English are the most arrogant bastards out.

(C19-12111)

There is a political element for me because I am very aware about British and Britain and what it was about in the Empire andI was never happy with being British Empire so I tend to not use that ...but I'm not anti-British.

(C20-12112)

I don't really care much for the English. I'd rather be Scottish, if you know what I mean.....I don't know, just...because we were all brought up here and that, you know. You like...you understand people when they're Scottish.

(P26-11221)

I suppose yes reluctantly I would say British, not that I'm anti-English by the way, but I'm just Scottish and that's it.

(P29-11222)

I mean I have no aversion to the English, I'm not...incidentally, having said I'm Scottish, and I mean I'm very much Scottish, but I'm not anti-English....I've got a lot of English friends as well.....No, I've no aversion to the English, not at all.

(C34-12121)

3.2.3 The 'Scottish': Catholics of Irish descent

Apart from the few who had defined themselves as British, Catholics of Irish descent overwhelmingly defined their ethnic identity as Scottish. A main reason for this was the fact of being born in Scotland. This led to a discussion around whether people of Irish descent might define themselves as Irish, which threw light on general understandings of ethnicity and the meaning of Irish identity among those with ancestral Irish origins. The general themes to emerge were:

- a) being ethnically Irish is defined by Irish birth
- b) being Scottish is similarly defined by birthplace but also living in Scotland and a sign of allegiance to Scotland
- c) meaning is attached to Irish roots, but this is insufficient to allow identifying as ethnically Irish
- d) although not feeling qualified to be ethnically Irish, some people of Irish origin felt not wholly Scottish. Among some there was an insecurity or indifference, a lack of allegiance to, or resignation about being Scottish, not evident among those without Irish origins, and found particularly among those with Irish-born parents (second generation Irish)

- e) some people used strategies to incorporate both Irish and Scottish aspects of their identities into a more cohesive identity, although for most people there was little possibility of having composite Irish/Scottish ethnic identities
- f) assimilation into Scottish society was felt to increase with each generation, due to a lessening of or lack of contact with both Irish-born relatives and Ireland
- g) some people felt angry that some of those born in Scotland might identify as Irish and such identification was condemned in various ways, reflecting strong assimilative pressures
- h) identifying with Irish roots was regarded by some as unrealistic, manufactured, inauthentic, romantic, phoney, pragmatic, showing a lack of sense or reason, frivolous, connected with football allegiance and disloyalty to Scotland
- i) identifying with Irish roots was occasional and contextual
- j) knowledge of Irish ancestry was implied or known and therefore often unspoken
- k) Irishness was linked to religion: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants were distinguished as differently linked to Irish identity, borne out in accounts of Catholics and Protestants.

These themes reveal a number of strategies or rationales for dealing with Irish identity which are analysed in more detail below: prioritising birthplace, the incorporation strategy, the gradual assimilation rationale, pressure to be Scottish (a denial strategy), the reality strategy, the importance of context and the sectarian backdrop.

3.2.3.1 *The importance of birthplace*

A main rationale for Irish-descended Catholics to claim a Scottish identity was being born in Scotland,

Oh, I would say I was a Scot.

Why's that?

Well, because I was born in Scotland, I'm Scottish.

(C2-12112)

And, as the following woman emphasises this conviction that birthplace provides a claim to ethnic identity is doubly established by Irish (born) people denying an Irish identity to those born outside Ireland:

But I don't think I would write Irish.... but I think Irish folk wouldn't let me say Irish! ...because I wasn't born there.
(C11-22212)

However, being born in Scotland was qualified by other markers of ethnic belonging including being brought up in Scotland, living one's life in Scotland, secured sometimes by parents being born in Scotland and liking Scotland. However there was some suggestion below that to identify otherwise (as Irish) would have been to deny the experiences connected with living in Scotland. To identify as Irish, if born in Scotland, is perceived as a disloyal denial of the truth:

I suppose it's the fact that I say you know my grandparents were Irish but I'm a Scot, I was born in this country lived in this country all my life and I like this country so I'm not going to deny it.
(C16-22121)

3.2.3.2 *Incorporating the meaning of Irishness*

For most people of Irish Catholic descent however, identifying as ethnically Scottish did not detract from feelings of pride in their Irish ancestry and a desire to acknowledge these. The following woman felt that in acknowledging her Irish origins she, like her children was not 'wholly Scottish', yet at the same time, as not born in Ireland, could not viably call herself just Irish. Her sons wish to acknowledge their Irish connections, and it may be that among younger people, there is an increasing confidence about acknowledging an Irish identity compared with older people. For her, incorporating an appreciation of her Irish connections into her background is not problematic, although her account does point to a feature of later accounts, a belief that one cannot be wholly Scottish if holding onto an Irish connection.

I think Scottish with an Irish background... For me it's like...the way you were brought upYou always hark back to...where you come from, and you don't want to lose that. And even mine (her children), they still...they like the Irish connection. They don't want to be wholly just Scottish.
(C11-22212; third generation Irish)

Among a minority of other Catholics of Irish descent, there was an indifference to being Scottish and at the same time a feeling that identifying as Irish was not really an alternative. The following man's account exemplifies these issues and shows an uncertainty about identity and belonging, most marked among those whose parents were born in Ireland.

If I was abroad and someone said, 'Are you English?' I'd say, 'No absolutely not, I'm Scottish' (pause) to differentiate, but if someone said to me, 'Are you a patriotic Scot?', I'd say, 'Not at all, are you kidding, couldn't care less, Scotland's just a lump of land that I happen to be living on'.

So you're not proud to be Scottish?

Not in the slightest, Scotland does nothing for me.....Oh I'd never say I was Irish, I'm not a 'plastic paddy' eitherI'm from Scotland and because I have a Scottish accent but (pause) it's just a place I've been living...I don't have any (pause) ...My allegiance is to me and the people that I love and care about.

(C8-22112; second generation Irish)

The confusion of some second generation Irish around whether they are Scottish and/or Irish is illustrated in another account. This man's father is deemed Irish, but the interviewee says he himself is Scottish. His comments that he's Scottish and 'that's it', and at the 'end of the day' suggests he is persuading himself of a finality about ethnicity which has to be decided and which for him has to be either Irish or Scottish, but cannot be both.

I feel Scottish or Irish whatever you want to say but British seems to encompass an awful lot, I don't know why, I just don't see myself as that, I would say that first before I would say I was British, you know.

Do you feel Irish to some extent?

Not really, no.

No?

I mean it's just a thing I would say, my father was Irish, but I'm, when it comes down to it I'm Scottish, and that's it,....I'm Scottish at the end of the day.

(C31-22111; second generation Irish)

For some other people strategies were used which meant that interviewees could blur Irish/Scottish differences, as in the cases below where Scottish and Irish people were described as Celtic people or of the same 'race':

Through my birth I'm Scots, but as I say I still take an Irish identity through the parentage. Obviously Scots, born in Scotland, but I can identify with the Irishness in it, you know what I mean...Maybe Celtic you know.

(C33-22111; second generation Irish)

I don't think there's any difference between Scots and Irish. Oh, I'm proud of Scotland, I'm proud to be a Scotsman, yes, oh, aye. I mean, that's where I've been born and brought up and made my living. My home, my family, and I still say I'm very proud of the Irish in me. I'm very proud of that....But to me they're all just the same race.

(C15-22121; third generation Irish)

For this man, there is no discordance in feeling Scottish and also being proud of his Irish heritage, and this contrasts with others who feel little pride or security in either identity. Among some others, some connection with Ireland was mentioned, even though they felt they were still ethnically Scottish:

I have an affinity to the Irish people and when we used to go on holiday I used to feel quite at home there, ... I feel at home with them, I feel as if yeah you know, not back where I should be, that's wrong to say that, but I do feel that there is a connection.

(C39-12122; fourth generation Irish)

I do feel you know that I have some sort of link with it (Ireland), I don't feel that it's nothing to do with me. Like when you go to England you think ...it's nothing to do with me: when you go to Ireland you think this is part of my ancestry.

(C17-22212; third generation Irish)

Another man, although fourth generation Irish felt that part of the influence of Irish ancestry on his identity was having a strong sense of community. However, as he

acknowledges this aspect, he also feels that having Irish ancestry is not something he would 'shout about' or 'force' on people, themes which emerge in data analysed later regarding pressures to 'be Scottish', where people are criticised for going too far in acknowledging Irish roots.

I recognise particularly in the west of Scotland the Irish influence...good influences

What would you see as the good points about it?

I think that sense of community.... particularly from my mother's side in terms of the Irish connection that she's got is that sense of extended kinshipin terms of (pause) how you see yourself and the influences that it has on you.....kind of closeness or community value....I wouldn't go kind of shouting about it (having Irish roots) or forcing it on people but I mean ...I wouldn't discount it if you see what I mean.

(C20-12112)

3.2.3.3 *Assimilation and lessening connections*

Many people explained a lack of identification as Irish as due to weakening family links over generations and contact with Ireland. One woman felt her parents would now identify as Scottish since their parents have died, but prior to that would have regarded themselves as Irish.

Now they (her parents) would call themselves Scottish.....When their own parents died and you know the longer they spent here and the less contact they had with Ireland.

(C17-22212; third generation Irish)

Another man felt that connections with Ireland inevitably became weaker over generations but that there were also factors specific to families. In his case he felt that his grandparents became quickly assimilated and developed an 'outlook' which was not Irish. A key part of being identified as Irish was whether people had Irish accents:

It depends largely on how strong your links with Ireland are, ours have tended to become more tenuous you know as I say I'm 3rd generation Scots. Whereas there are other people who are of Irish descent and most of who, many of whose relatives

still live in Ireland and who think of Ireland as the auld country.....I think it is mainly a matter of ...your background. We were never brought up in a strongly Irish atmosphere, my father's side of course were more Irish without being Irish.

What do you mean they were Irish without being Irish?

Well you know they were conscious of having come from Ireland but they were not (pause) they were not Irish in their outlook, they were kind of west of Scotland.

They'd made the transfer fairly quickly I think and my grandmother I think had a (pause) maybe a bit of an ...not as notably Irish accent as yours, but it was not a Scots accent solely whereas my grandfather tended to mumble away in a kind of more a Scots voice.

(C21-12122; fourth generation Irish)

Among some other older people connections with Irish identity were noted through an interest in Irish history and culture of older relatives, even if some still identified as Scottish:

Would your father have considered himself Scottish?

I think he would but I think he would also have quite a close identification with Ireland as well..... He was very knowledgeable about Irish history and he had books about Irish places, the different regions and so on...He went, he had been to Ireland himself, I've only been once in my life but (pause) yes he was interested in it.

(C10-12222; fourth generation Irish)

Another older woman felt that her mother who had been born in Scotland might have called herself Irish because her parents were a large part of their life and she mentioned her Irish (born) grandfather teaching her Irish songs as a child:

I knew loads of Irish songs and all the hymns before I went to school, my granddad had a melodeon we called it then, and used to at nightsit and sing and we were taught all them before we were at school.

(C26-22221; third generation Irish)

3.2.3.4 *The pressures to 'be Scottish'*

There were a few cases of people from Irish Catholic backgrounds acknowledging their backgrounds, but becoming angered by the idea that some people of Irish descent who were born in Scotland identified too much with their Irish backgrounds. The following woman while describing herself primarily as Scottish, does venture that she would admit to being of Irish descent, but then slips into a tirade about a second generation Irish man who feels he is Irish, which she thinks is fundamentally flawed, as he lives in Scotland. For her there is ultimately no middle ground between Scottishness and Irishness and she has chosen to be Scottish: there is little room for composite identities or loyalties.

He seems to have this thing about being Irish (pause) but he only lived in Ireland for a month (pause) you know, I mean if he loves it that much why doesn't he go and live there? And be Irish.

He was born here?

He was born here but his parents came from Sligo and he just has this thing about being (Irish) and it really galls me (pause) because he's not, he's Scottish (pause) you know and I think because I'm so proud to be Scottish he should be too.... He's chosen to live here. He's Scottish.

(C32-22211; second generation Irish)

Another older man gets similarly angry about a second generation Irish woman he knows who identifies as Irish. As she was born in Scotland he feels she should 'be Scots' and of her Irish identification, she should 'let it go a wee bit'. He seems to find her attachment incomprehensible and excessive as well as a cause for ridicule. This woman's identification is at odds with what is his main criterion for claiming a Scottish identity, which is being born in Scotland:

Everything's Irish you know St. Patrick and (pause) and at times you feel like saying look Joanne, you're staying in Scotland, be Scots you know

And she was actually born in Ireland?

No no. She wasn't, this is what I'm saying (laugh)....Her parents were born in Ireland you know.....I think (pause) she should let it go a wee bit you knowbut she keeps on about, she has a St. Patrick's Day and all this sort of stuffI quite laugh at it at times you know.

(C35-22121; third generation Irish)

In another account a woman again takes issue with people who still feel a connection to Ireland. For her, this is dismissive of Scottish history, which she feels they should have affinity with. She does not understand how people may feel an attachment through ancestry and she thinks that these people exhibit a disloyalty to Scotland. For her the past is irrelevant, while ironically and at the same time, she feels that any interest in history, for Scottish-born people, should be in the history of the Scots.

They've no relations left in Ireland, they're only going as tourists, and yet they've got this passion about Ireland. ...Oh, they're really...real Irish downtrodden. What about the Scots and the Highland Clearance and that, they were downtrodden there. But they don't see that, they always see the Irish.....That makes me very angry, because they're born here. It doesn't matter where your relations...so far back you can't even remember where they came from, you know. I don't see the point actually.

Why does it make you angry when these people do that?

Because I feel as if it revolves round their world. You know, you'll hear them talking about the Irish, and all the carry on and all that's going on in Ireland.

(C3-22211; third generation Irish)

3.2.3.5 *Accepting reality*

Quite a number of Catholics of Irish descent felt that feeling an attachment to Irish identity was a romantic and irrational view which showed that people were unable to accept reality. This view was perpetuated in a number of different ways and portrayed identifying as Irish as unreal, imaginary, irrational, senseless, etc., as this contradicted the majority view that being Scottish was the 'true' ethnic identity.

I appreciate that I do come of Irish stock...There's people that go across to Ireland all the time, and I think sometimes manufacture a connection, just to belong...I think there's a kind of a romantic connection there.....This kind of artificial impression built up about the place.

(C2-12112; fourth generation Irish)

An older man referred to the theme of reason. For him regarding himself as Irish was a phase he went through as a youth, and connected to football, but something he grew out of when he got older.

When I was young and daft and supporting Celtic I did (identify as Irish) but (pause) but when I got past about 8 years of age and got some sense I gave it up (laugh).

(C16-22121; second generation Irish)

Similarly a Protestant woman whose sons identified as Irish (their father was of Irish Catholic origin) felt that her sons' Irish identification is beyond reason and argument.

If they had their way they would put down Irish. Don't ask me why. ..They would say Irish, but I don't know why. But they just go, 'We are Irish because our grandparents,' but like, 'No, you're Scottish, you were born in Scotland.' But no, they would still be Irish.....I think it's football. With them I would say it was more football that that's coming from.....maybe in the last maybe five years.....We've sat and spoke about you know, if you ever have kids and things like that, and the names that the both of them have picked are Irish names.....They want to be Irish, I think, don't ask me why.

(P4-21211; second generation Irish)

Identifying as Irish or Scottish may change over time for individuals, as well as over generations, and as is discussed later is highly contextual. Nonetheless, there is a strong view throughout these accounts that in so doing, people risked being ridiculed, argued with, being seen as inauthentic, making poor choices and not accepting reality.

3.2.3.6 The contextual nature of Irish identity

Despite general issues of people feeling that they would acknowledge their Irish identity to some extent, while remaining ethnically Scottish, a number of people raised the issue of the importance of context in asserting an Irish identity. Irish identity is expressed or acknowledged therefore in certain situations, given specific cues. One of the contexts in which people felt that an Irish identity would be acknowledged was in the presence of other people from Ireland.

I suppose she (his mother) would still say that she was Scottish, but then if she met you or somebody she would be from Ireland....she would say, aye, she was born in Ireland.

(C33-22111; second generation Irish)

Another younger man describes a number of situations in which he would describe himself or feel Irish although in most contexts he would see himself as Scottish. It seems that for him political and media cues make him feel Irish, and also that this is associated with bigotry for him. This latter point will be dealt with later in terms of how Irish identity evokes hostilities in Glasgow.

It depends on what mood or what situation that I would be in and whom I'm with....In what context... that would be the bigot probably. Or watching TV, watching Ireland things like that, sometimes it gets me going, the lack of common sense or the British government that actually gets me going sometimes.

(C37-22111; third generation Irish)

Another younger man who travelled to Ireland quite a lot felt that these were occasions when he would address his Irish roots as well as sometimes in pubs in particular localities where he meets members of his extended family:

In what sort of context would that kind of come up?

Just maybe having a conversation with people (pause) I visit Ireland quite a lot in terms of we've been over there on holiday ... I will speak to people in terms of my family came from ...you get into that type of conversation so it'll come up there. If I'm talking to people here I would mention it in terms if it came out as part of the discussion just about families or about influences on yourself it would come out in that bit of the conversation (pause).....I mean even in Partick...if I go to a pub.....there'll be somebody....They'll always know somebody from your extended family....so get into conversations with them about that.

(C20-12112; fourth generation Irish)

For another older woman, talking about people being Irish would emerge in conversation, but she still felt that she was Scottish and it was her grandparents who were born in Ireland who would be defined as Irish:

I'm Scottish I suppose I would say you know, but if conversation came round and I would say oh my granny and granddad were Irish and I'm proud of it.
(C26-22221; third generation Irish)

Another man pointed out that as people already knew whether their friends' parents were Irish that it would not come up in conversation because it is known:

Not unless the conversation was about your parents or your grandparents, things like that because I don't think unless your original parents are Irish or their mum and father's were Irish, I don't think it would ever come up in a conversation. There's umpteenth folk that I know in Partick whose parents are Irish and that only comes up in conversation if oh aye Peter's father's from Donegal or whatever it is y'know but other than that it never actually come up. Because you know or the folk you go about with or friends, you know their parents are Irish so it doesn't have to come up in the conversation, you just automatically know because you've grown up with them and things like that.
(C37-22111; third generation Irish)

Clearly, because of knowledge within families and friendship groups about Irish ancestry, discussing Irish identity was not commonplace, but rather taken-for-granted, but within other contexts with strangers, referring to Irish ancestry was a means for people to forge common bonds about a shared history.

3.2.3.7 *Sectarian backdrops*

In discussions about Irish ethnic identity, some reference was made to religion and to sectarian hostilities in Glasgow. This tying of Irish ethnicity to religion is exemplified in comment from a Catholic man who says that 'the bigot in me would say I am Irish', and goes on to explain:

I would say Irish and Catholic or else Irish and Protestant. It's not one without the other, y'knowIt doesn't go Irish and that's it y'know. They are Irish and Catholic or Irish and Protestant.

(C37-22111; third generation Irish)

As well as linking Irish identity with distinctive Protestant or Catholic Irish identities, there was another layer of meaning discussed later by which being Catholic was associated with an Irish identity and being Protestant with Scottishness. As is noted later, a number of people from Protestant backgrounds understood being non-practising Protestant as part of their ethnic identity, while others clearly linked being Protestant to being Scottish which raised issues about how Catholics may be Scottish.

Some of this complexity is revealed in the account of the following Catholic of Irish descent: his ethnicity he variously describes as Irish, Scottish, White, or Catholic, and settles on White and Catholic as the best description. His account encompasses many of the points made earlier: he expresses indifference to Scottishness ('it wouldn't make any difference'), an attachment to an Irish identity evoked in certain situations (TV, etc) and present but unspoken in others (with friends), a reference to official, racialised categories (White) and a religious category (Catholic) which in his case, is not linked to practice. His account also reveals that he believes that Protestant/Catholic bigotry is highly specific to Glasgow social relations:

I'm proud to be Scottish but I wouldn't say that it wouldn't make any difference if I was English or Pakistani. I'm Catholic and I'm white....I've been brought up to be a Catholic and it goes back to the bigotry thing, there's a lot of people who want to shoot you down, and they want to get to you and you want to get to them and that is Glasgow y'know it's not, it never happens in any other city I've ever been to it, it only happens in Glasgow.

(C37-22111)

Among others however, the issue of sectarianism in Northern Ireland emerged in interviews in comparison with Glaswegian sectarianism and also as a reason why people of Irish descent in Glasgow wished to dissociate themselves from their Irish roots: claiming an Irish identity was sullied by having connotations with the Northern Irish conflict. For

some of those born in Scotland of Irish backgrounds, asserting Scottishness was a preferable option made reasonable because of the Northern Irish conflict, and it was suggested that being Scottish was preferable, as in Scotland, being Scottish was viewed as superior to being Irish.

3.2.4 The ‘Scottish’ – Protestants of Irish descent

Unlike Catholics, Protestants’ Irish origin was more connected with their specific family connections, rather than with a feeling of connectedness to Irish people, culture or the country. Failing to identify as Irish was attributed to a lack of ongoing contact with Irish relatives, although as was the case among Catholics, Irish-descended Protestants identified as ethnically Scottish, but this identification did not prohibit some acknowledgement of and pride in Irish roots. It was among Protestants more than Catholics that the issue of religion as relevant to Irish identity was raised, particularly the view that Irish-descended Catholics would be more likely to identify as Irish (and indeed it was true that Catholics of Irish origin were more likely to take pride in their Irish origins). Again, as was the case among some Catholics, identifying as Irish was regarded as a disloyalty to Scotland and perceived as showing a clear lack of reason. Overall having Irish roots appeared less significant, although not unimportant, to Protestants of Irish origin, and this lesser significance was regarded as linked to some degree to their Protestant religion.

The ways in which religion is relevant to Irishness among Protestants is highlighted in the following two accounts. In the first, the man’s complaint is not that people go on about Ireland, as an Irish-descended Catholic man did, but rather that it is Irish-descended Catholics who claim an Irish identity which somehow riles this man and leaves him finding it difficult to know how his Irish heritage is relevant. He points out that some Irish Protestants identify with Northern Ireland, but that he does not, and implies that for Protestants to claim an Irish identity is more problematic than Catholics, and that being Irish inevitably means talking about religion which he (and his wife who intervenes) wish to avoid. In the second account, the dilemma for Irish Protestants is made more explicit around defining oneself as Irish, as this woman notes that many Irish Protestants came from Scotland ‘in the first place’, and people from the south (Catholics) are more likely to give children Irish names and identify as such. Both accounts mirror accounts of Catholics, that different connections to Irishness are felt by Catholics and Protestants, even though

both Protestants and Catholics used similar strategies to rationalise not identifying as ethnically Irish.

You hear people of the other religion, you know, Ireland this, Ireland that, doesn't upset me one wee bit, because I know my grandparents were Irish, so whether the country's split or not, it doesn't bother me.

Do you feel that it's more likely to be Irish Catholic people that go on about being Irish?

I would say that, yes.

Right. So why don't you think the Irish Protestants do the same?

I believe some of them do that as well, you know, they've got an affinity with Northern Ireland....There's quite a lot of them like that.

And would you yourself feel anything like that at all because your grandmother came from there, and your grandfather?

I wouldn't think so....I'm not for the talk about religion, or talking about religion or anything like that.

(Wife intervenes) It's not a subject we really, you know, we don't bother with it.

(P18-21121; third generation Irish)

But I can see that some people do want to hang onto their Irish identity the way Italians do as well, a lot of them still call their children, even though they're sort of second third generation now, they still call their children Italian names and they marry other Italians and I think that, I think there is that with Irish, I think probably more people from the south (pause) than Protestants from the north, I think Northern Protestants are, I mean I think an awful lot of them came from Scotland in the first place ..I really definitely think of myself as more Scottish than Irish but I think it's there.

(P27-21212; third generation Irish)

3.2.5 The 'Irish'

Only three interviewees who were actually born in Ireland identified as ethnically Irish, although even in these accounts this was not straightforward and revealed some interesting understandings of ethnic identification. One man emphasised his myriad identities (European, British citizen, Irish), another woman felt that she had been forced to become

British on gaining a British passport, while another Irish-born Protestant man claimed to be Irish, while pointing out that this is unusual from his religious background. These accounts revealed people feeling that Irish identities are constrained by official intervention and religion, and that being Irish is one of a number of identities one can have depending on contexts.

The woman's account is revealing regarding Irish identity. As someone who would clearly have been perceived as Irish by the predominant definitions (born in Ireland; born in Ireland of Catholic background), even she faced resistance to viewing Ireland as her home. Her account suggests that feeling attached to another place was regarded as a disloyalty to Glasgow, that there was pressure to assimilate even among those born in Ireland, and that a key marker of ethnic identity is accent:

I still refer to it as home. ...If I'm going (to Ireland), I'll say, 'I'm going home'. And of course many a time people have picked me up on that, and they'll look... 'But your home's here?'He (her husband) would say, 'I'm Irish', and that's it. And that was it, and he would never change...I mean I would still class myself as Irish, you know, my accent and everything else, I can't deny it....when I left the office in '56, ...we all had a night out then, about ten years later,and they just couldn't believe how Irish I had become...just with living with Jim and listening to him.....my whole accent had changed. I really became...I was more or less...I'd picked up the Glasgow accent, you see, no bother when I came here I was only seventeen, and I picked it up no bother, and working with them.....The girls in the office laughed when they heard me.

(C27-22221; first generation Irish)

In other accounts of Irish-descended people, accent was referred to as an identifier of being Irish or Scottish, which fits neatly with the overall view of ethnicity as the basis of nationality. For those who actually were Irish-born or who wished to acknowledge their ancestry, there were evident pressures not to do so if it meant denying Scottishness to any degree. As such it is not surprising that most people claimed a Scottish identity. However, Scottishness as well as Irishness had religious connotations, which Catholics sought to overcome by their assertion of Scottishness and which some Protestants sought to maintain by regarding a secular Protestant identity as denotative of Scottish ethnicity.

3.2.6 ‘Whiteness’ and other identities

Some people initially mentioned being ‘white’, which was explained as what they felt was the expected ‘ethnic’ category on official forms. However, on further discussion it was clear that ‘white’ was not how people understood their ethnic identities, but this term was rather viewed as a constraint disallowing expression of how people actually identified. Interestingly when ‘white’ was mentioned, unlike in official categorisations, it was often combined with another, usually a religious label and mainly a feature of younger as well as older Protestant accounts. This may reflect the failure of the ‘white’ category to delineate much of significance about ethnicity. Eight Protestants and six Catholics initially described themselves as White, and of these more than half of the Protestants (five) combined White with a religious label: White Protestant (two people), White Church of Scotland (two people) and one person who described his ethnicity as White Protestant Scottish. As noted earlier, one Catholic (C37-22111) described himself as White and Catholic. This interesting linkage of skin colour and religion suggests that for a substantial minority of Scottish Protestants in this sample, religion denotes some aspect of ethnicity. As was noted earlier, Irish ethnicity was also differently understood as linked to religion and religion denoted differing views of Irish ethnicity. These connections between religion and ethnicity are explored later.

3.2.7 Summary

Data on ethnic self-identification reveal that the majority of these interviewees in Glasgow identify as Scottish, including those with ethnic origins in Ireland, even though many of these still feel proud of their Irish heritage, particularly Catholics of Irish origin. Those who self-defined as Scottish often opposed this identity to Englishness or Britishness, which were generally regarded as synonymous. Only those born in Ireland identified as ethnically Irish, but even among these people, contexts, official definitions and religion were all considered to be relevant to ethnic self-ascriptions. Many Catholics of Irish origin claimed Scottish ethnicity on the basis of nationality which was not a feature of accounts of those not of Irish origin. This almost defensive upholding of Scottish ethnicity was considered in relation to the possibility of identifying as Irish.

Not identifying as Irish was attributed to assimilation over generations, or to an absence of ongoing contact with Ireland and relatives in Ireland, and was regarded as unrealistic, inauthentic, romantic, irrational, disloyal and to be condemned. However, some used

strategies to try to incorporate their Irish heritage within a primarily Scottish identity. Some second generation people suggested a lack of belonging in either Scotland or Ireland, and it was also second generation Irish, rather than those of subsequent generations, who identified most closely with Irishness and showed most identity confusion.

In seeking to understand how people of Irish descent negotiated an Irish aspect to their identities, a number of clear strategies can be seen: nationality was given pre-eminence over ethnicity; Irishness was incorporated into an ethnicity alongside Scottishness; assimilation over time was acknowledged; pressures to 'be Scottish' and deny others recourse to expressing an Irish identity were identified; 'reality' was queried and uncertainly accepted; Irish ethnicity was emergent, unspoken, contextual and fluid; and Irish identity was negatively associated with sectarianism.

Religion was a factor in ethnic identity. Among Protestants of Irish origin, their religion was given as a reason for failing to regard themselves as Irish in the way they believed Catholics might. Some people initially described themselves as White, reflecting official discourses, although this was not regarded as a 'true' ethnic category. However, when 'white' was mentioned, it was usually combined with a religious label even though people were being asked about ethnicity, and this was mainly a feature of Protestant accounts. This was the most curious illustration of perceived links between ethnicity and religion. The account below is perhaps one of the few which explicitly posits Scottishness and Protestantism as synonymous.

I would just say Protestant. If they asked me where I stayed, I'd say Scotland...I'd to say Scotland. I'm very emphatic about that.

Right, Scotland, right. But you don't, you would describe yourself as Protestant before you would describe yourself as Scottish?

Oh, no, no. I'd just say Scottish and Protestant. One, to me, they are interlinked with one another. I wouldn't say one was any, than the other. Say, the Church of Scotland.

So do you feel that being Scottish and being Protestant goes very much together?
Yes.

Right, and what about being Catholic then? How do Catholics fit into that? Can you be a

Oh, they must be Catholic and Scottish as well. The only thing is they always bring in the background.

They bring in what?

The background, which is Ireland.....I don't know why, and I think that you'll always get the Irish Catholic emphasising that. You wouldn't get the Scottish Catholic even though he was Irish, say he came from Belfast, they don't seem to do it as much as the Southern Ireland. They seem to emphasise it a bit more. Even though they've missed a generation, they can go back two generations. Whereas you get a Scotch, who'll just say he's a Protestant and Scottish, even if he was of Irish descent.

Right, OK. So you think even among the Catholics, the Northern Catholics would emphasise it less than the Southern Catholics.

Mm. The Southern Catholics always emphasise...well, if you meet somebody in Glasgow, and a Catholic, they come from Southern Ireland and they're Scottish. And they'll always emphasise that they come from Southern Ireland....(in) the last generation, they're always playing that up.

(P8-11121)

3.3 Defining religious identity

3.3.1 Links between current religious practice and self-identification

Of the interviewees, 39 had been brought up as Catholics and 33 as Protestants. Of the 39 Catholics, 20 still practise the Catholic religion and 1 is a practising Protestant. Of the 33 Protestants, 9 practise some form of Protestantism. All interviewees were asked how they would currently self-identify in terms of a religious label.

Among the Catholics, the 20 people who still practise Catholicism self-identify as Catholics. Among the other 19 labels given were Catholic, lapsed/wooden Catholic, Christian, Atheist (4 people), non-religious and Protestant.

Of the 9 people from Protestant backgrounds who practise a religion, the majority were most likely to identify with the denomination they belonged to, or as Christian, rather than with the broad label of being Protestant. The majority of those from Protestant backgrounds who did not practise religion identified as Protestant, and this was different

from Catholics who almost entirely connected labelling oneself as Catholic with practising religion.

Among self-designated Protestants reasons for calling themselves Protestant in the absence of actual religious adherence, were predominantly to do with having been brought up as Protestant and therefore to do with the past. For Catholics, being Catholic was viewed mainly as reflecting religious adherence, whereas for most self-defined Protestants, adherence or practice was largely irrelevant. A tiny minority of Catholics did feel that if one was once a Catholic, one could not get away from it, but this was viewed as to do with the power of Catholicism rather than just to do with how one was born and brought up.

3.3.2 Analysis of religious self-definitions

In the analysis which follows, interview responses on religious self-definitions are analysed, and the extent to which religious self-definitions in interviews accord with current religious practice; and also considered are the reasons given for current self-definition as Catholic, lapsed Catholic, Protestant, denominational Protestants, Christians and Atheists.

3.3.2.1 *The 'Catholics' and lapsed Catholics*

The majority of people who self-defined as Catholic in interviews did so because they practised the Catholic religion. A further minority did so because they were born into Catholic families, became Catholic on marriage, or felt that being a Catholic was inescapable, due to the power of the Catholic church. Two people defined themselves as lapsed or 'wooden' Catholics, a label which encompassed both background and lack of current religious practice.

3.3.2.2 *Self-defined Protestants*

In contrast to the general situation among self-defined Catholics, self-defined Protestants were mainly those who did not practise religion. Religious Protestants were more likely to define themselves according to religious denomination or as Christians. Self-defined Protestants were thus able to remove the religious content from a religious demarcation, and this was also the case when accounting for their parents' Protestantism, as it was evident that practice was not also a requirement for parents to be described as Protestant. Defining oneself as Protestant was rather explained as due to being brought up that way,

connected to being externally identified, and necessary for being either Protestant or Catholic, these being opposed identities. Only in the case of some women was this self-definition based on the alternative of having married a Protestant (the influence of intermarriage on self-identity is dealt with later).

3.3.2.3 *Denominational Protestants*

An interesting finding was that most of those who were actually religious (and Protestant) identified *their religion* as a denominational identity. However, there were a number of cases of people who define their religious identities denominationally, who also define themselves as Protestant in wider social life (Chapters Five and Six). What this appears to illustrate is that being religious is being distinguished from the way that being Protestant acts as a group boundary in wider Glaswegian social life, and that Protestants are able to distinguish between religious labels denoting practice, and religious labels denoting boundaries between externally-defined as well as self-defined secular groups.

3.3.2.4 *Christians*

People categorised themselves as Christian for two main reasons: sharing broad Christian ideals and living good lives, but not practising any particular religion; being practising Protestants or (in one example) a practising Catholic who is involved in a broad ecumenical movement. This was generally a label which younger non-practising people self-identified with. There was one reference to Christian being used as a means to blur differences between Catholics and Protestants.

3.3.2.5 *Atheists/agnostics/non-religious*

It was mainly younger people, and mainly people from Catholic backgrounds who described themselves as Atheists. More than half of these people were younger Catholic middle class men, and being atheist was explained as reflecting a disbelief in religion. As Catholics associated being Catholic as primarily accurate if tied to religious practice, and as Protestants do the opposite, this may be why genuinely non-religious people from Catholic backgrounds prefer to label themselves as atheist.

3.4 Factors influencing change in religious self-identity (intermarriage, secularisation, gender, practice, schooling)

A number of people changed their religious self-identification on adulthood, by giving up religion, by adopting another religion (some Catholic-born women became Protestants; one Protestant-born woman became Catholic), or becoming religious (denominational Protestants), etc. Some of these changes in self-identity were connected to changes in practices regarding religious adherence and Catholic schooling, while for others, although actual self-identification did not change, practices did.

Two main influences on changes in religious self-identity and related behaviours (practice, support for Catholic schooling) over time are, a) secularisation which is notable in the extent of religious identification and practice among those in the older cohort compared with the younger (particularly the sharper decrease in Catholic adherence) and, b) intermarriage (mixed marriages between born Catholics and born Protestants).

Factors which influence changes in religious self-identity have later relevance to how religion is linked to practices relevant to health (Chapter Four). However, while self-identity and how this is connected to culture is important, as important is the relevance of externally defined identity, discussed in later chapters, which also has particular relevance to health (Chapters Five and Six). Secularisation and intermarriage interweave over time to create changes in identities and customs among those born Catholic or Protestant. The ways in which these factors relate to changes in self-identity are analysed below.

3.4.1 Patterns of identity, intermarriage, secularisation, practice and schooling

Although caution is necessary in generalising from a sample of this size to the wider population, the data reveal that among Catholics in the older cohort, 8 out of 18 had one parent who had been born Protestant (7 mothers), the majority of whom converted to Catholicism on marriage and brought up their children as Catholic (marriages prior to 1930s). In the marriages of older cohort Catholics themselves (during the 1950s/1960s), 7 out of 16 marriages were with Protestants (one man C21-12122 had been married three times altogether and twice to Protestants). More of those older Catholics who grew up in mixed marriages married Protestants themselves, but conversion of wives to Catholicism was not as common as among their parents' generation. Nevertheless, the vast majority of

these Catholics in mixed marriages practised religion and sent their children to Catholic schools (see Appendix 9, which summarises in table form many of the patterns described below regarding religious background, intermarriage, current practice and own and children's schooling).

Intermarriage therefore at this time did not appear to affect the continuance of a Catholic identity from fathers to children, but meant that in mixed marriages, Protestant-born women changed, accepted or accommodated the religious beliefs and practices of their (Catholic) husbands. What these patterns reveal is that religiosity was high among Catholics born in 1932 and that entering into mixed marriages had little impact on identifying as Catholic and displaying this identification through practice and own children's schooling.

However, among those younger cohort Catholics who married from the 1970s onwards, only 5/22 people continued to practise Catholicism. This appears to reflect increasing secularisation among younger people, and of those with children (18) only 7 sent their children to Catholic schools. As many younger Catholics had marriage partners who were born Protestant as well as Catholic, much as in the older cohort; but in the 1970s, practising religion and sending children to Catholic schools was more common in wholly Catholic marriages, and mixed marriages appear to enhance an already observable pattern of lessening religious adherence and reduced willingness to send children to Catholic schools, a pattern of secularisation, also to some extent observable even among those who married other Catholics. The pattern in the present sample thus reflects the pattern of declining attendance which is already well documented in church censuses (Brierley and MacDonald, 1985).

In this sample of 18/22 younger people from Catholic backgrounds who had children, only 2/18 with children married other Catholics, practised Catholicism and sent their children to Catholic schools (C2; C24). Those from working Catholic backgrounds were more likely to continue to send children to Catholic schools, particularly if they had married other Catholics, and even if they did not practice religion themselves. Middle class born Catholics in this sample, if they no longer practised, and whether they married other Catholics or not, tended not to support Catholic schools because religion was no longer important to them. Religious self-identification, social class, gender, religious practice,

schooling, overall secularisation and religious background of spouse all therefore appear interlinked. How people identify in terms of religion and how this links with choices regarding practice and schooling, and in turn how identity and behaviours are influenced by intermarriage and gender, is explored below.

3.4.1.1 *The importance of gender*

Among the older cohort, what was notable was that it was mainly women whose identity was most liable to change on marriage. For women who had been brought up as Protestants, this meant that they ensured their children were brought up as Catholics on marriage to Catholic-born men, and for women brought up as Catholics this involved giving up Catholicism on marriage to Protestant men. There were a few rare examples of a Protestant-born man who converted to Catholicism on marrying an older Catholic interviewee (C12-12221), a Catholic woman who retained her faith even when she married a Protestant man (C13-12222), and among parents, one father of an older cohort Catholic who had converted to Catholicism on marriage (C16-22121). However, the general picture was that it was women who accommodated the religious identity of their husbands. Among parents of older Catholic cohort interviewees, mothers often converted to Catholicism, or at least ensured their children went to mass and attended Catholic schools. Among wives of older cohort Catholic men, conversion was not common, but there was a continuing practice of children being brought up as Catholics, with mothers providing a crucial support in this. Although Protestant women who married Catholics did not always become Catholic or self-identify as such, their support for their children being brought up as Catholic meant that they became *de facto* Catholic mothers. For Catholic women who married Protestant men (who as already noted were often not religious Protestants), while not necessarily becoming self-defined Protestants (although as is noted later some younger women did redefine themselves thus), marriage meant giving up Catholic practice and acquiescing with husbands imposing their ‘religious’ identities on their children. These aspects of women’s experience are illustrated below.

3.4.1.1.1 Gender in the older cohort

In the following account an older Catholic man explains the role of his Protestant-born mother in ensuring the religious practice of her children, even though she herself did not become a Catholic:

No she didn't attend Church at all but she was very attentive about getting us to Mass, very...She had said that she had promised to bring us up Catholics and she did.....She got us up on a Sunday and made sure that we went to Mass.

She herself she didn't .. go to Mass herself or anything?

No no.

But she did ensure you all did?

That's right but she didn't convert to being a Catholic.

(C39-12122)

In another similar account, an older man's mother rarely went to church and though the children were brought up Catholic, he was not convinced that his mother really became a Catholic:

She had been Church of Scotland and (pause) and she never really became a Catholic (pause) perhaps one could say ...she professed to become but she never was

She wouldn't have gone to Church?

Very rarely indeed so we, my two sisters and myself were brought up as Catholics.

(C29-22122)

However in another account, a Protestant-born mother did convert to Catholicism on marriage to a Catholic man, and clearly was actively religious:

Did your mum convert?

She did, yeah that was the woman usually converted. I think she probably converted because she was marrying into a Catholic family yeah.

Would they have both have gone to Mass?

Oh yes, yes.

(C21-12122)

Although not all of these mothers who married prior to the 1930s actually converted to Catholicism, they did not practice Protestantism and they did bring up their children up as Catholics, even though they represent differing degrees of identification with Catholicism,

from becoming Catholic themselves to supporting Catholic fathers in transmitting religion to their children.

In the next generation, the following older woman still defines herself as Catholic, although she stopped practising on marriage. Her children went to a non-denominational ('Protestant') school, as that was what her husband wanted. However, regardless of the fact that she is no longer a practising Catholic, in everyday life she notes that she is identified as a 'fenian', which denotes an Irish republican background (see Chapter Five for other reference to Irish republicanism). This woman can retain belief in being a Catholic even though she does not practise, due to marriage, and is still externally identified as Catholic, yet she has no power over the identity of her children. For her, regardless of how she self-identifies, not being an active Catholic seemed required of her in her marriage.

Nowadays are you still religious yourself?

No, I married a Protestant.

Did you become a Protestant and go to Church?

Don't go anywhere know what I mean.

Do you think would people generally see you as being a Protestant or a Catholic?

Och they'll say that wee fenian you know call me the wee fenian because it's all Protestants, I go way, you know what I mean, drink in the () BarIt's all Protestants that's in there.....my man's pals you know (laugh), I'm a wee fenian you know.

You didn't send them (her children) to a Catholic school?

No, they went to (pause) Protestant schools aye

Why didn't you send them to a Catholic school?

Well, just that (pause) it was his, he had Protestant, so you just went with what your man was, you know what I mean

Right, is more likely in a situation like that that the children will do what the father?

Aye then, don't know what like it is now right enough but then it was you know.

Then it was whatever your husband was?

Whatever your husband was the weans went to whatever school your husband went to, you know what I mean?

So you'd still say you were a Catholic?

I am a Catholic aye

Right, even though you don't go to Mass?

No, I don't go anymore just.....but it's a true saying, once a Catholic always a Catholic, so they say anyway (laugh). Well that's it. You're what you're brought up that's.....you are you know whether you go or not (pause).

(C23-12221)

These accounts are cross-verified by other data showing that among older male Catholics who married Protestant women, their displays of religious identity (practice, schooling) seemed largely unaffected by marriage, but rather supported by their wives. However, unlike the Catholic woman below who did retain her Catholicism on marriage to a Protestant man, Catholic men did not express appreciation that their wives supported them in passing their religion on to their children, perhaps because this was taken-for-granted in relations between men and women. Interestingly, the following woman recounts that her Protestant husband will go to religious ceremonies with her when she is abroad, possibly because he is outside of his own environment where such behaviour might be interpreted as demonstrating belief in Catholicism, but more generally she notes with pride that her husband facilitated her in bringing their children up as Catholic:

My husband comes with me you know in a strange country. He'll say I'll just come along with you and he might not wait in for the whole of the Mass but most of the time he will. And he always encouraged me when the children were young. He would have their shoes brushed in the mornings ready for me to take them out, give us a run along to the Church and things like that.

(C13-12222)

3.4.1.1.2 The younger cohort: women

Among younger interviewees, half of the females from Catholic backgrounds married Protestants. Four of these five specifically mentioned marriage as relevant to changing their religion. The following woman stopped practising religion specifically because of marriage, thus her marriage to a Protestant prompted a giving up of aspects of her prior identity:

What age would you have been when you stopped (practising Catholicism)?

Nineteen

What changed things?

I married a Protestant (laughter)

(C1-12211)

For another younger woman marrying a Protestant meant that she became a secular Protestant, but aside from giving up her own religion as the previous woman had done, she went further and took on aspects of the Protestant identity she felt she now shared with her husband and children. Her husband was vehemently anti-Catholic and she became similarly so, to the extent that she had problems with one of her daughters having a Catholic partner. Her account is not only one of giving up the Catholic faith, but rather taking up what she believed was the preferable Protestant identity, replete with attendance at Orange Walks, yet devoid of apparently unnecessary religious adherence.

I married a Protestant.....I go to the Orange Walk and all that.....He (her husband) doesn't go anywhere (like church) and that, it's no that kind of, I just married him, and that's how it was and my children are Protestants.....I mean I'm going by him and he's, his outlook's different, I prefer to be the way he thinks
Is he tolerant of Catholics then or not?

No.....can't stand them.....I've got a daughter right, and she's going with a Catholic, now that upsets me....I brought her up to be a Protestant... my husband doesn't like it.....When my babies were born....it was always going to be a Protestant school they went to, and when they were born well, they ask your religion, and it was just right away they were Protestants.

(C36-22211)

For these working class Catholic women, their old identities become subsumed by their husbands' identities, on a spectrum from giving up signs of Catholic adherence to actively pursuing a perceived Protestant identity. In a similar way to Protestant-born mothers of older Catholics described earlier, they leave their own identities behind in order to give priority to ensuring that their children are brought up in the religion of fathers. For Protestant-born women in the 1950s and 1960s, this involved supporting Catholic schooling and ensuring attendance at mass. For some Catholic-born women in mixed

marriages from the 1970s onwards, this meant not being actively Catholic (practising) or in the one extreme case cited above, becoming actively anti-Catholic.

Another Catholic-born middle class woman found that her religious views were challenged by meeting her prospective husband and finally she became a Protestant, but unusually, a committed practising Protestant. Her situation differs from other Catholic-born women who married Protestants in that her decision to change her religious identity was prompted by meeting her husband but her new identity was one based on replacing one faith with another, rather than giving up a faith or becoming a secular Protestant. Protestant religious identity is not often, although it can be, connected to being religious.

I started to sort of examine what I think because I was challenged when I met Mike my husband, he wasn't Catholic but he was a committed Christian...Protestant, and you know started to ask questions and think about, I don't suppose I had ever really thought about what I believed up to that point, I just accepted it really so I started to ask questions about what did I believe, what didn't I believe and I really wanted to get answers to a lot of things.Some of the Catholic beliefs I felt didn't sit easy you know but I think I came to a real faith then in, as much as I then knew what I believed and why I believed it.....I think although my mother took that hard, I think she respected the fact that it wasn't just because Mike you know wasn't a Catholic.
(C22-12212)

Another working class Catholic woman managed to retain her religion on marriage and felt that she was lucky for her husband's support in this.

I've been very lucky I know that, I have been very lucky, no, and if there's anything like First Communion, Confirmations or anything he's always been there, he's always got on with them, he's always been quite proud of them you know
So you all get involved at times like that?
Oh uh uh.
But he wouldn't go normally?
No.
(C14-22211)

The other Catholic-born woman (C17-22212) of these five who married Protestants, found that getting married made her think about whether she wanted to get married in a Catholic church. As she felt she was no longer religious, she did not do so, but this decision was less to do with any influence of her husband, but rather reflected the stance of a number of younger middle class Catholics in adulthood that allegiances to Catholicism and a Catholic identity would not be maintained in the absence of faith.

Only one younger Protestant-born woman (P28-11211) became a Catholic, in this case on marrying a southern European Catholic immigrant. Some other working class Protestant women married Catholic men and allowed their children to go to Catholic schools. One of these women was adamant that although her husband stopped practising on meeting her, this was not to do with her influence (P4-21211). Unlike previous generations when mothers, including Protestant-born mothers, took responsibility for ensuring children's attendance at mass, this woman left this to her husband, and subsequently her children stopped attending of their own accord (a specifically 'Protestant' approach connected with choice). The younger Protestant female interviewees who married Catholic men tended to get married in the Catholic Church, but beyond this evident acknowledgement of their husband's identity, they did not perceive themselves as becoming Catholic and still identified as Protestants. As the account below reveals, some Protestant women in the early 1970s still felt they had to get married in Catholic churches, but this accommodation did not necessarily mean that the Catholic view was accepted:

And you got married then in a Catholic Church?

