Catholic schools in Scotland:

Mapping the contemporary debate

and their continued existence in the 21st century.

by

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SUMMARY

The faith school debate in Scotland focuses almost exclusively on Catholic schools because they are the predominant form of faith schooling. Historically, the Catholic schools have had strong links with the Catholic Church and the wider Catholic community – a post-Reformation Catholic community that has a variety of national–cultural expressions but, ultimately, has strongest roots in the critical mass of immigrants who were part of the Irish Famine Diaspora. This Scottish-Irish Catholic Church and community, in some periods of history, have been subjected to structural and attitudinal sectarianism and appear to continue to be viewed with some ambivalence, and some suspicion, in contemporary Scottish society. This ambivalence often extends to Catholic schools, despite recent (widely publicised) educational success and perceived 'social and moral' success.

This thesis seeks to understand this unique situation from an academic perspective. The history of Catholic schools and the Catholic community are examined using a variety of conceptual tools (primarily 'postmodern critique of historiography', 'insider stories' and 'immigrant typology'). The postmodern critique of historiography is used to construct smaller narratives which also help to clarify the strengths and limitations of previous research and scholarship. The identification of the insider status and insider stories of the academics engaged in this debate enables insight into the emergence of a variety of histories and stories of a historically marginalised group. The application of immigrant typology provides frameworks to explore both the *generic* and *unique* nature of the experience of the Catholic community in Scotland.

The thesis contextualises contemporary Catholic schools in Scotland within two major academic discussions: (1) the faith school debate in England and Wales (arguing that the debate in Scotland lacks the scope and conceptual sophistication of the debate in England and Wales) and (2) the key Catholic Church teaching and Catholic academic insights into Catholic schools.

Adopting the qualitative method of expert interviews, the thesis maps out the contemporary debate concerning Catholic schools in Scotland. The debate is re-

conceptualised using a uniquely constructed spectrum of views and the projected future of Catholic schools in Scotland is discussed within this spectrum.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

RATIONALE, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

Scope and rationale

State-funded Catholic schools have been a feature of Scottish education and Scottish civic life since 1918. As the predominant model of state-funded faith school in Scotland (with a few minor exceptions) they have been the focus of considerable debate concerning their status and position in Scottish education and society, in terms of both the popular and academic debates, although, at times, the two overlap and the distinction becomes blurred. The aim of this thesis is to examine critically the academic debate concerning the contemporary position and continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland through review of the relevant literature and interviews with experts drawn from educational, ecclesial and academic elites. This thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the contemporary Catholic understandings of the rationale and nature of Catholic schools in developed western countries?

2. Why have Catholic schools in Scotland evolved to their contemporary construct?

3. Why does the Catholic school system in Scotland occupy a unique position in the UK?

4. How do experts (drawn from the educational, ecclesial and academic elite) view the position and continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland?

The answers to these questions will be achieved by examining a number of key themes through a review of relevant literature and through qualitative research in the presentation and analysis of sixteen expert interviews. The key themes are: the

rationale and nature of Catholic schooling in Scotland within the contexts of (1) faith schools in the UK; (2) Catholic schools within English-speaking western countries; (3) the history and contemporary position of Catholic schooling in Scotland within the associated history of the post-Reformation Catholic community in Scotland and (4) the contemporary position of Catholic schools within the contexts of Scottish education and Scottish society.

The thesis will contextualise Catholic schools in Scotland within the wider scope of Catholic schools in English-speaking western countries and will include the examination of the conceptualisation of Catholic schooling in Catholic Church documents that has been developed over the last forty years, though it must be noted that these documents are aimed at a wide international audience. The thesis will examine the further development of this conceptualisation of Catholic schools by Catholic academics, who share a western democratic background with Scotland. The international academic study of Catholic schooling has produced a wealth of conceptual and empirical research covering a variety of topics that can be categorised under themes of: philosophy/theology; leadership; politics; sociology; economics; management; effectiveness; history; and learning and teaching. The main themes that are relevant to this thesis are predominantly philosophy/theology and history.

Four Catholic writers have emerged in the UK and America in recent years as being influential in philosophical/theological debates: McLaughlin, Groome, Sullivan and Grace. This thesis draws from the ideas of these four writers and, in conjunction with the examination of Church documentation, aims to partly answer research question number one:

1. What are contemporary Catholic understandings of the rationale and nature of Catholic schools in developed western countries?

The history and contemporary position of Catholic schooling in Scotland is examined in this thesis within the associated history of the post-Reformation Catholic community in Scotland (a history dominated by Irish Catholic immigrants and their descendants). This history will be examined from the period 1864 to 2007. The date 1864 has been chosen because it is the date of the Argyll Commission, the catalyst for

the introduction of compulsory state-funded school education in Scotland that ultimately led to state-funded Catholic schools in Scotland (Anderson, 1999). A number of Scottish writers have examined the history of the Irish Catholic immigrants and subsequent Catholic community in Scotland and have produced original work which has contributed greatly to academic scholarship. They have written from different perspectives, or discussed specific periods of time. Handley (1943, 1947, 1964), for example, has provided a detailed account of the arrival of the Irish immigrants and the development of the community in Scotland until the mid-1960's. Bradley (1995, 1998) has discussed the history from the perspective of the continuation of Irish identity and how this identity has been associated with sport. Gallagher (1987) has focussed on the Catholic community in Glasgow. These three writers share a Catholic insider status and construct the conflict caused by the arrival of the Irish immigrants mainly in terms of hostility towards Catholics and Irish people within a cultural context of Scottish Protestantism and British Imperialism. They discuss signs of progress for the contemporary Catholic community, but still couched in some undercurrents of hostility and conflict. Boyle and Lynch (1998) and Devine (1991, 2006), sharing a Catholic insider status, look beyond these early stages of immigration and suggest the development of a more integrated contemporary Catholic community. They represent a more measured and conciliatory approach than that adopted by Handley, Gallagher and Bradley. The controversy caused by the address delivered by James MacMillan generated a book of articles that scrutinised the position of Catholics (and Catholic schools) in contemporary Scottish society (Devine, 2000).[1]

The other Catholic immigrant groups (Italian, Lithuanian and Poles) tend to be treated separately from the history of the Irish Catholics (Devine, for example, separates them in his 2006 book). Further, none of the writers mentioned above examines the arrival of the Irish Roman Catholic immigrants within the context of the wider theory and conceptualisation of immigration (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Esses et al., 2001). This thesis, uniquely, locates the history of the Italian, Lithuanian and Polish Catholics within the history of the Catholic community and also adds this dimension of wider theory and conceptualisation of immigration.

Although all of the above academics discuss the importance of Catholic schools, their main academic interests lie with the Catholic *community*. Another group of academics has written on Catholic *schools* in Scotland. They too have contributed greatly to academic scholarship, though they tend to focus on specific periods of time, specialised topics or key events.

Skinnider (1967) has provided a short overview of Catholic schools focussed on the 1872 and 1918 Acts. Similarly, Br. Kenneth (1972) has written on the implications of the 1872 and 1918 Acts. Articles by Treble (1980), Gourlay (1990) and Davis and O'Hagan (2007) in the *Innes Review* have looked at the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. Treble (1978) has produced a useful survey of the development of Catholic schools from 1878 to 1978 (Gourlay, 1990, has provided some additional information up to 1990). Fitzpatrick (1985, 1986, 1995, 1999, 2000 and 2003) has produced articles and books on the development of Catholic schools and also a study of the influence of the Notre Dame teaching Order. O'Hagan (1996, 2006) has widened the approach of this latter study to include three other religious orders (Jesuits, Marists, Sisters of Mercy) and a religious congregation (Franciscans of the Immaculate Conception) and has written an account of their contribution to the development of Catholic schooling between 1845 and 1918. Aspinwall (1994) has looked at aspects of the supply of teachers to Scotland. McGloin (1962a, 1962b) has provided an insight into the cycle of life in a Catholic school up until 1918. Conroy (2001, 2002) has discussed some aspects of the contemporary debate. Despite this academic interest in Scottish Catholic schools, no contemporary comprehensive history of Catholic schooling in Scotland has been published. The most comprehensive history by Dealy (1945) is now dated and, therefore, there is no systematic overview, nor collection of articles, of the period 1864-2007 that coherently draws together the strands of the arrival and development of the Irish Catholic community and the development of Catholic schools. It is not within the scope of this thesis to provide an overview on any scale but this thesis will construct a brief history of Catholic schools within the context of the Catholic community, using smaller narratives (see section on methodology). This should enable the thesis to partly answer research question 2 for the purposes of this research:

2   Why have Catholic schools in Scotland evolved to their contemporary construct?

This thesis will contextualise Catholic schools in Scotland within the context of other forms of faith schooling in the UK and, specifically, within the contemporary debate concerning faith schools in England and Wales (chapter two). The thesis will draw on contemporary academic sources such as the special editions of the Oxford Review of Education (2001) and the British Journal of Religious Education (2003) and recent volumes by Jackson (2004) and those edited by Gardner et al. (2005), Parker Jenkins et al. (2005) and Johnson (2006). This thesis will categorise the debate into five key issues which can be applied to Catholic schools in England and Wales and Scotland. The contrast that emerges from these applications will enable the thesis to partly answer research question number 3:

3. Why does the Catholic school system in Scotland occupy a unique position in the UK?

While some of the academics already mentioned have discussed aspects of the contemporary debate concerning Catholic schools in Scotland, none of them has systematically mapped out the contemporary debates concerning Catholic schools in Scotland and their continued existence. I sought a research method to answer this question and complete the answers of the other research questions. The academic literature provides a partial answer to this last question and although newspaper articles also provide some insights, they are in an unsystematic form that does not map out the contemporary debate. Further, I sought a variety of responses to this question to construct an effective conceptual map of the debate, but the level of conceptual reasoning required to answer this question appeared to be quite specialised, sophisticated and required considerable expertise. Qualitative methods were selected as more appropriate than quantitative, and, within the range of qualitative methods, the expert interview, drawing from educational, ecclesial and academic elites, was selected as the most appropriate approach. This will be discussed further in chapter four. The fourth research question is then:

4. How do experts (drawn from the academic, ecclesial and educational elite) view the position and continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland?

Methodology and heuristic tools

This thesis, the examination of the position and continued existence of Catholic schooling in Scotland, is multi-disciplinary. The thesis is predominantly philosophical and this is reflected throughout the thesis in the grouping, classification and analysis of concepts, arguments and positions and the construction of new frameworks within which to examine them. There are also significant aspects of theology, sociology, history and history of education contained in this thesis. The theological aspects will emerge primarily in the discussion and application of the theological rationale of the Catholic school. The sociological aspects are highlighted in the immigrant typology that will be applied throughout the thesis and the expert interviews were conducted according to the principles of educational research methodology which has its roots in sociological research. The methodology adopted for the expert interviews will be discussed fully in chapter four. Perhaps one of the more problematic areas of the methodology in this thesis is the clarification of the method used to interrogate the history of the Catholic community and Catholic schools in Scotland.

This section will initially discuss a variety of approaches to historiography, arguing that the postmodern critique of historiography was the most suitable approach for this research. Following on from this discussion, the section will explore the implications of the concept of 'insider status'. The section will continue with a description of immigrant typologies that will be used in the thesis and finally, a discussion of the three 'versions of the past' that will be adopted to interpret the reflections of the interviewees on the history of Catholic schools in Scotland.

Postmodern critique of historiography

In the scope of this thesis, the history of education is not perceived as restricted to 'Acts and facts', but as a specialisation of history that is firmly rooted in, and related to, general history (Aldrich, 2000). This is a conception of history of education that

accepts the claim of Briggs (in Gordon and Szreter, 1989) that history of education cannot be considered in isolation from general history but also accepts that the history of education must be seen as important in the general study of history (McCulloch, 2000).[2] The history of Catholic schooling in Scotland in this thesis will be contextualised, then, within the history of the position of the Catholic community in Scotland.

This thesis has been written within the context of the (so-called) postmodern era, although there has been some dispute in the philosophy of history and historiography as to whether historians should accept a post-modern era, reject the postmodern era or adopt a postmodern 'critique' of historical methods and practices (Breisach, 2003). There is no space in this thesis to provide a detailed and nuanced explanation of postmodernism, but some limited discussion is necessary. Postmodernism arose in the mid to late twentieth century as a reaction, and in poststructuralist versions as an extreme reaction, to the perceived discredited 'grand narratives' of the post-enlightenment world. Bentley describes these grand narratives:

> Eurocentric grand narratives of the enlightenment, scientific, nationalist, liberal, democratic, capitalist, industrial, Marxist, modernisation, technological (Bentley, 2003, p.47).

These were dismissed by the postmodernists because of the European centred focus, the mismatch between the grand visions of progress and the hollowness of the projected perfection of 'some aspect of the human condition' (Breisach, 2003, p.25). This is epitomised in the 'grand' promises:

> …promises of reason, progress, prosperity, freedom, liberalism, equality and justice (Bentley, 2003, p.48).

These 'grand' promises did not match the experience of many people. Postmodernism rejected the modernist historical view that history was essentially change leading to continuity (Breisach, 2003). Poststructuralist postmodernists proposed that *change* itself is the dominant force. Postmodernists also rejected a correspondence between an external reality of historical events and written historical accounts. It is only through

text that the historian can engage with the past – history, then, is concerned with historical texts (Jenkins, 2003). Bentley outlines some of the features of the postmodern writer:

> Some of the more obvious characteristics common among 'postmodern' writers include: a rejection, philosophically, of the self as 'knowing subject' in the form presented in European thought after Kant and before Heidegger, an allied rejection of the possibility of finding a singular 'true' picture of the external world, present or past; a concern to 'decentre' and destabilise conventional academic subjects of enquiry; a wish to see canons of orthodoxy in reading and writing give way to plural readings and interpretation; a fascination with text itself and its relation to the reality it purports to represent; a desire to amplify previously unheard voices from unprivileged groups and peoples; a preoccupation with gender as the most immediate generator of underprivileged or unempowered status; a dwelling on power and lack of it as a conditioner of intellectual as much as political configurations within a culture (Bentley, 1999, pp.140-141).

Contemporary historians have mixed views on the impact and influence of postmodernism in historical research (Brown, 2005). The position of those such as Jenkins (from a poststructuralist postmodernist background) supporting a postmodern era would be to argue that the postmodern era cannot be rejected and to dismiss the possibility of a postmodernist critique:

> …it is no good thinking that post-modernist insights – insights into language, representation, narratology etc., - can be somehow grafted onto modernist 'critiques' and thus survive intact. For this is not possible; the break between modernity and postmodernity is as epochal, I think, as that between medieval and the modern (Jenkins, 2003, p. 69).

Breisach, however, questions if histories of any kind have been written from a pure postmodernist perspective (Breisach, 2003). Even Jenkins (2003) argues that most professional historians remain resolutely modernist in their approach (wrongly in his view) and that if they do acknowledge a plurality of approaches to history, this would

be the only concession to the perceived extremism of postmodernism. Bentley (1999) takes a more positive view, stating that postmodernism has influenced historiography in terms of subject matter (a greatly increased interest in identity and social memory) and in method (increased awareness of theories of narrative and much greater emphasis on oral history).

This thesis does not adopt a 'pure' postmodernist approach nor does this thesis completely reject postmodernism, but adopts a postmodern critique of historiography (albeit a contested approach). This thesis accepts the post-modern rejection of grand narratives, because of the collapse of the vision of progress, but recognises the possibility of smaller narratives (Bentley, 2003).

The post-modern critique challenges previous histories, claiming that these reflected the power distribution of society and the dominance of certain groups. Contemporary history has to explore the 'variety of cultural and ethnic heritage' (Black and MacRaild, 1997, p.146). It has to find space to present marginalised groups and voices such as 'women, black people, Asian people, the inarticulate and the dispossessed' (Bentley, 1999, p.142, Brown, 2005, p.174, .180). One of the aims of this thesis, therefore, is to 'provide space' for the history of Catholic schooling and the history of the Catholic community in Scotland (at times, a marginalised group).

Insider status

The postmodern critique has, arguably, provided space for the exploration of a variety of cultural and ethnic heritage and the articulation of previously marginalized voices, and within this context, it is important to note that many of the sources used to discuss the immigrant groups in Scotland are from 'insider accounts'. The authors who provide accounts of these immigrant groups tend to belong to those groups and have, therefore, some form of 'insider status'.[3] An 'insider account', then, comes from an 'inside source' – someone who writes about a particular group but also identifies, partially or completely, with the aims, objectives and views of that group. Often they are the only people who have the interest and impetus to write about the particular group – a group that may have been treated in a superficial or perfunctory way in

'official' histories (De Vos, 1995, p.17). This impetus is not unique to Scotland: the comments of De Vos are aimed at an international audience:

> We are also witnessing a revolution in the recording of social and cultural history. Today's ethnic minorities are not content to remain mute; they too, seek to be heard. The defeated and the oppressed, now literate, are themselves contributing their interpretations to the writing or rewriting of history, adding their own and, where facts fail, creating or deepening their own sustaining mythologies (De Vos, 1995, p.16).

Adapting and extending this, it can be argued that there are dangers that the insider account can lack a critical edge: by failing to have a broader perspective; by being defensive; by exaggerating or even minimising difficulties encountered by the group; by championing the group. Insider accounts, for example, are more likely to discuss challenges faced by the group, rather than challenges caused by the group. There is a tendency to be less critical when evaluating commonly held assumptions within the group and the views of fellow insiders. Despite the limitations of insider sources, these authors often provide a fuller account of the origins and development of the immigrant group, based on a more thorough examination of original documentary sources, secondary sources and, increasingly, an analysis of collections of oral histories and memories - the insider status provides ease of access for obtaining oral histories.

This thesis acknowledges the insider status of the author (McCullagh, 1998). The author, as a practising Catholic engaged in the education of Catholic teachers, could be considered to be within the tradition of Catholic 'insider sources'.[4] The advantages and disadvantages of this insider status of the author will be discussed throughout the thesis and evaluated in chapter eleven. This critical self-awareness of insider status and the explicit examination of the implications of insider status for the research represent an important part of the claim for the originality of this thesis.

Immigrant typology

Throughout this section, I will use three contemporary conceptualisations of immigrants and immigration and apply these to the smaller narratives of the history of the Catholic community in Scotland and to the perceptions of the interviewees in their discussion of the history of Irish Catholic immigrants in Scotland. The first conceptualisation is Taylor's threefold typology of migration (Bonevea and Frieze, 2001). The threefold typology refers to: (1) *resultant migrants*, those who face serious pressures at home and take the opportunity to leave; (2) *dislocated migrants*, those who join husbands/wives, or relatives who have already migrated and (3) *aspirers,* those who are dissatisfied with their life in their home environments and seek a better life for themselves and their families. As will be seen in chapter three, I propose that a fourth type be added to the typology: (4) *accidental migrants,* those who are working in another country, but because of a change in circumstances in their country of origin, they are unable or unwilling to go home. The second conceptualisation is the examination of the response to the initial and continued presence of the Irish Catholics and the ways in which they have impacted on Scottish society within the context of Patchen's (1999) identified 'significant features' of society: size and composition of the migrant group; place of the migrant group in the economy; the school system; the political and legal system; other societal institutions such as the churches and the media. The third conceptualisation is the 'fundamental dilemma of migrants', identified by researchers in North America (Esses et al., 2001). I will use three aspects of this fundamental dilemma of migrants: (1) if the migrants fail to prosper, they are perceived to be a drain on social services and resources; (2) if they do not integrate socially into the mainstream they can be perceived as a separate group and a threat to 'collective 'identity and (3) if the migrants do prosper they may be viewed negatively because their success is seen to be at the expense of non-migrants.

Versions of the past

McCulloch proposes a useful distinction in the history of education between the *official* past, the *private* past and the *public* past (McCulloch, 2000, pp.7-15.). These will be applied in chapters three and nine. The *official* past refers to the versions of the past that are generated in official state documents. The *private* past consists of the individual's personal 'version of childhood and schooling; one's memories and

experiences'. The *public* past signifies the debate and reflection of the educational past in the public arena. This broadening out of the scope of study for the history of education (from different perspectives of the past) expands the number of those who are involved in the production of history and also suggests that there are a number of different audiences (Richardson, 2000). Richardson (2000, p.22), for example, states that since the 1980's all history has strived to reconnect to, among other groups, the lay public.

Sources

Primary sources for this thesis are the texts of sixteen expert interviews and, to a lesser extent, Catholic Church documents on Catholic education. Secondary sources are a series of sets of academic literature that have been chosen because they are the sites of the key academic debates concerning: faith schools; Catholic schools; history of Catholic community in Scotland and the history of Catholic schools in Scotland. Further secondary sources for this thesis are selected newspaper articles and websites, because some of the information has been otherwise unrecorded owing to the specialised nature of the information or the recent emergence of the information.

The core texts for the section on faith schools (chapter two) are secondary sources: Oxford Review of Education (2001); the British Journal of Religious Education (2003); Gardner et al. (2005), Johnson (2006), Parker Jenkins et al. (2005). Finally, the chapter on state funding for religious schools in *Rethinking Religious Education and Plurality* by Jackson (2004).

The texts for the section on Catholic schools (chapter two) are primary sources: Vatican documents that explain the Catholic Church rationale for Catholic schools. Secondary sources consist of key texts by leading Catholic academics: McLaughlin, Groome, Sullivan and Grace. The primary Vatican texts are: *Christian Education* (1965); *General Catechetical Directory* (1971); *Catholic Schools* (1977); *Catechesis in our Time* (1979); *Lay Catholics in schools* (1982); *The Religious Dimension of the Catholic School* (1988); *General Directory for Catechesis*, (1997) and *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (1998). The key text by McLaughlin is *The Contemporary Catholic School* (1996). The key texts by Groome

are his book: *Educating for Life* (1998) and his article in the *Contemporary Catholic School*. The key texts for Sullivan are *Catholic Schools in Contention* (2000) and *Catholic Education: Distinctive and Inclusive* (2001). The key texts for Grace are his book *Catholic Schools. Mission, Markets and Morality* (2002) and two major articles 'The State and Catholic Schooling in England and Wales: politics, ideology and mission integrity' (2001) and 'Educational Studies and Faith-Based Schooling: Moving from Prejudice to Evidence-Based Argument' (2003).

For the history of the Scottish Catholic community and Catholic schools in Scotland (chapter three), the texts are secondary sources. Texts for the history of the Scottish Catholic community include: Handley *The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845* (1943), *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (1947); Boyle and Lynch, *Out of the Ghetto?* (1998); Bradley, *Ethnic and Religious Identity in Modern Scotland* (1995); Gallagher *Glasgow an Uneasy Peace* (1987); Devine, *Irish Immigration and Scottish Society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (1991), *Scotland's shame: Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* (2000) and *The Scottish Nation* (2006). The other major source will be articles drawn from *The Innes Review* including Ross (1978) and Darragh (1978). For the history of Scottish Catholic schools: Kenneth, *Catholic Schools in Scotland 1872-1972* (1972); Treble, *The development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878-1978* (1978); Fitzpatrick. *No Mean Service: Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895-1995: A Centenary Celebration* (1995); *Catholic Education in Scotland* (1999, 2003); O'Hagan, *Change, Challenge and Achievement* (1996), *The Contribution of the Religious Orders to Education in Glasgow during the period 1847-1918* (2006) and Conroy, 'A Very Scottish Affair: Catholic Education and the State' (2001), 'Catholic Education in Scotland' (2002). All sources are recorded in the Bibliography.

The texts for chapters five to ten are the primary sources of the texts of the interviews conducted with sixteen expert interviewees. The origin of these is explained in more detail in chapter four.

Overview of thesis

The thesis is divided into five parts: the introduction; review of literature (chapters one to three); presentation of findings and initial analysis of expert interviews (chapters five to eight); analysis and discussion (chapters nine to eleven) and the conclusion.

Introduction

The introduction explains the scope, rationale, methodology, heuristic tools and sources of the thesis. The rationale for the thesis is explained and the research questions are outlined. The methodologies of review of literature and expert interviews are discussed and the heuristic tools are explained. The sources used for the thesis are discussed and, finally, an overview of the thesis is mapped out. Chapter one, the conceptual framework, will explain the key concepts used in this thesis: Catholicism; Protestantism; Sectarianism; Ecumenism; Secularism; Immigrants; Irish Catholic immigrants; Faith Schools and Catholic Schools.

Part One: Review of literature

Chapter two will examine the contemporary faith school debate in the UK. The thesis will propose that the debate can be distilled into five key issues. The chapter will then examine the contemporary constructions of the Catholic school in developed western countries and apply the five key issues to Catholic schools in England and Wales. Chapter three will examine the history of the Scottish Catholic community and Scottish Catholic schools 1864 to 2007, providing the background to the establishment, growth and development of Catholic schools within the context of the growth and development of the Irish immigrant Catholic community. Finally the five key issues will be applied to Catholic schools in Scotland.

Part Two: Presentation of findings and initial analysis of expert interviews

Chapter four will outline the methodology for the qualitative research: expert interviews. This chapter will examine the nature of semi-structured interviews and expert interviews and explain the planning and process of the interviews, including the choice of questions, the criteria for sampling, implementation and recording of

interviews. The chapter will also discuss *privileged access* to interviewees, a prominent feature of this research. Chapter Four also introduces the interpretative lenses that have been used to analyse the data generated from the interviews: (1) the nature of Scottish society and position of the Catholic Church and wider Catholic community in contemporary Scotland; (2) intrinsic arguments for and against Catholic schools in Scotland; (3) extrinsic arguments for and against Catholic schools in Scotland (intrinsic and extrinsic arguments are explained in the introduction to chapter six) and (4) how the interviewees have used (or constructed) history in their response.

Chapter five examines the nature of Scottish society and the position of the Catholic church/community in contemporary Scotland, including sectarianism. Chapter six examines the intrinsic arguments for and against Catholic schools under the following headings: the Catholic school within the context of the mission (of the Catholic Church); Catholic faith education and Catholic schools as a focus for the Catholic community and Catholic identity and challenges to the internal mission of Catholic schools. Chapters seven and eight examine the extrinsic arguments for and against Catholic schools in Scotland. Chapter seven discusses: Catholic schools in Scotland and social mobility; the success of Catholic schools in Scotland; the contribution of Catholic schools to Scottish school education and the contribution of Catholic schools in Scotland to Scottish culture/society. Chapter eight discusses: Catholic schools in Scotland and divisiveness; Catholic schools in Scotland and sectarianism; Catholic schools and state funding and Catholic schools as historical anachronism.

Part Three: analysis and discussion

Chapter nine examines how the interviewees have used (or constructed) history in their responses. This chapter explores: use of smaller narratives; cultural and ethnic heritage and private versions of the past. Chapter ten re-conceptualises the debate concerning Catholic schools in Scotland and the continued existence of Catholic schools and presents the views of the interviewees within a spectrum of opinion constructed for this thesis. These views are: firstly, those who advocate the continued existence of Catholic schools; secondly, those who advocate Catholic schools but have some reservations or propose some conditions for the continued existence of

Catholic schools; thirdly, those who think that faith schooling could or should be widened in Scotland; fourthly, those who favour alternative models of ecumenical or interfaith faith schools to complement or replace Catholic schools. The final parts of the spectrum are fifthly, those who reject any form of faith-based school but seek greater focus on religion and religious belief in non-denominational schools and sixthly, those who are opposed to any form of faith-based schooling and any locus for religion in public life. Chapter eleven analyses and discuss the main points that have emerged in the preceding chapters in some depth.

Conclusion

The conclusion returns to the research questions and explains how they have been answered and the scope for further research. The conclusion also contains a section arguing for the originality of this thesis and explores the limitations of the research – including a discussion on the limitations of the use of expert interviews. Finally, a number of concluding points are raised.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In a study of this breadth and depth, it is important to clarify and outline the parameters of the major concepts. This is achieved through construction of a conceptual framework which:

> …explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key features, constructs or variables – and the presumed relationships among them (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.18).

Robson extends the understanding of a conceptual framework by emphasising the process of selectivity:

> Developing a conceptual framework forces you to be explicit about what you think you are doing. It also helps you to be selective; to decide which are the important features; which relationships are likely to be of importance or meaning; and hence, what data you are going to collect and analyse (Robson, 1999, pp.150-151).

The selection of the features of the conceptual framework limits the academic research to these features, the relationships between them and provides the focus of the thesis. In this thesis a number of key inter-related features underpin the discussion. These features are: *Catholicism; Protestantism; Sectarianism; Ecumenism; Secularism; Immigrants; Irish Catholic immigrants*; *Faith Schools* and *Catholic Schools*.

Catholicism

According to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*:

The word 'Catholic' means 'universal' in the sense of 'according to the Totality' or 'in keeping with the whole'. The Church is Catholic in a double sense: First the Church is Catholic because Christ is present in her…Secondly, the Church is Catholic because she has been sent out by Christ on a mission to the whole of the human race (Catechism of the Catholic Church online, 1993, sections 831-832).

Particular churches are fully Catholic through communion with the Church of Rome (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1993 online, section 834). McBrien points out, however, that the Reformation brought a change in the understanding of the word 'Catholic':

Since the Reformation, the word has commonly been used in opposition to Protestant, but the real opposite is sectarianism, which pertains to a part of the Church that has separated itself from the worldwide Church and, to some extent, from the world itself (McBrien, 1994, p.3).

As McBrien points out, the Catholic Church is not in opposition to Protestantism - both are 'forms of Christian faith' (McBrien, 1994, p.7). The historical mistrust and disunity between the Catholic and some Protestant traditions (and between different Protestant denominations) has led, at times, to an explicit rejection of the other denomination as an authentic form of Christianity. The contemporary ecumenical movement, which has taken many forms but has an international focus in the World Council of Churches, claims to have fostered a greater knowledge and mutual understanding between Christian traditions and denominations within the last fifty years (Goosen, 2001, Lossky et al., 2002).

Sometimes the term 'Catholic' can be used to describe Anglican and similar churches whereby 'structure, worship and beliefs are close to the Church of Rome', but are not in communion with Rome (Hellwig, 1990, p.167). Within this context the terms 'Catholic' and 'Roman' Catholic are often used to highlight that there are two understandings of the term Catholic, though the 'Roman' Catholic Church always refers to itself as the Catholic Church in official documentation (Rausch, 1994). In the

scope of this thesis, the term Catholic shall be used in the sense of 'Roman' Catholicism: Christians in full communion with Rome, unless otherwise stated.

For the purposes of this thesis, a further distinction will be drawn between the Catholic Church and the Catholic community in Scotland. The 'Catholic Church' will refer to the Catholic Church led by the Catholic hierarchy and also to the Scottish Catholic Church. The expression the 'Catholic community' will refer to all those who claim some form of link or allegiance to Catholicism in Scotland but who will have a wide variety of interpretations of Catholic identity, that may consist of religious, national, cultural, or even secular elements - or combinations of these elements.

Protestantism

The general term Protestant is often used, inaccurately, to describe those Christians in Scotland who are not 'Roman' Catholic. The so-called Protestants in Scotland do not constitute some identifiable homogenous group. The term describes a large number and variety of Christian denominations, including conformist and non-conformist Protestants.[5] Some of these denominations have strong links with each other (membership of ACTS, World Council of Churches or other inter denominational and ecumenical organisations), some have loose links and some have no connection, nor desire for any connection. The largest and most influential Protestant denomination in Scotland is the Church of Scotland, which features prominently in the history of post-Reformation Scotland and will be examined briefly below.

Church of Scotland

The Church of Scotland is a Presbyterian Protestant Church which, like the Catholic Church in Scotland, ultimately traces its roots to the foundation of Christianity in Scotland by figures such as St Ninian around 400 (Church of Scotland online, 2007). The Church of Scotland arose as a direct result of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland in the mid 16th century.[6] John Knox (c1505-1572), a key figure, succeeded George Wishart as the leader in this reformation.[7] Knox adopted a Calvinist Protestant theology which was more radical than Lutheran theology and was extreme in its rejection of Catholicism (Brown, 1991).[8] The Reformation took time to establish itself

fully and, for a while, the two 'Churches' existed side by side; the Reformed Church grew in strength while the Catholic Church diminished (Iserloh, 1980, p.416). The Catholic Church never disappeared completely in Scotland, but successive Acts of Parliament throughout the end of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century introduced penal laws which ensured a very difficult existence for Catholics.[9]

After the Union of Crowns in 1707, the Church of Scotland began to acquire a new role:

> The 'Established' voice which the Church of Scotland possessed stemmed in part at least from the lack of self-government in Scotland itself. The Church fulfilled a role as a major national institution, to some extent the embodiment of 'Scottishness', in the absence of a parliament (Robbins, 2000, p.252).[10]

Gallagher suggests that this cannot be underestimated and that Presbyterianism:

> …defined the Scots to one another and to the rest of the world
> (Gallagher, 1991, p.34).

A serious and unwelcome challenge to this 'embodiment of Scottishness' and symbol of identity arose in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the arrival of large numbers of Irish Catholic immigrants. Other, more contemporary, challenges to the Church of Scotland include the fall in practice rate and, ironically, the establishment of a Scottish Parliament which displaced this symbol of Scottish identity (Walker, 2002).

Sectarianism

The words 'sectarianism' and 'sectarian', when applied to religion are normally pejorative terms and refer to intra-faith divisions. Within the scope of this thesis they will refer exclusively to divisions within Christianity in Scotland, unless otherwise stated.[11] 'Sectarian(ism)' should not be confused with the word 'sect'. Groome points out that both 'church and sect have been valid social forms of Christianity, each with deep roots in the New Testament' (Groome, 1998, p.41). Church is an open group that

'offers a welcome to all'. Sect is a 'stricter and more committed group of adherents'. It is important to recognise that being part of a sect does not necessarily lead to sectarianism or sectarian attitudes (McBrien, 1994, p.3).[12]

In Scotland the terms sectarian and sectarianism usually refer, as Finn states, to tension between Catholics and Protestants (Finn, 2003, p.904). Although this tension, he claims, is most 'commonly associated with football and schooling', the existence of Catholic schools can be a focus for the discourse on sectarianism (Finn, 1999, pp.870-877).[13] Despite the well documented efforts of Jack McConnell, Scotland's former First Minister, and the Scottish Executive, to identify publicly and tackle sectarianism in contemporary Scotland (he famously borrowed the description of sectarianism as Scotland's 'secret shame' from James MacMillan and repeatedly used this phrase in the anti-sectarian campaign)[14], there remains a widespread vagueness about the use of the term (Finn, 1999, p.869). This is because sectarianism in Scotland is rooted in complex historical issues of religion, immigration and ethnicity (examined in chapter three), and as a result agreed definitions, or descriptions, of sectarianism and identification of expressions of sectarian attitudes and activities that can be applied to the Scottish context have often proved to be highly problematic and elusive.[15]

Many definitions of sectarianism appear to be too general, focussing on root causes and the attitudes prevalent in sectarian activity, but less focussed on the concrete expressions, or manifestations, of sectarianism.[16] This thesis proposes to adopt the developed and nuanced 'working' definition constructed by Liechty and Clegg (2001) for their research into sectarianism in Northern Ireland:

> Sectarianism… a system of attitudes, actions, beliefs and structures, at personal, communal and institutional levels, which always involves religion, and typically involves a negative mixing of religion and politics. (Sectarianism) arises as a distorted expression of positive human needs, especially for belonging, identity and the free expression of difference… and is expressed in destructive patterns of relating: hardening the boundaries between groups; overlooking others; belittling, dehumanising, or demonising others; justifying or collaborating in the domination

of others; physically or verbally intimidating or attacking others (Liechty and Clegg, 2001, pp.102-103).

This is adopted because it provides (1) complex psychological and religious root causes of sectarianism, (2) sociological 'levels' of sectarianism (personal, communal and institutional) and some (3) examples of these expressions of sectarianism. While acknowledging that this working definition has limitations, not least in the application of a contemporary heuristic tool to historical situations (chapter three), and, like all working definitions, could be revised, it is proposed that this working definition will be adopted in this thesis. This thesis also adopts the distinction between *structural* and *attitudinal* sectarianism used by Professor Devine in his interview. *Structural* sectarianism consists of sectarian barriers (overt or covert) in areas of public life such as employment and politics. *Attitudinal* sectarianism refers to sectarian attitudes that may, or may not, be well formulated and articulated.

Ecumenism

Ecumenism could be perceived as the antithesis of sectarianism, promoting inclusiveness and some form of commonality rather than divisiveness. It is a world-wide movement which has had a significant impact on Scottish Christian life. It is important for this study that the discussion of Scottish ecumenism is contextualised within the world-wide ecumenical movement. A second, and equally important, strand in this section is a discussion of the approach of the Catholic Church to ecumenism.

Ecumenism refers to the movement towards restoring unity among Christian churches. Christianity is divided into three main groups: Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant, although there are subdivisions and even splits within these three groups. The contemporary ecumenical movement began at the beginning of the twentieth century and was mainly Protestant, English-speaking and predominantly western (Birmele et al., 1994). A number of these Protestant churches felt that the divisions within Protestantism were a cause for scandal and a visible sign of Christian disunity and began a process of dialogue (Gros, 1990), the rationale for ecumenism stemming from the teaching and example of Jesus Christ who promoted unity among his

followers.[17] The Orthodox churches became increasingly involved after the First World War and the Catholic Church after the Second World War, though the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) proved to be the impetus for Catholic involvement in ecumenism (Lossky et al., 2002). The World Council of Churches (WCC) founded in 1948 is not synonymous with ecumenism, but provides a world-wide focus and a forum for ongoing discussions, collaboration and activity for the vast majority of Christians engaged in ecumenism. It brings together over '340 churches, denominations and church fellowships' and represents 400 million Christians worldwide (World Council of Churches, online 2007).[18] The Catholic Church is not a member of the World Council of Churches but does participate in national ecumenical initiatives and has an ongoing dialogue and working relationship with the WCC (World Council of Churches, online, 2007).[19]

The Catholic Church and Ecumenism

The Catholic Church, in its documentation on ecumenism, often differentiates between relations with the Eastern churches and with the Reformed churches. For the purposes of this thesis, references to the initiatives of the Catholic Church in ecumenism will primarily be in relation to the Reformed Churches.

One of the most important documents on ecumenism is the Vatican II document Decree on Ecumenism, 'Unitatis Redintegratio' (online, 1964). The 'principal concern' of the Council, reflected in this document, was the 'restoration of unity among all Christians' (sections 1-2). The rationale was that: Christ himself taught (e.g. John 13:34-35) and also provided an example of the desire for unity; his redemption of humanity brought the promise of new life and unity; he prayed that all might be one; the sacrament of the Eucharist unites the Church and one of his commandments was that his followers should love each other. The Council called for dialogue, cooperation and collaboration with other Christian churches (Unitatis Redintegratio online, 1964, section 4).

Despite this call for respect and recognition of shared heritage, the Catholic Church sees the establishment of a shared understanding and common celebration of the Eucharist as a sign of the re-unification of the Christian churches into the one Church

of Christ which 'subsists' in the Catholic Church (Unitatis Redintegratio online, 1964, 22; Ut Unum Sint, 1995, 45), and this remains a major focus for world-wide international and national discussions between the Catholic Church and ecumenical bodies such as the World Council of Churches (Goosen, 2001).[20] Other issues of importance in these discussions are: inter marriage; baptism; role of the papacy and, more recently, women priests (Goosen, 2001).

Secularism

There are various strands of theory concerning the rise and development of secularism. The French Revolution is widely recognised as the advent of the secular society. In the 19th century, Marx and Feuerbach provided critiques of religion and Nietzsche declared that God was dead. In the 20th century, Weber argued that modernisation has demystified religion and contemporary western secular liberalism emerged. The interviewees, with a couple of exceptions, tend not to discuss particular philosophical and sociological conceptualisations of secularism but conceive it as the demise of the importance and influence of Christianity in different strata of society in contemporary Scotland. Perhaps one of the most useful texts for understanding this conception is *The Death of Christian Britain* (2001) by Callum Brown. Brown (2001, pp. 193-198) argues that the Christian Church will not disappear (a 'skeletal' Church will remain), nor has there been a death in the belief of God, but the *culture* of Christianity in Britain has now gone. This is a result of the collapse of religiosity in the 1960s (p.195).

Within the context of Brown's analysis, it can be seen that 42.40% (2,146,300) of the Scottish population claim to adhere to the Church of Scotland and 15.88% (803,000) (out of 5,062,000 people) claim to be Catholic, yet active membership in the Church of Scotland has fallen 35% to 639,000 in 2000 and in the Catholic Church the fall is 24% to 225,000 (Paterson et al., 2004, p.144). Despite the dramatic fall in practice rate, a large number of people claim some form of association with the Church of Scotland or Catholic Church, as implied in the statistics, but do not regularly practise. This indicates that for many people some form of 'secular' Protestant or Catholic identity has developed, or become more apparent. The more extreme forms of the Protestant identity, claims Marshall (1996, pp.154-155), are rooted in an historical

Protestant supremacy and are often estranged from Protestant churches and their 'contemporary liberal Protestant Theologies and attitudes' [21] This thesis will adopt a less pejorative concept of 'secular Protestant' that refers to people who no longer practise Protestant Christianity but have some residual adherence to the beliefs and ideals of Protestant Christianity.

Immigrants

A number of diverse immigrant groups arrived in Scotland between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries: Jews, Asians, Italians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Irish, though, the Irish Catholics were, by far, the largest group (Maan, 1992, Edwards, 1993, Devine, 2006). All of these groups experienced difficulties in settling in Scotland and gaining acceptance. While this thesis is concerned primarily with the Irish Catholic immigrants, and their descendants, because they provided the critical mass for the establishment of Catholic schools, useful comparisons can be drawn with the experiences of the other Catholic immigrant groups (Italians, Lithuanians and Poles), and the reaction in Scotland to these different immigrant groups (McKinney, 2007a). This thesis will draw on insider accounts of the experiences of these Catholic immigrant groups and will apply the heuristic tools outlined in the introduction to deepen the understanding and analysis of the origins and, importantly, the development of the Irish Catholic immigrants and the other Catholic immigrant groups, revealing complex struggles for integration and, in one case, almost complete assimilation (Lithuanians). Further, this thesis proposes that a significant feature of the interpretation and recording of the history of these immigrant groups is the insider status (see introduction) of the interpreters/authors.

Irish Catholic immigrants

According to the 2001 census, 15.88% of the population of Scotland identify themselves as Catholics (Scottish Executive, 2005b, online). Scottish academics point out that there is diversity in the ethnic mix of Catholics in Scotland: there were post-Reformation indigenous Catholics in parts of Scotland before the arrival of the Irish and the immigration of Italian, Lithuanians and Poles increased the Catholic population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Boyle and Lynch, 1998; Devine,

2006). Catholics persisted in small numbers in places like Barra, South Uist and in the North East (Bradley, 1995). The surviving indigenous Catholics, however, constituted less than 1% of the population and the combined numbers of the Italians, Lithuanians and Poles amounted to less than 25,000 by the 1930's, though there is a considerable influx of Polish Catholics in the early 21st century (Harrell, 2006, Morris, 2007).

The Irish, on the other hand, amounted to around a quarter of a million by the end of the nineteenth century, and most Catholics in contemporary Scotland are descended from these Irish immigrants (Boyle and Lynch, 1998; Devine, 2006). Contemporary Scottish writers draw attention to the fact that some of the Irish immigrants were Protestant, mainly Ulster Scots (Bruce, 1992; Walker, 1991). It is unclear what percentage of the total number of Irish immigrants were Protestants, but they were probably about 25 percent overall (Walker, 1991, p.49).

Faith schools

Faith schools are schools that normally have an educational and theological rationale and there is normally some form of faith formation. Faith schools can be private, partially state-funded or fully state-funded. This research, however, is not concerned with private faith schools and consequently, the term faith school will refer to the partially state-funded schools in England and Wales and the fully state- funded faith schools in Scotland (Jackson, 2004). In England and Wales, there has been a long tradition of Church of England, Catholic and Jewish faith schools, but faith schooling has recently been extended to include Muslim, Sikh, Greek Orthodox and Seventh Day Adventist schools.

Catholic schools

Catholic schools are schools established to educate children within a Catholic Christian context. In contemporary Scotland, Catholic educationalists refer to Catholic schools as a faith formational approach to school education (this will be discussed in depth in chapter two). Within the context of this thesis, Catholic schools in Scotland will refer to state-funded Catholic schools, unless otherwise stated. It is sufficient, for the purposes of this conceptual framework, to introduce two key stages

in the evolution and development of state-funded Catholic schools in Scotland. These occur within two of the smaller narratives constructed for this thesis: 1864 to 1918 and 1918.

Catholic schools in post-Reformation Scotland were initially established in the west of Scotland in the early 19th century to educate the children of the Irish Catholic immigrants. The number of these voluntary schools grew dramatically as a result of the marked rise in Irish Catholic immigration caused by the series of famines from 1845 to 1849. The Government attempted to create a centralised educational system in the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act which provided an opportunity for the voluntary schools to be administered and funded by the state. This Act also introduced compulsory education for all children to the age of 13. The Catholic Church did not opt into the state system after this Act because it was not satisfied that the denominational status of Catholic schools would be preserved, therefore, Catholic schools had to be funded by Catholics themselves, who struggled to raise the funds, and the system of Catholic schooling was at financial breaking point at the time of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act (Kenneth, 1972).

The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act resulted in the integration of Catholic schools into the state system. The Catholic Church was satisfied, under the conditions of this Act, that Catholic schools would be allowed to retain their denominational status, their own form of religious instruction and that the hierarchy had control over the choice of teachers to be appointed. The Catholic community ceased to carry the financial burden of maintaining voluntary Catholic schools (Kenneth, 1972). The Catholic schools in Scotland as a result of the 1918 Act were, and are, fully state-funded.

There are currently 56 secondary, 331 primary and 5 SEN state-funded Catholic schools in Scotland (SCES online, 2007).[22] Catholic schools tend to be located in the post-industrial west central belt where many of the Irish immigrants and their descendants had worked and settled, but there are a small number of Catholic secondary and primary schools in Dundee, Perth and Edinburgh, and primary schools in Aberdeen, Inverness, parts of the Highlands and the Borders. There are also a small number of private Catholic schools, two in Glasgow and one in Perthshire (SCES online, 2007). The state-funded Catholic schools, like all other state-funded

mainstream schools, are comprehensive and co-educational (with the exception of Notre Dame High School for Girls in Glasgow) (McKinney, 2008). Approximately 123,000 children attend Catholic schools accounting for 20% of the overall school population (Bishops Conference of Scotland, 2006). According to the Bishops Conference of Scotland report (2006), which acknowledges that the following figures are approximates, roughly '5% of Catholic students attend non-denominational state schools and around 10% of students in Catholic schools are not baptised Catholics' (Bishops' Conference of Scotland, 2006, p.2). Anecdotal evidence suggests that this last figure of 10% may be a conservative estimate and certainly does not adequately reflect the increased numbers of students in Catholic Secondary schools who are not baptised Catholics. I would speculate, from experience, that the average for Catholic Secondary schools would be nearer 25% and that in some schools the figure could be over 50%.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has provided a list and clarification of the key concepts that will be used in this thesis. The next chapter will examine the rationale (and inherent tensions) for Catholic schools within the contexts of the prominent features of the contemporary debate on Faith schools in England and Wales and the Western, English-speaking discourse on Catholic education.

CHAPTER TWO

FAITH SCHOOLING AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLING

Introduction

The examination of Catholic schools will be (1) contextualised within wider contemporary educational and religious discussions concerning faith schools within the UK, and especially within England and Wales. England and Wales have been chosen as suitable for comparison because, as part of the UK, they have a similar historical-political and socio-economic context as Scotland - allowing for some national differences. This chapter will then (2) examine critically some of the major claims of the Catholic Church documentation concerning Catholic schools and issues raised by leading Catholic academics.

Faith Schooling in England and Wales

This section will firstly present a brief, and necessarily limited, overview of the history of faith schooling in England and Wales. Secondly, the conceptualisation of the contemporary debate, emerging from the literature, will be discussed and the debate will be distilled to five key issues. Thirdly, these five key issues will be discussed and applied to the various forms of faith schooling in England and Wales. At the end of section two these five key issues will be specifically applied to Catholic schools in England and Wales and they will be further applied to Catholic schools in Scotland at the end of chapter three.

Brief overview of the history of faith schooling in England and Wales

This brief overview of the history of faith schools in England and Wales, consistent with the adoption of the post-modern critique of historiography will be constructed from smaller narratives. These are: pre-1944; 1944 to 1980s; 1988 to 2007.

Period 1: Pre-1944

There is a long history of state-funded, or partially state-funded, faith schooling in England and Wales. One of the main reasons that these faith schools originated and continue to exist is that the two main Christian denominations (Church of England and Catholic) were alarmed by the increasing secularisation of state education in the nineteenth century and they refused to allow their schools to be fully incorporated into the state system unless safeguards were put in place to preserve the faith dimensions of these schools (Chadwick, 2001; Grace, 2001). In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries government funding was limited and partial because of compromises in political debates between assisting financially crippled faith schools systems and the publicly questioned desirability of state funding for faith schooling (Chadwick, 2001; Jackson, 2004). There were, however, successive funding increases for faith schools and these were the result of political pressure from the politically active, and well represented, Christian denominations and the anxiety of governments to ensure parity of educational provision (Chadwick, 2001; Jackson, 2004)**.** Similarly, Jewish schools sought and began to receive state assistance in the mid nineteenth century (Miller, 2001). The history of faith schooling in England and Wales up until the end of the twentieth century is, then, primarily the history of the Church of England and Catholics schools, and, to a lesser extent, the Jewish schools.

Period 2: 1944 to 1980s

The 1944 Education Act proposed Voluntary *Controlled* or Voluntary *Aided* status as options for faith schooling. Voluntary Controlled schooling guaranteed local authority funding and management, but also some guarantees concerning denominational religious instruction. Voluntary Aided schooling entailed local authority funding for all running costs, but churches remained as 'custodial trustees' and were responsible for 50% of capital building costs (Chadwick, 2001). Later the state contribution would rise to 75% (1959), 80% (1967) and 85% (1975) (Chadwick, 2001). The Labour government in 2004 decided to raise the state contribution to 90% (Jackson, 2004). In the aftermath of the 1944 Act, Anglican schools chose both Voluntary Controlled and Voluntary Aided status, though a slight majority chose Voluntary Controlled status (Brown, 2003). The Catholic education system preferred Voluntary Aided schooling (Grace, 2001).

Full time education for Jewish children in England started to increase dramatically in the mid 1970s (Miller, 2001). A number of factors contributed to this rise in Jewish schooling: fears within the Jewish community of assimilation; the demise of Grammar schools in the 1970's; the perceived failure of Jewish supplementary education (Miller, 2001). Full time Jewish schools are seen as the 'key to communal strategies to provide Jewish identity and ensure Jewish continuity' (Miller, 2001, p.512). They have been successful in attracting Jewish children and are also perceived by the Jewish community to be successful in performance league tables (Miller, 2001).

Period 3: 1988 to 2007

Recent developments include the 1988 Education Reform Act that introduced Grant maintained schooling and the 1993 Education Act which promoted Grant maintained schools (Grace, 2001). The Catholic bishops of England were publicly opposed to Grant maintained schools, which were based on market principles, because they intensified 'financial and curricular inequalities between schools' and, in promoting autonomy, neglected the sense of the common good (Grace, 2001). Grace argues that the Bishops were also concerned that Grant maintained Catholic schools would be autonomous of Catholic Episcopal control. When over 100 Catholic schools adopted Grant maintained status, this caused serious conflict between parents/governors of these schools and the hierarchy, only to be fully resolved with the abolition of this form of funding in 1997/1998 (Grace, 2001).

The 1998 School Standards and Framework Act identified four categories of school in the state system: Community (formerly County schools); Foundation (formerly Grant maintained schools); Voluntary Aided and Voluntary Controlled. The last three can have a 'religious character' and these three can have collective worship connected to the religion, but only the Voluntary Aided schools can have specific and distinctive religious education (Jackson, 2004). Brown (2003) suggests that this distinction between Voluntary Aided and Voluntary Controlled schools may have generated a two-tier system in Church of England schools, with Voluntary Aided schools perceived as the more effective as faith schools. There has been some pressure on Voluntary Controlled Church of England schools to seek Voluntary Aided status.

In the final stages of the twentieth century more faith groups lobbied for state-funded faith schooling (primarily Voluntary Aided funding). Some of their arguments replicated previous arguments for faith schooling: preservation of faith and religious culture and equity of provision with other faiths. Other arguments were relatively new: to aid prevention of incidences of racism against children who could be visibly identified as belonging to an ethnic minority background (e.g. Asians). Pressure from religious and ethnic minorities prompted the Labour government, actively encouraging diversity in the school system, to extend faith schooling to Muslims, Sikhs, Greek Orthodox and Seventh day Adventists (Jackson, 2004). There was also a growth in the number of Anglican schools and Jewish schools (Jackson, 2003).

The expansion of faith schools and the government approval of faith schools create a climate of greater legitimisation of this form of schooling and 'faith schooling' becomes a more public feature of the contemporary socio-cultural context. Older forms of faith schools are able to locate their rationale and continued justification within a contemporary socio-cultural context.

The contemporary debate in faith schooling in England and Wales

There are six important academic sources for the contemporary debate in faith schooling in England and Wales. The special edition of the Oxford Review of Education (2001) focussed on some philosophical concerns and contained articles on specific types of faith schooling (Jewish, Muslim, Church of England, Catholic). The British Journal of Religious Education (2003), *Faith schools, Consensus or Conflict*? edited by Gardner et al. (2005), and *Reflecting on Faith Schools* edited by Johnson (2006) are somewhat eclectic collections of writing, reflecting philosophical, sociological, educational and theological perspectives. *In Good Faith, Schools, Religion and Public Funding by* Parker Jenkins et al. (2005) is more focussed on the newer forms of faith schools and their relationship to ethnic groups. The chapter on state funding for religious schools in *Rethinking Religious Education and Plurality* by Jackson (2004) provides a useful overview. Under the heading 'State funding for religious schools?', he examines the arguments for state funding followed by the arguments against state funding. According to Jackson, the arguments *for* are: justice

and fairness; success of faith schools and faith schools enhancing social cohesion. The arguments *against* are: faith schools suppressing personal autonomy; faith schools inhibiting social cohesion and faith schools and selection in faith schools on grounds other than religion.

This thesis, in the context of increased political and public support for state funding for faith schools, presents state funding as one of the issues, not the key issue. Further this thesis proposes that the theological rationales for faith schools require deeper examination, as does the question of the possible divisiveness created by faith schools. The diversity and wide scope of the above writings reflects the complexity of the current debate, but this thesis, drawing on all of these sources and adapting the configuration of the debate in Jackson (2004), proposes a conceptual approach to illuminating and interpreting this debate that classifies it under five key issues. These key issues are: state funding for faith schools; faith schools and selection (on grounds other than religion); faith schools and divisiveness; faith schools and social cohesion; faith schools and rational autonomy (McKinney, 2007c). The limitations of these five key issues as the focus for such a complex debate is acknowledged, but they do provide a useful interpretative tool that can be applied to the different models of faith schooling.

(1) State funding for faith schools

The increase in public perception that faith schools are a very successful form of schooling is one of the key drivers of the political impetus to promote and extend faith schooling. It has been claimed that faith schools are successful in 'ethos, the quality of the teaching, the attainment of pupils and the views of parents' (Jackson, 2004, p. 48). This public perception, however, is tempered by academic counter-claims that the alleged academic superiority has been exaggerated and that there is no evidence for the other markers of success (Schagen and Schagen, 2005). This public acclaim for the success of faith schools is a relatively new phenomenon: one of the traditional arguments concerning faith schooling, especially Church of England and Catholic schools, is that the state should not fund this form of schooling because it is essentially Christian mission (this could be re-configured to be applicable to other forms of faith education) (Jackson, 2004). Despite the claims that these schools

contribute to the common good of wider society and engage in a 'creative tension' between distinctiveness and inclusiveness, there remains a perception that the fundamental aim of these schools is to maintain Christian religious adherence and identity (Sullivan, 2001, pp.184-194, 210-212). The argument focuses, then, on the appropriateness of state funding for this form of schooling. This argument will be examined in more depth in the section on Catholic schooling.

Some academics believe that it would be problematic to end state funding for faith schools (Judge, 2001). Judge, examining the history of state-funded schooling in England and Wales, concludes:

> …agreements on such funding have always been the product of a particular history, of specific negotiations, of changing social and political circumstances (dramatically manifested on both sides of the Atlantic by patterns of mass immigration). Such arrangements for public funding therefore always incorporate delicately balanced compromises (Judge, 2001, p.456).

Judge comments that, while people may fundamentally disagree with faith schooling, it may be impracticable for complex historical, socio-cultural reasons to end the state funding for existing faith schools in England and jeopardise these delicate compromises. Wright states that the 'political will' to dismantle state funding for faith schools 'simply does not exist' (Wright, 2003, p. 144). Judge, however, asserts that many question if this state funding should be extended further. Various groups, including teachers' leaders, Labour activists and backbench MPs, have opposed the extension of faith schooling (Judge, 2001, Passmore and Barnard, 2001), but this opposition to the extension of faith schooling can be countered by an adaptation of Wright's comment: there is 'political will' to *increase* the number of faith schools. The political will has been resilient in the pursuit of this outcome – the government defeating attempts to curb the extension of faith schooling (Mansell, 2002; Slater, 2002). The Labour government continued to support faith schools and promote them as examples of good practice partly because the parents of children in faith schools appear to be the kind of middle-class voters they wish to attract (Slater, 2002).

Nevertheless, Jackson raises concerns about the possible range of this extension of state-funded faith school provision (Jackson, 2004). Some of the faith schools which have received state funding have been viewed by educationalists with deep ambivalence, some of the Jewish and Muslim schools, for example, are suspected of being theologically conservative or, in the case of Muslim schools, potential agents of radicalisation. There has also been vehement criticism of some of the perceived ultra-conservative theological influences on educational practices in the Christian schools run by the Emmanuel Schools Foundation sponsored by Peter Vardy and financed partly by government funding (Clancy, 2003). The limits and future scope of state funding for faith schools are unclear and have been delegated to school organization committees (Jackson, 2004). One of the key questions is how these committees will respond if more minority religious groups seek funding for faith schooling.

(2) Faith schools and selection (on grounds other than religion)

The question of selection other than on religious grounds is highly relevant for Church of England and Catholic schools in England, as some have recently been accused of this practice (Paton, 2005, 2006). Faith schools, as has been seen above, appear to attract certain types of parent (often middle-class and aspirational) and, in a sense, these are selective schools (Chadwick, 2001, Miller, 2001). Jackson (2003) points out that advantageous socio-economic factors are probably part of the reason many faith schools are successful. He states, however, that there are fewer pupils eligible for free meals in Church of England schools and there tends to be fewer children with Special Educational Needs.[23] This kind of information fuels suspicions that selection procedures in some faith schools extend beyond religious adherence (Jackson, 2003). There is also suspicion that some Catholic schools have excluded children with Special Educational Needs or children from deprived backgrounds to maintain academic success. These types of accusation, based on ambivalent evidence, have been denied and discounted (Arthur, 2005). Catholic schools, however, are challenged to ensure that selection procedures are transparent (McKinney, 2007c).

(3) Faith schools and divisiveness

The argument that faith schools are divisive is perceived by some academics to be the 'most convincing argument against faith schools' (Halstead and McLaughlin, 2005, p.62). Halstead and McLaughlin (2005, p.65), exploring this issue, identify two significant aspects of faith schools: *Faith schools involve distinctive non-common educational aims* and *restricted non-common educational environments*. These two aspects of the divisiveness of faith schools emphasise, for some opponents to faith schools, the need to establish 'common' schools (p.65). Halstead and McLaughlin (2005, p.64) also state that there are three senses of divisiveness in relation to the faith school debates in England and Wales. Firstly the word denotes simple 'categorisation' or 'separation.' The second sense indicates that this separation is negative or even harmful in some social, cultural, religious or educational way. The third sense involves the beliefs and attitudes developed in pupils by faith schools dividing them from others. The children are being taught 'values and perspectives' within a particular religious tradition that may be inherently contradictory to an acceptance of a plurality of beliefs and lifestyles in a liberal democratic society (p.65). The latter two senses could be described as pejorative uses of the word.

In terms of the first sense of divisiveness, faith schools are clearly divisive (p.67). This first sense of divisiveness may be perceived to limit the possibility of a more uniform approach to school education that could be more consistent and therefore potentially more effective (Sullivan, 2001). In terms of the second sense, there is no evidence of a link with social, cultural religious or educational harm, and these would appear to be by association with the social evils experienced by the marginalisation of some faith groups that have established faith schools (Halstead and McLaughlin, 2005). The last sense highlights the tension between civic virtues and religious virtues, or between public and private virtues, but Halstead and McLaughlin argue that this is a creative tension rather than a polarised tension. They also argue that there is empirical evidence to support the claim that some faith schools create 'good' citizens who contribute to the common good (Halstead and McLaughlin, 2005, p.68).

(4) Faith schools and social cohesion

One argument for state funded faith schools is their alleged successful promotion of social cohesion - the faith schools encourage religious and ethnic minorities to participate in civic and public life (Jackson, 2004). It is claimed that Catholics of Irish descent were able to integrate into British society partly because of their partially funded Catholic schools. Hargreaves (quoted in Jackson, 2004) argues that faith schools fulfil a function by allowing children to be brought up within particular religious perspective and moral viewpoint and they can then contribute this perspective and viewpoint to society. This line of argumentation can be applied coherently to the Catholic schools, but becomes more problematic when applied to some newer forms of faith schools.

Muslim schools in the UK are the subject of much debate. On the one hand, Muslim schools are attractive to Muslims because they would provide an education rooted in Islamic religious principles in a western context: Islamic confessional religious education; facilities for religious observance and single sex education (Anwar, 1998). State-funded Muslim schools are perceived by many Muslim communities as being highly desirable because independent Muslim schools have struggled through lack of funding and resources (Hewer, 2001). Hewer (2001) points out that some Muslims feel that Muslim schools would raise attainment for Muslim children because the children would not suffer the adverse effects of minority status and racism that they experience in mainstream state schooling. On the other hand, the development of separate Muslim schools is not a complete solution to the challenges above. These Muslim schools would be established in areas of high Islamic density, but could not cater for all the Muslim children dispersed throughout Britain in areas of low Islamic density. A large number of Muslim children would still have to attend non-Muslim schools (Joly, 1995).

There are, however, serious concerns about the introduction of state funded Muslims schools. Apart from the argument that Muslim schools, like all faith schools, are divisive, there is a fear, generating a more extreme form of the argument that faith schools are divisive, that Muslim schools separate children not only in terms of

religion, but also in terms of ethnicity (McKinney, 2006a). The vast majority of Muslims in Britain are of south Asian descent and therefore the vast majority of pupils in Muslim schools are clearly separated from other children not just in terms of religion but also ethnicity (Ansari online, 2002; Parker-Jenkins et al., 2005). There are fears that Muslim schools may lead to a form of 'self-segregation' and that social divisions between ethnic groups in Britain, which have already resulted in civil unrest in 2001, may be exacerbated by these separate Muslim schools (Hazra, 2001, McKinney, 2006a).

There is a further concern that Islam and Islamic schools are perceived as theologically conservative and have not sufficiently accommodated western culture and, therefore, can be seen as counter to the ideals of prevailing western liberal democracy (Jackson, 2004). Hewer (2001) suspects that that these kinds of arguments have their roots in irrational Islamophobia and he argues that Islamic schools are open to the heritage of western culture. Despite these reassurances, suspicions remain concerning this religious group and the aspirations for state-funded Muslim schools. This will be examined in more depth in the next sub-section.

(5) Faith schools and rational autonomy

A contemporary criticism of faith schooling is that this form of schooling presupposes the right of parents to choose faith schooling for their children. This is rooted in a more fundamental debate concerning the right of parents to determine the religious upbringing of their children (McLaughlin, 1984). Callan (1985, 1988) and Gardner (1988, 1991) argue that to raise a child within a certain religious faith is incompatible with the liberal ideal of rational autonomy. By extension this applies to faith schooling which purports to support parents in this aim. If parents do raise a child in a religious faith, it will be very difficult for the child to actually make rational autonomous choices about adopting or rejecting the faith later in life because: beliefs held at an early age are hard to dislodge; the child's desire for harmony with the rest of the family and the 'acceptance of a religious belief system as being *true* entails logical rejection of others as false' (Gardner, 1988, p.94; Laura and Leahy, 1989, p.253). Callan (1985) argues that the only acceptable option for parents who practise a

religion, and subscribe to rational autonomy for their children, is that they practise themselves but do not raise their children in the faith.

McLaughlin (1984, 1990) argues that parents do have a right to bring their children up within a religious faith and that this can be compatible with the ideal of rational autonomy. He states that the progression towards rational autonomy is slow and gradual and that parents can provide 'primary' cultures which can include religious beliefs (McLaughlin, 1984, p.78, 1994, p.104). To ensure that this religious upbringing is compatible with rational autonomy, it must avoid 'the development in children of anything likely to damage the achievement of open mindedness' (McLaughlin, 1985, p.124). He proposes that this form of religious upbringing entails religious beliefs being 'fixed' in the sense of 'stable' – not stable such that nothing can shake them, but stable in the sense that they can be open to subsequent challenge and development.

The paragraphs above illustrate some of the features of this debate, but this is ultimately a debate that is rooted within the context of Church of England schools and Catholic schools and within the spectrum of the associated Christian practice and belief, perceived by some to be compatible with rational autonomy. Deeper questions emerge with the resurgence of Jewish state schools, the inception of Muslim state schools and the establishment of the Emmanuel Foundation Christian schools. The key point in introducing these schools into this debate is the extent to which these forms of state faith schooling subscribe to liberal western ideals and, in particular, to the liberal ideals of rational autonomy.

Wright (2003) raises the issue of the state's attitude towards faith schooling within a liberal western democracy. He distinguishes between 'hard' liberalism and 'soft' liberalism (Wright, 2003, pp.142-152). The view of hard liberalism is that 'religion belongs to the private sphere' and that 'religious nurture is essentially a private affair'. The view of soft liberalism concerning religious belief is that it is a:

…constituent aspect of public polity that must be attended to in a spirit of openness, and about which mutual respect is necessary if society is to flourish (Wright, 2003, p.146).

Wright further argues, utilising the work of Gay, that a hard liberal approach can entail illiberality because it can attempt to impose a liberal regime through illiberal methods. He further comments that one of the reasons religion appears to be incompatible with liberalism is because:

Liberalism tends to understand identity in terms of individual autonomy: I am who I am as I relate introspectively to myself (Wright, 2003, p.147).

In religion, a communal identity is as important as an individual identity. Wright states that all religions in England and Wales are becoming minorities and, as minorities, struggle to retain their identity. He points to Catholic and Jewish schools as models of state-funded schools that have assisted their pupils in acquiring a secure sense of religious identity and have enabled these pupils to integrate into society. Ultimately, he proposes a soft liberal approach that allows faith schools because hard liberalism rejects faith schools which threatens the 'security of minority religious communities'. This would 'push these communities into the defensive and consequently exacerbate the breakdown of social cohesion'.

Wright's distinction between hard and soft liberalism, his warning concerning the internal contradictions of hard liberalism and his identification of individuality in liberalism, to the exclusion of communal identity, are all useful. His assertion that state funding for schools for Catholics and Jews has helped the integration of these children is not entirely accurate. The integration of Catholic pupils will be examined in the next section, but it is questionable that all Jewish schools prepare children for integration. Some of the more Orthodox Jewish schools prepare the children for a more segregated life, even from other Jews (Short, 2003, pp.133-134).[24]

Wright is also unclear as to the limits of a soft liberal approach. He states that he is:

…firmly of the opinion that some religious communities should not receive government support for a mixture of academic and social resources (Wright, 2003, p.152).

Wright does not name the religious communities that would be excluded, nor does he provide criteria for inclusion. Presumably the criteria for inclusion would be that the children being taught in faith schools would be helped to integrate and that exclusion refers to religious communities that are more closed to contemporary society. The same criteria, however, should be applied to groups *within* religious communities. The Jewish community is a good example: as Short's (2003) research has demonstrated, using the criteria suggested, some Jewish schools are more acceptable for inclusion than others.

Having discussed the five key issues in the faith school debate in England and Wales, let us turn our attention to Catholic schools.

Catholic Schools

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to examine and evaluate the contemporary western, English-speaking discussion on Catholic schools - by attempting to clarify the claims of the Catholic Church, of some of the leading academic proponents of Catholic schools and some counter claims of opponents to this form of education. This examination will draw mainly from the international Vatican documents of the Catholic Church and some of the leading Catholic academics in Catholic education located in the contemporary western tradition of Catholic education.

Catholic Schools: contemporary rationale and justification

The contemporary Catholic rationale for Catholic schools is located within the discussion of Catholic education that was initiated with *Christian Education* (1965), a document emanating from the Vatican Council II (October 9, 1962-December 8, 1965). This has been complemented by subsequent Vatican documentation and by the

writings of various contemporary Catholic authors, who have engaged with this discussion as insiders (sometimes critical insiders), and have undertaken academic development of some of the key ideas. Catholic educators in the western English speaking world have been heavily influenced by this discussion. It is important to note that Catholic schooling outwith the western English speaking world may not have been so heavily influenced by this Catholic renewal (Grace, 2003). This chapter will examine the claims concerning Catholic schools contained in some of these documents, particularly: *Christian Education* (1964); *Catholic Schools* (1977); *Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to faith* (1982); *The Religious Dimension of Catholic Schools* (1988) and *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (1998). This chapter will further examine some of the ideas of various contemporary Catholic authors concerned with Catholic education, primarily McLaughlin, Groome, Sullivan and Grace who have been selected as important authors representative of different aspects or dimensions of the discussion. McLaughlin could be described as an apologist for Catholic education: his concern is to explain the rationale of Catholic schooling and justify the existence and value of Catholic schools in the liberal western tradition to the wider academy. Groome aims to explain the theological foundations of Catholic schools to the Catholic community itself. Sullivan explores the interface and tensions between distinctive metaphors for Catholic schools (e.g. Catholic school as a theological community) and more common metaphors for schooling (e.g. school as academy). Grace examines the leadership of Catholic schools and evaluates the effectiveness of this leadership within the context of the mission and spirituality of Catholic schools.

A number of important issues emerge from the literature on Catholic schools, generated by the Vatican documentation and by the authors (mentioned above): the theological foundation of Catholic schools; the right to establish Catholic schools; the distinctiveness of Catholic schools; the complementariness of Catholic schools and their contribution to education and society.

The theological foundation of Catholic schools

The theological foundation[25] is explained in *Christian Education*:

For her part Holy Mother Church in order to fulfil the mandate she received from her divine founder to announce the mystery of Salvation to all men and to renew all things in Christ, is under an obligation to promote the welfare of the whole life of man, including his life in the world in so far as it is related to his heavenly vocation. She has therefore a part to play in the development and extension of education (*Christian Education*, 1965, Preface).

The first part of the theological foundation is constructed as follows: (a) God has sent Christ to transform the world; (b) the Church as the body of Christ has a mission to continue the work of Christ[26]; (c) part of this mission is education. The implications of this theological foundation for Christian education is later further developed: (d) this education takes many forms but the Catholic school is 'of outstanding importance' (Christian education, 1965, sections 4-5). This 'outstanding' importance of Catholic schools is explained further:

The Church's role is especially evident in Catholic schools. These are no less zealous than other schools in the promotion of culture and in the human formation of young people. It is, however, the special function of the Catholic school to develop in the school community an atmosphere animated by a spirit of liberty and charity based on the Gospel. It enables young people, while developing their own personality, to grow at the same time in that new life which has been given them in baptism (Christian Education, 1965, section 8).

This theological foundation is revisited in *Catholic Schools* (1977), *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* (1988) and *The Catholic school on the Threshold of the Third Millennium (*1997). The four authors (McLaughlin, Groome, Sullivan and Grace) recognise and accept the truth of the implicit assumption on which this theological foundation is grounded: The belief that there is a God and that this God has sent his son Jesus Christ to transform the world (as saviour). The theological foundation is based firmly, then, on a belief in the reality of a divine revelation in Christianity. The theological foundation underpins the mission and activity of the Catholic school and without an internal recognition of this foundation, a Catholic school is not entitled to describe itself as a Catholic school. This vision of

an integral role of the mission of Christianity in education is not unique to Catholicism, but is shared by other major Christian denominations such as the Church of England (Chadwick, 2001; Judge, 2001).[27]

There is internal and external opposition to this view that Catholics schools are an extension of the mission of the Catholic Church. Grace points out that some English Catholic intellectuals, immediately after Vatican II and the publication of *Christian Education*, questioned if Catholic schools were of 'outstanding importance' (Grace, 2002, pp.28-29). They argued that Catholic education and Catholic youth should be incorporated into state schooling and provide a model of Catholic witness within secular society. This, they proposed, was the logical consequence of the newfound openness of the Catholic Church to the world. This challenge was ignored as the English Bishops sought to consolidate Catholic education and many Catholics would have opposed the dismantling of traditional structures of Catholic schooling. In this argument the English Catholic intellectuals agree that: (a) God has sent Christ to transform the world; (b) the Church as the body of Christ has a mission to continue the work of Christ and (c) part of this mission is education, but they refute the importance of d) the Catholic school is 'of outstanding importance' as the expression of c). They argue that a), b) and c) can function without d) because schools do not necessarily have to be the expression of Catholic education. In one sense they are correct: d) does not necessarily have to be the expression of c). However, in England, Catholic schooling had become perceived as the exemplary form of Catholic education, possibly in the absence of other viable forms of Catholic education. This challenge to Catholic schooling, then, challenged the traditional and exemplary form of Catholic education.

Some external opponents to Catholic education refute d) as an unacceptable conclusion based on an invalid premise - a). Their objections are based in post-enlightenment, secular opposition to religion *per se* and it's various manifestations in culture and society. This approach, exemplified in thinkers such as White and Hirst, is grounded in the 'logical, rational, empirical and scientific cultures' of secularisation and the subsequent rejection of empirically non-verifiable deities of religion and thus,

the theological foundation of faith schools (Grace, 2002, pp.11-14). This debate is rooted in opposing and irreconcilable sets of epistemological principles. The set of epistemological principles adopted by the Catholic Church accepts the reality of a deity. The set of epistemological principles adopted by these opponents to Catholic education does not accept such a reality. The best compromise that could be achieved is that these opponents respect the right of Catholics to hold such a set of principles, albeit erroneously, but reject the idea that the state should assist them in the preservation of the religious identity, a consequence of these principles, through state-funded faith schooling.

The right to establish Catholic schools

Catholic schools are seen by the Catholic Church, then, as an extension of the mission of the Catholic Church. The Vatican documents further state that the Catholic Church has a right to establish Catholic schools, based on an argument for parental right of choice of schooling, including faith schooling. This argument states that parents, as the first educators, have a 'grave obligation' to educate their children (Christian Education, 1965, section 3). Families need help to undertake this education and society has a duty to assist parents by providing school education:

> In nurturing the intellectual faculties which is its special mission, it develops a capacity for sound judgement and introduces the pupils to the cultural heritage bequeathed to them by former generations. It fosters a sense of values and prepares them for professional life (Christian Education, 1965, section 5).

Parents should enjoy 'the fullest liberty in their choice of school' for their children and the public authorities should try to ensure that parents are truly free to exercise this choice (section, 6). *Christian Education* further states that all Christians have a right to a Christian education (section 2). Christian parents have a duty to educate their children in the faith so that they are: 'taught to know and worship God and to love their neighbour' (section 3). The Church aids the parents through various means, but especially through Catholic schools. While Catholic schools share many of the

aims of non-Catholic schools there is also the Christian formational aspect which makes them unique and important not just for Catholicism but for wider society:

> The sacred Synod therefore affirms once more the right of the Church freely to establish and conduct schools of all kinds and grades, a right which has already been asserted time and again in many documents of the Magisterium. It emphasises that the exercise of this right is of the utmost importance for the preservation of liberty of conscience, for the protection of the rights of parents, and for the advancement of culture itself (Christian Education, 1965, section 8).

This is reiterated in *Catholic Schools* (1977, sections 11-15), and further developed:

> From the economic point of view the position of very many Catholic schools has improved and in some countries is perfectly acceptable. This is the case where governments have appreciated the advantages and the necessity of a plurality of school systems which offer alternatives to a single State system. While at first Catholic schools received various public grants, often as concession, they later began to enter into agreements, conventions, contracts, etc. which guarantee both the preservation of the special status of the Catholic school and its ability to perform its function adequately. Catholic schools are thereby more or less closely associated with the national system and are assured of an economic and juridical status similar to State schools (Catholic Schools, 1977, sections 81-82).

The right to establish and maintain Catholic schools has generated considerable discussion in recent years, but especially where the Catholic schools are state-funded (Judge, 2001). Jackson (2004) points out that, in a sense, there is some civic and political agreement in England, even if implicit and not unanimous, that Catholics have a right to establish Catholic schools. There is an 'acceptance' of Catholic schools which does not necessarily exist for other Christian schools and other forms of Faith schooling. Catholic schools, despite concerns about inclusion, tend not be regarded as ultra conservative and closed to ideas of multiculturalism and the promotion of social cohesion. There does not appear to be the same level of suspicion concerning Catholic schools as there is concerning some Ultra Orthodox Jewish schools and some Muslim

schools. Nor are Catholic schools publicly criticised for promoting conservative stances on issues such as 'creation' as has been the case for some of the Emmanuel Foundation schools. This 'right' enjoyed by Catholic schools, which may not be extended to all other Christian denominations, does possibly highlight the standing of the Catholic community in society in England. It is recognised as a major world denomination of Christianity, but it could be argued that the Catholic schools fare well from the comparisons with other Christian schools and other Faith schools. As will be discussed in chapter three, this form of acceptance of the Catholic community appears more problematic in Scotland and such favourable comparisons for Catholic schools in Scotland are not easily realised.

The distinctiveness of Catholic schools

Catholic schools are a form of Christian denominational schooling that aim to educate the whole person, through a synthesis of Catholic Christian values and contemporary culture, especially in the secondary school stages:

> A Catholic secondary school will give special attention to the "challenges" that human culture poses for faith. Students will be helped to attain that synthesis of faith and culture which is necessary for faith to be mature. But a mature faith is also able to recognise and reject cultural counter-values which threaten human dignity and are therefore contrary to the Gospel (The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic school, 1988, section 52).

McLaughlin, Groome, Sullivan and Grace all agree that Catholic schools are distinctive, though this distinctiveness can be elusive: it is not easily defined and may vary in cultural contexts. McLaughlin (1996) warns of the dangers of theological clichés being substituted for the development of a distinctive Catholic Philosophy of education. He argues that Catholic documentation on education must be studied - not raided for theological sound-bites - and understood 'in reference to wider belief, tradition and practices of the Church' (McLaughlin, 1996, p.139). This thesis suggests that the distinctiveness of Catholic schooling is best understood as distinctiveness within a number of serious tensions. Firstly there is a tension in what constitutes

authentic participation in contemporary Catholicism. Secondly there is tension between the sacred and the secular aspects of Catholic schooling. Thirdly, there is a tension between distinctiveness and inclusiveness.

Groome (1996) agrees that the discourse on Catholic education must be grounded in a coherent understanding of Catholicism:

> …the distinctiveness of Catholic education is prompted by the distinctive characteristics of Catholicism itself, and these characteristics should be reflected in the whole curriculum of Catholic schools (Groome, 1996, p.107).

Groome (1998, pp.59-60) elaborates on the 'characteristics of Catholicism': positive anthropology; sacramentality of life; emphasis on relationship and community; commitment to history and tradition; wisdom rationality; spirituality; justice and social values and openness (Catholicity itself). While Groome's work serves as a theological guideline for Catholic education, he warns, as does Sullivan, that there is a variety of interpretation of what constitutes authentic participation in contemporary Catholicism, creating some ambivalence (Groome, 1996, Sullivan, 2000). McLaughlin (1996) argues that the distinctiveness of Catholic belief and behaviour in contemporary society is not always apparent:

> Catholic belief in general, and the personal beliefs and behaviour of individual Catholics have become less sharply distinguished from other beliefs and lifestyles, and it is no surprise that this is true also of Catholic educational principles and policies (McLaughlin, 1996, p.137).

This is because, Sullivan (2000) states, Catholic education and Catholic educators, are not estranged from contemporary socio-cultural contexts, but engage in a pluralist society and pluralist discourses. This can enhance the synthesis between Catholicism and contemporary culture, but can also be highly problematic for Catholic education, because a pluralism of stances towards Church teaching within Catholicism can emerge:

…its own members, who display a pluralism of stances towards the Church's teaching and a diverse range of stages towards the Church's teaching on moral and religious development (Sullivan, 2000, p23).

This ambivalence is exacerbated in many Catholic schools where the tension between maintaining a shared Catholic vision of education and meeting the secular objectives of public schooling (imposed by school funding bodies), economic, social, political and educational, creates an ongoing internal discourse (Sullivan, 2000):

In Catholic education there are additional dimensions to the contest over the rationale for schools. These additional dimensions include questions of authority and control, different perspectives on the relative weight to be given to different aspects of Catholicism itself and disagreement about the central role of a Catholic school (Sullivan, 2000, p.9).

Grace (2002) raises concerns about the contemporary relationship between 'Catholicity', or sacred aspect, of Catholic schools and the secular aspect of these schools. He questions if the recent secular success of Catholic schools in England and Wales in raising academic attainment has been at the expense of the sacred aspects of Catholic schooling. He argues that Catholic schools may struggle to retain distinctiveness in a new age dominated by global capitalist values. Ironically, the perceived academic success of Catholic schools and subsequent acceptability to factions of the Labour government and much of the general populace, while assuring the legitimacy of Catholic schools, may have upset the fragile balance between secular and sacred.

Sullivan (2001, p.9) suggests a tension between distinctiveness and inclusiveness rooted in a post-Vatican II Catholic Church. The pre-Vatican Church was 'inward looking and the distinctiveness was expressed in a separationist mentality'. The post-Vatican II Church, he claims, is more inclusive and 'open to diversity of experience and perspective' (Sullivan, 2001, pp. 9-10). Sullivan (2001, pp15-17, 201-202) argues

that there is a creative tension in a reciprocal relationship between distinctiveness and inclusiveness (there are always dangers of reversion to 'religious protectionism' or loss of the distinct features of Catholic schools).

Catholic schooling, then, reflects not only the richness of the tradition of Catholicism but also the diversity and complexity of contemporary belief and practice of those who ascribe to Catholicism, creating possible tensions in the agreement of a shared vision of Catholic schooling. Further there are tensions between sacred and secular pressures and between the distinctive and the inclusive.

The complementariness of Catholic schools and their contribution to education and society.

The Catholic Church does not simply claim that Catholic schools are distinctive but that they contribute enormously to education and society[28]:

> …the Church is absolutely convinced that Catholic schools, with their educational objectives, perform a vital service for the Church in today's world. She participates in cultural dialogue through schools, making her own positive contribution to the cause of the total formation of man. The absence of the Catholic school would be a great loss for civilization and for the natural and supernatural destiny of man (Catholic Schools, 1977, section 15).

Catholic schools, according to *Christian Education*, promote culture and human formation and the pupils of Catholic schools will contribute to the world (Christian Education, 1965). McLaughlin (1996) expands on this idea:

> …Catholic schools are now viewed in many quarters as making not only a valuable contribution to the development of citizens and to the common good in a pluralist democratic society, but also in certain respects succeeding in

achieving these aims more effectively than their public school counterparts (McLaughlin, 1996, p.137).

Grace (2003) warns that care must be taken when making such claims of being more effective. Perhaps it is unfair to compare Catholic schools with other types of non-faith schools, because such comparisons are problematic. The type of pupil in the Catholic school may be the factor that underpins the achievements of Catholic schools (Sander, 2001).[29] Extensive research would be required to establish, for example, the socio-economic and educational background of the parents of children in Catholic schools. Grace (2003, pp.140-149) suggests that Catholic schools, based on Gospel values, present a challenge to society. He also states that Catholic education has an openness and a Christian perspective of human nature and humanity that is not only compatible with liberal democratic democracy, 'but provides an acceptable, if not desirable alternative to the spiritually bereft and often religious free vision of education that is prevalent'. Grace (2002, 2003) takes the argument further and asserts that Catholic schools, as well as other faith schools, have a role to play in countering the prevailing trend of global capitalist values (my insert in italics).

> Such schools (*Catholic*) strive to renew a culture of spirituality, virtue and service to the common good in an increasingly materialist and individualistic global market (Grace, 2002, p.139)

Groome (1996) agues that Catholic education values ontology (being) and presents a dual ontological and epistemological (knowing) framework for education:

> Catholic education intends to inform and form the very 'being' of its students, to mould their identity and agency – who they are and how they live. In traditional philosophical terms, its intended learning outcome moves beyond the epistemological (*episteme*, knowledge) to the ontological (*ontos*, being) without leaving the former behind (Groome, 1996, p.121).

This dual framework contrasts with much of public education which only values epistemology and has removed ontology from education – focussing on knowing

alone. Groome views this removal of ontology as an incomplete approach to education:

> This ontological commitment permeates the anthropology of Catholic education as it engages the whole 'being' of people to empower them to become the 'glory of God fully alive' (Groome, 1996, p.121).

Supporters of Catholic schools, then, emphasise the importance of Catholic schools in the wider social and moral arena. Catholic schools, and other faith schools, it can be noted, are not the only kinds of schools that aim to form young people. The National Curriculum for England includes not only PSHE and Citizenship, but also Education for Sustainable Development. Pupils are encouraged through PSHE and Citizenship to: become responsible citizens; develop skills of enquiry and communication and develop skills of participation and responsible citizenship. The objectives for sustainable education have been adopted from the British Government's sustainable development strategy of July 1999: social progress that recognises the needs of everyone; effective protection of the environment; prudent use of natural resources and maintenance of high and stable levels of economic growth and employment. (National Curriculum online, 2007). Public education may not aim to *religiously* form young people, but has become concerned with forming young people as citizens and global citizens. State schools, then, also consider themselves to have a crucial role in the 'contemporary struggle for the formation of young people'. Catholic educationalists may contest these conceptions of state school formation as formation that is still primarily focussed on the epistemological - ensuring young people ascribe to certain values and able to engage as 'citizens' or 'global citizens', rather than focussed on the ontological.

Concluding remarks: the five key issues and Catholic schools in England and Wales

As has been seen above some of the key issues are more relevant to Catholic schools in England and Wales than others. The issues of: state funding for faith schools; faith

schools and selection (on grounds other than religion); faith schools and rational autonomy and faith schools and divisiveness all appear to apply to Catholic schools. The issue of faith schools and social cohesion do not appear to apply so readily to Catholic schools. Having examined the contexts of faith schools in the UK and international Catholic education for the discussion of Catholic schools, the next chapter will address the history of Catholic schools in Scotland within the context of the history of the Catholic community. A number of the key issues will be further discussed but within the context of their application to the Scottish Catholic schools.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTTISH CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND THE SCOTTISH CATHOLIC COMMUNITY 1864-2007

Introduction

As has been stated in the conceptual framework, most contemporary Catholics in Scotland are descended from Irish immigrants, but there is diversity in the national-cultural mix of Catholics in Scotland: there were post-Reformation indigenous Catholics in parts of Scotland before the arrival of the Irish and the immigration of Italian, Lithuanians and Poles increased the Catholic population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Boyle and Lynch, 1998; Devine, 2006). Contemporary Catholic schools historically emerged within this context of diversity, although the critical mass of Irish Catholic immigrants proved to be the catalyst for the origins and development of Catholic schooling. This chapter will examine the history of the Catholic community (in its diversity) and the associated history of Catholic schooling from 1864 to 2007. The date 1864 has been chosen because this marks the date of the Argyll Commission, the pre-cursor for the introduction of compulsory state-funded school education in Scotland that led to state-funded Catholic schools in Scotland (Anderson, 1999).

This history will be prefixed by a summary of the history of the Catholic community and Catholic schools from 1800 to 1863. The associated histories of the Catholic community and Catholic schools will then be examined by using smaller narratives. This method of the construction of smaller narratives, within a postmodern critique of historiography, has been discussed in the introduction. These smaller narratives are as follows. Period 1: 1864 to 1918, the period that commences with the Argyll Commission and includes the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act and the events that preceded the 1918 Act. Period 2: the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act that established state-funded Catholic schooling in Scotland. Period 3: the 1920s and 1930s that could be described as a time of strife (reflecting a time of increased hostility and sectarianism towards the Catholic community). Period 4: the 1940s to 1970s that

mark a period of development and growth. Period 5: 1980s to 2005 (especially the last ten years of this period) emerge as a kind of 'golden age' in the sense that Catholic schools are perceived to be highly successful, both internally and externally. The smaller narratives will include examination of the histories of the national-cultural diversity of the Catholic community (drawing primarily from insider sources). The immigrant typologies, outlined in the introduction, will be applied to the arrival and progress of these national-cultural groups. Finally, this chapter will apply the five key issues from the faith school debate to Catholic schooling in Scotland. One of the challenges in constructing this history is that certain periods of the history of Catholic schooling have received very little academic attention. This is particularly marked in periods 3, 4 and, to a lesser extent, 5.

Period 1800 -1863

The Catholic community: the early 19ᵗʰ century

The Irish Catholics began to settle in numbers from the late eighteenth century onwards. Initially they were employed in seasonal work, but later, after 1775, many more were permanently employed constructing the Scottish canal system and settled in Scotland (Gallagher, 1987). These waves of immigration could be classified as follows: initially groups of *aspirers* that were dissatisfied with life at home and sought a better life for themselves and their families, followed by *dislocated migrants,* the wives and families who joined husbands who had already migrated (Boneva and Frieze, 2001). There were around 25,000 Irish Catholics in Scotland in the 1820's and by 1840, there were 126,321 (40,000 in Glasgow alone) (Bradley, 1995, Lynch, 1991). The Great Famine (or famines) of 1845-1849 precipitated an enormous exodus from Ireland and by 1851, there were over 207,000 Irish born Catholics in Scotland, around 7% of the population (Devine, 2006).[30] These Irish, *resultant migrants* (facing serious pressure at home, they leave) were desperate for employment and settled in industrial and mining areas, especially in the west (in greater Glasgow and Lanarkshire) though some settled in Dundee and Lothian (Mitchell, 1998). Overall, the Irish felt that the British government had handled the relief programme badly and they harboured some resentment (Foster, 1988, p.342).[31] O'Tuathaigh (1985, p.20) suggests that this created a difficulty for the Irish arriving in Scotland: their

perception was that their enforced immigration was a result of 'Britain's misgovernment of Ireland'.

When the Irish Catholics did complete the short journey to Scotland the initial experience, according to Gallagher (1991), could be traumatic:

> But her alien cultural and religious institutions, the coldness of the personal reception, and the transformation of a rural environment not unlike what had been left behind into a belching industrial inferno, was bound to have been a wrenching experience (Gallagher, 1991, p.19).

The Irish found it difficult to cope with this:

> …immigrants who had succumbed to the enormous pressures bearing down on individuals plunged into the Scottish urban industrial maelstrom (p.21).

Gallagher's emotive vision of the rural Irish descending into a nightmarish industrial Scotland (a combination of Christian imagery of the fires of Hell and the Fall) can obscure serious and complex issues (McKinney, 2007d). The Irish immigrants at this time were *resultant* immigrants, they immigrated because of life-threatening pressures - they migrated because of the Famine, the unsustainability of life in Ireland and because of the employment opportunities provided by Industrial Scotland (Collins, 1991).

As they settled, an important role for the Irish Catholic immigrants emerged in the development and growth of industrial Scotland. Gallagher (1991) proposes that:

> They were an indispensable mobile workforce whose contribution to the prosperity of the 'second City of the Empire' went largely unappreciated by contemporary chroniclers (Gallagher, 1991, p.21).

Many writers, such as Devine (2006, p.487) and Damer (1990, p.52) agree that the Irish made a 'substantial contribution to the Scottish economy' and were the 'unsung heroes of the Industrial revolution in Scotland'. Perhaps one of the reasons they were

unappreciated was because of the impact that this large group of immigrants had in parts of Scotland. O'Tuathaigh (1985, p.21) points out this sudden influx of large numbers of unskilled workers and their families caused 'major social problems' in cities and towns which were already dangerously overpopulated. The size (one of Patchen's (1999) significant features of the relationship between society and immigrants) of the immigration was overwhelming in terms of pressure on housing and the social infrastructure.

Apart from presenting a major social problem, the influx of huge numbers of Irish Catholic immigrants also presented a religious problem. Gallagher (1991) states that the Catholicism of the immigrants was:

> …viewed as subversive…an affront to the Presbyterian tradition and a danger to Protestantism (Gallagher, 1991, p.23).

The Catholic faith of the immigrants appears to have challenged the Protestant establishment in Scotland (religion is another of Patchen's significant features). As was seen in the conceptual framework, Calvinist Presbyterianism was conceived as a radical form of Protestantism and extreme in its rejection of Catholicism. Presbyterianism also had a role as a marker of national identity for a stateless nation (Devine, 2006). The Italians, the Lithuanians and the Poles were all to be victims of anti-Catholic prejudice, but the arrival and settlement of a large influx of Irish Catholics challenged, as Robbins (2000, p.252) comments, 'the self image of the Scots as a Protestant people'.

Initially, the Irish Catholics experienced discrimination, were confined to the lowest end of the job market and lived in the poorest parts of cities and towns (Devine, 2006). They were often viewed with hostility not just by the Protestant Scots but also by the Protestant Irish immigrants and even the indigenous Scottish Catholics (Ross, 1978). Some of the Protestant Irish expressed their identity and hostility towards the Catholics by participating in the Orange Order and they had a powerful presence in the Order for much of the nineteenth century (Walker, 1991).

Catholic schools: origins

The arrival of the Irish Catholic immigrants impacted on school provision in Scotland. Skinnider (1967, pp. 15-16) describes the 'haphazard growth in education' in Scotland at the beginning of the industrial revolution, especially in the cities. In Glasgow alone there were: Kirk session schools, private adventure schools, factory schools, free ragged schools, industrial schools, charity schools, subscription schools, mission schools for dissenting Protestants, Catholic schools, Episcopalian schools and the Free Church opened schools in 1843. Previous to their arrival, the small number of indigenous Catholics sent their children to the local Kirk schools, or arranged for private tuition (Kenneth, 1972, p.7).[32] The Irish Catholic immigrants were concerned that there was no scope for Catholic religious instruction in these Presbyterian schools and their increasing number meant that the establishment of Catholic schools became a possibility. In October 1817 the Catholic Schools Society was formed in Glasgow by the prominent MP (and Protestant) Kirkman Finlay (Skinnider, 1967). The Society founded 5 schools between 1818 and 1825. Catholic schools were also founded in Blantyre, Paisley, Greenock, Airdrie, Port Glasgow, Dumfries, Edinburgh and Leith between 1816 and 1832 (Handley, 1945). Handley (1945) points out that when a Catholic community increased to a sufficient size, a school would often be built first– the school being used for Mass on a Sunday until the Church was built. The number of Catholic schools continued to grow and in 1847, the Catholic Poor Schools Committee was established to enable Catholic schools to receive some state aid (Skinnider, 1967). Sourcing suitably qualified Catholic teachers was a challenge in the early 19th century, but this was partly resolved by the arrival of a number of religious teaching orders (who improved the quality of Catholic schooling quite markedly) and the establishment of training Colleges in England.[33]

Period 1: 1864 to 1918

This period is marked by the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland (Darragh, 1986) and by the influx of the Italian, Lithuanian and Polish Catholics, creating a potentially rich diversity of national-cultural expressions of Catholicism in Scotland (McKinney, 2007a). The number of Catholic schools continued to grow, but the variety and, importantly, the quality of schools in Scotland was causing some

concern and the recommendations of the Argyll Commission were to result in the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act.

The Catholic community: the arrival of the Italian, Lithuanian and Polish Catholics

The Italians, escaping poverty caused by increased population, outdated agricultural practices, and unjust political and social structures (*aspirers*), arrived in Scotland in numbers between 1880 and 1914 (Colpi, 1991, Pieri, 2005). They created employment for themselves in the catering industry: ice cream cafes and fish and chip shops and tended to disperse throughout Scotland. The small group of Lithuanians (*resultant* migrants probably numbering about 7,000 by 1914) emigrated from poverty and cultural and religious suppression (by the Russians between 1880 and 1914) (Miller, 1998). They settled and worked in the mining areas, especially Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, forming a vibrant and colourful community. Miller (1998) states that their foreign origin and Catholic faith meant that Lithuanians were often discriminated against:

> Probably the main thing they brought with them was their religion. To the Calvinistic Presbyterian country of Scotland they brought and diligently pursued the Roman Catholic faith. The traditional religious bigotry, particularly in the west of Scotland, meant that there were two reasons why the Lithuanians suffered ostracism and prejudice: a) they were foreigners, and b) they were Catholic. Having suffered almost a century of Russian persecution this treatment was nothing new to them and they persevered in practising their faith (Miller, 1998, p.70).