I did uh uh

And you didn't mind doing that at the time?

No, no ...I really didn't, I thought it was strange and I said that I didn't agree with itbut it was just one of those things you had to do.... I mean that was 28 years ago I got married and the Priest used to come to my door and say I was living in sin and our children would be bastards you know, he was just an old Priest

So why did he think you were living in sin then?

Because I was a Protestant.

(P25-21211)

A common view of these women was that their husbands were not particularly committed to Catholicism and that husbands' efforts to attend church or send children to Catholic schools were for their parents' benefit, rather than a sign of any particular religious commitment. Most of these women continued to view themselves as Protestant.

3.4.1.1.3 Identity and younger men

In confirmation of the principle that it was wives' identities which were most liable to change due to mixed marriages, none of the younger Catholic men appeared to regard marriage as relevant to identity change. Rather, for middle class men particularly, identifying as Catholic, or ceasing to define oneself as Catholic, was rather attributed to particular views of Catholicism and practice. Nonetheless, this did not deflect from experience of being externally identified as Catholic in wider social life, and being identified as Catholic on the basis of a number of cues including schools attended, names, or football allegiances (Chapters Five and Six).

Unlike Catholic women, there appeared no possibility that Catholic men's religious self-identities might be changed by marriage. However in contrast to older men, younger Catholic men in mixed marriages (5/9 with Protestant-born wives) did not maintain either religious practice or schooling, a situation also found to a lesser extent among those with Catholic-born wives (only 1/11 younger Catholic men in this sample practised). Of those with children (8/11), only two Catholic men sent their children to Catholic schools).

It would therefore seem that it is secularisation which is affecting Catholic men's identities, rather than marriage per se. The preponderance of Catholic men defining themselves as Atheist suggests that Catholic men no longer self-identified as such, unless they practised their religion (unlike Protestant men). That there are other aspects to do with religious identity not necessarily connected with being religious is demonstrated in the case of Protestants, and the cases of Catholic-born women becoming Protestants. In accounts of Catholics rather, there was a predominant view that being Catholic was linked to practice, and this is also illustrated in the support of older Protestant-born wives of Catholic men, who although not necessarily self-defining as Catholics, supported Catholic religious practices. However it was clear that among younger men, particularly working class men, self-defined Catholic identity, in the light of increasing secularisation, was being increasingly denoted by other aspects of identity (see Chapter Five), and despite the

evidence, there was a belief among some that the power of men to influence the religion of wives was waning or even reversing.

One illustration of this was in the account of a non-practising Catholic working class man who felt that some Catholic men gave up their identities because of their Protestant wives. He did not feel that this had happened to him by marrying a Protestant as he strongly self-identified as Catholic, although he did not practise. He also did not have children, yet brought up the example of whether children might be sent to Catholic or Protestant schools as one arena where gender, power and identity might be connected. He implies that schooling is one area where men might relinquish power and identity, and although this appears to be the case, it appears equally to be the case that Catholic men (and women) focus on school choices for reasons distinct from religious ones (discussed later).

There are a lot of women ...can actually change a guy's religion which I've seen done umpteen times. We call them jump-the-dykes.

You call them what?

Jump-the-dykes. They've actually married into a different religion and she's been that dominant that they've all gone the other way.

So do you think are children more likely if they have a marriage like that to follow the religion of the mother? Is that how it would usually work? Rather than the father?

I would say that the dominant parent Children will most likely follow the dominant person.

And that could be either one?

Could be either one. In hindsight if I had children and I stayed up here, there's a school just over the railway, which is Protestant. I would send my children to a Protestant school because they're just over the road. Saying that, I don't have any kids but I don't know if I would do that or I would send them, I would go in work late and say right fine we'll take the kids to Catholic school and get them picked up and whatever.

Is Miriam, does she come from the same kind of background?

She's Protestant....We've got a mixed marriage.

(C37-22111)

3.4.1.1.4 Gender: summing up

These data highlight not only the lesser practice among this sample of Catholic men compared with Catholic women, but the impact of secularisation over a twenty year period (1950s-1970s), and the combined effect of secularisation with intermarriage on the Catholic family. Compared with the previous generation when the families of Catholic men, often with the support of Protestant women, clearly upheld a Catholic religious identity, these younger men have moved away from religious practice being a part of their identities. Although women were more likely to hang on to their religion than men, and to regret the loss of their religion, Catholic women now were, unlike Catholic men, able to take on a Protestant identity through marriage. Even if this meant not actually being religious, for Catholic-born women this could mean becoming secular Protestant, whereas Catholic-born men, regardless of lack of practice neither perceived themselves, nor were perceived by others, as Protestant.

This shows that regardless of some shift in how women's identities are defined over time, women have greater freedom to change their religion, even if this is to a large extent dictated by the religion of those they marry. Whereas during the 1950s Protestant-born wives in this sample clearly followed the religion of their husbands, and were integral to the maintenance of the Catholic family, from the 1970s onwards it is more likely to be Catholic women, particularly working class women, who fall into line with their Protestant-born husbands. This pattern appears to mirror an overall move from a religious to a secular society affected by gender relations.

For Catholic women, despite 'becoming Protestant', prior identities were not entirely erased: there were cases of women being jokingly reminded of their Irish roots, sometimes on entering into marriage with Protestant men who were clearly anti-Catholic. There was a case of a Protestant woman who did not want it known in her workplace that she had once been a Catholic. When women changed identities, they generally did not want their former identities referred to.

Overall, it appears that some Catholic women on marrying Protestants try to rid themselves of their Catholic identities, an important fact if researching the health of Catholic women. On the other hand Catholic men cannot hide or change how their identities are externally perceived on marriage, regardless of whether they regard themselves as Catholic any

longer or not. Although marrying non-Catholics appeared to be relevant to choices about schooling for example, none of the Catholic men in mixed marriages regarded getting married as relevant to religious practices, as some women had done, although one Catholic man cited above felt that Protestant women were often responsible for Catholic men changing a man's religion, even if for him changing religion seemed less to do with religion and more to do with non-religious aspects of identity in public life (Chapter Five) – these men have 'gone the other way'. Part of this may be as he suggested in his account, not feeling strongly enough about religion to send children to a Catholic school if another is more easily available.

3.4.2 Decline in Catholic schooling and practice

Not only as noted earlier had practice changed over time among the cohorts, and a lessening in practice was also associated with intermarriage, but the extent of sending children to Catholic schools whether one practised or not, or married Catholics or not, had also changed over time.

Reasons for sending children to Catholic schools in the younger cohort varied: one younger practising Catholic underplayed the importance of the religious ethos of the Catholic school he sent his children to, but rather felt that having an academically good school was the most important factor, and that this would override religious factors. Among others who did not practise religion, Catholic schooling was variously chosen because it provided a good standard of values ('religious' reasons), or because schools were local ('convenience' reasons) or parents had gone there themselves ('experience' reasons). Unexpectedly the fact of schools being religious or Catholic was not explicitly stated as important by those who used these schools in the younger cohort.

Among those younger people from Catholic backgrounds who did not send their children to Catholic schools (the majority, 11/18 younger Catholics), the main reasons were that they themselves were no longer religious ('religious' reasons) and had good non-denominational local schools ('convenience' reasons). For those who had married Protestants, two women specifically did not want their children to go to Catholic schools as they have taken on Protestant identities (religious Protestant – C22-12212; secular anti-Catholic Protestant – C36-22211), and among the rest, having a good local school was the most important factor.

Overall, among middle class Catholic parents, finding schools with good academic reputations was important and for some this involved consideration of schools they had attended, if these had good academic reputations, whereas among working class parents, schools were more likely to be chosen because they were local, or because they were rated highly by parents who had attended the same schools.

Choices about whether or not to send children to religious schools were therefore rarely based on the religious ethos of schools in the younger cohort, but rather choices were affected by the convenient location of schools, prior knowledge and personal experience, and among a minority of middle class parents some assessment of the academic, social, religious and cultural mix of schools.

Among those who did not currently practise, some had attended church when their children were younger, but stopped as their children got older. Some people stopped practising on marriage, or specifically because they had married Protestants, or when they left home, although some people, whose parents were less committed about attending, themselves stopped when they reached secondary school age. Within accounts of when and why those who did not currently practise Catholicism had stopped, one theme was that some people felt that their Catholic upbringings had been very strict, that priests and nuns embodied fear and that schools often took a role in monitoring children's religious attendance. These were regarded as negative experiences.

3.4.3 Secularisation

The impact of increasing secularisation can be broadly inferred from the lesser attachment of younger Catholic people to religious practice. This trend was more notable among men than among women, while at the same time it was younger Catholic women who were able to claim that marriage impacted on religious self-identification and practices. Among younger people who had been brought up as Catholic, there was a clear dissatisfaction with Catholicism compared with older Catholics, and within accounts there was a move among younger Catholics to denounce religion if it was forced on people. The coercive nature of Catholicism was mentioned in relation to parents' and school teachers' behaviour among Catholics, and among Protestants, the perceived nature of Catholics being brought up with little choice about being religious, was negatively contrasted with a Protestant view which prioritised people making up their own minds about religion. Among younger Catholics,

this philosophy seems to have been adopted in relation to their own children, with the result that in the face of choice, practice seems to lessen. Also with regard to schooling for their children, although numbers are not representative of wider trends, younger Catholic parents, including those who were practising, chose Catholic schools less for being Catholic than for other reasons.

3.5 Linking ethnic and religious identities

Clearly in accounts, ethnicity was linked to religion, although this linkage was more a feature of Protestant than Catholic accounts, possibly being downplayed by Catholics because they wished to be considered validly Scottish. Some Protestants felt that links to Irish ethnicity differed depending on whether one came from Irish Catholic or Irish Protestant backgrounds. A substantial minority of Protestants also felt that being Protestant best described their ethnic (Scottish) identities, and in some accounts 'real' Scottishness was linked to Protestantism, as 'real' Irishness was linked to Catholicism. Additionally, among Protestants, it was not considered important that to claim a label 'Protestant' one had to have any ongoing connection with religious practice, so Protestantism was often a secular kind of belonging with links to one's past heritage, and was also a claim on not being Catholic.

The implications of these issues for Catholics of Irish descent are important. As Catholics prioritised birthplace in ethnic identification, they clearly sought to defend their rights to being Scottish, although not without some regard for their Irish heritage. However, unlike Protestants, who held dearly to a Protestant heritage in the absence of a current culture of religious activity, people of Irish descent did not feel they could really be considered ethnically Irish any longer. There were clear pressures on people of Irish descent, and even the Irish-born, to give up claims to any identity apart from a Scottish identity. Irish Catholics appear to have been trying to remove religious connotations from Scottish identity, and possibly affecting this by separating out their religious identity from their ethnic identity. One facet of this may be evident in their claims of being Catholic – this had to be demonstrated by a specifically religious attachment, or by the inescapable power of Catholicism, but was not done by claims on an Irish (Catholic) heritage. For Catholics of Irish descent, it is a Catholic rather than an Irish identity which has persisted over generations, even as a religiously-based Catholic identity is now disappearing due to

increasing secularisation. However, regardless of these changes over time in attachment to Irish and/or Catholic identities, what is clear from the data is that self-definitions and changing practices do not necessarily coincide with external definitions and identifications (Chapters Five and Six).

Being Catholic or Protestant in Glasgow has past connotations of Irish and Scottish ethnicities respectively. Although most Catholic accounts challenge this mapping of religion onto ethnicity by asserting a strict concordance of religious adherence with being Catholic, and query mapping being Catholic onto being Irish by asserting Scottishness, this trend is countered by the Protestant tendency to remove a religious content from the label Protestant, and to link Protestantism with ethnicity and specifically Scottish ethnicity. In an increasingly secular society, using religion as a marker of seemingly immutable group difference (particularly for men; there is some leeway for women, although the tendency to note prior origins persists), effectively denotes prior ethnic origins (evident in that, as data have shown, Irish-descended Protestants fit in and are seen as originally Scottish anyway). While Catholics often try to dissolve this linkage, as later chapters will show, self-identifying as Catholic (Chapter Four) and being externally identified as such (Chapters Five and Six) may be shown to have varying relevancies to health experience.

It seems from the data here that regardless of how people define their ethnic and religious identities, wider social processes come into play in demarcating group boundaries, which have little regard for Catholic criteria for self-identifying as Catholic (practice, schooling), and little regard for Irish-descended Catholic criteria for claiming Scottish ethnicity (birthplace). While some Catholics of Irish descent get criticised by both those of Irish descent as well as those not of Irish descent, for the disloyalty perceived in celebrating Irish ancestry to any degree, later chapters reveal the persistence of practices in wider social life which exclude Catholics, because being identified as Catholic continues to mark out people who are not Protestant, and despite their protestations, not wholly Scottish either.

CHAPTER FOUR: Family life, Identity and Health

4.1 Introduction

The question which this chapter seeks to address is, what are the social factors affecting health in families during childhood and adulthood, which differentiate those of Catholic from those of Protestant family backgrounds? The focus of this chapter is on three key interrelated ways in which Catholic and Protestant experiences of family life differ, which may have relevance to health: family size, religious commitment and marital stability. This focus is derived from an initial analysis which showed that the main differences between Catholic and Protestant families during the childhoods of the interviewees were that Catholics were much more likely to come from larger families, families which showed a clear commitment to religion (exhibited through practice and support for religious schooling) and families in which parents did not separate or divorce. The main contrast is of Catholic and Protestant childhoods, with some commentary on the extent to which the family patterns of childhood are similar or different from the experience of the interviewees in adulthood. Finally, the ways in which religious adherence, family size and intact marriages might be implicated in health differences between Catholics and Protestants are discussed.

4.2 Family size

4.2.1 Patterning of family size by religion and cohort

Although caution is needed when dealing with a small sample, there was a clear and statistically significant religious patterning with regard to family size from the 1920s/1930s up until the 1970s. Eighty-eight per cent of the Catholic interviewees born in 1932 grew up in families of four or more children compared with 35% of Protestants (1920s/1930s/1940s families). Among those in the younger cohort, 73% of Catholics came from families with four or more children compared with 44% of Protestants (1940s/1950s/1960s families). Among older cohort interviewees in adulthood, 53% of Catholics compared with 12% of Protestants had four or more children (1950s/1960s/1970s). Among younger cohort interviewees, 14% of Catholics compared with 6% of Protestants had four or more children (1970s/1980s/1990s). Clearly the majority of Catholics born both in the 1930s and 1950s

came from relatively large families (4/4+ children), and Catholic family size patterns largely mirror Catholic teaching on contraception up until the 1970s.

4.2.2 Perception of family size as linked to religion

In accordance with these trends linking religion to family size, interviewees clearly regarded large families as a Catholic phenomenon. The majority of Protestants held this view even when they could cite examples of large Protestant families (sometimes including their own), and the majority of Catholics when questioned on the size of their childhood families regarded large families as an effect of religion. Among a few Protestants there was acknowledgement that Protestant families had also been larger in the past and also that large family size among rural Protestant communities was not uncommon. Nonetheless, the common view among both Protestants and Catholics was that Catholics had more children, a view supported by the data described here, showing this to be generally true up until the 1970s:

Like you came from quite a big family too. Was that common for everybody to come from a big family?

No, Catholics had more big families in they days. They had more big families.
(P8-11121; childhood family of 7; 4 own children)

A younger Protestant woman growing up during the 1950s/1960s, who herself became Catholic through marriage, described how having a large family led to the attribution of being Catholic, even when occasionally such a marker of religion was not always accurate.

When I was young you got, 'Mrs so and so has got 8 children, 9 children she must be a Catholic', they had big families.

So was that one of the big stereotypes of Catholics is that the large family?

Oh aye the large families, they must be Catholics got a big family. Sometimes you were wrong. I mean I knew one woman that had 11. She was a Protestant (laugh)
(P27-11211, childhood family of 2; 3 own children)

What was notable in accounts of Protestants was that not only was having a large number of children regarded as an (occasionally inaccurate) marker of Catholic identity, but having many children was derided and frowned upon.

Among Catholics, religion was used as an explanation for large families. Some Catholics emphasised the religious basis of this by pointing out that their Protestant-born mothers had married Catholic men, and as a result did not have recourse to means of controlling births. In the first case cited below, an older man makes the point that his mother, as a convert to Catholicism, would not have had access to or knowledge of birth control methods.

My father was a Catholic and my mother converted to Catholicism, so methods of birth control were not within their remit and certainly any other ways of you know the sort of rhythm method and all these other things, would be unknown to them.
(C21-12122; childhood family of 8; 2 own children)

In another case an older man whose mother did not convert to Catholicism clearly feels that his mother's inability to control her fertility was in turn controlled by his father's religion:

I don't think there was any question of any preconceived number....If my mother had her way she probably wouldn't have had so many, I'm certain of it.

Why is that something that she would have insinuated or said or?

Yeah insinuated, she was not Catholic, I was Catholic, my father was Catholic, my mother was Protestant.

And do you feel then that it was because he was Catholic that he wanted more children really?

I think that he just didn't stop to think, just had the children that came along. My mother was more ...thinking about these things and she would have planned it better if she could have done.

(C39-12122; childhood family of 6; 4 own children of which 1 adopted)

Within the adult families of older Catholic interviewees themselves, religion was again proffered as an explanation for having larger families. The following older woman explains that despite miscarriages, she would not have used any means to control her family size. This particular woman also has one severely disabled daughter yet this experience did not affect her commitment to church teaching:

I've got six of my ain and I'd have had ten because I had four miscarriages, but then again it was ma religion, I wouldnae have done anything to prevent having a family.

(C12-12221; childhood family of 8; 6 own children)

Among older Catholics in adulthood (who married during the 1950s/1960s), it was clear that limiting family size was also not within their remit. The following older man shows his distaste for planning families by referring to it as, 'all that carry on'. His reference to letting nature take its course is a clear assertion of the main Catholic argument against contraception:

There was no such thing as they have nowadays, planning and all that carry on. It was just nature took its course.

(C15-22121; childhood family of 6; 4 own children)

Among younger Catholic cohort interviewees, explanations for why their parents had large families were less explicitly stated as to do with religion, but rather emphasised a lack of control or intervention. These Catholics would have had parents belonging roughly to the same age group as older cohort interviewees. For one younger man, his parents would only have stopped having children when his mother was no longer physically capable of it.

I assume my mother and father just produced children when they came along and that was it. I would think the fact she had 9 of them suggested that they didn't think too much about it, and I think the last one was when she was about 44, 45 when she must have ran out of eggs or whatever you do when you're that age.

(C6-12112; childhood family of 9; 2 own children)

Protestants, even though some grew up during the years of the Depression explained their parents' small number of children as 'ideal' and affected, not by religion, but rather by what families could afford or manage. Having two or three children was generally regarded by those in both cohorts as the acceptable ideal, while being an only child was generally seen as unfortunate, apart from materially (also the view of Catholics).

The extent to which large family size was associated with being Catholic was also evident in the accounts of those few Catholics who came from smaller families (of one or two children). These interviewees, as though measuring their families against the Catholic yardstick of coming from large families, explained their small family size as due to mothers' older age, mothers' negative experiences of previous births or late marriage. This contrasts with data from Protestants in which small families were regarded as the norm. Among Protestants, it was rather large families, which had to be explained.

Among those Protestants who came from large families, and in contrast to Catholics, parents were universally regarded as having too many children. It was only Protestants who suggested that their parents did not want as many children as they had, and that having children affected women's autonomy and freedom. Protestants were also much more likely to report negative birth experiences and mothers' health as relevant to decisions about having more children, and to attribute mothers' early mortality to large family size. Aside from issues to do with mothers' health and experiences, the idea that family size of childhood was tailored to suit income or available resources was only found in Protestant accounts. Some of these issues are illustrated below:

Do you think they had the number of children they wanted do you think?

I think yes...well she couldn't afford any more.....she couldn't afford to have any more children.

(P20-11221; childhood family of 2; 3 own children)

I think eh (pause) 2 was enough for my father's salary because my mother didn't work, never worked.

(P21-21122; childhood family of 2; 3 own children)

She wouldn't have had any more after me, she was 3 days in labour with me and she vowed then never again.

(P9-21221; only child; 3 own children)

After I was born I think she was told then there was to be no more children (pause).

I think you know it was very much touch and go whether either of us lived.

(P29-11222; childhood family of 3; childless herself)

Where Protestant family decisions about having children were understood as taking into account mother's experiences and medical opinion, and involved consideration for the well-being of women, among Catholics, religion disallowed these considerations. The concern among Protestants with mothers' health and mortality, contrasts with one account of a Catholic man whose mother had difficulties in childbirth and when his father wanted his wife's life to be saved in the event of a choice between mother and baby, noted that this was at odds with the view of the priest. Catholic prioritising of new life over mothers' lives was also mentioned by a Protestant woman who had married a Catholic man, as a key area of difference between them, also noted below.

My young brother, my mother had difficulties with him... they thought they were going to lose one of them... There was a priest there involved, and my father was asked ... what way to go. And my father's answer to it was save the mother, I don't know the child, but I know the mother....It didn't go down very well with the priest, he would rather have the child.

(C19-12111; childhood family of 5; 3 own children)

'If you had to choose if I was in childbirth between me and the baby, who would you choose?' And he went, 'there'd be no choice', me thinking he would turn round and say me, he said, 'no it would be the baby'.

(P25-21211; childhood family of 3; 2 own children)

This view of mothers as being of less importance than their babies was also noted by another Catholic woman who because she was unmarried, had a child in a Catholic home run by nuns, for women who had nowhere else to go in the circumstances, and whose babies would then be given up for adoption to Catholic families. There was an evident lack of concern for the health of expectant mothers, occasionally to the extent that women were not admitted to hospital until their conditions were seriously threatening:

They were totally careless of your health and babies who were born there (pause) 1 or 2 of the girls who had been nurses were terrified you know because of, they thought the risk and quite often they were whisked up to you know if they haemorrhaged or something like that, XX hospital was just up the road, they were fed up with these (pause) girls sort of arriving in the last stages of you know some

kind of a botched delivery. ...Sanitation was horrible ... the food was desperately bad, really terrible you didn't get enough nourishment....for your baby.
(C10-12222; childhood family of 8; 2 own children of whom 1 had been given up for adoption)

The accounts of Protestants and Catholics of their childhood family sizes thus showed clear contrasts by religion in attitudes towards having children. Catholics felt that their parents (and many older, but not younger, Catholic interviewees seemed to follow suit) had no control over the size of their families, and reasons given by Protestants for limiting family size - mothers' experiences, views, health or family income, would not have been considered adequate reason for controlling births among Catholics. Data suggested that Catholic women did not consider even their own health problems, miscarriages, infant deaths, or child health and disability problems, as a deterrent to having further pregnancies. These factors while explaining larger Catholic family size are also likely to explain why Catholics reported a greater number of infant and child deaths in families than Protestant interviewees. In this sample, Catholics reported a lower number of miscarriages in their childhood families (2 vs 9), but greater numbers of stillbirths or deaths during or shortly after birth (11 vs 3), and a much higher rate of deaths in infancy (15 vs 2, from weeks to two years) when compared with Protestants. Catholics also reported a number of deaths of their older siblings (six cases in five families), mainly occurring during the 1960s.

Even though not all women in working class Protestant families were effectively controlling their fertility, different attitudes prevailed which considered the health of women, previous experiences of childbirth, effects of children on women's freedom, and family income, as relevant to the number of children in families. Protestant accounts revealed a belief in the negative impact of having many children, not just on the health of individual women, but on women's freedom, and as such marked the beginnings of a feminist approach which saw lack of control over fertility as a barrier to women's wider freedoms. One older Protestant woman explained that her mother had too many children (five) and had made attempts to abort her last pregnancy. Another older Protestant woman felt that her mother did not want as many children as she had, because she was a, 'woman's libber before her time'. Alongside feminist concerns, Protestant accounts revealed a materialist approach to family planning not evident in Catholic accounts, and

evidence revealed that for Protestant-born women who married Catholic men, Catholic attitudes towards family life prevailed.

However, in the marriages of younger Catholics which took place from the 1970s onwards, there was clear evidence in this sample that religion did not have a bearing on family size, as those from Catholic backgrounds were not much more likely to have larger families than those from Protestant backgrounds. Family size was therefore no longer being dictated by the religion of the father and family size was no longer affected by religious practice.

4.2.3 Family size and perception of disadvantage

Accounts of childhood were generally accounts of working class childhoods. Although interviewees were roughly divided by class during adulthood, the majority of Catholics (32/39) as well as the majority of Protestants (28/33) grew up in working class families. Catholic family size was not class-related, as those in both cohorts from middle class backgrounds were as likely to come from large families as those from working class backgrounds. Among Protestants brought up in Glasgow (exceptions were those with rural Irish or Scottish upbringing), coming from large families was not a middle class phenomenon, while at the same time working class Protestants came from small as well as larger families (5 older and 5 younger Protestants came from families of 5 or more children).

However, although not all Protestants came from small families, it was only in Protestant accounts of their parents' rationale for having small families that the view that families were tailored to suit income and other resources was put forward. Although Catholics did not tailor family size to fit resources, Catholics nonetheless did regard family size as relevant to resource distribution and availability within families.

In the interview sample Catholics and Protestants were asked about how well off they perceived their families to be compared with others. Catholics were more likely than Protestants to perceive that their families were as well or better off than others, and family size was not perceived as relevant to disadvantage among Catholics, although it was among some Protestants who came from larger families. Although Catholics understood family size as having a bearing on material resources, Catholics did not attribute *disadvantage* to family size. Catholics compared with Protestants, appeared to perceive

general advantage as encompassing more than material advantage, and although occasionally family size was considered relevant to whether children were able to acquire holidays, toys, presents or new clothes, these apparent shortfalls were not perceived as defining family disadvantage. A universal Catholic view was that the support and company of siblings throughout life exceeded in importance any material deficits during childhood:

I think there are advantages in having a reasonable size family (pause) you may have to make do with not being so well off, but there was a lot of, even in later life you've got the comradeship of the family you know.

(C39-12122; childhood family of 6)

The general perspective of Catholics was to balance material deprivation with other aspects of family life, as the following quote illustrates:

I don't think there's any disadvantages and (pause) coming from a big family or a small family it would depend on your parents, how your parents treat you. I mean I'm quite sure some families that are big have just as good a time as the families that's only got 1 or 2. They might get a couple of wee bits extra but don't call that disadvantages you accept that as life, that's the size of your family, that's what your mum can afford and that was it.

(C9-22122; childhood family of 4; 6 own children)

Another older woman was positive about having a number of siblings and although she notes they did not get many new clothes, this is again not regarded as being particularly disadvantaged:

I would say the advantages are you've got (pause) I've still got sisters and one brother, they've got their children so now it's a great big family and you're always in contact with them so there's that advantages, I don't think there were any disadvantages ... You didn't get an awful lot, you didn't have a lot of new clothes, things were passed down you know, but that's about the only thing I would say.

(C13-12222; childhood family of 7; 2 own children)

Catholics regarded larger families very positively: some wished their families had been even larger and even though some people did not want to have as many children as their parents had, they still were emphatic about the benefits of large families. Positive aspects of large families were companionship and support, and learning skills in getting along with other children, as well as learning that getting what one wanted materially was not always possible. Benefits of large families were noted both in childhood and during adulthood. While Protestants emphasised the material benefits of coming from smaller families, Catholics tended to under-rate the importance of material factors to focus on the psychosocial benefits of having more siblings.

4.2.3.1 Cohort differences in assessment of disadvantage

Although Catholics balanced material factors against positive aspects of large families, there were differences in the accounts of the two cohorts. Accounts of those growing up in the decades after the war were marked by reference to the greater availability of consumer goods, which contrasted with accounts of those born in 1932 before the war, whose childhoods were characterised by having little to buy beyond the basics of food and clothing. Those born in 1952 made reference to getting new cars, televisions, better housing etc., reflecting the greater possibility for consumption after the war, and these aspects of life were noted as relevant to understanding relative material advantage/disadvantage. However, as most people came from working class backgrounds, few Catholics reported having cars or televisions. Among those who could, it was level of income which seemed to differentiate better off families from others, and having cars and televisions was a measure of this relative advantage, even though as is noted below, family size was important in relation to being materially well off. In the case cited below, this younger man feels that his mother working, as well as his father, was why his family were quite well off:

We were one of the first families in the street to get a television.....Again we were one of the first families to get a car.....I mean what we had as kids compared to some of our mates. I mean I had some mates where it was noticeable I suppose, I had some friends who maybe they were the only kid in the family or it was just 2 of them, so I was always aware I suppose financially they were better off, whereas some of my friends that came from bigger families where there was maybe 7, 8, 9 kids you know, they were always, they didn't seem to be as well off (pause). Their

fathers probably worked in the shipyards beside my own father etc. I think where we, what helped us financially, was my mother working as well, which I think then was unusual in terms of, I was aware of other friends' mothers didn't work.
(C20-12112)

4.2.3.2 Assessing indicators of relative material disadvantage

The general Protestant position was to accommodate family size to resources and the universal Catholic position was to accommodate resources to family size. It might therefore be expected that from the view of Protestants that family size should take account of income, and the view of those from larger families that they were less well off as a result, that larger families were associated with greater material disadvantage. In order to explore the extent of religious difference in experience of material disadvantage in family life, childhood accounts of diet, holidays, getting new clothes and experiences of housing during childhood were analysed. It was assumed that diet might reveal differences by religion which might explain patterns of Catholic ill health, and that getting new clothes, having holidays and housing, as indicators of family resources, might reveal differences in more general vulnerability among Catholics and Protestants, particularly given larger average Catholic family size.

Results of these analyses revealed no marked differences in diet by religion: differences were more marked by cohort, social class and rural/urban upbringing. The majority of the interviewees came from working class Glaswegian backgrounds and their accounts of diet did not differ by religion in any way which might explain health differences. Rather, it was found that family diet was prioritised in Catholic and Protestant working class families and clearly considered important among parents, and although diets might not have been consistently 'healthy', this was not explained by reference to religious background.

Catholics, by virtue of having larger families reported living in most overcrowded conditions, and as such faced greater relative disadvantage in relation to this aspect of housing, but it was clear in accounts that it was not this feature of their housing conditions which people rated as particularly disadvantaged, but rather it was a lack of access to private toilets, baths and hot water, which marked differences among working class families. Most Catholics and Protestants grew up in poor housing but it was the acquisition of amenities, which were not shared with others, which was how people judged the quality

of the housing of their childhoods. Thus, relative poverty was measured by whether people lived in dwellings with/without amenities. Those who had amenities felt privileged and advantaged, as did those who moved during childhood into new homes, contrasted with poorer housing they had experienced earlier. Catholics were more likely than Protestants to be grateful about having amenities, comparing themselves to others who were 'worse off' and feeling they had 'luxury' and were 'very fortunate'.

More Protestants than Catholics reported having holidays as children, but again this was not particularly significant, although lack of income and number of children were given as reasons among some people for not getting holidays, as well as there just not being a culture of going on holiday among many working class people.

It was however in the analysis of whether people got new clothes as children that Catholic accounts of material disadvantage diverged from those of Protestants, particularly the accounts of older cohort interviewees growing up during the 1930s/1940s, when a disproportionate number of Catholic children reported wearing state clothing. This experience marked out relative disadvantage among working class people and may have disproportionately affected Catholic families, due to relatively larger Catholic families and possibly greater Catholic male unemployment at the time.

4.2.4 'You could spot them a mile away': clothes as a signifier of poverty among Catholics

For the older cohort brought up during the 1930s and 1940s parents could be means tested and if poor enough, could get 'parish' clothes for their children. The experience of wearing parish clothes was reported by over forty per cent of older Catholics (six out of fourteen people who were brought up in Glasgow) and only one older Protestant. As this experience was highly stigmatising, it is possible that more people had this experience but did not report it, as getting state help with clothing was not specifically inquired about, but rather emerged as a common theme among those born in 1932.

The six Catholic accounts are interesting in that they reveal a juncture of family life and social life, where children's clothing was understood as providing an acute public symbol of the social circumstances of their families, and something of an objective yardstick of the relative circumstances of this sample of Catholic and Protestant working class families at

the time. What these clothes meant was that one's mother had been 'to the social', and the visibility of these clothes left children marked out: - as one man noted, 'you could spot them a mile away' - making children prey to the cruelty of other children. The fact that the clothes themselves were uncomfortable seemed to add to the general experience of humiliation and punishment which wearing these clothes seemed to exemplify. The following older man explained his experience of getting state clothes and how working class children who did not wear these clothes were cruel to those who did.

I remember in the earlier part of my life maybe round about 7, ...we had to go to the Means Test.....to get clothes, where you got the combination that made you itchy.The suits were all herringbone so everybody knew that your mum was at the Means Test getting clothes.....that was a stigma.

Was that embarrassing then as a child?

It was because...in those days they were quite cruel and if they seen....something outstanding and that was if you went in with a pair of short trousers which was herringbone, 'oh your mum's been to the social'...or the Means Test ...that was the first dig that they had, that they didnae have to go to the social or the Means Test.

Were there not a lot of children in those days who did?

In the working class yes.

(C9-22122; childhood family of 4)

Another older Catholic man below recounts his experience of wearing these clothes during a time in his life when his father was unemployed. Fathers' employment and **not family size** was understood as the main reason given why families were forced to seek clothing from the state.

I'd just started school, I was only young, probably about six year old, and that before the war started or anything like that....My father, God rest him, he was unemployed at that time because of this lack of steel and orders and things like that, and as I say there wasn't much money coming into the house, and because we were at school they told us, the School Board and that, 'You can go here,' and they took us. And I remember getting a tweed suit thing and shirt....After about a week or so I wouldn't wear it....Not because there was a stigma attached to it, because there was an awful lot of children had to do that in those days, but because I felt it was

too rough and coarse, and it wasn't what I was used to, and I wouldn't wear it, because the trousers especially, they were always rubbing, it was like sand paper on your legs.

(C15-22121; childhood family of 6)

Mothers predominated in these accounts, and even though clearly large proportions of children wore these clothes as the following man notes, for some people this did not make the experience any less shameful. Although wearing these clothes signified fathers' unemployment and family poverty, it was mothers who got these clothes for their children. In the following account an older man notes his mother's distress when he and his brother had to wear these clothes, even though a large proportion of the children at his Catholic school also wore these clothes:

If you couldn't afford clothesyou could get what really was State clothing and we had it for a little while when I was younger....My mother wasn't happy about it because there was a stigma attached to it andwe weren't too happy about it, me and my brother going to school with what was obviously State clothes. I think that only lasted for a little while. I would think 2 or 3 years only when I was rather young at school, and thereafter my mother was able to do without that...I would think there would be a good percentage at the school I went to would have that,...you know about 25% maybe even 50%, but 25% possibly would have to resort to what were called the Parish clothes.

(C39-12122; childhood family of 6)

Catholics did not link this experience to their religious identity, but rather to their straitened financial circumstances at specific times during childhoods. Fathers' unemployment, fathers being away in the army, and needing clothes to attend school, were all mentioned as causes for getting parish clothes. For some people wearing these clothes was presented as usual throughout childhoods, whereas for others this experience was more short-lived, while among others was the fear that they might have had to resort to this. Some people felt this was a common experience, thus making it less shameful. One man (C21-12122) mentioned that his mother once had to approach the 'parish' for money, and that she was very upset about this as it suggested that his parents could not manage to provide for their eight children. This suggests that it was not just clothes which the state

provided to families in financial difficulty, and children's clothes were a signifier of more pervasive problems in making ends meet.

4.2.5 Protestant accounts of clothing during 1930s/1940s

Among Protestants, only one man (P18-21121) who came from a childhood family of six children, explicitly recounted having to wear these clothes at a time when his father was ill and unemployed, and another Protestant woman may have been referring indirectly to parish clothes by referring to getting the gym 'for education' (from the education board – the 'parish'), and describing these clothes as 'hated' (she came from a family of eleven children and her father was Catholic, but was defined in the study as Protestant as she did not attend Catholic schooling or church – P26-11221). This woman's father was also out of work because of illness. As male unemployment was the main reason given by Catholics for parents being unable to buy clothes for their children, it is possible that the greater preponderance of accounts of Catholics wearing parish clothes is a reflection of wider problems of Catholic male unemployment at the time, combined with male Catholic-headed households having larger families. Some Protestant women also mentioned parish clothes. One said that her mother (a single mother) had considered this option, but that she and her siblings would have refused to wear these clothes as children then became targeted for abuse. Another Protestant woman noted that children were seen as inferior and treated cruelly when they wore these clothes, which were a sign of fathers' unemployment and family poverty.

4.2.6 1950s accounts of clothing

Among younger Catholics, getting clothes from relatives was common, some mothers knitted and sewed, and for many from large families hand-me-downs were common and buying clothes from jumble sales. Clothes had specific functions – Sunday clothes and school clothes – reflecting the value attached to having respectable clothing for children to attend church and school. There were differences among families which were connected to family size, tied in with level of income. Family size also affected middle class Catholics with one woman commenting that getting new clothes was not always possible. One younger working class man commented that during his childhood clothes were got through working class families being in constant debt. Similar issues emerged among Protestants about growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, though to a lesser extent, and those who came from larger families or single parent families had most difficulty clothing their children. As

with families before and during the war, the two main factors were fathers' income and family size and how these interconnected.

4.2.7 Social mobility

The data suggest that among those born before the war, whatever childhood material disadvantage Catholics faced which might have been linked to family size, did not prohibit the possibility of becoming middle class. A number of older Catholics who came from the largest working class families of 6, 7 or 8 children in childhood, gained middle class occupations in adulthood (C13; C21; C38; C39), a pattern not found among older Protestants from large families. However, the data suggest that among those born in a period of wider economic prosperity, family size was beginning to impact upon future life chances. Among Protestants born before the war as well as after the war, future social class did appear to be related to family size. Among Catholics born after the war, family size appeared to have less relevance to becoming middle class, but more relevance than it did for Catholics born before the war. This may suggest that the period of economic boom during the 1950s and 1960s put greater pressures on Catholic families to manage resources, possibly due to the effect of making more resources available. However the data also suggest that Catholics during 1950s/1960s were able to manage with more children than comparable Protestants and it is possible that something about a Catholic family ethos worked towards removing some of the disadvantage of coming from a larger family apparent in Protestant accounts. Although these patterns are based on small numbers and need to be treated with caution, they suggest the possibility of some differences in how family size affects life chances among Catholics and Protestants, which also varied over time.

4.2.8 Family culture and cohort changes

Comparison of accounts of older Catholics and Protestants revealed a clear emphasis among Catholics on parental encouragement of education, and most of those who already were or who became middle class among the Catholics, had been educated in the Catholic schools which are reckoned to be amongst Glasgow's elite. Family size was irrelevant to this access.

Among younger Catholics education was still valued but it seems that other factors affecting income might have impinged on the ability of those from the largest families to

gain further qualifications. It is possible that this is attributable to more of family income being spent on alcohol than in the previous generation (most fathers of the older cohort drank rarely or were abstemious), or that other family pressures derived from greater consumerism may have affected the chances of younger Catholics during the 1950s/1960s staying on at school and going straight to university. The situation of full employment may have been a factor in younger people feeling that an education was not so necessary to gaining employment. However, what the accounts reveal is that many younger Catholics did eventually return to education and gain degrees following experimentation in the job market, and it was this which led to middle class careers. The different emphasis which Catholic parents in both cohorts placed on education is analysed below. While middle class Catholics automatically availed themselves of the best education available, it is clear from accounts that educational aspirations existed among the Catholic working class, aspirations which in these cohorts were generally wedded to a strong religious commitment within families, parental sacrifice and minimal alcohol consumption by parents.

4.2.9 The importance of education

Among the older cohort, education was clearly regarded as important in Catholic families, particularly for their sons. In only a couple of the poorest families was education not perceived as important. Two of the older Catholics acquired degrees, and a number attended prestigious fee-paying Catholic schools, even though most Catholics (and Protestants) came from very poor backgrounds. It was around the issue of parental attitudes towards education that Catholic accounts generally appeared to diverge from those of their Protestant peers, and working class Catholics in this sample accessed better schools in a way which Protestants from similar backgrounds at this time did not. Although education was strongly valued by both working class and middle class Catholics, sons' education was more encouraged, probably because of greater general restrictions on women's education and employment opportunities. The account of the following woman illustrates this:

She (her mother) was quite ambitiousambitious for her children (pause). I think more than anything so she wanted to give them a good education. So a lot of money went on education (pause) for the boys (pause). I think she thought boys should be educated rather than girls. I mean she wouldn't have stood in my way but (pause) that was more important to her.

(C30-22222)

Among older men, whether or not they followed parents' ambitions it was clear that being socially mobile was a desired goal in Catholic families, and these ambitions remained undaunted by family size and working class status. In the following account an older man who came from a family of eight children felt that his parents had been prepared for all the children to go to university. He chose at the time not to do so, but did return to university later in life and obtained a degree. He attended one of the best fee-paying Catholic schools in Glasgow. Generally it was reported that Catholic working class parents were keen to make sacrifices to have their children educated.

They were always prepared for all the children to go on to University despite the sacrifices it involved and my 2 sisters before me, the 2 elder sisters both went to University and I decided against it and went to work and I became an assistant librarian.

(C21-12122)

Another older Catholic man who had earlier described the degradations of poor families having to wear parish clothes, asserted:

Working class parents way back in 1940 and so on when they wanted their children to progress they helped them to get professions.

(C39-12122)

This man did get a degree and achieved professional status but neither his achievements nor his parents' ambitions mitigated the effects of discrimination against Catholics in his age group within professional work (see Chapter Six). For other older men, if they did not get the education to get into the professions, they tried to acquire supervisory positions in manual work.

It was evident that although the majority of older Catholics came from working class backgrounds, there were two different routes (manual supervisors, professionals) by which men might become socially mobile and increase life chances. However, it was primarily through accessing education and entering the professions that Catholic parents appeared to encourage their children to succeed. They sought for them to become teachers, doctors, lawyers, reflecting an emphasis on gaining skills through education for work in old

established professions, rather than any dependence on contacts and opportunities within private sector organisations for mobility, apparent in Protestant accounts (see Chapter Six).

The importance of education among Catholic working class parents was also apparent in accounts of those in the younger cohort, 8 out of 22 of whom got degrees. As with accounts of those in the older cohort, parental sacrifice was emphasised in some accounts. There was one account of a working class man from a family of five children whose parents sent him to a private Catholic seminary in England, and although his father was an Irish immigrant labourer, money was found to provide him with all the resources he needed to take up his place at this school. When he became ill, he felt remorseful that so much money had been spent on him:

My father was (pause) an extremely middle class man with lower class earnings but it didn't change his values: he had middle class values and he kept us all very much on a particular path..... It was quite expensive, mother had to pay for an awful lot of stuff, a lot of money I mean, they had to have certain uniforms and certain scarves and rugby shirts and (pause) cricket gear and everything. It was an awful lot of money, which was another thing that broke me up when I came back. It was a terrible, terrible thing to have to come back after all this money being spent, 'cause I knew how hard my dad worked.

(C8-22112)

This man feels his father's values were middle class, in spite of his earnings, and this was connected to his Catholic faith – 'he kept us all very much on a particular path' and therefore priority would have been given to finding money in difficult circumstances for his children. Another middle class Catholic woman whose father was a doctor also noted that her family prioritised education rather than having consumer goods. Although family size had an impact on getting new things, she felt that her parents choosing to prioritise education was 'just a different way of spending your money':

We had a big family you know so it was spread more thinlybecause I was aware of people having things that we didn't have, like televisions and new suites and things like that, and new bits and pieces. We never got things, we were always making do and mending but then we went to you know our primary school, the

boys all went to private school, so it was just a different way of spending your money.

How come the boys ended up at private school then?

St. Aloysius well they started off at the local school and my mother, when they got to primary four my mother just felt that they weren't doing as well as they should and (pause) there wasn't an equivalent to Notre Dame for boys you know, that was a good Catholic school that wasn't private, so they all went to private school.

(C17-22212)

Another one of the younger cohort who was brought up in Northern Ireland attended boarding school. For the majority of younger cohort Catholics, on the other hand, who went to school during the 1950s and 1960s, although parents encouraged education, it was often the case that the option to do degrees was not taken up until after a number of years of working. Although some parents clearly valued education, some people reported that there was pressure on them to go out and get money for the family, some felt that parents might have given greater guidance or encouragement, and some reported not enjoying school and wanting to get into work as soon as possible.

This may suggest that the impact of coming from a working class background was beginning to have a negative impact on Catholics in this cohort, and in this way their circumstances were coming into alignment with working class Protestants. Those who were or who eventually became middle class mainly ended up in public sector jobs as social workers and teachers, and the enhanced possibilities for work were particularly in the public sector in the decades after the war. This contrasts with the earlier period when established professions were the goal.

4.2.10 Conclusion: family size and health

Family size was understood as linked to religion, as well as material resource distribution within families, the latter being a main reason why Protestants justified having smaller families. Even though analysis of data showed that Catholics in childhood families appear to have had access to fewer holidays and to fewer new clothes, and experienced greater overcrowding, it is uncertain whether these factors would account for poorer health among Catholics. Diet showed no great difference by religion. Similarly, the emphasis among Catholics on positive aspects of having many siblings, during childhood as well as

adulthood, might indicate positive health benefits regarding the availability of social support.

Catholics born in 1932 did appear to be disproportionately affected by the stigma of wearing parish clothes, but this may indicate wider trends of greater Catholic male unemployment at the time, and this may have resulted in a concurrent classing of Catholics and a pathologising of Catholic family culture. Blame for getting state help appeared to be located with families, rather than on patterns of employment which may have affected Catholics more (through discrimination). This was possible because they had larger families in accordance with their religion. The positing of blame for social circumstances on families is clear in Protestant accounts whereby large families were frowned upon among those born in 1932 and 1952, and responsible parenthood was regarded as taking income into consideration when planning families, which was beyond the remit of Catholics for religious reasons. For those born in 1932, although health would not have been directly affected, it is clear that wearing state clothes was a way to differentiate the poorest of the working class, that it caused psychological hurt to those who had no option but to accept state help, and even though people understood why children were thus affected, children nevertheless became the butt of hostilities and inferiorised. As one Protestant woman noted, 'you kind of looked down on these children and it wasn't their fault let's face it, it was probably because their father couldn't get work and they were too poor' (P29-11222). The relative effect on health of family size needs to be compared with that of unemployment, low income and stigma using quantitative methods.

However, although direct health effects may not be attributable to Catholic families being the most over-stretched because of family size, the data suggest that for families of the 1950s and 1960s, greater overall consumerism was affecting the very largest families' ability to manage, although Catholics continued to manage large numbers of children more effectively than Protestants, if measured by attainment of higher educational qualifications and upward social mobility. Whereas for Catholic families of the 1930s and 1940s, supporting families involved providing for basic needs, working class families in the 1950s/1960s clearly had more pressures to access available goods such as cars and televisions, which inevitably was most difficult for those with larger families. However, there were evident income differences among Catholic working class families which mitigated the effects of larger family size, and large Catholic middle class families did not

appear notably affected by family size. Family income and family size together appeared to determine advantage, and might account better for poorer Catholic health, although this remains to be tested. Quantitative findings confirm that each taken separately appears to have an effect (Abbotts et al., 1999b) , but so far the relative influence of each when they are taken together is unknown.

The belief in the impact of bearing and bringing up larger numbers of children on women's health was notable in Protestant accounts, although the data did not suggest that Catholic mothers' health was more compromised than the health of Protestant mothers, because of motherhood. However, probably by virtue of having more children, Catholic families experienced a greater number of infant and child deaths. Mortality in infancy however seemed greater among families during the 1930s/1940s, probably an effect of greater overall child mortality before the war, whereas sibling deaths at older ages occurred mainly in the younger cohort. The health effects of deaths of children and other family members appeared to affect Catholic children who received little support during times of family trauma, and who in some instances developed nervous disorders which affected them throughout life. While adults sought support for trauma in either religion or alcohol, children's needs appear overlooked, and in some cases children appeared to subsume adult responsibilities. Generally assuming adult responsibilities, was a common theme in Catholic accounts in larger families, as older children acted as parents for younger children.