James Keir Hardie, the Socialist leader, for example, often spoke publicly and vehemently against the Lithuanians, perceiving them as a threat to local employment (Miller, 1998, p.23-24). Hardie's antipathy towards the Lithuanians can be contrasted with his 'sympathy' for the aspirations of the Irish Catholics – he even appeared on the platform of an Irish Home Rule Rally in Glasgow on St Patrick's Day in 1888 (Handley, 1947, p.27; Ross 1978, p.42). At the same time as the Lithuanians arrived in Scotland, a small number of Poles (*aspirers*) had arrived and worked in the mines

in Lanarkshire, beside the Lithuanians, before World War I. They experienced the same hostility as the Lithuanians because of their adherence to Catholicism:

> The opposition to the 'Poles' was not influenced by the national origins of the immigrants. Religion was the issue because most of the 'Poles' were Catholics. Before 1914 anti-Catholicism in Scotland was very strong in the industrialized West, the Lothians, Fife and the Central Belt…In Lanarkshire…some Protestant Scots regarded the 'Poles' as being very similar to the Irish. As in the case of the Irish, the 'Poles' were resented for being Catholics, for an alleged fondness for drunkenness and violence, and for apparently being willing to serve the mine-owners as cheap, unskilled labour and strike-breakers (Ziarski-Kernberg, 2000, p.19).

The Poles were subjected to belittling and demonizing stereotyping (Liechty and Clegg, 2001) of their alleged 'national' and 'religious' characteristics but, despite this and their small number, they gained respect from their fellow workers because of their willingness to join and fully participate in trade unions and union strike activity (Ziarski-Kernberg, 2000).

Catholic schools: expansion and retained independence

The Argyll Commission (1864) was established because of a perceived 'crisis in education', a result of the dramatic 'growth in industry' (the children in industrialised areas were often poorly educated) and divisions caused by the splintering of the established Church in 1843 (and an increase in the diversity of Church schooling) (Paterson, 2003, p.37). The reports (1867-1868) of the Argyll Commission outlined the inadequacies of the 'haphazard' school provision in Scotland, including the inconsistencies in Catholic schools (Skinnider, 1967). The dramatic increase in the Catholic population at the time of the Famines had placed the Catholic school system under enormous pressure. Overcrowding was commonplace and the quality of the educational experience could be poor (Handley, 1947). The schools run by the religious orders impressed school inspectors but in cities like Glasgow, where only half of the children attended school, two thirds of Catholic children did not attend school (Skinnider, 1967). This was partly because the immigrant Catholic families

were impoverished and the children were required to work (Handley, 1945). There were also concerns that parents were indifferent to the value of school education (Skinnider, 1967). The Government, as a result of the reports of the Argyll Commission, tried to construct a centralised educational system in the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act which created an opportunity for the voluntary schools to be administered and funded by the state (Anderson, 1999).

This Act also introduced compulsory education for all children to the age of 13 (Anderson, 1999). The Catholic Church did not opt into the state system after this Act because it was not satisfied that the denominational status of Catholic schools would be preserved (Kenneth, 1972). There was now legal pressure for Catholic children to attend school and expansion was required (Skinnider, 1967). The number of Catholic schools grew from 65 in 1872 to 138 in 1882 and then grew further to 188 in 1900 (Treble, 1978, Paterson, 2003). Catholic schools, however, had to be funded by Catholics themselves. Some small grants were available but these were for salaries and equipment, not for new buildings (Kenneth, 1972). Handley (1947) and Kenneth (1972) argue that Catholics had to pay for education twice: they paid for the state sector from the rates and they paid for their own schools separately. Catholic schools relied on voluntary contributions (small weekly fees) and an enormous fundraising endeavour (Kenneth, 1972). The successful Catholic schools (often those run by the religious orders) compared favourably with the more successful state schools. The vast majority of Catholic schools, however, were fairly rudimentary: crumbling buildings and inadequate resources. The majority of Catholic teachers, though improved in quality because of the establishment of Notre Dame Training College for women in Glasgow in 1894, were poorly paid (Skinnider, 1967, Fitzpatrick, 1995). The system of Catholic schooling was at breaking point at the time of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act (Kenneth, 1972).

Period 2: the 1918 Act

This period focuses on the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act that established full state funding for Catholics schools in Scotland.

Catholic schools: the beginning of a new era

The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act could be perceived to be a key moment in the process of the establishment of Scottish state-funded school education that was prompted by the reports of the Argyll Commission of 1867-8. This key moment was not only beneficial to Catholic schools, its threefold aim was designed to benefit all schools: (1) to simplify educational administration; (2) bring Catholic and other voluntary schools into the public sector; (3) create a framework for secondary education (Paterson, 2003). The Catholic Church, from its perspective, was satisfied, under the conditions of this Act, that Catholic schools would be allowed to retain their denominational status, their own form of religious instruction and that the hierarchy had influence over the choice of teachers to be appointed. A total of 226 Catholic schools were handed over to the education authorities and the Catholic community ceased to carry the financial burden of maintaining voluntary Catholic schools (Fitzpatrick 1986) although the complete financial integration of all Catholic schools was a gradual process that was completed by the late 1920s (Treble, 1978, p.127). As a result of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, the Catholic schools became fully incorporated into the Scottish state educational system and became fully part of not only the *public* discussion and history, but were inextricably bound to the *official* discussion and post 1918 history of schools in Scotland.

Bruce (1985) suggests that the incorporation of Catholic schools into the state system in 1918 was not universally welcomed, but Brown (1991), taking an alternative position, states that there was very little opposition to the state funding for Catholic schools at this time. The 1918 Act would, however, become a focus for sectarian hostility in the 1920s.

Period 3: the 1920s and 1930s

This period, characterised by national economic recession and a national depression, was to be a period of turmoil for Catholics from an Irish, Italian or Lithuanian background. Despite the challenges faced by the Catholic community, Catholic schools continued to grow in number.

The Catholic community: effects of economic recession

In the economic crisis of the 1930's, Scottish society sought to blame the continued presence of immigrant workers, however long established, for widespread economic depression. This can be conceptualized within the first aspect of the fundamental dilemma of migrants: the migrants have failed to prosper and are perceived to be a drain on resources (Esses et al., 2001). In this case the country has failed to prosper and the migrants, the Irish Catholics and the Lithuanians, were used as scapegoats for the economic downturn (Devine, 2006). Brown (1991, p.31, p.42) points out that in the 1920's and 1930's, John White of the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland, pursuing a 'pseudo-scientific racism', was prominent in the attacks on the Irish immigrants and Catholic schools and the call for discriminatory employment practices. The Irish were perceived to be: less 'pure' than the native Scots; immigrating in vast numbers; monopolising some forms of employment and heavily dependent on social welfare (Brown, 1991). Gallagher (1987, p.140) claims that White's campaign was pursued by 'a small but vocal minority of ministers who had a larger element of the faithful behind them'.

It is difficult to assess the concrete effects of this campaign. Firstly, this was not a 'position' adopted by the Church of Scotland. It is hard to envisage how the democratic Church of Scotland, based on a committee structure and presbytery system, would adopt such a position. It was, and is, normative to accept or endorse reports and recommendations from the committee structure. This campaign cannot, therefore, be described as a Church of Scotland campaign, although it was led by a prominent and high profile Church of Scotland minister and the Church of Scotland Assembly approved reports that recommended structural and attitudinal sectarianism. Secondly, Paterson and Ianelli (2006, pp.353-377, p.354) claim that there is little evidence of 'widespread invidious discrimination' in the workplace. Thirdly, the Glasgow Herald was instrumental in publicly exposing some of the erroneous assumptions adopted by White (Brown, 1991). The Irish immigration had, in fact, reduced considerably since World War I and the number of Irish dependent on social welfare was negligible. Ironically, it is highly probable that Catholics of Irish descent were represented, if not 'proportionally over-represented', given their low economic

status, in the mass emigration of 1921-1930 that was precipitated by the depression (Darragh, 1978, p.224).

The small group of Lithuanians, however, did appear to suffer visibly from the xenophobia and sectarianism - many Lithuanian men changed their names and concealed their ethnic identity to gain employment. This demonizing of immigrant groups was partly due to their status as immigrants and partly due to their Catholic religion (Liechty and Clegg, 2001). The break-up of the traditional mining communities, including Lithuanian communities, and the dispersal to new housing in the inter war years accelerated assimilation: the relatively small numbers of Lithuanian families found themselves isolated from each other and marriage outside the community became common (Miller, 1998).

The number of Italians had grown to around 6,092 in 1927 (Colpi, 1991). Devine (2006, pp.515-517) and Maan (1992, pp.26-28) state that the Italians encountered little hostility between the wars as they appeared to present little threat to employment and they were not concentrated in any areas. Ugolini (2000) points out, however, that hostility towards the Italians was not confined to the outbreak of World War II, as suggested by Devine and Maan, arguing that it is a common misconception that the Italians were favourably received in Scotland as compared to the Irish and the Lithuanians. This has resulted in a romanticisation of the story of the Italians in Scotland that has obfuscated the history of hostility and sectarianism they experienced. She states that this (seldom identified and recorded) hostility was intensified between the wars at the time of the unpopular Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935. Sectarianism directed towards the Italians would be at its most intense at the outbreak of the Second World War.

Catholic schools: gradual growth

Despite the establishment of a second Catholic training College, Craiglockhart College in Edinburgh in 1919, and encouragement for male students to attend Jordanhill College, Glasgow to obtain primary teaching qualifications, the early part of this period was characterised by a shortage of Catholic teachers (Fitzpatrick, 1995). The Church accepted the appointment of a 'modest' number of non-Catholic teachers

for the secondary schools and this continued throughout the 1930s. By the end of the 1920s, however, there was a surplus of primary teachers. The Second World War delayed the planned raising of the school age to 15 and limited the introduction of the division of secondary education into junior and senior Secondary schools. The Catholic schools system continued to grow slowly: there were 14 Catholic Secondary schools in 1924-1925 rising to 19 in 1932-1933, but senior secondary provision, according to Treble (1978, p.130), was 'underdeveloped'. Attendance continued to be a problem. During the depression, the children saw little need for education and during the war children left school early to take advantage of the employment opportunities.

Period 4: the 1940s to 1970s

The early stages of this period are dominated by the tragic consequences of the internment of the Italian Catholics in Scotland and the settlement of a large number of ex-service Poles and consequent sectarian attacks. In the 1960s and 1970s, increased numbers of the Catholic community began to flourish.

The Catholic community: development and growth

Colpi (1991) and Pieri (2005) point out that the positive response of the Scottish Italians to Mussolini's attempts to encourage exiles to celebrate their Italian culture and embrace fascism was to have devastating effects. When fascist Italy declared war on Britain on June 10 1940, there were riots (including looting of the cafes and shops) and demonstrations against Italians throughout Scotland. Another consequence of the war-time suspicion of the Italian community was the internment of Italian men living in Scotland aged between 17 and 70. They were transported to camps in Canada, Australia and the Isle of Man (Pieri, 1997, 2005, Rossi, 1991). Tragically, 51 Scottish Italians were drowned when the Arandora Star, carrying Italian internees, was torpedoed en route to Canada (Colpi, 1991). The Italians re-established themselves in the post-war years, continuing to work in the catering industry, though some have entered the professions and the public sector. Those who remained in business, catering or other forms, appear, according to Colpi, to have retained some form of Italian identity, more so than those who have entered the public sector.

Although the war-time hostility towards the Italians has been well documented, researchers such as Ugolini state that this period of the history of the Italian community in Scotland requires greater scrutiny. Pieri (2005) and Colpi (1991) suggest that the viciousness of the 1940 riots in Scotland was partly fuelled by anti-Catholicism. Although there were mixed motives for this violence, this physical intimidation and attack of others is one of the expressions of sectarianism identified by Liechty and Clegg (2001). This combination of xenophobia and sectarianism (the Italians being recognized as belonging to the wider Catholic group) is, in one sense, ironical because according to Colpi (1991, p.232, pp.240-241), Italian Catholicism was more 'relaxed' and the Italians often felt estranged from (as they perceived it) the legalistic and less colourful 'Irish' Catholicism which had developed in Scotland - an Irish Catholicism which had culturally formed, led and dominated Post-Reformation Catholicism in Scotland.[34]

A large influx of Poles into Scotland was to occur at the beginning of World War II and these Poles, at the end of the war, were also to experience hostility and sectarianism. At the onset of World War II exiled members of the Polish Army were based in Scotland, mainly in Lanarkshire and the Borders (Ziarski-Kernberg, 2000). By 1945, there were 24,287 Polish servicemen in Scotland. After the War the proposed repatriation of the Poles was not as successful as the British Government had hoped. Many Poles did not want to return to life under the new communist regime. Perhaps Taylor's threefold typology is inadequate for this group. This thesis proposes a fourth type of migrant: *accidental*. An accidental migrant is one who is working in another country, but because of a change in circumstances in their country of origin, is unable or unwilling to go home. For some Scots, the continued presence of large number of Polish troops which was welcome in war-time became a nuisance, or even a threat, in peace time – there were fears that demobbed and settled Poles would compete for jobs and housing (Sword, 1989, Ziarski-Kernberg, 2000).

Some opposed the continued presence of the Poles because they were Catholic. An anti-Polish demonstration in Edinburgh on 3 June 1946, for example, was attended by 2,500 people and focused on both the Polish national identity and Catholic religion of the immigrants.[35] In spite of such sectarian and xenophobic outbursts, it became clear

by 1947 that the majority of the Poles would remain in Scotland and that they were, in fact, needed for the rebuilding of the industrial base of the Scottish economy (Sword, 1989, Ziarski-Kernberg, 2000). The Poles were employed in a wide variety of trades and professions and were spread throughout Scotland: organised Polish community life flourished in Glasgow and Edinburgh, but also in Falkirk, Dundee, Fife, Kirkcaldy, Dunfermline, Aberdeen and Perth. Many Poles married Scottish women and this caused difficulties in the continuation of Polish identity and culture.

Participation by the Catholics in the two World Wars contributed to the slow acceptance of them, though the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland produced a report in 1952 concerned that the Catholic community, mainly of alien origin, had become increasingly influential and presented a menace to the Protestant heritage of Scotland (Boyle and Lynch, 1998, Kelly, 2003a). An indication of how far opinions had changed since the inter-war anti-Catholic campaign is that this was quickly dismissed by the Church of Scotland Assembly. The Catholic Church flourished during the post Second World War slum clearances and the relocation to new towns and new areas, establishing new parishes and, at least initially, helping to create community and maintain Catholic culture (Brown, 1992).

Some Scottish academics claim that barriers preventing social and economic advancement for Catholics were lifted in the post-war period, but only because of external factors (Devine, 2000, 2006, Gallagher, 1987). Discrimination in the job market was partially eroded in the 1950's and 1960's because of a shortage of skilled workers (Devine, 2006). The increased number of skilled Catholics provided the skilled labour required (Paterson, 2000). The rise of the national and multinational companies ensured a greater equity of opportunity. Coincidentally, increased opportunities in higher education for all Scots proved to be highly beneficial for Catholics (Devine, 2006) The number of Catholic students in Glasgow University trebled between 1956 and 1972 from 700 to 2,000 (Gallagher, 1987). They formed one of the largest Catholic student bodies in the UK (Maver, 1996). By the 1970's a sizable upwardly mobile and young Catholic middle class had emerged in Scotland (Brown, 1997).

Brown (2000) states that from the 1960's the Catholic and Protestant Churches often united, in a more practical way, to combat the challenges of the 'secular society' and engaged in public expressions of friendship and unity. Key moments in the developing ecumenical relationship between the churches included: the historical address by Archbishop Thomas Winning to the General Assembly in May 1975 (though, as Quinn (1979, pp.207-208) points out, 'Roman' Catholic visitors had attended the assembly since 1969) and the appointment, albeit initially highly controversial, of Professor Mackay, a Catholic and ex-Jesuit priest, to the prestigious Thomas Chalmers Chair of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh.

Catholic schools: a new dawn

After the Second World War, the rise in the birth rate increased the rolls in Catholic primary and secondary schools throughout the 1950's and 1960's, and once again recruitment of teachers became a pressing issue, exacerbated by the raising of the school leaving age to 15 (from 1947) and later 16 (1972) (Treble, 1978). Many Catholic schools in the east of Scotland resolved this by recruiting greater numbers of non-Catholic staff. By the mid 1970s, the teacher shortage had begun to ease. New schools were built in the new towns and many of the older buildings were renovated or re-built. By the 1970s, Glasgow had 13 comprehensive secondary schools. Treble (1978) states that the:

> …average Catholic secondary school child of 1978 was taught in smaller classes, in better surroundings and by better-qualified teachers than any previous generation of Catholic pupils (Treble, 1978, p.138).

The introduction of the comprehensive educational system in 1965 ended the distinction between Junior and Senior Secondary schools (Fitzpatrick, 1999). The new comprehensive system was advantageous to the Catholic community because there had been proportionally fewer Catholic Senior Secondary schools (Paterson, 2000). Comprehensive education combined with the higher school leaving age of 16 and the opportunities in Higher Education increased the S4 to S6 rolls in Catholic schools and increased the opportunity for social advancement (Treble, 1978, Devine, 2006). The

Scottish Catholic Education Commission was established in 1971 to act as 'an advisory body to the hierarchy on all educational matters' (Fitzpatrick, 2000, p.448).

Period 5: 1980s to 2007

Ironically, this period could be described as a 'golden age' for the Catholic community and Catholic schools and could equally be described as highly problematic and challenging for both. The Catholic community appears to have progressed considerably and many have become socially mobile, but some commentators discern the emergence of economic and class divisions within the Catholic community (see appendix 4). The ecumenical movement has, arguably, benefited the status of Catholicism in Scottish society, but the Catholic community has suffered heavily from the fall in practice and the rise of secularism. Catholic schools have enjoyed official recognition of their academic success and popular acclaim for their ethos and social environment, but they too face the challenges of the fall in practice rate and rise of secularism.

The Catholic community: progress and internal divisions; ecumenism, sectarianism and the rise of secularism

The national-cultural groups continued to experience mixed fortunes. The hostile and sectarian treatment of the Italians and a deep silence in the older generation about the intensity of these experiences have not, ultimately, prevented the growth and prosperity of the Italian community in Scotland. Some of the Italians continue to exist as an identifiable group and various organizations, such as the Dante Alighieri Society, celebrate the Italian language and culture (Pieri, 2005). The appointment of two Catholic bishops of Italian descent in Scotland and the celebration of an annual Mass in Italian in Glasgow's Catholic cathedral suggest a greater acknowledgement of the cultural complexity of the Scottish Catholic community. Nevertheless, Colpi's (1993) argument that the establishment of an Italian church would have provided an invaluable focus for the Italian Catholics and helped retain a greater sense of identity and community probably still stands. For the Lithuanians, however, the hostility and sectarianism they experienced and the small size of the community has led to the disappearance of the community. Miller (1998), an elderly member of the Lithuanian

community in 1998, predicts that with the passing of his generation, the Lithuanian community and culture in Scotland will disappear. As Miller's generation does disappear, this will also be the end of Scottish Lithuanian insider accounts (McKinney, 2007a). In recent years, the dwindling number of 'Polish born' from the Second World War has been greatly increased by the arrival of a large number of Polish immigrants (Ziarski-Kernberg, 2000, Harrell, 2006, Morris, 2007).

The social advancement of some members of the Catholic community continued (Fitzpatrick, 2003) and Paterson (2000) suggests that the social class of younger Catholics, both men and women, is similar to that of non-Catholics, partly the effect of the introduction of comprehensive schooling.[36] Some Scottish sources suggest, however, that social distinctions have increasingly divided the Catholic community (Boyle and Lynch, 1998; Fitzpatrick, 1999; Paterson et al., 2004). The emergence of the Catholic middle class masks a more desperate situation for many Catholics (Gallagher, 1987; Boyle and Lynch, 1998). The Catholic underclass, according to Bradley, appears to suffer more than their fair share of unemployment, poor health and foul housing (Bradley, 1995). Many of the large 'dreary housing schemes' in the overspill areas and the new towns are situated miles from public amenities and have failed to generate community spirit and to prosper (Gallagher, 1987, p.233). Urban alienation and unemployment have contributed to a disproportionately high number of Catholics in Scotland being imprisoned (Bradley, 1995). The sociological studies conducted by Paterson et al. (2004), confirm that a high percentage of Catholics in the west of Scotland do appear to suffer poor health, but they argue that, given that these older generation Catholics are descended from the Catholic Irish who have been employed at the lower end of the labour markets, it can be difficult to disentangle religion, ethnicity and social class.

A number of highly significant ecumenical gestures and reconciliatory actions characterise this period.[37] In an extraordinary and controversial moment, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland met with Pope John Paul II in the quadrangle at New College, University of Edinburgh in 1982. In 1986, the General Assembly was guided by the Church and Nation Committee, under the leadership of Rev Norman Shanks, to disassociate the Church of Scotland from anti-Catholic statements in the Westminster Confession of Faith.[38] The statements had attacked 'popish monastic

vows', rejected intermarriage with 'idolaters' such as papists, described the pope as the 'anti-Christ' and objected to the 'popish' sacrifice of the Mass'.[39] The Church of Scotland publicly apologised for racist attacks on the Irish Catholics, especially in the early twentieth century (Kelly, 2003a). More recently, ecumenical gestures have been related to the struggle to combat contemporary sectarianism. On Sunday 5 January 2004, for example, the Moderator, Professor Iain Torrance, was invited to preach at St Andrew's Catholic Cathedral in Glasgow. The event was focussed on condemning the social evil of sectarianism.[40]

Despite the optimism of these ecumenical initiatives and these demonstrations of solidarity, the practice rate in both the Church of Scotland and in the Catholic Church has continued to fall. Although 42.40% (2,146,300) of the Scottish population claim to adhere to the Church of Scotland and 15.88% (803,000) (out of 5,062,000 people) claim to be Catholic, active membership in the Church of Scotland has fallen 35% to 639,000 and in the Catholic Church the fall is 24% to 225,000 (Paterson et al., 2004, p.144). Divorce and cohabitation, following general social patterns, have increased in these two Christian communities.

The introduction of devolution in 1998 prompted re-evaluation of Scottish culture and society and identification of prominent features of 21st century Scottish culture and society.[41] One of the prominent features is that Scotland is perceived to have become a secular country (Walker, 1996). Walker (1996) examines the diminishing role of the established Church of Scotland and points out that although the Church of Scotland had significant influence on some of the major public political debates in the late twentieth century; this influence has waned considerably in recent years.[42] Firstly, the Church of Scotland, according to Walker (p.258), has never recovered from the 'membership catastrophe' of the 1960s. The decline in practice in the Catholic Church was to be equally dramatic in the 1980s and 1990s (Walker, 2002). The report entitled 'Church without Walls' (online, 2001), presented to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 2001, acknowledged this membership catastrophe and attempted to uncover and analyse the causes. The erosion of belief, the document states, is partly caused by the 'lack of plausibility of faith for many people', changes in demographics and social customs and a break in the passing on of the traditions of the Church:

The social basis of the Church has become eroded as the Church has become disconnected from local community, through social fragmentation and congregational isolation. The 'chain of memory' between the generations has been broken, cutting the Church off from the rising generation (Church without Walls online, 2001, pp.12-13).

Secondly, those affiliated to the Church of Scotland no longer look to the Church for 'social and leisure activities'.[43] Thirdly, the links established between the Church and the military establishment (especially around the time of the First World War) have been eroded, and the link with, and overt pride in the success of, the Scottish Education system, perceived to have been founded and built on Presbyterian principles, has also eroded (Walker, 1996). Fourthly, as Scotland has become multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-faith, the political significance of the Church has changed (Church without Walls online, 2001).

Initially, the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1998 created an interesting and unusual alliance between the Church of Scotland and the state. It was highly symbolic, according to Walker, when the Parliament was temporarily housed in the Church of Scotland Assembly Buildings in 1999.[44] This highlighted the common perception of the role of the General Assembly as a surrogate Scottish Parliament for much of the twentieth century (Walker, 2002). Some Presbyterian thinkers have even argued that the drive for self-government in Scotland has roots in the Scottish Protestant tradition:

Storrar himself has detected a 'civic' Calvinist influence in the recent mobilisation of Scottish society in support of self-government, and argues the case for extending this to the creation of a democratic culture of active citizenship in civil society as the proper context for the new Scottish Parliament (Walker, 2002, p.255).

Despite this temporary accommodation and alleged influence of a 'civic' Calvinism, the establishment of the Scottish Parliament presented a serious challenge for the Church of Scotland (and equally for the Catholic Church), as the Church sought to

create a working relationship with the new Parliament and operate within an increasingly secular environment that views the influence of religion in public political debates as unwelcome 'intrusion' (Walker, 2002).

Another issue that prominently emerged, or re-emerged, in the public forum in the early 21st century was sectarianism. The James MacMillan lecture of 1999 raised the issue of the continued existence of sectarianism in Scotland and provoked a strong reaction from the Scottish media. Both Conroy and Finn accuse the media of partial and distorted reporting of the contents of this lecture.[45] Both writers argue that the strong, adverse reaction to his lecture seemed to confirm MacMillan's fears of anti-Catholic bigotry. Counter claims have emerged from academics such as Bruce et al. (2004) that sectarianism in contemporary Scotland is greatly exaggerated. However, public initiatives such as Nil by Mouth and the highly publicised anti-sectarian initiatives of the Scottish Executive have ensured that sectarianism has been a focus of public, political and academic discussion in the first decade of the new millennium.[46]

Catholic schools: golden age or anachronistic symbols of sectarianism?

There were major changes in the provision for Catholic teacher training: Notre Dame and Craiglockhart Colleges merged in 1981 to form St Andrews' College which was to later merge with Glasgow University in 1999 (Fitzpatrick, 1995, 2003). There was also a terminal decline in the influence of the religious teaching orders in Catholic schools in the 1980s and 1990s (Fitzpatrick, 2003). Nevertheless, Catholic schools in contemporary Scotland appear to be enjoying a period of unparalleled success in the public forum. Paterson and Ianelli (2006, pp.374-375) argue that the 'academically successful Catholic schools' have had a major role to play in the social mobility of many Catholics. A number of developments and support systems in the late 1990s and early 21st century have been highly significant (McKinney, 2008). Catholic schools were publicly supported by Jack McConnell, in his capacity as Scotland's First Minister, and a number of Catholic schools have received exemplary HMIe reports in the last few years.[47] The creation of the Scottish Catholic Education Service (the operational arm of the Catholic Education Commission) and the appointment of Michael McGrath as full-time director in 2003 have had a significant impact on the

profile of Catholic schooling in Scotland and he has consolidated and enhanced Catholic representation at various levels of local and central government. The establishment of SCES has also expedited the accelerated evolution and dissemination of policy concerned or connected with Catholic schools (SCES online).[48]

Despite this success, there appears to be lingering ambivalence concerning the position and continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland. Catholic schools are often claimed to be divisive and related to sectarianism in the press.[49] Conroy (2001) argues that resentment about the existence of Catholic schools appears to have continued since the 1918 Act, and although attacks on Catholic schools and Catholicism may have lost some of their virulence in contemporary Scotland, the Scottish parliament initially provided a catalyst for a number of senior academics, senior politicians and trade union officials to call for the closure of Catholic schools, based on assumptions that Catholic schools, 'by virtue of their very existence', are 'either unjust or sectarian'.

Kelly (2003b) usefully contrasts the contemporary situation concerning Catholic schools with that in England. In Scotland the Catholic schools constitute about 15% of all state schools (there are a few Episcopalian schools and one Jewish school). In England, however, the denominational sector is over one third of all state schools and includes two large denominations (Church of England and Catholic) one of which is the 'established' Church. Furthermore, there are Jewish schools and an increasing number of other faith schools. The Church of Scotland, unlike the Church of England, has no schools in the state sector. Debates concerning the status and continued existence of denominational and faith schools in the two countries are conducted in starkly contrasting ways:

> In England, debate about denominational and faith schools is conducted in ways that are unrecognisable in Scotland. For instance the Prime Minister and Education ministers are openly encouraging rapid expansion of the denominational sector. Their stance has met with strong, indeed fierce, opposition, but they are being accused of ill-informed religious enthusiasm and of breach of the principles of comprehensive, non-selective education. They are

not being accused of denominational bias and pandering to the Vatican (Kelly, 2003b, pp.691-692).

Although this is not entirely accurate – there are also counter claims that some faith schools in England, recently established for racial and cultural minorities, could heighten racial tensions (Passmore and Barnard, 2001) - Kelly's basic point is valid: apart from a handful of schools, the Catholic schools in Scotland **are** the denominational sector (and the faith school sector) within the state school system in Scotland and they necessarily become the focus of any debate concerning denominational and faith schools in Scotland and the debate in Scotland appears to be connected, as has been seen above, with issues of sectarianism and anti-Catholicism. Two recent examples will illustrate this point.

Firstly, in 2001, the Liberal Democrat MSP Donald Gorrie introduced a nation-wide consultation on anti-sectarianism, 'Protection from Sectarianism and Religious Hatred', and a proposed Parliamentary Bill. The Bill was replaced by an amendment to the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003 (clause 74) (Scottish Executive 2003 online). The amendment explained that an offence could legally be considered to be aggravated by religious prejudice and that, if this were the case, punitive measures must take this into account.[50] During the consultation, organisations such as the Orange Order, Motherwell and Rangers Football Clubs and the Free Presbyterian Church used the opportunity to question the continued existence of Catholic schools (Kearney, 2002, Evening News 9 February 2002). Mr Gorrie himself stated that he believed that Scottish Catholic schools should be phased out because an improved education system would emerge by 'merging the best values of Catholic schools with non-denominational schools' (Allardyce, 2002a). [51]

Secondly, The Sunday Times newspaper published a number of articles in December 2006 and January 2007 focussed on Catholic schools in Scotland. On December 24, 2006, it was reported that Sam Galbraith, former education minister, had argued that religious schools were the 'root cause' of divisions and sectarianism and should be 'scrapped' (Allardyce, 2006). Importantly, these comments were articulated at a high level sectarian summit hosted by Jack McConnell. The newspaper ran another article on January 21 2007 reporting on the results of a poll that they had commissioned

(Allardyce, 2007). This limited poll revealed that 70% of Scottish voters believe that 'denominational schools contribute to sectarianism' and they should no longer be state funded.[52] These two articles were accompanied by commentary pieces. The commentary accompanying the December article could be described as critical of Catholic schools (Farquharson, 2006). The commentary that accompanied the January article could be described as more measured (Bowditch, 2007). Within this debate a short article by Alex Salmond (2007), leader of the SNP, praised Catholic schools and refuted any connection with sectarianism.

In both of these two examples, the original debate was focussed on sectarianism but quickly incorporated Catholic schools as a key issue, contesting the Catholic schools on the grounds of alleged links with sectarianism. It is clear that Catholic schools remain contested and are readily linked to one of Scotland's greatest social evils in an apparently uncritical manner. Perhaps sectors of society would prefer assimilation rather than integration of the Catholic community and that, it is perceived, would resolve the issue of Catholic schools, because an assimilated community would have no further need for separate Catholic schools.

In concluding this chapter, it is important to examine recent developments in the debate surrounding the possible establishment of state-funded Muslim schools in Scotland. Since 1999, there have been two privately funded Muslim schools in Scotland, but both closed voluntarily as a result of unsatisfactory HMIe reports (online, 2002, 2003, 2004, and 2005). Iqra Academy in Glasgow opened a primary and nursery in August 1999 and a Secondary, including boarding for boys, in August 2002. The pre-registration report (12 November 2002) for the primary and nursery commented that they still had to achieve a stimulating environment and high quality learning and teaching. The experience and qualifications of the teaching staff was questioned and the curriculum had to be developed further. The Secondary report (26 March 2003) considered the education and boarding to be unsatisfactory. There were serious questions concerning the welfare of the pupils (especially the girls). The learning and teaching were deemed to be very poor and the ethos was unsatisfactory. Iqra Academy closed in May 2003.

The Imam Muhammad Zakariya school was opened in Dundee in August 2001. The HMIe report (27 April 2004) stated that the education and boarding were unsatisfactory. The follow up report (27 April 2005) stated that the management and leadership, the quality of learning and teaching and the experience and training of the teachers were all unsatisfactory. The school closed in January 2006 (Schofield, 2006). Some Muslims in Glasgow, attempting to work within the scope of the 1918 Act, have engaged in a number of unsuccessful initiatives to establish a state-funded Muslim school in Glasgow and continue to seek some form of separate schooling for Muslim children (Smyth, 2006).[53] Two Scottish Muslim groups are to the forefront of these initiatives: The Scottish Muslim Parents Association (SMPA) and the Scottish Muslim Educationists' Association (SMEA). Their on-going dialogue with Glasgow City Council has, at times, been highly problematic. The council was publicly accused of duplicity in October 2006. They had publicly stated that they would consider a state-funded Muslim school (a power delegated to the council) if the demand for one could be demonstrated by the Muslim community, yet an internal memo written by the Director of Education, obtained under the Freedom of Information legislation, articulated serious concerns over the possible effects of social isolation and the quality of the education of a state-funded Muslim school (MacLeod, 2006).

Concluding remarks: five key issues applied to Catholic schools in Scotland

At the end of chapter two, the five key issues in the faith school debate were applied to Catholic schools in England and Wales. The issues of state funding for faith schools; faith schools and selection (on grounds other than religion), faith schools and divisiveness and faith schools and rational autonomy all applied to Catholic schools in England and Wales. The issues of faith schools and social cohesion did not appear to apply so readily to Catholic schools in England and Wales. In the Scottish context, issues of state funding for faith schools; faith schools and divisiveness and faith schools and social cohesion all apply. The issues of faith schools and selection (on grounds other than religion) and, curiously, faith schools and rational autonomy did not appear to apply. However, the faith schools and social cohesion issue becomes re-configured to faith schools and sectarianism. The key issues as applied to England and Wales enabled a clearer understanding of the nature and position of Catholic schools in England and Wales and within the context of the other forms of faith schooling.

The five key issues, and the necessary re-configuration when applied to Catholic schools in Scotland, clarify the initial conceptual understanding of their unique nature and position within the UK faith school debate and within Scottish education and society.

The key issues for the Scottish debate on Catholic schools are: state funding for faith schools; faith schools and divisiveness; faith schools and social cohesion (sectarianism). These issues, then, were the focus of the expert interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPERT INTERVIEW METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The focus of this thesis is the academic debate concerning the contemporary position and the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland. The review of literature, in part one, has provided a detailed historical and conceptual framework for the examination of this debate by exploring the following topics: the stated rationale and purpose of Catholic schools; the wider debate concerning Catholic schools and faith schools in Great Britain; the inter-related histories of the Catholic community and Catholic schools in Scotland – including the issue of sectarianism.

The primary texts for this debate have been identified as academic texts but have also included selected articles from newspapers (this thesis has not undertaken a comprehensive survey and analysis of newspaper reports on Catholic schools). The newspapers that consistently report and discuss this debate in some detail are: the Herald; the Sunday Herald; the Scotsman; Scotland on Sunday and the Times Educational Supplement (Scotland). In these newspapers, the debate is examined as news and from the perspective of opinions expressed by editors, journalists, contributors and readers (in letters). In recent years the focus on Catholic schools has intensified. This has been prompted, to a great extent, by the establishment of the Scottish parliament and the vision of a new, emergent *Scotland* and *Scottish identity* for the 21st century. As cultural analysts strive to explore the historical background and contemporary distinctiveness of this 'Scotland' and 'Scottishness', aspects of society and culture, such as those identified in this study: school education; religion and sectarianism, have come under close scrutiny and have also become topics for extended debate within these newspapers.

The next stage of this thesis, part two, is to further clarify and explore the themes of the contemporary debate in Scotland concerning Catholic schools. It was decided to seek the views of some of the main protagonists in this debate. Drawing from the

literature, and primarily the academic literature, the main protagonists were identified as academics (who conduct research within one of the topics above), Catholic leaders and educationalists. This included both those who promote Catholic schooling and those who oppose Catholic schooling. Some politicians contribute to the debate concerning Catholic schools in Scotland, but were not be included in this research, because they are not main protagonists. The policy of the Labour Party, the ruling party in the Scottish executive until 2007, was that Catholic schools retain their legal right to exist. Very few Labour MSPs or opposition MSPs (see chapter three for exceptions) have raised any serious sustained objection to this conserved legal right. Jack McConnell as Scotland's First Minister, despite considerable support for joint campuses in 2002-2004 that was unwelcome to the Catholic Church, consistently supported Catholic schools (Allardyce, 2002a, MacDonnell, 2002, BBC News, 13 January, 2003). The newly elected ruling SNP party have been supportive of Catholic schools, though the weighty SNP manifesto for the 2007 Scottish Elections does not mention Catholic schools (SNP Manifesto 2007, online). Fiona Hyslop, as Education spokeswoman (now Education Minister) stated in 2006 that 'the SNP will support Catholic schools as long as people send their children to them' (Gray, 2006). In January 2007, Alex Salmond wrote a short article on Catholic schools for the Sunday Times praising Catholic schools for educational success and making a distinctive contribution to Scottish education. He dispelled any claims that they are responsible for sectarianism and he also called for 'honest criteria' to examine the claims from Muslims for a Muslim school (Salmond, 2007).

It was decided, then, to conduct interviews with a number of the identified academics, Catholic leaders and educationalists that constitute groups of elites. The use of expert interviews in a systematic academic study of this debate has not been undertaken in Scotland before and will contribute new and original data to this debate. Arguably, this method represents what Ball (1994, pp.118-119) would describe as an 'adventurous' approach to theoretical development or even engagement in 'theoretical risk-taking'. This chapter will explain the rationale for the choice of interview method and outline the process of the implementation and analysis of the interviews.

Interviews

An interview is a 'conversation with a purpose' (Rossman and Rallis, 1998, p.124). Cannel and Kahn (quoted in Cohen and Manion, 1989) state that interviews are:

> Initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information and focused by him on content specified by research object of systematic description, prediction or explanation (Cohen and Manion, 1989, p.307).

Various interview options are available to the interviewer: telephone, face-to-face, e-mail (Robson, 1999). Although telephone and e-mail interviews would have been advantageous in terms of time and efficiency for this study because of the geographical spread of the interviewees, face-to-face interviews were chosen because the detailed information required from these interviews would be best elicited by actual contact with the interviewee and the rapport that is established in face-to-face contact.

May classifies four types of face-to-face interview: structured, semi-structured, unstructured and group (May, 2001). Structured interviews employ a pre-set series of questions that are asked in exactly the same way, in the same order, in every interview in the study. The process of the interviews and the interaction will not vary much. The responses can be easily compared. This method of interview was rejected because it is too restrictive. Unstructured interviews permit interviewees to talk in depth with very little direction from the interviewer. This method was rejected because the interviewer has little control of the interview and the data required may not be collected. Group interviews allow researchers to examine group 'norms and dynamics' (p.125). However this study seeks the views of experts, drawing on their individual expertise, and not as a group or in a group dynamic context, so this method was rejected.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are structured, but not as rigidly as structured interviews nor as loosely as unstructured interviews. The interviewer seeks to understand the interviewee's situation. As Flick (1999) comments:

> The expectation that the interviewed subjects' viewpoints are more likely to be expressed in a relatively openly designed interview situation (Flick, 1999, p.76).

The semi-structured interview provides scope for the interviewer to 'probe, prompt, seek elaboration, seek clarification, to expand on answers, to clear up misunderstandings' (Keats, 2000, pp.64-70). Robson (1999) adds that there is an opportunity in the semi-structured interview to seek an explanation of unusual or unexpected answers. This method was chosen because it provides both structure and flexibility.

May (2001, pp.128-129) building on the ideas of Kahn and Cannell advises that there are 'three necessary conditions for the successful completion of interviews': *accessibility; cognition* and *motivation.* The interviewee should have access to the information the interviewer seeks. The interviewee must understand what is required of him/her in an interview situation and in the role of interviewee. The interviewer must ensure that the interviewees feel that 'their participation and answers are valued'. The interviewees for this study were all chosen on the grounds that they are key informants: there is substantial evidence that they have actively engaged in this debate and have access, often in some depth, to the themes and will, consequently, have an informed opinion. All of the interviewees had experience of interviews. Some had themselves undertaken academic research interviews, and many had been interviewed by the media (in some cases very frequently). The interviewees all felt that their participation and answers were valued because they were initially approached as 'experts' and consulted as experts throughout the interview process.

Expert interviews

The method of semi-structured interview adopted for this research requires further clarification because these interviews were to be with experts: a 'specific form of applying semi-structured interviews' (Meuser and Nagel quoted in Flick 1999, p.91). The expert interview explores the views of those who are experts in the topic and care must be taken to identify the nature and scope of this expert status. The expert interview is described by Meuser and Nagel as being more restrictive than other semi-structured interviews and the interview guide has a more directive function to exclude irrelevant discussion. The expert interview requires considerable interviewer expertise, and Meuser and Nagel list the four main challenges faced by the interviewer in expert interviews (pp.91-92).

Firstly, the expert status of an interviewee may have been undeserved. In this research all of the interviewees provided expert insights into the research topic and themes. Secondly, the expert attempts to discuss 'ongoing conflict in the field' and his/her own field work, rather than the topic of the interview. These kinds of discussions did take place, often in the extended interview situations (see below), but I ensured that a minimal amount of these discussions was included in the formal taped interviews. Thirdly, the expert responds as a personal individual rather than as an expert and the interview becomes over personalised. Despite having long standing professional relationships with a number of the interviewees, the interviews were conducted in a formal manner and the interviewees responded as experts. Fourthly, the expert may opt to lecture the interviewer rather than engage in the question and answer process of an interview. A number of the interviewees had high academic standing and this could have been a difficulty, but I politely and firmly insisted that the questions be answered and checked at the end of each interview that this had been accomplished.

The interviewer in the expert interview must also ensure that it is clearly understood that he/she is familiar with the topic under discussion and this should also be evident in the construction of the interview schedule (Flick, 1999). Flick's comments were particularly appropriate for this study as a number of the interviewees requested

detailed clarification of the research topic, aims and methodology before they agreed to be interviewed.

Record of the interview

Robson (1999, p.232) states that it is essential to 'take a full record of the interview'. This can be undertaken by note taking and/or tape recording. In previous experience of the early stages of a series of semi-structured interviews, I had difficulty taking notes and keeping pace with the interview and adopted audio tape recording for all interviews. The taping of all interviews was proposed at the planning stage of this study. It was further proposed that all of the interviews, because they would be expert interviews and expected to yield rich data, would be fully transcribed. Walford (2001, pp.94-95), however, warns against viewing the tape as an 'accurate' account of the interview. It is, he states, simply an account of the 'audio part of the conversation'. The tape does not include the physical context and the complexity of the body language. Furthermore, the transcription is not an 'accurate' account of the tape because it reduces the audio conversation to text and omits 'pace, accent, accentuation, tone and melody'. The interview data through tape and transcription, as Flick (1999, p.11) states is transformed into texts. All of these texts would be amended slightly by the interviewees and the texts would become an account of the views of the interviewee, rather than an 'accurate' account of the interview.

Interview schedule

The interview schedule (see appendix 1) was constructed to cohere with the research questions. The two supervisors offered constructive advice and the schedule was amended slightly as a result of this advice.

Sample

The experts were chosen according to a number of criteria all related to the research questions. The sample was chosen to represent the diversity of views concerning the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland within educational, ecclesial and academic fields. Within each of these categories, interviewees were chosen because

they had written on the subject (Professors Conroy, Haldane, Finn and Devine and Dr Bradley), had valuable insider knowledge and status (Dr Davis, Mr McGrath, Bishop Devine, Mgr Chambers, Mrs Gilpin, Dr MacMillan), or represented an alternative perspective (Professor Bruce, Dr Elliot, Dr Clegg, Professor Carr, 2 senior academics).

Delamont (2002, p.97) suggests that there are three 'main ways to make the initial approach: in person, by phone and by letter.' The first option was appropriate for a number of potential participants who were easily accessed: Professor Conroy, Dr Davis (academic colleagues of the researcher); Mr McGrath, Bishop Devine, Mgr Chambers, Mrs Gilpin (who, with the researcher, all sit on Scottish national committees concerned with Catholic education); Dr Clegg and Dr Elliot (Director and Associate Director of the Centre for Theology and Public Issues).[54] The other potential participants were initially contacted by phone or by an e-mail (when a prospective interviewer could not be contacted by phone) that introduced the researcher and presented an initial outline of the aims and methods of the research. After the initial phone call (or e-mail), the participants who had accepted, and who had not arranged the interview over the phone, were sent a note of thanks by e-mail and a request for suitable dates and times for interview. Contact was made with seventeen prospective interviewees overall – fifteen accepted and the two senior academics politely declined (these two would have provided an alternative perspective). The first to decline kindly provided an updated list of self-authored publications on the topic and advised that he/she really had no more to say on the topic. The second declined on the grounds that he/she felt she did not deserve 'expert' status in this topic, but suggested two other names – including one that had already been contacted and had accepted. The researcher was also approached by an academic who suggested that he/she should, be included in the sample. After consultation with the supervisors, it was agreed that this self-selection was appropriate, that the academic would provide a useful alternative perspective, and the academic (who sought anonymity) should be included.

The majority of the sixteen interviewees came from the Catholic Church, are engaged in Catholic education or have some form of Catholic insider status. This was because they were the people who have most interest in this topic. Other alternative voices, as

has been seen, were sought, but this became more problematic when the two leading Scottish academics declined the invitation to join the sample. It is also interesting to note that the self-selecting academic, who provided an alternative perspective, chose anonymity. A pilot interview was originally planned to test the interview questions but the difficulties in locating further experts within the time frame meant that this was not possible. The researcher, however, has considerable experience of this type of interviewing and the absence of a pilot interview was not considered to be detrimental to the success of the interviews.[55]

Privileged access

It has to be noted that I had *privileged* access to many of the interviewees. *Privileged* access is access granted to a researcher who has some status as an academic (whether personal or by belonging to an academic unit or both), is recognised as someone who has some measure of expertise in the topic and has had professional contact and association with many of the experts in the research topic. *Privileged* access is granted because a relationship of trust and professional respect has already been established – a relationship and trust that has to be established in a situation of *non-privileged* access. The credentials of the researcher with privileged access are pre-recognised as legitimate. The challenge for the researcher with privileged access is that he may be perceived by some of the interviewees to be an academic, or an individual, who shares an 'insider' account of the topic and would be trusted not to challenge 'insider' accounts, but to provide academic justification, and elaboration of insider accounts. The privileged access may also entail a change of power relationship in the interview situation. The researcher with *privileged* access must ensure that the academic nature of the interview is stressed to the interviewees and that the power relationship, for the purposes of the interview, is interviewer and interviewee (not, for example, senior and junior academic) and that the interviewer has control of the interview and the interviewee may, on occasion, be pressed to expand or justify statements.

Interviewees

1. **Dr Joseph Bradley**

   Department of Sports Studies, University of Stirling

   Author of numerous publications including:

   Bradley, J. (1995) *Ethnic and Religious Identity in Modern Scotland*,

   Bradley, J. (1998) Sport and the Contestation of Cultural and Ethnic Identities in Scottish Society.

2. **Professor Steve Bruce**

   Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen

   Author of numerous works including:

   Bruce, S. (1985) *No Pope of Rome – Anti-Catholicism in Modern Scotland.*

   Bruce, S. (1992) Defending the Faith: Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland. In Lamont, S (ed.) (1992).

   Bruce, S., Glendinning, T., Paterson, I. & Rosie, M. (2004) *Sectarianism in Scotland.*

3. **Professor David Carr**

   Department of Educational Studies, University of Edinburgh

   Author of numerous works including:

   Carr, D. (2003) *Making Sense of Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy and Theory of Education and Teaching*

   Carr, D. (2003) *Philosophy, Spirituality and Education.*

4. **Mgr. Joseph Chambers**

   Past Director of Religious Education, Archdiocese of Glasgow. Long term member of the Catholic Education Commission.

5. **Dr Cecelia Clegg**

Director of Centre for Theology and Public Issues, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. Author of:

Liechty, J. and Clegg, C. (2001). *Moving beyond Sectarianism.*

6. **Professor James Conroy**

Dean of Faculty of Education, University of Glasgow.

Has served on Scottish Catholic Education Commission. Author of numerous articles including:

Conroy, J. C. (1999) (ed.) *Catholic Education Inside Out / Outside In*

Conroy, J.C. (2001) A Very Scottish Affair: Catholic education and the State.