Overall, childhood family size is only one of several candidates which might be responsible for physical health disadvantage among Catholics in adulthood, although the data do suggest that because of a greater experience of family trauma (to some extent related to family size), Catholics as children may not have found needed support at crucial times, affecting child and adult mental health. More broadly, a context which pathologised large family size, and de facto Catholic family practices, as detrimental to responsible parenthood, created an ideology whereby Catholic parents were seen as responsible for materially depriving their families, rather than addressing wider causes of Catholic disadvantage (general employment trends; anti-Catholic discrimination). However, even if large family size in the past may not have been responsible for poorer health or life chances, trends of family size among both practising and non-practising younger people in adulthood from Catholic backgrounds suggest that the family factors which in the past may

not have affected health and life chances, may do so now in changed social and economic circumstances.

4.3 Religious commitment and family life

As noted in the chapter on Identity, religious practice is strongly connected to self-identification as Catholic, whereas among Protestants, this connection is not made. Practising religion was a key way in which childhood experiences of those from Catholic and Protestant backgrounds differed: all of those from Catholic backgrounds practised religion in childhood and were identified as Catholic by attending Catholic schools, and about half of those Catholics interviewed continued to practise religion as adults. Conversely, actual religious practice was less common among Protestants as children and about a quarter of the sample of Protestants practised religion as adults. Quantitative data from Glasgow confirm this finding (Abbotts et al., 2004). Among Catholics, going to church during childhood was generally a family affair, whereas attending church among Protestant children was generally separate from their parents. For Catholic families, involvement in religion was reinforced and supported by schooling, and teachers were often as instrumental as parents in ensuring church attendance among children.

There was little difference in descriptions of displays of religious commitment as children between the two cohorts, but it was rather during the adulthoods of those born in the 1950s that change in religious identity appeared to occur (as discussed earlier in the Identity chapter – due variously to secularisation, intermarriage and younger Catholic perceptions of the coercive nature of Catholicism in childhood).

4.3.1 Religion as a tradition of communal self-help

An aspect of being part of a community is that those who were actively religious gained a great deal of satisfaction and purpose from being involved with others in empowering communities which worked towards achieving particular objectives, so being religious was a means of community development which strongly featured self-help. Attending Catholic schooling was a means for Catholics to move up the social scale, while belonging to a Catholic parish enabled the church to provide not only spiritually but also materially for its members.

It was mainly older people who expressed a sense of how being Catholic in Glasgow represented a struggle for a community to get on its feet. As one older woman (C30-22222) noted, 'they put up with, an awful lot Catholics had to put up with, in this country in years gone by', and it was this sense of sharing a beleaguered past and overcoming obstacles which forged communal links and a spirit of a community helping each other.

In another account an older woman noted that the church was an important force in helping particularly the first generation of Irish immigrants in her family to move up from poverty. The subsequent involvement over generations of her grandfather and parents in establishing and belonging to church associations geared towards helping the poor and building networks for Catholics is illustrative of the self-help aspect of Catholicism:

I think religion was probably a great help because they hung together and helped each other, I think it was really just in the first generation there would be a struggle you know poverty would be the problem.....He'd be self educated, he'd have gone to evening classes and worked his way up because he was quite a literate man and took part in a lot of Catholic...helped (pause) in founding XXX Parish and so on and in fact my father still kept up a connection there, apart from me I think the family were all christened there.....he was instrumental bringing the St. Vincent de Paul society to Glasgow so they were, he was quite an important man in the Glasgow Catholic community my grandfather and my father followed in his footsteps.....My mother was quite active in Catholic Women's League it was called and she was asked if she would start Roman Catholic Mothers after the war which she did and my father was involved with St. Vincent de Paul andIt's like the equivalent of Rotary for Catholic professional people and there was also the Guild of Catholic Doctors or whatever you know so he was very involved with that.
(C10-12222)

For another younger man, it was the history of the church in providing schooling for the immigrant (Irish) poor by which the church helped the community to move on:

And even it goes back I think at the time, they want to educate...that's how Catholic schools started up in the first place because of the immigration of the poor....there

was that many...they didn't get an education. So the only way to get educated was with the Church's background, and they helped to educate them.

(C33-22111)

4.3.2 Religion as communal belonging

Belonging to a supportive community was another key way in which being Catholic was important to those who practised, to some extent evident in comments below in the account of an older woman whose church community prayed for her son. People who were practising expressed feelings of satisfaction and benefit accruing from feeling a sense of belonging to a religious parish. The following younger woman described her experiences of feeling at home in an environment which was familiar and inviting:

I mean I'm involved in the church quite a lot so you know I know a lot of people there, I feel quite at home there. It's always been a popular church ...It's always been a dead free and easy atmosphere I've always felt at home there you know.

(C24-12211)

Among others, the feeling of being part of a community sharing views and love was emphasised:

What do you feel you get from your religion, what do you feel are the benefits?

Fellowship, love, (pause) the meeting with people and discussing their views.

(C9-22122)

As was mentioned in the Identity chapter many people in the younger cohort felt that practising religion during their childhoods was not a choice. This experience was given as a reason why many gave up religion or ensured that their own children were not forced to be religious. For the following woman, her adult experience of religion (she returned to her childhood faith following a diagnosis of diabetes) is positive because she enjoys the company of religious people and because it is chosen:

Go because we want to go now, you know, because we enjoy their (nuns' and priests') company, because we feel as though we do get a strength from them.

(C5-12212)

However, although adults were able to be committed Catholics through choice, the obligations placed on children to attend church, and the ways in which teachers as well as parents tried to ensure attendance, were clear factors in members of the younger cohort giving up Catholicism in adulthood. Equally, Protestant accounts contrasted with Catholic accounts in that Protestant interviewees were perceived in childhood as having choices about being religious, whereas among Catholics, this choice was not available to children. While adult Catholics valued feeling part of a community, for some Catholics during childhood, being coerced to be part of the Catholic community was a clear factor in choosing freedom in adulthood from religion.

4.3.3 Religion as a coping mechanism

Practice in the form of attendance at church, strongly emphasised in this way by Catholics, was not merely a public performance, but was accompanied by practice in the home as well. Among Catholics was the common view that religion had helped people to cope with stressful and traumatic life events. Being religious therefore provided an important source of support in itself. People variously described their religion as a support, a rock, a comfort, as providing strength, etc. Among those who were committed Catholics, religion was particularly valued during difficult times, among others who had lapsed from Catholicism, religious practice was sometimes resumed in the face of life stresses and trauma.

Typical was the following account of an older woman who described how beneficial praying was for both her and her husband when faced with her daughter's illness. When her daughter died she found her faith difficult to maintain and she felt that it was only because of the encouragement of her husband that she was able to remain religious at this time in the face of grief. She was then able to accept her daughter's death as God's will, which had to be accepted.

I just thought there was no God above. And only for John, he kept me on the straight and narrow, you know. He kept saying to me, 'Now it's God's will, Margaret, don't fly in his face for goodness sake'. It was him who was strong. ...Well I feel, how can people live without a God?...It's the one thing that helped John and I when Alice was ill in hospital. We'd often leave her in hospital and her

not very well, and we could come home, and we could go down on our knees and say the rosary together. We prayed together and it helped us.
(C27-22221)

In another case, the benefit of praying for another Catholic mother facing the illness of her adult son was described. In this case the woman's son survived although he was severely disabled. 'Everyone' was praying for her son and in this she evidently felt supported. When her son survived, she felt this was because of God's help. Both of these accounts reveal how these Catholic mothers gained support from religion when suffering traumatic family life events. Their religion was both a support while events were happening and provided a means of understanding and accepting difficult outcomes.

I felt it was really something that I needed when Ross was so ill, he was desperately ill, he nearly died four times and I felt I had to have something. I used to rush up to church every morning and everybody was praying for him and I felt when Ross got over the really crucial point, and we knew that he was going to live, but he was going to be severely disabled, I felt that God had helped me out there, I really did.
C13-12222)

These issues of acceptance were mirrored in earlier Catholic accounts regarding family size, where Catholics viewed their parents' (and among older Catholics their own) family sizes as something beyond their control and to be accepted. Accepting one's situation was a common theme among Catholics in other circumstances. For example the following woman felt that her mother losing two children was God's will, and that her inability to have children, may have been because she had to look after her mother who had multiple sclerosis:

I know your mother really lost 2 children, do you feel then that they would have wanted to have any more or did they?

I don't know I mean (pause) I suppose it would have been God's will if they were having anymore I don't know I mean you know

And you lost 4 children yourself?

I mean I just maybe because I had to do, I had to look after my mother...she was only 37 when they discovered she had multiple sclerosis so that's why we stayed when we got married. I just stayed with her.

(C26-22221)

In another account, despite being told that having children might be detrimental to her multiple sclerosis, another woman ignored medical advice and had children anyway, placing faith in God instead. In later life as she considers what may happen as her multiple sclerosis worsens, again she refers to accepting what happens:

I said, 'Well, doctor look. If I am getting married, I'm going to place it all in God's hands'. I said, 'We'll place it that way.' So I went ahead and got married. I had the two...Mary, twelve months. I had John a year and five months later. I had Michael a year and nine months later, and I had Sinead three years later....I mean, God forbid what's going to happen, how I'll go, but I'll have to accept whatever comes.

(C27-22221)

For many Catholics religion was a means to cope with stressful life events and to accept events. Even among those who had given up religion, the trauma of death and illness caused people to return to the church for support, even if this returning was short-lived. One woman who had given up practising her faith (on marrying a Protestant) returned briefly to religion when one of her sons died in a car accident:

When Douglas died I went back to the nuns I mean I went - it was a grief parenting meeting and that.

(C1-12211)

Another younger woman returned to religion when she was diagnosed as diabetic:

I mean I must admit for a while I didn't, but when I took the diabetes, I really got frightened because I thought somehow I'm going to die, and I began to think, you know, what's there, and I thought I've gone astray, I've not got the faith, I'm quite frightened of this. And I just started to go to chapel in the hospital and since then I've always kept it up. And I felt it gave me a kind of strength. (C5-12212)

Older people particularly emphasised religion as an important support. The following man felt that this was to do with having a belief in God, and it was this faith rather than necessarily agreeing with those in power in the Church, that created resilience to life's difficult experiences. While he acknowledges that his faith has to do with a belief in God rather than being Catholic per se, Catholicism seems merely the vehicle by which he gained a belief, even as he feels that he may have been indoctrinated:

I maybe look back and think, well you were brainwashed. Nonetheless it was a kind of support in a way, and I'm quite sure that there are people who could not (pause) live without that kind of support. I'm talking about what I feel you know. There's the views expressed are not necessarily the views of the management (laugh) but I mean I would have to say that religion as such didn't play an important part in my upbringing, not in a sense of Catholicism, but I think this is true of also of many Protestant friends that I've got, that their belief in God was something that's sustained them through fairly hard times which many of us had experienced one way or another, and you know if you don't have that belief then you won't have that support through the difficult times. Now (pause) there'll be a substitute for it no doubt because people, human resilience will you know come, it's just that you can't see what will take its place from my point of view, at 67 I'm bit of an old dog to learn new tricks so.

(C21-12122)

For another older woman, despite having been treated badly by nuns when she spent time in a Catholic institution when she was pregnant outside marriage, she does not use this experience to abandon Catholicism, but rather she retains her beliefs, beliefs which she feels provided support in difficult times:

It (being treated badly by nuns) didn't because it put me off (Catholicism) but I think I'm quite able to distinguish between the human (pause) faults of these people, which I think are inexcusable really, and I mean the kind of spiritual - the truth about religion. I mean I can't see that that being treated badly by certain people makes people suddenly say I don't believe in the Trinity you know - I firmly believe they fell far short of what they should have been...I think they thought they were ...teaching us a lessonthere was a punitive element in it I'm sure. ...It's

(religion) been a kind of rock you know yes (pause)...I feel it's been a great value to (pause) particularly if things are going wrong you know; it's been eh (pause) good influence on me, comfort.

(C10-12222)

For many older people religion was particularly important to sustain when in poor health themselves, and even though ill health itself sometimes presented difficulties in getting to church, it was important to people that efforts to practise religion be continued. A number of these people described overcoming almost insurmountable difficulties to get to church to ensure that they fulfilled their 'duties' even when ill health itself would have been regarded as a valid reason for not attending religious ceremonies. There was also evidence of priests visiting those who for health reasons were not able to get to church.

For many older Catholics particularly, religion as a resource was highlighted during times of personal or family crisis, often connected to illness or death. People clearly felt that having a belief helped manage difficult times and many felt that they could not have managed without this kind of support. Some younger Catholics also felt that religion provided support, although for some of these, religion was more likely to be sought in response to life events, rather than an ongoing part of their lives. Although men also regarded religion as a support, it was mainly women who emphasised the positive role of religion in dealing with family issues and providing a support for parenting. It was also among women who no longer practised that being religious was particularly missed.

Although religion provided a support, mainly for older adults in this sample, the role of religion in the lives of children at this period differed, and although most interviewees as children practised religion, for those who experienced particularly stressful life events, religion was not any particular support in childhood. Accounts of those who experienced trauma in childhood revealed that young children were excluded from funerals, that some children experienced health problems as a result of family deaths, that there was a veil drawn over discussion of family losses, and that children sometimes assumed adult roles where they cared for their parents rather than parents acknowledging any adverse impact of events on children.

4.3.4 Children's experience of support

Although adult Catholics found support through religion in times of crisis, similar support for children who experienced death within families was not forthcoming. Five Catholic interviewees experienced the premature death of siblings during childhood. In the following account of a younger man who lost two brothers in childhood, he comments that children were, 'shuttled off to somewhere to let them (adults) do their things', and the losses of his two brothers was never mentioned again. At this time he acquired a stammer, which he still has:

I think when anything happened in this house like when my brother died you'd be shuffled off to somewhere else to let them do their things and then you'd come back when he was buried and what have you. You were actually taken away from the worst things and shunted away to an uncle's house....and then you'd be slotted back in and you'd never be told about it.

Do you think that was a good way of them dealing with it?

I would say no, because I would like to have known but you're only a kid y'know.

So you'd only have been about 8 or 9?

Yeah not even your teens y'know and you think. I don't regret it but it's just that and before my parents died they'd never speak about it anyway.....To be honest after my brother died, Vincent, I acquired a stammer. And I still do have it but it's not so bad as it used to be, probably the shock.

(C37-22111)

In another case a younger Catholic man also was excluded from his father's funeral and assumed that this was because he was considered too young. His father had died suddenly and it was suspected that it was suicide. Even years later his mother would not discuss with him what had happened.

He died of coal gas poisoning. He fell asleep in front of the fire. He was thirty nine. There was a Procurator Fiscal's enquiry into it to see whether or not it was a suicide, but it wasn't a suicide....I don't know quite the circumstances, but anyway he fell asleep in front of the fire and it wasn't lit, a gas fire, and he died.

Right, and did your mum think it was suicide? Was that what the family thought?

My mother's a bit kind of difficult, I never discussed that with her. I never felt I could discuss that with her. She wasn't that type of person. But em...if she didn't want to talk about something she would just skim over it, she would just dismiss it. She's always been like that, you couldn't really discuss things with her.... I suppose I must have been affected. I know I didn't go to the funeral, I can remember that. I remember being in my uncle's house, and him getting ready and me sitting there, and I wasn't going to the funeral. I can see him still. So it must have been quite traumatic for me a wee bit, but it's difficult to remember actually. I don't remember my brother and sister, how they were affected by it.

And why do you think they wouldn't let you go to the funeral? Was it just you were too young, or something?

Probably was. Children shouldn't see that kind of thing. I don't know.

(C2-12112)

In another case a younger Catholic man felt that he was badly affected by his grandmother's death. He felt his parents did not offer any protection against his erroneous conviction that he too was dying of cancer, which led to a breakdown at the age of eleven. His breakdown may have been exacerbated by being away at boarding school at the time. He developed long-term nervous problems:

I went down to this seminary and I would be 11 and I had (pause) a nervous breakdown, I thought I was dying of cancer.....actually had all the symptoms that my granny had died of the previous year and I did have them but it was caused by something else (pause).....Nothing would convince me that I didn't have leukaemia because I had the exact same symptoms.....and I had to come back homeI'd watch her die at close quarters (pause) and obviously made a big, big impression on me and I was a very bright, very precious child but I had no experience and I'd no guidance and although my mum was tried to do the best for me, I wouldn't think she was the world's best in psychology and as a result there was no protection for me against this and I (pause), I was just wide open for this and into the fact I'm a natural worrier, my father was, and I just blew it all out of proportion and as a wee lad living hundreds of miles away from home in one of these big boarding schools.....I was good for nothing I could hardly add 2 and 2 and make 4 and that persisted right throughmaybe if Pauline (his wife) was here

she'd tell you when she thought I'd become normal again (pause); she says that I don't shake so much at night now, jump you know, the sort of I'm still nervous and because I'm a worrier so it affected me very very deeply (pause). So that had a profound effect on me.

(C8-22112)

In another case an older woman described how lonely and insecure she was when her older brother died when she was 12. In her case, the response was to care for her mother rather than to move to Glasgow to pursue her education as her father had suggested:

I mean I missed him terribly after he died, because he was a lovely big lad, and I'd felt eh...eh, can I say...secure when he was around sort of thing. You know when you're there on your own sort of thing...but I really felt quite insecure after he died really. Em...because I just felt I had nobody sort of thing. But still, I was there to help my mother, because his strangely enough. I think probably about two weeks or three weeks before he died, one day he said to me, 'Will you look after mum for me?' And I felt I always had to do that, I felt I had to do that....I said, 'Yes.' And I kept that promise and that's why my father wanted me to come over here to secondary school after I had failed in Donegal, wanted me to come over here before it was too late. And I said, 'No, dad, I'm staying with mum.' And I did, I stayed with her. And it didn't harm me.....I felt I didn't lose anything.

(C27-22221)

Taking on adult roles was commonplace among Catholic children when a parent died. There was another case of a younger man (C31-22111) whose father died when he was thirteen. As the youngest in the family he remained at home and when he started working, contributed to the household income, to the extent that he took redundancy in order to buy furniture for his mother. After he left his work he became mentally ill, suffering an anxiety disorder and continues to be ill. He described his situation with his mother as being, 'like a married couple', whereby he was unable to have money to live life as a single man. In these accounts, Catholic children who experienced trauma within the family took on adult roles and looked after their parents, which in turn had effects on their own lives. In other accounts of Catholics from large families, it was clear that a common way of managing a

large number of children was that older children took on parental responsibilities in relation to younger children, particularly older girls.

4.3.5 Conclusion: religious commitment and health

Being religious was overwhelmingly regarded as a vital support among Catholics, as well as providing a sense of community cohesiveness and belonging in the face of social and religious disadvantage, particularly among older interviewees. However, among younger interviewees, although religion during childhood was generally regarded positively, adult choices about being religious diverged from the older cohort, including the apparent abandonment of Catholic guidance on issues relevant to family life. Younger rather than older cohort interviewees were critical of feeling coerced as children to practise religion, although this was most notable when parents themselves were not particularly religious and teachers monitored children's religious activity. Even though some older interviewees were critical of some aspects of the behaviour of religious representatives, among older people this did not usually detract from adherence to religion or having a faith. Mothers particularly found religion a support, and it was among younger women that religion as a support was missed. Among some younger cohort members, adherence was resumed in the face of experiencing difficult life events. The Church was identified as supporting and addressing disadvantage in the short-term through self-help, and in the longer term by providing an education, thereby increasing Catholic social mobility. Among Catholics in childhood, a Catholic education was highly valued and served a dual purpose of instilling religion and the possibility of providing for a materially better future in adulthood.

With regard to health, being religious would not necessarily have lessened experience of trauma (in some cases being religious might arguably have increased the experience of trauma, as larger family size would have raised the probability of experiencing family bereavement). But religion appeared to mitigate the worst effects of trauma by providing a support and a means of coming to terms with difficult life events. In this sense religion was arguably good for adult mental health. Among those from Catholic backgrounds who were no longer religious as adults, there was some evidence that not seeking recourse in religion when faced with trauma led to help-seeking in other health-threatening ways, including misuse of alcohol.

4.4 Religion, alcohol and family life

One of the main differences between Catholic and Protestant families during childhood was that Catholic marriages remained intact, while a number of parents' marriages of Protestant interviewees ended in separation and divorce. A reason for Catholic marriages remaining intact is likely to have been the Catholic Church's stance on the indissolubility of marriage. In the case of Protestant families, a main reason, or a compounding factor in parental problems, was the abuse of alcohol by fathers. However, in the marriages since the 1970s of younger cohort Catholics, ending marriages because of alcohol abuse did occur. These data suggest not only that Catholics may have been more constrained than Protestants about marriage dissolution in the past, but also that either, a) alcohol misuse may have been less likely among Catholics, or b) if alcohol misuse was as commonplace among Catholics as Protestants, that Catholics had greater tolerance of alcohol misuse given the Church's stand against divorce and separation. This analysis therefore sought to establish, a) whether there was any evidence of differences by religion in terms of alcohol use; and, b) whether alcohol misuse was more tolerated among Catholics, that is, did Catholics report different understandings of the meaning of alcohol use from Protestants, or different understandings of the impact of alcohol misuse on family life. This analysis not only covers data on childhood families (1930s/1940s; 1950s/1960s), but also covers data on attitudes to alcohol and family life concerning interviewees' own marriages/families (older cohort from 1950s onwards; younger cohort from 1970s onwards).

4.4.1 The older cohort during childhood

The data suggest that for most of those (both Catholic and Protestant) growing up in the 1930s/1940s, alcohol use was almost entirely confined to fathers, but also that many fathers did not drink at all. Only three people reported that their fathers drank in a way which caused family problems - one Catholic man, one Catholic woman and one Protestant woman. In the case of the Protestant family, this resulted in divorce. In the other cases, alcohol misuse in itself was a cause of rows in one family, and in the other case, alcohol misuse was considered to exacerbate already existent family tensions.

The account of the Protestant woman is as follows. In it, alcohol use is a problem because it is connected with fighting and having rows with her mother and she feels that her father

was probably irresponsible with money by buying toys, and not necessarily by spending money on drink. Although she understands why her mother divorced her father, she also insinuates that her mother was not likely to be told what to do, implying that her mother was a strong character who was not going to tolerate a drunken husband when she could manage on her own. At another stage in the interview, this woman describes her mother as a, 'woman's libber', which may suggest that the beginnings of an intolerance for alcohol went hand in hand with women becoming more assertive.

He was a drinker. That was the problem..... to be quite honest, we had a better life, a more secure life with my mother, you know, she was working and it was...you know, there wasn't any rows or there was nothing like that, you know what I mean, we definitely had a more secure life with my mother than we would have had, I suppose, had my father had been there.....He had a problem with drinking. But I always remember him as being a kind person, I mean that's...other than when he was fighting with my mother. I mean, to me.....He would take us out and buy us toys and that, that my mother...in saying that, that was probably irresponsible because he was probably spending money that was needed in the house.... my mother's quite a strong person, you know. She wasn't the type to be told what to do, or anything like that, you know.

(P17-21221)

In the account of the Catholic man, alcohol was considered a factor in strained marital relations, and his father gave up drinking altogether when one of his daughters died. At the same time his father began again to practise his religion.

When I was young he drank heavily but that stopped when he was 45.

Was that something that caused that rows then drinking?

That certainly aggravated the marital situation.

Right, and why did he stop in his forties?

He, it happened when one of my sisters died (pause) and he just stopped then, she had meningitis, she was 18 and my dad just didn't discuss it with anyone, just stopped drinking and he was a very strong willed character and that was it, that was the end of it, didn't drink again.....I think that was the catalyst, the (pause) my sister dying. (C39-12122)

In another account, an Irish-born Catholic woman described how her father, who generally worked away from home, would celebrate his homecoming by going to the pub, which annoyed her mother. This woman could see why her mother might be annoyed but also why her father did what he did, and as such is indulgent towards her father, and in later years surreptitiously gives her father money for drink:

Probably the worse thing that my father did (for his health) was he drank sometimes, but that was only when he was off duty, or coming on holiday, he would over drink..... I think mum and dad could have long sessions of arguing, probably if my daddy went drinking, which we knew wasn't very helpful, and which we couldn't afford really. But, eh...I mean in latter years, to tell you the truth, I used to give him a couple of pound to go for a pint or that, you know, because while...when he retired and all that, he just got no...my mother just gave him no money....which I thought was a wee bit unfair of my mother. But then I said nothing, I just gave him the money.

He didn't have a drink problem as such then, do you think?

Well, I wouldn't have said that it was really a drink problem, it's just if he got into company. He could go along enough without it, but if he got into company, or...now I can always remember any time he'd come home on holiday in Ireland, he was usually drunk by the time he got home, which was...when I think of him now, must have been very upsetting for mum. Because there she hadn't seen him for six months or more, and he lands home and drunk.

(C27-22221)

4.4.2 Younger cohort childhood families

In the younger cohort, equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants reported that alcohol caused problems to some degree within families. Among Protestants, in three out of four families this resulted in divorce. In the other family the father was diagnosed as mentally ill and he stopped drinking. Thus, in all of the Protestant cases, alcohol problems ended in divorce or reform. Among the Catholics, much of parental alcohol misuse was explained away as due to health problems or family tragedy. In one case a father's drinking too much was seen as contributing to family poverty, which it was implied was commonplace, in that it represented a gender inequality which is less prevalent today. As such this account

normalised men's indulgence in alcohol as part of the wider norms governing masculinity at the time. Thus Catholic accounts were characterised by tolerance and explanation of the problem.

One of the Protestant accounts of younger cohort childhood family break-ups below revealed that alcohol abuse was potentially related to violence, that alcohol misuse was part of a culture or 'lifestyle' of working in the shipyards, and also that this woman was disparaging about her mother putting up with her father's drinking behaviour for so long:

Well my father had a drink problem (pause) but that really didn't affect me from the point of view he wasn't a violent man..... When he was on strike, money was short, then things were and I think his way out of it was to drink which obviously caused problems..... I think I just accepted that was the way lifeI think that was the lifestyle there in the shipyards. You went to your work through the week and come a Friday night you all went to the pub and got absolutely sizzled. But he wasn't a violent man, never a violent man at all.....My father drank till the bottle was empty you know so I said to my mum, don't know how you could put up with that.

(P15-11212)

In another account of a woman who came from the Highlands, violence was involved in her father's alcohol problem that resulted in police involvement at the time. Following a divorce, this man had no further contact with his children:

We had the...police were involved on a few occasions. He never, certainly to my recollection, you know, raised his hands to any of us. In fact, you know I can remember him as actually being quite fun, you know on occasion. But, no it was just my mum. I think that's quite.....you know I think that's quite common too, you know the children are kind of left alone. But no, it was to my mum, as I say and the police were involved.There was a problem at the time, because it was an alcohol problem, that the police were involved, so he was not allowed to sort of contact us or sort of approach us or anything.

(P19-21212)

In another case (P4-21211) a woman merely reported that her mother threw her father out because he was an alcoholic and she never saw him again.

In the fourth case of alcohol problems within a Protestant family in the younger cohort, a man described his father's drink problem as due to stress and work and his inability to handle pressure. His father was diagnosed as having mental health problems and stopped drinking and working, leaving his mother to take responsibility for the household income. In this case, the family stayed together as his father's drinking was perceived as an illness brought on by stress at work. However, although this understanding led his mother to approach her husband's alcohol problem with compassion, this man adds further that he sometimes feels that people use problems as an excuse for alcohol dependency:

Well the main problem I think as a late teenager was my father's alcoholism....My dad's drinking got really bad when he finished up in, when I was in my early 20's he was sort of on a bottle and half whisky a day but as I say he stopped that in 1975, sort of turned his own life around.....My father was eh (pause) abusing the drink quite a lot and (pause) we didn't realise it was an illness at the time.....She spent most of that time sort of arguing with my dad about money..... He stopped drinking at that time as well, he kind of started getting delirium tremens and he was admitted to (hospital) and he was in a locked ward for about 4 weeks and I think he sort of slipped off the wagon once after that, about a year later and he finished up in hospital again.....He also had some sort of psychological problems right through his life as well as, he suffers from anxiety state, and he's always sort of highly stressed, the main problem with that is the family, is that we've got to take that into consideration all the time and try and not do things which are going to upset father and that sometimes is quite difficult you know.....He's on about half a dozen different eh prescription drugs you know....He wasn't tough enough to sort of deal with it and I think he sort of turned to the bottle a wee bit to help him get through his day.....I think it's partly though to relieve the pressure at the time of his jobto relieve the pressure of his work and just to sort of obliterate things from his mind...The main problem was his work and his sort of inability to deal with the pressures that were placed on him...I think there's a tendency to use problems sometimes as an excuse for alcohol dependency.

(P3-11111)

In all of these Protestant families, problems with alcohol were thus resolved either by getting rid of fathers, or by fathers stopping drinking.

The Catholic accounts of problematic drinking within families differed from those of the Protestants in that heavy drinking among parents was made understandable by being linked to ideas of masculinity (also prevalent in Protestant accounts), or to an effect of other health problems and trauma. In this regard, Catholics viewed drinking as a response to particular difficult contexts.

In one account, it was a mother who was reported to have drunk heavily. The context for this was having experienced the death of two of her sons, followed by the suicide of her husband. Although other Catholics dealt with trauma by recourse to religion, this mother instead sought refuge in alcohol. Although she was not particularly religious, her son did report that on occasions she prayed, but that this was a hopeless kind of praying for ‘a miracle’:

After my older brother died, Vincent, my mother was a secret drinker. And after Sean died she was still a secret drinker. She would drink out a shitty clot.....She would just go and have a binge. She would drink almost everyday probably but not drunken drink but she would drink it, she would drink everyday. And I supposed she got bitter and they end up that her latter years she was left on her own, things like that y’know....(They) sent us to mass. Like we would get up and my mum she’d get up and send you to chapel.....I think my mother used to go during the day, sit there and ponder her thoughts, and pray for a miracle that she’d have money in her pocket or whatever it is y’know. But I don’t think they were totally religious.

(C37-22111)

In another case a younger man explained his father’s heavy drinking as due to having problems communicating because he was deaf, and despite being educated, was frustrated with not being understood. Although his father might have on occasions drunk for an entire week, his problem is not seen as one of drinking, but rather of communicating, and drinking is an effect of this underlying problem:

He did it one time, and then kind of eased it off a bit, it was more like now and again, but when he did, it was maybe for a week.....Well, I don't think it was a drink problem, it was a problem communicating, see my father was stone deaf too.....and my father was very educated

So you think the drinking was because of frustration?

Frustration, yeah I would say so.

(C19-12111)

In another case a woman felt that her father drank mainly because he was unable to work because he had lost a leg in a shipyard accident. In this account she also implies that not only did her parents not communicate a great deal, but that somehow her father's excessive drinking and spending money on drink was accepted as the way things were, in a marriage with strict gender roles:

I think he drunk too much.

Did he have a drink problem then?

Yes, I would say yes.....I would imagine he might have been (an alcoholic), he spent quite a lot of time in the pub, because he didnae work really, that was another story, he didnae work cos he had an accident at the docks, and he had only one leg.....so he didnae work, so erm, I think he spent time in the pub.....My dad got a wee bit of compensation for that accident, so, I can mind that, but as I say he would have drink so it didn't last long.

Right, did they argue a lot then, cos he was drinking, did that get her down?

No....I don't think they spoke much. You know, she was the mam and he was the dad and that was it.

(C36-22211)

This point about what women tolerated is made in another account by a younger Catholic man. His father's drinking was not in itself seen as a problem except that it was seen to contribute to family poverty and made his mother's life more difficult. However, this is normalised as what men did then, and compared to today when women have a clearer idea of what men earn.

I wouldn't say a drinking problem, I think the problem if it had been was, it caused a bit of poverty with his drinking and smoking, at that time, at one time he was a chain smoker and he drunk and liked a punt and maybe my maw she had bother with him more than we done, we didn't realise, we just took that as the norm you know, but I would say aye the three combined, fags, booze,...

Was it draining the family resources a bit?

Aye, at that time aye, see at the time my maw didn't have much of a life you know, my maw reared us and (pause), I'd say life's a bit more fairer now for women, it's more the women know the men's pay....-a £50 on the payslip, it's all above board you know, they cannae say I've only got £40 maybe give the wife £40 put a tenner on his hip, you know it's more equal.

(C4-22111)

In a way, this account although blaming his father for making his mother's life more difficult, absolves his father of blame by inferring that Glaswegian women then universally were ignorant of what their husbands earned. This appeal to explaining behaviour around family income by reference to how men tried to dupe their wives and how some wives retaliated was echoed in another account where a younger man explained that women in the 1950s and 1960s in Glasgow never saw a full wage packet, and his mother's strategy was to rob his father when he went to bed drunk. His account suggests that because of their lesser involvement in the labour market, women's power was limited and this presented difficulties for women when men withheld the money they needed for the family. However his assertion that his father knew he was being robbed suggests that both his mother and father were playing parts in a drama of expected gender roles.

I don't think there's one woman that's ever seen a pay packet, a full wage packet then. That's my money, that's her money and that's how it worked in the 50s and 60s.....And I don't think when I was a kid or pre-teenage years I don't think I ever knew any female that had a full-time job.....She (his mother) used to rob him on a Saturday y'know....Yeah put him in his bed, take his trousers, take the money out of his pocket, put his trousers back yeah.

Would he not just hand it over like it wasn't?

More than likely he wouldn't y'know but he knew he was getting robbed anyway so it didn't really matter. (C37-22111)

In these eight accounts of younger cohort families, therefore, the religious divide between tolerance and intolerance of alcohol misuse is categoric. The three accounts already given of older cohort childhood families are consistent with this, and one can now look at the two cohorts in adulthood to see how consistent they are as adults with this emergent finding.

4.4.3 Accounts of alcohol misuse and family life among the older cohort in adulthood

Among the older cohort themselves, some people reported drinking heavily at some times during their lives, and for many of the men this was associated with expected behaviour of working men reported among both Protestants and Catholics. For women, alcohol use was generally reported as either non-existent or merely social, and none of the women felt that they were heavy drinkers. Some Catholics were or had been Pioneers, members of a Catholic abstinence association, who had sworn an oath in the Catholic Church not to drink.

In relation to marriage breakdown, only one Protestant woman was divorced and this was partly attributed to her husband's drinking. One Catholic man felt that in the early years of his marriage he had drunk excessively and had given his wife good cause to leave him, but she did not. He transformed his behaviour when he became a father. For other Catholic men, stopping drinking was associated with getting married and giving up one's youthful masculinity.

The account of the Catholic man who felt his wife should have left him follows. In this account he pinpoints stopping excessive drinking and becoming responsible as occurring when he became a father. He felt his wife was very tolerant and although she would have been justified in doing so, she did not leave him:

I was a bit of a bastard actually.....My wife should have left me years ago....But she didn't fortunately.....because of my drinking, you know.

Were you drinking an awful lot?

Yes, again...yes I was. I was drinking too much anyway, you know. It was only actually when the kids came along that I sort of toned it down a bit, you know. But, I mean I was...I was not a nice man to know at time. I never hit her or anything like that, I mean, you know.

Were you obnoxious when you were drunk?

Yes, I was really.....But she never did (leave). And eh, as I say, had she done, it would certainly have been justified, and I couldn't have blamed her for it. I'm awfully glad that she didn't. But, yes, she had justification.....Well, I was completely irresponsible. I was just completely irresponsible. I had no feelings for other people, for instance. You know, it was...it was, you know, or other people's feelings didn't mean a thing to me, you know. It was...it was, I had nobody in the world to worry about but me. I mean that was...this was the whole attitude I think, at least I'm saying this. That's the only way I can...

So when you married her, you didn't start to feel responsible for someone else?

No, no absolutely not. I certainly didn't feel responsible for her when I married her.

No, no. And you know, I just lived life as I normally did. You know, I didn't change because I got married, as I should have done, you know. I didn't.

And how come things changed then when you had children?

I don't know really. Again, it was done obviously quite unconsciously, you know, it was quite unconscious. Maybe I saw then a different sense of responsibility or something like that. You know, you're bringing someone into the world and you maybe...obviously see things in a different perspective. You see a wee helpless child thereand maybe it all comes together.

(C34-12121)

These accounts emphasise some of the points made earlier that Catholics appeared not to leave partners even when their behaviour was appalling and drink-related. It is not clear whether this apparent greater Catholic tolerance for alcohol misuse is part of the tendency for religious reasons during this time (1950s/1960s) to stay in marriages regardless of the problems faced.

The alternative approach of Protestants was to leave marriages when drinking became unacceptable. Although this woman explained that finding out her husband was 'messaging around', was what precipitated her decision to throw her husband out, her account reveals a struggle to keep her family afloat because her husband's drinking and her inability to keep on tolerating his behaviour.

I got married when I was 22 and then I was sick looking at drink, I married a drunkard.....I threw him out 16 years this month, 16, 17, '82 so it will be 17

years this month, I tossed him out. I had taken his drink all my life and I got a phone call on the Friday night that he was messing around so he was out on the Saturday morning. I couldn't stand that...He was a grafter, he did work, but he lost all his good jobs through drink, but I would never say he didn't work, he was an excellent, first class, he didn't beat me about or anything like that, he just drunk and drunk and drunk.

So did he drink a lot of the household money then?

Well I got a pittance, that's the reason why I went out to work.

(P9-21221)

In other accounts of older Protestants, finding alcohol misuse unacceptable was also apparent in stories of other family members. One older Protestant man explained that his son was not allowed back in his house until he stopped drinking: again the view among most of the Protestants was that tolerance limits were soon reached, and this occurred earlier than among Catholics in the same age group:

He'll not get back in here until he stops it. We've had enough of it anyway. Can't take any more of it, put it that way.

(P8-11121)

In the older cohort in adulthood, then, the religious divide over tolerating alcohol misuse continues to hold good.

4.4.4 Accounts of alcohol misuse and family life among the younger cohort in adulthood

Many of the accounts of alcohol misuse among the younger cohort were accounts of Catholics: Catholics who felt they probably drank too much or Catholics who felt those around them drank too much. However, what differed from Catholic accounts of the previous generation was that tolerance for the alcohol misuse of their partners among Catholic women had decreased, compared with the previous generation. Catholic women appeared to have taken on the discourse previously confined to Protestants, and to have acted to end marriages where husbands were drinking too much.

In the following account a Catholic woman's husband died of alcoholism but she had been separated from him before this point. In her account she repeats her view that she had tolerated enough – 'enough is enough', but also draws attention to a couple of other aspects of her experience: firstly that she was unable to overlook her husband's behaviour by 'holding her wheesh' and also that her husband's drinking behaviour was having effects on her children which she felt were not to be tolerated:

He must have died quite young did he?

42 Frank died

And what happened to him?

The drink...his whole inside went, his liver....No, no died in hospital, took him the 2nd time, gave him a chance the first time but never took any warning of it at all.

.....*So you had separated before that?*

We had separated aye...enough was enough...My Veronica ended up took a depression when she was 12, you know the constant, the drinking and the way he was....He could be a bad drunk you know but I (pause) I cannae hold my wheesh, so I just let him have it as well know what I mean, and I couldnae, enough was enough as I said, I can't take any more, the kids they've got to get a life so just took them and you know, you want to ruin your life, that's fine.

(C7-12212)

In another case a Catholic woman divorced her husband because of his drinking and her reasons included consideration of the effects on her son and because her husband's drinking affected his work. In the Glaswegian context, most drinking was acceptable, forgivable and unproblematic if it did not interfere with the yardstick of men's ability to work.

Well he was an alcoholicHe (her son) sees him (her ex-husband), he didn't see him very much you know when Michael was still drinking, that was when Anthony was maybe about 12, didn't see much of him thenMichael was too busy drinking plus Anthony really didn't kind of (pause), he's a bit funny you know, if I was there he was fine type of thing but I think he felt a bit strange especially if Michael was drinking, I couldn't blame him. But I left it up to him, it was his decision but when Michael sobered up you know, they're fine.

So would you say it was your marriage, would you say it wasn't a happy one then?

No, that's how I got divorced (laugh).

And that was mainly, was that mainly to do with him drinking?

Yeah.

And the two of you not agreeing?

Yeah, plus he didn't work too long at the one thing you know because of his drinking well you know. Well I didn't want Anthony to suffer because of it.

(C24-12211)

There was another case of a Catholic woman whose husband developed a drink problem in response to financial pressures. However, she stayed with him, despite contemplating leaving, because she felt that he was addressing both the problem which caused the drinking and the drinking problem. She also revealed that her husband kept his problems from her until he reached crisis point:

Jack's drinking has got quite heavy recently....About two years ago he was made bankrupt. He went into a lot of loans which he shouldn't have done, and this was all new to me. I never ever knew about them. So unknown to me, he'd get in over his head, and it all came out through letters, through pressure, he just broke down. So I finally got him to go to a counsellor who helped him settle his debts....Once that started he seemed to drink a lot as well. And it got so bad I went to the Housing to try and get a house on my own, because I thought, you know, 'I don't need this!'But recently he had broke down crying saying he realised he was doing all this but didn't want to split. So just during the last six weeks he started attending counselling on alcohol.....So he goes there like, well at the moment he goes every week, and also he went to his doctor who's put him on anti-depressants. But I think it's all to do with this bankruptcy, because I mean he always took a wee drink, but nothing to what he started to take....And I still feel he's a bit of a way to go. I just kind of take one day at a time. I know he's trying.....I feel as though something's getting done now, so I feel more hopeful.

(C5-12212)

There was one account of a Protestant woman whose husband had recently died of alcohol-related illness but who appeared to have stayed married and living with him to the end. She

felt that his drinking affected family life and was an effect of the environment in which he worked in the music business. In other accounts of younger people, some Catholics and Protestants felt that they drank too much for reasons of stress due to overwork or relationship break-up.

4.4.5 Assessing the evidence on family tolerance of alcohol misuse

From these data it is impossible to assess whether Catholics actually drank more or less than Protestants, but there is evidence that alcohol misuse within families was rationalised differently by religion, with evidence also that over time Catholic and Protestant understandings of alcohol misuse converged, as the practice of ending marriages because of alcohol misuse became disassociated from religious background from the 1970s onwards. Part of the reason for this appears to have been due to women's changing expectations.

While both Catholics and Protestants rationalised alcohol use as normal and acceptable by reference to ideas of Glaswegian masculinity, or as a social activity, understandings of alcohol misuse appeared to vary by religion, at least up until the 1970s. Parental conflict caused by drinking or the effects of drinking was highly tolerated by Catholics and dismissed as part of a wider set of gendered social relations whereby men, even if drinking and thus affecting family budgets, were doing what men did at a particular time in the past.

Although Protestants also referenced a discourse of what men did, this was not tolerated if it affected family resources or was linked with violence (although none of the Catholics reported violence among parents), and Protestant women thus affected ended marriages. Among Catholics there was a more tolerant attitude towards alcohol misuse which regarded abuse of alcohol as an intelligible, coping response to difficult life events, and although this understanding of the causes of alcohol misuse was apparent in some Protestant accounts, there was a lesser attempt to locate wider contexts of problem drinking and rather to blame the individual. In one case of alcohol misuse in a Protestant family which remained intact, and in spite of the stigma of mental illness, labelling a father's alcohol problem as due to lifelong psychological problems and work stress, permitted the mother to care for, rather than leave her husband, although he did also give up drinking. However, even in this case, the teller of this account, the son, feels that people may use

problems as excuses for drinking, implying a lack of conviction in understanding alcohol problems as outward signs of other problems.

The accounts of younger Catholics of their own marriages suggest that the tolerance Catholics had of alcohol use, started to approach limits set in previous generations by Protestants, evidenced both in accounts of Catholic women divorcing their husbands because of alcohol problems or contemplating leaving unless change occurred. Although Catholics were more likely than Protestants to address the contexts of drinking, among those who experienced marriage breakdown, these contexts were largely missing, and abusing alcohol was considered unacceptable. Additionally, it was only in these data of Catholics that effects on children were considered of staying in marriages where parents had alcohol problems. In Protestant accounts of earlier times, the perception of effects on children of rows and violence associated with alcohol was evident.

The data suggest therefore that a change occurred in Catholic marriages from the 1970s onwards and that attitudes to alcohol use crystallise some of this change. Prior to 1970s, the general Catholic approach derived from these data was that alcohol misuse, although particularly damaging to family finances, was explicable by wider contexts of gendered behaviour or difficult life events. In this way, culpable (usually) fathers were not seen as entirely responsible for their behaviour. Wives responded to such behaviour with a forbearance, seemingly justified by gender roles at the time. In contrast, in Protestant families, alcohol misuse although explained by a wider culture of male Glaswegian social life, was not excused by it, and women were pushed to leave husbands by alcohol-connected violence and an intolerance for behaviour which was perceived as mainly self-rather than context-motivated.

However among younger Catholics, the attitudes prevalent only in Protestant accounts appear to have taken hold and women appeared to have developed an intolerance of excessive drinking, and a consideration that family life might be better without these fathers and husbands. This switch in attitudes found among younger Catholics is likely to have been made possible due to a greater ability of Catholic women to financially support their families, an overall decrease in Catholic family size since the 1970s, a wider culture of female rights and a greater acceptability of Catholic marriages being dissolved.

While it might be deduced that a Catholic tolerance of alcohol prior to the 1970s might have encouraged Catholics (men) to drink more, the evidence does not support this tendency. Rather, alcohol was not a problem in the vast majority of Catholic families, and other accounts reveal strong beliefs about the detrimental effect of alcohol misuse on family finances and parental behaviour which appeared to act as deterrent to responsible fathers abusing alcohol. Also, the Church itself was promoting abstinence through a temperance association which a number of interviewees belonged to. Catholics therefore appear to have been influenced by an ideology which both tried to dissuade people from using alcohol, but which also influenced people to be tolerant of alcohol misuse where it occurred.

4.4.6 Conclusion: marital stability, alcohol misuse and health

There was little evidence to suggest that many families of the 1930s/1940s in this sample, either Catholic or Protestant, either faced divorce or separation or the experience of alcohol abuse. Many Catholic families during this time regarded parental use of alcohol as impossible given tight family budgets, and associated it with irresponsible parenthood. However, by the 1950s/1960s, more parents drank, and more mothers, a feature rare in the previous generation. However, in spite of an intolerance for the effects of alcohol on family budgets, Catholic accounts at the same time revealed a tolerance of alcohol misuse, as Catholics tended to contextualise alcohol misuse as due to norms of masculinity and an effect of other problems or difficulties. As such, alcohol misuse was made intelligible and not an effect of individual pathology, and tolerated within families when it occurred. On the other hand, while Protestant accounts also revealed a belief in alcohol use as part of acceptable, male Glaswegian behaviour, using alcohol in a way which affected family life was less tolerated and a key reason for marriage breakdown. However this religious patterning in attitudes to alcohol misuse changed in the younger cohort in adulthood, when it was clear that marriages of Catholics broke up because of alcohol misuse.

Concerns about effects of alcohol and/or marital breakdown showed that among Catholics prior to the 1970s, families stayed together regardless of circumstances. Among Protestants who split up prior to the 1970s, children were largely cut off from their fathers following divorce and this was considered to be beneficial by parents, although was not necessarily how children felt. Although Catholics appeared to consider the effects of alcohol abuse on children in families since the 1970s, marriage breakdown was less likely to lead to

complete estrangement among fathers and children as it had done prior to the 1970s. While children's needs appeared to be being addressed, alcohol misuse leading to marriage breakdown was more generally connected to women having different thresholds for tolerance of men's behaviour than in previous generations, supported by an increasing acknowledgement among men that women's lives were more equitable now than in the past, including women having greater financial power.

There were no overall religious differences in alcohol use, but rather in responses and attitudes by religion to alcohol misuse within families. There was evidence that solace previously sought in religion was being replaced by alcohol use. In relation to family health, it was unclear whether families remaining intact produced healthier children and ultimately adults, than those who suffered family breakdown. The evidence suggests that Protestant women in the past whose marriages broke up faced financial difficulties which may have affected health via possible material effects: on the other hand marital problems were disturbing for children of both intact and broken marriages.