Conroy, J. C. (2002). Catholic Education in Scotland. In Hayes, M.A. and Gearon, L. (eds.) (2002)

7. **Dr Bob Davis**

Current Head of Department of Religious Education, Faculty of Education, University of Glasgow. He has worked extensively on programmes for Catholic leadership in Scotland.

8. **Bishop Joseph Devine**

Episcopal representative on Scottish Catholic Education Commission.

9. **Professor Tom Devine**

Sir William Fraser Professor of Scottish History and Palaeography.

Author of numerous works including:

Devine, T.M. (ed.) (1991) *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Edinburgh.

Devine, T. M. (2006) *The Scottish Nation*.

10. **Dr Alison Elliott**

Ex- Moderator of the Church of Scotland and now Associate Director of the Centre for Theology and Public Issues, University of Edinburgh. Series co-editor of *Public Concerns* (Centre for Theology and Public Issues)

11. Professor Gerry Finn

Faculty of Education, University of Strathclyde

Author of numerous works including:

Finn, G.P.T. (1999) 'Sectarianism'. In Bryce, T.G.K. and Humes, W. (1999).

Finn, G.P.T. (2003) 'Sectarianism'. In Bryce, T.G.K. and Humes, W. (2003).

12. Mrs Frances Gilpin

Head Teacher Notre Dame Secondary, Greenock and executive member of CHAS (Catholic Head Teachers Association for Secondary schools in Scotland).

13. Professor John Haldane

Faculty of Philosophy, University of St Andrew's

Author of numerous works including:

Haldane, J. (2004) *Faithful Reason*.

Haldane, J. (2003) *An Intelligent person's Guide to Religion.*

14. Mr Michael McGrath

Director Scottish Catholic Education Service, Member of Executive of Scottish Catholic Education Commission, Honorary Senior University Teacher, Faculty of Education, University of Glasgow.

15. Dr James MacMillan

Internationally acclaimed composer and public opponent of sectarianism and anti-Catholic bias.

16. Member of the academic staff (referred to as the 'anonymous academic')

University of Glasgow

This interview was not attributable.

Implementation of interviews

The interviews were undertaken at times and locations that suited the interviewees, and were conducted according to the University of Glasgow, Faculty of Education Code of Ethics. After the initial greeting, the research topic and methods were further explained to the interviewees. This explanation was provided by the interviewer and was also contained in the Plain Language Statement for Participants, which the interviewees were instructed to keep (see appendix 2). The interviewees were asked to sign a consent form that had three sections: taping/transcribing; anonymity/confidentiality and dissemination (see appendix 3). All of the interviewees granted permission for the interview to be taped and transcribed. The interviewees were asked if they were willing to waive anonymity for this study as safeguarding anonymity for many of them would be very difficult given their expert status and their public and national profile. All but one person agreed to waive anonymity. This one person was advised that every effort would be made to preserve anonymity, but astute readers of the thesis or subsequent publications would quickly ascertain the identity of the interviewee. This condition of the preservation of anonymity was accepted by the interviewee. All of the interviewees accepted the proposed range of dissemination - a wide range, as suggested by Seidman (1998), that included lectures, conference papers, journal articles and books so that further permission would not have to be sought retrospectively.

It was intended that the interviews would follow the format suggested by Robson (1999, pp.234-235): introduction; brief warm up; main body of interview; brief cool-off; closure. In ten of the interviews this format was adhered to, as were the time limits of the interview encounter (between three quarters of an hour to an hour and half overall). In six of the interviews the interview encounter was a much longer process (although the amount of taped data was deliberately restricted). These were with Dr Bradley and Professors Bruce, Carr, Devine, Finn and Haldane and these interview encounters were between two and four hours. In each of these interview encounters the introduction and brief warm-up was extended to a lengthy and detailed discussion of the parameters of the research, and the brief closure was similarly extended to discuss associated research topics.

During each interview, I took some summary notes of the conversation. At the end of each interview these were read out to the interviewee and the interviewee was asked if they would like to clarify any points, add anything, or comment on anything they felt had been omitted from the interview. The interviewees all used this opportunity and all provided a number of points of clarification and/or additions. Robson (1999) points out that when the discussion continues informally after the tape has been switched off some interesting points relevant to the formal interview can emerge. In these instances, the tape can be switched back on – with the agreement of the interviewee. This was a feature of all of the extended interview encounters mentioned above, although the researcher was careful to tape summarised versions of these points to avoid data overload.

All of the interviews were professionally transcribed and checked for audio accuracy to the tapes by the researcher. All of the interviewees were offered the opportunity to read the transcript of their interview and make minor adjustments to the transcription. No substantial changes were made: the amendments were nearly all related to grammatical errors and lapses of English expression. Once the amendments were completed the interviewees were asked to confirm that they were satisfied that the transcription text was an acceptable account of the interview.

Analysis of interviews

The method for analysing the interview texts is based on semiotics (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1998). Semiotics, from its earliest expression in the work of Saussere to later exponents such as Barthes, is the 'science of signs' (Silverman, 2001, p.198). This science is more concerned with *synchronic* analysis than *diachronic* analysis. In other words, it is more concerned with the present function of language than an historical analysis of the use and development of language (Silverman, 2001). This thesis will adopt a position closer to Barthes than Saussere because the thesis focuses on written texts (Saussere did not consider writing to be part of the study of linguistics Harris, 2001, p.132) and will examine not only the relationship between signifier (word) and signified but also the relationships between signifiers. This thesis, in accord with the later Barthes, will examine the more subtle 'ironic contrast between

appearance and reality' in the use of words, rather than an analysis solely in terms of the reading of myths (Silverman, 2001, p.202). This thesis, then examined the way in which the interviewees understood concepts and constructed meaning in the different strands of the debate on Catholic schools.

The chief concern of the process of analysis, according to Robson (1999, p.390) is 'data reduction.' The aim is make the data 'manageable through summary and coding', to bring meaning to the data so that it tells 'a coherent story' and through presentation others can 'read what you have learned' (Rossman and Rallis, 1998, p. 171). The analysis of the texts in this research was undertaken by a process of close reading, re-reading, coding of the texts, collation of the passages coded, further re-reading, distillation of the passages and presentation in the thesis. The process of analysis was undertaken manually and no computer programmes were used in this process. One of the key aspects of this process was the continual re-reading of the transcripts and Delamont (2002, p.171) advises that there are no short cuts in this process. Flick (1999, p.192) warns that this type of approach can be 'time consuming' and Robson (1999, p. 371) considers the use of a computer to be 'near to essential' for all substantial amounts of qualitative data. Silverman (2005, p.190) argues that the use of computers can free the researcher from the tedious clerical activities to engage in 'intellectual and creative tasks'.

I felt, however, that it was important to become very familiar with the texts of the expert interviews and continually reflect on them, because of the richness of the data and the weight that would be accorded to this data in the thesis, to ensure that I was able to make informed decisions in the analysis process. While this process was time consuming, it was undertaken to ensure a systematic analysis of the data (Silverman, 2005, p. 228). The data consisted of sixteen expert interviews and, as a sole interviewer, this was manageable by hand. Larger amounts of qualitative data might necessitate the use of a computer programme.

The categories of analysis were drawn initially from the review of literature (e.g. divisiveness, sectarianism) but also from some of the themes that emerged from the interviews (e.g. intrinsic, extrinsic). These were applied to the interview data and the coding was recorded by use of different colour pens and concise headings. The coding was further sub-divided into more categories. The code of divisiveness, for example, was further sub-divided according to the three sub-categories of divisiveness identified by Halstead and McLaughlin (2005) – (1) simple separation; (2) negative cultural/religious separation and (3) development of divisive beliefs/attitudes. As this coding was undertaken, three further sub-categories of divisiveness emerged from the texts of the interviews – (4) Catholic schools privileged; (5) unfair employment opportunities and (6) closing Catholic schools would be divisive - and these were noted and applied to all of the transcripts. The six sub-categories of divisiveness were used as sub-headings on a blank page on the computer and the passages from the transcriptions that cohered with the sub-heading were cut and pasted from the original transcriptions, creating 'files' (Delamont, 2002, p.171). At this stage, the emphasis was on inclusion rather than exclusion of text. The advantage of this inclusion of the data was that it helped avoid what Robson (1999, p.374) calls the danger of 'first impressions' – the first impressions have such an impact that the researcher resists later revision.

This collation of the passages enabled me to examine the key data pertaining to these categories together. At this stage, when all of the available data on this theme of distinctiveness was collated and re-read, decisions could be made about which data would be quoted, described, deemed to be less relevant or relocated to another category (Robson, 1999, p.377). Clearly not all of the data could be quoted. The data that was quoted was considered to illustrate and/or illuminate the emerging aspects of the categories in a coherent way. The data that was described rather than quoted was considered to complement the quoted data and, in some cases, added some further detail or nuance. Some data was considered to be less relevant because it simply replicated the quoted or described data but in a less coherent way. Some passages could have belonged to a number of categories and were initially included in two or three categories until the distillation process. At this stage, the internal consistency of the categories would sometimes determine where the passage belonged, or a judgement was required to decide 'best fit'.

Sometimes a large number of interviewees could be potentially quoted and sometimes only a small number – depending on which comments cohered with the category. The comments by Professor Bruce and Dr Elliott on (1) simple separation, for example, could be read together and could be contrasted and compared. In this example only a small number of interviewees had articulated views that cohered with this category. This does raise an issue concerning the balance of views throughout the presentation of the research. In the overall presentation throughout the thesis, I had to be careful to try to include a balance of views within the different categories. At times this was accomplished with some ease - many of the interviewees commented in depth on the sectarianism and Catholic schools. At other times this proved to be more difficult and some voices appear to dominate the discussion because they were the only ones to comment on the category in any depth.

It was equally important to discern the idiosyncratic views: while I was examining the data for patterns and lines of argument, albeit recognising that these were nuanced according to interviewee, I was taking care to include, as Robson (1999, p. 374) suggests, the novel, the unusual and event the discordant views. The view expressed in sub-category (6), closing Catholic schools would be divisive, for example, was articulated by only one interviewee. I felt that this view was unusual but pertinent and deserved to be included in the categorisation and later presentation. This final part of the process, then, helped me to further reflect on the data and construct the presentation and analysis of the arguments concerning the divisiveness of Catholic schools. This overall process was replicated for the other themes.

Concluding Remarks

Chapters five to ten of the thesis contain the findings of the semi-structured interviews. There were a number of possibilities for the presentation of the findings. They could have been presented within the scope of the three key issues identified as being relevant to the Scottish debate on Catholic schools. A further issue, Catholic schools as an anachronism? emerged as a fourth issue. These issues provide a useful focus for the review of literature, but they are limited, less suited to extended discussion of qualitative research and inhibit the conceptual depth and nuance of the

discussion using semiotic analysis. Further they focus the debate primarily on issues. This thesis sought to focus on issues and positions and, as will be seen in chapter ten, re-conceptualise the debate in terms of positions. The transcripts were analysed using four lenses constructed from dominant themes that emerged from the review of literature and from the initial analysis of the interviews, but cohere with the research questions of this thesis. The four lenses are: (1) the nature of Scottish society and the nature and the position of the Catholic church and wider Catholic community in contemporary Scotland and; (2) intrinsic and (3) extrinsic arguments for and against Catholic schools in Scotland and (4) how the interviewees have used (or constructed) history in their response.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NATURE OF SCOTTISH SOCIETY AND THE NATURE AND POSITION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND WIDER CATHOLIC COMMUNITY IN CONTEMPORARY SCOTLAND

Introduction

The contemporary debate about Catholic schools in Scotland takes place within the cultural and political context of 21st century Scotland, and within this context, the interviewees identified two dominant ideologies of secularism and pluralism. These will be examined in the first sub-section which explores the interviewees' views on the nature of Scottish society The second sub-section will examine their perception of the nature and position of the Catholic Church and the wider Catholic community in Scotland in the twenty first century. The Catholic Church and the wider Catholic community are contextualised within contrasting models of Catholicism and the complexity of the challenges of falling practice rate and mixed marriage. Despite these internal challenges, the Catholic Church is perceived by some interviewees to be the main protagonist in the 'battle' with secularism. This sub-section concludes by examining the contradictory views of the social position of Catholics and the Catholic community in contemporary Scotland, including a discussion on sectarianism

The rise of secularism

Secularism – the new orthodoxy?

The rise of secularism is not unique to Scotland. Michael McGrath points out that the rise of secularism and the associated decline of religious practice, especially within Christianity, is a feature of contemporary Western Europe. Within this context, Professor John Haldane draws the distinction between secularisation and secularism. He states that secularisation is, in his opinion, an outmoded sociological theory that proposes that religion would decline as society becomes more industrialised, urbanised and technological.[56] The example of the high level of religious practice in

America is cited as a strong counter example to this thesis. Secularism, on the other hand, is a philosophical conception of society that advocates a clear delineation between society and any form of religion:

> Secularism by contrast is a philosophical view. Secularism is the view that the institutions of society and indeed down to the level of personal belief ought not to be religious. Some secularists say that religion is OK as a private practice, if people want to engage in religion that is up to them but society in general, the legal system, the political institutions, schools, education system should in no way reflect those religious identities. Others would go further and say that religion should effectively be banished, that those institutions should actually be used to eliminate religion.

Professor Haldane distinguishes between a *strong* and a *weak* secularist position. The *strong* secularist position would advocate that religion be abolished completely, the *weak* position would advocate the separation of religion and state as the ideal for the liberal democratic state. Both Professor Steve Bruce and the anonymous academic articulate a secularist viewpoint. Professor Bruce comments that he supports the American model of a 'fairly strict separation of Church and State'. He qualifies this by adding that he thinks this is a widespread view in Britain:

> I would guess now that the majority of British people would advocate the modern American constitutional complete separation of Church and State principle.

The anonymous academic agrees and explains that this secularist viewpoint proposes the separation of the state from any religion – this is not a separation that only applies to Catholicism. These two interviewees, despite adopting a strict separation of state and religion, hold a *weak* sense of secularism. Neither of them would deny religious adherents the right to express and practise their religion privately. Professor Haldane considers this weak sense to be much more prevalent in contemporary Scotland. In one sense, however, this distinction between a *strong* and a *weak* sense can be blurred, because, according to Professor Haldane, those who hold a *weak* secularist

view tend to keep company with those who hold a *strong* secularism, rather than with religious believers, and it may be difficult, at times, to distinguish between the two.

Professor Steve Bruce locates the rise of secularism in Scotland within a British context:

> Britain as a whole in the 19th century was culturally speaking a Protestant country. In 1851 more than half the population attended Protestant Churches fairly regularly…The Protestant culture of Britain has by and large disappeared and we now have a secular society.

Professor Gerry Finn provides a view that qualifies this analysis – he identifies mainstream Protestantism in Scotland as predominantly Presbyterianism.[57] There is a perception among a number of the interviewees that secularism in Scotland represents a new kind of secular orthodoxy that has replaced the religious orthodoxy of Presbyterian Protestantism, a secular orthodoxy that is perceived to be inflexible and domineering. Dr James MacMillan conceives it in terms of a 'faith', a word normally used for religious groups, used here as a prism for a fundamental understanding of the world and human destiny. As Dr MacMillan states:

> What we don't want is an atheistic state, preaching another kind of faith, enforced singularly from above.

A manifestation of this rise of secularism and this new orthodoxy, according to Mrs Frances Gilpin, is the lack of values promoted by the state and by individual politicians. She identifies an increasing tendency over the last thirty to forty years for politicians to remain silent about their religious beliefs, especially if they hold Christian beliefs. She acknowledges that there are high profile counter examples to this view, but these are exceptions. She cites Mr Tony Blair's sympathy for Catholicism and Ruth Kelly's membership of Opus Dei:[58]

> […] she's a member of Opus Dei. This was some kind of evil sect that this woman owes some kind of loyalty to and she will be promoting some values and ideas that we don't like because of this. And that got tied up with the fact

oh she is in Opus Dei because she is a Catholic and then questions were raised about her suitability as Minister of Education because she is a practising Catholic. That was done in the national press and I thought that was frightening. I really do think it is frightening, but what is the message of that, that you can't be a politician, that you can't be a Health Secretary, quite an interesting one that.

Mrs Gilpin is suggesting that this appointment appears to challenge the ideal of the secular state. The observation of Mrs Gilpin operates on a number of levels. Firstly, Ruth Kelly is identified as a member of Opus Dei – perceived to be a secretive religious sect. This can be contextualised in a contemporary climate that associates secretive religious sects with (Islamic) terrorist groups and extremists. Further this is a Catholic sect and Mrs Gilpin interprets this within her understanding that there is deep rooted historical suspicion of Catholicism. Thirdly, this occurs in a culture within which politicians will not, or are not encouraged to, express religious views – a culture of an increasing separation of state and church. The appointment of someone to a senior Government post who overtly belongs to a secretive wing of a mainstream religion that is viewed with some distrust has acted, as Mrs Gilpin suggests, as a catalyst for deep suspicion.

Another manifestation of the rise of secularism, according to a number of the interviewees, is that Scotland is perceived to be a place that has become more materialistic and individualistic. Both of these terms are used in the pejorative sense. These interviewees perceive *materialistic* to be the avaricious acquisition of material possessions. They perceive the concept of the *individualist* to be detrimental to the construction of local and wider communities and to social harmony. Mr Michael McGrath and Bishop Joseph Devine suggest a causal connection between materialism and individualism, but Professor David Carr connects the two more concretely: the rise of materialism and the increase of personal possessions lead to an individualism. As will be seen in the next subsection, this is perceived by some of the interviewees to be antithetical to the communitarian values of the Catholic Church.

The role of the media

Mr McGrath, Mgr Joseph Chambers, Dr Joseph Bradley and Professor John Haldane all commented that the media has an important part to play in the rise and maintenance of a secular perspective. As Dr Bradley states:

> I wouldn't be taking an unusual position to state that the media has an incredibly powerful role in shaping identity, thoughts, ideas and ideology […]

Mr McGrath and Dr Bradley identify this shaping of views as emanating from the 'media'. Professor Haldane differentiates between the press and the media, but Mgr Chambers discusses the different forms of the media in more detail. He states that he is much more concerned with the TV and the radio than he is with newspapers, because he believes few papers are being read but the TV and radio are the chief manipulators of the social agenda:

> I am more concerned about media presentation through TV and radio than I am through the press because fewer and fewer papers are being read but more and more television and radio is being watched and listened to and frequently the radio and television companies are now going out and creating contentious issues for debate.

The view that is being created by the media has, according to Dr Bradley, developed and nurtured anti-Catholic attitudes:

> […] and there is a powerful ideology in Scotland just now that is the legacy of centuries of deep anti-Catholicism in the country but quite often it is not necessarily connected to being pro-Protestant but I think it is connected to, at root, it is connected to perceptions of, or attitudes of anti-Catholicism […]

He also believes that this anti-Catholicism has developed into a broader anti-Christian attitude. Mgr Chambers comments further that Catholics, Protestants *and* Muslims are all treated unfairly and caricatured on TV. Mr McGrath argues that there is a concerted attempt to eliminate religion and religious beliefs and that this extends to all

faiths. The media agenda, then, is perceived by some of the interviewees to be not just anti-faith, but also includes a deliberate effort to undermine and eradicate the influence of religious faith. On the spectrum of secularism from *weak* to *strong*, using the explanation provided by Professor Haldane, the media agenda appears to be closer to *strong* secularism.[59] Although the scope of this thesis does not permit a deeper study and analysis of the suggested prevalence of *strong* secularism in the media, it is noted that this suggested prevalence raises many serious questions concerning the role and influence of the media in this debate and the implications of such an influence. This is evidently a significant area for further research.

Challenges of pluralism for 21st century Scottish society

Is Scotland a pluralist society?

Despite the perceived rise of a 'secular' society, Scotland is also perceived as a complex society of ethnicities, cultures and religious beliefs. The anonymous academic describes contemporary Scottish society as multi-ethnic and multicultural, Mr McGrath adds that it is a multi-faith society. Many of the interviewees suggest that while these labels summarise the goals of a liberal democratic society that should be genuinely pluralist and accommodate a plurality of culture, ethnicity and belief, this pluralist Scottish society is probably more of an aspiration than actuality. The concept of a pluralist society is complex and, consequently, its realisation is equally complex. The interviewees articulate a number of key challenges in the actualisation of a genuinely pluralist society for contemporary Scotland.

Part of the difficulty in actualising pluralism, according to Dr Bradley, is the reluctance to fully recognise plurality, because there is still some underlying perception that homogeneity is the most appropriate aim for the creation of a cohesive social polity. He is critical of this perception as he considers homogeneity to be an inadequate framework for a pluralist, multi-ethnic, multi-faith Scotland:

> My argument would certainly be that homogeneity is not the way things are
> intended to be and if we give any credence to notions of living together with
> your neighbour who is different or multiculturalism or understanding your

neighbour or whether your next door neighbour is from a different origin, different country, different faith then we can't all be the same. We all have different roots in life and we all have different origins, so we can't all be the same. We can't be manufactured in that sense though I think that the momentum in western lifestyle is in fact to create that kind of homogeneity.

The aspiration to fully recognise a pluralist society in Scotland is, then, according to Dr Bradley, in conflict with the prevailing trend towards homogeneity in western lifestyle. Further, according to Professor Tom Devine, this is a nation that has difficulty in recognising the identities of the various groups that make up Scotland. Scotland, he suggests, has not really engaged with the diversity of the immigrant groups that have arrived over the last two centuries and, in particular, the last forty years. He argues that Scotland is a historically illiterate nation that does not understand its own history, for example, the complexity of the industrial development of Scotland in the 19th and 20th centuries and the associated development of the Catholic community. Dr Bradley agrees that the lack of general knowledge or understanding about Catholicism, outside of the Catholic community in Scotland, is a significant aspect of this alleged historical illiteracy.

One of the difficulties has been the inability to accommodate a diversity of religious belief.[60] Professor James Conroy argues that this is compounded by the confusion that arises concerning acceptance of religious belief when pluralism is mistakenly perceived to be synonymous with secularism:

> […] but it seems to me again incontrovertible that you can't have a real democracy, a real liberal democracy unless it is pluralist and people are constantly confusing pluralism with secularism […]

This confusion would suggest a secular form of pluralism that could embrace a diversity of ethnicities and cultures but would not embrace religious faith in all of its diversity. In contrast to this view, Dr Alison Elliott has a vision of a contemporary pluralist society that does acknowledge that people do have religious belief:

> I think it is crucially important in the present climate that we should be relaxed about faith being part of life for many people.

She states further that religious faith is not just to be acknowledged but accepted as an integral part of society:

> I think that in this year of 2005 you cannot, I don't think that you can give a sensible understanding of the way the world is going without understanding the power and the pull of faith.

The conception of a genuinely pluralist Scotland would suggest incorporation of, inclusion of, diverse ethnicity, culture and religious beliefs. The majority of the interviewees believe that pluralism is a worthwhile aspiration and goal, but question if this is possible within the restrictions of current western thinking on homogeneity and the perceived inability of Scottish society to recognise and acknowledge the richness of ethnicity, culture **and** religious belief. It is within this context that the next sub-section will examine the position of the Catholic community in contemporary Scotland.

The position of the Catholic Church and community in contemporary Scotland

Catholic Church and the wider Catholic community: internal understandings

As initially identified in the conceptual framework, an important distinction can be drawn between the Catholic Church and the Catholic community. Further distinctions can be drawn, however, within the Catholic community itself, connected to the level of religious practice. A number of the interviewees (Dr Bradley, Professor Conroy, Dr Davis, Professor Finn, Professor Devine, Mrs Gilpin and Dr Clegg) comment on the diversity of the practice of Catholicism (ultimately reflecting a low practice rate), yet the willingness of a majority of Catholics to continue to identify with Catholicism in some way. Dr Bradley provides a useful framework within which to understand this diversity:

I think there are a number of ways to judge that. One of the ways would be the fact that somewhere in the region of 90% of Catholic children go to Catholic schools, so that is a measure of support. I do understand that there is probably around one third of Catholics in Scotland are regular Church attendees. There is probably around another third who would buy into some elements of Catholic Church practice and Catholic philosophy and lifestyles. Then there's maybe another third who are virtually completely un-Churched and may have been for a generation or two.

This three-tier categorisation is possibly a very simplistic conceptualisation of a complex spectrum of belief and the limitations of this conceptualisation are acknowledged, but it does provide some insight into the diversity of practice in the Scottish Catholic community and provides a useful heuristic tool, especially when discussing support for Catholic schools. I propose to adopt this three-tier categorisation for this discussion. Category one represents the regular Church attendees. Category two represents those who 'buy' into some aspects of Catholic practice and category three represents the virtually un-Churched.

In relation to category one, Mgr Chambers argues that the internal understanding of the Catholic Church has now changed and the view that the Catholic Church in Scotland is constructed in terms of power elites, the Bishops and priests, is now outmoded. Dr Bradley agrees, stating that the practising Catholics are now perceived to be the Church:

I would say that the Catholic Church is the people who form the membership of the Church particularly those who participate and are committed in a faithful manner. I think that is important in terms of what we were saying about that core of Catholics who do practise, so I wouldn't be the first to say it is not a building in the centre of the town, it is not a housing scheme, it is not a promoted priest, although these people do speak for Catholics.

Carr, uniquely among the interviewees, comments on the diversity of theological perspective within the group of practising Catholics:

> Despite the clearly growing diversity of Catholic views – between traditionalists or fundamentalists on the one hand and more liberally minded Catholics on the other – I suspect that that Catholics in general do still recognise and share certain common values and a common sense of Catholic purpose – despite their other differences.

Despite this vision of a more collegial and theologically diverse model of Church, many of the interviewees commented that there are a number of serious challenges for contemporary Catholicism: the sharp fall in practice rate and mixed marriage. A further challenge emerged from the interviews, informed participation.

A number of the interviewees (Professors Devine and Bruce and Bishop Devine) point out that there has been a dramatic fall in the practice rate in the Catholic Church in the late twentieth century. One of the features of this phenomenon is the absence of young people at Sunday mass. Professor Devine observes that, in his experience, very few young people attend Sunday mass. He suggests that the parents of these young people are more observant because they grew up in a culture when a large percentage of the Catholic population still attended Mass (as was discussed in chapter three). Professor Bruce argues that this decline in practice rate is having a serious effect on the Catholic Church in Scotland:

> I think there is also a serious problem from the point of view of the Catholic Church that the system is failing. It is not reproducing itself as a religion. Catholic Mass attendance is declining rapidly towards the Scottish average.

In this argument, Professor Bruce presents a sociological analysis. From one ecclesial perspective, the analysis that the purpose of the Catholic Church is to replicate itself may be accepted.[61] An alternative ecclesial perspective may be, as will be seen below in the comments of Dr Cecelia Clegg, that the Church is more concerned with transformation than replication. This will be discussed in more depth in chapter eleven.

The high rate of mixed marriage (between Catholics and non-Catholics) could be interpreted by some within the Catholic Church as having the potential to weaken the

position of those who practise Catholicism and further weaken those who are members of the wider Catholic community. Alternatively, according to Professor Bruce, the high level of mixed marriage could be interpreted as one of the keys to the softening of the divisions between Catholics and non-Catholics. Professor Bruce argues that just over 50% of Catholics under 34 are married to a non-Catholic (Professor Devine also points to this statistic but adds that this does not include non-marital partnerships). Professor Bruce compares this to the 6% of all marriages in America that are interracial and the 6% of all marriages in Northern Ireland that are inter-denominational (Catholic-Protestant). He also compares this mixing and intermarriage of the Catholic community with wider Scottish society to the position of some more recent immigrants in Britain:

> One of things and this is an important point, it has become very clear because of the recent bombs in London we are suddenly becoming very knowledgeable about the lives of some Muslim communities in the North of England and it is very obvious that in those communities, there are some communities in the North of England that are entirely separated from the wider environment in almost every way and their religion both justifies and provides a major source of separation from the wider world and a lot of them want to keep it like that and we can see that is a major problem.

The wider Catholic community in Scotland, then, according to Professor Bruce, appears to be more integrated, if not assimilated, into Scottish society when compared to other groups in Northern Ireland, America and parts of England.

Informed participation?

Professor Haldane identifies another challenge. He is concerned that the acknowledgement of the importance of the role of all members of the Catholic Church has generated not just a responsibility of participation, but also an expectation of informed participation. Many Catholics, he argues, have struggled with this and it is evident in their lack of knowledge of Catholicism:

Having said that I would have to add that, in my experience, the level of knowledge that Catholics exhibit about the nature of their own faith, and this would include many teachers, at least such as I have met, I mean I have met teachers who have a very good knowledge of their faith, but I have come to recognise that the general level of knowledge about the teachings of the Catholic Church and the nature of Catholicism is often really quite low among people raised in the Catholic church and people given the responsibility of imparting some knowledge of it. I am afraid that is a fact and that would have to be noted.

Professor Haldane suggests that there was a time in the past when a greater knowledge of Catholicism was evident:

So there was an environment in which there was an idea of religious knowledge first of all, that is to say there were things to be known and moreover these were not merely a matter of opinion; there were right answers and there were wrong answers, there was religious knowledge and there was religious ignorance… How reflective it was, of course, is another matter but that is going to be true of any body of knowledge how reflectively it is possessed.

Dr Clegg adopts a different perspective, understanding this lack of knowledge within an increasingly complex post-Vatican II and 21st century context:

I think there are huge uncertainties in the population at large and the Catholic community is part of that. I think that since Vatican II the church in this country and in the UK has not really found its way. I think the uncertainties introduced by some of the theological changes in Vatican II have not really been substantially engaged with to help the Catholic community see that uncertainty is OK and that is part of life.

In one sense, these two different perspectives could be configured within Sullivan's pre and post-Vatican II perspectives. Professor Haldane describes a traditional, almost pre-Vatican II, Catholic model and Dr Clegg describes a post-Vatican II model. In

another sense, these two perspectives could be interpreted as the difference between a transmission (and acceptance) of a body of truths and transformative model of engagement with these truths of the Catholic Church. Professor Haldane focuses on 'knowledge' of the 'teachings' of the church and the 'nature' of Catholicism - there were 'right' and 'wrong' answers. This appears to be a view that is nostalgic for a time of greater certainty in the Catholic world view. Dr Clegg, on the other hand, presents a view that is more hesitant about claims for certainty in a complex, contemporary society, but calls for a greater engagement with, rather than acceptance of, the theological truths of the Catholic Church. In yet another sense, these two perspectives could be configured within Groome's distinction between epistemology and ontology. Professor Haldane's view of knowledge is based on a modernist philosophical understanding of epistemology. Dr Clegg appears to have a perspective that values ontology. She argues that people are still in the painful process of the transition from the first model (transmission) to the second (transformative) and consequently, in terms of the analysis, from a pre-Vatican II model to a post-Vatican II model, from epistemology to ontology. They are also struggling to understand the full implications of the change in the underlying philosophical theology.

An interesting aspect of this transition to a transformative model is that this is a model of a group that has to engage with the rest of Scottish society and is itself challenged by the pluralist society. Dr Clegg argues that the Catholic Church in the past lacked openness and an outward looking perspective:

> I think more than that Scottish Catholics have been under pressure for a long time and a community under pressure tends to close in on itself and it becomes centrifugal and I think that there has been a lack of openness, and it has really only opened up in the last couple of decades, the need to really be open to otherness […]

This lack of openness, as Dr Clegg suggests, may have been caused by 'pressure' (the pressure of the difficult relationship with Scottish culture and society), but the move towards more openness has an internal and an external impetus:

[…] and it has really only opened up in the last couple of decades, the need to really be open to otherness. Now the range of otherness has hugely expanded and suddenly we are dealing with inter-faith rather then inter-Christian and that brings all sorts of cultural baggage with it but there is, we are suddenly finding ourselves in a very multicultural, multi-faith, multi-ethnic world and we are not used to having to think that way or engage that way.

As the Catholic Church has opened up, it has opened up within the emergence of a greater multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-faith Scotland and has been challenged to respond and engage with this diversity.

Catholicism in Scotland – an alternative vision to the secular state

Catholicism, even with the internal challenges mentioned above, is perceived by a number of the interviewees to be a counter to secularism and materialism in a number of ways. Firstly, the public presence of a Church such as Catholicism and the Christian values associated with the Church acts as witness to a different perspective of life. Secondly the Catholic Church in Scotland is perceived by people in Scotland to openly challenge the prevailing secularist ideals of Scottish society. Finally, one of the interviewees concludes that religion, in this case Catholicism, has a civilising effect on society.

Light within darkness – images of Catholicism and contemporary Scottish society

Many of the interviewees perceived the rise of secularism and materialism as pervading society and generating many negative effects. Professor Carr, for example, believes that society has lost sight of standards and values, especially community and interpersonal values, in the rise of individualism:

> Many people have the sense of a loss of such standards and values, and in so far as they can perceive any redress for such loss they may locate this in particular religious or faith communities in which certain more communitarian or interpersonal values of social solidarity and consideration for others are still respected.

Religion, in his opinion, can provide one of the few social structures that promote the values of community and social solidarity. Extending this train of thought, it could be argued that Catholicism can act as a witness to the 'lost' values of community and social solidarity for the Catholic community in all of its complexity. This view is further developed by other interviewees who utilise strong images to describe the rise of secularism and materialism and equally strong images to describe the vigour of the response they consider to be required to counter these negative effects. Professor Devine believes that Catholicism is a witness to an alternate ethical view (my insert in italics)

> […] I do think that a very large part of the (*Catholic*) ethic is extremely important, especially in a society which has been virtually overwhelmed by materialistic secularism, so it is extremely important to keep that beacon alight.

The use of the image of the beacon within the context of being 'virtually overwhelmed' by materialistic secularism is an adaptation of traditional Christian imagery (this is reminiscent of Gallagher's use of Christian imagery as discussed in chapter three). The light (beacon that is the church) is in the darkness (the unredeemed world of materialistic secularism).[62] Professor Devine suggests that this is society that has, almost irredeemably, lost sight of higher values. According to Mgr Chambers, many of those who are on the fringes of the Catholic Church in terms of practice (category two) draw comfort from the values of Catholicism in the 'moral darkness' of the contemporary age:

> […] they say well we might not practise every Sunday but we still have Catholic faith and we still look to our Church as a guide in terms of morality and we feel that we live in a society today which is becoming fast amoral rather than immoral and that amorality disturbs us because our children in many ways like ourselves are unable to distinguish simply between right and wrong and we think that is dragging our society down and we would like our children to emerge from that and when they become parents have a much clearer understanding of what they want to hand on to their own children.

His argument suggests that a number of Catholics may not regularly practice, but, as part of the Catholic community, retain the moral framework of Catholicism within the context of an amoral society. They think that the Church has a role in continuing to guide them in morality. Similar to Professor Devine, this argument is constructed in terms of religious imagery of light and darkness. The church (guide) helps the children emerge from amorality (darkness) to morality (light). Dr MacMillan also conceives the contemporary situation in terms of religious imagery. He perceives the decline of religious values as interrelated to a loss of civilisation:

> Yes I do, absolutely but, to be honest, if you take away a sense of religion from secular schools, I believe you lose that true respect which binds man to man and that it could be argued that it is the reduction, the waning, the withering away of a religious ethos which has allowed a certain brutalisation to emerge.

Dr MacMillan's comments appear to reflect the Genesis story and the fall of Adam and Eve. The brutalising effects of the Fall (the break in the bond of trust between humankind and God) in the book of Genesis entails the break in the proper relationship between humankind and God, and the proper relationships within humankind itself - and humankind had to face pain and suffering.[63] In Dr Macmillan's configuration of the ideas contained in the Genesis story, the fall away from religion brings about the diminishment of the true relationship between people because religion illuminates the ideal and model of the true nature of the relationship between human and human and between human and God.

On a surface level, the use of religious symbolism reflects the religious interests of these interviewees and their familiarity with religious story and imagery. The interviewees have used religious story and imagery to understand and interpret the conflict between Catholicism and secularism. On a second level, the interviewees have not simply used religious story and imagery to understand and interpret but have used these to construct the conflict. They have used the allusion to the Fall and the light and darkness motif in their construction of the struggle with secularism for Catholics and Catholicism in contemporary Scottish society. Light and darkness are

configured in dualist terms (as they are in the Gospel of John[64]) and this dualism represents a struggle of the Church in a battle with an all powerful enemy. The use of the extremes of dualism positions the Catholic Church in the role of light ('truth') and the role of secularism as darkness ('falsehood') (Brown, 2003). Constructing this conflict of ideologies in dualist terms, however, supports an almost irreconcilable gulf between the two ideologies.

Within this battle with secularism, the Catholic Church does not just witness by its presence, but is prepared to publicly challenge the views of the secularist perspective - a challenge that is not universally welcomed. Professor Conroy points out that the Catholic Church is perceived by the secular humanists as impeding the progress of the secular agenda:

> You know everything would be OK and we have this problem of Catholics and of course Catholics in Scotland through their official representatives tend to be much more vocal than other religious traditions. That is not to say that other religious traditions aren't making their voices heard in all kinds of ways with the Scottish Executive, but the voice that is publicly heard is almost always the Catholic voice and therefore they are perceived by both the secular humanists and old-fashioned bigots as being obstructive.

Professor Conroy may have identified an uncomfortable identification for secular humanists with 'old-fashioned bigots' because they share some of the same views concerning the Catholic voice. Secularists are opposed to the Catholic voice on the grounds that they are opposed to any religious voice. 'Old-fashioned bigots' are opposed to the specific Catholic voice, because it represents a religious group that they deem to be unacceptable. There is also a tension here in the Catholic voice being perceived to be obstructive from a secular point of view, because a genuinely pluralist society would have to acknowledge a Catholic voice, though not necessarily accept what this voice had to say. Perhaps another problem for the secularists is that the Catholic voice, and its obstructiveness, engenders support from like-minded individuals. Mgr Chambers comments that the support for the Catholic voice and perspective can be widespread and located beyond the boundaries of the Catholic community:

I speak to parents all the time and they say we are glad that the church speaks out. I know that last year when I was having an almighty contre temps with the Scottish Executive over the publication of the new guidelines I got a huge number of responses from the public and more than half of them came from people who weren't Catholic, saying yes, what you are saying and what your schools are offering is something which is as important to us as it is to you.

In this instance, the support is for an initiative in Catholic schools that created guidelines and guidance for Relationships and Moral Education (incorporating sex education) for all Catholic children in Scotland.[65] These guidelines represented a Catholic Christian approach to this topic – an approach that contrasts with that adopted by the National Sexual Health Advisory Committee that acts for, among other agencies, non-denominational schools.[66]

Catholicism in Scotland and sectarianism

Use of the word sectarianism

As has been stated in chapter three, sectarianism has become, or has returned to, the focus of public and political debate in Scotland in the early 21st century. This sectarianism is perceived to be rooted in a conflict between 'Catholics' and 'Protestants'. Very few interviewees defined, or even described, *sectarianism*, yet there is an acknowledgement through their discussion that this is a very complex issue. Professor Finn comments on the difficulty of defining sectarianism:

[…] "sectarianism" which I would always prefer to use in inverted commas. The reason for that being that "sectarianism" seems to be such a wide ranging ill-defined term, that it can apply to almost anything.

There is also, though, a confident use of the word *sectarianism* that derives from a frequent usage that contrasts with the less frequently used word *divisiveness (*see chapter eight). Perhaps this is because the word *sectarian* is more commonly used in the academic and popular discussion in Scotland and *divisiveness* is normally partly

subsumed into *sectarianism*. The word *sectarianism* would also appear to be a more powerful word in the sense that it is always used by the interviewees in the pejorative sense. Perhaps the complexity lies in the historical context of an immigrant Irish Catholic population seeking to preserve their religious and cultural identity within a predominantly Protestant (now more pluralistic and arguably secular) country. The opposition to this population arose because they were immigrants who were Irish and Catholic, as Mrs Gilpin states:

> […] what they do with Catholic schools is they link it up with the historical problem of Irish immigration which is where you have got antipathy to an immigrant group. Now you go all over the world and you have antipathy to an immigrant group and what is happening is, it is first and foremost, it was antipathy to Irish people and then it became antipathy to Catholics and that's where it all, in my view, that's where it arose from and I think that that is very sad […]

As is stated, the antipathy appears to have been historically exacerbated by the Irishness and the Catholicism of the immigrants. Professor Finn suggests that racism towards the Irish immigrants to Scotland is partly masked by the discourse on sectarianism, because the word 'racism' is unpalatable to many:

> […] you know the term "sectarianism" is used which of course confuses all sorts of issues. It confounds the historic dimension of anti-Irish racism and the way in which that community was treated in Scotland. Now to use the term racism seems to offend too many. Part of that being that they actually do operate, or at least one can only assume that some of the offence is because people operate within a racist framework that actually assumes that there are real races and that they come colour coded for some sort of easy identification. So something that could usefully explode that whole argument, that whole naive set of suppositions which are embedded within racist frameworks, we don't make best use of. So we actually here have an educational tool, the

exploration of the racialisation of the Irish which we can turn to good anti-racist educational advantage but we pass on it too often.

It would appear that he is suggesting that sectarianism is perceived to be the lesser of the two evils between sectarianism and racism. He ultimately agrees with the analysis of Mrs Gilpin that sectarianism is linked to racism and anti-immigrants and the residue, or certainly the most explicitly lingering effect of these three, would be sectarianism. One interviewee, Dr Elliot, did provide a brief definition:

> I think that the way I approach the question of sectarianism is that it is the out growth of a way of thinking about difference which takes differences of view, or of outlook, and attaches that to institutions and attaches it to communities rather than to individuals. So if you think of faith in the Christian context there are a variety of different views, sectarianism is that process of identification from the individual person to the community that turns a difference of view and of faith into a sectarian difference, a potentially sectarian difference because sectarianism is pejorative and it is when the divisions again become negative ones.

This is a useful definition of sectarianism because it draws on a wider conception of sectarianism that is not limited, as it is normally in Scotland, to sectarianism between 'Catholics' and 'Protestants' and can be applied to sectarianism within different religions. Sectarianism constructs the *other* and the *other view* as an opposite and conflicting view, and justifies engaging with the other in a hostile way. Professor Devine provides another useful perspective by identifying the distinction between *structural* sectarianism and *attitudinal* sectarianism in Scotland. *Structural* sectarianism consists of sectarian barriers (overt or covert) in areas of public life such as employment and politics. *Attitudinal* sectarianism refers to sectarian attitudes that may, or may not, be well formulated and articulated. The next subsection examines the views of the interviewees on complexity of the origins and continued existence of sectarianism in Scotland.

Two contrasting views

The social position of Catholics in contemporary Scotland and the issue of sectarianism is a complex discussion and the delineation between the Catholic Church and the Catholic community becomes blurred. Two contrasting views emerge from the interviews. One view is that Catholics have become part of the social mainstream. Professor Haldane, for example, states:

> Now that has happened, Catholics are now part of the social mainstream. There are some quarters in which they are still not much represented but nonetheless for the most part they have entered into Scottish life and society and that has been a good thing and that has fulfilled the ambitions that their parents would have had for them and that some of those teachers would have had for them.

Professor Haldane further argues that this has been problematic as some Catholics have struggled to retain some form of Catholic identity as they engage in the social mainstream at the local level. They strive to be similar to their neighbours in terms of values, attitudes or opinions, and do not want to be perceived as being different. He describes this as the process of assimilation. Professor Bruce argues that Catholics have been accepted by people at the higher end of the social strata:

> […] but if I was asked to characterise the view of Scottish elites throughout the 20th century my general impression is that Scottish elites generally (even Presbyterian ones which might privately not like Catholicism) have accepted that the Irish and their descendants are here to stay, that Catholics are a significant part of the population of Scotland, that what matters is social harmony […]

It would appear, then, that some of the interviewees believe that the Catholic community has been accepted by the different strata of Scottish society and the challenges of sectarianism that appear to have blighted the progress of the Catholic community in Scotland have been dissipated in this acceptance. These two interviewees appear to be suggesting that the past can now be reconciled, and even

resolved, in an emergent picture of social harmony. Perhaps the comments from Professor Haldane and Professor Bruce describing the reconciliation of Catholicism in contemporary Scotland provide an incomplete picture? A number of the interviewees argue that the features of Irishness and, especially, Catholicism that have been viewed negatively in periods of history continue to be viewed negatively in contemporary Scotland. As Dr Bradley states:

> Many people in Scotland have traditionally learned to dislike or be hostile to or be distrustful of Catholics. These attitudes and identities have a long historical relevance in Scottish and British societies.

Dr Bradley adds that the antipathy has deep historical roots in the colonisation of Ireland by Britain. This colonisation led to a debasement of Irish culture and the Catholic religion – a debasement that persists in post-colonial attitudes. Dr Clegg suggests another possible reason for this hostility:

> Well it is this strange thing that the Catholic Church seems to be perceived as a sort of authoritarian institution which can take over, whatever people mean by takeover, but they're afraid that they are going to be taken over by the Catholics and have this kind of, what they view – erroneously in my opinion – as rigid faith and doctrine imposed on them.

She also states that the historical response of the Catholic community in Scotland, when faced with hostility, was to 'close in on itself' and be introverted and introspective. This response to the antipathy towards them meant that the Catholic community was faced with the second fundamental dilemma of the migrants – the group is not perceived to fully integrate socially in to the mainstream and can be identified as a separate group that could be a threat to 'collective identity'. The Catholic Church in Scotland has only recently become more open, she adds, and now engages in ecumenical and interfaith dialogues. This conception of the Catholic Church as an empire building institution, and the historical, partial (enforced and elective) marginalisation of the Catholic community, contributes to a deeper malaise – a widespread ignorance of Catholicism. Dr Bradley explains:

[…] but I think that there's always been, or for centuries in Scotland, there has been a lack of understanding with regards to Catholic identity, Catholic practices, Catholic philosophy and I think there is virtual complete ignorance in Scotland in relation to these things and I think that is one of the primary sources of division within Scotland that Catholicism and increasingly Christianity are simply not understood by a majority of the population, including by many who criticise them.

Dr Bradley argues that this ignorance of Catholicism is exacerbated because increasing numbers of people in Scotland no longer understand Christianity and the basic beliefs of Christianity and are unable to comprehend Catholic Christianity because they no longer comprehend Christianity. Another source of this ignorance can be traced, as Bishop Devine points out, to the historical territorial segregation of Catholics in some parts of the country (my insert in italics):

I found I think about twenty matching pairs of villages [in Lanarkshire] where the population in one was very heavily Catholic and the population in the other was quite the reverse. We also we saw this in terms of jobs in places, the Catholics tended to go down the pits and the Protestants in the steel works, they were the better jobs. So this told you of a whole culture of a view of an incoming immigrant community. Where the community itself was scarcely given the chance to blossom in terms of the way it wanted to blossom, in its own right, because it was simply constrained by the position it was put, the very location in which it was situated, made it in fact - sectarianism was almost inevitably a part of life at the time and it has never really gone away.

Mr McGrath explains this further by stating that this sectarianism is rooted in families and in communities and Mgr Chambers argues that this sectarianism is not confined to the industrial central belt but can be encountered throughout Scotland. There were a number of views concerning the lingering presence of sectarianism. Some interviewees (anonymous academic, Mr McGrath) felt that sectarianism had eased in the last few decades. Professor Devine thinks that *structural* sectarianism ceased to be 'an objective variable in the 1970s', but *attitudinal* sectarianism continues to linger. Dr Bradley commented that while sectarianism was no longer deemed to be

acceptable, more subtle forms of sectarianism have emerged as people who hold sectarian views have been able to disguise these views and re-articulate them in different ways. The shift from *structural* sectarianism to a lingering and re-calibrated, *attitudinal* sectarianism does, however, create difficulties for identification of concrete manifestations of sectarianism, but lingering suspicions of the continuation of anti-Catholic attitudinal sectarianism remain and these are possibly epitomised in the description of the anonymous academic (a non-Catholic) of his/her engagement with members of the Catholic community:

> […] and one of the characteristics that I have become aware of probably in the consequences of engaging with the Catholic ethic is that many people can be extremely defensive within the Catholic community about any criticism that is articulated by somebody not Catholic. The response to that criticism can sometimes be regarded as aggressive.

His analysis of this defensiveness is that this is symptomatic of an insecure group:

> Trying to understand what kind of excessive reaction to any form of criticism brings me to the conclusion that there is great deal of insecurity in the Catholic identity of many people in Scotland. Given the fact that many over-react to any form of considered criticism does indicate to me this level of insecurity.