CHAPTER FIVE: Communal life and identity – changing experiences of exclusion and hostility and potential links to health

5.1 Introduction

Much of the available literature on the contemporary experiences of religious difference in Scotland focuses on what can broadly be described as experience of communal life, rather than on how religious differences may impact upon employment or family life, and much of this has been driven by media coverage of sectarianism, particularly how sectarianism is linked to football allegiances, and occasionally results in fatalities. There has been much less attention given to the extent to which religion is given significance in everyday mundane encounters between Catholics and Protestants, and, apart from football allegiance and schooling choices, to the way in which religion impacts upon other forms of social organisation. In this analysis, the main focus is on the experiences of Catholic males in the two cohorts, as it was mainly Catholic males for whom being Catholic represented experiences of hostility and exclusion which were religiously derived. Accounts of others (Protestants, women) are given where relevant.

Communal life is defined here as relating to experiences outside of the workplace and the home. Movement between family, employment and communal environments is invariably interlinked although treated as analytically discrete. (As noted in other chapters, communal affiliations are important in defining religious identity, or in gaining access to employment, and in this chapter some links are made to these other environments). The data presented here are selected from a wider comparative analysis of accounts of Catholics and Protestants of their own, and other family members', experiences of what might be described as community activity or belonging of different forms (organisational, leisure, religious, social, neighbourly, friendship groups, attitudes towards Catholics/Protestants, experiences of sectarianism, etc). The selection is made in an attempt to investigate the question, in what contexts does religion appear to have particular significance? Particularly, since the bulk of the material thus selected raises this issue, in what contexts is religion associated with exclusion, hostility, bigotry and conflict? And in what ways might experiences of religious communal identity be linked to health? Although the focus is on Catholic males, where experiences are shared with others this is made explicit.

This analysis revealed that religion is significant in the lives of Catholics and Protestants in Glasgow from childhood onwards. None of the interviewees felt that religious differences were insignificant, while most protested that they wished this situation was otherwise. With regard to hostility and exclusion, Catholic boys and men were most likely to report that it was their identities, which singled them out for exclusion and hostility. While mainly older men experienced exclusions from organisations on the basis of their religious identities, younger men's accounts focused less on organisational exclusions and more on the potential for religion becoming important in everyday spaces where they might be identified as Catholic. Both age groups felt that organisational exclusions had decreased over time, but had not yet been eradicated. Even as organisational exclusions were deemed to have decreased over the years, however, the majority of interviewees felt that bigotry had actually increased.

With regard to everyday hostilities, the younger men experienced less actual violence as they became older, although this did not prohibit religion having a continuing significance in everyday life, which particularly riled Catholic men, and challenged feelings of belonging and being accepted. Both cohorts of Catholic men expressed anger that their religious backgrounds were considered important. Both Protestants and Catholics reported that bantering about religion and football allegiance (a marker of religion) was commonplace, but just where and when this bantering was perceived to be offensive, and when it might lead to conflict, was largely contextual. Among Catholics, being revealed as Catholic created the potential for problems in social life, and a number of cues were commonly understood as identifying Catholics: being Celtic supporters, having attended Catholic schools, having Irish names, etc.

5.2 Organisations and Exclusions

5.2.1 Bowling clubs and golf clubs: exclusionary practices

A number of Catholics and Protestants mentioned bowling and golf clubs as places which Catholics were excluded from (and one case was described by a Catholic mother about her son being sacked from a golf club on the basis of his religion, discussed in Chapter Six). Four older working class Catholics belonged to bowling clubs. Among these and others was the belief that some bowling clubs still were hostile to Catholic membership. Protestants with experience of bowling felt that although such clubs were predominantly

Catholic or Protestant, that this situation was changing. In the following account, an older Catholic man who feels that he would be excluded from some Glasgow bowling clubs on the basis of religion, notes that he and his Protestant friend joke about religion, but he does not feel that his friend (nor his own joking) sees this as serious. He reasons that as his friend has married a Catholic, that he is not sectarian. This account shows that behaviour which in one context may be regarded as serious, may not be assessed as such in another:

There are some bowling clubs in Glasgow (pause) that I wouldn't go into because I'm a Catholic but in our club it's a lot of jokes made about it. I mean one lad, who was President last year, whenever I walk in Jimmy will say here's this wee Mickey B again. But Jimmy's married to a Catholic and his 2 sons are Celtic supporters, so I kid the shirt off of him and he kids the shirt off of meBut I don't think Jimmy ever meant it as being serious.

(C16-22121)

Another older man reported being shocked at being informed by both Catholics and Protestants that golf clubs excluded Catholics. He also makes the point that although his brother-in-law has married a Catholic, his sister, he is, in his view, 'definitely anti-Catholic':

I haven't come across it personally but I do know that one of my acquaintances who goes to Parkhead was telling me quite recently that Bellahouston, a bowling club, an indoor and outdoor bowling club, don't let, have Catholics in it, which astounded me. I thought that had long since gone but he said no definitely...My younger sister's husband, she married out of the Church and her husband is definitely anti-Catholic and he plays golf down at Caldwell and I can remember him, I said, 'Why do you play at Caldwell? He said, 'Oh I liked it', and I said, 'I thought you would have played at', and I can't remember the name of the club. He said, 'I could have joined there but you wouldn't have.' I said, 'why not?' He said, 'they wouldn't let you in', meaning I was Catholic, and that was in the south side somewhere ...and I thought God how small minded can people be?

(C29-22122)

However, in another account, a younger man describing experience of being a current member of a bowling club, strongly asserts religious antagonisms will emerge around the issue of football, but then implies that this is not just for 90 minutes, but more serious. His use of the phrase 'coming out of the closet' suggests that not having issues with Catholic identity is a pretence, as people later show their true colours. Although clearly not entirely excluded from the club, this man feels that Catholics are only allowed to progress so far within the club because they are Catholic, as bowling clubs are traditionally perceived as Protestant territory.

They are predominantly Protestant, predominantly Masons and they actually shove it right up your arse every time Rangers and Celtic are playingAnd they come out of the closet. And that is, really hurts because you get people that you know, that you've known for years and then for 90 minutes they come out, but they don't come out for 90 minutes, they are actually talking behind your back because they know you're a Mick. And out of probably 150 members there is probably 20 Catholics in the club. And over the past 4 or 5 years I've realised or actually known and you can see what is happening. And it's quite frightening actually. It's not frightening physically but knowing that these, excuse my French, shits are trying to get you...It's quite hard to define actually. They'll let you in so far. It's like me being selfish, you can come into my wee bit and then I'll say right fine that's you, you don't go any further. That's what they do...There's very few clubs that have a lot of Catholic members in bowling clubs because it is predominantly Protestant i.e. that's our wee, that's their wee territory. And once you get in. They don't mind you in, but they don't let you right in.

(C37-22111)

Accounts of younger and older Protestants echoed these exclusions and semi-exclusions of Catholics from clubs, and variously ascribed this to religious bias, linking class to religion, as well as men wishing to be with others similar to themselves (including from a similar religious background). This first account is that of a younger Protestant man who is a member of a bowling and tennis club, who upholds the view suggested in the previous younger Catholic man's account, that is, that Protestants, even if Catholics are involved, tend to wield the power. However, rather than explain this as an antagonism against Catholics, he explains it rather as an indirect effect of middle class Protestants wishing to

maintain privilege for people like themselves and wanting to group together, and as related to Catholics tending to be considered more working class. Being a middle class Protestant has a number of facets of identification: a Scottishness linked to Robert Burns and connected to Freemasonry and support for Rangers:

There's a handful of Catholics in it, but all the power and all the people who wield the power, they're all good Protestants.....I think it's because the area is mostly non Catholic, I wouldn't say Protestant, not in a sort of staunch, you know, Orange Lodgy type way, but it's the sort of non Catholic area, and I think that's because it's always been a middle class area, and Catholics have always sort of slightly more working class. And the Bowling Club is men, and men tend to group themselves with like thinking men. So you've got the Protestants, a Glasgow person, who's very, very into Robert Burns, and you'll find a very, very good chance that they're Protestant and that they support Rangers, and that they're a member of a Bowling Club....it's because they all go together. You know, bowling is a sort of middle classy type thing, middle class area is a Protestant, being a Protestant isn't that far away...well it's supporting Rangers, it's not that far away from the Free Masons. Robert Burns was a Free Mason.

(P32-21112)

Four middle class Catholic men played golf and a similar number of Protestant men. Again most of these Catholics felt that some golf clubs would not admit Catholics, or that allowing Catholics into some bowling clubs was a recent occurrence and that therefore discrimination did not occur to such an extent as before. Among middle class Protestants who belonged to bowling clubs, similar accounts emerged about Protestant predominance in this environment and reference was made to how clubs did not admit Catholics, with one suggestion that a 'black balling' system was common in golf clubs, similar to the Masons, where people could not just join, but rather, had to be proposed by current members, therefore a means to discriminate indirectly against those without prior connections.

In the following account an older Protestant man asserts that golf clubs are anti-Catholic, that this is a throwback to the past and part of Catholics belonging to different 'streams of social intercourse', while in another account an older Protestant man sees both his bowling

and golf clubs as mainly Protestant, but does not feel that this is because Catholics are formally barred.

It's a throw back to the past eh (pause) (sigh) but they're (Catholics) no different from anybody else, just as decent as everybody else (pause)I think it's just a different, they're different streams of social intercourse I suppose in a way (pause)...see golf clubs are notoriously anti-Catholic...the majority oh the vast majority I would say, and I don't think it's so bad now, but I think that was a thing, everything I really know is, even XX club in Partick where I've been a member for oh 50 years (pause) very few Catholics, I think there was one of the players a few years ago was a Catholic (laugh) but there's very few.

(P13-11122)

There are some Catholics there (bowling club), I think it's mainly a Protestant club mind you, but, the golf club, I think it's mostly Protestant too, but there's a lot of Catholics there, I mean they're not barred or anything like that.

(P11-21122)

5.2.2 Specifically Protestant arenas: the Masons and the Orange Order

Being Protestant was marked by identifying as Protestant (often in the absence of religious practice - see Identity chapter), and was aligned in childhood with a range of groups, and in adulthood by supporting Rangers, membership of the Masons, the Eastern Star (among women), or the Orange Order, and by belonging to bowling and golf clubs which were predominantly or exclusively Protestant. Accounts of both Catholics and Protestants revealed awareness that these organisations were associated with being Protestant, although Protestants argued vehemently that Catholics, although excluded from the Orange Order, were not technically excluded from the Masons (thus the Masons were not felt by Protestants to be a wholly Protestant organisation), and some Protestants claimed that they were aware of some Catholic Masons. However, none of the Catholics interviewed claimed to be a Mason, although some had attended Masonic functions with friends.

While the Masons were regarded as non-sectarian by Protestants, membership of the Orange Order was viewed by some Protestants with consternation. As expected, Protestants were most likely to support Rangers, but as with Catholics, it was also usual for

some family members to be Celtic supporters, usually a result of intermarriage. As was the case among Catholics, supporting Rangers was mainly a male activity. Being a Mason was also organisationally confined to males, although some wives of Masons did belong to the female group previously noted called the Eastern Star. Active Mason and Eastern Star membership was confined to those in the older age group born in 1932 in this sample. Otherwise Protestants were involved in bowling and golf clubs, and as a number of Protestants cited above note, these clubs were perceived by Protestants as predominantly Protestant.

Despite the array of organisations available to Protestants, few people in this sample (five out of sixteen Protestant men) were active Rangers supporters and as many were in the Masons. Those in the Masons and who were Rangers supporters were older men. Among older Protestant women, socialising was connected to husbands' allegiances – Masons' dances, events at Orange halls, service men's clubs, etc. Among younger Protestant women these venues were not reported as so relevant and instead much of their social life and organisational affiliations were non-sectarian.

Apart from the only Protestant who was born in Northern Ireland and who claimed to have given it up before moving to Scotland, none of the other Protestants claimed membership of the Orange Order, although some had grown up in families where membership was common. A number of Catholic and Protestant women married to Protestant men claimed their husbands were in the Orange Order, and many of these members clearly had ancestral links with Ireland.

Protestants were keen to point out that members of the Orange Order were distinctive from average Protestants, as did Catholics, and that many Protestants as well as Catholics were wary of those in the Orange order. Nevertheless even if not in the Orange Order themselves, many Protestants and some Catholics mentioned knowing people or having friends who were members of Orange Lodges, or relatives in the Orange Lodge. Twelve people out of the 72, or 11 Protestant interviewees and one Catholic (a woman who had married a Protestant) claimed that uncles, grandfathers, aunts, grandmothers, mothers, fathers, husbands, sons and daughters were members of Orange Lodges or involved in Orange Walks. Those who had family connections with lodges dealt with this in a number of ways: they gave accounts which posited this experience in their backgrounds and as part

of the past, part of wider family life and unconnected to sectarian bitterness, or unusually in the case of a woman from a Catholic background who married a man she claimed hated Catholics, being 'Orange' was part of being Protestant and unapologetically anti-Catholic in sentiment.

Four older men claimed they were Masons in the Protestant group, and none of the Catholics. One younger Protestant man said he had been a member but had fallen away from it. Whereas the Orange Order had family links, joining the Masons was less likely to show a family pattern of involvement. Among the Protestants, fifteen interviewees related that they or some of their relatives had associations with the Masons, mainly their fathers, uncles and grandfathers. Despite protestations that the Masons did not exclude Catholics, and despite emphasis being placed on how people could join if they had a religious belief and were put forward by other members, there was nonetheless a sense that this was a de facto Protestant organisation. Occasionally mentioned was an organisation thought to be a Catholic version of the Masons (the Knights of St Columba), but none of the Catholics interviewed had any personal experience of it.

A few men mentioned that despite being Masons they did not use this for their own benefit in employment (see work chapter), while a younger Protestant woman mentioned that her father had become a Mason in order to avail himself of work opportunities previously denied him when he was not a Mason. Despite Protestant insistence that Catholics could become Masons, as they were not specifically outlawed, as from the Orange Order, one older Catholic man noted that even though he had previously attended Masonic dances, when his Protestant friend climbed the ladder in the Masons, his friend then disowned him, because he was a Catholic:

Then Albert joined it and then Albert just shot right up the ladder from job to job, to job to job, all through his Freemasonry side of it (pause) so he changed his tune and that way and in fact I mean as I said to you I used to always go to Freemason dances, well it was his Freemason dances and his friends, Freemason dances that I went to, and as soon as he got up the ladder in the Freemasonry he more or less disowned me, would hardly talk to me, never ever got invited back to any of their dances.

(C9-22122)

Organisational exclusion of Catholic women was less commonly reported, seemingly due to the fact that many of the social organisations were for men, as well as the tendency of women to fall into line with supporting the religious affiliation of the organisations which their husbands (and often their sons) supported, even if this was different from what might have been expected from their own religious backgrounds. Catholic women however, did face some exclusions, but as the following account reveals, this was not because Protestant women had problems with other women, but rather because some Protestant women feared the reaction of male family members if they invited Catholic women to Protestant events. There was concern that Catholic women's identities might be revealed, hence the warning, 'don't say anything'. This seems to suggest that men could control what women might have done and also that, as noted above, mixed marriage did not mean that those involved, or wider families, stopped being anti-Catholic:

I was really friendly with a girl who I was on night shift withand she was a member of the Orange Lodge, and she said to me, 'We have these wee nights out in the Orange Halls, come to them.' And I would have went, but 'you just don't say anything, just come along and don't say anything'. And I was quite easily, quite willingly have went, but then I think she thought no....I felt excluded. And another time, another friend, (my daughter) went to gymnastics for years, and I was friendly with one of the mums. And she was married to a Catholic, and her kids were brought up as Catholic, but her husband...her brothers were really bitter, and she was going to a dance, and she wanted me to go with her and it was in the Orange Halls, and I wanted to go. In the end she wouldn't let me go because her brother knew she was going to bring me and she was frightened that her brother would say something.

(C11-22212)

Although Catholics reported a lessening, even if continuing, experience of exclusion from organisations, Protestants did not report being excluded from Catholic venues, though a couple of Protestants noted their discomfort when being at Parkhead, the Celtic football ground. These accounts reveal that access to what is assumed to be forbidden territory can be managed if under the protection of friends, but that people may feel threatened in a situation where they feel perhaps they are out of place, or feel they are not welcomed:

I was in a Celtic club once.....It was a social thing. Even at that I wouldn't...I couldn't get out quick enough because I felt out of depth, if somebody come up to me.

Did you? Did you think you might be spotted?

Aye, I did.

Were you really worried?

Well, I wasn't worried because I was with Michael, but I was well protected that way, even at that, I felt an edge, you know. So probably the same if you go to the Rangers supporters club, you get the same right there if you were a...you know, a Celtic supporter.

(P8-11121)

For years I was in the Director's box at Parkhead because I knew (xx) very well and (pause) he was always an absolute out and out gentleman but em whenever (he) left (pause) all of a sudden I could feel a distinct hate relationship even towards me, and these people were all there when he was there, but once he left I was somebody that was not wanted.....I mean, and really hate, really hate and one or two of the guys, we were talking about the directors by the way, made me feel as I was, I stopped coming you know. I was very disappointed very disappointed.

And did you stop then?

I did, I did indeed oh I mean you could cut the atmosphere with a knife, I mean that. Serious!

How long ago then would that have been?

That's about 5 years ago, 10 years ago, maybe 10 years now but I was, I was devastated to be quite honest with you ...but I haven't been back.

And do you feel that was really only because of your religion?

Definitely.

(P33-21122)

In another account a Catholic man withdrew from being a Rangers supporter after experiencing the expression of anti-Catholic attitudes. However, although his Protestant friends at the time walked out with him, he did not return. His account suggested a strong desire to be accepted by using his local allegiance to gain acceptance, and although his

Protestant friends did support him, he essentially recognises that Rangers is 'their', *not his* team.

I used to go to Ibrox. I was nearer Ibrox than I was Parkhead....I used to go to Ibrox with all these friends that I was telling you about. There was only a few of us who was Catholic. Until one day.....one of them, he wasn't exactly one of the close friends that we were involved with, but he was a non-Catholic, sort of an outsider.....He started shouting to the Rangers team to get into these Fenian Bs and I tapped him on the shoulder and said, 'Here's a Fenian B here', and I thumped him. I said, 'I'll see you tonight', and I walked out, and the other boys walked out along me. Up until then I'd support, I'd be wanting Rangers to win because they were a local team. I always supported the Glasgow teams against everybody....But that fellow changed me a bit. He made feel that I must be different. And he made me that I didn't go, I stopped going to Ibrox then. Because I used to go to cheer them on, but I stopped going then. I said, well if that's the way they feel about me, there's no sense in me cheering their team on.

(C15-22121)

Among others, particularly younger Catholic men, the experience of being in 'Protestant' territory was occasionally possible, but it seemed necessary that Catholic men judge accurately when this was possible and when it was not. For example one man felt that he would avoid a pub connected with strong Rangers support:

I would avoid for example I would avoid the (certain pub)...but no I'll not, I mean, as I say apart from (certain pub) when I've passed it when there's been Rangers games and it's just heaving. But even then it would probably because it's mobbed rather than any other reason. There's always the propensity, there could be trouble.

(C20-12112)

Of going into the same bar, another Catholic man said,

It's a big Rangers pub but I know a lot of the boys there, and I'll walk in.... I know a lot of people in it. But I wouldn't go in on a Saturday ...(laughs).

(C33-22111).

These men had to carefully negotiate the possibility that on certain occasions their presence would not be welcome. A woman also recounted being in this particular pub recently with her husband, who started to feel that he was being ignored at the bar when waiting to order a drink. Wearing the colour green was in this instance and others, considered likely to differentiate Catholics from Protestants. Her story illustrates a greater male sensitivity about judging if religious identity is deemed significant:

Well, we had that experience last week. Jack had...I mean it was not intentionally, it was just we were on holiday for that week and he'd on denims and a lime green casual, and we went into (certain pub). And he had got served OK the first time, but when he went up the second time he came back, and he said to me, 'Mary,' he says, 'there's two chaps coming after me, and I've been ignored,' he says, 'so I'm not staying. I'm going to go,' he says. 'I don't know if it's because I've got on this green shirt, but I think we're in the wrong pub.' And I says, 'Don't be silly, maybe they've just not recognised that we've been in before. You just say, 'Excuse me, I've not been served yet.' He says, 'No, just drink up and we'll go.' So we did that, but that's...that was kind of new to me, but Jack was quite aware of it.
(C5-12212)

These accounts reveal a sensitivity among Catholic men of not feeling accepted in certain places and at certain times. Although often direct challenges to their presence are not made, it appears that Catholic males (and the two Protestant males who went to Parkhead), judge themselves to be subtly excluded and unwelcome in certain social spaces. But the situation was not always clear cut: Catholics and Protestants could sometimes inhabit each others' territory, sometimes under the protection of friends of the other religion, but these steps towards greater integration could possibly be challenged by others who still might feel or be understood to feel that such integration was not acceptable. Catholics and Protestants commonly reported having friends of the other religion, but being friends did not mean that Catholics were welcome in all situations and at all times, as there was an awareness of the wider views of others and how these might exert an influence. (The effects of the wider views of others are also noted in the context of employment mentioned later, where Protestant workers influence a Protestant employer's practices.)

Similarly, many Catholics and Protestants had experienced intermarriage within their wider families, but this did not necessarily mean that bigoted views disappeared overnight. For some people in families, hostility was always evident while for others it disappeared after a spell. It was primarily Catholic men who aroused not only hostility in social situations, but also hostility where it occurred within families. Although Catholic women also reported families being hostile to them, this was more likely to have disappeared when women had children, and women overall were perceived as less threatening, perhaps as women had the ability to be accepted as supporters of their husbands' public identities. Protestant men as noted earlier could become angered by their female relatives associating with Catholics, even when families had experienced intermarriage. The prejudices which some Protestants held towards Catholics is described in the following quote from an older Protestant man who is shocked by his friend's bigotry:

I mean I'm ashamed to be a Protestant at times with the way some of my Protestant Rangers supporters friends are, I mean they're absolutely bonkers, I mean I've got a guy you know has a daughter that he loves very dearly and she actually is living with a Catholic guy out at () and I mean he wouldn't let the Catholic guy in the house you know, I mean he lets his daughter in the house but it's not you know you could hardly say he was hardly friendly with her, he does it because his wife's, still, I mean he's outraged that she, and I mean he's a very good friend of mine, this is one of the most generous nice guys you could ever meet and he's got this bloody bee in his bonnet.... So as I say it's bigotry.
(P33-21122)

These accounts were echoed among some Catholic men who had married Protestant women, where their religious backgrounds were still contentious among family members:

Her mother hated me, her mother's now senile (pause)No, she was really extremely nasty to me, hated me with a vengeance.
Because you were a Catholic?
Absolutely hated me.
Did she ever come round to liking you or accepting you?
Nnnoo she just had to put up with me because she had no choice but she never liked me, even (my wife) tells me today. (C8-22112)

Her oldest sister () was a bit of a bitch religious wise.

Did she object to you then?

Yes, strongly...she's just a bigot, just a bigot, a Catholic's a Catholic to her...no I couldn't comprehend it even when it happened, first time I met her she asked me what I was, religion, Catholics do this, Catholics do that, I mean I couldn't believe it.

What did she believe they did?

She was just, we were bad people, just, if anybody had done anything, it was a Catholic had done it, you know, she was a bigot...She just didn't like Catholics.
(C19-12111)

These data illustrate that exclusions and semi-exclusions could occur in a number of contexts: as well as particular organisations being aligned by religion, other social spaces such as pubs were also aligned, and even when occasionally people crossed boundaries, even with friends, there was the potential that others might object to their presence at particular events or venues, because of religion. As was noted earlier, while people felt that organisations were not as prohibiting of Catholics as they once were, this apparent move towards greater integration in social life was matched by an equally strongly held view among both Catholics and Protestants that there was greater bigotry than before. One of the explanations for this was conflict occurring around football, possibly due to media reporting of sectarian football violence. These interviews were conducted prior to the upsurge in media discussion about sectarianism which occurred from 1999 onwards, and therefore clearly unaffected by these debates.

In assessing the importance of football, accounts were analysed for experiences of sectarian hostilities in youth, as much of the focus has been on young male violence and conflict in relation to Old Firm games (Celtic and Rangers matches). There were three key themes which emerged in the discussion of male sectarian hostilities: a) football playing and allegiance was connected with sectarian youth hostilities; b) sectarian hostilities could emerge as an additional important rationale for young male aggression; c) the seriousness of sectarian hostilities could often be downplayed in relation to the greater relative seriousness of violence connected with Glasgow gangs at the time (during the 1960s) or reports of sectarian violence in Northern Ireland.

5.2.3 Football violence versus gang violence

Football as a focus, not only of allegiance to a particular team with religious/ethnic associations, but also of potential conflict, was mentioned by almost everyone interviewed and for young boys provided the circumstances, whether they were attending matches, talking about or playing football, in which conflict could potentially occur, as symbolising conflict over religion. In some initially friendly situations, tensions could erupt when competitiveness could transform into violent exchanges. The following younger Catholic man explains this and points to another feature of masculine violence during his formative years in Glasgow: gangs, which were usually territorial rather than religious, and which were considered the greater focus of serious violence among young men at that time. This Catholic man explains that there was always the potential for sectarian violence, although gang violence usually bridged the religious divide and gangs had greater primacy. He also asserts that anything could be an excuse for violence, which may have as much to do with male working class identity as with real concerns about religious difference.

I mean I suppose religious, that wasn't prime focus of it ...there could have been the elements there in some situationsfor example.... I played for St.Thomas Aquinas and the Protestant school Victoria Drive down there, we played in the same league together so there was always problems there in terms of, I mean it was the equivalent of Celtic Rangers I suppose in school terms, so you always had that dimension to it and some of that could break out into violence in terms of if you were ever down this area, and you came across some of the people that went to Victoria Drive, the religious bit could break out there just simply because of thatthere were elements, it was any excuse for some violence sometimes. It wasn't totally religious because as I said the gang bit, the gangs were mixtures, people were Protestant and Catholic, it (religion) didn't have that same kind of primacy I suppose.

(C20-12112)

It was also made clear that religious affiliation could become *an additional reason* to fight, even if not the initial provoking agent as the following younger Catholic man reports:

It was with a Protestant from the next school.

And were you fighting with him because he was a Protestant?

No. It was totally stupid, it had nothing to do with the fact that he was, well nothing really to do with the fact he was a Protestant, but I think it kind of escalated in the course of about 15 minutes into that but no, I had nothing against him being a Protestant or whatever.

(C6-12112)

Although football allegiance could lead to violence, it was gang violence, which was regarded as a greater threat at the time:

There was the Celtic Rangers divide as well, ...I wouldn't say it never causedproblems I suppose that got to violence etc. I mean the thing was that you hung about in gangs then, I mean at that time in Glasgow it was very gang orientated even within Glasgow...Now there was more chance of violence between the gangs than there was across religious, because the gangs were made up of Protestants and Catholics together, there was the, there was, it was a geographical area.

(C20-12112)

A number of other men reiterated the point that gangs were not based on religious affiliation, but rather territory, and for working class men who were teenagers during the 1960s, this was where violence could occur:

So it had to do the area you came from, the gangs were based on where you lived?

Yeah.

So that wasn't anything to do with religion at all?

No.

Would all gangs have been mixed then?

All gangs was mixed yeah.

(C19-12111)

There was a lot of gangs then in Glasgow, a lot of gangs, and that was the main trouble, err, it wasnae so much the school, it was the area you came from you know, territorial fights and there was a lot of trouble, a lot of gangs, it were terrible then.

So within the gangs, there would have been Catholics and Protestants in each of the gangs?

I reckon aye.

Depending on where...?

Aye, the religion had nothing to do with it....It was, you come from Cardonald, or you come from Maryhill, or you come from Drumhill, or Pollok, that was the main thing, you know.

(C31-22111)

Gang fights yes, but not through religion. It's areas.

So it's more territory than religion?

Yeah, yeah.

(C37-22111)

However one Catholic man mentioned that some gangs were predominantly Protestant or Catholic (a probable effect of one religion dominating in some neighbourhoods). This blurs religious and area identities and 'true' rationales for fighting.

A fair bit..... between Rangers and Celtic supporters standing knocking hell out of one another I think that's always been here..... which was a Catholic gang and the Cumby from the Gorbals were Catholic, from Bridgeton predominantly Protestant and they would stand and maybe battle, knock hell out of one another, aye they actually stood, maybe about 30 or 40 boys actually getting torn into one another aye.

So you would have been involved in that?

Once or twice aye.

(C4-22111)

This complication of the relevance of religion or area identities also emerged in another working class male account. Initially this man was attacked by Protestant strangers, which

he felt was because he was a Catholic, only to be defended by some of his Protestant neighbours. This reveals the shifting of allegiances and loyalties in young male violence:

Coming home fae that school you go to pass Crookston Castle, a Protestant school..... I was getting spat on by some of them, but, other (Protestant) lads took my part that came fae Crookston Castle, like, and chased them, because they stayed beside me.

(C19-12111)

Although this Catholic man was defended by his Protestant neighbours against Protestants from another area, in another account he explains that when he was about fifteen he had to switch his allegiance from Rangers to Celtic: that regardless of where he lived, this area identity could not supercede the fact that he was a Catholic, and this became a barrier to supporting Rangers:

I supported Rangers up till I was about fifteenThere was no, there was no religion barrier sort of style, till I was about fifteen.

And then did you become a Celtic supporter?

Yeah, I started following the Celtic.

So what happened that you decided to move over to Celtic at fifteen?

I don't really know, that's, it's no a thing that I said I'm no a Rangers supporter anymore.....maybe it was because Ibrox was so near, where we stayed.

(C19-12111)

What these accounts reveal is that even though for the Catholic men in the younger cohort, actual violence occurring because of being Catholic was rare, and not perceived to be as serious as gang violence of the time, and even though area loyalties overrode religious divisions on occasions, and many grew up with friends of the other religion, accounts of Catholics reveal that religion still made a difference, but just when it emerged as significant and indicative of bigoted attitudes and when it was irrelevant is tricky to untangle.

Most Protestants and Catholics grew up in mixed areas and although separate schooling created some barriers to building closest friendships, and schooling was a key way for

young people to pinpoint those of another religion, nonetheless, the fact of Catholics growing up in areas also inhabited by Protestants, meant that most associated with Protestants to some degree when young. The issue of in which contexts sectarianism matters and when it does not, when people get on and then why conflict emerges, seems key to understanding what one man below describes as the, 'almost schizophrenic' (C20-12112) relevance of religion.

Living together clearly facilitated friendships across the religious divide, as well as the formation of important area identities, which could override religious identities on occasions and appeared to create pressure to be tolerant of religious differences. As one younger Catholic man explains, being tolerant was ultimately a more pragmatic approach to life, than allowing a focus on religious differences to take precedence. His account also reveals the pragmatism of young boys who have to balance a desire to get the numbers for a football team together against giving vent to hostilities:

I mean the important thing was to be able to get enough people to make 15 a side at football in the streets, things like that, so you know you had to get on and live together so it was a question of accepting everybody's differences and you tried to live with your similarities and ignore the differences, otherwise as I say it would have been absolute anarchy, there would have been murder every night and so people tended just to accept and get on with it.

(C8-22112)

The shifting significance of religious differences is discussed in another account where a Catholic man draws attention to the perception of the lack of logic and unpredictability about when differences mattered and when they did not. In his account what also emerges is that some people were extremists as he saw it; those people who were just unable to accept others. He dissociates himself and his family from these people. He draws attention to the differences within the Catholic community itself and levels of identification with Irish identity and politics. He dissociates himself from those of his peer group who supported the IRA and who celebrated other less contentious aspects of Irish identity. His account suggests a contrast between old and new ways, as well as with the past and the present, with being Irish and being Scottish. The lack of homogeneity of the Catholic community is also paralleled by accounts among Protestants, many of whom dissociate

themselves from other Protestants of the Protestant community, who are perceived as 'bitter' or bigoted against Catholics, particularly those who align themselves with the Orange Order.

I mean obviously you were aware of difference but they weren't great differences, I mean just there were differences that you'd use I suppose of, in terms when you were I suppose (pause) inferring differences I suppose between each other in terms of who you hung about with or you know you were a Celtic or Rangers supporter, and on some occasions it didn't make any difference and on others it did make a difference, I mean there wasn't a logic to it, there wasn't a strict divide, I mean you were almost schizophrenic in some respects about it.

So when it came to football and you were definitely?

Oh aye.

Supporting the Catholic team and in what sort of context would it not matter then?

(pause) Just in terms of general hanging about. I mean even within the football bit there was banter but you didn't kind of separate that bit. I mean I remember actually having as a teenager, going to Celtic Rangers games together with Rangers supporters, friends, but obviously you got to the ground you separateeven later on you'd go to the pub together and you know drink together before the game and separate for the game then come back drink in the same pub together afterI think within that there was always there was the hard-line people who just couldn't have any truck with the other side. Now from my point of view in terms of I suppose my own Catholicism, it was never that strong that it took that hard-line bit about it, because even those members of my family that were fairly I suppose hard-line Catholics, there wasn't an anti-Protestantism about it, if you see what I mean, it was very much a religious there wasn't that element about it. And that was the same for most of my friends, now within that I had certain friends who were Catholic who were right into it in a big way, and it was just I mean they were into you know the obviously associated bit in terms of the Irish situation, IRAYou went to their houses and their bedroom walls were tricolours and IRA memorabilia and the records that they had, whereas we were into the kind of, at that time, the rock records you know that were on the go, they had old Irish rebel songs (laugh).

(C20-12112)

What this account draws attention to are the perceived linkages between differing ethnic origins and conflict, and that conflict was not based really on actual religious belief. While for many, having a different religious background could provoke hostility from outsiders, this man suggests that in upholding even benign aspects of Irish identity, this signalled intolerance towards others. The other side of this is found in the Identity chapter where those identifying as Irish, although born in Scotland, are ridiculed by other Catholics who wish to be identified as wholly Scottish, while Protestants regard identifying as Irish as a kind of provocation.

While accounts suggest that most people were tolerant and got on well with others most of the time, *the unpredictability of the possibility* of hostility emerging around religious difference seems to have created, particularly among Catholic men, a particular sensitivity about belonging and being accepted on equal terms with other men. While friends may banter about religion, in other contexts with strangers, it was often difficult for Catholics to assess who were the tolerant people and contexts in which they would be accepted, and as noted before, it seems that formerly tolerant people could change, people could be tolerant in some contexts and not in others, tolerant people could be persuaded to fall into line with intolerant people around them, etc.

What this seems to suggest is that it was not clear to Catholics particularly, in what contexts their religion had ceased to be an issue in everyday life, and it was clear that Catholic men clearly wanted their religion to be irrelevant to everyday encounters. It seems to be the case that the lack of control and predictability over when religion mattered and when it did not, often lulled Catholic men into a position in which they optimistically felt that old prejudices had disappeared, only to find that they were wrong, and they had not. It also draws attention to the influence of wider group norms: even when people as individuals get on well, these relationships may be affected by the intervention of others who object.

It could be argued that so long as some Catholics support Celtic, have separate schools and practise religion that there will always be a problem among some in Glasgow who regard these different practices and allegiances as a cause for hostility. However, in this sample even those who had given up all these trappings of a Catholic identity found that this did not make them immune to being targeted with anti-Catholic feeling. Not coming from a

Protestant background, and therefore being ‘a Catholic’, appears to be the underlying rationale for the continuing appearances of anti-Catholic bigotry. In a largely secular society, football support provides one public occasion for people to display their allegiances and their bigotry. However, exclusions as we have noted are not confined to football, and Catholic men feared or experienced occasional exclusions and hostilities in other arenas (pubs, families, clubs), including the workplace (see Chapter Six).

The cumulative effects of experience of occasional exclusions across the spheres of family, employment and in social life, as well as across the life course, seem important in the assessment of any impact on health. In addition, the contribution of these effects, together with knowledge about the experiences of other friends and family, as well as media reporting, has to be assessed in considering why Catholics (and Protestants) conclude that anti-Catholic feeling is still prevalent in Glasgow. The next step is therefore to examine these accounts, so as to show the range of ways in which bigotry is perceived to be manifested and maintained.

5.3 Perceptions of bigotry: what is it?

Throughout accounts, a word more commonly used than sectarianism by interviewees was bigotry. Manifestations of bigotry were described which encompassed both attitudes and behaviours. It was also clear that bigotry was understood to cover attitudes which were ascribed on the basis of personal experiences of behaviours, including negative comments, exclusions (from employment, organisations, social spaces), efforts to locate religious identity, and the experiences of known others, as well as awareness of wider experiences reported in the media, including reporting of football and violence.

Bigotry was understood as revealed by views held by both Catholics and Protestants, although most examples were given by both Catholics and Protestants of anti-Catholic bigotry. This seems important to note, as much of media reporting and other survey evidence suggests that sectarianism is somehow even-handed (discussed later). In the next chapter, it becomes clear that in the employment arena the activity is almost entirely anti-Catholic. In the more personal realms of family life and wider social relations in public spaces, and with regard to football tensions, the evidence was also weighted against Catholics: it was Catholic men who were most likely to report family problems with their

in-laws when they married Protestants, and a greater tendency to feel excluded in other ways, on the basis of their identities.

Bigoted attitudes were assumed on the basis of experiencing various behaviours, including people expressing prejudice and seeking to identify others' religious backgrounds, and the extent to which it was one-sided or reciprocal varied by context. Violence and hostility around football support was understood as illustrating bigoted attitudes on both sides of the religious divide, whereas membership of the Masons and Orange order in particular was given as evidence by both Catholics and Protestants of anti-Catholic bigotry, even though some Protestants and Catholics did not feel that Masonic membership was as clearly linked to anti-Catholic attitudes as Orange Order membership. Hostile attitudes of wider family members were taken as evidence by Catholics of anti-Catholic bigotry, while among Protestants, and some Catholics, it was Catholic clergy, rather than individual Catholics, who were more likely to be mentioned as being bigoted against Protestants. Exclusion from clubs was regarded as a lessening form of anti-Catholic bigotry by Catholics and Protestants, although it was also clear that due to wider cultural changes these clubs were generally less appealing to both religions and therefore younger Catholic men were less likely than older Catholics to have sought membership.

Strangers attempting to identify one's religion was understood as being bigoted, and was particularly a problem for Catholic men. Catholics were more likely to question why they should be thus identified; particularly as such identification was implicated in employment opportunities (see Chapter Six). Accounts revealed that from early childhood, children were able to tell those of the other religion, often because of separate schooling, and skirmishes of varying degrees of seriousness were reported by interviewees when young, as individuals and in school groupings. While some Catholics reported being frightened of being identified as Catholic when young by people they did not know (as they might get hurt), the import of anti-Catholic verbal abuse was played down by some Protestants, as it was merely verbal. Among others, it was clear that ritualistic name-calling was viewed as an acceptable and harmless memory from childhood, although some people felt that sometimes tensions did get out of hand. Notably perhaps, most childhood skirmishes in both cohorts were reported on St. Patrick's Day. In other accounts of Protestants, Catholics were not reported as being abused by Protestants as children, but were merely ignored and excluded. One younger Protestant man described the attitude thus:

We didn't really mix as kids so there was that separation ...It was certainly, a natural aspect of having some kind of opposition with a group, not particularly nasty..... They didn't really get any sort of physical aggression against them, we just didn't play with them, we just ignored them. That was the only thing.

(P3-11111)

Bantering about religion, once identified, with friends in adulthood, was however generally regarded as harmless, and by some seen as a way to manage differences without creating problems. While Catholic men expressed anger at religious identification and exclusions, a common strand among particularly younger working class Catholic men was to emphasise how they were accepted by Protestants socially, as though this was a kind of achievement, even though this was not in the absence of reference to their religion. While banter about religion was therefore possible as religion was brought to the fore, identifying as Irish was avoided, and was seen as bigoted and as having the potential to polarise people, as events in Northern Ireland were considered liable to bring out bigoted attitudes.

Thus in both these situations (banter and enquiries about religion), identification is risky for Catholics, for once identified, they face the possibility of action being taken on this knowledge, and this action may include exclusion, hostility and discrimination of different forms. Efforts to ascertain religious background in everyday life appear to be particularly galling to Catholic men and it therefore makes sense that Catholic men might be most upset by attention being focused on their religion in daily encounters. Even among those who view identification as necessary for bantering, the implication is that doing this, and avoiding violence, shows a level of competence, even though Catholic men feel that outcomes of bantering are outside their control.

Overall, then, this study reveals that occasions of reciprocal bigotry are relatively uncommon, but there does seem to be evidence that symbols and chanting among some supporters at football matches give weight to the view that football represents one arena where bigotry (if that is part of what is being enacted) is on both sides. However, the focus on football serves to lead to the misunderstanding perpetuated by other authors, that one side is as bad as the other, and ignores the historical power relations between Catholics and Protestants. Hickman (1995) argues that using the term sectarianism marginalises the

issues involved, and it seems that the term is often adopted in ways which obscures the focus on, and effects of, anti-Catholicism. This is most clearly illustrated in Bruce et al.'s (2004) dismissal of football 'sectarianism' which infers on the one hand that hostilities are equally felt and enacted, and on the other, that Old Firm football violence is an end in itself, a means for ignorant working class youth to vent their masculine anger, and disconnected from wider social life, sectarianism and history.

However, as other authors have suggested, football does not exist in a vacuum and is a major part of Scottish national identity (Bairner, 1994), as much as supporting Celtic is a positive celebration of Irish Catholic origins and identity (Bradley, 1994; 1995). Football support is perceived both positively and as illustrative of some of the worst aspects of sectarianism. Focusing solely on football also seems to serve the view that problems are located in the hands of a bigoted minority. Those arguing that the problem is only football, and some form of ritualistic game-playing, ignore the forms of cultural expression used in football, and it also serves a purpose of deflecting attention away from concern in areas of life in which exclusionary bigoted practices may flourish. It serves to blame bigotry on working class ignorance and hides from view those areas of life where middle class bigotry occurs and is thus obscured. This view was explicit in a number of Catholic accounts: middle class bigotry was regarded as existent, although much more hidden.

A focus on chanting of slogans and football rivalries takes attention away from situations in which Catholic identity is seen as much more threatening: the realm of middle class employment; and arguably attitudes in work which may lead to Catholics having fewer chances than Protestants can have more substantial effects on life chances and health (see Chapter Six). Although working class people and football supporters and members of the Orange Order may be marginalised as somehow representing the only remaining form of appalling behaviour which some see as sectarianism, this obscures the middle class involvement in bigotry in other areas of life which are less exposed to public view. The following account of a middle class Catholic man illustrates these points. When he speaks of 'both ways', the context of his argument suggests that he means the class, not the religious divide:

There is still great bigotry in many instances at a higher level, social level (long pause), not nearly as much as, and I'm not saying one way by the way, it works

both ways, but there's not nearly as much at a higher social level as at the lower level. This can be seen, I think quite blatantly seen, with the Orange Order, you won't see many directors of companies, or doctors or professional people or anything marching in the Orange Walk and that sounds snobbish but it is as I say fact....It is a working class movement (the Orange Order)I say there is still a bigotry....at a higher working social level but it is not so apparent maybe I should say, maybe not as bad at all as in the so called working class area.

So what forms would it take among much more middle class people do you think, if there is that kind of bigotry there on both sides?

There is still definitely in some cases an anti-Catholic attitude regarding jobs despite what anyone says, there is definitely still and (pause) let me give you a very very clear example here, my daughter has a very very high powered job and she had to come, she lives in Edinburgh and she had to come to Glasgow to see one of the senior management of the company and when she walked into his rather palatial office he came forward and said ah, 'Miss () pleased to meet you', he said () 'that's not a Scottish name', she said, 'no it's Irish and Catholic now can we get on with the business please?', and she was his, she was actually not his superior, I don't mean she could tell him what to do but she was in a higher grade than he was and it shot him down in flames, she was very angry because she thought she had left all that, Edinburgh you don't get this nearly so much and she thought she had left it all behind and it was so obvious when he said that's not a Scottish name that he was getting at religion and (pause) I think that typifies the sort of thing which is still there.

(C29-22122)

These data on contexts wider than football reveal that understandings of bigotry and sectarianism in communal life are broadly defined and overlapping and interlink with experiences of family life and in employment. Although most people felt that institutional discrimination was lessening this was not greeted with the enthusiasm that might be expected, owing to the widespread perception already noted that bigotry was worse than before. Much of the evidence suggested that Catholic men experienced and expected to experience the brunt of bigoted attitudes, exclusions and hostilities. While men were perceived as unable to change their identities, women were able to shift across religious

boundaries by intermarriage. Bigotry was perceived as triggered by certain specific contexts, yet was not necessarily inevitable or predictable.

5.4 Perceptions of bigotry: what causes it? What keeps it going?

While there may be some contexts in which sectarianism appears to be even-handed, it is important to look at the widest context of experience and to locate this experience historically. It was noted in the last section that most examples given by both Catholics and Protestants were of anti-Catholic bigotry, especially in the employment arena. It was commonplace for both Catholics and Protestants to regard an atmosphere of bigotry as a context which had always existed, but some interviewees described the historical underpinnings of this as founded on Irish immigration to Scotland. Much of sectarianism has historically been to do with maintaining power and privilege for Protestants (mainly men) in employment and in public life and is largely institutional. While this may be diminishing now, it is argued in the next chapter that there appears to be a continuance of discriminatory practices in employment, through possibly unconscious processes, which continue to obstruct Catholics' acquisition of power and status (being middle class in certain spheres – see Chapter Six).

Irish identification (both Catholic and 'Orange') was also felt to be linked to bigotry. Although it is not inconceivable that some people who identify with Irishness may also be bigoted, there is no clear reason why identifying as Irish should be linked to bigotry and regarded so negatively by both Catholics and Protestants. Feeling pride in Irish ancestry, as is noted in Chapter Three, was possible among some Catholics, but was also frowned upon by Catholics, as a failure to be wholly Scottish. While many people expressed a lack of comprehension of any need to identify as Irish, and identifying as Irish was clearly not a feature of Protestant Irish accounts in the same way as it was in Catholic Irish accounts, identification with Ireland was clearly perceived by a number of both Catholics and Protestants as connected to sectarianism. While religious differences were constantly being brought to the fore, celebrating Irish ethnic identity was something which most people clearly felt should be submerged.

Events in Northern Ireland were often invoked in interviews to illustrate both the similarities as well as the differences from the situation in Glasgow. Also, interviewees

reported that occurrences in Northern Ireland had the effect of people revealing their political views, and having sympathies one way or the other was regarded as taking sides, and therefore bigoted. Sides, it was implied would generally follow predictable lines with Catholics sympathising with Northern Irish Catholics and supporting a United Ireland, while Protestants would sympathise with Northern Irish Protestants and support union with Britain. However, this clear-cut perception was not entirely borne out by the evidence. Some Protestants favoured Irish unity, while some Catholics maintained a Unionist position. For most people, from both religious backgrounds, sectarian killings in Northern Ireland and Protestant marching issues were raised as deplorable.

However, even if views were not always mapped clearly onto assumed ethnic allegiances, it was noted by people from both religions that events in Northern Ireland had the potential, even if not always realised, to divide people along historical ancestral lines marked by religion. As the following Protestant woman notes, Glaswegians could experience reverberations from events in Northern Ireland:

I think there's still that bitterness in different places, aye I think there's still, I've never been involved, even here I don't hear, I'm sure there is, but I don't get involved with anybody like it, but there's still a wee bit of bitterness from people, aren't there?

Why do you think it's still there?

I mean the problem in Ireland's no helping either, I mean, if things quieten down, you get something like that happening, it all builds up again, doesn't it, it was sort of dying away, you'd say oh thank God, these people are living, and then something like that happens, so it brings the bitterness out on both sides again.

(P24-11221)

Another Catholic man asserted the view, similar to the account above, that hidden prejudices could be brought to the surface given certain triggers:

Most people tend to get on with it and they bury their prejudices as you know and they only come to the surface on certain occasions...obvious occasions are like just now in the press you've got this Drumcree thing and the (pause) these people I find absolutely distasteful, I don't mind telling you, that they're wanting to camp outside

for the right to march in bigotry down a road to assert their right (pause), in a situation like that if it ever gets involved in discussion it will bring out hostility. Anything to do with the religious problem with the football teams that we have in this city will bring that out as well.

(C8-22112)

Of the factors which sustain bigotry, separate schooling, family and parental views transmitted from generation to generation, and football allegiance, were all mentioned. Most of the sustaining factors were perceived as located within the narrow confines of football, families and schooling practices, which were linked to exclusions in wider social life, and although most people felt that institutional exclusions had decreased, interviewees felt that bigoted attitudes remained and (as has been noted) were more worrying than in the past, regardless of mixed marriages and greater mixing in social life.

It is mainly Protestants who pointed to the existence of separate schooling as a cause of bigotry. Partly this seems to be because a) schools create a perception of difference among children (also a perception among a few Catholics), b) Protestants do not understand the Catholic view of the need for such schools. It could be argued that difference should not necessarily evoke intolerant attitudes, and separate schools do not appear to explain problems in Northern Ireland, as conflict predates the modern education system there by over two centuries. The cases of the Netherlands and Canada also dispute the link between denominational education and communal conflict (McGarry and O'Leary, 1995).

While evidence showed that Catholic schools were more broadly resented as unnecessary by Protestants, it also reveals that the abandonment of family traditions of sending children to Catholic schools by Catholics is made on decisions about current religious beliefs and practice, rather than on any strong beliefs that not supporting Catholic schools will eradicate bigotry (see Chapter Three). Evidence shows that for Protestants, schools in fact provide a key way to identify Catholics in employment, and thereby to discriminate against them (see Chapter Six). It seems that Catholic assertion of difference through support for Catholic schools, and therefore being supportive of cultural distinction in this way, is clearly not understood by Protestants as being connected to instilling Catholic values, but rather interpreted as evidence of Catholics impeding integration. Other work suggests that minority groups experience greatest hostility when upholding public aspects of cultural

belonging, and that a main objection is to minority groups being interested in maintaining a separate cultural identity (Cornwell, 1984). This may explain why some Protestants locate the problem with Catholics wishing to retain a key distinctive aspect of their culture by maintaining separate schools.

The argument implies that schooling is the cause of any sectarianism (a Protestant view) and therefore implies that if Catholics abandoned their schools, any rationale for sectarianism would be undermined. It ignores the contexts of sectarianism in Catholic accounts in adulthood, for which schooling is occasionally a marker. Locating the problem with children's schooling also appears to imply that Catholics attending non-denominational schools will not be seen as different, while the evidence shows that there are a number of markers of differentiation, aside from schooling, and that even when Catholics have attended non-denominational schools, their religious origins can still be located in other ways. One Catholic parent who sent his son to a non-denominational school reported he was concerned about the bigoted anti-Catholic attitudes he had heard expressed by other fathers in the playground at his son's school (C8-22112). Another mother (C11-22212) whose son had originally got a job because it had been assumed he was a Protestant, having gone to a non-denominational school, was then sacked when his support for Celtic later identified him as a Catholic. These examples suggest that schooling is being scapegoated and credited with undue influence.

5.5 Analysing the paradoxes of bigotry

As well as suggesting what bigotry is and how it is caused and sustained, talk about bigotry was marked by a number of ambiguities and contradictions, which point to the dangers of using any simplistic academic construct to interpret it.

5.5.1 If both Catholics and Protestants identify extreme bigots as a tiny minority, why is there the perception that bigotry is widespread?

Catholics and Protestants do indeed identify intolerant subsections of their communities: within the Catholic community these are those who are perceived to give strong support to Irish nationalism and within the Protestant communities those who support the Orange order, or others who are felt to have equally staunch anti-Catholic views. This is interesting

as it focuses attention on Irishness (of different varieties) and allows bigotry to be located outside of Scottishness.

Bruce et al. (2004) distinguish between bigotry and effective discrimination with bigotry representing sentiments or feelings and discrimination referring to acts of discrimination. This distinction between feelings and actions is difficult to uphold, as feelings or attitudes in their expression, are in everyday life perceived as acts of discrimination. Bruce et al.'s (2004) view that bigotry may exist without discrimination ignores how people perceive bigotry, and Bruce's (1998) view that discrimination has gone away because of the lack of opportunity to act in a discriminatory way is not supported by these data.

Apart from the evidence of what happens at the level of organisations, it is clear that Catholics perceive that there are opportunities to act in anti-Catholic ways evidenced in everyday interactions, thus revealing bigoted attitudes. Catholics read attitudes from behaviours, and regard attitudes as discriminatory acts in themselves, which have the effect of locating Catholics as different and beyond a boundary of acceptability. People view a range of actions of varying degrees of seriousness as indicative of bigoted attitudes; with football violence, sectarian killings, exclusions from organisations and places, attempts to locate Catholic identity, problems with in-laws, Orange Walks, expressed views on the Northern Ireland situation, etc., all as evidence of bigotry in Glasgow. However, suggesting a range of bigotry yet locating much of bigotry with extremists, possibly allows people to distance themselves from taking responsibility for addressing their own participation in 'less extreme' bigotry.

In some Protestant accounts confusions about bigotry were apparent. In this first account, a Protestant woman does not see herself as bigoted, but sees her son as being so, as he is involved with the Orange Order, something that she and her husband dissociated themselves from. She does not make any connection between what she would do had her son married a Catholic and become a Catholic, and her son's later anti-Catholic views:

I wasn't religious but I said to my boys when they were young, you will not marry a Catholic and turn. I'm not saying you won't marry a Catholic but you won't turn, because if you come in and tell me that you're turning they'll have to wheel you up in a chair for I'll break your legs. You won't walk up the aisle of a chapel, so I had

that wee bit in me...My boys are not interested in the Masons, Steven was forbidden to go into the Orange Lodge when he was young by his father, he said 'if you want to go into the Masons I'll get you in the Masons but I don't want you joining the Orange Lodge', but then when the boy became of age he could do what he liked, so he joined the Orange Lodge.

(P9-21221)

In another account an older Protestant man claimed that his father was 'bitter' (anti-Catholic) and connected with the Orange Lodge, and had influenced a relationship he had with a Catholic girl when young, but that his wife who was also in the Order was not bitter. This reveals that although most people had reservations about Orange membership, for some this could be mitigated by having Catholics in the wider family.

He was quite bitter because he was... he was an Orangeman....So you can surmise that he wasn't too happy with Catholics. I went with a Catholic girl in the jiving club and my father just ignored her you know, so that fell by the wayside I'm afraid.

Did he ever change his views or did he always stay quite?

No, no he was a bitter man....And I met my wife (at Orange Order club), but she's not bitter, and as I say all our marriages, her sister she turned a Catholic, she married a Catholic and turned but we never had any bother you know religious wise.

(P10-21121)

These accounts reveal confusions about anti-Catholicism among Protestants. Accounts also reveal tensions inherent in blaming the extremists and failing to recognise all forms of bigotry as offensive. They also may illustrate the way interview data can become justifications produced by the interview situation itself, as well as representing wider common discourses and norms used in everyday life (see Chapter Two).

5.5.2 If institutional barriers are felt to be receding, why do people appear to feel that bigotry is worse?

The view that bigotry is worse than before was often given by Catholics and Protestants in the older cohort, and what they were often referring to was the greater violence associated with Old Firm football allegiances, as well as recent sectarian killings. These were contrasted with their experiences when younger, when physical violence seemed less common. It is possible that the media have had an impact.

People appear to be distinguishing between different forms of bigotry, from the structural to the interpersonal. Even if Catholics feel that structural discrimination occurs less frequently than before, its continued occurrence is seen as evidence that bigotry still exists, and the expression of bigoted attitudes in other areas of daily life bolsters the view that bigotry continues. Examples show that even when some start to hope that attitudes have changed, there are occurrences, which remind them that they are wrong, which can be used to rationalise the view that bigotry continues. The belief not only that it continues, but also that bigotry is worse, seems largely located in views of the contribution which football makes to understandings of bigotry. In addition, a situation in which a range of opportunities is ruled out has at least the comfort of certainty, while one in which rising expectations accompany an incomplete opening up of opportunities presents painful uncertainties and a higher risk of unexpected rejections. What Bruce et al. (2004) do not recognise are the ways in which bigotry is perceived to exist at a number of levels, requiring constant skilful recognition and defusing tactics, so that attitudes are as much a feature of it as institutional discrimination.

5.5.3 Why do some people see intermarriage as evidence of lack of bigotry while others feel that bigotry persists following intermarriage?

High rates of intermarriage have been interpreted as evidence of the lack of sectarian feeling in Scotland (Bruce et al., 2004, 2005). However, it is important to understand the meaning of intermarriage to those involved. While intermarriage demonstrates evidence of lack of aversion to marrying someone of another religion, this does not mean that intermarriage was not felt by many of those who had experienced it to have produced negative reactions from wider family members. Intermarriage was clearly not protective against experiences of hostility in wider social spheres. Even though many Protestants cited intermarriage within their wider families as evidence that they had no problem with

Catholics, and that they had become accustomed to grandchildren attending Catholic schools, etc., intermarriage in itself was not recounted by those who experienced it as indicative of or affecting wider sectarian relations. People appeared to be able to dissociate the personal from the public, and attitudes towards intermarriage revealed that marrying a woman of the other religion did not appear to impact upon men's lives: Protestant men could continue to be anti-Catholic and their Catholic-born wives might follow suit, while Catholic men having Protestant wives did not affect experiences in wider social life.

There was evidence of Catholic men particularly being regarded hostilely by Protestant in-laws, and cases where Catholic men's Protestant wives were irrelevant to how they were treated within wider communal life. None of the Protestant male interviewees had Catholic-born wives but there were a number of cases of Catholic women who had married Protestant-born men. These cases illustrated that marriage was not an outcome of progressive attitudes about religion. All of these women became effectively Protestant, and in one case this meant taking on the specifically 'Orange' anti-Catholicism of her husband, so much so that she had real problems with her daughter dating a Catholic boy.

It seemed to be the case that even though people negotiated relationships with friends, wives and in-laws, these were separate from the wider realm where bigotry was possible. And it was notable that even though positive relationships existed between most Catholics and Protestants, some of these could be curtailed and affected by wider group influences in certain contexts.

What was most remarkable was that rather than intermarriage itself being a measure as others have argued of the irrelevance of religion, it was rather wives' backgrounds that were irrelevant to the experiences of Protestant and Catholic men. While intermarriage may be related to a loss of religiosity among younger groups, and it is unclear whether this is a cause or an effect, intermarriage appeared not to affect the maintenance of boundaries built not on religion *per se*, but rather built on origins unrelated to current religiosity. In the older cohort where there were high levels of intermarriage between interviewees' parents, as well as among older Catholic-born men themselves, intermarriage was clearly irrelevant to wider experiences, as well as to religious practice.

5.5.4 Why are Catholic men particularly fearful of bigotry and aware of its possibility?

Older as well as younger Catholic men's sensitivities about bigotry appear to be built on multiple examples of experience of bigotry ranging from exclusions in work and socially, knowledge of these experiences among others, religious bantering in and outside of the workplace, experiences of hostility in youth, efforts by strangers to locate their identities made in a number of contexts, and experiences of Protestant family hostilities. Although women reported some similarities of experiences, Catholic women appear more remote from experiences of bigotry. This is likely to be an effect of women's lesser historical involvement in particular public spaces, and of the apparent facility with which women crossed religious boundaries through intermarriage, which is generally perceived as incidental to bigotry, and even though evidence also shows that women were not immune to holding anti-Catholic attitudes.

5.6 Linking religion and communal life to health

In the light of the evidence of experiences of exclusions and hostilities, what needs to be considered is how these experiences might link to health risk among Catholic men. There appear to be a number of possible processes whereby identity links to health risk derived from these data. Experiences of violence, hostility and exclusion may link to poor health directly and indirectly (Krieger, 1990; Benzeval et al., 1992; Krieger et al., 1993; Krieger, 1999), and experiences of ethnic and religious communal belonging may have positive health benefits (Berkman and Syme, 1979; Cohen and Syme, 1985; Levin and Schiller, 1987; Dressler, 1988; Wilkinson, 1996).

Actual direct violence as a result of religious identity was rarely reported in these interviews among Catholic men, although younger Catholic men did report a number of nasty incidents of being attacked when young, as a result of involvement with gangs themselves or through association with gang members. It therefore does not appear that it is religious identity that is a particularly high risk factor for violence, and instead coming from particular working class neighbourhoods with strong area loyalties appears linked to violence.

Although accounts of violence and hostility were often minimised, it may be that the disclaiming of hostility and violence may reflect differences in power *among* Catholics, with the least powerful least able to admit occurrences of discrimination and hostility, as Krieger theorises on findings on black Americans, that among the better off, a 'no' to a question about experience of racism may truly mean a 'no', while among those with repeated experience it may merely mean denial (Krieger, 1999:326). This is plausible in that working class men seemed to wish to emphasise harmony and a minimising of problems with Protestant working class men, and the achievement of sometimes quite jovial 'bantering' about religion. But this may suggest that working class Catholic men are underplaying violence (the cavalier way in which some spoke of being knifed in their youth backs this up), and applauding themselves for the accomplishment of getting on with Protestants, as this may give them a positive sense that they are socially skilled in a potentially dangerous masculine environment. It appears that working class perceptions of violence, as with health, differ from middle class accounts.

Among older Catholic men, organisational exclusions had been common (see also Chapter Six), and less so among younger men, although organisations which had been particularly Protestant in the past, still arguably revealed some level of exclusionary practices based on religion. Among younger Catholic men, experience of exclusion in more general social spaces on the basis of their identities caused anger and resentment. It was as if regardless of what these men did, religion could emerge as relevant in certain contexts and their identities could become stigmatised identities from which they could not escape, as Catholic women could. It is clear from accounts that Catholics sometimes attempted to overcome barriers to involvement in various community organisations, and that frustration of these attempts resulted in occasions of disappointment, anger and sometimes violence. The feeling that one's religious background could mark one out as different and not as worthy of inclusion may be implicated in Catholic feelings of low self worth, self-denigration and internalised oppression similar to that experienced by black people faced with both subtle and overt forms of racism and affecting health (Krieger et al., 1993).

It was clear from both Catholic and Protestant accounts that Catholics were the excluded group, and that Protestants felt that even from an early age they could make decisions about whether and when they would exclude Catholics from social activity. Catholics could then either respond by seeking inclusion, and potentially face rebuttal, or accepting

that exclusion would occur, not attempt to be included at all. It was primarily Catholic men who sought to challenge barriers preventing involvement. From accounts it was also clear that while Catholic men (usually younger men) were able to cross over into Protestant territory to some degree, though they were also quite aware of the limitations on this and of contexts when such behaviour would not be accepted. It was shown that if Catholics were in Protestant-perceived territory, bantering was used to continually bring to the fore the acknowledgment of religious differences.

Catholics overall expressed greater anxiety about interactions with Protestants, even as children, and although this anxiety in social situations was more acute among men than women, men were also more adept at reading cues which would tell them whether any particular situation was likely to become threatening. Anxiety for Catholic men is likely to have been created by not having control over the outcome of an interaction, which could lead to hostility, if cues were misread. Goffman's (1963) description of the anxiety of the stigmatised individual echoes the essence of what some Catholic men perceived in interactions with Protestants: 'Such an individual may perceive, usually quite correctly, that whatever others profess, they do not really 'accept' him and are not ready to make contact with him on 'equal grounds'' (Goffman, 1963:7).

The data show that Catholics are excluded from specific forms of social life, although this is primarily a masculine story and appears to be changing, as younger age groups challenge accepted norms and social organisation, and as over time social life becomes less focused on traditional, 'religious' forms. Catholic attempts to become involved reveal anger and disappointment when they are not accepted. In some instances Catholics recount that their identity is repeatedly drawn attention to in banter, which is an annoyance, although also considered occasionally beneficial in keeping tensions managed. In other instances Catholics have felt that they have to hide their identities, again likely to cause stress, in knowing that one cannot be at ease in social interactions. It is likely that in specific cultural sites where one's identity is seen as worthy of shame, Catholics, in wanting to be accepted, internalise an anti-Catholic bias, which may in turn lead to stress, comparable with research on internalised homophobia among gay men (Meyer, 1995). Not only is stress itself implicated in ill health, but also different reactions to stressful events themselves have been shown to produce differential health outcomes. Hypertension, for example has been found to be significantly less common among those taking action against

discriminatory treatment than among those who do not (Krieger, 1990), and in these data it was middle class Catholics who were most likely to challenge exclusions.

It has been argued that supporting Celtic has become a 'definition of Irishness itself' (Bradley, 1996a:97) and may be one of the few ways for people of Irish Catholic descent to find a safe space within which to exhibit pride in their identity. As such, supporting Celtic may arguably be beneficial for health in creating a sense of community cohesion (Berkman and Syme, 1979; Cohen and Syme, 1985). However in accounts of both men and women, Rangers/Celtic opposition was cited as the only site of sectarian conflict and of encouraging wider sectarian conflict. This view was not held among supporters, but some Catholics did not go to matches, as they feared outbreaks of trouble. The issue of football is clearly linked with masculinity and it is likely that in different contexts football support may be both positive and negative for health.

In terms of national identity, it has been argued that Celtic continues to be identified as non-Scottish. Finn (1994b) has argued that Scots have been applying their own 'soccer test' (referring to Tebbit's pronouncements on the unacceptability of British Asians supporting India or Pakistan in cricket), whereby true Scottishness is shown by not supporting clubs of Irish origin, and therefore some Catholic 'Irish-Scots' feel that their presence is unwelcome to other Scots. Supporting Celtic therefore while enabling (mainly) men to celebrate a shared cultural identity also ensures that they are, in so doing, regarded as not truly Scottish. While Catholic men may have positive benefits from expressing their identity through football, and two thirds of this sample of Catholics did support Celtic, few were active attenders at matches, connected to life stage and fear of violence. Celebrating an ethnic/religious identity through football appears to be double-edged for Catholics in terms of health: positive benefits may be outweighed by Celtic support being seen as a key marker of difference, unacceptability and exclusion.

The belief that football is the root of all sectarian evil, among particularly Protestant interviewees, and that Catholic schooling was responsible for sectarianism, also a Protestant view, shows that Protestant accounts more easily map onto media analyses of inter-group relations in Glasgow. The broader Catholic view that other aspects of experience need to be addressed is only more recently being given attention (Devine, 2000; NFO Social Research, 2003). It is interesting that Catholic schooling, which attempts to

maintain adherence to Catholicism, and Celtic football club which started in response to the exclusion of Catholics from Scottish football, have become two areas of life, which gave the Catholic community the greatest sense of pride and cohesion. The founders of Celtic football club ironically felt that it would mark not only the Catholic community's self-reliance, but would open the way for Catholic acceptance in Scottish life. So too, Catholic schooling was important as a vehicle for Catholics to gain upward mobility and to compete more effectively in the job market.

It seems likely that the focus on schooling and football as somehow adding to or responsible for the problem of sectarianism in social life conceals the threat which the dominant group feels from a minority population. An example of this hostility to difference among Catholics and Protestants was recounted by the majority of interviewees who mentioned St Patrick's Day as the main occasion for conflict among children. For Catholic children, the celebration of a yearly occasion of religious and cultural relevance, was for many the one and only occasion on which conflict occurred among children.

For Catholics, adherence to Catholic schooling may actually prove beneficial to health and a source of social capital (L. Paterson, undated, in MacMillan, 2000). Attending Mass, and attending Celtic games, may likewise nurture the 'trust, norms and networks' (Putnam, 1993) to which social capital refers. Those Catholics who retain links with identified sections of the Catholic community, having greater involvement in wider social networks, deemed crucial for good health (Wilkinson, 1996), and more access therefore to social capital (Bourdieu, 1993; Putnam, 1993; Gillies, 1998), may have an advantage over those without close links with the church, schooling and even football, over time. Being integrated into the Catholic community may offer social support which may remove the effect of other vulnerability to stressful life events (Turner and Noh, 1983). Social support and integration gained by continued involvement in the culture of upbringing may for Catholics, as for other cultures (Marmot and Syme, 1976) reduce risk from specific diseases. However as is evidenced elsewhere, Catholic identity has become less associated with religious practice and schooling over time, and Irish identity, perhaps pragmatically, has been submerged and denied among a majority of Catholics of Irish origin.

It seems likely (as addressed in Chapter Four) that older Catholics experience health benefits from the retention of religious practice, while younger Catholics, and particularly

men, are less likely to benefit from this aspect of Catholic cultural life due to increasing secularisation. On the other hand, younger Catholics are more able to avail themselves of wider employment opportunities than older Catholics and through this gain health benefits from enhanced social mobility. However, stress, anger and resentment at exclusions in wider communal life appear to be a feature of Catholic male middle class accounts, and these men wish that their religious identities would cease to be considered relevant.

Working class younger men seem less bothered by being identified religiously, but this may be to do with being seen as acceptably masculine and working class and being able to 'take' the banter. It may also suggest that the goals for contentedly working class Catholic men are different from those who are or aspire to be more middle class. The concern that middle class Catholic men have about their identities being revealed is connected to how this affects their opportunities for social and material advancement (see Chapter Six). Regardless of what they do, middle class Catholic men find that their identities mark them out as different.

Catholic women are capable of escaping their ethnic and religious identities in ways which men are not, and this appears to be achieved partly through Catholic women being perceived by men as less threatening, partly connected to women's wider position in society. Intermarriage is a key way for women to lose their identities, although some may continue to gain benefits from their childhood religion (see Chapter Four), although again this is less prevalent among younger than older women. Moving within different social spaces, women are also less affected by communal exclusions, even as it has been shown that both Catholic and Protestant women are not beyond being bigoted themselves. As Catholic family life progressively moves towards greater similarities with Protestant family life (see Chapter Four), women's health is more arguably affected less by cultural or religious identities, and rather more clearly by their class position, although clearly women are not immune to their identities being located in the workplace.

This chapter reveals that religious identity continues to have a significance in communal life in Glasgow, which may be linked to direct, and indirect risks for health, with much of the focus on Catholic men. While older men have clearly experienced institutional exclusions which are likely to have compromised their health through material and psychosocial routes (see also Chapter Six), younger men too appear similarly affected

within a context of a more broadly defined and located bigotry which suggests that even when they give up many of the trappings of their ethnic/religious origins, they have not escaped their identities being externally defined, and being given a negative significance which may link to ill health. The lack of predictability about whether, and in what contexts, identity subsumes an importance, appears to double the stress experienced by particularly middle class younger Catholic men.

While much of communal life among younger Glaswegians is neither 'religious', nor identified with religion in the same way as it was for those growing up in the 1930s/1940s (older cohort), religious identity continues to thread through experiences and old markers retain their effectiveness. The significance of religion is complex and is perceived to emerge in many contexts, and is invariably enmeshed with other identities of gender, class and cohort. Self-identification is affected by external identification in communal life, and being 'Catholic' is clearly connected to ethnic origins, which are inescapable, mainly for men. In the next chapter, the relevance of identity to employment and health is analysed. This further analysis reveals the problems among Catholics of achieving parity and advancement and argues that although these problems are lessening, the continuance of both conscious *and unwitting* differences made on the basis of religious upbringing are linked to the life and health chances of those of Irish Catholic origin.

CHAPTER SIX: Employment, Identity and Health

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analyses of two specific aspects of employment experience linked to health and identity: experiences of religious discrimination in employment, and differences in reasons given for leaving jobs found between Catholics and Protestants, including health reasons. This approach was derived from the literature described earlier (in the ‘Querying the assimilation thesis’ section of Chapter One) and fulfilled the need for qualitative data on experiences of discrimination, and an exploration of the processes within organisations, including experiences of mobility and career progression during the life course, which might explain Catholic employment disadvantage and ill health. The analyses on experiences of direct discrimination and accounts of leaving jobs are described and discussed separately.

Although there has been little research on discrimination within the field of ethnicity and health, material disadvantage among ethnic minorities in Britain, particularly disadvantaged social class position, is often taken as evidence of discriminatory racist practice against Black and Asian populations. Occasionally respondents have been asked directly about experiences of discrimination in work (Modood et al., 1997). Although employment experience is a common nexus around which exclusionary practices historically have operated against many ethnic and migrant groups in Britain, with regard to the Irish, there has been no systematic attempt to research discrimination against either Irish-born or Irish-descended people within the workplace, despite evidence of hostility against Irish migrants (Hickman and Walter, 1997) and a number of successful cases brought by Irish-born individuals against employers under the 1976 Race Relations Act (Walter, 2000). Social class has long been linked to health (Townsend and Davidson, 1982) and discrimination is one possible experience affecting social class positioning. Poorer health may be linked to class position via material and psychosocial pathways (Krieger, 1999), and therefore establishing the relationship of discrimination to employment requires to be addressed within any full explanation of minority health.

Another clue to poor health may be found in examining individual experiences *during* careers; particularly how leaving jobs may be linked to class location and social mobility. There are indications that Catholic careers falter in mid-life (Williams and Walls, 2000). Also, it has been suggested that the neglected area of examining experiences *within* organisations might give some insight into the lack of mobility of Catholics and their career progress over time (Payne et al., 1979). The focus of the second analysis on why people leave jobs therefore gives some insight into organisational processes and their effects on individual careers over time and during the life course.

6.2 Sectarianism at work: accounts of employment discrimination against Irish Catholics in Glasgow

This first analysis began with a provisional hypothesis that Irish Catholic group identity was linked to experience of discrimination. This hypothesis was tested by accounts and redefined to include all cases failing to meet the original hypothesis. Unless the issue of religious discrimination had already emerged during general discussion of career histories, all interviewees were asked directly whether or not their religion had ever been a factor in getting work, and whether there had been any changes over time in the perceived relevance of religion to experiences of work. These are the data which are analysed here.

The data presented here explore the following questions:

1. What aspects of religious or ethnic identity are singled out as relevant to experience of work in Glasgow?
2. Are these identities a basis for discrimination?
3. Do interviewees perceive any changes in ethnic/religious experiences over time?
4. Does discrimination affect social class position?
5. How may these experiences link to health disadvantage?

In the accounts which follow, identification of people who were discriminated against or treated as inferior was little connected to current religious practice or belief. Identification was achieved by pointing to education in a Catholic school, to Irish names and to Celtic football allegiance as commonly used markers of identity. Thus identification was intended to mark out people of Irish Catholic descent in Glasgow.

Further evidence that such identification is a largely west of Scotland phenomenon was provided by 4 Catholics who were of non-Irish origin and brought up outside Glasgow and who commented upon the newness of pejorative identification of Catholics to them upon coming to Glasgow, and whose names and non-denominational schooling did not mark them out as different. They did not align themselves with the Catholic Irish-descended experience. To them, Irishness was denoted by Catholicism, but as *Irish* Catholicism, representing a different culture from theirs.

However, the fact that Irish-descended Protestants were not discriminated against, despite Irish connections, clearly demarcates religion as crucial to identification of otherness. Thus Catholic background, although not an exact mapping, is the most commonly used marker and is seen as the most accurate marker of a complex inferiorised identity in this setting where geography, history, religion and ethnicity intermesh. This analysis follows this local identification practice, and uses accounts from people of Catholic and Protestant childhood background as the main axes of comparison.

6.2.1 Protestant accounts of discrimination against Catholics

Even though Protestants had been asked about their own experiences of discrimination, many Protestants recounted rather the practice of anti-Catholic discrimination in work. There were stories passed round in both religious communities, of which three Protestant examples are given below, about workplaces in which there were no or few Catholics, in small and large companies, both publicly and privately owned. These accounts were treated as relevant practical information about jobs which was distanced from any implication of personal culpability in the teller, by attributing reasons for this result to other people and taking moral, naïve or historical stances. In the following instance, a man claims not to know whether discrimination was occurring, although the absence of Catholics might imply its existence: the 'naïve' stance.

I worked in drawing offices where there hasn't been a Catholic ...Now whether that would be by accident or design I wouldn't know but you've asked me a question so I've got to say.

(P21-21122 - 66 year old Protestant male draughtsman, describing career which ended in 1992)

Another woman took both moral and naïve stances, and further distanced herself by explaining that she was an outsider to the area and unaware of local practices:

I was speaking to somebody and they said ... you'll get in there, they don't employ Catholics, well I didn't know this area.....I didn't think people done that, that's terrible, but when I went in there, there was a lot, there was Catholics but there was more Protestants. Never made any difference to me.

(P24-11221 - 66 year old Protestant female bookbinder, describing job she went to in 1970s)

In the following account a woman adopted both naïve and historical positions, claiming that there were formerly no Catholics at her work, but not any longer, and she did not know why this had occurred:

It used to be when I first started in (large publicly-owned company) everybody was Protestant.

Really?

Yeah there was no Catholics at all; now why that happened I don't know (pause).....I can remember my uncle James saying that 90% of the people were Protestants ...I would say now it's not like that.

(P15-11212 - 46 year old Protestant female clerical worker, describing same company from late 1960s until 1998)

As answers to a question about experience of discrimination, these accounts imply that discriminatory practice against Catholics was accepted as a routine possibility, and results compatible with it were noted in information passed on about jobs, since this affected the likely success of an application. Protestants also however cited more substantial details of how discrimination was managed. Another man clearly outlined how a company he had worked for excluded Catholics, and described the procedure. However, he too attributed this practice to a time before he worked with this particular company, which he only learned of from longer term colleagues in the company:

For a while they (large manufacturer), had a policy themselves of not employing Catholics. And the easiest way, of course, to find out whether somebody's a

Catholic or not is, 'what school did you go to?'Well, they didn't exercise that policy when I was in the company, but people that had been there for longer...remember that.

(P30-21112 - 46 year old Protestant male worker in government export agency, describing employment during 1970s)

The naturalness of excluding Catholics, and the lack of personal culpability for this, is evident in the following lengthy account of a director of a large company, which maintained a policy of excluding Catholics from all but the most undesirable jobs, at least until he retired in 1986. As a director he had power to change anti-Catholic policy. However, he felt his power to intervene was constrained by the greater power of 'tradition':

The firm I worked for for 40 years, there was never a Catholic employed in the office...If you went up and said, 'which school did you go to?', 'St. Mark's'. They would say, 'thanks for coming but, no thanks'.

They never employed any?

Never at all, but nobody said to do it ...There was no Catholics in the office at all, none at all, none of the directors, none of the officials, none of the clerks, were ever Catholics, or typists, no. But the works had them.

The works?

The works where we made the batteries, they had them. Oh yes, poorer jobs.

So not in the white collar jobs?

No, no white collar jobs, no, no.

You've already mentioned earlier that they didn't employ Catholics at white collar level, ... did people refer to that?

Oh aye in a joking way, not in a bad or malicious way. Catholics never really entered our heads really at all.

So you didn't feel it was an active move on the part of the organisation to keep them out?

Oh no, no, no, it was a Glasgow trait, it was a Glasgow firm, and I think the people had grown up just as I grew up, I wouldn't have broken the mould latterly. I never employed anybody that was a Catholic, not that there was many Catholics applied.

But if one did apply?

I never employed them so I don't really know, it's hypothetical, but had somebody applied and they were known Catholic, they wouldn't have got a job.

I'm not trying to go on about this but could you just sort of explain why that would be?

Because that was the way it's always been done.

Just that's the way?

Yeah, tradition, it was more tradition.

(P13-11122 - 66 year old Protestant male who became director of large company he worked in until 1986)

Evidently, in this instance, Catholics could be employed if they were confined to unprestigious jobs. In nursing, a middle class profession, a Protestant nurse explained that Catholic women were not allowed to be matrons. In this instance, presumed Catholic religious 'biases' are used to justify this exclusion. Juxtaposed with this 'religious' explanation is a fear of counter-discrimination, if Catholics reached powerful positions. This next account clearly sees discrimination against Catholics as justifiable, although illogical (not all matrons deal with issues of childbirth), and Protestant tolerance of Catholic religion as overindulgent. In this case, neither a moral nor naïve stance is taken, discrimination has occurred and is morally justifiable, although it is implied that this practice is now confined to the past:

There was discrimination if you wanted to be a matron. They never had matrons who were Catholics then because matrons could allow religion to get into their work, they wouldn't allow abortion, cos there were abortions then, but not the way there are now, and .they wouldn't allow ...if it's miscarriages, they had a certain thing about that, stillbirths they had a certain thing, they had a big funeral for these things, so they (Catholics) had all these biases, and they were off for certain days for holy this and holy that.... They (Protestants) were afraid that they would have discrimination against the Protestants if they brought Catholic matrons in.

(P2-21222 - 66 year old Protestant female nurse describing experience within nursing profession)

6.2.2 Catholic accounts of anti-Catholic discrimination

Seven out of a total of 39 Catholics described personal experience of discrimination, both people in their 40s as well as their 60s. Of the rest, many recounted knowledge of discrimination against friends or family. Some people felt that discrimination was more likely to occur in middle class than in working class employment, and more in the past than today. Catholics were identified by Irish Catholic names, Catholic schools, supporting Celtic Football Club (FC) rather than Rangers FC, or not belonging to perceived Protestant communal organisations (for example, the Boys' Brigade, Masons).

In this first account, a woman was blatantly told by an employer that they had never employed a Catholic. She goes on to consider how she feels Catholics were perceived, how competence in the workplace was questioned because of identity:

I was told ...they had never ever employed a Catholic (pause), but they would consider me. I said I don't want to work in an office which has never employed a Catholic.

And they felt quite okay about telling you that?

Absolutely yes, absolutely no problem at all. (pause)....I said, 'No, I wouldn't like to work in an office like this'. You can imagine what the atmosphere would be in that office.....See these people, if you were a Catholic you were probably unreliable, dishonest, and any other thing that, oh no it was quite true, that's what they did think, they thought they were inferior as workers and as people (pause).

(C30-22222 - 66 year old Catholic female secretary)

There were other examples of how even when people had clearly passed competence criteria for employment/training, their identity excluded them from gaining access to work. Some were from older Catholics describing a period in Glasgow's history when anti-Catholic discrimination has been documented (Gallagher, 1987). However, younger people equally recounted instances of discrimination occurring from 1960s until 1990s. Instances varied in the extent to which identity was overtly or covertly addressed. Also, given the number of ways in which Catholics could be identified, all with some degree of error, Catholics were sometimes unaware of the possibility of discrimination, until it became clear that they had initially been wrongly assigned as Protestants.

6.2.3 The role of mistaken identity in exposing discrimination

Mistaken identity was an anomaly, which exposed the normal expectation. Assigning ethnic/religious identity along a number of axes provided greater certainty of correct identification than evidence based solely on a single marker, and initial incorrect identification would often have concealed from Catholics that discrimination was occurring. There were examples of Catholics being assigned an incorrect religious identity, of Catholic strategies to mask their identity, of feeling fortunate that their identity was not so evident as it might be, and of suffering consequences of corrected religious identity. Commonly identity was mistaken if Catholics had 'Protestant' names. At other times, not having attended Catholic schools (or Catholics ridding their schools of saints' names) led Protestants to assign Catholics wrongly. In the following example a man explained that an initial offer of work was rescinded when he was identified as a Catholic by his school, and that it is difficult to establish if discrimination is occurring, unless it is overt.

My name... is very nondescript..It doesn't immediately jump out at them ..but if you have a very obvious name.. like Sean Murphy, then it immediately lends itself to people thinking right away that you are of a certain persuasionI remember being offered a job in 1979 ... that's a job I didn't get, and I was offered this job at the time, so you can work out how much money it was, £10,000 a year basic (pause) plus bonuses for selling computers, and I was told I had got the job. And the guy, ...and he said, 'right great smashing let's just get some details for the files', he said 'school', 'St. Patrick's', and even I saw his eyes glaze over (pause) and the rest of the questions were (pause) glossed over very very quickly, 'right okay he said I'll be in touch, bye'. And after a week I didn't hear, another week I ...and I was never ever able to get him again (pause).

Were there any other times when you felt that was happening?

I couldn't tell, there was never anything as overt as that.

(C8-22112 - 46 year old Catholic male sales manager, referring to incident in 1979)

In another case, a mother spoke of her son's experience during the 1990s: originally not distinguished as Catholic because he had gone to a non-Catholic school, he later lost two jobs (sacked from the first one, left through stress-related ill health from the second) when his football allegiance marked him as a Catholic. In the first instance, his suspicion is

confirmed by his Protestant friend, who got him the job. In the second instance, his experience is less subtle:

Michael got a job in (a) golf course.....the guy didn't know what religion he was, though he took it that he wasn't a Catholic because he didn't go to a Catholic school. My sons are all Celtic supporters. So this came out in conversation. After that the foreman just hated him.... they sacked him. But the boy across the road told him....it was because of his religion. And he knew that himself because he was really terrible to him.....Then he got another in the ... (rugby club) as an assistant. The guy there, again he didn't know what religion he was. Then when he found out he made his life a misery again, and he was saying to him, 'If I'd known what you were, I would never have taken you on.'...Again that was the religion.
(C11-22212 - Younger Catholic female carer for disabled adults in voluntary sector, describing son's experience during 1990s)

6.2.4 Assessing the evidence

It is apparent that evidence about discrimination was least accessible to Catholics themselves. Those Catholics, who lacked overt experiences of discrimination, were loath, in their absence, to claim that they might have been discriminated against. It was in fact Protestants, who were more likely to mention discrimination occurring against Catholics, or advantage for Protestants. Catholics found a number of ways to account for experiences they had which may in fact have been instances of discrimination, but which could not be proven. If Catholics were given reasons for lack of promotion, which focused on individual capability, or did not get a job for such reasons, then these reasons were given priority, in the absence of overt religious/ethnic identification.

One way in which both Catholics and Protestants sought to know whether discrimination was occurring was to make assessments of the numbers of each religion or of Irish names employed in particular workplaces. For Catholics, increasing numbers of Irish Catholic names in certain professions was evidence of Catholic advancement, whereas for some, not all, Protestants this was interpreted as counter-discrimination by Catholics.

A few people, both Catholic and Protestant, suggested that discrimination did

occur on ‘both sides’. The issue of counter-discrimination by Catholics is therefore a key point to be addressed.

6.2.5 Protestant and Catholic accounts of anti-Protestant discrimination: the deviant case

Accounts of employment advantages for Catholics, mentioned by both Catholics and Protestants, were in the areas of Catholic schooling, and within other public sector employment.

6.2.5.1 *Catholic schooling: ‘two bites at the cherry’?*

Six teachers were interviewed: three Catholics and three Protestants. Both Protestants and Catholics had worked in Catholic schools. Both religious groupings felt that Catholic schools were biased in favouring practising Catholics for promoted posts within schools, although there was recognition that part of the duties of such posts was to teach specifically ‘Catholic’ guidance classes. In Catholic schools therefore, unlike non-denominational schools, teachers of guidance and religion are required to have a personal faith, and this is legally enshrined (Education (Scotland) Act 1980). Although it was recognised that only practising Catholic teachers may have this ‘advantage’, this could be generalised as anti-Protestant practice. This is exemplified in the accounts below by Protestant and Catholic teachers:

One of the unfair things,all jobs in non-denominational schools are open to everybody, but the Roman Catholics have this wee corner of education...It’s like maybe fifteen per cent, twenty per cent of the jobs that are just not open to you.
(P32-21112 - 46 year old Protestant male teacher)

They presumably wanted somebody that would cover those religious classes, and I wasn’t prepared to do that.....But I think if you’re a Catholic....you’ve got two bites at the cherry, whereas if you’re non-Catholic you can’t really so easily get a job.
(C17-22212 - 46 year old Catholic female teacher)

The objection here is by teachers who do not practise a religion, against the principle that personal faith is required to teach religion or guidance – a principle not specific to Catholicism.

6.2.5.2 *Other public sector employment*

A few Protestants mentioned rumours that employment practice within Glasgow City Council was pro-Catholic. Two of the Protestants interviewed had worked for the council, but had not experienced any anti-Protestant bias.

I suppose the rumours are just within Glasgow over the last few years that the people running the Council are of one particular religion so the amount of employees of that religion has, in percentage wise, probably gone up.

As someone who's worked for the Council, did you see that?

No, I've never come up against it personally.

Were you ever given a hard timebecause of your religious background?

Absolutely not.

(P22-11212 - 46 year old Protestant female clerk with local authority)

Something I had never encountered...there were certainly a number of years ago rumours that if you weren't Catholic, you wouldn't get a job with Glasgow Council. But I wasn't Catholic and I got a job with Glasgow Council.

(P19-21212 - 46 year old Protestant female librarian)

One Protestant nurse outlined what she regarded as a dominance of Catholics within the social work profession. Although she felt that Catholics, as part of a wider group of minorities, were over-represented within social work, she then goes on to clarify her belief that within the hierarchy, Protestants still retain the most prestigious occupations, in contradiction to her assertion that Catholics have easier access to promotion:

I would say in social work....they use religion there, if you're a Catholic you get promoted quicker than if you're a Protestant....you'll get a job quicker in social work if you're a Catholic....saying that you'll get a job quicker if you're homosexual or lesbian too...I think they're trying to prove something, that they're not against Catholics. Oh they've got Asians and everything in ...social workBut if you look at the hierarchy, you know the director and all them, they're Protestants.There are one or two Catholics, in the senior social workers, but not in the director, assistant director, all that kind of thing.

(P2-21222 - 66 year old Protestant female nurse, once worked in social services)

What these accounts reveal is that Catholic (and other minority) inroads into previously Protestant areas of advantage were regarded with suspicion, particularly if regarded as climbing the social scale. In a metaphorical tug-of-war played out within employment arenas, for Catholics to become socially mobile, was for some Protestants to become disadvantaged against a continuing perceived norm of Protestant advantage.

6.2.5.3 Protestant experience of discrimination

There were two Protestants who as school-leavers, felt that their religion had been an issue in not getting work. Both cases occurred during the 1960s. In one, a man felt he did not get an apprenticeship because he was told that they did not take people from his school, although the evidence suggested that an alternative explanation was that his school was not regarded as a high-achieving one. In another instance, a woman recounted being turned down by a Jewish employer, and she interpreted this as a pro-Catholic bias.

6.2.6 ‘Breaking the mould’: change over time

Among most interviewees, there was a perception that employment practices were less discriminatory than in the past. However accounts revealed that it varied from company to company, and that change was least evident in the private sector. It was also clear that for some organisations such as the police, equal representation of Catholics did not yet exist. As well as ‘tradition’ already mentioned, another Protestant employer explained he felt powerless to change a sectarian system for fear of antagonising the Protestant workforce. Few people commented on the reasons for change and although change may have occurred, discrimination was certainly not felt to have been eradicated.

Several accounts were given by Catholics who were the first to break into higher job levels in their trade or profession. These reports give an insight into the chronology of the first passing of each frontier; and it is to be expected that the subsequent process whereby proportions of Catholics at each job level come to be equal to the proportion in the population is protracted and incomplete.

Although problems were experienced within manual supervisory work, Catholics elsewhere emphasised problems found in a range of professional jobs where Catholic identity, rather than higher level qualifications, dictated one’s career route. A Catholic

professional man expressed the resistance felt in middle class occupations to Catholics joining their ranks thus:

Well when I set up in 1958 there was no doubt there was a prejudice against Catholics, Catholic professionals. It was quite obvious. It disappeared over the years but it was certainly very clear in 1958There was no doubt...prejudice was there. They just weren't used to Catholics and there was a few of us around, there was quite a lot of Catholic lawyers, there was no Catholic (his profession) firms....There was this, not a distrust, but just sort of wariness about a Catholic professional man but that just disappeared. It took to my mind about 10 or 15 years to disappear.

(C39-12122 - 66 year old Catholic male professional)

6.2.7 Change towards formal equal opportunities practice

A Protestant man, who had worked in a bank, and now works closely with the police felt there were pressures to be seen to be an equal opportunities employer.

I work fairly closely with the police and I know that it (discrimination) existed 20 odd years ago (during late 1970s). When I worked with the bank, there would have been a sort of unwritten, strict anti-Catholic employment policy. It was enforced in the bank. The police have had to sort of change quite considerably with their employment attitudes over the last 20 years.

So is it quite a mixed force now?

It's not quite so. ...well it's equal opportunities, and the police have now sort of signed up with this. They are an equal opportunities employer and they've got to be seen to be equal opportunities, they've got to have a certain amount of non-White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and they've got to have a certain amount of Roman Catholics, got to have a certain amount of women.

(P3-11111 - 46 year old Protestant male traffic warden manager)

Another man referred to what he perceived as greater Catholic assertiveness, and to other ethnic minorities, so it is possible that Catholic assertiveness was again being aligned with increasing societal awareness of equal opportunities issues more usually associated with minority ethnic groups who, unlike Catholics, are protected by specific anti-discrimination

legislation. The following quote illustrates an acceptance, addressed later in the Conclusions, of racism perceived as linked to skin colour which is a major tenet of the race relations paradigm in Britain, while also making clear comparison of commonalities of experience between white (Catholics) and non-white ('Pakis') people, thus querying a basic tenet of British race relations (Miles, 1993).

People just started sticking up for themselvesIf they've not got a job because they're Catholic they would let you know, but in the old days, they would say, 'Och, we never got that because I was a Tim (Catholic)' sort of thing.

And they would just shrug it off kind of thing?

That's right. Now, everything else, like the Pakis and everything else and all that stuff....racism, they brought all that stuff over.

Are Catholics getting more confidence because there's all these other groups saying they're not getting things?

No, not particularly, they've just got their own way of thinking now. They're getting taught better to stand up for themselves.

(P8-11121 - 66 year old Protestant male printer)

It was mainly Protestants who made links between the situation of Catholics and other disadvantaged minorities, implying a similarity in the processes of exclusion.

6.2.8 Use of informal networks

It was clear that for many Catholics and Protestants, in both age groups, family and wider social networks were crucial to getting first jobs, and these networks were also often used throughout careers. In the following account a Protestant woman claims that practice has changed, but then contradicts herself:

In a big company like that it's always been jobs for the boys ...It's who you know that gets you in ... not so much now but I think it was for a lot of years.....It was mainly like your uncle got you in because where I work, even just now, a lot of the girls, their husbands are there, their brothers, their auntie's there....a lot of that goes on. But I think that maybe happens in a lot of big companies ...No I don't think it's so much like that now, no.

(P15-11212 - 46 year old Protestant female clerical worker)

It is plausible that because Catholics historically lacked access to many important networks, especially in the private sector, this general system of getting jobs through knowing people would indirectly disadvantage Catholics.

In order to test how far things actually have changed, experiences of 46 year old middle class interviewees were examined, in order to see how they actually got jobs. This group was chosen as it was expected that they would have been less likely than the older group to have found work through contacts, and middle class occupations were also chosen to test whether such work had more formal means of recruiting people. Accounts revealed that middle class younger Protestants got jobs in sales exports and in research work with the Scottish Office, through contacts during the 1990s, and in the late and mid-eighties with ScottishPower and a food retail company. Earlier, during the 1960s and early 1970s, Protestants claimed they got jobs through employers directly approaching their schools (clerical work in a bank), through chance introductions (a librarian with a local authority), and because of wearing 'the old school tie' (officer with a trade union). Catholics got jobs through contacts during the 1960s and 1970s as drivers, in computing firms and low-grade office work, and during the 1980s and 1990s with insurance companies. In some cases, it was felt that as careers progressed, contacts were more, rather than less likely to be used, as the following account reveals:

Would most of your jobs have been got like that.....knowing people and making contacts?

Well, latterly they have. Prior to that it's always been adverts in the newspaper and answering them. It's the nature of the business as you get older, if you're wanting to change jobs, it's usually through personal contact rather than...going through a newspaper ad.

(P30-21112 - 46 year old Protestant male export manager for government agency)

6.3 The evidence for discrimination

6.3.1 Summarising the findings

In Glasgow, many people were routinely identified in everyday working life as belonging to an ethnic/religious minority by Catholic schools they had attended, Irish names, and wider (usually male) communal belonging, often marked by football allegiance. Markers

were not wholly accurate so identity could sometimes be mistaken and disguised. There were cases where corrected identity had led to discrimination. Sectarian discrimination was generally constructed as anti-Catholic discrimination. Perceptions of an anti-Protestant backlash were not borne out by evidence. Accounts revealed the difficulties of assessing the existence of discrimination among its victims, so that Catholics may have erred on the side of belief in its non-existence. Accounts revealed that discrimination against Catholics occurred in many areas of work, with most recent incidents relating to discrimination in middle class work. Protestants distanced themselves by a number of means from responsibility for discrimination. Both Protestants and Catholics felt that there was less sectarianism now than in the past, although religious identity was not yet irrelevant. Experiences of direct discrimination were reported during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, as well as in the previous decades documented by historians (Gallagher, 1987). Despite beliefs in improvements over time, recruitment, particularly to white-collar work in the private sector, was marked by the continuance of getting jobs through social networks, and given the accepted Protestant bias of getting work in the past, may continue indirectly to advantage Protestants or disadvantage Catholics in the present.