Perhaps this identifies something unresolved for some Catholics, including some of the Catholic interviewees. Whether this is, as the anonymous academic suggests, rooted in defensiveness or insecurity remains unclear, but this is focussed on a general question abstracted from the smaller narratives. The *if*, the *what*, the *how*, the *when*, the *who* and *where* questions of sectarianism have been partly answered in contemporary Scottish society and possibly poorly answered, but the contemporary *why* question remains: *why* does sectarianism persist in Scotland, or *why* is it perceived to persist? It is not clear if this is a question seeking an answer or is a rhetorical question raised to draw attention to an unresolved issue that cuts across some of the smaller narratives and exists in contemporary Scotland. It is possibly a complex question seeking a conceptual framework to enable greater understanding. The question is primarily posed by Professor Devine and Mrs Gilpin. Professor

Devine relates the question to the situation of other Irish immigrant communities that settled in western English speaking countries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He argues:

> Well I think to begin with it would be quite useful to look at the situation internationally not simply in relation to England. I think it would be a… and I know perhaps some people have done this to some extent, but I think a major aspect of this study could be the extent to which or at least some kind of profile of what attitudes are elsewhere in the world. Because I may be wrong, but as I say, one vital element in my understanding of modern Scottish sectarianism is that in areas of Irish Catholic settlement where this was a problem in the 19th century and early 20th century, it is no longer a problem – its passé.

Research into the other western English speaking countries would seem to confirm that the presence of descendants of Irish Catholic immigrants has ceased to be a major source of tension. Professor Devine argues that, in the nineteenth century, the Irish Catholic immigrants experienced violent hostility in places like New York and Liverpool. This has now ceased in these areas. In Scotland, by contrast, he argues, there was very little violent hostility towards Catholics in the nineteenth century but this occurred later in the nineteen twenties and thirties and some residue of sectarianism continues to the present day (my insert in italics):

> […] but the irony and the paradox is that all of these areas have lost of all of that (*violent hostility towards Irish Catholic immigrants*) and yet we have an Executive which has an anti-sectarian policy.

Frances Gilpin provides a possible solution: she suggests, returning to a point raised by Professor Finn, that the answer may lie in the predominance of Presbyterian Protestantism in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Presbyterian Protestantism has historically been more extreme in its rejection of Catholicism than other forms of Protestantism (Iserloh, 1980, Brown, 1991). Extending this perception to a more secular age - perhaps secularism in Scotland, as suggested by a number of the interviewees, while rejecting religious perspectives such as Catholicism and Presbyterian Protestantism, has also adopted or adapted the historical anti-Catholicism

of Presbyterian Protestantism? In other words, the positive influence of 'civic' Calvinism that Storrar (Walker, 2002) claims has aided the drive for Scottish self-governing has possibly produced unwelcome side effects as some of the negative aspects of historical Scottish Calvinism have been also adopted. While it is relatively easy to link this to the more extreme forms of secular Protestantism, as outlined by Marshall (1996), can it be suggested that this is a feature of other strata in Scottish society, such as secular identities? Is there some residual, possibly not very self-reflective, anti-Catholicism lingering in some secular identities in the form of attitudinal sectarianism? This is a form of sectarianism that is hard to identify, in sociological terms, enabling academics such as Professor Bruce to argue coherently that sectarianism in Scotland is greatly exaggerated because there is little hard evidence. If this analysis is even partly correct, how will this impact on the debate on Catholic schools?

Discussion

The academic literature and the interviewees have begun to challenge the perfunctory treatment of the role of Catholicism in official histories (De Vos, 1995). As a result, the views concerning the importance of the role of the Catholic Church and wider Catholic community have become increasingly recognised in contemporary official histories (and increased the provenance of this history as it is recognised in private, public and official versions of history). Ironically, the secular view of Scottish society, according to Mrs Gilpin, wishes to re-consign the future role of the Catholic Church and Catholicism to a private version of history. This has begun, she has suggested, within political circles. This is further reflected, according to a number of interviewees, in a media tendency to resent the inclusion of a Catholic perspective in the public forum and to attempt to undermine the plausibility of such a perspective. In the case of strong secularism the aim would be to eradicate all traces of Catholic influence.

These tensions are exacerbated, according to a number of interviewees, by the historical illiteracy in contemporary Scotland. The alleged historical illiteracy, identified by Professor Devine and Dr Bradley, can be interpreted as the inability to respond adequately to the challenge of including not just private versions of history of

diverse cultural, ethnic and religious groups, but also public and official versions, and engaging with these histories. One of the consequences of this lack of engagement is that the new internal vision of the Catholic Church, including the participation in ecumenical and inter-faith dialogues, articulated by Dr Clegg, may not be fully recognised in the public and official versions of history and may be limited to specialised ecclesiastical history

The construction of the conflict between the Catholic Church and wider Christian community and secularism in terms of a dualism is the construction of a mythology of the struggle. This appears to reflect not just alienation between the two positions but a perception that an increasing number of those who adopt a secularist position may be moving towards a strong secular position.

The contrast between the two views concerning the social position of the Catholic Church and the wider Catholic community can be understood within the three versions of history. The first view, that Catholics are accepted by the different strata of Scottish society, appears to suggest a reconciliatory outcome for Catholics and harmonisation of private Catholic versions of history with public and official versions. The second view, that there are some deep unanswered questions in the history of the position of Catholicism in Scotland, strives to increase awareness in the public and official versions of history of some of the challenging unresolved questions of the private version of this history.

Concluding remarks

The examination of the nature of Scottish society and the nature and position of the Catholic Church and wider Catholic community in contemporary Scotland, that has been undertaken in this chapter, provides the context for the next few chapters which will examine the discussion that emerged from the interviews concerning the contemporary position of Catholic schools in Scotland.

CHAPTER SIX

INTRINSIC ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE EXISTENCE OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN SCOTLAND

Introduction

The second and third lenses: intrinsic and extrinsic arguments for and against faith schools have been developed from comments by Professor John Haldane. He stated that:

> The faith schools debate as it has been conducted in Britain in recent years has been driven by what one might call 'extrinsic' considerations. In arguing for the existence of denominational faith schools one might argue on intrinsic grounds or one might argue on extrinsic grounds, so one might give reasons for them that are internal to the nature of faith or internal to the understanding of religion and what I said earlier was of that sort, when I said that parents had a responsibility to raise their children and form them as Christians to enable them to know, to love and to serve God and they might delegate that task for reasons of efficiency and effectiveness to community schools and so on. That is an intrinsic reasoning for Catholic schools – or for faith schools because the same argument would be run by those of other denominations, or other faiths. There are also extrinsic reasons that might be given for having these schools, they are nothing to do with faith as such, or religion as such, or the responsibility of parents to raise their children in the faith or any religion but it is to do with certain other kinds of benefits that might accrue from such schools.

The intrinsic grounds for a Catholic school will be understood, in this thesis, to be the internal theological reasons that Catholic educators propose for the justification of Catholic schools. These include: the Catholic school as part of the mission of the Church and the faith formational aspect of Catholic schools. The extrinsic grounds

for Catholic schools, as will be seen in the next chapter, are understood to be those aspects, or effects, of Catholic schooling that can be assessed and judged in the external educational and political forum. These include: social mobility; successful schooling (academically and good discipline) and social capital. There are other lenses that could be used, but this distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic is a very useful lens as it provides a conceptual map of the distinction between an *internal* understanding of the aim, function and effectiveness of the Catholic school, and an *external* understanding of the aim, function and effectiveness of the Catholic school. It is not clear that this distinction is always discerned or fully understood by those who debate the existence of Catholic Schools in Scotland. The extrinsic understanding can complement, or potentially obscure, the intrinsic understanding – dependent on who is engaged in the discussion and the focus of the discussion. Professor Haldane warns that all advocates of faith schools should resist debating the justification for these schools on extrinsic grounds alone because, extending his argument, this could potentially obscure all understanding of the intrinsic understanding.

Intrinsic arguments for and against the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland

Three intrinsic arguments, for the purposes of this thesis, have been abstracted from the review of literature and analysis of the transcripts of the interviews and are classified under three general headings: (1) the Catholic school within the context of the mission (of the Catholic church); (2) Catholic faith education and Catholic schools as a focus for the Catholic community and Catholic identity and (3) challenges to the internal mission of Catholic schools.

Catholic school within the context of the mission of the Catholic Church

Understanding of the Catholic school within the mission of the Catholic Church

Examining the views of all of the interviewees it becomes clear that only a small number of those who support Catholic schools in Scotland are able to confidently articulate a knowledge and understanding of the intrinsic rationale for Catholic schools as presented in Church documentation, i.e. within the concept of 'mission' and related theological concepts. Professor James Conroy explicitly refers to the

Vatican documentation and acknowledges that the Catholic Church has adopted a number of positions of the nature of Catholic schooling. He is, however, the only interviewee to refer to specific Catholic Church documentation (my emphasis in bold):

> The core position would seem to be that it is to introduce young men and women to the truth and sometimes that search for truth is articulated in theological and spiritual terms. So if one looked at **Gravissimum Educationis**, the second Vatican Council document on education, there is a very clear statement of the spiritual import of education […]

> So the purposes in North America and parts of North America and maybe it differs from diocese to diocese, would certainly be more nuanced than the claims of **Gravissimum Educationis** or even **The Religious Dimension of Education in Catholic schools** which itself makes a very large claim for truth seeking and not wishing to force anyone to believe things they don't believe, but at the same time tries to hold this in some kind of tension with the claim that there are these objective truths.

Professor Conroy's statements are grounded in an explicit theological discussion drawn from, and referenced to, Church documentation. Professor Haldane, on the other hand, does not refer to specific church documents, but his comments do reflect the Catholic Church statements on the responsibility of Catholic parents that appear in *Gravissimum Educationis* (*Christian Education*). He states that this education in faith is essentially a parental responsibility:

> The principal purpose of Catholic schools is to implement what is in fact the prime responsibility of Catholic parents: to raise their children in the faith as good Christians, enabling them to lead good and fulfilling lives that will bring them eventually to salvation. So the Catholic Church, in keeping with a long philosophical tradition, regards the primary responsibility of education as lying with the parents.

Professor Haldane adds that schools have come into existence for a specific purpose:

But in the nature of any considerable activity in which human beings share a common interest, it makes sense to have a division of labour whereby a different kind of expertise will be deployed on behalf of the community. Schools come into existence for that purpose. So the function of Catholic schools derives really from the primary responsibility that attaches to parents to raise their children in the faith in order that they should, in the words of the catechism, come to know, to love and to serve God.

Extending Professor Haldane's distinction, it can be argued that schooling *per se* may have arisen because of a division of labour, but Catholic schools have arisen as a specialised form of the division of labour. The Catholic Church documentation conceives the Catholic school as an integrated but dual stranded division of labour: firstly the academic and life skills function of schooling division of labour (shared with other schools) and secondly the religious faith formational function of schooling. This may appear to be an artificial distinction as these two are intended to be fully integrated, but it does provide a prism for understanding the contrast between non-denominational schooling (academic and life skills) and Catholic schools (a combination of these academic and life skills and faith formation education). I propose to use this integrated but dual stranded conceptualisation of Catholic schools as a tool for subsequent discussion of the intrinsic arguments for and against Catholic schools.

Mrs Frances Gilpin reflects further on the relationship between the Church and parents, arguing that Catholic schooling is a collaboration and mutually beneficial partnership between church and parents:

[…] the Church will always acknowledge the rights of the schools to exist because it is what Catholic parents want for their children, and I think you can say that the Church and parents want the same thing, they want their children educated in the Catholic faith, they want them educated in what's Christ purpose is for us, which is that we are made in the image and likeness of God and that we be educated in values that take us on that journey.

While not explicitly referencing Church documents, she does, like Professor Haldane, reflect Church thinking. Others who support Catholic schools openly acknowledged that they had vague notions of the intrinsic rationale of the Catholic school (Professors Devine and Finn and Dr Clegg). Professor Gerry Finn's comments would be typical of this group:

> I would have to plead ignorance in terms of the statements of the Catholic Church, any kind of more recent statements of the Catholic Church.

Those interviewees who contest Catholic schools, or perceive them to be problematic, also acknowledged that they were unfamiliar with formal Catholic Church statements that articulate the role of the Catholic school within the mission of the Catholic Church and, understandably, were more hesitant in discussing the internal rationale of the Catholic school. They often prefixed their remarks with a form of academic disclaimer. The anonymous academic, for example, who is opposed to Catholic schools on philosophical grounds and is opposed to all forms of faith schooling, stated:

> Well first of all I am not familiar with the statements made by the Catholic Church so it will have to be based on my perceptions of what I think the Catholic Church sees as the overall purpose of its schools.

Dr Alison Elliot is also unclear on this issue:

> I am not sure how it is stated by the Catholic Church […]

Professor Steve Bruce does not prefix his comments with an academic disclaimer, but couches his discussion of the aims of Catholic schools in the language of supposition (my emphasis in bold):

> I **presume** Catholic schools exist because the Catholic Church believes [...]

> I **presume** that they hope that their children will become Catholics.

> […] but I **presume** that the Catholic Church wants it own schools because […]

Despite this acknowledged lack of awareness (by the majority of interviewees - both those who support Catholic schools and those who have reservations) of the claims that the Catholic church makes for Catholic schools within official documentation, all of the interviewees had some conception that Catholic schools promote a Catholic way of life and that the aim is to form children in the Catholic faith such that they have a true understanding of that faith. The anonymous academic commented:

> So coming back to the issue of Catholic schools one of the purposes that I perceive is that schools should instruct young people in the values, beliefs and interpretations of Christianity as practised by Catholics and it is part of the job of schools to ensure that young people who attend those schools to a large extent are certainly aware of what it is that is expected of a Catholic and preferably of course to subscribe to the Catholic ethic.

Professor Bruce contextualises Catholic schools in Scotland within their historical origins when he states:

> I presume Catholic schools exist because the Catholic Church believes that it has a distinctive world view which needs to be reflected across a broad range of educational subjects and which can't satisfactorily be dealt with by being an add-on, special Catholic education classes stuck at the end of the day, as was originally proposed in the 19th century.[67]

Two points can be raised at this stage. Firstly, this lack of knowledge of the official rhetoric of the Catholic Church concerning Catholic schools may be understandable in those with reservations concerning Catholic schools as they are located in a variety of academic disciplines: sociology, philosophy and education. It is arguably less understandable in those who claim to support Catholic schooling. Interestingly, a number of interviewees who support Catholic schools also appear to locate their arguments primarily in sociology, philosophy and education and have less concern with theology and a theological rationale. Secondly, the discussion of the theological

rationale is primarily focussed on Catholic schools in Scotland, as they are constructed, and perceived, in Scotland, and not focussed on the systematic rationale of an international, theologically based, form of faith schooling. The articulation of their conception of the rationale of Catholic schools is based, then, on a local *Scottish* rhetoric or discussion. The next sub-section examines the ways in which the localised discussion of the internal rationale of Catholic schools in Scotland has been affected by features of contemporary Scottish culture and life.

The Scottish Catholic school within the contemporary Scottish context

A number of the interviewees point out that Catholic schools in Scotland no longer cater solely or even, in some cases, primarily for Catholics. This is an interesting contemporary development and is partly a result of changes in demographics and perceptions of the success of Catholic schools. Professor Finn describes Catholic schools as catering for the wider community:

> Catholic schools no longer cater only for those who are Catholic but cater for a much wider community. That is not by default but often by choice - that people send their children to Catholic schools because they want, as they see it, an education, some might call it an instillation, of a particular discipline both of faith, spirit and mind.

Mr Michael McGrath points out that children attending Catholic schools come from a variety of faith and non-faith backgrounds:

> In many cases their students are coming from quite a range of faith backgrounds, some are Catholic, some are non-Catholic, some are Muslim, some are nominally Catholic and they may not fully engage and come from families that aren't engaged.

It is not only the children who represent a variety of faiths and cultural background. Dr Alison Elliott adds that some of the teachers in a Catholic school may not necessarily be Catholic:

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They are schools that are used not just by Catholic parents. They are schools which have teachers in them who are not Catholics as well, but clearly they are ones that offer a predominantly Catholic ethos in the way in which they do their education.

Professor Finn argues that because Catholic schools no longer cater solely for Catholics, but a wider community (see appendix 4), a clear knowledge of the Catholic Church thinking on Catholic schools may not be necessary:

[…] it actually hasn't seemed to me to be so important to know what precisely the Catholic Church thinks they are for. There is a sense of what is much more important which is why the Catholic community, and particularly the wider community, think they are there.

In one sense Professor Finn is correct: the local Scottish construct of the rationale of the Catholic school may be more important to many people than the construct offered by the Church teaching. The Scottish Catholic schools cater increasingly for a wider non-Catholic community and for the whole Catholic community and are perceived in different ways. One of the consequences of this catering for the wider non-Catholic community is that the extrinsic educational understanding of Catholic schools in Scotland has increased in importance, as this is perceived to be more relevant by this wider group of stakeholders, and the theological understanding, local or international, concomitantly has diminished in significance for these stakeholders, or is perceived and received in a different way. They may perceive great value in a school based on theological principles, some of which may be shared, but they will not acquiesce to Catholic faith formation for their children. Some parents, from other denominations or faiths, may possibly perceive that the Catholic school provides or contributes (or the children draw on) broader faith formation principles that accommodate their own faith formation of their children. This will be discussed further in chapter seven.

Catholic faith education and Catholic schools as a focus for the Catholic community and Catholic identity

A number of the interviewees perceived another aspect of Catholic schooling as an intrinsic strength: the promotion/formation of the Catholic community and the Catholic school as a focus or point of convergence for the varieties of Catholic identity. Professor David Carr perceives the promotion of the Catholic community as part of the intrinsic rationale for Catholic schools:

> I guess that the purpose of Catholic schools for the Catholic Church is to promote a Catholic way of life – generally, Catholic values and a sense of Catholic community.

The Catholic school is perceived, then, not just to provide a faith-formational education but to draw children into a community. As Dr Joseph Bradley states:

> I suppose it is to do with the vision that the Catholic Church holds for its faith community and the best way that that vision can be shaped, promoted and advocated and be given life at least in terms of children, in terms of young people, in the connection to the family and in the connection to the church establishment and institution itself. That Catholic schools are part of that very well quoted trinity of facets of life, of institutions, of structures that shape the Christian person, the Christian being and it does. I would see the Catholic Church's view as one as promoting family, of promoting community.

The rest of this sub-section will discuss the challenges of this promotion of Catholic community in the Catholic school using the framework of the three-tier categorization of the Catholic community. As was seen in chapter five, Professor Carr identified the diversity of theological diversity co-existing within category one of the Catholic community. He further applies the implications of this co-existence to Catholic schools:

> So while the disagreements are real enough, and indeed also healthy enough in this or any other religious context, I suspect that there is still a very strong sense of common value and purpose among Catholics – which is why Catholics would generally regard it as important to send their children to the kinds of school in which they might get a grounding in such values.

Professor Carr's comments are useful as he argues that the Catholic community may be divided theologically and in terms of tradition, but this does not create a Catholic community that is divided in its support for Catholic schools. In terms of Dr Bradley's three-tier categorisation of the Catholic community, the rest of the interviewees tended to focus on categories two and three. In relation to Dr Bradley's category two, Professor Conroy explains that many Catholics retain a 'residual attachment' to the religious expressions of Catholicism and support Catholic schools for this reason:

> Also because I think there is a residual attachment to religious traditions that people while maybe not be wholly persuaded by the liturgical and theological practices of the Catholic church nevertheless don't want entirely to give them up, they want to retain some attachment to this.

Dr Bob Davis conceptualises this by suggesting that the clarity of the articulation of Catholic values in the Catholic school appeals to the 'ancestral memory' of the disengaged or partially disengaged Catholics:

> I think there are all sorts of reasons why people in that setting continue to support Catholic schools, partly and most profoundly and most simply because they still have an adherence to those values that I have ready tried to explicate. Even where they may themselves be detached or semi-detached from the religious the doctrinal, the dogmatic infrastructure that supports those values. The values themselves are so pronounced and so obvious in a Catholic school that for a Catholic population or for a population rather, that still has a memory, an ancestral memory, of where those values come from then the Catholic school is the obvious choice of place, of location at which to educate your children.

The third category, however, appears to be less concerned with residual attachment or ancestral memory of religious values and more concerned with secular strands of Catholic identity. This broader community has a complex scope, as outlined by Dr Bradley:

There is still a sense of community amongst those people and that the community arises from their common origins, common cultural thinking, practices etc. and some of these things would be secular of course.

This secular, or partly secular, Catholic identity has emerged as an identity that adopts a religious label as an identifier but does not really adhere to the religious practice of Catholic Christianity. Their identity appears to be primarily constructed from other forms of ancestral memory – in one sense, estranged from religious practice but, in another sense, associated with religious memory. This group appears to have deconstructed the Irish–Catholic–immigrant identity and reconstructed it as Irish or Irish-immigrant. Possibly the stronger ancestral memory for this group is the memory of the Irish immigrant, stereotyped and, at times, vilified, as unwelcome outsiders and for having an alternative and reviled Christian adherence. The identity of a secular Catholic has possibly survived because these Catholics do not want to be labelled as 'Protestant', the oppressor. This Catholic identity may have been partly reconstructed as an identity of alienation, but has its own mythologies constructed from historical residue. Those who adhere to this identity, nevertheless, perceive themselves to belong to a wider Catholic community, as Professor Finn comments:

Then of course you have the Catholic community who support Catholic schools, presumably for a wider variety of reason, some for the value of the religious dimension and the faith formation within Catholic schools. Some out of loyalty to, as they see it, their broader community.

This loyalty to a wider Catholic community is partly rooted, according to Professor Devine, in an internal perception that the Catholic community is still partly separated in Scottish society:

[…] although we may be partially out of the ghetto we are not totally out of the ghetto, so I think there still a sense of quasi-defensiveness which kind of produces loyalty.

If the Scottish Catholics, as Professor Devine, suggests, are not totally out of the ghetto then members of the wider Catholic community will identify more readily with

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others perceived to be of a similar Catholic origin and perceive themselves, albeit in a diverse ways, to be part of a group of people that have a quasi-outsider status – whether this quasi-outsider status is perceived and constructed internally in terms of Irish descent, immigrant descent or Catholic adherence or descent (or combinations of these three). The next sub-section will further examine the implications of these constructions of Catholic identity for the Scottish Catholic schools.

Challenges to the internal mission of Catholic schools

Challenge of effects of declining practice rate and different constructions of Catholic identity for Catholic schools

A number of the interviewees pointed out that the declining practice rate within the contemporary Scottish Catholic community is perceived to be one of the major challenges to the Catholic schools and the education of Catholic children in the Christian faith. If one of the aims of the Catholic school is to form children in the Catholic Christian faith and incorporate them into the Catholic community, then, the Catholic schools in Scotland, according to Professor Devine, do not seem to be very effective:

> I still go to Mass on a Sunday and I detect very few young people there. So in terms of that simple act of membership they don't seem to be very effective.

Professor Bruce pursues this line of discussion to its logical conclusion: do Catholic schools have a future if the practice rate is so poor:

> You just have to look at the Mass attendance figures, the population figures and so on. There is a product being offered to a community at large which is designed to maintain their faith and if you look at the leisure behaviour of that community, defined as those people were born to Catholic parents, you discover that the vast majority of them have no interest in their religion. When given the free choice, that is as teenagers and adults, 'Do you want to go to Church, do you want to go and do Catholic things?' The majority of people born as Catholics say 'No thanks, I would rather go to the pictures', in which

case why should the State be trying to assist the Church in maintaining something which its own people apparently don't seem to want? So I think there is a serious problem with that.

These interviewees have interpreted regular attendance at Sunday mass as a signifier of practice, and attendance, a signifier of practice promoted by Catholic Church leaders and clergy. As has been seen above, however, there are different constructions and different levels of adherence to Scottish Catholicism and consequently different interpretations of what constitutes practice. When applied to the effects or expected outcomes of Catholic schools, this focus on attendance at Mass could be perceived to represent a simplistic and presumptive view, or reduction, of a very complex matrix of aims and outcomes of the Catholic school. This should be understood within the context of a contemporary Scotland that does not appear to value religion and religious values and lifestyle. A number of interviewees comment that the prevailing secular values of many aspects of contemporary Scottish society and the pressure to conform to these values places young Catholics attending Catholic schools under enormous pressure. Bishop Devine highlights this drift from practice within the context of the increased and concerted efforts of the Catholic educators to provide an effective faith education (my insert in italics):

> In terms of the moral formation *[within Catholic schools],* despite the fact that probably we have never had better catechetical materials, and better trained specialist teachers of RE, sadly the evidence would seem to suggest that, certainly in secondary schools, that a clear majority no longer seem to make any effort to practise their faith. This has got to be a continuing worry for us.

As has been stated above, Professor Carr has pointed out that Catholics of different theological backgrounds and traditions (category one Catholics) support Catholic schools. Within the other two categories of Catholic, the practice rate has declined, and consequently the knowledge and understanding of Catholicism, and of the internal rationale for the Catholic school, has declined. Nevertheless this wider Catholic community continue to support Catholic schools, as Bishop Devine states:

I really suspect that the basic reason has got something to do with, it's almost like a tribal thing, it's, we went there, our parents went there, our grandparents went there, and so the kids are going to go there too. It is almost a decision which is not thought through, it is just an automatic response because that is the thing to do. It is like getting them baptised, getting them through their First Communion, Confirmation and so on and part of the whole parcel is that you are going to belong to a Catholic community in some shape or form and usually that is the school and that is an enormous difficulty for schools to handle today - huge difficulty.

The Catholic school, as Bishop Devine suggests, may be the only contact, or the only regular contact that many Catholics have with religious expressions of Catholicism. The wider Catholic community, in sending their children to Catholic schools may appear willing to acquiesce to the internal rationale of the Catholic school, but it is with a limited understanding and with a limited commitment. Some members of the wider Catholic community (category three) engage with forms of Catholic identity that can be exclusively non-religious and Dr Davis warns that non-religious expressions of Catholicism can encroach on the self identification of the Catholic school:

I think that risk is all the more pronounced in the modern era for Catholic schools as the religious connections weaken, so there is always the temptation I think in the Catholic school community that if it is not possible to build an identity around shared religious Catholic values, principles and beliefs any longer well, we can always fall back on our tribal affiliations, on our tribal atavistic kind of loyalties. Now I have not experienced that or come across it in particularly highly evolved or systematic forms in any Catholic schools of my acquaintance but I have seen momentary indulgencies of it in Catholic schools that I have found to be unacceptable where I would challenge the school that by negligence if not design its contributing to the sectarian problem.

This challenge to the Catholic school as religious expression of Catholicism becomes more pressing as the numbers of Catholics seeking Catholic faith formation decreases

and the number of Catholics supporting Catholic schools because of tribalism/loyalty increases (this will be further discussed in chapter seven).

Decline of parental responsibility?

Another aspect of this decline in practice rate is the inability of many Catholic parents who have some residual religious attachment to Catholicism (category two) to assume the parental responsibility of educating their children in the faith. Further, those who have a secular Catholic identity (category three) are unlikely to engage in any meaningful collaboration or mutual partnership with the Church as they have even less concern for Catholic religious values. Mgr. Chambers thinks that many of the Catholic parents (especially category two) wish to hand some Catholic values on to the children but feel ill-equipped and look to the school and the teachers to help them:

> That doesn't mean to say that all at home and in family life are practising Catholics the vast majority won't be but they still want to hand on the values of Catholic home and family life and in many cases they feel inadequate to do that themselves as parents, sadly, but they like and expect help with it and the help that they get they turn to the Catholic schools and in Catholic schools they are expecting the teachers there to hand on their faith by what they say and what they do by example.

Dr Clegg thinks that often the Catholic school becomes a substitute for parental responsibility (my insert in italics):

> So it [*the Catholic school*] is really as a help and sometimes a substitute, perhaps more often as a substitute for having to undertake the difficult task of teaching a child, bringing them up in the faith.

This substitution is essentially a transferral of parental responsibility to the Catholic school and can place the Catholic school in an invidious position. If the parents partially practise or have ceased to practise and feel unable to undertake their parental responsibilities as first educators in the faith and if the Catholic school becomes perceived as the primary or even sole provider of faith formation for children, then the

school can be perceived to be accountable for the success or failure of this faith formation. The comments of Professors Bruce and Devine can be understood within this context. Catholic schools are not failing the Catholic community and not failing to maintain practice rate, including attendance at Mass. If there is a failure, then, arguably it is the Catholic community that is failing, or rather struggling, to form the children in the faith within the Catholic family, parish and school. The Catholic school is not the location of the cause of this failure or struggle, it is the arena in which this failure can be most easily identified and highlighted.

The tension between intrinsic and extrinsic

In this section I propose to return to the implications of the ways in which Catholic schools are perceived and constructed in Scotland with particular reference to the wider Catholic community (initially discussed in the sub-section entitled *the Scottish Catholic school within the contemporary Scottish context*). The wider Catholic community perceives the purpose and position of Catholic schools in a variety of ways representing a spectrum of understandings of Catholicism in Scotland. Furthermore, many of these perceptions are less focussed on the intrinsic values of Catholic schools and may be more focussed on the extrinsic values of Catholic schools, or on the Catholic school as some form of cultural identifier. In other words, the academic and life skills strand of Catholic schools can assume more prominence than the faith formational strand. Catholic schools, as state-funded schools, are required to conform to extrinsic curricular and performative norms and a shift in emphasis towards the extrinsic, a shift that may appear attractive or reasonable to some stakeholders, presents a challenge to Catholic schools because the intrinsic rationale for Catholic schools can become obscured or lost. Catholic schools appear to be perceived as distinctive because of the underlying values, but there may be a point when some Catholic schools in Scotland begin to lose their distinctiveness as *Catholic* schools, because less emphasis is placed on the faith formational strand of education of the school and more on the academic and life skills strand. There can be a struggle to ensure a balance between adhering to the demands of the internal rationale for Catholic schools and the demands of the external educational and societal pressures mirrors the tension between the 'secular and the sacred' identified by Grace (see chapter two). Mr McGrath believes that the balance has been uneven in the past:

> […] for a number of years Catholic schools were so determined to prove themselves as able, as capable, as effective, as successful as non denominational schools that to some extent they maybe played down that significant dimension, that identity, that particular sense of mission, that we regard as being in the origins of the Catholic school. This led to us to a stage where some Catholic schools became almost indistinguishable from non denominational schools, and I am thinking mainly of some of the secondary schools where there was less attention given to aspects of faith and the kind of religious understanding of life.

Perhaps it becomes more difficult to reassert the Catholic rationale of the Catholic school once the Catholic school has become almost indistinguishable from other schools, the re-establishment of Catholic self-identification and consequent distinctiveness may be uncomfortable/unwelcome within particular Catholic schools. Professor Conroy perceives this tension within contemporary Catholic schooling:

> […] I wanted to draw a distinction between the views that someone like Michael McGrath with respect to Catholic education and many practising Head Teachers. As for Michael McGrath it is a very clear imperative to create Catholic schools which evince very publicly their distinctiveness, an ethical, moral and social distinctiveness. For many Head Teachers in Catholic schools they want to keep that distinctiveness pretty low profile, to feel like the same as everyone else. So there is a gap and I think that gap will open up more and more unless there are very substantial efforts to bridge it.

There are dangers that without the assertion or re-assertion of this Catholic rationale the Catholic school ceases to adhere to, or minimises, the theological principles that constitute it as a Catholic school and it is superficially or nominally a Catholic school. Professor Haldane warns that this kind of erosion of the Catholic rationale could lead to the Catholic schools being perceived to fail to discharge their institutional responsibility as Catholic schools:

Another issue, however, is whether or not Catholic schools are discharging that responsibility. After all there is nothing worse in life than to have an institution or an organisation or a person saying they are doing one thing and failing to do it. That is worse than not doing it all, because there is a kind of deception, or pretence involved there. Sometimes people don't know that they are failing in what they are claiming to be doing, but if it proved to be the case that the Catholic schools were becoming counter Catholic influences in the lives of children, if they were failing conspicuously and as it were misrepresenting, knowingly or unknowingly, misrepresenting what it was that they were about as Catholic schools then it seems to me in those circumstances one might well say, better that these things don't exist than that they do what they are doing at present.

Mr McGrath has a more positive view of this tension and believes that more Catholic schools are rediscovering their internal rationale:

Over the last 5 years or more, schools have been more conscious of the need to revisit their tradition, revisit their history if you like, revisit their story and beyond the story to look at the kind of vision of what they are about and to try to bring both the story and the vision alive, both for their own students and for the wider community.

Mr McGrath's comments indicate recent progress in the revitalisation of the Catholic rationale for Catholic schools, but this discussion raises serious issues concerning the internal integrity of Catholic schools. Maintaining an appropriate balance between internal rationale and external pressures within Catholic schools appears to be difficult and appears to require careful monitoring. This appears to be more necessary in the Catholic secondary schools rather than in the primary schools. Mr McGrath's previous comments explain the possible counter effects for the Catholic school if the school *uncritically* concedes to the predominance of the pressure to be perceived to be successful in the external forum according to external criteria, i.e. of academic success and successful implementation of Government directives, to the detriment of the internal Catholic rationale. This concession appears to indicate a lack of a self-critical understanding within the Catholic school and the balance between internal and

external or a willingness to minimise some aspects of the internal to maximise the external.

Concluding remarks

The lens of intrinsic arguments for and against Catholic schools has provide a useful insight into the way in which internal understandings of the rationale and importance of Catholic schools in Scotland, in some ways quite uniquely, have been constructed, developed and challenged. The next two chapters will examine the external arguments for and against the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXTRINSIC ARGUMENTS <u>FOR</u> THE EXISTENCE OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN SCOTLAND

Introduction

The next two chapters examine the extrinsic arguments concerning Catholic schools in Scotland. The extrinsic arguments for and against the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland, compared to the intrinsic arguments for and against, are more clearly defined, more clearly articulated and explored in more depth and detail by all of the interviewees. More of the interviewees engaged in discussion of the extrinsic issues and explored these issues with more nuance. There is not the same hesitancy, conceptual vagueness and resort to academic disclaimer that marked many of the discussions regarding the intrinsic arguments concerning Catholic schools in Scotland.

Extrinsic arguments for the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland

The extrinsic arguments for the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland will be discussed in the following sub-sections: Catholic schools in Scotland and social mobility; the success of Catholic schools in Scotland; the contribution of Catholic schools to Scottish school education and the contribution of Catholic schools in Scotland to Scottish culture/society.

Catholic schools in Scotland and social mobility

This sub-section examines Catholic schools in Scotland and the social mobility of the Catholic community in Scotland from two perspectives: the *historical* perspective and the *contemporary* perspective.

Catholic schools in Scotland and social mobility: historical perspective

A number of interviewees perceive Catholic schools in Scotland to have had an important historical role in elevating the socio-economic status of the members of the Scottish Catholic community, especially those of Irish origin, or descended from the large number of Catholic Irish immigrants that arrived in Scotland at the time of the Irish famines (1845-1849) (Foster, 1988). Professor Steve Bruce claims that this elevation of a beleaguered minority was one of the original justifications, by the government, for the incorporation of Catholic schools into the state education sector in Scotland in 1918:

> […] the traditional reason for having separate Catholic schools was that in the 19th and early 20th century the Catholic population of Scotland, because it was by and large an immigrant population or the descendants of immigrants, was of a distinctly lower socio-economic status and needed particular help to raise its socio-economic profile. That was always a clear, on the part of the educational managers in the Scottish Office, understanding of one justification for separate Catholic schools was to try and improve the socio-economic status of the Catholic community in Scotland.

Professor Tom Devine considers this to have been accomplished within a social context that did not always share such egalitarian principles, but, in some respects, still remained entrenched in attitudes of rejection and enmity towards the immigrant Catholic Irish[68]:

> I regard the 1918 Education Act as an extraordinary piece of benevolent legislation because of hostility to an ethnic immigrant group.

Dr James MacMillan states further that the Act is the foundation of the success of Scottish education (my emphasis in bold):

> The success of Scottish **education** can be found in the 1918 Education Act.

Dr MacMillan perceives the 1918 Act to be an acknowledgement and reflection of the 'wider tapestry' of Scottish society. Dr Joseph Bradley adds that this strategy to aid the social mobility of the Catholic community has historically been successful, in the long term, by helping the Catholic community integrate into Scottish and British life:

> They fit into the educational system because they also have helped to elevate an almost totally immigrant Catholic community into Scottish life, Scottish education. Catholic schools partly helped them to integrate into British society and aspects of British culture, at least to give an understanding of those things and a relationship to those things […]

This 'benevolence' is within a particular context. The Catholic schools had refused to become part of the state educational system in 1872, because they wanted to preserve the Catholic identity of the schools – an identity that was possibly as much Irish as Catholic. The benevolence of this Act could also be interpreted as enforced expediency as the Catholic school system, crippled by insufficient funding, was collapsing in the period 1872 to 1918 and the equity of school provision for Catholic children, except for some notable exceptions, was seriously compromised (Fitzpatrick, 1999). Catholic schools were also perceived to be **the** route to social mobility by the Catholic population, as Professor Bruce states, and the Catholic community refused to surrender their separate schools to protect this route to social mobility. These references to the historical status and progression of the immigrant Catholic community will be examined further in the section on the 'use' of history by the interviewees in chapter nine.

Catholic schools in Scotland and social mobility: contemporary perspective

While only a small number of interviewees (Professors Devine, Bruce and Dr Bradley) comment on this historical aspect of the social mobility of the Catholic community, a much larger, and more diverse, number of interviewees comment on the continued success of this social mobility although, in some cases, couched in the terminology of countering the effects of deprivation. Professor James Conroy addresses the international dimension of the strength of Catholic schooling, referring

in particular to the situation on inner city America and raises the issue of 'class' and Catholic schooling:

> […] in the United States there would be a concern that Catholic education serves the inner city poor and that is partly driven by the evolution of certain kinds of expediencies so that the flight of the middle classes from inner cities has left a poor population ill served often by public education and the Church because it already had schools there filled a vacuum, an educational vacuum, or at least a schooling vacuum […]

This appears to suggest that the *option for the poor* is an accidental consequence of demographic change in some parts of America. In Scotland this *option for the poor* has arguably always been a dominant feature of Catholic schools and Mr Michael McGrath argues that this continues to be a great strength of contemporary Catholic schools in Scotland:

> One of the great testimonies of the success of Catholic education - and it is well established in research - has been the extent to which deprivation has been significantly countered as a result of Catholic education, many Catholic schools were in really poor communities and did very significant work with the poorest of families. There is lots of… lots of evidence to indicate that the most deprived communities and the most deprived pupils within those communities did significantly well as a result of the efforts of Catholic education

These comments provide a reminder that within the Scottish context the Catholic schools have provided a particular service to the poorer members of the wider Catholic community. Professor Devine agrees with Mr McGrath but uses a more traditional identification of Catholics as the 'working classes':

> The second thing is that the educational research suggests that the special relation to the working class dimension is extremely effective […]

Professor Finn agrees with both of these interviewees that Catholic schools do appear to be successful in the education of 'working class' children but he is more cautious about comparisons with other forms of schooling and is critical when discussing research findings that claim, or are claimed, to prove the superiority of Catholic schools:

> Firstly, I think we have to be very careful about the claims of success, there is certainly some evidence that does suggest that, for working class kids in particular, Catholic schools are good. There are international studies but again you have got to be careful about the specific nature of the schools that are chosen. And you have got studies in England particularly the one by the Schagens and the way in which you have got to be much more careful in the analysis of the success of Catholic schools, although it does seem, even there, certainly in the GCSE's that Catholic schools are more successful.

Professor Finn refers to the recent research findings in England and Wales and the current debate concerning the success of Catholic schools and other forms of faith schooling. The work by Schagen and Schagen (2005), for example, examines the statistical evidence for the claims of greater success of Catholic, and other faith schools, and they suggest that this 'greater' success is more limited than is claimed. The success of Catholic schools in Scotland to aid social mobility and counter deprivation, based on anecdotal and academic evidence (though maybe not conclusive) is presented, nevertheless, by some interviewees as a strong argument. Mrs Frances Gilpin thinks it is one of the strongest arguments in the external forum to support the continued existence of Catholic schools:

> I feel we have earned that privilege and the reasons why, there are lots of reasons, but if you look at something like attainment in itself and particularly we have provided high levels of attainment from pupils in significant disadvantage, we do so more effectively than non-Catholic schools and that addresses a very important social issue of how do you compensate for social disadvantage and poverty and Catholic schools clearly do something there. I think that this would appear to be one of the strongest justifications we have got for Catholic schools and it is persuasive to people who lack an

appreciation of the faith dimension to the school but that is not the strongest argument that the Catholics would make in favour of their schools.

Mrs Gilpin draws attention back to the distinction between intrinsic/extrinsic discussions, and that those with a responsibility to promote the theological understanding of Catholic schools, should possibly be more aware of the distinction between the intrinsic/extrinsic strands, and should, according to Professor Haldane, maintain a balance between the strands. She affirms the view that Catholic schools do counter social deprivation, and these arguments about the success of the Catholic school are seductive to the Catholic community because they enable Catholic schools to be judged favourably in the external forum, according to external criteria. Perhaps this argument is strengthened further because this countering deprivation and aiding social mobility can also apply to non-Catholic children and partly explains why Catholic schools are so attractive for non-Catholic families. Another aspect of this discussion is the response of the Catholic schools in Glasgow to the arrival of refugees in the early part of the twenty first century. As Dr MacMillan explains:

> I have been heartened by the way that Catholic schools, as well as many other schools of course, have opened their arms to the children of refugees in Scotland and children coming from the trouble spots of the world. I believe they have been given a special welcome in inner city Catholic schools, regardless of their religion. It seems to be a central part of the ethos of the Catholic school - to open their arms to the poor and to the marginalised. That is a sign of the validity and healing power of Catholic schools in the modern age.

Dr MacMillan explains this openness to the poor and marginalised as necessarily emanating from the theological rationale of the Catholic school. This is a valid and intrinsically coherent argument for Catholics schools, but one that, as Mrs Gilpin has stated, may not be shared by the external forum – a forum that values the effects of the countering of social deprivation, but may not understand, nor value, the underpinning theological rationale.

The Success of Catholic schools in Scotland

I have highlighted the themes of the apparent success of Catholic schools as aiding social mobility and countering deprivation because these are recognised as particularly important aspects of the success of Catholic schools in Scotland and are used by interviewees as part of the argument for Catholic schools. This sub-section will examine other aspects of the success of Catholic schools in Scotland: educational success of Catholic schools; Catholic schools in Scotland as 'good' schools (perceived 'better' discipline and socialisation) and types of evidence for the success of Catholic schools in Scotland which is cited by a number of the interviewees.

Educational success of Catholic schools in Scotland

Professor Conroy supports the view that Catholic schools in Scotland are very effective educationally, and provides a useful international contextualisation, pointing out that educational success is a feature of Catholic schools in the western world:

> […] certainly the evidence over the last 10 to 15 years in both America and in Europe and also in Australia, South Africa and New Zealand seems to indicate that Catholic schools are more efficacious educationally and socially.

There is something about this form of faith schooling in international schooling that leads to consistent success both educationally and socially (though these are strongly linked as will be seen in the sub-section on *The Contribution of Catholic schools to Scottish School Education*). Catholic schools in Scotland appear to fit into this model of Catholic schools as educationally successful. Dr Bradley affirms this:

> […] there seems to be a general recognition that educationally Catholic schools are a bit better than many other schools in Scotland.

Within the Scottish context, because of the limited diversity of state funded schooling, this comment referring to 'many other schools in Scotland' primarily refers to non-denominational schools. This interviewee further qualifies his comments and argues

that Catholic schools appear particularly successful when placed in direct comparison with schools in similar socio-economic locations:

> […] research produced in recent years shows that Catholic schools are academically successful and surpass most other schools when taken like for like.

This perceived educational success of Catholic schools in Scotland is a strong argument for Catholic schools in the external forum, because external criteria, applied to all schools, have been applied to Catholic schools and Catholic schools appear successful according to these criteria. The claims for the educational success of Catholic schools in Scotland are complemented by claims that Catholic schools in Scotland provide a 'better' school experience and overall education. This will be examined in the next sub-section.

Catholic schools in Scotland as 'good' schools

A number of the interviewees commented that there is a contemporary perception that Catholic schools in Scotland, on the whole, have better discipline than non-Catholic schools. This is a perception, it is claimed, that is also shared by some teachers who have taught in both sectors – Dr Bradley comments:

> It is also generally recognised and I have heard many teachers who have taught in both sectors and I have taught in both sectors myself that discipline is improved in Catholic schools as opposed to non-denominational schools.

Although this statement is based on anecdotal evidence ('it is also generally recognised') and claims for personal experience ('I have taught'), this is a perception that appears to be common among Catholic parents and is also shared by non-Catholic parents, as the anonymous academic states:

> It depends what you mean by better and certainly some people who are non-Catholic do send their children to Catholic schools or Anglican schools. Many

of them do perceive that they are getting a better education but that is a terribly broad term – better education. I think I would delve a little deeper than the word 'better' by saying that it is expected that young people would get a greater sense of discipline, perhaps a greater sense of other people, a greater sense of community and caring and so on and as a consequence of that.

One interviewee (Mrs Gilpin) attempts to explain why the discipline is perceived to be better:

I mean it is not just all about faith a lot of it is things that are secondary to faith like discipline. They will come in and think the discipline is good, well, why is the discipline good. The discipline is good because people are basically buying into what is here.

If it is accepted, even if only anecdotally, that discipline is perceived to be better in Catholic schools, what is it that people are buying into that shapes this better discipline? This 'better' discipline is a manifestation of a greater socialisation process that is perceived to take place on Catholic schools. Faith schools in general, according to Professor Haldane, are perceived to form 'socially responsible citizens' (one of the four capacities of the Curriculum for Excellence (online)). Catholic schools are seen to present a specific model of community and this is perceived to instil a greater sense of community. The next sub-section examines the use of evidence to support the claims for the success of Catholic schools.

Types of evidence for the success of Catholic schools in Scotland

The interviewees identify, implicitly or explicitly, the kinds of evidence that demonstrate this success. These can be classified as *inference*; *personal experience and observation* and *research*. Some of the evidence is based on *inference* – Mr McGrath, for example, (who also refers to *research*) employs the language of *inference*:

A Catholic school is not going to remain open if it is unsuccessful, if it is not offering something the parents want.

Dr Bradley, as has been seen above, appeals to *personal experience* as a teacher to support claims that Catholic schools have better discipline. Mgr. Chambers provides evidence from his *observations,* though perhaps he reflects the observations of the Catholic community on the entry of Catholic children into Higher Education and into the professions:

We know that the children coming from it are taking a full part in the admission to University, higher and further education, other vocational traits like banking, vocational training for law, local authorities, huge numbers of children now going into local authorities, local government, huge numbers of Catholics working through organisations like the Scottish Office, the Inspectorate of Schools.

More robust evidence for the claims of 'better discipline' and 'social progress' is suggested by Professor Conroy (see above), Dr Bradley, Professor Devine, Mgr. Chambers and Bishop Devine. Dr Bradley, as has been seen above, supports his argument of comparing schools of similar socio-economic backgrounds by referring to *research*. Mgr. Chambers and Professor Devine also refer to *research* but qualify their comments to emphasise the status of this research (my emphasis in bold):

Independent research has indicated quite clearly that Catholic schools are high achieving (Mgr. Chambers)

[…] they have been successful academically as judged by **impartial** observers (note: he is referring to the work of Professor Paterson) (Professor Devine)

Bishop Devine refers to the evidence provided by HMIe schools reports (my emphasis in bold):

[…] what is clearly demonstrable is the fact that Catholic schools, in terms of academic success, have never been better. **Report after report**, after the visits of HMI, give us **conclusive** evidence of this.

Bishop Devine has drawn attention to the consistency of this supportive evidence – evidence that is publicly documented and widely available. Mgr. Chambers states that the importance of this evidence cannot be underestimated:

[…] the first instances of people evaluating the high achieving of Catholic schools came from the inspectorate and that was very important.

This evidence contrasts markedly with the *inferential*, *personal experience* and *observational* types of evidence. These three types of evidence have limited use because the claims of success can be perceived to be claims emanating from within the system of Catholic schools itself. These claims could be interpreted as biased, uncritical, the product of insider sources. The use of more robust evidence to justify these claims of the success of Catholic schools is important and the strongest types of evidence appear to be those based on clearly identified *independent* or *external* sources, from both academia and the government. The sources from academia use methodologies common to all empirical educational research and can be judged according to the criteria of the norms and practices of this form of social science research. The HMIe reports appear to be strategically vital sources of evidence for the success of Catholic schools because these reports are comparable to reports concerning non-Catholic schools and they are widely disseminated public documents that can be also easily accessed. It has to be noted, however, that these HMIe reports are not strictly academic evidence as this evidence is not research evidence. These reports reflect inspections that are very limited in scope and collate evidence within a short time frame. The reports are conceived and constructed to conform to the criteria of a framework of standards that can be contested. Nevertheless some of the interviewees use these reports to argue for the successful performance of Catholic schools.