There are a number of issues that this discussion now seeks to address. The first concerns the findings themselves, and is essentially methodological, that is, are the results valid? Secondly, what implications may these data have in relation to the social position of Irish Catholics in Scotland?

6.3.2 Is there real discrimination?

In the analysis here, it is, interestingly, the accounts of Protestants of discrimination against Catholics that clearly strengthen the case found in Catholic perceptions of practice. Policies and procedures for managing discrimination were described by witnesses who apparently found this so routine an aspect of Glasgow 'tradition', that it was not worth concealing. Accounts of this kind have been quoted in the second part of the section on Protestant accounts of discrimination against Catholics, and at the beginning of the section on formal equal opportunities practice. The inclusion of majority experiences is an important and rare feature of discrimination research. In taking such a comparative approach, the complex nature of discrimination is revealed, as people do not simply align themselves with practices experienced and perpetrated on/by their membership group. The approach adds to the 'microlevel understanding of how the hidden nature of dominant

group identity perpetuates group privilege in routine interactions' (Doane, 1997:391), a neglected angle in ethnicity research.

Secondly, the design of the study, which included the experience of both Irish and Scottish origin as well as Protestant and Catholic religious background, meant that clearer links between religious identity and ethnic origin could be made, showing that it was Irish Catholic origin which was the focus of discriminatory practice.

Thirdly, the experience of mistaken identity, and of corrected identity leading to discrimination, provides a series of naturally occurring before/after experiments with the same individual, which provide particularly cogent demonstrations of intent to discriminate.

Results thus establish the fact of discrimination, but not its prevalence (quantitative assessment is not the purpose of a qualitative study). It may be that experience of discrimination was in fact underestimated. It was clear that knowing whether religious discrimination is actually occurring is particularly difficult for its victims. The recognition that the perpetrators of discrimination are the most likely to know about it, is reflected in a review of the Race Relations Act which places the onus for explaining the act of perceived discrimination clearly on the employer (Commission for Racial Equality, 1985). In these data, only Catholics who had no doubt whatsoever that they were being discriminated against, chose to label an experience as discriminatory. These data reflect findings in a number of early PEP (Political and Economic Planning) reports which show discordances between beliefs about the occurrence of discrimination among 'visible' minorities in Britain and actual reported experience of discrimination, attributed to minorities avoiding discriminatory situations and being unaware of its occurrence. Later following the Race Relations Act (1968) it was argued that actual discrimination, whilst still occurring, was likely to have become more subtly orchestrated in day-to-day relations probably because of the introduction of the Act (Smith, 1976).

This study reveals a general perception that discrimination has lessened since the mid 1970s, but instances were still reported from the 1980s and 1990s. This establishes a case for a thorough quantitative estimation of discrimination occurring in the present day, with sufficient power to detect even low levels of prevalence. Care is needed, as there is some

evidence from quantitative studies that there are discrepancies between individuals in reporting exposure to similar discrimination, and disparities between personal versus group discrimination. This may be because these studies have been largely quantitative surveys with yes/no response formats, and it may be that complementary qualitative studies will also be necessary in researching the complexity around these sensitive issues (Krieger, 1999).

6.3.3 Social class and discrimination

Much of the recent research in Scotland concerning Catholics has addressed the issue of Catholic schooling and important links between education, social class and social mobility. Early work by Payne and Ford (1977) examining the 1975 Scottish Social Mobility Survey (4887 men born between 1911-1955), found that the overall role of education in determining social class was 'relatively modest'. In terms of effect of religion, they concluded that there was a, 'fairly strong effect of religion which operates independently of any educational criteria' (Payne and Ford, 1977:94), and went on to suggest active and passive discrimination as potential contributors. Later, Willms (1992) analysing the 1981 School Leavers' Survey found higher rates of university entry for Catholic than non-Catholic pupils, from both working class and middle class backgrounds, yet among those not yet employed in the sample, Willms found a Catholic preponderance. He concluded that for these young Catholics, 'the Catholic (educational) advantage in secondary school credentials did not buy them jobs' (Willms 1992:208) and suggested the possibility of informal networks for getting work as more likely to disadvantage Catholics. Most recently, using the 1997 Scottish Election Survey, Lindsay Paterson (2000) found that among young Catholics (born 1953-1979) compared with older Catholics (born 1901-1952 and roughly comparable in age with Payne and Ford's (1977) sample, but smaller in sample size), there was little difference in the class profile of younger Catholics when compared with a similar cohort of non-Catholics. However, among older Catholics, there was a significant difference in class profile compared with older non-Catholics. Paterson's analysis showed that the poorer formal educational qualifications of older Catholics account for part, but not all, of this difference. Describing the remaining difference, Paterson concluded that 'younger Catholics with higher education were more likely to gain a non-manual job than non-Catholics with similar qualifications', but in the older cohort, 'Catholics' higher education qualifications have not always been fully rewarded in the labour market' (L. Paterson, 2000:364). The position of the younger cohort Paterson

attributes to findings of a greater Catholic reliance on jobs in the public sector which is felt to operate more meritocratically than the private sector, but this fails to account for why older, highly qualified Catholics failed to get due reward in the labour market.

Lindsay Paterson's data and interpretation raise a number of questions:

1. Why were educated older Catholics failing to get jobs?
2. If, as is implied, older Catholics faced discrimination, does a predominance of young Catholics within public sector jobs signify meritocracy across the board? Are younger Catholics reliant on the public sector because of lack of capital, or because of Catholic culture, or because of discrimination excluding them from the private sector?
3. Is it not too early to know how the careers of these young Catholics may progress? Will they follow the employment experience of older Catholics?

Paterson's comparison with English data shows no employment disadvantage for older Catholics in England, yet Paterson concludes that disadvantage in Scotland is likely to be 'something specific' to Scottish Catholic education, and not the possibility of employment discrimination. Other work in Scotland, on larger data sets from the 'sectarian' west of Scotland, also suggests class differences among Catholics and non-Catholics in two older cohorts, but disputes optimism about the enhanced class position of younger Catholics as premature, in the light of evidence of a stalling of Catholic careers at age 35-40 years during 1992-97 (Williams and Walls, 2000). This work points to what Payne et al. (1979) addressed twenty five years earlier, the need to study organisational selection procedures, rather than education, in exploring social mobility.

These quantitative data, taken together with the qualitative findings presented here, suggest that discrimination was a likely component in Catholic employment experience for people born in 1952 and earlier. However, the qualitative data presented here suggest that as experiences of discrimination were reported during the 1980s and 1990s, as well as the unmeritocratic practice of getting jobs informally, that anti-Catholic discrimination and disadvantage continues to be a feature of life in the west of Scotland, in some private and public sector jobs, and particularly in middle class work.

Census data would be invaluable in examining Catholic career progression and detail on occupational classification by religion. Unfortunately, there is currently a lack of published

Census data on religion, and the analyses which have been done (Bruce et al., 2004, 2005) have been inadequate (Walls and Williams, 2005). In the data presented here, Catholic attempts to move up the social scale were often the focus of accounts of direct discrimination. Experiences among Catholics of obstacles to promotion reported later may also explain the apparent stalling of Catholic careers (Williams and Walls, 2000) during the life-course. Sixty-six year old Catholics pointed to difficulties in accessing white-collar work, supervisory manual work and professional employment. Sixty-six year old Protestants recounted barriers to Catholics becoming matrons or senior managers in social work, as well as moving beyond the poorest jobs in some private sector employment. This 'classing' of Catholics was believed by some Catholics to be linked to perceptions of their inferiority. This perception of minority status and inferiority was labelled religiously, but in the west of Scotland denotes Irish origin. It therefore needs to be asked to what extent sectarianism is an adequate way to conceptualise the social relations described here. This finding is addressed later in the Conclusions.

6.3.4 Discrimination and health

The concern here in the first part of this chapter has been to examine experiences of discrimination against a minority group in one British locality. However the wider aim of the study has been to start to explain relative health disadvantage among Irish-descended Catholics in Scotland and the wider Irish ethnic group in Britain. Thus, in conclusion it is asked, how might this discrimination explain relative ill health? An obvious pathway is through the effect of discrimination on social class positioning, and indeed social class does explain a large part of Catholic and Irish-descended ill health in Scotland (Abbotts et al., 2001). Another pathway may be through the psychosocial effects of discrimination and minority status itself (Krieger, 1999). The question, which now arises, is whether the experiences described here are of such magnitude as viably to explain wider population health patterns. For this, large scale data sets will be needed, which include a range of health variables as well as inclusion of detailed questions on discrimination in different contexts.

In this context, it is important to bear in mind, that even if only a few individuals report discrimination, a wider culture of prejudice is likely to impact upon the range of choices for employment perceived as open to a minority group, and therefore potentially to affect health both materially and psychologically. Both limited options and single experiences of

discrimination may impact on lifetime careers. Health is also not an individual matter but a resource of families and communities. How much of current quantitatively-derived patterns of ethnic Irish ill health in Britain may be ascribed to effects of past experiences of discrimination is beyond the scope of this research, but the findings that both Catholics and Protestants continue to report anti-Catholic discrimination in recent times needs to be urgently addressed, as a potential contributor to current and future ill health among this minority.

6.3.5 Conclusion on discrimination

Anti-Catholic discrimination in employment in Glasgow has not gone away. Discrimination against Catholics in Scotland needs to be recognised as a possible precursor to the employment and health disadvantage of Catholics and studies need to address this possibility. The Census has allowed the collection of better data on Catholics (unlike in England and Wales, the Scottish Census 2001 disaggregated the Christian category), but ‘religious’ discrimination needs to be taken seriously and equality strategies need to reflect this. However, within the last decade, there is testimony that in Glasgow Council, race equality officers are not permitted to deal with ‘sectarian’ issues, only being allowed to deal with groups of ‘visible difference’ (Hickman and Walter, 1997). This seems anomalous in a city like Glasgow with its particular history of patterns of immigration, settlement and sectarianism. Academic assertions that Catholics are no longer discriminated against are both premature and unfounded, and run counter to non-academic perceptions, both in the data here and in the media aftermath of the composer James MacMillan’s description of anti-Catholic bigotry as ‘Scotland’s shame’ (MacMillan, 2000). Failure to research discrimination as a possible experience of some minority groups merely because they do not fall into increasingly disputed black or white categories, permits disadvantage to continue unabated. As noted earlier, health researchers often seem content with explanations of Irish ill health which pathologise the Irish, a process worthy of deconstruction for its racist underpinnings in its own right, while most researchers of ethnicity ignore the Irish, or sidestep the issue of discrimination as a possible contributor to the class and health profiles of the Irish in Britain. Experience in the west of Scotland suggests that an explanation for Irish-descended Catholic ill health necessitates examining how the experience of minority status of this population can still affect their life chances a number of generations after initial migration. Even in an increasingly secular society, there

are a number of means to identify people of native Irish origin, including religious background.

6.4 Analysis of leaving jobs: processes connecting identity and health

6.4.1 Introduction

This aspect of the analysis of employment experience considers the ways in which accounts of Glasgow Catholics diverge from those of Protestants, on reasons why people leave jobs, including health reasons. Accounts reveal experiences distinctive to Catholics, of health-threatening stress, obstacles to career progression within (mainly) private sector organisations, and interactional difficulties which provide particular problems for (mainly) middle class men. This narrows the employment options for upwardly mobile Catholics, who then resort to self-employment or other stressful options. It is considered whether the competence of Catholics or Catholic cultural factors is implicated in thwarting social mobility among Catholics, or alternatively whether institutional sectarianism is involved. It is concluded, that of these options, theories of institutional sectarianism provide the hypothesis which currently best fits these data. As noted earlier, in Glasgow people of indigenous Irish descent are recognised by names, Catholic background and football allegiance, as well as by other smaller contextual indications, and are thus often successfully identified as Catholic by others. Overt historical exclusion of Catholics from middle class employment options now seems to take unrecognised forms in routine assumptions and practices, which restrict Catholic employment opportunities. It is argued that younger Catholics use education to overcome obstacles to mobility faced by older people and circumvent exclusions by recourse to middle class public sector employment. This analysis aims to link historical, structural and sectarian patterns of employment experience to accounts of health and work, and in so doing to contribute to an explanation for the relatively poor health of Catholic Glaswegians with Irish roots.

Two explanations have been put forward for the levels of job disadvantage experienced by Catholics in Scotland, which may also account for Catholic careers faltering in mid life. The first relates to lower levels of education received by Catholics in the past, and the second to anti-Catholic discrimination.

6.4.2 The influence of education on occupation

As was noted in the previous discussion of education in this chapter, Payne and Ford (1977) showed that education had only a modest influence on upward mobility from working class origins in Scotland, since most of those mobile in this way did not have a high level of education. They showed too that class of background was in any case an important factor in both educational and occupational achievement. However, religion of background was also an independent factor: among those with low education, Catholics were less likely than non-Catholics to be able to secure middle class employment. The authors suggested that there were, 'processes within society which operate outside education to perpetuate the class disadvantages of the Catholic population' (Payne and Ford, 1977:97). Later work by Lindsay Paterson (2000) using data from the 1990s, made a more positive analysis of the effects of education on Catholic achievement of non-manual occupations from the 1970s onward (L. Paterson, 2000). In this analysis, higher educational qualifications appeared to account for an equalisation of opportunities for Catholics in the younger generation, mainly through jobs obtained in the public sector, though in the older cohort Paterson, in a quotation already cited, noted, like Payne and Ford, that, 'Catholics' higher education qualifications have not always been fully rewarded in the labour market' (L. Paterson, 2000:374).

6.4.3 The possibility of institutionally sectarian practices

Over the last couple of decades institutional racism has been described by Scarman (1981) as, 'often hidden, sometimes unconscious' (Scarman Report, 1981:110), and more recently Macpherson (1999) notes that institutional racism, 'often arises out of uncritical self-understanding born out of an inflexible ethos of the 'traditional' way of doing things...such attitudes can thrive in a tightly knit community', and can persist because of, 'the failure of the organisation openly and adequately to recognise and address its existence...without recognition and action....it can prevail as part of the ethos or culture of the organisation' (Macpherson, 1999:para.6.17).

Despite Macpherson's (1999) recent definition of institutional racism, the problems unresolved by social scientists since the 1980s regarding its definition remain. Mason (1982) and Williams (1985) respectively found wanting in theories of institutional racism, 'an account which effectively links the structural characteristics of a society to the actions through which people produce and reproduce their social worlds' (Mason, 1982:44), and

an analysis of how institutional racism operates which does not conflate, but rather shows how ideology is linked to practice (Williams, 1985). Progress towards these requirements has however recently been made by Puwar's (2001) illustration of the theory (and practice) of the 'somatic norm', which sketches the role played in higher civil service positions of a somatic and attitudinal image which fits the post.

In most of these attempts to concretise institutional racism, there have been, and continue to be, confusions around the presence or absence of explicit racist beliefs. Williams (1985) regards institutional racism as possible after racist justifications have been abandoned and Macpherson (1999) sees racism as continuing practices of, 'unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping, which disadvantage ethnic minority people' (Macpherson, 1999:para 6.34). These definitions point to features of racism which may also apply to sectarianism: practices which continue in the absence of reference to race (or religion); practices which may not be acknowledged as or even known to be based on prejudice, but which nonetheless amount to discriminatory outcomes.

The analysis of these two possible explanations arises from data on divergences in Catholic and Protestant accounts of reasons for leaving jobs. These differences occur although interviewees themselves *did not mention* their religion as relevant to these experiences.

The main questions explored in this second half of the chapter are thus:

1. What are the main reasons put forward for leaving jobs by people of Catholic and Protestant backgrounds in Glasgow, and what part does health play in these accounts?
2. If more negative accounts are given by Catholics, what distinctive problems are described in these accounts, and what links do they have with social class and features of the job market?
3. Are any of these problems attributable to educational or cultural deficits, or to experience of discrimination (possibly tacit, unrecognised or institutional)?

6.5 Accounts of reasons for leaving jobs

In giving an account of their job histories, people were asked why they had left jobs, and gave one or more reasons. The data cover a period of fifty years from the late 1940s through to the late 1990s. Four types of reason accounted for the great majority of

decisions to leave jobs. First, many people had left jobs to explore other possibilities, mainly early in life, and usually before careers were established (25 out of 72). After that, they had generally moved for positive reasons of advancement; for a higher status job, to get more money or to gain further qualifications (27/72), or for familial reasons such as having and caring for children (27/72). Finally, a number left jobs for negative reasons connected with the general economic situation, involving redundancies, and firms relocating, downsizing, being taken over, or closing down (18/72). In these familiar processes of the labour market, no particular differences between experiences of Catholics and Protestants were apparent.

The remaining types of reason for leaving jobs, however, discussed by 21 of the 72 interviewees, were more likely to be given by Catholics (16/39) rather than Protestants (5/33). In the form in which reasons were initially classified, this result thus emerged as a broad tendency, which a quantitative analyst would note, as statistically significant. In a qualitative study, though, such an observation can only be a starting point for a process of analytic induction which identifies the distinctive features of the subgroup of cases who give rise to this statistical tendency, features which are not shared by any other group. The result seeks to be deterministic for the interviewees under consideration, though this does not imply a belief in such a limited determinism: it assumes only that the nearer a formulation can approach a deterministic scheme for this limited group of cases, the better its chance as a hypothesis for testing with future samples (Mitchell, 1983; Dowell et al., 1995).

The residual types of reason for leaving jobs involved here covered the following initial categories: health problems, lack of prospects, problems of interaction with colleagues or superiors, becoming self-employed, being threatened by decline in one's own business or going bankrupt, and other dissatisfactions with the job not already classified. Review of all these categories, and of subgroups within them, revealed that *only* Catholics gave reasons for leaving in one or (usually) more of the following groups: health problems attributed to 'unmanageable' stress in the job; to escape from 'unacceptable' job stress; forced early retirement due to health problems; frustration of personal job prospects; problems of interaction with colleagues or supervisees; becoming self-employed and being threatened by failure in one's own business. Altogether eleven Catholic case studies emerged as the only examples under these headings (out of 39 Catholics in the sample). In the descriptions

of these cases which follow, comparison is made where possible with appropriate categories of the thirty three Protestants in the sample who gave *no examples* of these types of reasons for leaving jobs.

A cumulative sequence can tentatively be identified in these experiences. Retiring because of ill health was a self-contained experience. Leaving a job because promotion or progress was blocked was also a self-contained experience, in that it was not linked to other reasons specific to Catholics (health problems, becoming self-employed, interaction problems, etc). Nevertheless, although seemingly discrete, frustrated job prospects may later force alternative career routes, which sometimes bring new problems and new reasons for leaving jobs. Becoming self-employed was sometimes linked to prior experience of stress or a source of stress, and sometimes neither, but was clearly an option that particularly older Catholic men pursued. The other reasons for leaving tended to involve experiences of stress which were not self-contained, but rather were linked to problems of interaction with colleagues or superiors, or difficulties with self-employment.

6.5.1 Frustrated Personal Job Prospects

It was only Catholic men who complained of the lack of prospects and promotion, which prompted decisions to leave particular jobs. One of these was an older man (C9-22122), who failed on two occasions to get managers' jobs in different companies. Consequently he left these jobs, and finally ventured into self-employment. Another case (C8-22112), a younger man who tried to expand the business of the company he worked for, felt he was not being rewarded for his efforts, and left his job. Another case was that of a younger man (C2-12112) who wanted to pursue further qualifications while in the police service, but left, as the service was not prepared to support him in this. The following is the older man's account:

The manager's job came up ...the works manager (pause) died and of course I thought I'd automatically follow on...They brought somebody in from the outside, didn't know a thing about the job. And I asked why I was (pause) stepped over you know, for somebody else. And one of the travellers at that time turned and said, 'Jim, you can't run with the hounds and play with the hares' (pause). Of course I didn't have a clue what that meant although I was a grown man. That was a saying I'd never heard. 'What are you talking about?' He said, 'you're too familiar with the

workers (pause) to be management. ...He said, 'well I'll give you a wee instance'. He said, 'I walk through the factory and we stop and we talk to somebody. What do they see me as?'. His name was Mr. Henderson. He said, 'what do they call me?' I said, 'Mr. Henderson'. He said, 'there's a lad just started, Mr. Smith, trainee salesman; what do they call him?' I said, 'Mr. Smith'. 'What do they call you?' I said 'Jim' (pause). I then said to him, 'right then I said, I see your point there, but when we need a certain tonnage and you've got you, Mr. Smith....and all the rest of them ... just say that they had to produce two tons for the couple of hours work, I says, 'what do you get out of your workers?' He says, 'oh we get our two ton. I said, 'what do I get? He said, 'oh you get four and five ton', but that was (what) jeopardised me for getting the job.... I suppose you could say I didn't really have management potential because of the way that I treated my fellow workers. I was too familiar with them, but as I say, even in my familiarity I always got more work done from the workers than the ones that were regimented.

(C9-22122- 66 year old Catholic middle class male)

Despite feeling that his contribution to work was exceptional, including his ability to get his workers to be productive, he was judged as lacking the attributes required to be a manager. In this first instance, his inability to make a distinction between himself and the workers is regarded as a clear impediment to having a more senior job. He wrongly assumed that his ability to do the job well while working as an assistant works manager, would be the only criterion on which he would be judged. Instead he is told that his mode of interacting with other workers, even if this clearly does not diminish output, is unorthodox and therefore his fault for not getting promotion. In a second example of not getting promoted in another company, this same man is told that they would prefer to bring someone in, already at that grade, from another part of the company. He is told that his knowledge of the job is not important. Rather than promote him, this employer chose to give the job to someone already at the correct grade, but lacking specific knowledge of the particular post. The interviewee assumes he remained unpromoted because of his knowledge, but it seems more likely that, as in the previous example, some other factors were affecting the decision not to promote him.

Another account of failing to get recognition for work done and not fitting the picture of hierarchical employment structures, is that of a younger man who felt he had to leave his job after eleven years when he did not get the recognition he felt his work merited:

I eventually left there because (pause). I had about 30 companies out in the Middle East that I wanted to visit and increase business and John Buchanan the acting general manager said, 'look myself and Mr Jones are too busy just now, we can't go out', ... 'No, I'll go out', I said 'cause after all, I'm the guy that does all the work. I can tell them what it's going to cost them....I'm the only one that knows what the freight cost is on each individual item, I'm the only one that can work it out'. And he said, 'och that's not that important', he said, 'It's all about face and it's all about formalities', he said, 'and they only really deal with directors'. I said, 'well you know the solution', (pause) he said, 'there's no way under the sun that you're going to be made a director'. I thought to myself well okay, and I determined at that point that I was going to leave, thought well that's the only thing I can do next, so I handed my notice in and left after eleven years.

(C8-22112 – 46 year old Catholic middle class male)

Another man became a police cadet at sixteen and progressed into the service at age nineteen. Initially he was encouraged to gain further qualifications, but when he wanted to do a degree at age twenty four, was told that he was too young, so he left and went to university anyway. His account shows he was ambitious to achieve qualifications, unlike other colleagues. Even though he moved quickly from one level of qualification to the next, his progression beyond a certain level was stalled, prompting him to leave the police force:

Well, at that time, when I did leave, the conditions weren't that great. Promotions prospects... I felt if I had a degree then I would be secure for my life...that's why I did it, and also personal ambition. I felt that I could do this...And it was the Police that kind of motivated me to do that, because to get on the job, you know, the Police put us through.. college, when I was a cadet, and I got ... some O levels and Highers there. And then to night school as well, () college for a couple of years to get some more...It was very, very under qualified, the Police, it was very, very few people who...I mean I passed my promotion examinations and I was the only one in

my shift that had them, you know....I applied to go to university...The Police, they wouldn't send me because they said I was too young. I thought, well, I want to go now, you know, so I just applied and got into () university.

(C2-12112 – 46 year old Catholic middle class male)

The contrast with experiences of Protestants in getting promotion and gaining status and responsibility is important to make. Protestants did not leave jobs because of feeling personally frustrated within organisations. Unlike the situation for Catholics, attaining status and responsibility is presented as effortless among Protestants, and makes work rewarding. Being in positions of power in Protestant accounts is regarded as a natural progression up a hierarchical structure.

In the following account June, a female manager, comments on her lack of educational credentials, which nonetheless does not impede her gaining greater power at work. She sees her ever-increasing responsibility as recognition that she does her job well:

I'm a section manager.....no bad, as I'd have left school with nothing. Now I'm a section manager and I've got three departments.... I started off with one but it built up and built up and built up..... I must be doing something right in it.

(P4-21211 - 46 year old Protestant working class female)

In another account, an older woman also felt that getting promotion was evidence of being competent at her job, and illustrated recognition and reward from her seniors.

Well your seniors always felt you were doing well.....you got promotion and things you know, and I always felt I could do my job.

(P20-11221 - 66 year old Protestant middle class female)

Similarly another older Protestant woman (P24-11221) recounted being informally offered a supervisor's job without having to go through a selection process, and when her superior died, she automatically got his job. This contrasts with the experience of the older Catholic man recounted above where progression was not automatic.

Overall, Protestants tended to predominate in specific areas of work, private business, which is the pattern found in quantitative work (L. Paterson, 2000). Protestant women commented most on their promotion and how this made them feel competent. Protestant men in contrast, were less emphatic about how being promoted made them feel, as though this were the way things were expected to be. Protestant men reported a common experience of eventually becoming managers in most companies they worked in.

6.5.2 Interactional difficulties

This section describes the experiences of those Catholics who left jobs because of interactional problems at work, problems which have some affinity with interactional issues used to justify frustrated promotion, described earlier. An older man (C35-22121) felt under enormous strain at work when he became a manual supervisor. Due to having trouble with his supervisees, he had a breakdown and left work for a while, to return later to a non-supervisory post within the same company:

I was a supervisor and went through a really stressful period, I had a nervous breakdown in there ...because the squad that I was in charge of were a real (pause) awkward people...just they were trade unionists and they didn't want to work ...They were trouble makers you know....Real nervous breakdown there..... was off for about a year. ...But I went back to the (company)..changed jobs...I was (pause) crying all the time.....I was never under as much stress ever again you know.

(C35-22121 - 66 year old Catholic working class man)

In another account, although not related to supervisory work, an older woman reveals the devastating impact of being ostracised by colleagues at work:

They didn't want to speak to me, they were really horrible and I just broke down, couldn't cope... I asked for a transfer to another office but I was too far gone by then. Couldn't do the job (pause) so I just resigned (pause). I was off for a yearThe Civil Service...was meant to make my career and the thought of giving up this job really shattered me and (pause) I had to give it up and I just went into deep depression.

(C30-22222 - 66 year old middle class Catholic woman)

6.5.3 Self-employment as an escape route and a source of further problems

Catholic men, unlike Protestant men, left jobs as employees in order to become self-employed, a route commonly pursued by other minorities as a response to limited opportunities (Williams et al., 1998). Sometimes this was done as a means of resolving insurmountable conditions in a previous job. One man (C38-22122) for example left a fairly secure job working with a building company in order to take a much better-paid job. This latter job compelled him, he said, to work eighteen hours a day for two years, and caused him enormous stress, which he described as ending in, 'psoriasis ...and the nerves'. In an effort to find an alternative, he set up a business with a friend, which was successful. Other men pursued the self-employment route as lawyers, surveyors, small businessmen and self-employed salesmen.

But self-employment could itself create strains, which became excessive. The following account presents the experience of self-employment failure and health problems described by one professional man. Although he already had a successful business for thirty years, a new business venture began to fail:

It had been a strain definitely, the business from '83 right through to '93. I had financial problems; I was struggling with my small business. I had health problems. I had a skin condition. ...In 1993 I went into hospital ... it was obvious then that I was struggling, and I pretty well gave up practicing. ...It was stress related. It was psoriasis...It was undoubtedly stress related. I had been an out-patient of the hospital for a few years and I was really getting bad and I went once in August 1993 or July and they kept me in....for a good few weeks because my skin had really got out of hand. It was then I realised that (pause) if I didn't stop working, I would be back in hospital again in six months. It was made clear to me in hospital that I had to make the choice, so I just wound up my business.

(C39-12122 - 66 year old Catholic middle class male)

The older man mentioned earlier at the beginning of the section (C9-22122), left another job because he was did not want to work in Ireland, and as it was implied he might be sacked for his failure to comply, he left and started a small business with his brother. This business ran into difficulties and he faced sequestration. He then became very depressed and never returned to employment. This account exemplifies some of the risks of self-

employment, in the light of a lack of other options and without strong financial backing (and possibly a dearth of skills):

I said, 'I'm not going over there to sell', ... he said to me, 'well if you cannae go to Ireland' he said, 'you're no use to us' (pause) so I said, 'well just make my ticket up'. ...I left then, and then my brother John became redundanthe had a few thousand pounds he wanted to investso we started up a car accessory shop and he couldn't cope with the (pause) financial side of it,.... so eventually (pause) he wanted out of it but cos ... I only invested my expertise..... bearing in mind I didn't have a penny to my name...I managed to get a loan of £2,000 off the bank and I managed to get a £2,000 overdraft....And of course money at times was slow coming in, so I didn't have the money to pay him.....I was sequestered....not able to run your company competently enough.

(C9-22122 – 66 year old Catholic middle class male)

Another older man (C29-22122) who had spent time as a travelling self-employed agent, found his business declining because of wider economic trends whereby small businesses became consumed by larger concerns, and expressed regret that he had not become an employee in later life.

The comparison with older Protestant men in their career progress is again important to make: many of these worked their way up in old engineering and other companies, so it did not appear that the route of self-employment would have enhanced their prospects. They had no problems getting promotion, as noted earlier. None left jobs in order to become self-employed. An overview of the types of work which older men did shows that the options for Catholics appeared limited in comparison with Protestant men: there was little outlet apart from self-employment, with its attendant risks, for aspiring older Catholic men wishing to develop their careers.

6.5.4 Becoming stressed

The experience of stress as revealed in accounts clearly distinguished Catholics from Protestants. Descriptions covering all types of reported work-related stress were linked with the work outcomes described, and this led to the following emergent formulations: 'unmanageable' and 'manageable' stress, and, within 'manageable' stress, 'unacceptable'

and 'acceptable' stress, defined below. Only middle class or manual supervisory Catholics reported the two most severe forms of stress.

6.5.4.1 *'unmanageable' stress*

Unmanageable stress is defined as stress which was perceived to cause such severe health problems that people left their jobs. It is described as unmanageable because people were unable to continue working due to the physical and psychological sequelae of perceived work-induced stress: severe psoriasis, a breakdown, and two cases of depression. Only Catholics described this experience of stress. These Catholics also belonged to the older cohort, and their cases have already been described (C39-12122; C30-22222; C35-22121; C9-22122): people who faced interactional problems and business failure.

6.5.4.2 *'manageable' stress – 'unacceptable'*

Unacceptable but manageable stress is different from unmanageable stress in that the worker chooses to change or leave employment in order both to relieve stress, and to pursue more acceptable work options, or not to work at all, rather than allowing stress to become incapacitating. In this instance, stress may be either affecting life outside work, or limiting time away from work. Only Catholics gave accounts of this type of stress. One case (C38-22122), already referred to in the section on self-employment, took a better paid job which compelled him to work eighteen hours a day for two years. He left this job when suffering from 'psoriasis ...and the nerves' by escaping to start a business with a friend. In another account below, a younger man (C2-12112; now a lawyer, formally a policeman), described moving from running his own firm to working for a local authority, because of the stress of self-employment.

I think private practice is very, very stressful. I mean I did run my own firm and that was murder. I think it was bad for my health.

So did you sort of give that up then in order to go into the?

Local Authority work, yes. Yes, I gave it up to do that.

Right, and was that because it was too much?

I suppose it must have been. Not, not...I was just so busy and the remuneration you were getting for it, whilst we were living relatively comfortable, it just wasn't worth it. I mean you were working... every night until about six..I used to take mail home with me, ...you were on the phone all the time, or seeing clients, and then you

would do the mail at night, maybe ten to twelve at night, or whatever. That was most nights. And certainly over the weekend you were in for at least three quarters of the day. Horrible.

(C2-12112 – 46 year old Catholic middle class male)

This pattern at a professional level may also have a counterpart at lower levels, where (presumably because of a hidden lack of alternatives), a choice has to be made between low pay and better-paid but undesirable jobs. A younger woman (C12212) described working for a debt recovery agency, and being well-paid, but left as she found it upsetting and affecting her life outside work:

I left to go to a debt recovery place that was paying a lot more money, but I hated the job. I was only in it a year, I just couldn't stand the stress. I was coming home nearly every night upset about things you were dealing with, you know. So I left there...say I was about a year without working.

(C12212 – 46 year old Catholic middle class female)

6.5.4.3 *'manageable' stress - 'acceptable'*

Manageable but acceptable stress is defined as either a general experience, the effects of which are mitigated by its commonality, or balanced by more positive aspects of the working environment, or rationalised as 'acceptable' or 'part of the job'. Although negative health effects may be described, these do not lead to losing or changing jobs. This experience of stress was common among younger middle class people. Common themes were of stress because of changes to do with technology, worsening conditions due to longer hours, less pay, and greater job insecurity brought on by organisational change. There were a number of examples of this type of stress among both Catholics *and Protestants*.

6.5.5 Health-related enforced early retirement

Three out of four older Catholic working class men retired early due to physical ill health. None of the older Protestant men retired because of ill health, although some had retired early through redundancy. Quantitative analysis of larger datasets has shown that in Glasgow, Catholic men suffer worse physical health and retire early, as a result of being located in manual occupations and in poorer socio-economic positions (Abbotts et al.,

2001), and is consistent with the finding in the present small data set that retiring because of ill health was a specifically Catholic experience. One case was that of an older man (C35-22121) mentioned earlier who retired at age fifty four following a heart attack. Another is that of an older man (C15-22121) who following a severe angina attack and against doctor's advice returned to work in an engineering company. He tried to negotiate doing lighter work, but the company refused to accommodate him and he had to leave. Yet another older man (C34-12121) was put under pressure to retire early because he had taken time off due to ill health:

It was the Gas Board that turned round and said, 'Look Hugh, you're having an awful lot of time off your work here,...if you don't get your act together, you'll be out on your ear'. So I took early retirement.

(C34-12121 – 66 year old Catholic working class male)

6.6 Structural factors shaping distinctive Catholic experiences of leaving work

These cases of poor job prospects, interaction problems, self-employment attempts and difficulties, early retirement through ill health, and unmanageable or unacceptable stress, were given as reasons for leaving jobs *only by Catholics*. It therefore needs to be established how, and if, being a Catholic in Glasgow is the defining context of these experiences.

At first sight, the most striking aspect of the eleven Catholic cases with distinctive reasons for leaving jobs is their class location. The majority of these are in middle class or manual supervisory positions (nine people) and the core group are middle class men (six people). All of these men spent a substantial part of their career in the private sector. These comprise six out of the eleven Catholic middle class men interviewed. An analysis of the employment situations of the rest (other five cases) shows that they were all teachers (three people) or social workers (two people), who appeared to have relatively straightforward careers, once they had chosen these career paths. All of these latter men had degrees. Seven out of the eleven middle class Catholic men had degrees compared with three out of nine middle class Protestants. For mainly younger Catholics, getting degrees was clearly a means to avoid private sector competition and to achieve relatively secure employment in the public sector.

A comparison with the careers of the nine Protestant middle class men shows that their occupations were in different arenas from these Catholics: three cases were involved in education and journalism, the rest, both young and old, were involved in private sector industries where they had become managers or directors. If Protestants left jobs in business, it was usually to do with wider economic trends, and not for the additional reasons Catholics outlined above.

The cases of particular concern raised here primarily involve Catholic men becoming middle class. Nevertheless a male manual worker (C35-22121) became stressed when briefly in a supervisory position and two Catholic women in middle class occupations suffered stress. The male supervisor seemed to encounter problems of acceptance in a position of power within private industry, and this questions potential links with other Catholic male cases above, where prospects to gain further power and promotion were thwarted.

Generally Catholic middle class (and working class) women ventured little into the private sector, but were located in the public sector. In contrast, the private sector was a common option for Protestant women. One of the two Catholic women (C30-22222) who encountered problems had interactional problems with colleagues in the public sector, and the other woman (C5-12212) was in the private sector and her case involved debt recovery, another focus of power over others. Thus far it seems, therefore, that the causes of these problems are typically, though not exclusively, associated with the private sector, and with behaviour relating to power, status and control.

6.6.1 Interactional and promotional problems: a “somatic norm”?

Some Catholics seem to have been experiencing features similar to what Puwar (2001) described, in an analysis of the experiences of Black senior civil servants, as a, ‘somatic norm’. In analysing the experiences of Black people who have achieved high status jobs, Puwar identified in interviews about their experiences, six features of this incursion into a white landscape: dissonance, disorientation, ‘infantalisation’ (Fanon, 1986), the burden of invisibility, hyper-surveillance and assimilative pressure to conform to the legitimate language. Briefly these terms refer to their bodies not quite “fitting”, not being expected to be in a position of power, being imagined as incapable, working twice as hard to gain recognition, being criticised for the slightest imperfection, and being pressurised to

assimilate particularly in terms of language use, but also in dress and ‘correct’ (white) modes of interaction with others.

In the accounts of some of the men who felt frustrated in their attempts to get promotion, the features which Puwar described clearly fit the experiences of some of the Catholic men. For example, in the case of the older man (C9-22122), whose behaviour is contrasted with that of a ‘lad’, whereas he is a ‘grown man’, the lad knows how to act like a manager, whereas he is told he does not. By finding him less able than a lad, to be addressed as a manager, he is ‘infantalised’. He also is seen to be deficient in assimilating the ‘soft things’ (Puwar, 2001), by not knowing how to behave with the other men (being too familiar with the workers). Again, crucially, he does not use the legitimate language, which is mainly argued to be his downfall. This case also illustrates someone who sees himself as working more than anyone else, and mirrors Puwar’s (2001) analysis whereby Black people, viewed as incapable, have to display an excess of the normal qualities required. In fact the whole of his first account is primarily one of dissonance, that he does not fit the image of a manager. Similarly, the younger man (C8-22112) also seems to display an excess of zeal in expanding his company (burden of invisibility), yet is told he does not fit the image of a director (dissonance).

In a similar way to Puwar’s (2001) study where Black bodies were regarded as out of place, other data to emerge from these interviews are worth noting in this context, around the issue of Catholic men moving up. One younger Catholic man (C33-22111), described moving from a manual job to a sales job and described his discomfort on visiting factories in his new role: ‘But I didn’t feel comfortable because I was looking at people doing my type of work. See the guy who was working making the battery, that was me. I felt more related to the man on the shop floor’. In an internalisation of the theory of the somatic norm, this man was unable to identify himself as anything other than a manual worker. This undercurrent of the classing of Catholics, which has been inferred in much of the general analysis, leads to consideration of the extent to which class identity is linked to religious identity.

6.6.2 Interactional and promotional problems: the classing of Catholic identity?

Other data from these interviews reported earlier reveal general stereotypes about the inferiority of Catholics, and these are linked to social class or occupation. A number of

comments exemplify this thinking. Catholics are variously described as being, 'kind of looked down on', 'being regarded as inferior as workers and as people', and belonging to different 'streams of social intercourse'. It may also be the case that Catholics themselves have developed a strong sense of working class identity, which may provide both psychological obstacles for some Catholics about moving up, and psychological obstacles to Protestants 'seeing' Catholics in middle class and managerial positions. Analysis in the first half of this chapter has revealed that religion is clearly connected to failing to move up the social scale, revealing a general consensus among both Catholics and Protestants that it is in getting better jobs and promotion, that *only Catholics* face particular difficulties. However, it is suggested here that some Catholics may only comfortably regard themselves as working class, as the salesman alluded to, or the older man mentioned above (C9-22122), fail to enact class distinctions in modes of talking to their workers.

These conflicts around attitudes, behaviour and status can be seen even among Catholics who have clearly achieved middle class status. A comment from one older Catholic man (C38-22122) was that even when he owned his business, he continued to do the physical work, and his (Protestant) partner dealt with the office work:

I just enjoy the physical side of it. The kind of hammering nails in, although I ended up away from that side....I ended up employing about eighty men, so I was away from the hammering nails bit.... I handled all the outside building stuff, and the partner done the office side, I done all the outside organisation, plus ...I used to still do the hammer and nail stuff.

(C38-22122 – 66 year old Catholic middle class male)

Within both middle class and working class jobs, another issue to emerge was the power of the crowd to isolate Catholic individuals or to thwart their progress in some way, as some cases show (C30-22222; C35-22121). There were other cases of a Protestant businessman (P33-21122) who felt forced by his Protestant workers (who threatened to resign) to sack a manager because the workers felt he was employing only Catholics, a case of a Catholic man (C33-22111) who felt group animosity when a shop steward and was deselected, and a more extreme example of group hostility, when two Catholic workers had their drinks spiked with paint stripper and were hospitalised due to the actions of Protestant workers in a garage, recounted by a Protestant interviewee (P3-11111), and interpreted by him as

occurring purely because they were Catholic. All these point to informal organisational patterns which appear to distinguish, disadvantage, disempower and isolate only Catholics.

While some mainly working class Catholics may have tensions around being middle class, Protestants may also be subtly orchestrating keeping Catholics in their place. For those Catholics who are desperately trying to move up, their options appear limited, leaving the risky self-employment route to follow. These features appear to get worked out within organisations where power to affect individual progress is not always wielded by individual bosses but where there is also a power in groups of colleagues within organisations, even those on lower rungs of the employment ladder to affect individual Catholic careers.

6.6.3 The relevance to health

The stress accounts mentioned above were the most direct and notable differences in health experience between Catholics and Protestants, and specifically attributed to work by those concerned. Stress was an effect of problems with managing others, interpersonal difficulties, and pressures of self-employment, particularly for middle class Catholic men. Specific difficulties within work leading to leaving jobs were also connected to failure to gain promotion and access to further qualifications. These last difficulties, even if they were not described as stressful, inevitably caused career disruption, and new starts and the possibility of stress imposed by narrowed options at a future point in one's career, as Jim's (C9-22122) case illustrates.

6.7 Explaining Catholic experience of problems at work

6.7.1 Summarising the findings

These Glasgow data have revealed a number of difficulties distinctive to Catholics, especially middle class men, which emerge from accounts of leaving jobs. The reasons for leaving jobs where Catholic experience differs from that of Protestants are the following: frustrated job prospects, interactional problems, becoming self-employed and difficulties encountered therein, and connected to these three, health problems, in particular stress.

It has been argued that while early retirement because of physical ill health is a feature of Catholic over-representation in manual occupations, middle class and supervisory stress

accounts represent experiences of micro-level interactions similar to Puwar's (2001) somatic norm, whereby Catholics are not seen as fit for managerial responsibility or promotion because of a perceived working-class identity, which is made clear in interactions with both bosses and supervisees, and to some extent internalised by Catholics themselves. Wider macro-level expressions of this process appear to force (particularly) middle class Catholic men in the private sector into the self-employment route and other risky alternatives. These stresses and frustrations, although in some cases they demonstrably affect health in the short-term, may also affect health in the longer-term. This analysis offers a contribution to a greater understanding of psychosocial perspectives on health, particularly on how micro-level experiences may link to wider organisational structures and ideologies and the quantitative pattern of ill health found among Catholics in the west of Scotland.

However, a number of questions need to be asked:

1. Is religion really a factor?
2. If so, what hypothesis can be drawn from existing knowledge to account for this? This requires asking the question: are Catholics in some way not competent enough to be promoted or to be self-employed or to know how to act as 'proper' managers, that is, is there a problem with Catholic culture or education affecting progress in work?
3. Alternatively, how much evidence is there of institutionally sectarian practices explaining the specific experiences here of work and health problems?
4. And crucially, if sectarianism is a factor, why do Catholics themselves not mention this?

At this stage, conclusions on these points can only be put in the form of a best-fitting hypothesis, derived from careful exploration of the cluster of experiences unique to Glasgow Catholics in these qualitative data, in the hope that this hypothesis may form the basis for more extensive tests in future research.

6.7.2 Is religion really a factor?

The evidence in support of religion being implicated in some way is firstly based on the clear patterning of experiences in terms of religious background. Protestants really did not pursue self-employment. Protestants did not complain about not getting promoted and rewarded in work, in fact quite the opposite. Their managerial competencies were not

questioned, nor were they isolated by other workers. These experiences were clearly, in these particular interviews, only a feature of Catholic accounts.

It may be that Catholics merely just complain more or place a negative spin on their reasons for job changing. However, not all Catholics did complain, and the fact that it was those trying to move up, suggests that the problem is with Catholics getting on, rather than in a predisposition to complain. If Catholics had associated their experiences with sectarianism (rightly or wrongly), it would have been expected that they would mention this as relevant to the experiences reported here, which they clearly did not. Catholics were freely able to discuss whether they felt discrimination was a factor in their employment experiences at a *later* point in these interviews, reported earlier, and they could have easily re-ascribed job changing experiences as to do with religion, but did not. As this allowance for ascribing these experiences as religiously-derived was given, and not taken up, this suggests that firstly, Catholics did not regard these particular experiences as directly to do with discrimination, and secondly, that as an opportunity to complain was not taken up, it is more likely that these accounts were of genuinely perceived reasons for leaving jobs, even as they represent a religious patterning to be explained.

6.7.3 The competence of Catholics

What needs to be considered here is whether there are issues about the competence of Catholics, which may involve issues of education or training, or problems with Catholic culture itself, which may have been real factors in self-employment problems, or in failure to get promotion, or to manage people effectively, including an inability to interact appropriately in work.

Analysis in the first half of this chapter has disputed the importance of education for most people in this sample in getting jobs, and revealed a reliance on social networks which favoured Protestants for the best jobs. If Catholics here were regarded as incompetent to do better jobs, the reasons given here by three bosses did not relate to education, qualifications or work knowledge, but rather had to do with modes of interacting, presentation and behaviour, which were used as reasons to maintain hierarchical structures. Competence about performing the actual tasks associated with jobs did not appear to be mentioned, and Catholics went to great lengths to show they often were working doubly hard, so not getting promoted was viewed as astonishing in the light of this. The younger man's (C2-

12112) ambition and success in gaining qualifications and passing promotion examinations compared with all others in his section while in the police force, does not suggest that he had any problems gaining expertise, but rather that the police force wished to halt his acquisition of a degree, apparently because at twenty four he was too young. Among those who experienced stress, it was interactional difficulties, including hostility from other workers, and financial pressures from taking the self-employment route, which were the main reasons given for work and health problems.

Is there then something about those from Catholic cultural backgrounds, which obstructs social mobility? There is indeed evidence that Catholic schools in Scotland better serve their working class pupils than do state-run schools (Willms, 1992), and this suggests there may be something about Catholic culture in Scotland which may work differently and have different aims to the general norms, but this has been rather suggested as a positive factor in terms of social citizenship and social capital (L. Paterson, undated, cited in MacMillan, 2000). Also Catholic schools may equip people better for work related to caring for others or serving the public good, and this may explain partly Catholic over-representation in public sector employment (L. Paterson, 2000). Evidence that Catholic schools are now outperforming nondenominational schools in Scotland, once socio-economic background is taken into account (Willms, 1992), does not suggest that there are problems with achievement among Catholics, and evidence that Catholics in England (L. Paterson, 2000), rather than in Scotland and Northern Ireland (Miller, 1983; McCormack and O'Hara, 1990; L. Paterson, 2000), fare better in terms of employment opportunities, does not support a hypothesis, which seeks to find the reasons for lack of social mobility among Catholics in Scotland in recourse to either Catholic education or culture.

Instead, the wider historical context of social relations and differential opportunities in this cultural context, would seem to have greater explanatory relevance than either qualifications or Catholic cultural inadequacies. In these data it is suggested that Catholics were more likely to take the education route, from which they were not excluded, probably because they were not given opportunities, similar to Protestants, of in-house training and progress within private companies. For many Protestants this meant that formal educational qualifications were unnecessary, or gained with the encouragement of, and while working within, private sector companies.

6.7.4 Shades of institutional sectarianism: practices, levels and pressures

Earlier it was noted that Catholics in the west of Scotland are less likely than Protestants to be in non-manual jobs, especially at older ages (L. Paterson, 2000; Williams and Walls, 2000; Bruce and Glendinning, 2003; Bruce et al., 2004, 2005), and that Scottish Catholics are much more likely than others to report experience of limits to employment or promotion opportunities because of their religious identity (Bruce and Glendinning, 2003; Bruce et al., 2004, 2005). Signs used to recognise Catholics (mainly names, schools attended, and football allegiances), and experiences (sometimes accidental) revealing discrimination against Catholics, albeit diminishing since the 1970s, have also been reported in the first half of this chapter in both *Protestant* and Catholic accounts.