The contribution of Catholic schools to Scottish school education

This sub-section examines Catholic schools in Scotland from the perspective of the positive contribution Catholic schools make to Scottish school education. This subsection will discuss: the relationship between Scottish Catholic schools and western liberal educational values; Catholic schools in Scotland providing choice of school and this choice providing diversity and engaging with the variety of social, ethnic and religious backgrounds of the population of contemporary Scotland.

Scottish Catholic schools and western liberal educational values

Catholic schools are perceived to be successful in the external forum in a number of ways: academically; 'better' discipline and socially. As has been stated, it is significant that Catholic schools, because they are fully state-funded like non-denominational schools, can be judged to be successful in the external forum, because they have a certain position in the external forum. Catholic schools also have an internal theological rationale but, in educational terms, the children follow the same syllabus in many subject areas and are presented for the same selection of public exams, ensuring that Catholics schools must respond to any new initiatives that affect, directly or indirectly, the regulation or preparation for these exams. Professor Carr comments on this:

> Catholic schools are broadly required to conform to current Scottish educational initiatives, and so on. Since Catholic schools are to a significant degree regulated and inspected in the way that other schools are, they are therefore answerable to broader Scottish educational constraints

On a deeper level, however, the Catholic school (as pointed out by Professor Carr and the Dr Davis), as a vehicle for the Christian values of the Catholic Church, can be perceived to engage with the liberal democratic polity. Professor Carr states:

> In general, Scottish Catholic schooling does seem to be concerned to promote a conception of education which, while different from other forms of state schooling in certain respects, is not inconsistent with what more secular and non religious English and Scottish schools provide with regard to the promotion of values broadly consistent with liberal democratic polity

This implies that Catholic schools in Scotland are perceived as being much less problematic than the Emmanuel Foundation schools or more conservative Muslim and Jewish schools. Dr Davis suggests that this coherence with liberal democratic education is partly because education in western democracies has historically been heavily influenced by Christianity in:

> […] curriculum, the structure of schooling, the educational systems with which schooling is managed and embedded in the community.

This argument, however, could be extended further and also be more localised. Some of the earliest calls in Western Europe for mass education and attempts to implement mass education emerged from the Reformations and counter-Reformation that swept through Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Iserloh, 1980, pp.233-237, Jensen, 1992, pp. 397-398). In Scotland, Catholic schools are almost sole heirs to the wide range of Christian schools that, independent of the state, served various Christian communities in Scotland up until the 1872 and 1918 Education Acts.

Catholic schools in Scotland – providers of choice

In England and Wales there is a wide variety of schooling, including faith schooling. In Scotland the Catholic schools could be perceived to provide an element of choice, albeit within a restricted range of Catholic or non-denominational school. Some of the interviewees (Professor Carr and Mgr. Chambers) argue that this choice of schooling is justified because Catholic parents, as taxpayers, have some right to determine types of schooling available to their children. Professor Carr comments:

> On the question of whether the continuation of separate Catholic schooling in Scotland is defensible, in so far as Catholic parents – like other parents – are tax paying stakeholders in the public provision of education, it is arguable that they have some right to determine what goes on in the schools they send their children to.

The Catholic school would be an obvious choice for the practising Catholics (category one) and, as has been seen above, appears to attract the full range of practicing Catholics, but this choice is available to all members of the wider Catholic community (categories two and three) and, as has been seen in chapter five, is often extended to others of different Christian denominations, or of different religions: Mr McGrath states:

> But nonetheless all the children who are there are children of parents who have made choices, made a particular choice, they have not been coerced into the choice of the Catholic school because there is no other choice. Indeed I think this is one of the strengths of an argument for Catholic education that it offers choice and if that choice weren't desired by people then it wouldn't be a viable one.

This choice is also extended to those who have no religion:

> In addition you have those who have no faiths who go to Catholic schools for all sorts of reasons, sometimes because they are viewed as being good schools (Professor Finn)

This choice, however, for Catholics, other Christians and for those of other faiths (and none) is, according to Mrs Gilpin, often an informed choice:

> Yes I think it is important to realise that children don't come to Catholic schools because their parents drift into Catholic schools, children don't drift into Catholic schools. The number of parents that will tell you the most important thing in my life is my child's education is very very striking and therefore they make conscious decisions to send their children to Catholic schools. Parents are better informed about the schools than ever before. (Mrs Gilpin)

It has been argued above that Catholic schools are perceived to be successful schools and 'good' schools in terms of discipline and socialisation, and these would be serious considerations for parents in choosing a Catholic school for their children and for

informing their choice, but there are other reasons for parents choosing Catholic schools. The Catholic school attracts, as has been stated, the quasi-Catholic (category two) and the un-churched Catholic (category three). Some of this may be due to an identification, albeit in different ways, with the Catholic school but, according to Mgr. Chambers, the Catholic school can also provide a moral/faith formation that these parents (especially category two) find difficult to provide.

Parents of other Christian denominations and other faiths may support Catholic schools because they perceive that the Catholic school somehow complements the faith formation they (and their churches/religious groups) themselves provide. Paradoxically, while this may be considered a tension for the intrinsic rationale it can be perceived as an extrinsic strength. Professor Devine states that this support is exemplified by the support of Asian families for Catholic schools:

> I think one indicator of it is the mass invasion of the Catholic sector by Asian immigrants. They have an awareness of where, obviously they are not Christian, but they have an awareness of where there are approximations to their own ethos.

The Asian community in Scotland is composed of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims – the Muslims being the most numerous.[69] They are attracted, according to some interviewees, by the approximation of Catholic schools to their own religious ethos. This is explicitly articulated by the Dr Elliot who suggests that the faith dimension of the Catholic school is particularly attractive to the Muslims:

> I am aware that there are some Muslim families who don't have their own Muslim schools but they value that there is a faith dimension to the Catholic schools which they believe is not evident in the mainstream non denominational schools

In the absence of other forms of faith schooling, the Catholic schools appear to provide a kind of surrogate or approximation for Muslims and for other religious groups. Non-denominational schools in Scotland are not faith schools, although historically they could have been described as quasi-Presbyterian schools up until the

1960's/1970's. In the 1960's the effects of the dramatic decline in adherence to the Church of Scotland was being felt (Brown, 1997). The arrival of larger numbers of immigrants of other world faiths, not other Christian denominations, from the 1960's onwards altered the racial/cultural/religious mix in Scotland (Maan, 1992, Devine, 2006). The non-denominational school attempted to be inclusive and respectful of other races, cultures and religions. There is a perception expressed by a number of the interviewees (Professor Devine, Dr Bradley, Professors Carr, Finn and Conroy) that not only is a faith formational dimension to school life absent from non-denominational schools – there is perceived to be a kind of spiritual and moral vacuum:

> In this respect, Catholic schools can be and are supported by people because they are seen to promote spiritual and moral values that may be neglected – or at any rate insufficiently emphasised – in other more secular contexts of state schooling. (Professor Carr)

This perceived vacuum concerns parents and the Catholic school, as the educational locus of an explicit values system, becomes increasingly attractive to many parents:

> But perhaps these aspects of the curriculum, the promotion of a moral sense, of some kind of other-regarding spiritual values and so on, might be seen to receive more emphasis or to be regarded as more important in faith school contexts. I think that this dimension of Catholic schools is often valued by even non-religious parents who are now increasingly drawn to sending their children to Catholic schools to acquire such values. So I think Catholic schools are seen to contribute something distinctive and that goes above and beyond what is provided in state education (Professor Carr).

This section has examined the contribution of Catholic schools in Scotland to Scottish education. The next section will examine the related discussion of the contribution of Catholic schools to Scottish culture and society

The contribution of Catholic schools to Scottish culture/society

This sub-section will examine the contribution Catholic schools in Scotland make to Scottish culture and society, a contribution that is wider than the contribution made to Scottish school education. The interviewees considered Catholic schools to make a contribution in a number of ways: promoting social capital and countering materialism, secularism and an absence of values.[70]

Mr McGrath is the only interviewee to use the term 'social capital':

> If Catholic schools didn't exist then Scottish education would be a lot poorer than it is at present, both in terms of educational attainment but actually more widely, I would argue, in terms of social capital because Catholic schools make a significant contribution to the welfare of the country.

Although he is the only interviewee to employ the term 'social capital', some of the major themes connected with social capital: community and socialisation, as has been seen in the last section, have been identified as strengths of Catholic schools and some interviewees think that these elements contribute to the Catholic schools as providers of an exemplary form of schooling. Furthermore, the Catholic school appears to provide a good and successful example of social capital in Scottish society.

As has been discussed above, Catholic schools have a Christian rationale and articulate Christian values. A number of the interviewees have described Catholic schools as 'values driven' and think of Catholic schools in terms of promoting moral values that present an alternative vision that contrasts with the perceived spread of amorality in contemporary Scotland. As has been discussed in chapter five, Mrs Gilpin thinks that this lack of values is present in all levels of society and one of the consequences is that Christianity and Christian values are no longer prevalent in public life and in political discourse:

> I think Catholic schools in some ways, apart from the church itself, is the only defence against that, because there is no strand of Christianity or religion within the political parties now. If you went back 30 or 40 years ago, politicians would have talked about God, politicians would have talked about Christian values, you don't get them now.

Professor Devine sees the Catholic school as one of the few institutions that maintain a value base in the face of a pervasive materialistic secularism. Within this context and within a wider social context, some interviewees think that there is concern among parents that support for Christian values in society has diminished dramatically.

Some of the interviewees who support Catholic schools perceive them to be visible manifestations of Christian values, and possibly the only publicly funded institution to have an explicit Christian rationale. Catholic schools are an integral part of the public Scottish educational system and cannot be confined to the periphery of society, as Christian churches can be. A number of the interviewees believe that Catholic schools are not only integral to the Scottish educational system but they also provide, or re-present, a Christian vision to a contemporary society that appears to have rejected traditional Christian values for secularism, materialism and amorality. This view may not be shared by others, but within an aspirationally pluralistic society there should conceivably be scope for alternative visions that are based on traditional religious standpoints.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has identified the different ways in which Catholic schools are perceived to be educationally and socially successful and to contribute to Scottish education and society. The next section, by contrast, examines the extrinsic arguments *against* the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EXTRINSIC ARGUMENTS <u>AGAINST</u> THE EXISTENCE OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN SCOTLAND

Introduction

The preceding chapter examined the extrinsic arguments for the existence of Catholic schools. This chapter examines the extrinsic arguments *against* the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland and these arguments will be discussed in the following sub-sections: Catholic schools in Scotland and divisiveness; Catholic schools in Scotland and sectarianism; Catholic schools and state funding and Catholic schools as historical anachronism.

Catholic schools in Scotland and divisiveness

This sub-section examines the relation, or alleged relation, between Catholic schools and divisiveness – a prominent feature of the academic and popular debate concerning Catholic schools in Scotland and also a feature of the broader discussion concerning faith schools in England and Wales.

The use of the word divisiveness

There are three aspects of the use of this word, divisiveness, in this debate that are relevant to subsequent discussion: (1) the pejorative use of the word, (2) the relationship between the perception and the reality of divisiveness and (3) the whole that has been perceived to have been divided.

Chapter two outlined the three senses of divisiveness in the faith school debate in England and Wales: categorisation or separation; social, cultural, religious or educational separation; beliefs and attitudes dividing pupils from others (Halstead and

McLaughlin, 2005). The latter two senses have been described in chapter two as pejorative uses of the word. The word *divisiveness* within the context of Catholic schools in Scotland is nearly always used in a pejorative way.

A number of interviewees discussed at some length the *perception* of the divisiveness of Catholic schools in Scotland and the possible *reality* of this divisiveness. This discussion followed two lines of argument. The first line examined the perception and the impact of this perception, whatever the relationship in reality, and the second line questioned the evidence, or lack of evidence, to support this perception. Dr Allison Elliot suggests that divisiveness is possibly more a perception than a reality (my insert in italics):

> So are they [*Catholic schools*] perceived as divisive? I think yes they are perceived as divisive and I think it is the perception as much as the reality that it is an issue.

Professor James Conroy examines the link between the perception and the reality more closely and argues that the perception of divisiveness creates a reality in the mind that becomes identified as a reality outside the mind (my insert in italics):

> Well I think they [*Catholic schools*] probably are, because being divisive can't be separated from being perceived as being divisive, in the kind of phenomenology of these things, people's consciousness bears on the reality, so irrespective of whether they are intentionally divisive or not, they are I think divisive.

Perceptions, especially shared perceptions with some grounding in reality, can create an expectation that this perception is matched in reality, but the importance and gravity of this issue - the alleged harmful divisiveness within the Scottish educational system - cannot be considered in such a confused and vague way. Some attempt must be made to establish if these perceptions do represent any reality or if the perceptions should be examined solely as ideas. A number of interviewees argue that they could find no evidence to support this perception of divisiveness. Professors Carr and Finn commented on this issue. Professor David Carr states, slightly tentatively:

In short, on the question of whether Catholic schools are divisive, although I suspect that they are often perceived as such, I doubt whether there are any firm grounds for so perceiving them.

Professor Gerry Finn states more robustly:

In addition there is no evidence that Catholic schools are divisive. Now that comes as a real surprise to many people, but nobody has actually been able to point to Catholic schools as in themselves causing division […]

This lack of evidence that Catholic schools are divisive, however, does not appear to necessarily counter the perception that Catholic schools are divisive. Perceptions can be constructed through a complex combination of associations, information, misinformation, and received information. In this case the issue of Catholic schools in Scotland is often linked to historical antipathy towards Catholics and sectarianism and acceptable/unacceptable forms of Catholic identity in contemporary Scotland. One of the key questions here is the extent to which the perception that Catholic schools are divisive in Scotland is based on historical residue and cultural myth – a cultural myth that appears to deeply impact on the Scottish psyche and appears to be very difficult to dislodge even with rational argument based on evidence.

Any examination of this divisiveness must also discuss what is supposed to be divided. On first examination, the word divisiveness suggests a 'whole' that has been divided, and underlying this is a concept of what the 'whole' was, is, or should be. Furthermore, the pejorative use of the word divisiveness suggests that the 'whole' that has been divided has greater value or worth than the divided parts and that something important has been lost, or is lost, in this divisiveness. In this discussion of a whole, it is important to distinguish between the whole that is perceived to be historically located in the past and lost to the present and an aspirational whole, a historical goal still to be realised. Catholic schools in Scotland emerged in the early 19th century within a context of wide diversity of schooling (Kirk session schools, adventure schools, factory schools, industrial schools, charity schools, mission schools, Episcopalian and Free Church schools). The 1872 Act sought to standardise the

quality of education but each school board was granted autonomy in the teaching of religious education - most chose Presbyterian Christianity and some voluntary schools (Catholic, and Episcopalian) remained. The consequence of the 1918 Act was that the funding for Catholic schools was transferred to the state and apart from a few Episcopalian schools, the Scottish public school system, thenceforth, consisted of Catholic and non-denominational schools (Skinnider, 1967). The whole that is perceived to have existed in the past was at various stages: (1) a disorganised and chaotic mosaic (up to 1872); (2) a more organised but still varied mosaic (up till 1918) and (3) an organised but dual track school system (from 1918).

The focus, then, must be on aspirations for a 'whole' education system that could, or should, exist in contemporary Scotland. This is voiced by the anonymous academic:

> […] schools have a responsibility to promote communication, understanding and tolerance and it seems to me that this understanding, tolerance and communication are best promoted when people, even learners or young people engage with each other. The process of education it seems to me is optimised when people who have different views about the world and different views about their being, different views about their sense of deity and so on should engage with each other and not be separated or segmented into different kinds of institutions. So schooling therefore can only optimally work where people from different views come together and share these views and in no sense is this an anti-religious or an anti-Christian, or an anti-Catholic view. It is merely a view of someone who works in the education system with a responsibility and indeed I see it as a duty of the educational system to promote this understanding and tolerance and in my view that can only happen when people and learners engage with each other.

This view appears to mean that learners should not be separated on any grounds. Mrs Frances Gilpin comments on such a view:

> I think you would have to say that there are a number of people that believe they are divisive because they believe separating anything is divisive. These same people felt that it was wrong to educate boys and girls separately; they

are people who believe that the greater uniformity you can get within any system you have the greater equality.

This aspiration for 'wholeness' is, in light of this discussion, an aspiration for uniformity of opportunity and experience and for learners to engage together. This, however, may not be reflected in the reality of the experience of many children in Scotland, as will be seen in the discussion on Catholic schools dividing children socially in the next subsection. The aspiration for the uniformity of the education system draws a different response from some interviewees. Professor Finn perceives this as an expression of an inability to admit diversity:

> The longer answer would be that historically there has been a tendency towards uniformity and conformity within the Scottish system. That has often become confused with the debate, such as it is, around a *common* school but that it is a different one, in a sense, altogether. So yes, Scotland doesn't really do diversity very well, despite many of the self-plaudits that Scotland awards itself in this area.

Professor Devine agrees and adds that the contested-ness of Catholic schools in Scotland is a manifestation of Scotland's inability to accommodate pluralism:

> There is not one part of the globe, I emphasise that, not one part of the world where separate Catholic schools cause this degree of discourse and that is a major problem to be answered by Scottish society and that is why of course it is plausibly argued, I don't know whether it is conclusively argued or not, but it is plausibly argued that this continued rhetoric about Catholic schools is itself a manifestation of Scotland's opposition to pluralism.

Dr Davis argues that it may not be Scotland's opposition to pluralism but pluralism in schooling, especially when that pluralism in schooling sustains schools that are Catholic and these are the only form of faith schooling in Scotland. Uniformity in schooling, in an era of particularism, can be perceived to unite society:

The observations made that in an era that is tending towards particularism indeed in some sense towards a revival of particularism, ethnic particularism, racial particularism that education ought to be one of the sites where people come together. In fact more than that the critics of faith education would argue that it is absolutely essential to the health and well being of the mosaic society that I have tried to describe that the educational system is the one locus for a shared indeed a corporate identity, a pooled identity of all the various groups and interests and particularisms in society and that because Catholic schools seek to identify a population which is then educated not only distinctively but separately that that runs the risk of deepening division, misunderstanding, incomprehension, mutual suspicion which is the down side, the negative side of a society based around multiplicity rather than uniformity.

The tension between uniformity and plurality is rooted in the constructions of identity (national, ethnic, religious) that exist in historical and contemporary Scotland. This will be discussed further in chapter nine.

Catholic schools in Scotland and divisiveness

All of the interviewees believe that Catholic schools in Scotland are perceived by others to be divisive. Professor Haldane states, somewhat abstractly, 'it is argued'. Some (Professors Devine, Bruce, and Finn and Dr Davis) simply state that they are perceived to be divisive. Others try to quantify the number of people who hold this perception, either **some** (Dr Clegg, Dr Elliot, Anonymous academic, Professor Conroy, Mgr Chambers) or **many** (Dr Bradley, Professor Carr, Dr MacMillan) have this perception.

This perception of divisiveness can be illustrated by two examples. Firstly, Dr Bradley comments:

I think that the majority of people in Scotland view Catholic schools as divisive. I think that comes across very strongly publicly and through the mass

media, and in terms of conversations and in relation to what I read academically.

Secondly, Dr Davis states that

I think it is quite clear that there are important sections of Scottish society and cross sections indeed of Scottish society that would see Catholic schools as divisive in the damaging sense, rather than merely the descriptive sense.

Dr Bradley has provided two demonstrable loci for the articulation of the divisiveness of Catholic schools: mass media and academic publications. The 'conversations' as locus for this articulation is ultimately more anecdotal and while not wishing to dismiss this form of articulation because it does appear to be a locus for the discussion, it is more difficult to engage with as it is not recorded and consequently less concrete. Dr Davis comments on 'important sections of Scottish society' and 'cross sections of Scottish society', though the 'important sections' and 'cross sections' are not identified.

Divisiveness caused by Catholic schools in Scotland is perceived to separate children in a number of ways. In the interviews, the three categories of Halstead and McLaughlin have been confirmed as valid in the Scottish context. These were divisiveness: (1) socially; (2) religiously and (3) in terms of attitudes and beliefs that create, or promote, an alternative identity. Drawing from the interviews, three further categories emerged. (4) The Catholic school system is perceived to be a privileged system. Professor Bruce states that there are (5) unfair employment opportunities for Catholic teachers in Catholic schools. Professor Finn claims, in a more unusual line of argumentation, that (6) to close Catholic schools would be divisive.

Firstly, Catholic schools are divided socially from other schools in terms of geographical allocation of schooling. Professor Bruce comments (my insert in italics):

[…] they [*Catholic schools*] are obviously divisive in that they separate children. Any institution is divisive. Neighbourhood schools are divisive in

that they divide the kids. There is a boundary. Children on one side of the line go to one school and children on the other go to another. Everything is divisive.

Catholic schools draw on children from a geographical catchment area. This, however, is a feature of all schooling in Scotland. Size of demographic area, council boundaries, location of schools, desirable rolls of schools are determinant factors in division of areas for schooling. This dividing of children would appear to be a 'milder' and less pejorative sense of divisiveness (Mr McGrath). In the context of this understanding of divisiveness, Dr Elliot recalls her own school days:

Well, I mean, I went to school in Bathgate, come on, and there was the Academy and there was the Lindsay High School and there was St Mary's and we were all in different schools and there was competition outside. There was obvious competition and formal competition between the different schools but there would also be fighting and name calling in the playground and so there were different schools, they were providing another set of labels for people to label each other with. So in that sense they represent division. Now whether the divisions are hostile or not is perhaps a matter for the climate at the time. Certainly when I was at school the divisions were pretty hostile and accepted as such, now I would hope they are not but again I am not sure how that is.

This presents an interesting perspective on geographical, or territorial, division, because this interviewee has indicated that the 'otherness' of the pupils at other schools in the town of Bathgate may not necessarily be because they are in a Catholic school, and presumed to be Catholic, but because they are in a different school in a different, but adjacent, location and have some form of different school identity. This tension could exist between schools of the same type (i.e. non-denominational and non-denominational; Catholic and Catholic). This division of children into separate school institutions would not disappear with the eradication of Catholic schools and the instatement of local 'common' schools for all. Furthermore, specialist schools, increased popularity of independent schools and parental choice are features emerging in 21st century schooling in Scotland that have blurred the edges of common schooling and geographical catchment areas.[71] Dr Davis states:

[…] even if Catholic schools were to be taken out of the equation tomorrow there would still be division in that strict sense because there would still be parental choice, there would still be the rezoning of pupils, there would still be at local domestic arrangements that see children going to school where there is effective child care in place for them through their extended family, where they attend the school where their parent happens to teach or work in […]

The dismantling of Catholic schools in Scotland would not be the end of the plurality of schools in Scotland and would not be the end of parental choice because there are other 'divisions' in the Scottish school system, other than that between Catholic and non-denominational schools. These other divisions, however, do not appear to be as problematic or as contentious as the existence of Catholic schools.

Secondly, the divisiveness is perceived to separate children on religious grounds. This is clearly articulated by Professor Bruce:

I suppose what the question means is 'Are Catholic schools unnecessarily divisive?' The answer is yes in that they divide people by religion. The answer is no if you want to make something big of this […]

Professor Bruce claims that the sociological division of children by religious identification into Catholic and non-denominational schools is a feature of Scottish schooling, but he does not believe that this poses major problems. This division by religion has historically been perceived to be more problematic than Professor Bruce has proposed. Some people believe that shared schooling would engender greater understanding between children, a belief that is grounded in an assumption that this greater understanding does not already exist. Mrs Gilpin states:

I think that there are people who definitely see that if basically Catholics and non-Catholics were educated together they would have a greater understanding of each other and I think there are some people believe that, which is a legitimate viewpoint.

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This question of division by religion will be examined further in the subsection on Catholic schools and sectarianism.

Thirdly, the divisiveness is perceived by some to promote beliefs and attitudes that generate a separate identity. As Professor Carr states:

> I suspect that some perceive them as divisive because they take the very existence of separate educational institutions to be concerned with the promotion of a separate identity: a separate *them* and *us* identity.

This perception possibly fails to acknowledge the possibility of the accommodation of a plurality of identities or multiple identities within an individual (Hopkins, 2004). Professor Carr expands his statement by suggesting that this perception of divisiveness is exacerbated by comparison with the situation in Northern Ireland:

> Perceptions in the Scottish context are also probably influenced by perceptions of the alleged effects of separate faith-based schooling elsewhere: for example, by the way in which Catholic schools have sometimes functioned or been thought to function in Northern Ireland.

This carefully worded statement echoes the analysis of Gallagher who argues that Catholic schools in Northern Ireland can be viewed as symptomatic of the sectarian divide rather than causes of the sectarian divide and that a deeper discussion and understanding of this issue is necessary (Gallagher, 2005, McKinney, 2006). Mr McGrath argues that religious affiliation or attendance at a Catholic school may not be as important a determinant factor in separate identities for children in Scotland as is often perceived. He states:

> I have an interesting take on it, you know in my experience of working in schools for 30 years the people who are much more relaxed about this are the students. They don't see themselves as being separated from, in any kind of draconian way, their non-Catholic friends. They are quite relaxed about getting up in the morning, going to their own school, coming back at night and playing with their pals and going about with them. I mean all the indicators are

that, for instance, when they socialise, any divisiveness that there is based around territorialism not round denominationalism or faith.

This will be examined further in the subsection on Catholic schools and sectarianism.

Fourthly, the Catholic schools system is perceived by some to be a privileged system. This argument has two strands. The first strand articulates a sense of uneasiness and injustice that Catholic schools should be successful academically. The second strand is focussed on the uniqueness of Catholic schools as the only form of faith schooling in Scotland and the historical loss of other forms of denominational schooling.

This first strand emerges in the interviews with Professor Finn and Bishop Joseph Devine. Professor Finn states:

> The real peculiarity is the way in which the success of Catholic schools, when unchallenged, is now viewed as either something that means there is no longer a need for them, because they have achieved one of the aims of gaining parity for the Catholic community in Scotland, or that even more perversely this somehow or other means that there is some injustice in that Catholic school pupils are doing so well. Now of course, as Catholic schools are open to pupils of all faiths and none. The second one goes by default immediately.

The issue of the perceived injustice is explained by Bishop Devine as making people feeling uncomfortable. The significant success of Catholic schools may not be welcomed and celebrated by all. As Bishop Devine warns:

> Now others I think might just feel a sense of threat from Catholic schools in terms of the fact that clearly 20 years ago they really were not all that significant in terms of the academic results, demonstrably they are way ahead of the field now and I think that makes some people uncomfortable.

The injustice, he argues further, may not be perceived as an injustice perpetrated for Catholic children but an injustice that demonstrates an inequality in possible attainment and achievement for children in Scottish education. Perhaps this feeling of

discomfort is, as Dr MacMillan suggests, rooted in an acknowledgement that Catholic schools have fulfilled many of the goals of 'the egalitarian Scottish education system' and there is a perception that non-denominational schools have not been just as successful in attaining these goals. Perhaps the reasons for the discomfort are rooted in deeper issues concerning the historical and contemporary position of the Catholic community in Scotland and the importance of Catholic schools for this community, an importance that is also being publicly recorded in the official versions of the recent past in the research of academics such as Paterson (2000). This may be a manifestation of the third aspect of the fundamental dilemma of the migrant – the migrants (Catholics of predominantly Irish descent) or descendants of a migrant group, have prospered (through a separate school system) – possibly at the expense of the non-migrants (although in this case there would be other migrants in this group). If this is to be accepted as a possible hypothesis, a number of underlying assumptions may have to also be accepted. Firstly, the Catholics are perceived by some as somehow retaining some form of immigrant or outsider identity. Secondly, there are some conceptions of Scottish identity that appear to be unable to accept or accommodate differences or pluriformity. These issues will be explored in the next sub-section.

The second, and more commonly visited, strand of this argument is that Catholics are a privileged denomination in Scottish society, because they have Catholic schools. Mr McGrath points out that the historical opportunity for Catholic denominational schools also applied to other Christian denominations in Scotland (my insert in italics):

> Now I think that there is a fear in some sections of our [*Scottish*] community
> that the Catholic community has been given a hand-up in Scottish society as a
> result of having its own schools and that this was a privilege. Of course the
> law actually says that any church, any denomination can establish its own
> schooling and indeed in the earlier part of the 20th century there were over 200
> Episcopalian schools for example. Now the Episcopalian church allowed them
> to disappear. The Church of Scotland allowed all its schools to disappear so
> other churches did have choices and still have choices so there is no sense that

the provision of Catholic education is a privilege which somehow is only given to the Catholic community.

This historical explanation may not provide solace for some members of the affected denominations. Professor Bruce states that the Church of Scotland does not generally comment adversely on the existence of contemporary Catholic schools, but for more militant Protestants (these are not usually members of the mainstream Church of Scotland, as was discussed in chapters three and five) and Orange Protestants, these Catholic schools run counter to their aspirations for a greater dominance, or re-establishment, of a Protestant culture (my insert in italics).

> The Protestant culture of Britain has by and large disappeared and we now have a secular society. Those people [*militant Protestants and Orange Protestants*] who are committed to that culture naturally feel hurt, offended, cheated, robbed, we lost it. You know: 'We had it once and we lost it' and here this small group of people and they still have their bit and that's not fair […]

The Catholic schools, as highly visible focus of the Catholic community in Scotland, appear to be a reminder of a perceived lost Protestant culture and heritage for these two groups of Protestants.

Fifthly, related to the idea of Catholics being privileged by having Catholic schools, Professor Bruce argues that the divisiveness of Catholic schooling is perceived in terms of the enhanced employment opportunities for Catholics who teach in Catholic schools and the diminished opportunities for non-Catholic teachers in Catholic schools. This academic states:

> There is no doubt they are perceived as divisive and, in some very obvious senses, they are. I don't know exactly what phrasing Glasgow City Council uses now but in the period of Strathclyde Region you would have whole pages of job advertisements which would list educational vacancies and some would have an asterisk next to them at the bottom which would simply say 'Open to Catholics only'.[72] As far as I know this is probably the only area of

employment in Scotland which has a straightforward sectarian barrier: where people are excluded because of their religion. In any meaning of the word that is 'divisive' and clearly it irritates some people immensely, especially teachers.

Church approval for Catholic teachers was one of the components of the agreement to incorporate Catholic schools into the state sector in the 1918 Education Scotland Act and has been re-affirmed in the Education (Scotland) Act 1980 and the Self-governing Schools (Scotland) Act 1989.[73] The Catholic Church still believes that Catholic teachers, approved by the church, are required for specific tasks in Catholic schools that necessitate a belief in, and understanding of, the mission of the Catholic Church and the internal rationale of the Catholic school.[74] It is this form of positive discrimination that the interviewee is highlighting.[75]

Sixthly, Professor Finn argues that to end Catholic schools in Scotland would generate a divisive and insidious situation rather than remove divisiveness:

> Catholic schools should continue to exist in the 21st century if the Catholic community wants it. That seems to be a very reasonable and sane position. There are many reasons for that, one is the divisive nature of trying to end Catholic schools which is often neglected. We have had a solution of sorts to the religious divide associated with education by the provision in the 1918 Act of Catholic schools: it would seem very strange now to undo the good that was done by entering into some incredibly divisive and conflictual debate over whether Catholic schools should continue to exist, if the Catholic community wishes them to do so. If the Catholic community wishes them, it seems to me it is quite simple that they should be maintained.

In this argument it is stated that Catholic schools should continue if the Catholic community wishes them to continue and that it would be divisive to close them because of the good they have brought and the Catholic community wish them to remain. This circular argument could be contested on democratic and educational

grounds. The interests of a minority group might not be in the best interests of the majority.

Catholic schools in Scotland and sectarianism

This section examines the relation, or alleged relation, between Catholic schools and sectarianism. This issue is a prominent feature of the academic and media debate concerning Catholic schools in Scotland, but is not a feature of the broader discussion concerning faith schools in England and Wales (as was seen in chapter two). The issue of sectarianism appears to be unique to Scotland and Northern Ireland and reflects the socio-cultural and religious histories of Scotland and Northern Ireland, though these histories, while similar, cannot be equated. This subsection will examine Catholic schools and sectarianism under the following subheadings: Catholic schools and sectarianism: intrinsically linked or associated? and Catholic schools in Scotland: unwitting and unwelcome symbols of sectarianism?

Catholic schools and sectarianism: intrinsically linked or associated?

This subsection examines the nature of the relation, or alleged relation, of Catholic schools to sectarianism. Professor Devine, as was seen in chapter five, points out that sectarianism was a problem in other areas of Irish settlement in western democracy in the 19th century but has ceased to be a problem in most of these areas. Professor Haldane concurs that the problem appears to be confined to a few places such as Scotland and Northern Ireland. Catholic schools in Scotland, then, are unique in two senses. Firstly they are, ultimately, the predominant form of faith schooling in Scotland and fully state-funded. Secondly they appear to be one of the few Catholic schools systems that have been so consistently associated with sectarianism.

A number of interviewees propose reasons for the perceived relation between Catholic schools and sectarianism. Professor Haldane suggests that Catholic schools provide a visible focus for sectarianism:

Now obviously that social division is reflected in schooling, as it is reflected in football teams and so on, in areas which people live, towns, villages, cities divided by the cultural identities of the participants and to some extent that is true in Scotland. But it is argued *post hoc ergo hoc*, after therefore because of, because there is sectarian division in areas where there is divided schooling, therefore the sectarian division is the result of schooling.

This 'cause and effect' argument is not only a simple solution to the identification of the roots of sectarianism, but, Professor Devine argues, is a simplistic one:

[…] I can totally understand people who have not spent years looking at this and who simply see what is on the ground, automatically they are going to think that the separated system, if you want to call it that, is one of the roots of this social problem […]

This simplistic view is reflected further in a perception that if Catholic schools in Scotland were ended, sectarianism would end. Dr Elliot and Mgr Chambers both refute this quite strenuously, Dr Elliot (my insert in italics) states:

Now getting rid of the (*Catholic*) schools is not going to get rid of the sectarianism.

Dr Elliot helpfully locates the relation between Catholic schools and sectarianism within her definition of sectarianism (as seen in chapter five).

Sectarianism is that process of identification from the individual person to the community that turns a difference of view and of faith into a sectarian difference, a potentially sectarian difference because sectarianism is pejorative and it is when the divisions again become negative ones. So if you have got a community where you have these divisions anyway and where these divisions are perceived negatively then the fact that the school is also something you can add a label to and you can add the institution of the school onto these underlying differences then I think that contributes to the sectarian culture that

we are part of. It is at that level, I think it is an add-on onto sectarianism and a sectarian way of thinking that which is already there.

This expression, an 'add-on', suggests that the relation between Catholic schools and sectarianism is more of an association, and possibly a tenuous one, rather than an intrinsic connection. Dr Elliot does not come from a Catholic background and has no Catholic insider status on this issue and so could not be perceived to be defending Catholic schools. In connection with this discussion, some other interviewees extend the argument to include non-denominational schools. Mr McGrath states:

> Now I don't know of any school in Scotland that would promote sectarianism or promote attitudes that can be linked with intolerance.

A more detailed comment is provided by Bishop Devine (my insert in italics indicates phrase previously used by interviewee):

> To anyone that knows Catholic schools - this is the very last thing that they are [*breeding grounds of sectarianism*] and the same is actually true of non-denominational schools too. It is not worth the teacher's life or risk to be sectarian in any possible way. Clearly teachers are very responsible people and therefore they take the good of the young person to heart and they are not going to encourage young people to be destructive, wasteful, dangerous, divisive, you know, espousing a kind of creed of hatred, this is utterly foreign in my experience to teachers both in Catholic and non Catholic schools alike

Dr Elliot and the Mrs Gilpin emphatically state that Catholic schools do not cause or promote sectarianism. Furthermore, according to a number of interviewees, there is no concrete *evidence* that Catholic schools cause or promote sectarianism. Both Professor Carr and Professor Finn held similar views on the lack of evidence to substantiate the claims for the divisiveness of Catholic schools. Professor Finn states:

> Yes, Catholic schools are certainly viewed as somehow or other being the cause of "sectarianism", again there is no evidence for this.

There is a consistent view expressed that Catholic schools are not the cause or promoter of sectarianism. Further, a number of interviewees (notably Professors Carr and Haldane, Dr Davis and Dr MacMillan) argue emphatically that sectarianism is antithetical to the rationale of Catholic schooling – a rationale based on Christian values. Professor Carr explains:

> It doesn't seem to me, for example, that there is any strong evidence for holding that Catholic schools actually promote sectarianism. Indeed, what evidence there is – in so far as evidence might be required here – would seem to point to the contrary. Catholic schools are, after all, committed to the promotion of Christian values of universal caritas, tolerance and respect.

Dr Davis expounds this idea in more depth:

> I think that it is quite clear that any Catholic school that is sincerely rooted in the values and principles that we have been discussing, that I have been trying to highlight, the values of the Christian Gospel, far from being a site where sectarianism will be encouraged, even inadvertently, will actually be a place where sectarianism is actively identified, combated and removed because its difficult in fact to imagine a value, an attitude of mind, more perniciously at odds with the Gospel of Jesus Christ than the practice of sectarian discrimination or intolerance because the Christian Gospel at its core - in the expression of its fundamental stories, attitudes, values and of course in the life, ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus - is about the opposition to sectarianism.

The relation between Catholic schools and sectarianism, then, despite a wider public perception that the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland encourages sectarianism, is, according to the interviewees (including those who do not promote the continued existence of Catholic schools), one of possible association rather than intrinsic link. There can be a perception, however, that Catholic schools by their very existence

accentuate differences and Catholic schools may fail to address influences counter to its rationale, including *attitudinal* sectarianism. I will examine this issue in the next subsection.

Catholic schools in Scotland: unwitting and unwelcome symbols of sectarianism?

In the last sub-section, the interviewees identified a number of arguments that propose that Catholic schools do not promote or cause sectarianism. Some interviewees argued that there can be a perception that the existence of Catholic schools as separate faith schools may accentuate differences. Catholic schools appear to some to be unwelcome symbols, and a possible continuation, of an historical and shameful sectarianism. One aspect of this discussion is that in as much as sectarianism is anachronistic, so too are Catholic schools.

Dr Elliot states quite clearly that Catholic schools do not cause sectarianism and that getting rid of Catholic schools will not get rid of sectarianism, but has some reservations about an association between Catholic schools and sectarianism (section in italic already quoted on page 13):

> Now getting rid of the schools is not going to get rid of the sectarianism but the presence of the schools I think possibly accentuates the sectarianism - potentially.

The qualifications, *possibly* and *potentially,* indicate some uncertainty or inability to identify why the presence of Catholic schools should accentuate sectarianism. Professor Devine comments (my insert in italics):

> There is one issue that even if you can argue, this is the kind of logical position, even if you can argue that the system [*Catholic schools*] itself is actually the consequence of sectarian attitudes rather than the cause, which it is historically, some might be able to suggest that, given the fact that the other motors of sectarianism, you know, the occupational factors I mentioned

earlier, have gone, is the system now one of the principal continuing factors in that business?

Professor Devine argues that many of the features of sectarianism in Scotland, especially discriminatory employment practices, have diminished markedly or even disappeared, leaving, perhaps, only a residual memory of historical sectarianism. This change has brought Catholic schools into focus, and the anonymous academic, who has a belief that there should be no faith schools of any kind, holds the view that Catholic schools accentuate differences:

> I am reasonably convinced of the arguments that Catholic schools don't themselves create bigotry or sectarianism or even division but what I do believe is that Catholic schools legitimise the fact that there are differences even within communities and it makes it ok for people to see these differences which I think accentuates tensions that have been created by other means and that, to me, is not in any sense of educational interest. On the one hand, one can argue that we should celebrate diversity given that we exist in a society which now recognises that diversity is important, but where that diversity generates difference that generates tensions and somehow gives this legitimacy for people to bicker against each other because of their religious affiliation is not my view of what education is about, therefore schools shouldn't be involved in that process of legitimising that kind of difference.

Mr McGrath states that some people do believe that Catholic schools can reinforce already existing divisions and do little to repair the effects of division. He counter argues that Catholic schools often work hard to promote tolerance and understanding towards others. The relation between Catholic schools and sectarianism, while it may be perceived by some to accentuate differences, still appears to be one that is by association. Dr Davis warns of the possibility of Catholic schools contributing to the sectarian problem. This comment is contextualised within an understanding of the complexity of the Catholic community and an understanding that any such contribution would be counter to the rationale of the Catholic school and would be deemed to be a failure of a Catholic school:

Well, what I mean by that is undoubtedly the sectarian problem resides in certain features of the historical experiences of the affected communities and I think there can be instances where the Catholic school is negligent in its address to those experiences where it allows old wounds, old stereotyped and distorted perceptions of the other to grow and to intensify and again either inadvertently or sometimes more complicity participates in the affirmation of a kind of tribal identity rather than a religious identity, colludes with that tribalism and therefore at least potentially exacerbates the sectarian problem.

All of the interviewees believe, then, that Catholic schools do not themselves promote or cause sectarianism. Some argue that to do so would be antithetical to the rationale of a Catholic school, and that Catholic schools, inherently opposed to both 'structural' and 'attitudinal' sectarianism, promote tolerance and understanding. Dr Davis suggests that promotion of sectarianism could exist in a Catholic school, but only when the religious rationale of the Catholic school has been displaced or usurped, even temporarily, by other subordinate and possibly conflicting interpretations of the focus and identity of the Catholic school. The issue of the perceived association between Catholic schools and sectarianism, illuminated by this thesis, is more subtle, more tenuous and, consequently more difficult to map. This is very similar to the *perception of divisiveness* discussed in section 2.1.

Catholic schools and state funding

Catholic schools in Scotland have been fully funded by the state since 1918 and a number of interviewees raised important questions concerning the cost implications of this funding for the state schooling system and the relation of the state and the Catholic Church.[76] Two underlying *philosophical* and *economic* themes emerge from these arguments against Catholic schools as recipients of state funding. In both of these themes, the extension of faith schooling in Scotland beyond Catholic schools is identified as having serious implications.

The first theme is essentially a philosophical argument concerning the dichotomy between the desired relationship between the church and the state and a perceived, or putative, relationship between the church and the state that is a consequence of the state funding of Catholic schools. The anonymous academic argues that the state and religion should be entirely separate:

> It is not in my view the duty of the State to support the instruction in particular religious views or ideology; that is up to the private individual and the private family, not the duty or the job of the State.

Religion and religious practices are perceived by this interviewee as a private matter. This is not an anti-religious view but a view that consigns religion to the private sphere of life. Professor Bruce develops this line of argument by citing the American model of separation between church and state:

> […] I have to say my preference would always be for a fairly strict American separation of Church and State model of public affairs. I think in a religiously diverse world it is best that religious beliefs be left to families to conduct as they wish and that the state should avoid what American jurists these days call 'excessive entanglement' in any particular religion. The state should neither prevent people practising their religion but nor should it encourage any particular religion.

Part of the reasoning employed here is that there is a diversity of religious belief and practice and the state could not be seen to favour a particular religion. The anonymous academic concurs with this and is concerned about the implications of the state funding of Catholic schools in Scotland:

> […] it is not the duty of the State to promote a particular religion's interests and therefore by the State financing in entirety the Catholic schools in Scotland that's tantamount to supporting the alignment with a particular religious ideology.

Professor Bruce argues a similar point:

For the State to be involved in managing the schools of a particular religion is For the State to, in effect, say 'We like this religion'. It is the government saying 'We think Roman Catholicism is good'. It seems to me that governments should be saying neither that Roman Catholicism is good, nor that it is bad and they should not being doing this with any kind of religion. I would, personally prefer a very firm kind of modern American separation of Church and State.

There is a link between the state and the Catholic Church through the Catholic school, but the perception of the anonymous academic is that although the state tolerates Catholic schools as historical and cultural legacies, it should not approve of their existence. These arguments are dependent upon a particular view of the function of the state: the state is perceived to be a liberal secular state, tolerant of a variety of belief systems and values, but not aligning itself with any one system or view. There is a counter argument, however, to suggest that the state considers aspects of faith education to be of value (success of the schools, social capital), and although it may appear that the state values the extrinsic aspects solely, the aspect of social capital is a direct result of the role of the faith school as a faith formational school linked to a community of faith, and, in an indirect sense, the state can be perceived to value faith schools for intrinsic aspects.

Professor Bruce raises the issue of how far the provision of faith schools can be extended:

So we now have a question of 'Should the state fund other faith schools?' I have a great problem with that because once you start, where do you finish? It takes us back to this question of the state's imprimatur. So a bunch of scientologists in Bexhill come along and say the Church of Scientology is a perfectly legitimate religion we want a Scientology school and we want this to be funded out of public taxation like all these other schools. I think most of us would want to say 'No chance!' and yet I can't think of a good universal principle that would allow us to deny state funding to the Moonies, the

Scientologists, or anybody else. If you are going to fund some, I think you have to fund all so I don't want to fund any.

He raises an important issue because traditionally in England and Wales and in Scotland, it is only the mainstream, recognised world religions and associated denominations that have sought faith-based schooling.[77] Even though the more theologically conservative schools within those religions and denominations have attracted criticism, the evidence indicates that these theologically conservative schools are a small minority (McKinney, 2006). The extension of faith schooling to other religious groups could be problematic. This will be discussed in some depth in chapter ten.

The second theme that emerges form the discussion concerning Catholic schools as recipients of state funding is that of economics. Mgr Chambers states that the administrators of state schooling would prefer a streamlined school system (my insert in italics):

> The local authorities don't particularly like faith based schools because they have two schools in the system, they are difficult to administer. It doesn't mean to say they can't be administered, but they bring added difficulties. It would be much easier for local authorities if it was just one system of schooling and that is why they are resisting yet another faith based school, like Muslim or Jewish [*secondary school*] or whatever, though the desire for Jewish schools is diminishing fast.

This desire for uniformity is a desire for organisational uniformity, not necessarily predicated on an ideological desire for uniformity. According to Mgr Chambers the Catholic schools require specialised teachers (and training) and resources, all of which have cost implications. The extension of faith schooling in Scotland would further diversify the schools, require additional specialised provision of teachers and resources, which would increase the administration, and, most importantly, for the administrators, increase costs.

The next section examines the argument that Catholic schools have succeeded in their historical goal to gain social and economic parity for the Catholic community and are now no longer necessary.

Catholic schools as historical anachronism

The final argument to be examined in this section is the argument that Catholic schools in Scotland are an historical anachronism. This argument is usually linked to the understanding that Catholic schools in Scotland were primarily incorporated into the state education system in 1918 to enable socio-economic progress for the impoverished Catholic community. The Catholic community have now achieved socio-economic progress and there is no further need for Catholic schools. Professor Finn, who disagrees with this view, explains this argument (my insert in italics):

> […] there is no longer a need for them [*Catholic schools*] because they have achieved one of the aims of gaining parity for the Catholic community in Scotland […]

A number of the interviewees acknowledge that this may not be a conclusive argument for the demise of Catholic schools because there were, and are, other reasons for the establishment, and continued existence, of Catholic schools. Professor Bruce states (my insert in italics):

> There may still be an entirely faith or religious justification [*for Catholic schools*] but if there was once a justification for it in terms of social engineering that has now disappeared.

Professor Bruce appears to be explaining that one of the main extrinsic arguments for Catholic schools no longer exists, but he acknowledges that the intrinsic arguments may still exist, though this interviewee would not necessarily be viewed as sympathetic towards an intrinsic line of argument in this debate. The anonymous academic also finds this argument concerning social mobility to be inconclusive as this interviewee suggests that newer justifications for the continued existence of Catholic schools have emerged:

Schools fit in at the moment because of their historical context, which goes back to the beginning of the last century and I don't right now intend to go over that history. The modern situation is that Catholic schools are a legacy from the past and therefore are in a sense somewhat controversial in their existence but they fulfil a role that is expected of many parents in Scotland and they are not just Catholic parents.