At the same time, as was also noted earlier, institutional racism (here being paralleled with the ideology and practice of institutional sectarianism) is often hidden, and can be an effect of a continuance of the 'traditional' way of doing things, that is, denote historical practices and processes, all of which make it hard to detect, among those upholding these practices, and particularly among those being affected by them. Definitions go so far as to describe practices as unconscious and unwitting on the part of those enacting discriminatory practices, and the analysis earlier in this chapter of experiences of discrimination has shown that even potential victims of discrimination were loath, in the absence of overt reference to religion, to describe experiences as discriminatory. Catholics did not recognise indirect aspects of discrimination, for example, in the practice of fathers getting sons jobs, which meant that Catholic fathers had less access to networks of good jobs, because of their historical exclusion from many private sector companies.

In this context, the clear differences here in type of work gained in the private sector, and the Catholic propensity to opt for self-employment among older men, suggest that institutional factors still affect and restrict job opportunities for Catholics. The inference made in the first half of this chapter, that younger Catholics become educated in order to enter into jobs in the public sector, also seems to be a response to the need to find ways of working around the institutional barriers which exist outside, but not exclusively outside, the public sector.

At the level of interactions within organisations, the examples given of group hostility towards individual Catholics, or even to Protestants who hire Catholics, illuminate how a

number of processes can work together to isolate and stress Catholics. Parallels have been drawn with features of Puwar's (2001) analysis to show micro-level practices which appear to mirror a wider ideology about the inappropriateness of Catholics in positions of power, backed up by more general perceptions among both Catholics and Protestants that Catholics seem somehow apart and inferior, an inferiority which was ascribed to them both as people, and as workers. There was some evidence of Catholics themselves having tensions around being out-of-place in white collar or supervisory work, as though internalising norms of belief about themselves, based on a classing of Catholics. In the face of being unable to celebrate Catholic identity, some Catholic men took pride in working class solidarity; by continuing to do manual work when they did not have to, by working for unions, by talking to the workers under them on equal terms, etc. Although there are some difficulties in extricating to what extent some of these accounts may reflect class or religious issues, this difficulty may also be an effect of the seeming naturalisation of mapping Catholic identity onto working class identity, which raises difficulties for those who wish to break this tie through becoming middle class.

6.7.5 The silence around religion

The fact that people did not mention religion as relevant to these experiences does not negate the possibility that religion is relevant. This seems reasonable in the light of comments above that institutional practices do not have to be recognised as such, in order to exist and to discriminate in impact and outcome.

Nonetheless, this omission still seems important to consider further. Studies of the experience of women and Black people within organisations commonly show that minorities ascribe being treated as inferior, not getting promotion, etc, to their minority identities, whether these perceptions are correct or not, while Catholics in this location do not make these ascriptions except when they are clearly and indisputably to do with religious identity. The reasons for this may be a reflection of wider societal norms, practices and discourses around how minority status is recognised. It is widely accepted that women fall victim to patriarchal norms and practices, and similarly discourses around racism in Britain set a context in which skin colour is conceptualised as defining the experience of Black people in everyday life. However, this has had the effect of failing to address the specifically ethnic experience of white minority groups, and most pertinently for making one of the largest migrant and ethnic groups in Britain, the Irish, invisible

within the discourse of racism, while not immune to the effects of it (Hickman and Walter, 1997; Hickman, 1998).

More pertinently, in the west of Scotland where this study is set, Catholic religion is a strong marker of Irish ethnic origin, and although there has been an increase in awareness of how the Irish in England experience anti-Irish discrimination, there has been a greater resistance to acknowledging the experience of anti-Catholic discrimination in Scotland (Hickman and Walter, 1997; Devine, 2000). Recent moves by the Scottish parliament show some commitment to acknowledge and legislate to recognise and deal with sectarianism, but the background to the struggle to get Irish and Catholic ethnic and religious categories accepted in the last Census (Walls, 2001), as well as a reluctance to release much Scottish Census data on ethnicity and religion in early reports (Registrar General for Scotland, 2003), or on the Scottish Census website (General Register Office for Scotland, 2004), due to its 'sensitivity', as well as evidence that while specific published analyses on ethnicity note the 'White Irish' in many tables, the Irish are not considered part of the ethnic minority population (General Register Office for Scotland, 2004; Scottish Executive, 2004), illustrate some of the tensions and contradictions around addressing Irish ethnicity in Scotland.

With regard to religion, the Census data which have been released and analysed (Bruce et al., 2004, 2005), have a number of inadequacies noted elsewhere (Walls and Williams, 2005), resulting in a situation where conclusions about Catholics of Irish descent are currently impossible to reach. The evident vociferousness of those who deny that sectarianism is still a problem (Bruce et al., 2004, 2005), something which has been described as Scotland's 'shame' (MacMillan, 2000), is likely to have created a context within which, Irish-descended Catholics are not likely to ascribe negative experiences to their identity as they have been disallowed access to a language or means of expression which validates and aptly describes their experience.

The complexity of how different groups label experiences as discriminatory has yet to be adequately researched, but recent evidence from a Department of Health report on the views of different ethnic minorities about experiences within mental health services, may help to clarify the point being made. In this particular survey, on being asked about experiences of racial discrimination within services, only 17% Chinese people, compared

with 66% Black people felt they had experienced racial discrimination, and 44% Chinese people compared with 78% Black people felt that staff racism was a problem. This may suggest, not that Chinese people are less prone actually to experience racial discrimination within mental health services, but rather that the discourse (not the experience) of discrimination has tended to overlook or exclude Chinese people, which in turn is reflected in how experiences are described (Walls and Sashidharan, 2003).

6.7.6 Possible direct and indirect relation to health disadvantage

There is increasing general interest in the development of psychosocial perspectives on health inequalities: specific findings on greater impact of relative higher stress (both perceived, and measured physiologically) (Elstad, 1998), on poorer health among ethnic minority groups (Hemingway et al., 2001), on women's health (Hunt and Emslie, 1998), and the beginnings of a new theorising on the mechanisms by which ethnic minority status may be linked to poorer health (Krieger, 1990, 1999). Elstad (1998) has summarised the various strands that are subsumed under the psychosocial perspective which provide a potential means for addressing health inequalities along lines of gender, class and ethnicity.

The data here suggest that some part of the explanation for the health of the Irish-descended Catholic minority, may lie in an examination of how powerlessness, stress and inferiorised identity interlink and find expression in institutionalised processes and micro-level experiences reflecting wider historical structures of exclusion and structural inequality. These become acute at the point where the power balance is being challenged, that is, when Catholics are trying to break out of a pre-ordained social class position. Consequently, greater problems emerge not for those Catholics at the most disadvantaged end of the employment ladder (who inevitably face stresses but not linked to challenging the power 'balance'), but rather for those who are attempting to 'break new ground' and gain greater access to power in employment. It is suggested that these accounts of leaving jobs may be subtly masking the relevance of religious identity within organisations, and it is partly as a result of these processes and their aftermath, but also occasionally through ways to subvert the system (through public sector work or self-employment), that Catholic health is compromised.

6.8 Conclusion

These analyses, first of the direct experiences of anti-Catholic discrimination addressed earlier, and secondly, in the latter part of this chapter, of the potential impact of possibly hidden institutionalised processes, together suggest the importance of examining the experience of employment in a number of ways in relation to health, and of attempting to link micro-level experiences with wider structural socio-economic and health patterns. This analysis presents the most convincing evidence so far that Irish identity, in its externally attributed form, that is as 'structure', is linked to health (Karlsen and Nazroo, 2000, 2002), but also that the experiences of Catholics in employment reveal identity (culture) and structure as dynamic and mutually constitutive' (Smaje, 1996:163), and *historically located*. The data reveal the ways in which Catholic identity and culture both shape and are shaped by experiences in the workplace and how the experience of identity changes over time and is gendered and classed. Together with data on family life, communal life and ethnic and religious self-identification, these data question the strength of arguments that Irish Catholics have assimilated.

These data present a key challenge and contribution to British debates on ethnicity, racism and sectarianism, as well as contributing to the wider study of the Irish diaspora, and the field of ethnic inequalities in health. In the final Conclusions chapter, these points are expanded, as the main findings are summarised and the overall contribution and shortfalls of this project are evaluated.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

In concluding this research project, a number of issues are addressed. First, a summary of the key findings relating identity as structure to health, and a summary of findings relating identity as culture to health, is accompanied by a consideration of how cultural identity is interwoven with structural and material factors and vice versa. Then the way in which both cultural and structural factors jointly operate through identity is described, and the risks for Irish Catholic health which have arisen from this are summarised. Following this, conclusions are drawn about how this research adds to the debate on Irish Catholic assimilation in Scotland, and to wider debates on ethnicity, racism and sectarianism in Britain. The significance of these findings is also then considered in relation to the study of Irish identity in Britain, and finally, a conclusion is also reached about the contribution of this study to the question of how Irish Catholic ill health in Scotland might be best explained.

As far as health is concerned, the explanatory task proposed for this study earlier in the chapter on Methods was given careful limits. Because quantitative studies of Irish health in Britain have for the time being exhausted their standard repertoire, without explaining more than a part of the Irish excess, the aim was to open up a fresh range of possibilities for study, concentrating on factors which tend to produce general health risks across a number of diagnostic categories, in particular, factors which could act to hold populations in low social class positions or at generalised risk of poverty, and factors bringing about generalised psychosocial distress which emerges in interviewees' own accounts of their psychological well-being. Some attention could also be paid at a gross level to factors threatening childhood nutrition, and to risky health behaviours, but it was recognised that a qualitative study is a very incomplete way of picking up these. Thus, it was accepted that health risks found in the following data would need further confirmation, and health risks, which do not feature in these data, would not be ruled out.

7.2 Structure, identity and health – bringing culture back in

The linking of structure and identity in this research was mainly analysed in Chapter Six, which most explicitly focused on addressing the research question: – ‘How does employment experience and social class relate to Catholic background/Irish ethnicity and produce health risk?’ Analysis revealed experiences of anti-Catholic discrimination, particularly in middle class employment, and suggested the additional possibility that an institutional sectarianism operates which can take unrecognised forms in routine assumptions and practices, which restrict Catholic employment opportunities and social mobility. These findings indicate how discrimination of different forms may affect health indirectly, via class location, and via psychosocial routes. Such discrimination becomes a structural phenomenon, yet it is founded on a perception of cultural difference in which national and religious stereotypes play an essential part. Here culture has formed structure, and both may be shaping health.

Data analysed in Chapter Four, also addressed the possibility of how material factors in childhood families might derive from self-defined religious identity and link to health, in a sample from mainly working class backgrounds. It was hypothesised that due to relatively larger family size, Catholics might experience greater material deprivation in childhood, which would link with health. Analysis however revealed little evidence that family size *per se* was linked to obvious material disadvantage in childhood, which would affect health at that stage, or in later life. (Chances in later life can be assessed in part by access to educational opportunities, which are discussed below). There was some suggestion, though, that for those growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, wider economic pressures and changes in interpretation of Catholic doctrine were beginning to affect Catholic parents’ willingness to have as large families as in the past. Accounts suggested that it was a low level of income in concert with large family size, which was considered to affect material status. Catholics did not associate family size on its own with beliefs about disadvantage. Certainly, among those growing up in the 1930s/1940s, as well as those in the 1950s/1960s, disadvantages of housing and access to fewer resources (holidays, new clothes) arguably affected Catholics most, though within the limits of general enquiries about hunger and food shortage religious differences in diet were not evident.

However, for those growing up during the 1930s/1940s, one objective measure of family poverty, the wearing of state clothing by children, was overwhelmingly a Catholic experience, and possibly an effect of both or either of larger family size, and greater Catholic male unemployment at the time (itself possibly an effect of discrimination). This experience of parish clothing, although reported as widespread by most, was nonetheless highly stigmatising, and may have added to class stereotypes of Catholics.

On the other hand, being a practising Catholic was positively linked to structural and material factors through benefits which Catholics could acquire through church membership, particularly through Catholic schooling which was highly prioritised by working class as well as middle class Catholic parents, and evidently provided a route out of working class poverty for some, particularly through access to the Glasgow Catholic elite schools, an access unaffected by family income or size. Attaining post-school qualifications was also key to Catholics becoming middle class, even though a shift occurred over time in how Catholics achieved this: for older Catholics there was a focus on achieving supervisory work and traditional professions, and for younger Catholics, a greater propensity to access degrees and public sector work. These routes to mobility were probably moulded by knowledge and experience of past and present discrimination, and this is one way in which culture in turn was impacted upon by wider structural features of experience.

Other aspects of family culture also appeared linked to material and structural factors. For example, parental views on alcohol, particularly in families of the older cohort, were clearly part of a wider family ethos which discouraged fathers spending needed family resources on alcohol, an ethos also encapsulated in ambitions to achieve materially and socially, supported by strong beliefs in a culture of parental self-sacrifice for children, regardless of the numbers of children involved.

These data show that experience of material and structural factors was affected by the culture of the family and wider community within which they were set, just as, at a secondary level, wider structural factors (in the form of discrimination, class chances, unemployment and low income) impinged again on the formation of family culture and (through class stereotyping) religious identity. The cultural and structural interweaving of these linkages is explored further below.

7.3 Culture, identity and health – bringing structure back in

The neglected issue of addressing culture meaningfully in ethnic health research has been previously noted. In this study, the ways in which a specifically Catholic culture might affect health were analysed. Key to this was the focus on issues of culture derived from Catholic teaching (prohibitions on ‘artificial’ birth control, the Church’s approach to mixed marriages, Church expectations of religious practice and schooling, Church attitudes to divorce). In order to avoid imposing the ‘meaning’ of being Catholic on Catholics, the methodology allowed space for Catholics to unravel additional more finely grained processes relating to their identities and experiences, which would not become evident using other methods.

There seemed to be some purely cultural effects of Catholic identity. Catholics overwhelmingly valued psychosocial aspects of having many siblings during childhood and adulthood, and, pitted against material concerns, having many siblings was regarded as an advantage. On the other hand, there was some evidence that the experience of child death in childhood Catholic families (a likely effect of larger family size), had a negative impact on children who were little supported by their parents. There were no comparable examples of this experience within Protestant families with which to draw comparison, so it is not possible to say whether this was really a specifically Catholic response, or rather revealed common attitudes to children’s grief which are likely to have subsided in contemporary culture, which is more child-centred and more acknowledging of children’s feelings and the impact of early experiences on later life. While adults sought recourse to support through either alcohol or religion, Catholic children evidently had no such support. There was also evidence that children supported adults, both emotionally and later materially, and that Catholic girls, particularly in larger families, took on responsibility for younger siblings during their own childhoods. These experiences are a likely effect of the pressures on larger families to manage effectively, and were not regarded negatively, though they are not a feature of current Catholic family life.

However the qualitative methodology of this study also permitted an examination of the ways in which Catholic identity in its links to culture is gendered and dynamic, and linked to wider structural aspects of Glaswegian life. A key example of this was the ways in which understanding of alcohol use differed along religious lines. While Catholics tended

to view alcohol misuse (usually by fathers) as a drain on family resources, strategies were in place which located abusing alcohol as situated in its individual and social contexts, which permitted Catholics to tolerate alcohol misuse within families. Although temperance was also an aspect of Catholic teaching, the leeway permitted by locating alcohol misuse as an effect of, and intelligible response to, other problems, and not a demonstration of individual pathology (as Protestants did), seemed to serve the function, for those affected by alcohol problems within the family, of keeping Catholic families intact, and in line with Church doctrine. However, in evidence of the changing nature of Catholic culture over time, younger Catholic women had fallen into line with their Protestant counterparts since the 1970s, a likely effect of a number of factors: women's greater abilities to provide for their families alone, their changing expectations of men's behaviour, and the greater acceptability of Catholics getting divorced. This illustrates the impact of wider ideologies and economics affecting the Catholic family since the 1970s.

Again, it was clear from the analysis that religion was felt to provide a key independent resource for health among those who still practised, and in an age of increasing secularisation, it was mainly older people who still practised and among the younger people, mainly women. Being religious was a badge of pride among most older Catholic people, and was clearly sustained in the event of intermarriage. Positive benefits derived were feeling part of a community, having a resource for coping with trauma and negative life events, and being part of a tradition of communal self-help. However, while this is a common effect of migration to a new country, being religious was also clearly understood in Glasgow to be located in a history of exclusion which necessitated and produced communal empowerment through religious societies and schooling, which in turn affected the material as well as the spiritual needs of a community on its way up. Accounts therefore revealed that the development of the Glaswegian Catholic culture and experience of Catholic identity were in part connected to wider structural processes (discrimination).

Another aspect of identity and culture, Catholic schooling, was supported to varying degrees in the cohorts. While all of the Catholics had attended Catholic schooling as children, it was only those in the older group who maintained this practice more or less across the board with their own children. Among younger people, support for Catholic schooling was decreasing, in line with the increasing trends among younger Catholics not to be religious anymore. This change over time is clearly connected to the waning of

religious culture, and even among those younger people who supported Catholic schooling, the religious nature of schools was not explicitly referred to as rationalising schooling choices. While some Catholics clearly sought to regard Catholic schools as a part of their past culture which they no longer needed, and while, if they married Protestants, they inevitably linked Catholic schools to some degree with less straightforward negotiations about children, the overall evidence suggests that this aspect of culture is affected not by intermarriage (for in the older cohort intermarriage was irrelevant to sending children to Catholic schools and maintaining a Catholic faith), but by wider social changes associated with secularisation.

However, even as some Catholics attempted to redefine their identities in a less religious way, many Protestants saw Catholic schools as a display of Catholic identity, which was understood as causing bigotry. The cultural significance attached to schools by Catholics and Protestants clearly differed, but as is argued earlier, it is the aspect of upholding difference which most concerns Protestants. What seems absent from this Protestant account is the Protestant use of schools as a differentiator for childhood and adulthood Catholic exclusions. Nevertheless, the absence of schooling indicators to locate Catholics, as the evidence shows, does not prohibit the use of other indicators of Catholic background and Irish origin (names, football allegiance).

Finally, football support was clearly an aspect of Catholic (secular) identity, which it was argued is likely to have a double-edged effect on health. Much like religion, football provides communal support, and a sense of positive identity (Bradley, 1994, 1995), but on the other hand, it is another important locating device, which singles out mainly Catholic men for sectarian hostilities and exclusions in different arenas of social life.

Football support is a clear example of the meshing of culture, identity and structure. Its displays on both the Catholic and Protestant sides evoke references to wider ethnic and national origins and allegiances, and combined with its associations with bigotry and violence, it deflects attention away from less colourful assertions of identity and how these too might affect health. Analysis of data showed that although football was associated with bigotry, among Catholics, experience of bigotry as exclusion was what was most likely to affect psychosocial well-being. Men's avoidance of matches for fear of trouble when they came to mid-life reveals that it is only the young (as media reports of sectarian violence

and death confirm), who face greatest health risk from supporting football. What Catholic men more generally, across the age range, clearly wanted was that their identities would not be considered relevant in wider social life as a basis for exclusion. However it was evident that even when younger Catholic men had effectively given up key aspects of Catholic identity - if they did not attend football matches, were not practising Catholics, did not send their children to Catholic schools, etc. - means could still be found to locate them as culturally different, with consequent effects on their structural position.

Thus there are very few purely cultural effects, just as there are very few purely structural effects, in these data. Even where culture initiates or dominates, feedback from structure may reinforce or temper the result.

7.4 Health as dynamically constituted by culture and structure – bringing identity back in

The evidence in this project points to the health relevance of structural factors (direct discrimination, indirect (effects of networks), and hidden and institutional sectarianism), which are dependent upon externally identifying a cultural difference, Catholic upbringing. These effects on health are theorised to be both via class position and psychosocial (Chapter Six), and directly connected to Catholic identity and how this identity is maintained and constructed. Health effects of self-defined aspects of Catholic culture (practising religion, attending Catholic schooling, supporting Celtic, effects of doctrines about divorce, contraception, etc) are usually linked to what are felt to be positive health benefits, although a question hangs over family size, and involvement with football is likely to be double-edged, as are other cultural displays of Catholic identity (St Patrick's day, Catholic schooling), which in addition to positive outcomes, have been shown to give opportunity for exclusive practices, as well as presenting a target to Protestants on which to blame bigotry and sectarianism. Over time however, since both discrimination and Catholic religious practice have been assessed as waning, it may be postulated that past discrimination, while undoubtedly a factor in relation to current ill health, may lose its explanatory force for future ill health. On the other hand, the positive health benefits felt to be gained by Catholics by being religious are also likely to wane as a defined religious culture among Catholics becomes less prevalent.

However, as the data have shown, the continued perception and the diffuse experience of anti-Catholic bigotry in social life, as well as fear of its possibility and its unpredictability, continues to be a factor which may influence health negatively. It seems that it is in this experience of uncertainty and exclusion, in the experience of being externally defined as Catholic (even if one rejects the self-definition) - that is, in being identified as a minority - that health may be compromised, a particular issue for men's health. It appears also to be a particular issue for those middle class younger Catholic men who challenge exclusions and boundaries. This leads to a consideration of the issue of class and identity.

7.4.1 Class and religious identity

Within accounts, it was evident that, directly and indirectly, Catholic religious identity was linked to class identity. This was evident in references made by Protestants about Catholics coming from a different stream of social intercourse and being looked down upon, and in the data (much of it provided by Protestants), that discrimination against Catholics occurred in middle class jobs, and in reaching the upper echelons in professions, and in the concomitant Catholic exclusions from leisure organisations where it was suggested Protestants wanted to be with others of the same class as well as the same religion.

It may also be the case that Catholics themselves have developed a strong sense of working class identity, which may provide both psychological obstacles for some Catholics about moving up, and psychological obstacles to Protestants 'seeing' Catholics in middle class and managerial positions (see Chapter Six). As examples noted elsewhere reveal, some Catholics may only comfortably regard themselves as working class or fail to enact class distinctions in modes of talking to their workers. In the face of being unable to celebrate Catholic identity, some Catholic men appear to have rather opted for celebration of a strong working class masculine identity. This was possibly linked to the finding mentioned earlier, that working class men professed less bother about banter on the subject of their religious identity, perhaps because they felt this showed a level of masculine competence, and perhaps because they had lesser ambitions to gain social mobility. Thus locating their identities could not prove as detrimental as for middle class men. However, the majority of Catholic men (both young and old), as well as women, came from families where education and social mobility were highly valued, and it was for those who were most socially aspiring that particular obstacles occurred in employment. It is suggested therefore that in attempting to dissolve the link between Catholic religion and working class status,

and to challenge the mapping of religion onto class, they were challenging wider social relations of power and privilege which were built on religious lines.

It was at such points that those Catholic men who were not avowedly Catholic (because they did not practise any longer), and who were middle class, found they were unable to escape from a classed religious identity which they hoped they had left behind. For these men, how they defined themselves was irrelevant; what was relevant was rather how they were defined, and what, under that definition, they challenged.

7.4.2 Ethnic or religious identity: 'All that you can't leave behind'

How people self-identify is analysed elsewhere (Chapter Three), and here it can merely be concluded that in everyday life in Glasgow, Catholics of Irish origin who self-define as Scottish continue at times to be attributed an identity at odds with a Scottish nationalism connected to a secular Protestantism (Chapters Five and Six). The data clearly show that some Protestants regard being Protestant, even in the absence of religious practice, as a key aspect of Scottish ethnic identity, which leaves being Catholic as an identity which does not fit easily within Scottishness.

Among Catholics born in Scotland, all of whom claimed a Scottish identity, there were evident tensions with claiming Scottishness, which linked to tensions around prior Irish ethnic origins. While some were proud of their Irish heritage, none could identify as Irish. Strategies were drawn upon to assert Scottishness, of which prioritising place of birth was pre-eminent, and strategies were also drawn on to submerge Irishness. These attempts at denying Irish identity while prioritising religious identity included, in addition to the argument about place of birth, finding ways to incorporate aspects of Irish heritage within a Scottish ethnicity, propounding beliefs about the gradual assimilation of Irish-descended Catholics over time, pressing others to be Scottish and denying Irish identity, including derision of those who might claim this identity, urging acceptance of 'reality', contextualising identity, and drawing attention to the wider sectarian connotations attached to Irishness and religion.

These myriad attempts to deny or to underplay an Irish past, even while some still wished to avoid complete denial, reveal the complexity of the experience of being of Irish origin in this locality. While some located experiences of when their Irish identities emerged in

everyday life, many feared that any strong feeling about an Irish heritage ran the risk of being more widely interpreted as divisive and threatening to people who also wished to be seen as Scottish, and as such, Irish heritage was most safely expressed as being about family relations rather than as connected to wider political allegiances. The positing of blame for bigotry on a minority of both religious persuasions, located problems with disloyal national and political allegiances of peculiarly Irish varieties (Republicans, Orange Order supporters), and therefore was useful in retaining a sense of problems emanating from somewhere else, and unconnected to Scottish nationalism.

However, the way in which 'true' Scottishness was sometimes linked to being Protestant, adds to the problematic status of Catholics, although of some Catholics more than others. While women could escape their past identities, and some did become anti-Catholic, as well as Protestant, for men this option was not possible. Although the possible psychosocial effects on health of not being wholly accepted have been assessed (Chapter Five), as well as the additional health effects following on from exclusions expressing such non-acceptance (Chapters Five and Six), it is possible that the problems which Irish-descended Catholics negotiate while trying to sustain a Scottish identity, or while trying to incorporate aspects of their Irish ethnic origins, in themselves link to psychological problems, in a context which makes identity maintenance difficult (see Kelleher and Hillier, 1996 for a broader view of the potential impact of sustaining an authentic identity among the Irish in England). This may explain why the second generation Irish – those with Irish-born parents - were in these data most likely to experience identity confusion (Greenslade, 1992; Arrowsmith, 2000; Campbell, 2000). While not identifying as Irish, these people were the most reluctantly or indifferently Scottish, unlike subsequent generations - something inevitable perhaps as, like people from other ethnic minorities, they had to negotiate two cultures inside and outside of the home.

It can therefore be concluded that Irish-descended Catholic identity, even as the Irish component was often not explicitly referred to, but rather submerged, may link to health positively and negatively in a number of ways, and links also to an ever-changing culture which affects and is affected by wider structures, ideologies and past history, and is differently experienced by gender, class and cohort, and highly contextualised. On occasions when Irish identity explicitly comes to the fore (football allegiances, St. Patrick's Day, views on events in Ireland), and also when Catholic identity is sustained by

public displays (schooling, St Patrick's Day, football allegiances), tensions appear to be highest. However, even in mundane encounters within work and wider social spaces and with relatives, Catholic men (although this is not confined to men – women can change their identities, but do not always choose to do so) seem unable to shed their skins, and are reminded of where they have come from. As one older interviewee noted when his daughter in a 'high-powered' job had to come from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and was at once identified as Irish Catholic, 'She was very angry because she thought she had left all that'. Leaving all that behind was something that was not within her power.

In what remains, this research is assessed in relation to what it contributes to the debate on Irish and Catholic assimilation addressed earlier (Chapter One), what it contributes to wider debates on ethnicity, racism and sectarianism in Britain, and what it contributes to the wider study of the Irish ethnic group in Britain.

7.5 The limits of assimilation and the limits of the evidence of assimilation

In the light of earlier discussion on the meaning and assessment of Irish Catholic assimilation derived from the wider literature, this project makes possible a new assessment based on the evidence which has emerged. The class-based view of assimilation given by Devine (1991, 1999) and Gallagher (1987, 1991), is supported to the extent that Catholics have indeed made progress in terms of enhanced mobility during the twentieth century. However, findings here that Catholics continue to face discrimination of different forms in employment, even into the 1990s, reveal that sectarianism still plays a part in the experiences of today's Catholics, and that past discrimination is a factor in determining current social class. Other findings also suggest that the location of Catholics within particular sectors of employment (the professions, the public sector) may be explained as much by structural as cultural factors. While there is still a need for detailed data on the social class position of Scotland's Catholics (Walls and Williams, 2005), it is clear that discrimination (or lack of it) cannot be inferred on the basis of social class position alone. In addition, the continuing experience of everyday bigotry, aside from discrimination in employment, suggests that Catholic assimilation is not complete.

Devine regards a separate and cohesive Catholic community as integral to Catholic progress and assimilation, and particularly to the social class benefits derived from a

Catholic education. These data have indeed shown that education is a highly valued resource among Catholics, though education in itself was no guarantee of a predictable level of mobility, as other authors have noted in relation to older Catholics born before the middle of the twentieth century (Payne and Ford, 1977; L. Paterson, 2000). It is clear that education did provide many Catholics with the means to become socially mobile, even if results were more restricted in earlier cohorts. In this sample, older people strove to enter reluctant professions or supervisory manual work, while younger Catholics, availing themselves of the benefits of free university education (Maver, 1996), were able to use degrees for access to public sector jobs (L. Paterson, 2000). Nonetheless, these very patterns of employment may illustrate hindrances to Catholics in other sectors of employment, and as Chapter Six suggests, circumventing exclusions and challenging notions mapping Catholic religion onto working class status may have resulted in experiences linked directly and indirectly to poor health.

Devine's view of the cohesive religious Catholic community appears to hold true until the 1970s, with data here showing that through religious practice and support of Catholic schools, Catholics could retain a separate Catholic (religious) culture. However the particular distinctiveness of a Catholic community has been clearly affected since the 1970s. While Bruce and others argue (I. R. Paterson, 2000; Bruce et al., 2004) that the Catholic community is no longer distinctive, and hence assimilated, it seems fairer to say that the Catholic community worldwide has changed since the 1970s, and that changes are not derived from a specifically Scottish context. As evidence here reveals, the Catholic community, and Catholic identity, has merely transmuted into a new form. While traditional aspects of Catholic identity, as evidenced by fertility patterns, family practices, levels of intermarriage, attitudes towards divorce, etc., have all been illustrated in accounts here, particularly revealing is change over time in the experiences of the two cohorts, and arguably what were once distinct Catholic experiences of family life are becoming less evident as Catholic experience in these matters converges with Protestant patterns. This is largely an effect of secularisation, not assimilation. Analysing Catholic experience away from its specifically religious trappings reveals a complex picture wherein historically located structural factors continue to affect the expression of Catholic secular (and religious) identity. The evidence suggests that, even in the absence of reference to religion, processes at institutional levels may be continuing to thwart Catholic assimilation.

What the assimilation thesis appears to overlook, is that assimilation of Catholics cannot be deduced from analysing forms of specifically religious belonging, since being Catholic in this particular context is externally defined, and is based not on religious attachments, which many have given up, but rather on Catholic origin or childhood identity, and this, being a marker of Irish (Catholic) ethnic origins, is an identification from which Catholics, particularly men, find it impossible to escape. Had assimilation occurred, wide-ranging experiences of anti-Catholic bigotry would not continue to be reported by both Catholics and Protestants. Also in downplaying the cultural significance of football allegiance, reducing it to an excuse for working class men to behave badly, writers such as Bruce ignore an important part of a culture which sustains the Irish and Catholic identities of (mainly) men, and acts as a catalyst for others who see any celebration of an Irish past as provocation. Even Bruce's assessment that intermarriage is a sign of assimilation and a lack of sectarianism is unproven, as this research shows that the private choices of couples are neither indicative of a lack of bigotry in families, nor protective against religion of origin being given negative social significance.

It does appear, though, that in the course of pressures to assimilate, Irish identity has been compromised in the promotion of a Catholic identity over time (Hickman, 1995), although it has been argued that supporting Celtic, calling children by Irish names and celebrating St. Patrick's Day may represent 'reduced' forms of celebrating Irishness (Bradley, 1994). The accounts of Catholics of Irish origin on why they did not identify as Irish are discussed at some length above. It may be concluded that in seeking acceptance in Scotland, many, although not all, of those of Irish origin have internalised the antagonism felt towards Irishness more broadly, as illustrated in their accounts of denials and anger towards those who harbour any sense of pride in their past origins, as this conflicts with a notion of Scottish homogeneity to which they feel they must adhere.

Among those who recounted a pride in their origins, much of this sentiment was of a 'private' nature, as Bradley (1994) and others (Walter et al., 2002) have argued. However, it is possible that, with increasing secularisation, Irish identity may be replacing a Catholic identity among some, perhaps the young, and this is perhaps affected by football imagery, or reflective of Irishness's recent translation into a 'notion of cool' (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood, 2003:388). This is possible, given the evidence from accounts of a couple of mothers (one Catholic, one a Protestant married to a Catholic) who wondered why their

children, third and fourth-generation Irish, were vocal about not being wholly Scottish and wishing to recognise their Irish ancestry. Hickman (1995) has also argued that a religious identity may be rejected as an Irish identity is adhered to, and it is possible that among younger people, the pressures which affected their parents and grandparents, and which encouraged a submerging of an Irish identity in the past, have been alleviated to some degree.

In conclusion, this research strongly disputes the assimilation thesis argued by other theorists on evidence of everyday experiences and life histories, a view also upheld in researching family stories among the second-generation Irish in England (Walter et al., 2002). Catholic childhood identity is clearly a marker for foreign origins, and the evidence suggests that this marks out an ethnic group, even if the ethnic definition is oblique, and avoids any reference to Irishness. As Miles (1989) in defining institutional racism has stated, it embodies a racist discourse, but may no longer be explicitly justified by such a discourse; '(An) explicitly racist discourse is modified in such a way that the explicitly racist content is eliminated, but other words carry the original meaning' (Miles, 1989:84). This analysis appears to fit with the means by which Irish ethnic identity in Scotland is religiously located while referring to Irish origins, and leads to a consideration of the contribution which this study makes to wider British debates on ethnicity, racism and sectarianism.

7.6 Ethnicity, racism and sectarianism in Britain

7.6.1 Historical and contemporary prejudice

Anti-Irish discrimination in Scotland has been documented during the 19th and early 20th century (Handley, 1943; Miles, 1982; Gallagher, 1987; Miles, 1989), with Catholic religion being regarded as a threat and the Irish 'race' a 'menace' to Scottish nationality (Miles and Dunlop, 1987). Public links between Catholicism, Irishness and 'race' were made explicit at least until the second world war (Miles and Dunlop, 1987). Clearly at that time Irishness, signified by religion, was racialised, with religious signification enmeshed with a secondary process of racialisation (Miles, 1982, 1996).

Contemporary debate in Scotland focuses on religion rather than Irishness (Devine, 2000). However, as this research has shown, the persistence of prejudice appears to denote

ancestral (ethnic) origin, rather than religious belief or practice. It follows that debates on racism and sectarianism may need redefining to incorporate discriminatory experiences against the 'white' religiously-labelled Irish Catholic minority. What is being asked here is, what implications have these data in relation to the British theoretical debates on sectarianism, racism and 'whiteness'?

7.6.2 Sectarianism, racism and the 'black/white' debate

Despite the euphemistic terminology in some accounts, which ascribes this to 'tradition' (see P13-11122) or to reasons unknown, these practices qualify for Miles's (1989) definition of institutional racism mentioned above. As such, using religious labels to denote social boundaries marked by one group discriminating against another, however justified, queries 'sectarianism' as the most adequate way to conceptualise such relations. Furthermore, such relations are only incidentally and occasionally accounted for in terms of religious beliefs or practice. The findings therefore raise the question of a connection between racism and sectarianism, which is gaining importance as other minority groups in Britain argue for recognition of racism as linked to religion (Modood et al., 1997).

Questioning the sectarianism/racism 'interface' (McVeigh, 1998) is not new (Miles, 1996), although locating theory in empirical data is. Rolston (1998) has noted, in comparing sectarianism and racism, that differences in social groups built around 'race' are as socially constructed as those built around 'religion'. The task for sociologists may be to question not whether sectarianism is undertheorised (Brewer, 1992; McVeigh, 1998), but whether the use of this term in these contexts is appropriate at all.

But is 'racism' really any better? Some early theorising on racism included Irish people within definitions of 'racism' where racism denoted shared oppression rather than phenotypical difference (Sivanandan, 1983), and 'racism' was used early, though rarely, to describe the experience of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland (Moore, 1972). However, most theorists of the Northern Ireland situation quickly dispatch with analysing 'sectarian' relations as to do with 'race', despite their similarities, as they too accept the British race relations paradigm built around skin colour and characterised by a forgetting of history (Mac an Ghaill, 2001). In this way, historical analyses of migration flows, nationalism, racism and connections to religious identities, are made invisible at the cost of upholding a peculiarly short-sighted British view of racism and its origins (Miles, 1996).

In Britain, the 'white' Irish have been recognised as falling within the ambit of the Race Relations Act (1976) and evidence has been reported of anti-Irish racism in employment and other areas of social life (Hickman and Walter, 1997; Walter, 2000; Tilki, 2003). However, the persistence of the black/white racialised dichotomy continues to exclude Irish people on the basis of skin colour, despite similarities in experience with other ethnic groups, historically and contemporaneously. Broader debates challenging the validity of 'white' as a definer of ethnicity (Bradby, 1995; Bonnett, 1996, 2000) are relevant too here, and in the British context point to the need to re-assess links between nationalism and skin colour, and more specifically, what being British might mean (Runnymede Trust, 2000). It may be helpful rather to focus on how different racisms are constructed over time and to acknowledge the evidence that a focus on colonialism and skin colour (Miles, 1993) is only part of the story of race in Britain. An analysis of the position of the Irish in relation to the British illustrates constructions of racism linked to dichotomies of savagery/civilization, biological constructions of racism, and opposing nationalisms and religions, with changing emphases over time (Curtis, 1984; Miles, 1993; Hickman, 1998) and within Britain. From the data illustrated here, anti-Irish racism in west Scotland is constructed as a 'religious' conflict.

Part of this research has been to examine empirically experiences of Glasgow Catholics of discrimination, bigotry and exclusion. These data raise wider and central analytical concerns about how different types of discrimination may best be conceptualised, and raise issues for further analytic consideration of how the experiences of discrimination among 'white' groups like Catholics and Irish (both Irish-born and Irish-descended) living in the UK may be assessed.

Prejudice, bigotry and employment discrimination against the 'white' religiously defined Irish Catholic minority, shows that power is not the universal privilege of white groups, as Irish Catholic whiteness has not protected this minority from inequality. Comparison with the Irish in America also suggests that there is something particular about the experience of the Irish in Britain, which needs addressing (Kelleher and Hillier, 1996). It may be that European debates about racism where the focus is more on ethnicity and nationalism than phenotypical difference, may be more fruitful for the consideration of the Irish in Britain (Lloyd, 1995). The comparison of the British experience with the rest of Europe has been gaining greater acceptance since the late 1980s and is a positive move away from the prior

inexplicable adoption of an American model to analyse British race relations. However, this is not without its analytical problems (Miles, 1993).

7.6.3 Tackling the 'black'/'white' dichotomy

Analyses of anti-racism during the 1990s have begun to deconstruct 'blackness', and to argue for a refocus on ethnicity rather than 'race'. Modood (1988, 1992) in particular, has taken issue with the inclusion of Asians within the 'black' category, and more recently Bonnett (1993; 1996; 2000) has pointed out that 'whiteness' is in a similar need of deconstruction, as otherwise whiteness is assumed to be a fixed category, without geography or history.

The emerging interest in the new area of 'white studies' may provide an initial theoretical way forward. Here emphases are on 'becoming' white or 'the possibility that ethnicity may act to deconstruct the homogenising monolith of whiteness' (Bonnett, 2000). However, the black/white dichotomy seems little challenged by such analyses which, whilst appearing to dispute essentialist arguments by emphasising the socially constructed nature of 'white' identity, are accepting of the seeming inevitability of white dominance. Essentialism is implicit in this failure to address how the socially constructed can be deconstructed in practice. Some work on the Irish has noted how Irish-born women adopt 'whitely scripts' which privileges them as 'white women' (Gray, 2002).

Most of this work has come from the USA, where, for example, the Irish have been noted as an instance of an initially perceived inferior group who were able to 'become' white (Roediger, 1992, 1994; Ignatiev, 1995), like the Jewish population (Brodkin, 1998), by taking advantage of black/white racist discourses of privilege. Although this analysis of 'becoming white' is plausible in explaining why the Irish in the US were able to gain power and privilege, it does nothing to explain power hierarchies among white groups, nor inter-white conflicts between for example, the Irish and the Italians (Aguirre and Turner, 1995).

Another branch of 'white studies' stresses the plurality of the lived experiences of whiteness (Frankenberg, 1993), but here whilst the homogeneity of 'white' is queried, it is not deconstructed, but retains primacy as *the* definer of difference (Gray, 2002). In Britain, researchers of the Irish community have argued that the experience of the Irish community

in Britain today needs to be understood historically (Hickman, 1995), and in a similar manner to theorists in the USA, this analysis necessitates deconstructing 'whiteness' (Hickman and Walter, 1995; Hickman, 1998). Hickman (1998) already noted, argues that an explanation for Irish exclusion from post-war debates on racism may be found in British state efforts (debates also noted by Connor, 1987), to create a myth of British homogeneity, which became based around skin colour, and led to the creation of Irish official invisibility.

This omission of the Irish has until now permeated British academic research on 'race' and ethnicity (Mac an Ghaill, 2001). It has been challenged however by a wealth of research, often emerging from within the Irish community, but increasingly within academia, showing that the Irish in Britain have faced and continue to face discrimination and disadvantage in claiming benefits, in housing, in employment, in relations with the police and the criminal justice system, as well as in daily encounters (Hickman, 1996a; Hickman and Walter, 1997). The comparison of Irish ethnic experience in the US and Britain suggests that the Irish have not 'become white' in Britain, sharing the material position of the black community. There has been concern about Caribbeans being faced with an 'Irish future', an essentialising shorthand for economic and housing disadvantage (Peach, 1996a, 1996b). This suggests that in the UK whiteness needs to be deconstructed, historically, geographically and politically. While 'whiteness' has to some extent been problematised, it has not been deconstructed, although this may not be so analytically necessary in the USA where 'race' replaces class as the main form of social differentiation.

In addition, the fact that Irishness in USA has become a viable American (Irish-American) identity finding no parallel in Britain (Kelleher and Hillier, 1996), and that Irish-American 'white' material success, described as, 'no greater immigrant success story' (Embree, 1997:275) finds no positive public correlate in Britain, suggests that the nature of the coloniser/colonised relationship between Britain and Ireland, both historically and contemporarily, needs to be put centre-stage.

7.6.4 Deconstructing Britain, another British myth of homogeneity

Deconstructing whiteness is only one part of deconstructing the myth of British homogeneity. Britishness itself needs to be viewed historically and geographically. Most analyses of Britishness blur over the fact that Britishness within Great Britain aims to unite English, Scottish and Welsh. Most commentators on 'race relations' have wholeheartedly accepted the givenness of this definition and in so doing, have blotted out national identities within Britain. Some sociologists have addressed this by a focus on Scotland and the different meanings and relationships of Britishness to Scottishness and Englishness (Miles and Dunlop, 1987; Rosie and McCrone, 2000). The data analysed in this study reveal that most Scots regard themselves as Scots, which is clearly seen in opposition to Englishness/Britishness (Chapter Three). Miles and Dunlop (1987) have also queried Scotland's view of itself as a non-racist society, and questioned the pertinency of phenotypical difference, by addressing the position of the Irish historically in Scottish society. Focusing on Scotland also highlights an instance of the ways in which religion and ethnicity may overlap among groups not defined by skin colour.

7.6.5 Legislation

Of additional importance is how experiences of 'white' and/or 'religious' groups fare in relation to legislation aimed to protect minorities. At present in Britain (apart from Northern Ireland), there is no explicit legal protection from wide-ranging forms of religious discrimination, although the European Human Rights Act 1998 offers redress (Hepple and Choudhury, 2001). However, the complexity of religiously-defined ethnicity has, because of its lack of connection with religious belief *per se*, clearly affected how this 'religious' prejudice is defined (see below for how the Scottish parliament have managed this). It is interesting to note that the exclusion of religion from the Race Relations Act was not predicated on the unwillingness of the state to facilitate the formation of a common Muslim identity as has been thought (Muslim Parliament of Great Britain, 1992), but was rather influenced by Northern Irish Unionist politicians during the 1960s who wished to ignore evident religious discrimination in Northern Ireland (Dickey, 1972; McVeigh, 1998). Again, just as Irish issues affected the way in which race relations in Britain became defined (Hickman, 1998), so too Irish/British relations influenced the management of religious problems in Britain.

In Scotland, the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003, requires that religious prejudice be taken into account in sentencing, and specifies in this context in Part 12: 74, Section 7, that 'religious group' means a group of persons defined by, 'religious belief or *lack of religious belief*...support for a culture and traditions of a church or religious organisation, or *participation in activities associated with such a culture* or such traditions' (italics added). This definition clearly addresses the complexity of how religion is defined in relation to cultural activities which are not specifically religious. However, in addressing religious prejudice in relation to the carrying out of criminal offences, this omits prosecution for other prejudicial actions which are not regarded as specifically criminal and therefore outside this law. From the data already analysed on experiences of prejudice within the workplace, within communal organisations, etc., it appears that, while it is a start, this legislation addresses only the most overt and rare applications of prejudice, while leaving unacknowledged wider, more common forms of prejudice and discrimination. Nonetheless, in the first eight months of the operation of the new law, the police reported 260 offences instigated by religious hatred to the Procurator Fiscal in Scotland (Gorrie, 2004).

7.7 Contribution to the wider study of Irish ethnicity in Britain

This research is important in that it has examined Irish identity in a part of Britain which normally gets overlooked, has explored Irish identity among many generations, and has focused on addressing how identity specifically links to health. Some others have theorised links between the experience of Irish identity and mental health and suicide (Greenslade, 1992; Leavey, 1999; Aspinall, 2002), and the identity of the Irish-born in relation to general health and health behaviours (Walsh and McGrath, 2000; Curran, 2003; Tilki, 2003). However, it could be argued that much like Moliere's 'Bourgeois Gentilhomme', who discovered belatedly that he had been speaking prose all his life, theorists of Irish identity and experience more generally have also been implicitly talking about health in grappling with identity and experience issues among the first and second generation Irish in England (Connor, 1987; Hickman, 1990, 1995; Hickman and Walter, 1995; Kells, 1995; Campbell, 2000; Walter, 2000; Gray, 2002; Ryan, 2002; Walter et al., 2002; Mac an Ghail and Haywood, 2003), and Irish Catholics in Scotland (Gallagher, 1991; Bradley, 1994; Finn, 1994b; Bradley, 1995; Aspinwall, 1996; Bradley, 1996a). It therefore seems important to examine how the findings of this study compare with findings of others, in exploring identity in different generations across Britain.

7.7.1 Issues of sampling Irish identity and self-identification

Some qualitative work has located the Irish through sampling organisations with known Irish or Catholic connections, notably educational (Ullah, 1985; Hickman, 1990), or cultural, social and leisure organisations (Bradley, 1995), and although this latter method of identification of people may be considered useful in making visible individuals or groups of Irish people, questions are raised about those, particularly women, whose public lives and associations may be qualitatively different from men, and who may be much less likely to be identified in such ways. The invisibility of women within the British 'paddy' stereotype (Hickman and Walter, 1995) is ironically echoed in some research which fails to address the identity of Irish women (Bradley, 1995). In this current project on health in Scotland, women formed half the sample, and although much of the conclusions focused on the particular experiences of men in relation to health, it importantly revealed the gendering of ethnicity (Essed, 1991), and the ways in which gendered social relations and experiences locate women differently in relation to identity maintenance and boundary construction, as well revealing the specific ways in which women (regardless of their own religious or ethnic backgrounds), have clear roles in moulding and sustaining the ethnic and religious identities of their children (see Chapters Four and Five). The importance of Irish women in transmitting cultural identity within families has also been addressed by Walter (2000).