This particular interviewee does not examine the history of this alleged piece of social engineering in any detail, but does suggest that the historical anachronism argument against Catholic schools may not be as potent as it once was because other extrinsic arguments have emerged. The expectations of non-Catholic parents in relation to Catholic schools appears to provide a more relevant, or more contemporary, argument for the continued existence of Catholic schools. Presumably this is because the contemporary Catholic school is perceived to be more inclusive.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has demonstrated that there is a range of arguments against Catholic schooling in Scotland including the question of state funding and Catholic schools as anachronistic, but the strongest and most persistent arguments appear to be based on the allegations that Catholic schools are divisive and sectarian. The next chapter, part three, explores the complexity of the Catholic insider story through discussion of the Catholic insider construction of the history of the Catholic community and Catholic schools and how the smaller narratives are used in this construction. There will be an exploration of the implications of the relation between this insider history and 'official' history and an examination of the use of private versions of history.

CHAPTER NINE

THE USE, OR CONSTRUCTION, OF HISTORY BY THE INTERVIEWEES

Introduction

The aim of this thesis – to examine the contemporary position and continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland - is rooted in the history of Catholic schools and the Catholic community in Scotland (particularly the immigrant Irish Catholic community). This section examines the ways in which the interviewees have perceived and used this 'history' within the interviews. It has already been stated that this thesis has adopted a postmodern critique of historiography and several aspects of this critique will be used as lenses in this section to interpret the statements of the interviewees (Bentley, 2003). The first lens will explore the use of smaller narratives and discuss the ways in which the interviewees identify and attach importance to certain periods of time in the evolution of Catholic schools. As will be seen, many of the interviewees describe the historical and contemporary achievements of Catholic schools, but acknowledge the lingering contested-ness of Catholic schools. The second lens will discuss the concept of cultural and ethnic/national heritage (Black and MacRaild, 1997). The concepts of Catholic culture and Irish heritage are perceived by the interviewees to have been contested.[78] The closely associated lens of the voice of the marginalised will extend this discussion (Bentley, 1999). The final lens will examine the use of personal and anecdotal testimony, as some of the Catholic interviewees strive to re-assess and assert the history, position and identity of Catholicism and Catholic schools in Scottish society (McCulloch, 2000).

Throughout this section, I will use the three contemporary conceptual frameworks concerning immigrants identified in the introduction: Taylor's threefold typology (Boneva and Frieze, 2001); Patchen's (1999) significant features of society and the fundamental dilemma of immigrants (Esses et al, 2001). These will be applied to the perceptions of the interviewees in their discussion of the history of Irish Catholic immigrants in Scotland. In this section, I will also refer to the *official*, *public* and

private versions of the past proposed by McCulloch, and I will use this as a fourth conceptual framework. It is important to re-acknowledge that these four frameworks are generalised heuristic tools and, as such, are necessarily limited. These four conceptual frameworks and the three lenses will be evaluated at the end of the chapter.

The use of smaller narratives

In analysing the interviews, the smaller narratives were used to examine the history of Catholic schools in Scotland. These were: (1) 1864-1918; (2) 1918 Education (Scotland) Act; (3) the 1920s and 1930s; (4) the 1940s to 1970s and (5) the 1980s to 2007.

Period 1: 1864-1918.

Ultimately the history of Catholic schools in Scotland pre-1918 (1800-1918) receives little attention from the interviewees. There are a number of probable reasons for this. Firstly, there is a limited amount of contemporary research focussing on this period, although recent works by authors such as O'Hagan (2006) and Watts (2006) could act as catalysts to re-assess this period of history. Secondly, prior to the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, Catholic schools were part of the *public* and political discussion and history concerning education in Scotland, but were only partly included in the *official* and political history. The 1918 Act, as has been seen in chapter three, incorporated Catholic schools into the *official* history

Period 2: the 1918 (Education) Scotland Act

A number of the interviewees who support the continuation of Catholic schools commented that the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act was a great success for Catholic schools for several reasons. Firstly, the incorporation of Catholic schools into the state system and the realisation of fully state-funded and supported Catholic schools is perceived as a success for the Catholic community, a community that had perceived itself to be religiously and socially marginalised. Professor Devine considered this Act to be egalitarian. Further, the Catholic schools, by becoming part of the state

educational system and the 'official' history, were publicly legitimised and, in a sense, the Catholic community was partly perceived to be, and perceived itself to be, publicly legitimised. Paterson (2003, pp. 58-59) points out throughout the whole period after the 1918 Act, the Scottish Education Department and most of the education authorities 'were keen to establish good relationship with the church'. This argument is complemented by the second reason why some of the interviewees perceived the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act to be a success – it is a success not just for the Scottish Catholic community, but it is a success for Scottish Education and, as Dr MacMillan has commented the *inclusiveness* of Scottish education. This will be discussed further in sub-section: period 5: 1980s to 2005.

Both Professor Devine and Dr MacMillan have conceptualised the 1918 Act as a key moment for the Catholic community in Scotland and also for Scottish education and Scottish society. Their remarks could be interpreted as a reminder to contemporary Scottish education and society that this Act represents an egalitarian and inclusive vision. The Act is perceived to be egalitarian within a socio-cultural context that did not view the Catholic community in an egalitarian manner. In other words, by promoting a broader vision, this Act is perceived to be a courageous piece of legislation. The Act is also perceived, using contemporary language, to be inclusive and as such can be perceived to be a futures-orientated Act. The Act is proposed as a success, then, in terms of the Catholic version of the history and the official version of the history. Perhaps one possible understanding of this use of history would be to suggest that any attempt by the 21st Scottish state to undermine the Act and undermine Catholic schools could be interpreted as undermining the vision and inclusiveness of education and the state itself.

Period 3: 1920s and 1930s

This inter-war period was a period of economic crisis in Scotland. It was also to be a period when sectarian attitudes appeared to intensify. Only two of the interviewees explicitly focussed on this period: Professor Devine and Professor Bruce.

Professor Devine, as an historian, provides a detailed analysis of the possible causes of this intensification. He argues that a number of factors precipitated the upsurge in

sectarian attitudes, an upsurge that appears to have resulted in proposed, or actual, structural sectarianism. Professor Devine identifies three interconnected factors. Firstly, there was an economic crisis and high unemployment. Secondly, the scale of emigration was perceived to be detrimental to the stability and progress of the country: Thirdly, there was a perception that the nation was losing 'Scottish' citizens and they were being supplanted by the Irish present in Scotland. Professor Devine points out that there were calls for the repatriation of the Irish, but there was also a call for discriminatory employment practices to ensure the economic status of the 'native Scots' (my insert in italics):

> Now one of the sub clauses, if you like, of that movement was if they [*the Irish*] are not repatriated then at least Scottish employers should start to prefer, this is coming from the Church of Scotland … for purely morally, legitimate reasons, native Scots rather than the Irish, or the progeny of the Irish.

Professor Devine has indicated that the Irish, or those of Irish descent, became scapegoats for the social evils that beset Scotland amid the pressure of economic collapse and consequent social deprivation. As has been seen in chapter three, the Irish could be perceived to have suffered the effects of the Depression as much, if not more so, than the rest of the population because the Irish were employed in semi-skilled and unskilled work – the areas of employment most affected by the Depression. In this era, the Irish faced the first aspect of the fundamental dilemma of migrants: they had failed to prosper and were perceived to be a drain on social service and resources. The Irish were not the only migrant group to experience discriminatory practices in employment: many Lithuanian Catholics, for example, changed to Scottish names to avoid such discrimination (Miller, 1998). Perhaps one of the most ironic aspects of this period of history is the probability that a significant number of the Irish also emigrated from Scotland within the mass emigration of 1921-1930 (Drag, 1978).

Professor Bruce takes a different view from Professor Devine. He tends to minimise the extent of the anti-Catholicism and the impact on Catholic schools. He comments:

I mean, in the 1930's you had very small anti-Catholic political parties endlessly banging on about the 1918 Education Act but the remarkable thing is that the Church of Scotland barely complained. Scottish elites generally have been quite happy with the system.

Ironically, the two professors, consistent with the positions they adopt in their published works, ultimately agree that sectarianism in contemporary Scotland is greatly exaggerated, but arrive at this conclusion from two different perspectives. Professor Devine argues that the problem has eased considerably; Professor Bruce argues that the problem did not exist to any great extent in the first place. Professor Devine views the 1920s and 1930s as a flash point of public sectarian activity against Catholics in Scotland. Professor Bruce believes that sectarianism has been greatly exaggerated and that, even in this period, the discontent was confined to a few extremists. Academics such as Devine, Finn, Gallagher and Kelly have been partly responsible for ensuring that the sectarian activity against Catholics in the 1920s and 1930s has not been restricted to the private Catholic version of the past, but has gained greater prominence in the official version of the past. These academics are all insiders and, arguably, aspects of the insider story have become part of the official story.

Professor Bruce in challenging official versions of the past (especially the 1920s and 1930s) has also simultaneously challenged aspects of the Catholic community's understanding of their history. He has argued (1) that the extent of sectarianism is greatly exaggerated in contemporary Scotland and (2) it has been equally exaggerated in the 19th and 20th centuries, including the period of the 1920s and the 1930s. While there is some level of debate within the Catholic community concerning the first point (Professor Devine agrees with this analysis, other such as Dr Bradley consider contemporary sectarianism to be more difficult to identify and quantify), there is very little debate within the Catholic community concerning the second point. By arguing for a revision of the impact of the White campaign, and other anti-Catholic campaigns in this period, Professor Bruce appears to be undermining one of the key moments in the history of the Catholic community and in the self-identification of the Catholic community. The interpretation of Professor Bruce could be perceived to be imbalanced and could be subjected to rigorous counter arguments from a number of

perspectives. The key point here, though, is the right to articulate an alternative opinion that can be critically examined. Perhaps the limitation of the lens of the official version of the past is exposed here. The concept of an official version, or even official versions, while useful as a contrast with the private and public versions of history, is limited because it implies a fixed historical perspective and can be interpreted as a modernist tool. The official version of the sectarian activity of the 1920s and 1930s has possibly become fixed. Is this not a return to a modernist approach to history? Is there danger of a dreadful irony as the postmodern critique of historiography that, arguably, enabled the articulation of the marginalised voice becomes seriously challenged, or even threatened, because the marginalised voice seeks a modernist historical stability, an official acceptance for the marginalised version of events? Re-applying the less fixed postmodern critique of historiography, the official version becomes subject to critique and challenge. Surely there should be a number of different versions? If the Catholic community, as a marginalised group, has been able to express a strong voice and even influence official versions is it prepared to be open to alternative versions and voices and engage with these voices and versions?

Period 4: 1940s to 1970s

This period is perceived by a number of the interviewees to be pivotal in the social advancement of the Catholic community and the consolidation of Catholic schools. In a sense, the hopes of greater and wider social advancement of the Catholic community that were based on the state funding of Catholic schools after the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act would only begin to be realised in the post World War II Scotland. Professor Devine comments that two developments in the post war era, the shortage of skilled labour and the rise of the multinationals, broke many of the barriers of structural sectarianism and provided Catholics with new employment opportunities. Furthermore, in this period, three government initiatives for social improvement were to have a significant effect on the Catholic community: the introduction of grants for Higher Education and the expansion of the University system; the welfare state and the initiation of comprehensive education. These social advancements are perceived to have been of enormous advantage to the socially and economically disadvantaged Catholic community, a Catholic community, as Professors Haldane and Devine point

out, that had enjoyed a high level of religious practice, especially in the 1950s and 1960s.

Mr McGrath perceives the 1950s and 1960s to be a period of consolidation for Catholic schools:

> Probably into the post war period into the 50's and 60s, Catholic schools were intent on establishing their credibility as educational establishments in terms of academic credibility. They wanted to prove with this burgeoning population of mainly working class young people that they had the same potential as any other children in other schools, in non-denominational schools, and they worked very hard at establishing academic credibility.

He comments that the Catholic schools were still catering for a disproportionate number of children from socially deprived backgrounds. The introduction of comprehensive education is perceived to have brought greater equity of opportunity. Although none of the interviewees have explicitly stated why comprehensive education constituted an advance, perhaps they are in accord with Treble's analysis: that comprehensive schooling provided access to school level qualifications for all, qualifications that could lead to higher education.[79] Comprehensive education, student grants and the expansion of the universities led to the marked increase of Catholics studying at University,[80] and this assisted the entry of Catholics into the professions and into greater social mobility. As Mr McGrath explains:

> In the 50's and 60's that certainly became evident and you had large swathes of first generation families and students going into the professions and testimony now is evident in the numbers of people in professional employment.

Professor Bruce does not comment much on this period, but his view is that these advancements did assist the social mobility of the Catholics but not necessarily dispel any structural sectarianism, because, according to his perspective on the history of the Catholic community in the 20th century, there was little structural sectarianism to dispel and sectarianism was confined to a small number of easily-caricatured,

extremist groups lead by anti-Catholic fanatics. The analysis of Professor Devine is consistent with his writings which constitute part of the official version of the history of this period. This period is within 'living memory' of many of the interviewees and Mr McGrath employs a combination of the official version and observations that appear to be intended as part of the public version of the past.

Period 5: 1980s to 2007

For many of the interviewees, this period is perceived to be a 'golden age' for Catholics schools – a period when Catholic schools have been firmly established as 'good schools' and as academically successful. Further, the Catholic schools are perceived as being values-led and supporting 'good' discipline and Christian morality. As a result the schools have become very attractive to Catholics and non-Catholics. Mgr Chambers points out that the opinion of the lay members (as opposed to the hierarchy and the priests) of the Catholic Church towards Catholic schooling has acquired greater weight, because they are the ones who support Catholic schools.

Mgr Chambers also identifies many of the developments in Catholic schools, over the last 'twenty to thirty' years, that have helped to dramatically improve the quality of this schooling. He identifies these developments as: the introduction of Religious Education specialists and departments of Religious Education; the installation of qualified Religious Education advisors; increased opportunities in CPD and the increase of the number of Catholic inspectors in the HMIe. He locates these developments within the wider improvement agenda in Scottish education: increased teacher professionalism; wider varieties of teaching methodologies and increased use of new technologies. A key development, for Mgr Chambers, was the appointment of a director of Catholic Education. The Director has become the focus for the liaison and consultation with the Scottish Executive and the local Authorities and, according to Mgr Chambers, helps to place Catholic schooling at the forefront of Scottish Education:

> In contemporary Scottish education we are now right up at the very forefront of it, no matter what happens we are in consultation with the Scottish Executive, we are in consultation with 29 of the 32 local authorities of

Scotland and the 3 that we are not in consultation with don't have any Catholic schools. That is an incredible change.

This newly acquired status for Catholic schools could be interpreted as wider recognition of the value of Catholic schools in Scottish Education, and Dr MacMillan thinks that Catholic schools should now be recognised for their accomplishments in attaining the ideals of the Scottish education system:

Personally, I think that Catholic schools in Scotland could quite seriously be described as the 'jewel in the crown' of the Scottish educational system because they fulfil, or have fulfilled, many of the criteria that idealists of Scottish education have set out as the main goals of an egalitarian Scottish education system. Scottish education should provide a leg up to those on the bottom rung of society, those who suffer from poverty in society. Catholic schools, by the accounts of the most objective educationalists, seem to provide this sense of opportunity and a way out of the mire of social distress and social disadvantage

Academics such as Lindsay Paterson (2000, 2003) might agree that Catholic schools have been successful in the last 20 to 30 years, especially in terms of social mobility for children from working class homes, though his statistics demonstrate that Scottish schools, as a whole, have been increasingly successful in the last 20 to 30 years.[81]

Are Catholics and Catholic schools in Scotland out of the Ghetto?

This sub-section examines the cultural and ethnic heritage of the Catholic community in Scotland and how this is perceived to relate to Catholic schools. A dominant feature of this examination is the perception of a number of interviewees that historically there has been antipathy, if not aggressive forms of xenophobia and religious bigotry, towards the Catholic community, especially those of Irish descent.

The influx of the Irish Catholics, as has been stated, was not restricted to the era of the potato famines (Lynch, 1991). There was a steady exodus from Ireland for over forty years previous to these events. These Irish immigrants were seeking a better and more stable life and were, according to Taylor's typology, *aspirers* (Boneva and Frieze,

2001). The catastrophic effects of the potato famines precipitated a large and sudden influx of Irish Catholics into Scotland. This large influx of *resultant* migrants, according to Taylor's typology, created major problems for housing in areas like Glasgow and generated huge pressures for the already-inadequate urban infrastructure (O'Tuathaigh, 1985). Patchen states that the impact an immigrant group has on the 'significant features' of society will influence the relationship with the 'host' nation. In this case, in the first instance, the size of the immigrant group and their Irish Catholicism were highly contentious. Resentment towards an immigrant group in such circumstances is a common response and the resentment focuses on and exaggerates those national and religious features that characterise the immigrants as others.

Although a number of the interviewees consider anti-Irishness and anti-Catholicism to have lessened considerably in recent years, there remains a perception that these sentiments still exist. Structural sectarianism is considered to be less prevalent, but attitudinal sectarianism appears to remain and some of the interviewees perceive that this is focussed on the Catholic schools and lingering suspicions that these schools promote or enhance Irish/ Catholic identities that are not integrated or assimilated but are somehow obstructionist to a liberal society, whether post-religionist Protestant or secular. Professor Conroy comments:

> […] you have a large number of other people who don't like Catholic schools because they are a reminder of Scotland's past and a reminder of the fact that not all these Irish Catholics have fully integrated into post-religious Protestantism…

This highlights the second fundamental dilemma of the migrants. Those who hold the view outlined above can readily identify the public manifestation of this second fundamental dilemma in the continuation of the *official* existence of Catholic schools within the 'significant feature' of state schooling. His comments further suggest that the 'other people' have a view that there were problems between Christian denominations in the past and that these problems should remain in the past – there is something embarrassing about being reminded of the past influence of, and hostility

between, the Catholic and Protestant denominations in Scotland. He further argues that the embarrassment is particularly acute for the secularists (my insert in italics):

> I think they [*Catholic schools*] are a thorn in the side of the secularists. They are perceived to be a throw back to a kind of antediluvian age where religion mattered more than free thought but now we live in the world of free thought but how free it is, is open to question. Religion and religious schooling is an impediment to that free thought and the social practices that come from it.

The secularists perceive religious belief and, by association, religious schooling, to belong to a more primitive era when individuals were prevented from thinking freely. Religion is perceived to be an historical anachronism, if not aberration, and secularism the apex of civilisation (a curiously 'modern' historical concept). As religious objections to Catholic schooling decrease, secularist objections become louder.

Private versions of the past

This final sub-section will examine the use of 'private' versions of history by the interviewees. Although many of the interviewees articulate perceptions of the two latter smaller narratives that cohere or complement the literature and the official version of the history of these periods, there is another dimension to their perception of the periods 4 and 5: lingering private versions of history. These 'private' versions are perceived by the interviewees to be more significant than mere anecdotes and are considered to be an authentic form of oral history that are used to substantiate and possibly legitimise their views of the history of the Catholic community and Catholic schooling in Scotland. These 'private' versions can be categorised in a number of ways. Firstly, there are *positive* and *negative* private versions. Secondly, there are *private* versions per se and there are *shared* private versions that belong to a group of people who hold the same views and interpret events in the same way. This sub-section will examine two aspects of this private version of history. Firstly, hostility and violence towards Catholic school children and hostility towards Catholic schools and secondly, success of Catholic schools.[82]

Hostility and violence towards Catholic school children and hostility towards Catholic schools

Mgr Chambers provides a story of discrimination towards a girl who had identified herself as having attended a Catholic school:

> […] but I remember as a young priest coming to Glasgow in 1967, a little girl leaving school in St Thomas Aquinas went for her first job in a shop in Clydebank and the lady in the shop was giving her the job, told her to start tomorrow morning. And when she went to the shop at 8.45am or whenever it was, the lady said to her, I forgot to ask you what school you went to, and she said oh I went to St Thomas Aquinas …and I liked it, it was good. And the lady said well that job that I had, I haven't got it any more. I will phone you in a day or two and sent her away. The little girl came back and told me about it. I went to the shop the next day, it was a lady's dress wear shop, and I ordered two pairs of nylons across the counter and the lady looked at me kind of strangely but served me. And then as she was about to wrap them up and give them to me, I was paying for them, I said to her by the way what religion are you, she said that has nothing to do with you. I said no you are dead right it hasn't, but there was a wee girl came in here yesterday for a job and because she was Catholic you took the job off her. And that type of thing still exists in some places and sadly the work place is a place that breeds bigotry.

This is clearly a *shared* private version – shared between Mgr Chambers and the girl and her family – and is used to illustrate the effects of 'structural' sectarianism in employment. The impact of the story – the sense of injustice - is heightened by the fact that this is suffered by someone just leaving school, an adolescent, described as a 'little girl'. The innocence and naivety of the 'little girl' is demonstrated in her interpretation of the question concerning her schooling. She does not suspect an ulterior motive for the question and not only confirms her attendance at St Thomas Aquinas, but explains how much she enjoyed it. The more experienced Catholic reader of this story recognises the duplicity of the question and the intent. The innocence of the girl is juxtaposed with the cynicism of the lady who has no intention of employing this girl, despite having offered her the job, because she had now been

identified as a Catholic (in 1967, the vast majority of children attending Catholic schools would have been Catholic). The rather unusual and amusing denouement is used to heighten the sense of injustice. There is, however, something highly significant that a priest of Mgr Chambers' standing in the Catholic community and wider community should use such a story. The story has been used to expose a structural and attitudinal sectarianism and to suggest that this sectarianism was a common feature of life for Catholics forty years ago.

The next two 'private' versions concern violence towards Catholic school children. The first is a family story recalled by Dr Clegg:

> I know from my own family history and background: my mother was stoned on her way to school for wearing a Catholic school uniform, the discrimination within the job markets - which to a large degree has been assisted by the equality legislation, and things are beginning to work themselves out. But I think historically even in my own family there is a memory, a living memory of what was perceived as persecution and discrimination.

This story (presumably refers to the 1930s/1940s) is presented with the minimum of detail and the impact of the story - the violence of the act towards the girl going to Catholic school – is used to exemplify injustice towards Catholics. The violent act is contextualised within the girl going to *Catholic school*, the site of opportunity for social advancement for Catholics of that era. In one sense the violent act symbolises the perceived hostility towards the Catholic schools as dividing children for educational purposes and as a recognition of difference – the Catholic school uniform provides a clear indicator of this difference. In another sense the violent act appears to confirm the necessity of Catholic schools for the Catholic community at that time because they allowed the Catholic children the opportunity to be educated in a Catholic school setting unhindered by the 'attitudinal' sectarianism displayed by the perpetrator.

The second story concerns more recent events. Professor Conroy discusses the phenomenon of sectarian abuse towards Catholic school children and refers to a *shared* private version:

> Well yes, to the extent that Catholic schools are often the object of a particular kind of sectarian antipathy and children who go to Catholic schools are often subject to sectarian abuse because they have gone to Catholic schools. Indeed I know of several instances, and this can only of course be anecdotal, where children have been beaten up because they go to Catholic schools, although I am sure there are statistics floating around for those things. But again I think the difficulty with the liberal democratic policy in Scotland is that it doesn't want to admit this is an issue and therefore it never really investigates some of these things, it never puts the real resources into investigating. Of course they acknowledge that there is sectarianism in Scotland but it is always articulated as a disease of the ignorant and stupid and the marginalised. I think it is more complex than that.

The initial generalised comment concerning sectarian antipathy and sectarian abuse is substantiated by the reference to particular instances of sectarian violence towards Catholic school children. Although these instances are not presented as personal or family related, they are presented in a manner that suggests a *shared* private version of recent history. Professor Conroy's argument is that that these instances of private history, shared or otherwise, should become public and should be examined and used as part of a strategy to tackle sectarianism. The *shared* private stories should be shared publicly and act as a catalyst to challenge 'attitudinal' sectarianism.

The final story to be examined is more specifically concerned with Catholic schools in England. Mrs Gilpin recalls an aspect of her private version of history:

> I don't know that there is any great hostility to Catholic schools in England. In fact I know in the North of England, for example, where I spent quite a lot of time when I was younger it doesn't exist and Catholic schools are very, very highly regarded.

The lack of hostility in the North of England towards Catholic schools is compared to the hostility towards Catholic schools in Scotland. She refers to personal experience, a personal experience of England that was over a considerable period of time, to substantiate her claim.

The success of Catholic schools

Mr McGrath provides another type of private version. He refers to himself as a successful product of Catholic schooling:

> I would class myself of one of that kind of generation who have achieved well in their own professional life as a result of having had opportunities through the Catholic school system

Mr McGrath is referring to the effectiveness of the social advancement in education in period 4 (1940s to 1970s) providing a private version to illustrate and typify this effectiveness. In a sense, he provides a private version that illustrates the 'official' version of the history of this period.

Many of the interviewees clearly acknowledge that the sectarian antipathy towards the Catholic community and Catholic schooling has eased considerably in the late 20th and early 21st centuries (see chapter seven). The private versions of educational history, apart from Mr McGrath, contain negative stories and include experiences of violence and vilification for Catholic school children, because they are **Catholic** school children and can be identified as such. These negative personal versions express an anger and deep sense of injustice, and, in a sense, reflect the voices of a historically marginalised group. There is also concern that these experiences should not be repeated and that these private stories should become public stories, so that this marginalisation can be addressed.

Evaluation of frameworks and lenses

From one perspective, the adoption of the postmodern critique of historiography in this thesis can arguably be considered to have been successful. The historical

experience of the Catholic community (eg the experience of sectarianism) appears to have been cyclic and disjointed rather than the 'modern' expectation of linear progress. The use of smaller narratives helps to demonstrate the disjointedness of the history of Catholic schools in Scotland. This appears to confirm a successful application of the postmodern critique. The emergence, in the late twentieth century of an Irish Catholic voice, or voices, in Scotland to claim a stake in Scottish history for an ethnic and cultural group that has been marginalised is clearly evident in the statements from many of the interviewees.

From another perspective, could some of the conceptual tools used in this thesis also be adopted in a modernist history? Could the smaller narratives not also be constructed within a modernist approach to history and the disjunctures explained as natural minor disjunctures (this will be discussed further in chapter eleven)? Could the articulated voice of the previously marginalised be explained as evidence of the success of a modernist interpretation of history? The marginalised voices have emerged because of the opportunities that have become available to them in school education and in Higher education. In other words, progress has enabled them to be articulated. Some of the interviewees in this study have been instrumental, through their writing and teaching, in articulating this voice (or these voices) in 'public' and 'official' versions of history and educational history. The marginalised voice becomes part of the official version of history and, within a modernist understanding, presumably enriches it and completes it. Where the postmodern critique of historiography does possibly provide a unique conceptual dimension is the value it places on oral history (still viewed by many historians with unease). The use of story or oral testimony is clearly evident in the *private version* statements of some of the interviewees, not as mere anecdote, but as an added dimension of a retelling of powerful expressions of anger at injustice directed towards a marginalised community. Another success of the postmodern critique of historiography is the acknowledgement of the importance, but also the critique, of insider voices and stories in this oral history and the inherent difficulties of these becoming *official versions*.

The frameworks adopted for this chapter appear to have been applied successfully. None of the interviewees explicitly quoted, referenced or referred to any of the three

frameworks (typology, significant features and fundamental dilemma of migrants) that I have used to examine the migrant status and progress of the Irish Catholic community. The statements from the interviewees, however, cohered well with these frameworks and this suggests some implications for this research. Firstly, the frameworks are well constructed and have been effective heuristic tools. These generalised frameworks can be applied to particular situations, including this particular situation. Secondly, this means that the situation of the Irish community in Scotland may not be unique in the sense of a generic migrant experience, but only in the predominance of certain significant features in the experience of this migrant community (eg employment, religion, schools) and possibly the extended historical period of the migrant experience. Thirdly, connected to this extended experience and despite the emergence of Irish Catholic voices in public and official histories, it appears that Catholics in contemporary Scotland are perceived by some to have a form of outsider status.

Concluding remarks

This chapter concludes the discussion of the history and the contemporary existence of Catholic schools in Scotland. The next chapter is more futures focussed and will examine the issue of the *continued* existence of Catholic schools in Scotland, by re-conceptualising the debate into a spectrum of positions adopted by the interviewees.

CHAPTER TEN

THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN SCOTLAND - RE-CONCEPTUALISING THE DEBATE

Introduction

In this chapter the discussion of the interviewees' views on the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland draws on, extends and deepens the presentation and initial analysis of the interviews that have appeared in previous chapters. The data from chapters five to eight focussed on the position of the Catholic community and Catholic schools in Scotland, but, in this chapter, becomes focussed on the projected continued existence of Catholic schools. The perspectives of secularism and pluralism, emerging from the data (as identified in chapter five), feature prominently in the discussion and, as dual perspectives, appear, at times, to present some of the interviewees with conceptual challenges as they attempt to reconcile the dichotomy between the two. The concept of pluralism in 21st century Scotland and the inclusion of Catholicism and Catholic schools into this concept of pluralism appears to underpin some of the arguments, explicitly or implicitly, proposed by interviewees who support the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland.

The responses of the interviewees to the issue of the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland, for the purposes of this thesis, will be categorised in six ways, but it is important to note, from the outset, that this will be represented in the form of a spectrum of opinion. This spectrum is a heuristic tool that has been specially constructed for this thesis to explain the response to the question of the continued existence of Catholic schools. The limitations of the spectrum are acknowledged, and there may be other heuristic tools that could be used to examine these views, but the advantage of the spectrum is that it presents the debate as more complex and nuanced than it is normally perceived. The spectrum widens the debate to include other forms of faith schooling and revised models of non-denominational schooling and the spectrum fulfils an important function in that it is a spectrum rather than polarised set positions representing exact and precise viewpoints. This is exemplified, for example,

by those who support the continued existence of Catholic schools but have some reservations. The spectrum also provides a focus for some of the theological, philosophical, educational and sociological principles, or ideologies, that influence the views of the interviewees.

The spectrum (see figure 1) begins with (1) those who advocate the continued existence of Catholic schools to (2) those who advocate Catholic schools but have some reservations or propose some conditions for the continued existence of Catholic schools. The spectrum continues with (3) those who think that faith schooling could or should be widened in Scotland to (4) those who favour alternative models of ecumenical or inter-faith faith schools to complement or replace Catholic schools. The final parts of the spectrum are (5) those who reject any form of faith school but seek greater focus on religion and religious belief in non-denominational schools and (6) those who are opposed to any form of faith schooling and any locus for religion in public life. Given that this is a spectrum, the views of some of the interviewees fall into a number of the categories: Professor Haldane falls into categories one and two; Mr McGrath, Professor Finn, Dr McMillan, Dr Davis and Bishop Devine fall into categories one and three; Dr Clegg falls into categories two and four; Professor Conroy falls into category one and four.

(1) Catholic schools should continue to exist

This first sub-section examines the perception that Catholic schools should continue to exist and the vast majority of interviewees fall into this category: Dr Bradley; Mrs Gilpin; Mr McGrath; Professor Devine; Bishop Devine; Dr Davis; Professor Conroy; Dr MacMillan; Professor Carr; Professor Finn; Mgr Chambers and Professor Haldane. Given that all of these interviewees belong, in some way, to the Catholic community, their identification at this end of the spectrum is unsurprising and represents a level of consistency in their insider status. This sub-section is divided into three parts. Part one explores the views that Catholic schools are successful academically, socially and in terms of education in morals and values and are exemplars of educational excellence, inclusiveness and diversity in state schooling. Part two examines the views that

Catholic schools are supported by, and support, the Catholic community. Part three examines the emergence of new models of Catholic schools.

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Those who support the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland	Those who support the existence of Catholic schools but with some reservations	Those who think faith schooling in Scotland should be widened	Those who favour alternative models of ecumenical or interfaith schools	Those who seek greater focus on religion and religious belief in non-denominational schools	Those who are opposed to any form of faith school

Figure 1: Spectrum of opinion on continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland

Catholic schools are successful schools

Catholic schools as educationally and socially successful

The success of Catholic schooling, and an examination of the criteria and evidence for this success, has been discussed in some depth in chapter six so this section will examine a small number of points that are relevant to the continued existence of Catholic schools. As was discussed in chapter six, Professor Conroy locates the

success of Catholic schools in Scotland within an international context. Catholic schools in Scotland share characteristics of Catholic schools throughout the English speaking western world and currently are recognised as being comparably successful with these other Catholic schools. This contextualisation is a timely reminder that Catholic schools are not an exclusively Scottish phenomenon, but are also situated, in a sense, in different national and international contexts. Catholic schools in Scotland may be perceived to be unique in Scotland, in terms of the faith school debate, but from a Catholic perspective, they can be perceived to be a localised form, or model, of a network, albeit more informal than formal, of schools that are intrinsically linked by a shared theological rationale.

Bishop Devine, focussing on the success of Catholic schools within an exclusively Scottish context, agrees that Catholic schools have been recognised as successful, but adds that this success in Scottish Catholic schools is a recent outcome. He attributes this local success to a number of causes:

> Now this has all come about in the last 15 to 20 years, we now have a very coherent, a very strong system and the leadership is much better, the qualifications are better, the people in positions of key importance are significantly better.

In his subsequent comments he focuses further on the recent improvement of the leadership as one of the keys to this success:

> I have noticed certainly in the last 5 or 6 years with a new Head Teacher being appointed, they literally turned several of our schools completely around, completely around, and so it is almost like a new creation although it is the same broken old building that they are in - although they are gradually being replaced - so the leadership, I think is the winning hand.

His comments reflect an admiration for the results achieved by these leaders, and he perceives leadership as a key to the *future* of Catholic schools. Dr MacMillan is not so concerned with the relationship between leadership and the success of Catholic schools, arguing that the success of Catholic schools should be a catalyst for a wider

ranging discussion in Scottish education about what constitutes success in schooling and where it can be discerned. He further argues that this discussion should recognise the importance of diversity in schooling:

> The lessons of this could be taken into the wider society and used as a resource for the good of society. I think a truly plural society would see different ways of doing education and that the one size fits all prejudice, so beloved of many in the Scottish educationalist establishments, is not helpful any more. There needs to be more diversity.

Scottish school education, he argues, rather than challenge the diversity created by the existence of Catholic schools, should celebrate and expand this diversity.

Catholic schools as successful in education in morals and values

The issue of Catholic schools as successful in education in morals and values has also been discussed in chapter six. This issue is briefly revisited here because this is one of the major differences perceived to exist between Catholic schools and non-denominational schools in Scotland. This is exemplified by Professor Carr's comment (quote already cited in chapter seven):

> Catholic schools can be and are supported by people because they are seen to promote spiritual and moral values that may be neglected – or at any rate insufficiently emphasised – in other more secular contexts of state schooling.

In the context of the choice within Scottish school education, Catholic schools are perceived to provide an extra component (or added value) in promoting spiritual and moral values but, further, this extra component is perceived by parents to be a valuable component, and this provides insight into parental perceptions of what is valuable in school education. These arguments for the success of Catholic schools as one of the reasons why Catholic schools should continue to exist are framed within a common perception, both within and without the Catholic insider status, that this success is almost self-evident. As has been discussed in chapter six, the evidence for this success may not be as credible for the academic discussion of Catholic schools as

it is for popular and parental perceptions. This will be further discussed in chapter eleven. The next sub-section examines the support of the Catholic community for Catholic schools and support for the Catholic community provided by catholic schools.

Catholic schools are supported by, and support, the Catholic community.

Catholic schools are supported by the Catholic community

The many reasons why Catholic and non-Catholic parents support Catholic schools has been discussed in chapter six. The fact that so many Catholic parents support Catholic schools is in itself of great importance, as Mr McGrath points out:

> The bottom line is that, as long as parents go on choosing Catholic schools, they will need to continue to exist.

Catholic parents may choose Catholic schools, but Professor Finn provides a useful summary of the complexity of the reasons behind the Catholic support for Catholic schools. Apart from the desire for the religious dimension and faith formation, the Catholic community opts for Catholic schools because of loyalty, but sometimes because:

> Some probably because they wouldn't think of going anywhere else, they are not even aware that perhaps there is an option to go anywhere else, and some because that is just what you do, it is part of that kind of whole historical tendency.

Professor Finn has provided a variety of reasons why parents may support Catholic schools and while Mrs Gilpin, who is a Head Teacher, would agree that parents may have different reasons for choosing Catholic schools, she would be more hesitant to state that parents would be ill informed or partly informed about this choice. She argues, from her experience, that the parents who choose Catholic schools for their children are expressing an informed choice:

I think parents are very clear. I think parents are clearer than ever before what they want in education for their children. Parents know more about schools than they ever knew, parents are in schools more often, they get more information from the media and I think parents are very, very clear about what they want. Things like the Parents Charter has sharpened or brought into focus what parents want for their children so they know more about what goes on in schools and I honestly believe and I think it is seen with Catholic parents, they know what they are sending their children to…

Mrs Gilpin is arguing from the position of one who has frequent contact with parents. This informed choice, she argues, is based on a greater understanding of the purposes of education and the processes of school education, and reflects greater direct contact with the schools and, she appears to be suggesting, a greater understanding of the Catholic school. This will be discussed in greater depth in chapter eleven.

Catholic schools support Catholic identity

Catholic schools, according to some of the interviewees, should continue to exist not just because they are supported by the Catholic community, but also because Catholic schools are perceived to support the Catholic community in terms of identity, as Professor Devine states (my insert in italics):

If I had children [*of school age*] I would still want them to be educated in it, even if at the end of their educational experience they decide this is not for me in terms spiritual or religious commitment, I do think it conveys certain values and I think also it is quite important from the point of view of the identity.

This theme has been discussed in chapter five, but in this subsection will be examined from the perspective that this 'identity' is not only important for the Catholic community, but is also an important and positive feature of life in Scotland, as Dr Joseph Bradley argues:

Yes, I think they are absolutely crucial to the Catholic community and they are crucial to the engendering or the promotion of a way of life, of attitudes, of identities that I think are progressive and positive for modern Scotland.

Mr McGrath extends the scope of this argument by arguing that any clear identity, based on positive values, is of benefit not only to those who hold this identity but for others:

The irony of that is that all research shows that successful organisations have clear identities, are grounded in tradition, have values which are positive and sound for society, are accepted and understood and identifiable to the local communities. These are all the features of Catholic schools. So if we look at it from the outside even looking in and you say "here is something that is working and working well - why even consider changing?"

Mr McGrath's argument is that Catholic schools are successful, contribute to society and it would be strange to change or dismantle something that is successful. It could be argued that the success of Catholic schools enhances and enriches local communities and this may be described as a good example of effective social capital. The success of Catholic schools, for some opponents of Catholic schools, however, is not considered to be relevant for their continued existence. Those who oppose Catholic schools (Professor Bruce and the anonymous academic), while acknowledging the success of Catholic schools and perceiving difficulties in dismantling Catholic schools, have philosophical and sociological objections (rooted in secularist ideology) to their continued existence. The philosophical objection is based on the view that there should be no formal relationship between organised religion and the state and that would include any form of state-funded faith schooling, irrespective of how successful the faith school might be. The sociological objection perceives Catholic schools as socially, culturally and religiously divisive and hindering social cohesion.

This idea of the identity of the Catholic community being of benefit to wider Scottish society could be perceived to be an argument that seeks recognition of the Catholic community in Scotland as part of the richness of the diversity of contemporary

Scotland. Professor Finn appears to be arguing this diversity was officially recognised in the 1918 Act, at a time when diversity was often perceived to be divisive. As Scotland struggles to recognise greater diversity in society, it would seem strange, according to Professor Finn, to dismantle one of the greatest symbols of the recognition of diversity in contemporary Scottish history – especially a symbol that he considers to be still necessary today. As a Catholic insider argument this would appear to be a legitimate position to adopt. Another position, from another perspective or another insider position, might view the 1918 Act as being divisive at the time of the Act and as continuing to be divisive to the present day.

The emergence of new models of Catholic schools

Bishop Devine argues that changes in Catholic population demographics in Scotland are having an effect on the future provision of Catholic schools and the models of Catholic schools. The Catholic population, like most of the population of Scotland, is experiencing a low birth rate and this is having an effect on Catholic school rolls:

> Clearly we face a very different future in so far as we have a shrinking community, zero growth of population - much fewer young people about the place, school closures, mergers, joint campus arrangements and so on. Now all of these have a weakening effect on the communities. No one likes to close a school - always. It robs the community, but there is no alternative in the light of the economics of the matter whereby our local authorities simply do not have the funding available, except through private enterprise/investment in joint campuses and other forms of that in which they can continue to have the same provision.

Bishop Devine has a clear understanding that school closures, mergers and joint campuses are a result of economic strictures and the absence of a critical mass of Catholic school children in some areas to justify a separate Catholic school. He appears to see these new models (merged schools and joint campuses) as expedient and necessary responses to the change in demographics. The weakening effect on the communities could feasibly be a weakening effect on a local Catholic community, and Catholic school, as the local Catholic primary is closed or merged or reconstructed as

a joint campus. Similarly, there may be implications in the closure and merger of Catholic secondary schools. This will be examined in some depth in chapter eleven.

(2) Catholic schools should continue to exist but with some reservations

This subsection examines the views of Professor Haldane and Dr Clegg who support the continued existence of Catholic schools but articulate some reservations. One of the key reservations concerns the relationship between Catholic education and Catholic school education and they both question the efficacy of Catholic schools as the conduits for Catholic education. Professor Haldane argues that Catholic schools *per se* are not necessary because schools *per se* are not necessary. Education, he states, is necessary, but school education is a non-essential form of education. Similarly faith education is a necessary responsibility for Catholic parents, but Catholic schools are a non-essential form of faith education:

> Going right back to what I began with, the primary responsibility for the education of children in general and in the faith in particular lies with parents, so there is nothing essential or necessary about the existence of Catholic schools. Indeed there is nothing essential or necessary about the existence of schools at all. I think it is a mistake that people make, increasingly commonly, to confuse education and schooling, to assume that there couldn't be education outside the context of schooling and to assume also that what schools are about is education. Schools are about lots of things, outside of the context of education. They are used for all sorts of purposes by society and indeed by the parents.

Catholic schools, like all schools, according to Professor Haldane, are a convenient division of labour. This is one of the main reasons that the Catholic Church seeks the continuation of their existence. Professor Haldane, however, challenges Catholic schools to be 'authentic' Catholic schools in terms of Christian formation:

> I don't think the Catholic schools are going to go away because I think that they serve an important function and for so long as they serve a function there

is a case for them. I do think however that advocates of Catholic schooling whether they be intellectual advocates, people thinking about the philosophy of Catholic schooling, or parents or teachers and so on, do need to ask themselves the question, what are Catholic schools for? and in answering that question I think they have to go back to the starting point of my reflections here, considering the idea that what they exist for is to discharge on behalf of parents and in co-operation with them the primary responsibility that parents themselves have which is to raise children to know, to love and to serve God in the Catholic understanding of that knowledge and service.

Professor Haldane hardens the challenge by arguing that a Catholic school that does not discharge its primary responsibility does not serve the needs of the children and parents:

> So I am not really drawing a conclusion about whether Catholic schools should continue to exist, what I am saying is that if they are failing in their primary responsibility then parents who have the originating responsibility for education should be thinking about that. Catholic communities should be thinking about that and there may be circumstances in which one would say look it is actually better that our children be educated in this other way, rather than be educated in Catholic schools that have failed to be Catholic.

Dr Clegg believes that Catholic schools should continue to exist if the community still wants them, but she thinks that Catholic education should be more parish focussed and less school focussed:

> My answer to that is both yes and no. Yes because I really believe in the right of a community to educate their young people in the way that they feel is appropriate to their community, now I might have an issue about whether that should be a Catholic school or not, I would like to see more education based in the parish and more related to life, living it. The 'no' bit of it is more about the fact that I would want Catholic education to exist in the parish rather than in academia, in the educational system […]

She thinks that parish focussed Catholic education would be more concerned with Christian living and a more effective form of Christian education. If Catholic schools are to continue to exist, she would like to see a spirit of openness prevailing within the Catholic school:

> In one sense I don't have a problem with Catholic schools continuing to exist provided that the schools are really open and really interacting and teaching the young people to be open and to interact with other denominations, with other faiths, with other groupings.

In this comment, Dr Clegg develops her view that contemporary Catholics are called, or even challenged, to be more open to the other, whether inter-denominationally, or inter-faith. This openness, must, she further argues, be evident in the Catholic school and be an integral feature of the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland.

The views of Dr Clegg and Professor Haldane concerning Catholic schools are consistent with their preferred models of the Catholic Church (outlined in previous chapters). Professor Haldane, rooted in a more traditional perspective, perceives the Catholic schools as the means of transmission for the truths of the Catholic faith. The measure of the success of the Catholic school would be the adherence of the children to these truths. This would be consistent with his view of the importance of epistemology. He is concerned that these results are not always apparent. Cecelia Clegg perceives the Catholic schools as an institutional means of transformation, more concerned with ontology. Her concern is that the Catholic schools may not be suited for such a task unless they themselves are transformed in terms of theological rationale and vision. She perceives the parish to be a more appropriate context for this transformation.

(3) Faith schooling could or should be widened

A number of interviewees, Professor Finn, Mr McGrath, Dr Davis, Bishop Devine and Dr MacMillan expressed a belief that faith schooling in Scotland should be expanded to other Christian denominations and other faiths. Some members of these other denominations and faiths are dissatisfied with the absence of a faith dimension

in the non-denominational schools. Many of these denominations and faiths, however, according to Mr McGrath, lack the critical mass to sustain a faith school:

> […] the question of scale is significant I think, Scotland is a pretty small country and it would be difficult for other faith based groups to make a case. Now the obvious exception might be the Muslim community because there are significant numbers of Muslim parents around who would want a faith based form of schooling for their children. The difficulty there I think is some of the recent examples of Muslim schools haven't been successful in Scotland, now they have been independent schools and when they were regulated and monitored they were found to be wanting and most have been closed. In principle the Church would take the view that if the Muslim community makes a case for State based provision and if it's viable and if it conforms to all the other regulations as Catholic schools do in terms of government based provision, then you couldn't possibly argue against Muslim based education.

Mr McGrath has identified the Muslim community as one of the few religious groups that could sustain a faith school. Despite the failure of the initial attempts to establish Muslim schools, Professor Finn states that recent research reveals a growing demand within the Muslim community for Muslim schools. Dr Davis echoes the comments of Mr McGrath, but further suggests that other Christian groups could establish their own schools. Bishop Devine argues that Church of Scotland schools would benefit Scotland because they would bring another dimension of Christian faith schooling to Scotland:

> If we had Church of Scotland schools, I think it would be a very a different Scotland we would have. I think it would be a much better Scotland, truth to tell.

He thinks it would help the parents within the Church of Scotland form their children in the faith, and it would provide the Church of Scotland minister with a clearer and more explicitly defined pastoral role within the schools in contrast to the ambiguous role they currently have within the non-denominational schools. Bishop Devine does

acknowledge, however, that it may be difficult in 21st century Scotland for such schools to be established and sustained.

The possible expansion of faith schooling in Scotland would be advantageous in another sense: Catholic schools would not be the sole targets for the opponents of faith schooling in Scotland. As Mr McGrath states:

> Well I think in Scotland Catholic schools suffer because we are the only system of faith based education, well I know we have a Jewish school and a few Episcopalian schools but that is all. Therefore the attacks on denominational schooling, the attacks on faith based education (which are beginning to come more to the fore down South just now because of recent events), in Scotland are all targeted on Catholic education. If there were more faith based schools in Scotland of other denominations then Catholic education I think would suffer less. I think there would still be people who would have intellectual arguments with and opposition to faith based education anyway but we are a convenient target for some sections, for some individuals.

Mr McGrath argues that a greater diversity of faith schooling would enable a richer debate and a greater understanding of the strength of diversity in school education:

> In England and Wales where you have this diversity of systems, I suppose not only in faith based education but across the educational system, there is a greater sense of maturity and they are much more relaxed about diversity of choice. In Scotland the strength and weakness of the Scottish education system seems to me has been its uniformity, its universality.

This statement, echoing Kelly's analysis, provides a useful insight into the contrast between England and Wales and Scotland. A greater diversity in faith schooling (and types of schooling) exists in England and Wales, while Scotland is limited to Catholic schools and less diversity of schooling. It is, however, debatable whether there is a 'greater sense of maturity' as Mr McGrath suggests. If he means there is a greater level of acceptance of faith schooling in England and Wales, he is, as has been seen in

chapter two, only partly correct. If he means that there is a more mature and rational debate about faith schooling, as compared to Scotland, then his statement could be accepted as accurate.

Dr MacMillan argues further that the diversity of schools in Scotland should be expanded to embrace not only other forms of faith schooling, but also forms of specialised schooling:

> I would suggest there needs to be different ways of doing schools which go wider than simply faith schools or non-faith schools. There could indeed be a place, in the state system, for other tried and tested methods of doing education, for example bringing Steiner schools into the state, Montessori schools, Muslim schools of course, Jewish schools and specialist schools in music, the arts, and sciences.