Most of the studies on Irish identity have located people through Irish or Catholic organisations or establishments and explicitly addressed Irish self-identification. While this is important and self-identification has also been analysed in this study (Chapter Three), issues of external identification, as has been shown, may be more relevant in relation to experiences of identity, discrimination and health. As Mason (1990) has commented, 'we should note that the process by which members of one group lay claim to an identity may involve the categorisation of others in ways they would not recognise or willingly embrace' (Mason, 1990:129), a point which is particularly pertinent here where many of Irish Catholic origin deny Irishness, but are nonetheless treated as if they are Irish anyway. How the majority perceive a minority, explored in this study, seems crucial, as much as consideration given to the way in which ethnic identification is located in time and place, and how ethnicity interrelates with class, gender and religion. It seems necessary to ask, 'what else is happening?' and to consider what other dimensions count when seeking to understand so-called ethnic matters' (Wallman, 1986:227).

7.7.2 Irish identification in different generations: age group, locations

Much of the research on Irish identity in Britain has focused on the Irish-born and in spite of Irish community protestations to the contrary, being Irish is often implicitly taken to mean being born in Ireland. There can be little doubt that for many Irish migrants being born in Ireland and becoming a migrant in Britain is a different experience to being born in Britain of Irish-born parents. The 'inauthenticity' of those born in Britain is derisively referred to as being a 'plastic paddy' (Campbell, 2000; Mac an Ghaill and Haywood, 2003), although the identities of the second generation are still under-researched. Those of Irish descent born in Britain, not only have to contend with denials of the meaning of their Irish identities located in British discourses, but doubly, from denials which emanate also from the Irish-born in Britain (Campbell, 2000), as noted in one account earlier: 'I think Irish folk wouldn't let me say Irish! ...Because I wasn't born there' (C11-22212). Similarly theorists such as Bruce et al. (2004) emphasise this view by disparaging the notion that people born in Britain can be Irish. In these contexts may be located much of the evident failure of the vast majority of people of Irish origin who were born in Britain, to self-identify as Irish in the 2001 Census (Office for National Statistics, 2003; Registrar General for Scotland, 2003; Scottish Executive, 2004). However, other research has revealed varying degrees of Irish identification among different samples of British-born Irish people, and suggested that second-generation Irish have hybrid identities (Campbell, 2000; Walter et al., 2002).

Research on children of Irish-born Catholics in Birmingham and London has shown that nearly 80% defined themselves as either half English/half Irish, mainly English or completely English, compared with 19.7% who defined themselves as mainly Irish when asked how they would define their nationality (Ullah, 1985). The confounding of categories of nationality and ethnicity is likely to account, at least in part, for the very different ethnic identification found among schoolchildren in London and Liverpool by Hickman (Hickman, 1990 cited in Hickman, 1995), and noted also in this research (Chapter Three).

In Hickman's (1990) research, 81% London pupils defined themselves as either 'Irish' or 'of Irish descent' whereas only 12.5% in Liverpool chose an Irish identity. Overall, only 18% of Hickman's sample chose 'British/English' as their primary identity. It may be significant that in Hickman's study, all of the London children were second generation,

whereas the Liverpool children ranged from third to fifth generation, possibly suggesting that maintenance of an Irish identity is strongly associated with having parents who were born in Ireland. This corresponds to some extent with the findings in this study where third, fourth, etc., generations of Irish identified as Scottish, but this study also found that despite the seeming greater identity confusion among those with Irish parents, none of these identified as Irish either. This in turn contradicts Bradley's assertions of Irish identification in Scotland, which may be attributable to Bradley's samples being derived from organisations with specific Irish or Catholic leanings (Bradley, 1995), or from places outside Glasgow which are commonly noted for their historical predominance of Catholic Irish (Bradley, 1996c), which emphasises the importance of specific geographies subtly influencing identities.

Mac an Ghaill and Haywood (2003) have researched identity among young, male 'plastic paddies' in London and Birmingham and shown that these young people see themselves as Irish with a 'strong sense of tradition about who they are and where they are coming from' (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood, 2003:399). The term 'plastic paddy' itself suggests that not only are Irish-born women overlooked in the study of the Irish-born (Hickman and Walter, 1995; Walter, 2000), but the term 'plastic paddy' also overlooks the experiences of Irish second generation women.

There is clearly a great deal of research which needs to be done on the experience of identity of different generations of the Irish in Britain (Campbell, 2000), as well as further afield. The specific contribution to this task of this research has been to examine Irish identity in a sample not chosen by initial self-identification, and to illuminate the impact of the majority ethnic/religious community in moulding perceptions of Irishness among the minority, which is of crucial importance in relation to health matters. This project was conceived of originally as one which aimed *to explain* some of the Irish health inequality found in quantitative work. And therefore, in concluding, it is considered, what this study has contributed to explaining Irish health.

7.7.3 Explaining Irish Catholic ill health

Assessing the possible explanations mentioned earlier in Chapter One, the explanations which come closest to those proposed here are those of Williams and Ecob (1999), and Kelleher and Hillier (1996). Williams' and Ecob's position emphasised in particular that the mortality and health patterns, and the culture and experiences of the Irish (including their social class position and occupational specialisations), 'may all have been maintained in existence as a defensive reaction to practices of domination and exclusion by the host population, and...this situation may have entailed patterns of health behaviour and psychosocial response which explain the excess mortality' (Williams and Ecob, 1999:364). This hypothesis, so far confirmed only at a general level by geographical patterns of mortality, has been tested in this study by detailed patterns of social experience described on the ground.

The explanation appears at a broad level to fit the current data, but could be further qualified in that as well as being a defensive reaction to practices of exclusion, Irish reactions are marked by continuous attempts to challenge practices of exclusion by whatever means and with whatever resources are available. Also, the qualitative evidence from this project suggests that psychosocial responses have been crucial to explaining Irish ill health, while little evidence has been located that specific health behaviours are implicated. The absence of qualitative evidence that health behaviours are involved is not of course decisive, but is confirmed by quantitative studies (Mullen et al., 1996; Abbotts et al., 1999a). Also while Williams and Ecob suggest in the same paper that religious endogamy was importantly maintained by the Irish as a defensive reaction, the data rather suggest that the Irish-descended in this sample were able to involve the majority group (through marrying supportive Protestant women) in the maintenance of their religious culture, thus revealing that intermarriage does not necessarily always mean the loss of a minority culture, but rather than a minority may act upon the host culture (Campbell, 2000). Further evidence from younger people shows that endogamy became less necessary over time, due to secularisation, but intermarriage does still incur the risk of expressions of bigotry from relatives.

The evidence of psychosocial effects, and of efforts to have identity made irrelevant to achieving enhanced status and acceptance, also suggests some merit in Kelleher and Hillier's (1996) view that identity sustenance problems may be implicated in poor health.

However, although the issue of the 'inauthenticity' of Irish identity was referred to by some, it was not this aspect of identity which appears most threatening to Catholic well-being, but rather exclusions based on externally-defined identity, and the problems experienced by the majority when Catholics uphold distinct aspects of identity, and wish to challenge perceptions of Irish Catholic identity as essentially classed. Although Catholic identity and culture clearly changed over time, and was connected to wider social changes, Catholic identity appears mainly problematic in relation to externally-imposed stigma and exclusion. Although it is argued earlier that (particularly) second generation Irish appear to face most identity confusion, it seems that it is not only in sustaining an Irish identity, but also in not being permitted to be authentically Scottish (alongside being Catholic), that problems arise.

It may be that change in Catholic experience and health in Scotland may only come if Scottishness redefines itself in practice as capable of multiculturalism. While the Scottish parliament has provided a mechanism for Scotland to locate itself as separate from England, and is strongly supported by most Scots, part of its task might be to address not only how Scots determine their own affairs, but to determine and to acknowledge the diverse cultures within Scotland, and to acknowledge the contribution which the Irish have made to Scotland's economic and cultural development. While the new legislation attempts to take religious prejudice into account in sentencing is a start along this road, and is necessary, its focus on the negative could be balanced by a more positive embracing of Irish Catholic history, identity and experience within Scotland.

Further comparative research is evidently needed in order to unravel the processes whereby Irish-descended people in the rest of Britain suffer relatively poorer health and to assess to what extent the situation of the Irish in Scotland is generalisable to Irish experience in the rest of Britain. The methodology outlined here to locate the Irish, and to analyse their experiences of minority status, is likely to provide researchers of the Irish with new ways to sample this 'invisible' minority for further study across Britain, particularly in other areas of large, longstanding Irish settlement. Only future comparative research of this nature will clarify the similarities and differences in experience of the Irish ethnic group in diverse British locations.

Finally this research has contributed to the field of ethnicity and health by providing extensive data which examine the differential contributions of culture and structure, as well as how these interact. In using qualitative methods, it has undermined many of the assumptions of quantitative researchers of Irish health, and made visible the links between micro-level experiences and wider structural and historical practices. As a result, the study of ethnic health inequalities is a little less un-theorised than before, and as well as showing the contribution which qualitative methods can make to this, has shown also how qualitative work can provide a basis for future, informed quantitative research.

7.7.4 Final thoughts

In retrospect, I feel that the study might have seemed less unwieldy at times had fewer interviews been conducted, but this would have been at a cost to the strength of the research design, which yielded important majority ethnic/religious comparisons, as well as class, gender and cohort comparisons. A study of Irish health in another region of Britain might have been less amenable to contentiousness and attack, and therefore been ultimately less stressful. However, given similar conditions, I would not change much of the design or analysis or the experience. It may only be hoped that in giving voice to an ‘inaudible’ (Greenslade, 1992), as well as an ‘invisible’ minority that knowledge on ethnic inequalities in health is progressed.

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Appendix 1

TABLE 1a: IRISH ORIGIN OF INTERVIEWEES (DERIVED FROM BOTH SURVEY AND INTERVIEW DATA)

*Indicates Irish-born

IRISH ANCESTRY OF CATHOLICS

ID number	Self	Father	Mother	Father's father	Father's mother	Mother's father	Mother's mother	Great grandparents, etc.
C1-12211								*
C2-12112								*
C3-22211				*	*	*	*	*
C4-22111				*	*	*	*	*
C5-12212								*
C6-12112								*
C7-12212								
C8-22112		*		*	*	*	*	*
C9-22122				*	*			*
C10-12222								*
C11-22212				*	*	*	*	*
C12-12221								*
C13-12222								
C14-22211		*		*	*	*	*	*
C15-22121				*	*	*	*	*
C16-22121		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
C17-22212				*	*	*	*	*
C18-22112	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
C19-12111								*
C20-12112								*
C21-12122								*
C22-12212								
C23-12221								*
C24-12211								*
C25-22222		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
C26-22221				*	*	*	*	*
C27-22221	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
C28-12112								
C29-22122				*	*			*
C30-22222		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
C31-22111		*		*	*			*
C32-22211		*		*	*			*
C33-22111		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
C34-12121								
C35-22121					*		*	*
C36-22211						*	*	*
C37-22111				*		*	*	*
C38-22122		*		*	*			*
C39-12122								*

TABLE 1b

IRISH ANCESTRY OF PROTESTANTS

ID number	Self	Father	Mother	Father's father	Father's mother	Mother's father	Mother's mother	Great grandparents, etc.
P1-11112								
P2-21222							*	*
P3-11111								
P4-21211		*		*	*			*
P5-21112						*		*
P6-21111				*	*	*	*	*
P7-21111			*			*	*	*
P8-11121								
P9-21221				*	*			*
P10-21121		*		*	*			*
P11-21122			*			*	*	*
P12-11122								
P13-11122								
P14-21111				*		*		*
P15-11212								
P16-11222								
P17-21221				*	*			*
P18-21121					*		*	*
P19-21212		*		*	*			*
P20-11221								
P21-21122				*	*	*		*
P22-11212								
P23-11211								
P24-11221								
P25-21211		*		*	*			*
P26-11221								
P27-21212				*	*			*
P28-11211								
P29-11222								
P30-21112		*			*	*	*	*
P31-21222						*	*	*
P32-21112					*			*
P33-21122	*	*		*	*	*	*	*

Appendix 2: INTERVIEW SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

		CATHOLIC				PROTESTANT			
		Irish		Scottish		Irish		Scottish	
		Age 46, age 66		Age 46, age 66		Age 46, age 66		Age 46, age 66	
MALE									
Working Class		4	3	1	1	3	2	1	1
Middle Class		2	3	4	2	3	3	1	2
FEMALE									
Working Class		4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
Middle Class		2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2
TOTALS:		CATHOLICS N=39				PROTESTANTS N=33			

Appendix 3: SURVEY DATA USED FOR SAMPLING
(Derived from previous waves of 20-07 study)

The Catholics

ID	Father's religion older cohort; Religion born into in middle cohort	Mother's religion – older cohort only	Religion of self	Any Irish grandparents?	Age group – middle cohort (46 years); older cohort (66 years)	Gender – Male (M); Female (F)	Social Class: Working class (W); middle class (M)
C1-12211	C		C	No	46	F	W
C2-12112	C		C	No	46	M	M
C3-22211	C		C	Yes	46	F	W
C4-22111	C		C	Yes	46	M	W
C5-12212	C		C	No	46	F	M
C6-12112	C		None	No	46	M	M
C7-12212	C		C	No	46	F	M
C8-22112	C		C	Yes	46	M	M
C9-22122	C	C	C	Yes	66	M	M
C10-12222	C	C	C	No	66	F	M
C11-22212	C		C	Yes	46	F	M
C12-12221	C	C	C	No	66	F	W
C13-12222	C	C	C	No	66	F	M
C14-22211	C		C	Yes	46	F	W
C15-22121	C	C	C	Yes	66	M	W
C16-22121	C	C	C	Yes	66	M	W
C17-22212	C		None	Yes	46	F	M

C18-22112	C		None	Yes	46	M	M
C19-12111	C		Missing	No	46	M	W
C20-12112	C		None	No	46	M	M
C21-12122	C	C	C	No	66	M	M
C22-12212	C		CofS	No	46	F	M
C23-12221	C	None	None	No	66	F	W
C24-12211	C		C	No	46	F	W
C25-22222	C	C	C	Yes	66	F	M
C26-22221	C	C	C	Yes	66	F	W
C27-22221	C	C	C	Yes	66	F	W
C28-12112	C		None	No	46	M	M
C29-22122	C	CofS	C	Yes	66	M	M
C30-22222	C	C	C	Yes	66	F	M
C31-22111	C		C	Missing data	46	M	W
C32-22211	C		C	Yes	46	F	W
C33-22111	C		C	Yes	46	M	W
C34-12121	C	C	C	Not known (adopted)	66	M	W
C35-22121	C	C	None	No	66	M	W
C36-22211	C		CofS	No	46	F	W
C37-22111	C		C	No	46	M	W
C38-22122	C		C	Yes	66	M	M
C39-12122	C	CofS	C	No	66	M	M

The Protestants

ID	Father's religion older cohort; Religion born into in middle cohort	Mother's religion – older cohort only	Religion of self	Any Irish grand-parents?	Age group – middle cohort (46 years); older cohort (66 years)	Gender – Male (M); Female (F)	Social Class: Working class (W); middle class (M)
P1-11112	CofS		CofS	No	46	M	M
P2-21222	CofS	CofS	OthPspec	Yes	66	F	M
P3-11111	CofS		CofS	No	46	M	W
P4-21211	CofS		None	Yes	46	F	W
P5-21112	CofS		CofS	No	46	M	M
P6-21111	CofS		None	No	46	M	W
P7-21111	Missing		CofS	Yes	46	M	W
P8-11121	OthPspec	OthPspec	None	No	66	M	W
P9-21221	CofS	CofS	CofS	Yes	66	F	W
P10-21121	CofS	CofS	CofS	Yes	66	M	W
P11-Kc21122	CofS	C	CofS	Yes	66	M	M
P12-11122	None	CofS	CofS	No	66	M	M
P13-11122	CofS	CofS	Meth	No	66	M	M
P14-21111	FC		FC	Yes	46	M	W
P15-11212	CofS		CofS	No	46	F	M
P16-11222	CofS	CofS	None	No	66	F	M
P17-21221	CofS	CofS	None	Yes	66	F	W
P18-21121	CofS	CofS	CofS	Yes	66	M	W

P19-21212	CofS		None	Yes	46	F	M
P20-11221	CofS	CofS	CofS	No	66	F	W
P21-21122	CofS	CofS	CofS	Yes	66	M	M
P22-11212	CofS		CofS	No	46	F	M
P23-11211	CofS		OthC	No	46	F	W
P24-11221	CofS	CofS	CofS	No	66	F	W
P25-21211	CofS		CofS	Yes	46	F	W
P26-11221	C	None	None	No	66	F	W
P27-21212	CofS		None	Yes	46	F	M
P28-11211	CofS		C	No	46	F	W
P29-11222	CofS	CofS	CofS	No	66	F	M
P30-21112	CofS		ProtU	Yes	46	M	M
P31-21222	CofS	CofS	None	Yes	66	F	M
P32-21112	CofS		None	Yes	46	M	M
P33-21122	PFreeCs	PFreeCs	CofS	Yes	66	M	M

C - Catholic; CofS - Church of Scotland; PfreeCs - Protestant Free Churches; ProtU - Protestant unspecified; Meth - Methodist; FC – Free Church; OthPspec – Other Protestant specified

family health and family history project

MRC Medical Sociology Unit, Glasgow

CHILDHOOD

First of all, I'd like to ask you a bit about your childhood experiences.

**First of all, you were born indid you spend all of your childhood there?
(moves, why, type of housing, rural/urban)**

Was that a nice area to grow up in? Why/why not?

Did you enjoy your childhood? Why? Anything you did not enjoy about your childhood?

Who did you live with as a child? (siblings, family position). Was there anyone in your family that you feel you were closest to as a child? Why was that? As an adult, who would you be closest to in your family? Why?

Did you go on holidays as a child? Where to? (probe whether to country/area of origin)

**Do you think you were a confident child, or would you have been a bit unsure of yourself/shy?
Explain.**

Do you think you were a happy child? Why?

Was there anything that made you unhappy when you were young?

Was there anything that made you upset or angry when you were young?

Do you think you had a healthy childhood? In what ways?

Do you think your childhood was unhealthy in any ways? Explain.

What kind of illnesses did you have when you were young? (probe infections)

Did you miss school because of illness? Who looked after you?

Were you healthier or not so healthy as your bros/sis? Why do you say this?

What height are you now? As a child were you bigger or smaller than other children of your age? Were you fatter or thinner than other children or about average?

Do you think you did or didn't do much to keep healthy when you were young? Do you think your parents encouraged or didn't encourage you to keep healthy when you were young?

Do you think that your parents' way of life was a healthy or an unhealthy one? Why/not? Did they do much to keep fit and healthy? Was their work physically demanding?

Did they do anything which was wasn't good for their health? Explain

When you were growing up, do you think you had a healthy or an unhealthy diet? In what ways was it/wasn't it? (what kinds of foods were 'healthy' 'unhealthy' then? (milk/fried food/meat/processed food/ fresh food?))

Would you have got milk at school at that time? Would your parents have given you any diet supplements (eg cod liver oil, malt, vitamins,)

Do you ever remember feeling hungry when you were young? Why was this?

Did you often get new clothes when you were young? (probe for second-hand, importance of being well turned-out)

When you were young did you have to do jobs around the house?

Did you ever have to take care of your bros/sis?

Do you think there were any advantages in your family being the youngest/middle/oldest? Any disadvantages?

Were your parents strict or not so strict parents? In what ways?

Do you think your parents had the number of children that they wanted? How do you know this?

Do you think there are any advantages or disadvantages in coming from a family of 1/2/3/4 etc. bros/sis?

Do you think your parents had favourites or did they treat you all equally?

Do you know if your mother health suffered because of having children? Explain.

When you were a child did either of your parents smoke? (If stopped, when and why - changed due to life events?)

Did they mind other people smoking? (attitudes to smoking)

Did either of your parents drink alcohol? (explore changes in consumption over lifespan - what associated with)

Did they mind other people drinking? (explore attitudes to drinking)

SCHOOLING

I'd just like to ask you a bit about your school days

Where did you go to school?

Did you enjoy school or not? Why? Did you attend school regularly or miss a lot of school for any reason?

Do you think you were a good student? Why do you say that?

Was your school an all-boys'/all girls' school?

Was the school you went to a religious school or a state school? Why did you go to a religious school?

Since coming to Glasgow some people have told me that sometimes at school there was hostility between Catholic and Protestants who went to different schools. Was that something you were ever aware of? (whether went to school in Glasgow or not - first hand?)

Why do you think this happened?

Were you ever bullied at school? Why do you think that was?

Did you ever get involved in fights? have any accidents when you were a teenager/ get any injuries?

Were there many other people at your school who came from the (same background - here means ancestral/ethnic/national) as yourself?

Did you feel different in any ways from the other people you went to school with because of (your background - here means ancestral/ethnic/national/religious)? How?

Generally when you were growing up would your friends have been from the (same background - here Scot Cath, etc)?

Would you have known many people who came from quite different backgrounds (here - other than Scot Cath, etc)?

What about the area you lived in, would you have had friends who weren't from the same background (here Scot Cath, etc) as yourself?

When you were a teenager, did you smoke cigarettes? Why did you start to smoke at that time? Why didn't you smoke at that time?

What about drinking as a teenager? Can you remember the circumstances in which you started? Why didn't you?

Were you interested or involved in sports/exercise as a teenager? Explain.

What about now? Why/why not?

When left FT education and why at that time? Do well at school? Were parents involved in decision about leaving school, what you did next, etc? Intentions on leaving school (plans about the future), parents' views on decisions made at that time, parents' expectations

Did you feel confident/anxious about the future at that stage in your life? Why?

(If migrant) how did plan to migrate develop, why Glasgow, etc. what parents felt about migration.

CHILDHOOD IDENTITY

I'd just like to ask some questions about what it might have meant to you having parents/ grandparents who came from....and a bit about your family religious background as well

(If brought up in Scotland) Do you think your childhood was different from other children because your parents/grandparents were from...? In what ways?

(Clarify) Did your parents belong to any religion when you were growing up? And were you encouraged to practice the religion as well? (feelings about religion - strongly for or sceptical/resistant? change in views over time) Were both father and mother churchgoing? Are you still religious? Is that important to you? In what ways? What do you feel are the benefits to you of practising your religion? (distinguish between beliefs and practice)

(re. religion)What about your brothers and sisters?

Coming from a(religious/non-religious) background, did you feel this made you different to other people in your area when you were growing up?

Some people tell me that in Glasgow in the past, there was not much mixing between people from different religious and national backgrounds. Would your family have mixed much with Ps/Cs, Irish/non-Irish?

Did your family have any strong views or ideas of what Cs, Irish, Ps, Scottish, were like?

Do you know families like yours were viewed by people who weren't....? (perceptions of other)

Do you feel that your family was better/worse/as well off as the other families you knew when you were young? Why do you say this?

WORK HISTORY

I'd like to ask you a bit about your work history since leaving school. What was the first job you did?

Career history from first job onwards to today (how long in jobs, reasons for leaving, how jobs acquired, ever through contacts (ethnicity/religion of contacts and employers - one maybe blind to ethnic network), relationship of employment to childrearing among women)

Current job - do you enjoy your work? Why? Anything you do not enjoy about your work?

(If stopped work early), why?

Do you think your work has been good or bad for your health in any way or does it make no difference to your health? (probe for accidents/injuries/control/monotony/income constraints/doing without)

(feelings of confidence/competence/satisfaction) Did you feel that you were good at your job? In what ways?

Do you feel you have ever had real difficulty getting work? Why do you think that was/was not the case?

Some people have told me that sometimes in Glasgow in the past people might only have worked with people who came from the same background as themselves, for example that Protestants rarely worked with Catholics, etc. Was this your experience? Would you have known people at work who came from Irish/Scot/P/C backgrounds?

Did you ever experience any hostility from people either at work or elsewhere because you came from a (Scot, Protestant, Catholic, Irish) background?

Why do you think this happened? (probe whether perceived as religion or ethnicity)

Some people say that in Glasgow over the years, people have been discriminated against in work because of their religion. Has this ever happened to you? Do you think that your religious background/religion has ever been an advantage or a disadvantage in getting any job? Explain

Were you aware of this happening to other people? Explain

Siblings work - what kind of work did your bros/sis end up doing?

If you had to do it all again, is there anything you would have done differently in terms of your working life?

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Just a bit about your parents' lives

PARENTS So your father was born in.....

Is your father still alive (if not, when died, age, what died of)

**How old were you when he died? How do you think that affected you at the time?
(emotional, financial?)**

Do you think you are like your father in any ways? Explain.

(If father migrant), when did he leave.....(year as exactly as possible)?

What kind of work did your father do when you were a child? (FT/PT, perm/temp, job changing, away from home, well paid? more than one job? injuries/accidents?)

Do you think your father was happy or unhappy (satisfied/dissatisfied) in his work? Why?

Do you think it was easy for your father to get work or were you aware if he ever had any difficulty getting the work he wanted? Why was that?

(If father migrant) Did your father ever intend to return to.....

What about your father's bros and sis (if any) do you know what kind of work did they end up doing?

And your mother was born in.....

Is your mother still alive? (if not, when died, age, what died of) (age died at, effects financial/emotional?)

Do you think you are like your mother in any ways?

(If mother migrant), when did she leave.....(year if poss)

What about your mother, did she ever go out to work? (accidents/injuries?)

Do you think your mother was happy or unhappy (satisfied/dissatisfied) in her work? Why?

Do you think it was easy for your mother to get work or were you aware if she ever had any difficulty getting the work she wanted? Why was that?

(If mother migrant) Did your mother ever intend to return to.....

What about mother's bros and sis (what kind of work did they end up doing?)

Apart from working, did your family have any other ways of making money over the years, for example, any lodgers?

Were you ever aware of your family struggling to make ends meet? In what ways? (what was cut down on? -periods of economising?, food/effect on health) Were your parents ever in debt?

Did you have any relatives living nearby when you were growing up? Did you have much contact with them?

Do you think your parents ever didn't get work because of their backgrounds (here both religious and ethnic)? Is that something that would have been discussed at home?

Would you describe your family as a close family or a not so close family? Why do you say that?

**How do you think your parents got on well with each other?/had a good relationship?
(probe for discord, effects on children)**

Did your parents ever argue with each other? What about? (probe money)

GRANDPARENTS

I'd like to ask you a wee bit about your grandparents' lives starting with your father's parents

(Same for all grandparents)

Your father's father was born in.....

(If migrant), do you know what year they came to Glasgow?

(Find out about contact with grandparents)

Do you know much about your grandparents, for example what kind of work did they do?

Where did they live?

Do you know how many children they had?

Would your parents have talked much about your grandparents' lives?

Did your father and mother give you any impression that their families were short of money when they were growing up? In what ways?

(If any grandparent migrant) Do you think they were happy or unhappy living in Glasgow? Why do you say that?

Do you know if you grandparents found their working lives easy or difficult? Why do you say that?

SOCIAL/COMMUNITY LIFE

I'd like to ask you something about your family and the wider community when you were growing up.

(Apart from the church which we have already mentioned), what other organisations and groups would your parents have been involved with when you were growing up? When parents weren't at home or at work, where would they have been? (Both father and mother - interests and activities- pubs, sports, etc - Orange/green organisations, ceilis, rangers/celtic supporters, other organisations)

Were there any particular places where you and your parents could go when you were young to meet people from the same background? Would there have been any places that you would go as a family where you met people from different backgrounds from yours?

Did you go out as a family on days out? Where to?

Did your parents go out much together?

CURRENT FAMILY

Partner

Who do you live here with? (If not obvious, do you have a partner and children)

Probe background (in terms of religion and ethnicity) of partner, if similar or different.

Where did you both meet?

Does your partner work? What do they do?

Are you or your partner involved in any community organisations? How did you get involved?

(Do any of these organisations attract people mainly from the (same background as yourself)?)

Do your friends now come from the (same backgrounds as yourself)?

Have you ever been excluded from any organisation because of (your background)?

Ages and names of children - what they do - where did they go to school

Did they go to religious school? Why/why not?

If working, what jobs?

Are you happy or not with how they are getting on? Why?

Do you think they have better or worse work opportunities that you had at their age? Why do you say this? Are things easier or more difficult for them in any way? Why do you say this?

Are they involved at all in (the churches, rangers/celtic, masons, orange order, dancing, other cultural organisations)?

As a family, would you go on holidays? Where to? (probe any continuing contact with place of origin)

Would you go out together as a family? Where to?

Do you think any of your children are like you in any ways?

As a parent, do you think that you are similar to your father/mother in any ways?

In what ways are you different as a parent?

Do you have any relatives living nearby now? Much contact with them?

IDENTITY

If you were filling in a form which asked you to describe your ethnic identity, how would you describe yourself? (If don't understand, then ask whether Irish/Scottish/British - if doesn't mention any of above, then ask if I/S/B)

Why do you say that? How would you father/mother/brother/s, sister/s/children, describe themselves (ask to account for differences)? (Explore whether identity experienced differently in different contexts-home, pub, church, holiday,)

How do you account for the fact that after a generation or two, some people identify strongly with where their parents or grandparents came from and other people don't identify at all?

Are you proud to be Scottish/Irish? Why?

Are there ever times when you are not proud to be Scottish/Irish? Why? (concealing identity - how?)

In terms of politics, would you like to say who you voted for in the last general election. Why did you vote for them?

Would you like to see an independent Scotland? Why/not?

Any views about a United Ireland?

**Which of these religious labels would you most identify with?
(Protestant/Catholic/Atheist/Agnostic/Christian/any other?)**

So in terms of your religious and ethnic identity, would you describe yourself then as a (combination of what went before)?

HEALTH BEHAVIOUR

I'd like to ask you a bit about health and health behaviours now and in the past.

Do you smoke now? (still, when stopped, etc. - try to link changes with life history)

What about your partner, do they smoke? Did they used to smoke?

Were there times in your life when you noticed that you were smoking a lot more than before. Or less than before? Why did this happen?

**Do you drink alcohol? (ever, changes in patterns over time, accounting for changes)
Partner's drinking**

Have you ever taken any other drugs like cannibis, cocaine, speed, etc?

(If children) Do any of your children smoke, drink, take illegal drugs, etc.

Do you have a healthy or an unhealthy diet? In what ways healthy/unhealthy? (probe for fried food/meat/fruit, veg/ dairy products?)

Does your diet differ much from when you were young? In what ways? (probe fatty foods/fresh fruit/veg)

Do you take much exercise now? (when started, why, etc)

Do you think you are fairly healthy or fairly unhealthy now? Why do you say that? (probe origins of any illness conditions)

Have you ever been concerned about your weight? Ever been underweight or overweight? (probe pattern of life events/lifestyle changes associated with increased weight/loss of weight)

HOUSING AND HEALTH

Just some questions about your home now and where you have lived in the past and generally about living in Glasgow

How long have you lived in this house? Do you own it? Where did you live before? Why did you move? Have you moved many times since you left home? Why did you move each time?

Are you happy with the house that you live in now? Anything you are not happy about? (what about size?, what about damp? etc.)

What about the wider neighbourhood? Any ways in which the neighbourhood might be improved? (what about pollution?)

Do you feel safe or unsafe living here? Why?

Have you ever had any accidents/injuries from encounters in the neighbourhood?

Do you have much contact with neighbours? Any problems with neighbours?

Do you have many friends who live nearby? Do you know many people locally that you could rely on in a crisis? Who would they be - friends, family, neighbours

Do you feel part of a community here or not really? Why do you say that?

Any plans to move in the future?

Compared to where you lived as a child, do you think this is a better or a worse place to live? Why do you say that?

Are you happy or not that you grew up/ spent adult life in Glasgow? Why? (check if any plans to move out of Glasgow)

Is there anywhere else you would have liked to spend your adult life? Why?

Do you think that being a Catholic or a Protestant is as important today in Glasgow as it was in the past? Explain.

Do you think Glasgow has changed much since you were a child? In what ways?

Generally in terms of health, do you think that people can do much to keep healthy? Why do you say that?

Appendix 5: Submission to Ethics Committee

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
INTERIM ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR NON CLINICAL
RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

RESEARCH SUBMISSION

Name of person(s) submitting research proposal Patricia Walls (M.Sc.)

Position held Social Researcher (FT) and doctoral student (PT)

Department/Group/Institute/Centre MRC Medical Sociology Unit, Glasgow University.

Name of Principal Researcher (if different from above) Dr. Rory Williams

Position held Senior Research Scientist, MSU and PhD supervisor

Date of submission 14/11/97

Project Title Family Health and Family History Project: health risk and ethnic/religious background among Glasgow residents. (An examination of relevance of place of origin and religion to social factors linked to health).

1. Describe the basic purposes of the research proposed.

The overall aim of the project is to provide qualitative data comparing Irish and Scottish and Catholic and Protestant residents of Glasgow which may help to explain health differences between these groups and any processes associated with the persistence of these health differences. The project builds upon earlier, primarily quantitative work concerning the health of these groups in Britain.

2. Outline the design and methodology of the project.

The study will involve conducting ethnographic interviews with people of Scottish and Irish descent and Protestant and Catholic background living in Glasgow including different generations of Irish (Irish-born, second generation, third generation, etc.). Two sampling strategies will be used. The first is to build up a network of informal contacts (people attached to clubs, churches, cultural/leisure organisations) in order to discover issues of particular relevance to ethnic/religious identity and health within the community through informal interviews (n=25). Secondly, four groups (Irish Protestant, Irish Catholic, Scottish Catholic, Scottish Protestant) will be subsampled from cohorts being followed up as part of a wider study of social factors and health (the Twenty-07 study). These cohorts have recently been sent a postal questionnaire which includes a question on place of birth of parents and grandparents, which will be used to select this subsample. More formal semi-structured interviews will be conducted with this group (n=64).

The approach taken for data collection will be that of theoretical sampling which involves continuously collecting, coding and analysing data for theory generation. It is possible that gaps may appear within the sampling strategy with the development of theory which may lead to sampling revisions as the project progresses.

Interviews with the first sample of informants will largely involve open-ended discussions about specific family histories particularly with reference to health. It is expected that the main interviews (second sample) will build upon knowledge gained from the earlier, ethnographic phase, and seek to investigate individual and family histories, health beliefs, health behaviours, and experience of belonging to different ethnic/religious groups in Scotland, etc.

3. Describe the research procedures as they affect the research subject and any other parties involved.

Research subjects will be asked by the researcher either in person, by telephone or by letter, if they would be willing to participate in the study. If agreement is reached, then tape-recorded interviews will be carried out in a location of greatest convenience for the research subject. Prior to interviews taking place, interviewees will sign a consent form (enclosed). The initial approach to the Twenty-07 study sample will be made by the director of this study. Confidentiality of the interview will be assured. It is not expected that beyond taking the subjects' time that effects will be any more far-reaching. On a more positive note, it is expected that involvement in the project including access to eventual findings may be of interest and of benefit to members of hitherto largely unresearched ethnic and religious groups.

4. What in your opinion are the ethical considerations involved in this proposal? (You may wish for example to comment on issues to do with consent, confidentiality, risk to subjects, etc.)

Interviews of this nature present no real risks to subjects other than fears that information divulged on sensitive and private matters may not be treated with due respect and in confidence. All interviewees would be reassured that any information given would be confidential and that life histories, if written up, would be anonymised and disguised. Although interviewees subsampled from the Twenty-07 cohorts will have previously given consent to participation in the Twenty-07 study, further written consent would be sought for involvement in this study. Tapes and transcripts would be coded numerically rather than by name and personal identifiers can only be accessed from a separate locked cabinet by the researcher and the project supervisor. All transcripts, tapes and field notes would be locked in a secure cabinet when the researcher is away from the office.

5. Outline the reasons which lead you to be satisfied that the possible benefits to be gained from the project. Justify any risks or discomforts involved.

The anticipated benefit of the project is to provide explanation for the ways in which social factors linked to recognised health risks may relate to differing religious/ethnic backgrounds. In turn it is hoped that feeding research findings into the wider social policy health debate that initiatives may in future be able to more adequately address the needs of religious/ethnic minorities.

6. Who are the investigators (including assistants) who will conduct the research and what are their qualifications and experience?

Patricia Walls B.A. (Hons) Psychology and Sociology, M.Sc. Social Research Methods, three years research experience.

7. Are arrangements for the provision of clinical facilities to handle emergencies necessary? If so, briefly describe the arrangements made.

N/A

8. In cases where subjects are identified from information held by another party (for example, a doctor or hospital) describe the arrangements whereby you gain access to this information.

Some of the interviewees (second sample) will be subsampled from local cohorts already being followed up by researchers at the Medical Sociology Unit. Interviewees would be identified by using data already gathered, for example place of birth, parents' place of birth, religion, etc. Access to such data is permitted as a member of staff of the Unit, bound by the Unit policy on confidentiality. However the researcher will not have access to other data already available on these subjects.

9. Specify whether subjects will include students or others in a dependent relationship.

N/A

10. Specify whether the research will include children or those with mental illness, disability or handicap. If so, please explain the necessity of using these subjects.

There is no intention to interview children, however it is possible that some interviewees may suffer from mental illness or other disability, although not specifically chosen for that reason. As the study aims to investigate health, it is possible that, for example, subjects suffering poor mental health, if willing to be interviewed, may provide valuable insights into the possible relationships between poor mental health and religious/ethnic minority status.

11. Will payment be made to any research subject?

No, although if it is more convenient for the research subject to be interviewed at the research unit, then travel expenses to the interview will be reimbursed.

12. Describe the procedures to be used in obtaining a valid consent from the subject. Please supply a copy of the information sheet provided to the individual subject.

For the initial informal interviews, contact will be made by telephone and interviews arranged accordingly. Enclosed is a copy of how the project would be introduced over the telephone in order to obtain consent. Also enclosed is a copy of a letter which would be sent to potential interviewees subsampled from existing available cohorts.

Following initial consent, subjects would also be informed in person at the time of interview that even though they have consented to be interviewed, that there is always the option to withdraw from the interview at any stage and that there is no obligation to discuss any topics raised if they do not wish to, for whatever reason. This verbal assurance would be further reinforced by the signed consent form presented to the interviewee prior to the interview. (Enclosed)

13. Comment on any cultural, social or gender-based characteristics of the subject which have affected the design of the project or which may affect its conduct.

It is expected that interviewees will come from both Irish and Scottish backgrounds, different classes, religions and genders. It is not envisaged that whatever the characteristics of the subjects, that this should have any obvious effect on how the project is carried out. Basic safety procedures will be adhered to, especially as interviews will often be conducted in subjects' homes. All interviews will be conducted in line with the Medical Sociology Unit Health and Safety Policy and the project's specific risk assessment procedure (enclosed).

14. Give details of the measures which will be adopted to maintain the confidentiality of the research subject.

As noted more fully under 4. above, all tapes, transcripts of interviews, etc., will be numerically coded, i.e. anonymised and details of names and addresses will only be available to the researcher, the supervisor and a named person in the Unit, primarily in the interests of the safety of the researcher. Data will be locked away when it is not being used by the researcher.

15. Will the information gained be anonymized? If not, please justify.

Yes, as above.

16. Will the intended group of research subjects, to your knowledge, be involved in other research? If so, please justify.

The second sample of research subjects will have previously been part of a survey on health conducted at the Medical Sociology Unit and will recently have responded to a postal questionnaire. Considerable study loyalty has developed over the ten years of this study; those who do not enjoy or approve of the study having by now, dropped out. Feedback from subjects is that they sometimes feel constrained by the fixed choice format of previous interviews and postal questionnaires and would welcome more open-ended discussions.

17. Date on which the project will begin.....November 1996..... and end ..November 1999.....

18. Please state location(s) where the project will be carried out.

Office-based work - Medical Sociology Unit

Fieldwork - cultural/leisure organisations, clubs, church halls, interviewees' homes.

Signed _____ Date _____
(Proposer of research)

Where the proposal is from a student, the Supervisor is asked to certify the accuracy of the above account.

Signed _____ Date _____
(Supervisor of student)

CONSENT FROM HEAD OF DEPARTMENT/GROUP/INSTITUTE/CENTRE

Signed _____ Date

(Head of Department/Group/Institute/Centre)

Appendix 6: Project Risk Assessment

Risk assessment and procedure for dealing with assessed risk during fieldwork for Family Health and Family History Project

The following sets out the hazards associated with the fieldwork stage of the Family Health and Family History Project (FHFHP), the risk to health associated with said hazards and measures judged adequate to eliminate, minimise or control risk to the researcher during the fieldwork.

The fieldwork necessary for the project involves carrying out almost one hundred interviews with adult males and females, primarily in their own homes, but also in cafes, pubs, community centres, etc. Interviews may occasionally touch on issues of sensitivity to the interviewee.

Perceived hazards during field work to researcher:

- a) being assaulted physically or verbally by person/s either those being interviewed or those encountered along the way at bus stops, in pubs, etc.
- b) having an accident, e.g. falling down stairs in a tower block, crashing the car, being knocked down by a bus/car, etc.

Measures to be taken to avert, minimise, control risk to researcher during fieldwork

- a) details of whereabouts at all times during fieldwork will be left with the project director (PD) who in the event of researcher not confirming that period of fieldwork is completed, will instigate measures to ascertain the researcher's whereabouts, e.g. contacting other staff who live nearby, contacting local police
- b) details of whereabouts given to the PD will include names, addresses and phone numbers of all interviewees when known, and when opportunistic interviewing is taking place, addresses of venues being visited will be given to the PD.
- c) prior to any period of fieldwork, the PD will be informed of all details as above and both researcher and PD will carry mobile phones during the period of fieldwork. On returning back to the workplace or home, the researcher will

use the phone to inform the PD that the period of fieldwork has been completed. Should the researcher fail to do this, the PD will instigate action to ascertain the researcher's whereabouts.

d) the researcher will carry a personal alarm during all periods of fieldwork to be used as necessary.

e) the researcher will attempt to avoid walking through unfamiliar streets, particularly at night and will in such circumstances take taxis or use the unit car to minimise time spent walking alone in such areas

f) the researcher will inform the PD as quickly as possible of the occurrence of any accident which occurs during fieldwork and any other services as necessary, e.g. hospitals, police, etc.

g) the researcher is expected to use common sense at all times, to remove herself from any situation perceived threatening as quickly as possible and to inform the PD and local services (e.g. police) of any perceived or real threat to her during the fieldwork.

h) In the event of any actual incident occurring during fieldwork, despite measures taken to avert such a possibility, affecting either the mental or physical well-being of the researcher, then due consideration and support will be given to the researcher concerned as necessary.

i) the above procedures will be monitored and their efficacy assessed throughout the fieldwork, with changes in procedure discussed and clarified as necessary

**WEST OF SCOTLAND
TWENTY-07 STUDY
HEALTH IN THE COMMUNITY**

Date

Dear

Many thanks for replying to our recent 'Ten Years On' postal survey. We are extremely grateful to you for taking the trouble to do this.

I am now writing to ask whether you can help us even more by agreeing to be interviewed as part of an extension to the Twenty-07 Study. You may recall that in our recent questionnaire we asked for the place of birth of your parents and grandparents. This was because some studies have shown differences in health between people whose ancestors were born in different places. We now want to investigate this in more detail by talking to people about their own, and their families' earlier experiences and how these might influence their current health.

Taking part in this project would involve an interview lasting no more than two hours which could take place either in your own home or in this research Unit at your convenience. As with all other parts of the study, all interviews are confidential and any information relating to you would not be identifiable.

I would be really pleased if you would agree to this interview. (This would not, incidentally, involve any of the physical measures we have used alongside previous interviews, and would be less formal and more conversational than the interviews you've done before). Our researcher, Patricia Walls, will be getting in touch with you sometime soon by telephone to explain a bit more about the study, to see whether you'd be willing to take part, and if you are, to arrange a time and a place convenient to you for interview. If in the meantime you have any queries about the project, please don't hesitate to call her on 0141 357 3949.

With many thanks again for all your help with this study over the years.

Yours sincerely,

Professor Sally Macintyre,
Director

Appendix 8: Consent Form



Medical Research Council
MRC Medical Sociology Unit
6 Lilybank Gardens
Glasgow
G12 8RZ

Telephone 0141-357 3949

I agree to be interviewed as part of the Family Health and Family History Project I have been informed of the background, aims and objectives of the project by the researcher. I understand that I do not need to talk about any subject if I do not wish to and that I can end the interview at any time. I also understand that any information given will be treated with the strictest confidence.

signed.....date.....

Appendix 9

TABLE 5a: Family patterns: parents' religion, religion interviewee brought up in, current practice, religion of spouse, choice of Catholic or Protestant school for own children

CATHOLICS

ID	Father	Mother	Brought Up	Currently Practising?	Religion of spouse	Own children's School (C/P)
C1-12211	C	C	C	No	P	P
C2-12112	C	C	C	Yes	C	C
C3-22211	C	C	C	No	C	C
C4-22111	C	C	C	No	N/A	N/A
C5-12212	C	C	C	Yes	C	N/A
C6-12112	C	C	C	No	C	P
C7-12212	C	P	C	Yes	Not Asked	C
C8-22112	C	C	C	No	P	P
C9-22122	C	P Convert	C	Yes	C	C
C10-12222	C	C	C	Yes	N/A	C
C11-22212	C	C	C	No	C	P
C12-12221	C	P Convert	C	Yes	P Convert	C
C13-12222	C	C	C	Yes	P	C
C14-22211	C	C	C	Yes	P	C
C15-22121	C	C	C	Yes	C	C
C16-22121	P Convert	C	C	Yes	C	C
C17-22212	C	C	C	No	P	P
C18-22112	C	C	C	No	C	P
C19-12111	C	C	C	No	P	P^
C20-12112	C	C	C	No	P	P
C21-12122	C	P Convert	C	Yes	P/C/P	C
C22-12212	C	C	C *	Practising Protestant	P (minister)	P
C23-12221	C	P	C	No	P	P
C24-12211	C	C	C	Yes	C	C
C25-22222	C	C	C	Yes	Not Asked	C
C26-22221	C	C	C	Yes	C	C
C27-22221	C	C	C	Yes	C	C
C28-12112	C	C	C *	No	P	P
C29-22122	C	P Didn't Convert	C	Yes	P	P
C30-22222	C	C	C	Yes	N/A	N/A
C31-22111	C	C	C	No	N/A	N/A
C32-22211	C	C	C	No	C	C
C33-22111	C	C	C	No	C	C
C34-12121	C	C	C	Yes	C	C
C35-22121	C	C	C	No	P	C
C36-22211	C	C	C	No	P	P
C37-22111	C	C	C	No	P	N/A
C38-22122	C	P Convert	C	Yes	C	C
C39-12122	C	P – Didn't Convert	C	Yes	C	C

*No Catholic secondary school available – brought up in Scottish highlands

^defined as 'Protestant' as all children attended primary and secondary non-denominational schools, but when one child was excluded from a number of schools eventually ended up in a Catholic secondary

TABLE 5b: Family patterns: parents' religion, religion interviewee brought up in, current practice, religion of spouse, choice of Catholic or Protestant school for own children

PROTESTANTS

Number	Father	Mother	Brought up	Currently Practising?	Spouse	Kids school
P1-11112	P	P	P	Yes	P	P
P2-21222	P	P	P	Yes	P/P/P	P
P3-11111	P	P	P	Yes	N/A	N/A
P4-21211	P	P	P	No	C	C
P5-21112	P	P	P	No	N/A	N/A
P6-21111	P	P	P	No	P?	P
P7-21111	P	P	P	No	P	P
P8-11121	P	P	P	No	P	P
P9-21221	P	P	P	No	P	P
P10-21121	P	P	P	No	P	P
P11-21122	P	C	P	No	P	P
P12-11122	P	P	P	No	P	P
P13-11122	P	P	P	Yes	N/A	N/A
P14-21111	P	P	P	No	N/A	N/A
P15-11212	P	P	P	No	P	P
P16-11222	P	P	P	No	P	P
P17-21221	P	P	P	No	P	P
P18-21121	P	P	P	No	P	P
P19-21212	P	P	P	No	P	N/A
P20-11221	P	P	P	Yes	P	P
P21-21122	P	P	P	No	P	P
P22-11212	P	P	P	Yes	P	P
P23-11211	P	P	P	No	C	N/A
P24-11221	P	P	P	No	P	P
P25-21211	P	P	P	Yes	C	P
P26-11221	C	P	P	No	P	P
P27-21212	P	P	P	No	P	P
P28-11211	P	P	P	No	C	C
P29-11222	P	P	P	Yes	N/A	N/A
P30-21112	P	P	P	No	P	P
P31-21222	P	P	P	No	P	P
P32-21112	P	P	P	No	P	P
P33-21122	P	P	P	Yes	P	P