This broadens the debate and explores the possibilities of state funding, not just in terms of state funding faith or non-faith schooling, but for specialised forms of schooling. This thesis acknowledges the importance of this discussion of specialised forms of schooling but proposes that it is not within the scope of this research.

(4) Alternative models of faith schooling

Two of the interviewees discuss the possibility of alternative models of faith schooling other than the normative construct of single faith or single denomination faith schooling. Professor Conroy discusses the possibility of inter-faith schools and Dr Clegg discusses the possibility of inter-faith or inter-denominational schools.[83] Professor Conroy comments:

> Yes and I would be very interested to see inter-faith models of schooling where the claims of religion are treated seriously by schools. I would also like to see a more hands off approach from government because it is hard to know what really marks Catholic schooling in Scotland out as different.

These models are conceived as complementing Catholic schools and appear to be some form of solution to emphasising the value of the many religious viewpoints that can be discerned in the non-denominational schools. The children belonging to the smaller communities of faith groups can come together in a form of schooling that would aid their expression and growth in that religion. Professor Conroy does not comment, however, on which religious groups would be eligible for admission, nor does he comment on how the different religious viewpoints would be valued. Dr Clegg has reservations about the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland and, as has been seen earlier, thinks that if they are to continue to exist, then they must be much more open to interaction with other denominations and other faiths. She also offers an alternative perspective, or aspiration – that Catholic children should be incorporated into ecumenical or inter-faith schools:

> I would like to see Catholics spread through the educational system or into at least an ecumenical system, an ecumenical Christian system or maybe an interfaith school which is intentionally theist whether it is a Christian, an ecumenical or an interfaith school.

She considers this to be a solution to combating the religious and ethnic tensions that exist within Britain and throughout the world:

> […] as a Catholic I am somebody who is passionately concerned about the church and faith life, there are, I think, other better ways of doing this and in the current situation and especially in the light of what is happening with the Muslim community and post 9/11 and the attacks in London and so on I think we need to be moving towards at least ecumenical if not interfaith education where it is intentionally worked out that young people come together from a faith based perspective, whatever that faith is, or whatever the denomination is and that people learn to deal with difference and to work in a faith atmosphere that isn't necessarily only Catholic.

She provides some limited idea of the goals of such schools: the children will come from some faith perspective; the children will learn to deal with difference and work in some form of multi-faith atmosphere. She provides no detail on how these goals

will be achieved. Similarly, she does not comment on which faith groups would be eligible for admission, nor how a multi-faith atmosphere would be constructed. These alternative models, as proposed by Professor Conroy and Dr Clegg, would appear to be quite sketchy, speculative and aspirational. Interestingly, they do imply that the children in these schools have some form of faith commitment or faith connection and this would be closer to a model of a faith school that is exclusively for the children of people of faith than the current inclusive model of Catholic schooling in Scotland.

(5) Revised model of the non-denominational school that is more open to faith

This viewpoint, adopted by Dr Elliott is different from those in the previous sub-section, because she would prefer a greater awareness and value attached to faith in the non-denominational schools. Dr Elliott does not call for the dismantling of the Catholic school system and she does accept that Catholic schools are an historical part of the school education landscape in Scotland, but she has a vision of another model of schooling for Scotland:

> I think Catholic schools should continue to exist in the 21st century, then I suppose, I am not saying you should close them down but I would like to think that if we were starting in the 21st century we would start with a schooling system that was more relaxed about the dimension of faith in everyday life and that therefore there wouldn't be a need for either Catholic schools or well there wouldn't be that need for either Catholic schools or Muslim schools or any other kind of faith schools because it would be part of general education.

Her vision is grounded in an understanding of a contemporary Scotland that is pluralist and should be open to a faith perspective in life (as seen in chapter five):

> I still hold to the view that we are a pluralist society and that faith should be part of that society and that the schools of whatever background should reflect that in the teaching which they do and that I would like to see the schools in the country as a whole probably having a more open and faithful component to the education.

Just as Dr Clegg perceived the interfaith school to be a possible solution to tackling the distrust that appears to be arising between religious and ethnic groups, Dr Elliott perceived openness to faith within the non-denominational school as another solution. The state schools would embrace the diversity of religious belief and expression and incorporate these in general education. Similar to the statements of Dr Clegg and Professor Conroy, Dr Elliott does not provide any details of how this openness to faith would be accomplished. This idea, also sketchy, could, from one perspective, resolve the problem of accommodating the diversity of religious belief in non-denominational schooling in contemporary Scotland, but could exacerbate the tensions for the philosophical perspective that advocates complete separation between the state and religion.

(6) Catholic schools should not continue to exist

There are five main reasons why some interviewees believe that Catholic schools should not continue to exist: (1) there should be no faith schools in Scotland; (2) Catholic schools (and Catholicism) should be separate from the state; (3) Catholic schools are an anachronism; (4) Catholic schools entail extra public expense and (5) Catholic schools are divisive. This sub-section concludes with a discussion concerning (6) the feasibility of dismantling the Catholic schools system in Scotland

There should be no faith schools in Scotland

Professor Bruce and the anonymous academic articulate a number of reasons why Catholic schools should not continue to exist, but emphasise that their comments are contextualised within a more fundamental argument that there should be no faith schools of any form in Scotland. Professor Bruce and the anonymous academic prefer a model of society that separates Church and state completely. The anonymous academic clearly articulates the related argument that the state should not be funding any forms of faith schooling:

> My arguments that I have just articulated specifically at Catholic schools are
> generic arguments that can be levelled at all faith based schools. It doesn't

matter whether the faith is Islam or Jewish or Christian. In institutions funded by the State it is not the duty of …the State to promote the allegiance to any one particular faith. So I am not in favour of faith based schools in any sense of the word.

Professor Bruce concurs and, as has been seen in chapter seven is also concerned about the expansion of faith schooling. It is appropriate for this discussion to recall the quote from Professor Bruce that was used in chapter eight:

So we now have a question of 'Should the state fund other faith schools?' I have a great problem with that because once you start, where do you finish? It takes us back to this question of the state's imprimatur. So a bunch of scientologists in Bexhill come along and say the Church of Scientology is a perfectly legitimate religion we want a Scientology school and we want this to be funded out of public taxation like all these other schools. I think most of us would want to say 'No chance!' and yet I can't think of a good universal principle that would allow us to deny state funding to the Moonies, the Scientologists, or any body else. If you are going to fund some, I think you have to fund all so I don't want to fund any.

The logic employed in this argument appears to be as follows: Professor Bruce states: (a) the state funds faith schools; (b) there is currently no perceived limit on the possible expansion of faith schooling; (c) supposing an unacceptable religious group sought a faith school? He has argued that it would not be acceptable for the Church of Scientology or the Moonies to be granted a state funded faith school, presumably because both the Church of Scientology and the Unification Church are commonly viewed with some suspicion and have been accused of engaging in brainwashing activities. The evidence for this accusation, according to Clarke, however, is insubstantial but greater public transparency in their operation would enable them to be viewed more sympathetically (Clarke, 2006). Professor Bruce's argument continues: (d) nevertheless, they would have to be funded in the interests of justice; (e) rather than fund these more undesirable faith schools – no faith schools whatsoever should funded. A possible resolution of this dilemma would be: (a) the state funds faith schools; (b) a limit on the possible expansion of religious groups

allowed state-funded faith schooling is introduced; (c) a religious group that is debarred by the limit seeks a faith school; (d) they are refused; (e) the state continues to fund faith schools. The key to the possible resolution is actually provided by Professor Bruce. Professor Bruce has argued that he cannot think of a 'good universal principle that would allow us to deny', yet it could be counter argued that a universal principle is not a necessary requirement – a set of criteria are required. These criteria require to be more than the 'honest criteria' of Salmond (2007); they require to be transparent criteria.

It is not clear that such criteria exist in Scotland (or England and Wales), and decisions regarding new faith schools are apparently delegated to the Committees in England and the Councils in Scotland. A set of criteria could establish who, as far as the state was concerned, through its delegated agencies, would be entitled, or have the right, to establish state-funded faith schools. The contemporary discussion concerning the application of the term 'religion' has a bearing on these criteria. The definition, or description, of religion that is accepted by the state is crucial as is the list of groups that would be viewed as religions. The six major world religions may be the starting point[84], or would the state have expand this to include those other religions involved in the inter-faith movement?[85] Another factor in this discussion is the rapid, and at times, dramatic growth of 'New Religious Movements' that have impacted on Scotland, England and Wales (Clarke, 2006). Some of the New Religious Movements are contemporary interpretations of one of the mainstream world religions (Clarke, 2006). Some have previously been identified as 'cults' (the examples used by Professor Steve Bruce: Church of Scientology, Moonies) and attract negative publicity (though some of this has been exaggerated and sensationalised) (Clarke, 2006). These types of groups do acquire a certain 'respectability' and 'acceptability' because of this re-identification as New Religious Movements and they, or similar groups, could conceivably apply for funding for a faith school. This does not necessarily mean, as the interviewee suggests, that there should be no faith schools because in the interests of 'fairness' all groups should have an equal opportunity to establish faith schooling. Criteria may have to be established to assess the extent of the 'acceptability' and 'respectability' of groups outside the mainstream world religions (and some groups *within* mainstream world religions) and the desirability of faith schools for these groups. It could be that one of the criteria for state acceptance

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of a religion would be the compatibility and acceptability of particular faiths to the aims of a liberal society. The state may then be in a position when it has to make decisions, through its agencies, on behalf of the public polity, on which religious groups are eligible for state funded faith schooling. The Committees and Councils could then make firm decisions and also adopt a firmer and more explicit 'gatekeeper' role for newer forms of faith schools.

Catholic schools (and Catholicism) should be separate from the state

This argument concerning the state and faith schooling will be now discussed with particular reference to the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland. The anonymous academic emphasises that it is within this context that she/he frames her/his view of Catholic schools (to expand a quote already cited in chapter eight):

> In my view the only justifiable relationship between state institutions such as schools and religion such as Catholicism is in terms of historical and cultural significance. It is not, in my view, the duty of the State to support the instruction in particular religious views or ideology; that is up to the private individual and the private family, not the duty or the job of the State. So …my answer is given that I don't think that Catholic schools should continue into the future.

Professor Bruce offers an alternative vision of schooling that it is uniform and does not contain Catholic schools or, as has been seen, any other form of faith schooling (my insert in italics):

> Within the Scottish context though there is a separate argument about what you do given that we have the system we have, not what would we invent from scratch but given the system we have. My guess is that the majority of those people [*who support complete separation of Church and state*] who would like to see simply, like the French, a uniform school system, a uniform Scottish system. If you want to do religion fine but do it in your own free time.

Professor Bruce and the anonymous academic are consistent in their line of argumentation. They argue from the ideological premise that there should be no faith schools funded by the state. Consequently the application of this ideological premise to Scotland means that there should be no Catholic schools funded by the state in Scotland.

Catholic schools are an anachronism

As has been seen explicitly in chapter eight and implicitly in chapter five there are two strands to this argument. The first strand (chapter eight) is that if Catholic schools were established in Scotland and incorporated into the state school system to enable social mobility for the largely immigrant Catholic community, then they are now no longer needed as this has now been achieved (this will be discussed in some depth in chapter eleven). The second strand, developed from the comments of Professor Bruce, is that Catholic schools are no longer needed because the majority of Catholics no longer practise. The changes in social status and religious practice of many Catholics in contemporary Scotland, as identified by Professor Bruce, present a sharp contrast to the social status and religious practice of the Catholics during the periods when Catholic schools were first established and incorporated into the state school system. This contrast, and his objection to the state funding faith schools, leads Professor Bruce to the following conclusion (my insert in italics):

> My professional answer I think would be that it is they [*Catholic schools*] are probably unwise. At least if we were starting from scratch I don't think we would invent them. If you were starting from scratch would you create them? I don't think it would be terribly wise.

This response combines a reference to professional status and opinion, 'my professional answer' and a form of common sense argumentation. The next sub-section examines the contemporary economic argument concerning the continued existence of Catholic schools.

Catholic schools entail extra public expense

This argument, one of the key arguments discussed by Br Kenneth (1972) in the 1970s, has re-emerged because of the changes in Scottish demographics and the condition of much of the school building stock. Professor Bruce explains the changes (my insert in italics):

> I know why they are worrying about it [*Catholic schools*] now: because there have been such big changes in population and because so many of the schools built in the 1950's and 1960's are falling down that councils, almost all councils, are having to engage in radical re-planning of the schools, that is one of the reasons why. Yes, and because populations have moved.

These changes mean that there are important decisions required concerning the future provision of schooling within specific communities, and the continued provision of Catholic schools has become part of the decision making process, especially in areas of small Catholic population:

> I mean Aberdeenshire council is going through huge reviews at the moment upsetting everybody by shutting schools here and there, yes of course that is one reason why it has been coming up recently because a lot of councils have been having major reviews. Do you build a new Catholic school? Yes it takes us back to the big difference between would you create it if you started from scratch but now you have got the system would you disband it and they are not the same thing. If you have got a Catholic school and your system is working nicely, people tend to ignore it, it is not an issue, but if you have to rethink it and think well are we now going to build a large new Catholic school but hang on only 7% of nominal Catholics attend Mass, thinking it from scratch is a different issue.

The first point to note here is whether Catholic schools are closing or merging because Catholics no longer practise or because, in some geographical locations, the critical mass of Catholic children required to sustain a school no longer exist, as a result of the drop in the birth rate in the Catholic community. As has been seen,

Catholic schools tend to be supported by the vast majority of the members of the wider Catholic community. The mergers and the joint campuses appear to be compromise solutions to the problem of falling rolls rather than falling practice rate within the Catholic community. Local authorities throughout Scotland are auditing school rolls and conducting rationalisation exercises to include Catholic and non-denominational schools alike The second point is that Professor Bruce appears, in this quote, to equate success for the Catholic schools measured in terms of church attendance rather than a combination of measures including Catholic schools as exemplars of academically successful and 'good' schools. The percentage of 7% of nominal Catholics attending Mass does not match the official statistics (Paterson et al., 2004).

Catholic schools are divisive

The arguments concerning the alleged divisiveness of Catholic schools in Scotland have been discussed in great depth in chapter seven. In this subsection the discussion will focus on the view that totally integrated schooling would ease tensions caused by divisions in society (possibly exacerbated by the Catholic schools) and promote greater tolerance between all learners. The anonymous academic argues (as was seen in chapter eight) that no form of schooling should legitimise difference that generates tensions. The anonymous academic offers an alternative vision of schools that are fully integrated with children of all beliefs and world views (to revisit a quote cited in chapter eight):

> [...] schools have a responsibility to promote communication, understanding and tolerance and it seems to me that this understanding, tolerance and communication are best promoted when people, even learners or young people engage with each other. The process of education it seems to me is optimised when people who have different views about the world and different views about their being, different views about their sense of deity and so on should engage with each other and not be separated or segmented into different kinds of institutions. So schooling therefore can only optimally work where people from different views come together and share these views and in no sense is this an anti-religious or an anti-Christian, or an anti catholic view. It is merely

a view of someone who works in the education system with a responsibility and indeed I see it as a duty of the educational system to promote this understanding and tolerance and in my view that can only happen when people and learners engage with each other.

It is not entirely clear how this vision is coherent with the strongly held view of this interviewee that religion and the state should be completely separate. The state schools, as fully funded by the state, would presumably be incorporated into this view of the strict philosophical separation. This appears to be a classic example of the irreconcilable complexity of 21st century Scottish society that seeks to accommodate diverse and conflicting philosophical perspectives. It could be argued that the philosophical separation of religion and state is an aspiration and the vision of integration of schooling is a sociological and educational compromise within this philosophical vision – one that is closer to the realisation of the philosophical aspiration of secularisation than Catholic schools (or any other form of faith schooling) would be.

The feasibility of dismantling Catholic schools

Professor Bruce and the anonymous academic, the two interviewees who are most strongly opposed to Catholic schools, do perceive that Catholic schools are a part of the Scottish school system and that simply disbanding them may not be a suitable course of action. This echoes the arguments proposed by Judge that were examined in chapter two. Professor Bruce comments:

> There is quite a separate question of whether we should disband them. It is vital to separate those two issues because, if you have a system, even if there is no good reason for it and a lot of people like that system, then you need some pressing reasons for disbanding it because you will upset them. That is the separate issue.

Professor Bruce acknowledges that Catholic schools are popular and it would need a pressing reason to disband them. He does not expand on this nor explain what a pressing reason would be, but it might be surmised from his comments that a pressing

reason does not currently exist. He does hold the view that it would be unwise to disband Catholic schools solely on philosophical grounds. The anonymous academic agrees that Catholic schools cannot be disbanded because of philosophical objections:

> Yes, when I say disbanded I didn't give you a timescale. I said in the 21st century. My view is not about closing them down. That would not be in our interests. I think many people do believe that they contribute added value something over and above and if they do, we need to understand what that added value is. The only way to do that is to subject the Catholic sector, in fact our schooling sector, to more rigorous research and to be able to get some of these answers before we then move in terms of national policy. That would be my way.

This view acknowledges that despite the political/philosophical objections, Catholic schools do appear to offer something extra. The interviewee believes that no action should be taken regarding Catholic schools until some careful scrutiny of the state school system has been undertaken.

Discussion

The examination of the views of the interviewees concerning the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland, using the spectrum as a descriptive and analytical tool, reveals a wide, complex and nuanced set of opinions and, as a result of this, the debate cannot be reduced to a simplistic polarisation of closed views (i.e. some support or some challenge the continued existence of Catholic schools). An important observation can be made: the status of expert interviewee is confirmed for many of the interviewees. As has been stated in chapter four, the interviewees were chosen because of their perceived expert status within educational, ecclesial and academic elites - there is substantial evidence that they have actively engaged in the debate concerning Catholic schools in Scotland and that they have a very good knowledge and understanding of the diverse strands of this debate. It was anticipated that the interviewees would have an informed opinion. The richness of the data from the interviews that has been presented and analysed in chapters five to nine, and the diverse strands of this debate that have emerged, arguably, confirm the expert status

of the interviewees. The configuration of the data in this chapter and the deeper analysis has extended the discussion as the experts have not just provided expert opinions about the position of Catholic schools in Scotland but have speculated about the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland and have speculated about possible futures and alternative futures. The 'adventurous' approach to theoretical development, or from another perspective, the theoretical 'risk taking' (Ball, 1994, pp.118-119), undertaken in this research has arguably been justified.

Within the context of this speculation (within the spectrum of views) one key theme to emerge is the variety of alternative models of schooling that are proposed: (1) the expansion of faith schools in Scotland for other Christian denominations and other faiths (though most frequently identified as Muslim); (2) the introduction of ecumenical or interfaith schools; (3) non-denominational schools that value religion and religious expression and (4) non-denominational schools that have no recognised religious dimension whether curricular or spiritual. It could be argued that models (1) and (4) are grounded in the current debate and present realisable possibilities, and models (2) and (3) are more speculative.

An intriguing theme to emerge within the strand of 'Catholic schools as historical anachronism' argument is what I will describe as *post-millennium reflection*. Professor Bruce, the anonymous academic and Dr Elliott all suggest that if Scotland were constructing the state school system 'from scratch', Catholic schools would be perceived to be 'unwise'. This *post-millennium reflection*, however, moves beyond the context of 'Catholic schools as historical anachronism' because the reflection considers the position of Catholic schools in the 21st century abstracted from the historical context. The dichotomy between secularism and pluralism underpins this discussion because while all of these interviewees engage in this *post-millennium reflection,* they all agree that Catholic schools cannot be dismantled because that would be invidious – partly because they are greatly valued by a particular religious/cultural group in contemporary Scotland that has a long and complex history and partly because they acknowledge the 21st century complexity of competing philosophical perspectives (secular state and pluralism).

Concluding remarks

The next chapter will examine, in depth, a number of the main strands of the discussion concerning the position and continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

The spectrum of views proposed in chapter ten can be interpreted to have a number of inter-connected implications for this debate in Scotland. Firstly, the spectrum presents sets of views that are not necessarily fixed but are more fluid and more complex. Secondly, this broadens the debate out from a debate that focuses solely on Catholic schools to inter-faith schools and ecumenical schools, no matter how speculative and under-developed the ideas. Thirdly, this draws the debate into deeper questions concerning faith schools and links this debate in Scotland more coherently to other debates, such as those in England and Wales and to different policy stances. Fourthly, this ultimately poses deeper questions concerning the place of religion in contemporary society.

One of the fascinating aspects of the spectrum of views is that eight out of sixteen interviewees belong to more than one of the categories on the spectrum. A notable aspect is the range of views expressed - the debate, according to the spectrum, is not a simple polarisation of views but a complex and nuanced range of different positions and counter-positions and, importantly, represents a tentativeness, at times, in these positions and, frequently, a certain level of self criticism. This chapter will analyse and discuss the main points that have emerged in chapter ten. This chapter will continue to use some of the conceptual tools employed throughout this thesis, but will also critically examine the use and effectiveness of some of these tools. This chapter is divided into two main sections: (1) the implications of the findings for Catholic schools in Scotland and (2) the implications of the findings for Scottish Education and Scottish society.

Implications of findings for Catholic schools

Introduction

This first section, dealing with the implications of the findings for Catholic schools, is divided into two main sub-sections. The first sub-section focuses on the history of Catholic schools in Scotland. The second sub-section examines the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland.

The history of Catholic schools in Scotland

This sub-section focuses on the history of Catholic schools in Scotland and begins with a discussion of the way in which Catholic schools have been contextualised within wider historical debates. The sub-section continues with a discussion of the application of smaller narratives, especially to two periods (1918 and the so-called 'Golden Age') and the possibilities of further research. The sub-section concludes by examining private versions of history and the importance of insider stories.

Contextualisation of Catholic schools

One of the aims of this thesis was to avoid being restricted in the approach to the history of Catholic schools, focussing, for example, on 'Acts and facts' (Aldrich, 2000). This thesis adopted an approach that accepted the view that the history of education should not be considered in isolation from general history and, further, that education should be seen as important in the general study of history. This thesis chose, then, to contextualise the history of Catholic schools within the broader history of education of Scotland and within the history of the Catholic community in Scotland. It has emerged that the inception and development of the post-Reformation Catholic community in Scotland is very closely linked to the development of the Irish Catholic community in Scotland. This thesis, in its adoption of a postmodern critique of historiography, has aimed to explore the variety in cultural and ethnic heritages within this Catholic community, and, consistent with this aim, has acknowledged and

explained the presence and importance of a small group of indigenous Scottish Catholics and Catholics from other national-cultural backgrounds (Italian, Lithuanian and Polish). Nevertheless the critical mass of Irish Catholics, or Catholics of Irish descent, was to prove the catalyst for the wider implementation of policy relating to Catholic schools. As has been seen, the history of this Catholic community of Irish descent has been (arguably) scarred by structural sectarianism and attitudinal prejudice, especially in the inter-war period of the 1920s and 1939s. The Catholic community, in response, has been at times defensive and, possibly, inward looking.

This history, divided into smaller narratives, is viewed by the interviewees, especially those with some form of Catholic background, from a perspective that is rooted in the contemporary experience of the history of Catholic schools and the Catholic community.

The use of smaller narratives

This thesis, consistent with the approach of a post-modern critique of historiography has identified and adopted the use of smaller narratives, and it has been acknowledged in chapter nine that these smaller narratives may also be adopted in a modernist historical approach. The smaller narratives that have been proposed by this thesis are drawn from the literature and the interviews. They are clearly an interpretive device, but they do, nevertheless, enable insight into the focus of the interviewees and this enables deeper analysis of some of the comments from the interviewees. This sub-section will examine periods 2 and 5 in some depth because these are the periods that the interviewees focus on in the interviews. This sub-section will conclude by arguing that the other periods are under discussed, and under researched, and suggest possible further research.

Period 2: the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act

The 1918 Education Act is perceived by many of the interviewees to be the foundation, or pivotal moment of fully state-funded Catholic schools in Scotland and its importance has been emphasised in many of the interviews. This thesis has proposed that the implications of this Act can be understood in terms of Catholic

schools, already part of the *public* discourse, becoming part of the *official* discourse. The schools were to be an invaluable resource and highly beneficial for the Catholic community. The state funding was, in time, to improve the quality of the school buildings and the resources available to the schools (Skinnider, 1967). The Catholic community was able to create a suitable learning environment for faith formational education and the preservation of a religious culture. An added advantage was that Catholic schools were able to offer job opportunities for Catholic teachers and Catholics, by entering the teaching profession (a state-funded and publicly esteemed teaching profession), were able to become socially mobile.

Some of the interviewees perceive this Act to be benevolent (especially to a minority viewed with some suspicion) but also perceive it to be educationally expedient as the government wanted a manageable system and compulsory education for all. It could also be argued that the Catholic Church, ultimately, had little option as their school system was disintegrating. Nevertheless, the Catholic schools were 'protected' or 'enshrined' in law, but at a period of time, and within a culture, of greater religious observance within all the mainstream Christian denominations in Scotland. The gulf between the Catholic schools and the non-denominational schools was maybe not as great as it is now perceived to be between these two sectors in contemporary Scotland: the non-denominational schools were widely perceived to be implicitly, if not explicitly, Presbyterian in ethos. The demands to protect the Catholic schools, while abhorrent to some anti-Catholic groups and individuals, could at least be more easily understood in 1918 when a much greater critical mass of people practised within the Protestant churches and understood the importance and relevance of religious instruction, devout teachers and prayer – even though they might be opposed to the Catholic versions of these (Brown, 2000). As the chain of memory has been partly lost in the Church of Scotland, the understanding of the history of the Church of Scotland, the relevance of Christianity and the importance of the expressions of belief are being rapidly lost (Church without Walls). Possibly, in some cases, all understanding of the importance of maintaining the chain of memory has been lost. In the early 21st century, the focus on the legal status of Catholic schools in Scotland may be an important external argument for the continued existence of Catholic schools, but is, arguably, a slightly weakened argument as the deeper cultural and religious understanding of why this legal status emerged, and, *according to the*

Catholic community, should be maintained, has, to a great extent, been lost within the wider population.

An interesting implication of the incorporation of Catholic schools into *official* history is that Catholic schools cannot now be detached from that history. This is the context in which to examine the *post-millennium reflections* of some of the interviewees. While it is interesting to reflect on alternative possible paths in history and while Catholic schools could conceivably be phased out, or die out, in Scotland, they cannot be phased out or extracted from the history of 20th and 21st century Scotland. This means that the *post-millennium reflections* are just that – *reflections*, and do not appear to be grounded in a recognition of the original educational, socio-economic and religious/cultural framework. This thesis has argued that one of the motivating factors for the 1918 Act was expediency: the government wanted a national system of education and could not allow the inconsistent and increasingly under-resourced Catholic sector to continue; the crumbling edifice of the Catholic sector could not sustain itself for much longer. The *post-millennium reflections*, on one level, appear to be aspirations to end the 'inconvenience' of Catholic schools, not only in contemporary Scotland but also in historical memory. On another level, they may represent other types of insider stories. Professor Bruce and the anonymous academic, according to the conceptual analysis used in this thesis, have been identified as 'weak' secularists. Dr Elliott comes from a Church of Scotland background. These positions bring their own form of insider status and insider story.

Period 5: The golden age

The golden age appears to exist, in many ways, both in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic success, and some of the Catholic interviewees, in the light of this double success, find the criticisms of Catholic schooling illogical. The external validation created by positive external and internal publicity and government support for Catholic schools has created a high level of self esteem within the Catholic school system that appears to be offset by more negative publicity and press debates hostile to Catholic schools. This conception of a golden age, however, can be interpreted in a number of ways. Firstly, revisiting a point raised in chapter nine is the conception of a golden age simply a form of modernist historical thinking - the history of Catholic schooling is

perceived to have progressed to this 'dazzling' outcome? Is the golden age some form of 'grand vision of progress'? (Breisach, 2003) Perhaps this is not surprising as the modernist approach to history has, according to Jenkins remained resolute in the face of the challenge of postmodernism and, furthermore, the modernist approach would probably have been the approach that would have been experienced by the interviewees in any school study or further study of history (Jenkins, 2003). While acknowledging that the modernist perspective of the interviewees may be understandable, a key question emerges: can the golden age be substantiated within a modernist interpretation? One of the arguments used to support this golden age, is that the leadership in Catholic schools has improved dramatically and this has greatly enhanced Catholic schooling. This, of course, is within a context of enhanced leadership within Scottish schooling. Yet recent studies have demonstrated that leadership within Catholic schools in previous periods was not just pivotal to the success of Catholic schools but provided exemplars of effective leadership for Scottish schooling as a whole (O'Hagan, 2006, McKinney, 2006b). The leadership roles undertaken by many members of the religious orders throughout a number of the smaller narratives were crucial to the establishment, success and continued existence of Catholic schools. Secondly, drawing a general observation from the first point, how much knowledge and understanding does the Catholic community have of the smaller narratives other than periods 2 and 5 (and maybe aspects of 4)?

While it is understandable that people focus on the present age and the challenges of 21st century Scotland, the historical illiteracy suggested by Professor Devine, may, then, extend to the internal understanding of the history of Catholic schooling within the Catholic community. There appears, at times, to be insufficient knowledge and understanding of the previous stages of Catholic schools causing a conceptual disjuncture with previous smaller narratives, or, from another perspective, a disjuncture in the chain of memory. If the history of Catholic schools is to be perceived as linear and progressive, within a modernist perspective, then, harder evidence and more structured explanations would have to be brought to bear to substantiate this perception. It could also be that a postmodernist historiographal critique would reveal aspects of the history of Catholic schooling in Scotland that can be perceived to be more cyclical than linear, more disjointed than necessarily progressive.

Further research

It has been seen that some periods have been discussed more than others. The discussion by the interviewees of the 1872 Act, albeit limited, and the more concerted focus on the 1918 Act is understandable as these Acts prepared the way for the Scottish national public school system that included state funded Catholic schools. The focus on the introduction of comprehensive education in the 1960s is equally understandable as this was to have a major impact as equality of opportunity for school qualifications and higher qualifications became more of a reality. It has emerged, however, from the discussion and also from the literature, that there are areas of the history of Catholic schools that are under-discussed and under-researched. The periods between 1918 and the early 60s (identified in this thesis as periods three and four) are seriously neglected. The history of Catholic schools in Scotland, immediately subsequent to the 1918 Act, is discussed in detail by interviewees and authors but becomes increasingly sketchy prior to the 1960s and is similarly sketchy between the 1960s and 1990s. The work begun by O'Hagan (2006), for example, focussing on the contribution of the religious orders to Catholic schooling in Scotland pre-1918 could be extended to the post-1918 period. The link between the emerging Catholic middle class and these schools in Glasgow would be a useful and illuminating project. Deeper research could be conducted into the growth and development of Catholic schooling in the post-war population boom of the 1960s and 1970s. It is interesting to note that academics, on the whole, perhaps unwittingly, have adopted smaller narratives, often focussing on these as a response to external pressure. The persistent examination and re-examination of the 1918 Act, for example, is to re-state the legal status of Catholic schools, in the academic and popular spheres, to counter the perceived attacks on this form of schooling.

Private versions of history

It has been noted that many of the writers and commentators of this history (or aspects of this history) of the Catholic community / Catholic schools and of the contemporary academic discussion hold insider views. This insider status has been identified and challenged by this thesis as a status that should be openly acknowledged and subjected to critical evaluation, both internally and externally. Within the scope of this research, the insider status has affected, for example, the way in which the interviewees have used or constructed history, especially in their use of private versions of history. These private versions of history appear to be combinations of (a) autobiographical experiences (b) distinctive personal interpretations of these experiences and (c) accounts of the history of the community. These private versions of history can also be linked to the use of religious language/concepts. Are these cases of the creation of sustaining mythologies as suggested by De Vos (1995)? Possibly, but is this inevitable from people who belong, in some way, to a mainstream religious tradition (in this case Christian)? It could be argued that the preservation of story and the continuity of identity through story in religion, cultures and ethnicities is one of the major ways that people acknowledge and preserve chains of memory and one of the major ways to develop a self understanding and identity (and possibly different but converging stories can create multiple identities) (Bausch, 1984). The use of story is central to the preservation of Christian life and to the preservation of the chain of memory, not least in the prominence accorded to scriptures. The construction of the battle with secularism in terms of light and darkness, for example, appears, on one level, to provide these interviewees with a metaphor to express the deep concern that some of them have concerning the challenge of secularism. On a deeper level the metaphor demonstrates the recourse to Christian motifs to enable them to understand the 'battle'.

If secularism, as suggested by Dr MacMillan, is simply replacing religion with another form of orthodoxy, this concept of secularism may not be able to co-exist coherently with the concept of a multi-cultural, multi-faith, multi-ethnic society. The use of the light and darkness motif, however, could be interpreted as a little dramatic and as problematic because it appears to polarise the debate. The thesis has demonstrated, albeit in a limited way, that there are degrees of secularism (strong and

weak) in Scotland and there are different ways of understanding religious adherence. Perhaps further and deeper identification and clarification of the variety of secular and religious positions would reveal the complexity of the debate, but also enable a greater understanding and less suspicion and mistrust between the proponents of different views.

The use of the private version of history can be perceived to be important for the debate on Catholic schools and the position of Catholics in contemporary society for a number of reasons. Some of the stories recounted by the interviewees appear to be well rehearsed (Mgr Chambers, Dr Clegg) suggesting previous use. The other striking aspect is that the majority of the interviewees are recounting negative experiences. Part of the use of the private version of history is the opportunity to express the effects of sectarianism and hostility. It may be that some of the stories have been further dramatised or exaggerated for effect, but that is not as important as the fact that these stories are being expressed, because they apparently reveal the more unpalatable negative and painful experiences of the insider history of the Catholic community. Once these experiences have been expressed, however, they can be examined, discussed and even challenged. The use of the postmodern critique of historiography is highly beneficial in this process: it provides the minorities and the marginalised with the opportunity to express, disseminate and engage with their own histories, including the more negative and painful experiences. It allows history to be complex and messy – there are no easy ways to view the sociological and psychological mix of experiences; the dissemination of these stories allows outsiders greater insight into insider stories and stances, but also provides scope for outsiders to understand the insider stories and to engage more critically with these stories and challenge them and offer alternative versions of private histories or different perspectives. This can be contrasted with the Scottish Executive's *One Scotland Many Cultures* initiative that seeks to celebrate the diversity of Scottish society, but does not always allow the chains of memory to be truly expressed. The initiative is inconsistent because it does not always engage with the more negative and painful aspects of the experiences of national-cultural, religious and ethnic groups.[86] The negative and painful aspects appear to have been subsumed into a more optimistic reading of these histories.

The continued existence of Catholic schools

This sub-section examines some of the main arguments that emerged in chapter ten supporting the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland: Catholic schools as successful; Catholic schools are supported by the Catholic community and Catholic schools support Catholic identity. The sub-section concludes by discussing the emergence of new forms of Catholic schooling.

Catholic schools as successful

A number of the interviewees commented on the success of Catholic schools in Scotland. This success is perceived to be in terms of education, beneficial social environment and in promotion of spiritual and moral values (the issue of aiding social mobility will be examined in section two). This success can be viewed from a number of perspectives. Firstly, while not trying to detract from this success, Professor Gerry Finn argues that the claims for this success are not always based on hard empirical evidence and research in England has demonstrated that the success of faith schools is clearly evident, but maybe not necessarily as *more* successful than other schools. Lindsay Paterson's research suggests that, ultimately, Catholic schools and non-denominational schools in Scotland are equally successful in terms of educational results. This thesis argues that it may be a misconception to presume that Catholic schools are necessarily more successful than non-denominational schools in any or all of these factors – socially, spiritually or morally. In some cases they may be more successful, in other cases less successful – just as one Catholic school may be more or less successful than another (and the same can be stated concerning different non-denominational schools). The Catholic schools are often perceived to have some added dimension – probably as a result of the clarity and focus of a religious rationale. While these *perceptions* are clearly important, one of the key issues is the type of evidence that has been used to substantiate these claims and inform this discussion.

The types of evidence used by the interviewees to support the claims that Catholic schools are successful have been discussed in chapter seven: inferential; personal experience; observational; independent and external Government sources and research. The accumulation of these types of evidence, with appropriate weighting

attached, does appear to provide a body of evidence for the success of Catholic schools, though this body of evidence has been collated by 'insiders' in the Catholic school debate, sympathetic towards Catholic schools. These personal observations and government reports can be viewed, in academic terms, as common and professional perceptions and can be valued as such. They can also be used as the basis for the construction of *empirical* support for more concrete claims. These common perceptions can, in other words, be the framework within which to establish research questions and strategies and engage in further research into the success of Catholic schools. In this respect, the anonymous academic is probably correct – deeper research is required to identify the dominant features of success and gauge the extent of the success of Catholic schools in Scotland.

Nonetheless, the argument that Catholic schools should continue to exist because of their great popularity, while seemingly superficial and open to philosophical challenges is, on a number of levels, a difficult argument to ignore or refute. The sociological and educational popularity of Catholic schools, within and without the Catholic community, creates sensitivity within political parties and local government towards Catholic schools. The parents of the children attending Catholic schools are voters and education is an important feature of the political agenda in Scotland. During the final stages of the writing of this thesis, the Green Party may have lost votes and seats in the Scottish Elections of 2007 because of a call for a separation of church and state and the integration of Catholic schools.[87] Further, and perhaps more speculatively, the inclusion of large numbers of Muslim children in some Catholic schools in Scotland may be a convenient solution, or compromise, to the question of Muslim schools in Scotland. The existence of large numbers of Muslim girls, for example, in the all-girls Notre Dame secondary school in Glasgow may be perceived to be more acceptable than the establishment of a comparable Muslim girl's school in Glasgow. Perhaps the examples of Iqra Academy and Imam Muhammad Zakariya School have provided evidence that some forms of Muslim school are clearly incompatible with the expectations of the Scottish education system and there is anxiety that the incorporation of Muslim schools into the state system would not be accomplished with ease (this will be discussed further in section 2).

Catholic schools are supported by the Catholic community

The *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* arguments (though they are clearly connected) for and against the existence of Catholic schools are useful lenses and help to differentiate between the different perspectives concerning Catholic schools. One theme that has emerged is the balance that must be maintained by the Catholic schools between these lenses. This, in a sense, exemplifies one of the major tensions for Catholic schools – they are part of a national state school system and yet they are also unique. The tension, from an external perspective, is between uniformity and pluriformity. Some educationalists and academics would wish to see greater uniformity in the national state system on social and educational grounds, others on religious and cultural grounds. The tension, from an internal perspective, is between the intrinsic and extrinsic - perhaps some of the Catholic schools, to maintain their uniqueness, need to identify, clarify and develop a deeper understanding of the nature of the intrinsic and extrinsic lenses and the implications of the tension between the two for the Catholic schools. Professor Haldane, focussing on the tension of this balance, argues that Catholic schools must ensure that they do not argue for their justification on extrinsic grounds alone. It could be equally argued that Catholic schools, as fully funded state schools, cannot argue for their justification on intrinsic grounds alone. Perhaps this is one of the difficulties being experienced by the Muslim lobby groups that seek Islamic schools in Scotland. The independent Muslim schools did not manage to achieve a balance between intrinsic and extrinsic grounds for Islamic schools, focussing too heavily on intrinsic grounds, especially theological rationale, and this was reflected in their ethos and approach to curriculum.

It is interesting to note that many of the interviewees, including those who support Catholic schools, were more focussed on the extrinsic arguments and many appeared to have a very vague formal knowledge and understanding of the intrinsic rationale of Catholic schools. Perhaps this vagueness can be comprehended within the context of one of the internal challenges for this balance between intrinsic and extrinsic that has been identified by Professors Carr and Haldane and Dr Clegg. It becomes clear from their statements and analysis of their comments that the Catholic community does not necessarily have a unified theological vision and that different theological viewpoints

are reflected in different expectations not just of the aims and outcomes of Catholic schools, but also of the criteria for authenticity of Catholic schooling.

The reasons Catholic parents send their children to Catholic schools appear to be quite complex. Professor Finn argues that there are many reasons for choosing Catholic schools, including ill-informed or partly informed choices. Frances Gilpin, on the other hand, argues, from her experience, that parents are very well informed. Interestingly the debate as discussed by the interviewees in this research focuses more on the concept of a variety of reasons - whether the parents are informed or not and the connection with forms of cultural identity for choosing Catholic schools - rather than the idea that parents may have mixed motives. This would be an important area for further research.

In the 21st century, a serious internal challenge is being created for Catholic schools in Scotland as increasing numbers of Catholic children from less religiously observant Catholic homes attend Catholic schools. Their families may have a weak sense of, or may have lost, the chain of memory that unites them to Catholicism as a religion. The Catholic school may face tension as it seeks to articulate the rationale and identity to these children and their parents. This may be no easy task because if, as Professor Devine suggests, there is an historical illiteracy, then similarly a theological, or religious illiteracy exists as these children and parents have never been familiar with this language or have lost the understanding of the language, and live in a contemporary society that, according to a number of interviewees, has lost a general knowledge and understanding of Christianity and beliefs of Christianity. This disjuncture between some of the children and the understanding of the intrinsic rationale of a Catholic school may become more pronounced as the effects of school mergers emerge (this will be further discussed in a later sub-section of this chapter). There is a related external challenge in that it may not be clear that parents of non-Catholic children fully understand the aims and purpose of Catholic schools, but simply perceive Catholic schools as a successful form of schooling. They may have little knowledge, or interest, in the theological rationale of the Catholic school (this will be further discussed in section 2 of this chapter).

Catholic schools support Catholic identity

There are a number of lenses that have been used in this thesis to examine Catholic identity. Bradley's three tier categorisation of practice level has been used to explore the diversity of practice in the Scottish Catholic community (ranging from the regular church attendees to the virtually unchurched). This is a useful lens but has to be acknowledged as a working generalisation. The thesis has also outlined a range of national-cultural affiliations that have been identified and explored in this thesis – Irish, Scottish indigenous, Italian, Lithuanian and Polish (McKinney, 2007b). Further, this thesis has examined the national-cultural affiliation of Irish Catholics and explored the idea that some members of the secular Catholic strand of Catholic identity have deconstructed the Irish-Catholic-immigrant and reconstructed it as Irish-immigrant. Further, the thesis has discussed the tensions emerging in Catholic schools as the number of Catholics seeking Catholic schooling for religious purposes, as opposed to tribal/cultural purposes, decreases.

The adoption of the chain of memory from the 'Church without Walls' has proved to be a useful interpretative tool to understand this tension caused by diversity of identity and diversity of combination of identities. It could be argued that the concept of chain of memory can be applied to different strands of memory in such a way that one particular aspect of memory and associated identity takes precedence – eg. religious or national, and it could be proposed, then, that one of the aims of the Catholic school, amid these conflicting chains of memory, is to restore, or reprioritise, the r*eligious* chain of memory for the Catholic community. One of the challenges, then, for Catholic schools, is to restore this religious chain of memory where it has been lost or is very weak.

This thesis has attempted to understand some of the complexity of the historical and contemporary identity of not just the 'Catholic' community in Scotland, but also the 'Protestant' community.[88] These two communities merit further research. This thesis has adopted the lenses outlined above, but in a tentative manner. Any deeper understanding of the combination of national, cultural and religious identities would require deeper research. In a sense, it is easier to understand the identity of those who do have a religious dimension to their Catholic or Protestant identity, and especially

those who practise. This is because there are established criteria of what a Catholic or Protestant is supposed to believe and how they should behave, even though people do not always live up to the criteria. The regular contact with the organised religion provides a reminder of the communal story. As this chain of memory had been eroded for some Catholics and Protestants, the religious dimension, if retained at all, is subject to other cultural influences – and there are no easily identified criteria for these emerging identities.

The emergence of new forms of Catholic schooling

The introduction of school closures / mergers and joint campuses will impact on Catholic schooling in a number of ways, not least in diversifying the number of models of Catholic schooling. Changing demographics and fall in the birth rate in some areas mean that a smaller number of Catholic schools are required, yet this will mean more children, and especially primary age children, travelling to a school that is some distance from their home. Aside from the health and safety aspects of this development, there are challenges for the Catholic school system. More schools will be representative of a *number* of local communities and, for many children, will no longer be the 'local' school. It could be argued that the children will lose the sense of belonging to a local school community, but it could be counter-argued that they would now belong to a wider school community, comprising smaller communities. It may, in some instances, be more problematic than simply opting to negotiate a wider school community. Some Catholic parents may opt to send their children to the local non-denominational school, because that is perceived to be the easily accessed local school and their children would not have to travel. Equally a larger percentage of non-Catholic parents may wish to send their children to the local Catholic school if it is perceived to be the local school and also a good school. This will have an effect on the ratio of Catholics and non-Catholics in both Catholic and non-denominational schools.

The establishment of joint campuses in the early 21st century attracted a huge amount of media publicity (MacKinnon, 2004, Smith, 2004). The Catholic Church may not have chosen, nor opted for, the recent increase in joint campuses, as their preferred solution to decreasing rolls. These joint campuses can be perceived in different ways:

as unwelcome challenges or as a new opportunity. Perhaps the response may depend upon theological position and criteria for the authenticity of Catholic schools. Professor Carr has stated that Catholic schools have been inclusive of diverse theological viewpoints and positions. Perhaps joint campus schools will bring this diversity and the different positions such as those that were articulated by Professor Haldane and Dr Clegg to the fore. There appears, for example, to be a theological position of Catholicism and Catholic schools that Catholicism *per se*, and the nurture of a Catholic faith, is the most important aim of Catholic schooling. The young Catholic is prepared, in epistemological terms, maybe even steeped in his/her own faith, and able to counter attack and criticism. An alternative position would be the idea of the Catholic being within the world – open to, and in dialogue, with other denominations, other faiths and other perspectives in life. Those adhering to the first position, a position of greater exclusivity, would have difficulty in negotiating a Catholic rationale for a joint campus school. Those adhering to the second position, a position of greater inclusively, while not free from the difficulty of balancing Catholic formation/identity and openness, would find it easier to negotiate a rationale for a Joint campus school. There would be a similar contrast between people who hold inclusive or exclusive concepts of Catholic cultural or secular identity. The challenge for the Catholic school system may not just be the configuring, or re-configuring, of a rationale that can be adapted in merged schools and joint campuses, but the explicit emerging prominence of a previously quasi-implicit internal dialogue concerning the theological expectations of Catholic schools.

The implications of the findings for Scottish education and Scottish society

Introduction

The spectrum highlights the tension between the perceptions of Scottish education as uniform and as pluriform (MacPherson and Raab, 1988). From one perspective, the spectrum acknowledges a wider range of possibilities for Scottish education - possibilities that may not all be actualised, but do present visions of education that encompass and embrace pluriformity of models of schooling. The spectrum proposes different models of faith schooling, including inter-denominational and inter-faith schools as enriching Scottish education. This suggests that a variety of contemporary

faith groups value the possibility of other forms of faith schooling. From another perspective, the spectrum presents views that, while Catholic schools should not be dismantled, they are anachronistic, divisive and unhelpful and, further, the development and growth of faith schools should be discouraged. Faith education is a private enterprise that is to be conducted exclusively by the religious groups themselves. This subsection examines these issues under the headings of: Catholic schools: aids to social mobility?; are Catholic schools an anachronism?; sectarianism and Catholic schools in Scotland; Catholic schools provide choice in the Scottish school system; other forms of faith schooling and alternative models of faith schools and more openness to faith in non-denominational schools.

Catholic schools: aids to social mobility?

One of the arguments raised by the interviewees is that Catholic schools, founded to enable social mobility of the impoverished Catholic population, have aided the social mobility of large numbers of Catholics and now these schools, having achieved this goal, have become an anachronism. As has been seen (chapter eight) the argument is one that those who oppose Catholic schools do not consider to be particularly strong and acknowledge that that there were, and are, other reasons to establish and maintain Catholic schools. Perhaps, further examination of the argument may reveal why these interviewees had reservations. The argument is constructed as a comparative argument: in the past a small number of Catholics were socially mobile; Catholic schools have slowly aided the social mobility of a larger number of Catholics and there are now more socially mobile Catholics than there were. Catholic schools are no longer required and are an anachronism. This comparison is, ultimately, however, unhelpful because while a larger percentage of members of the Catholic community are now socially mobile, many members of the Catholic community (and other members of Scottish society) are not only not socially mobile, but reflect the high level of poverty in 21st century Scotland. To claim that social mobility has been achieved for the Catholic community *per se* would be erroneous. To claim that social mobility has been achieved for a *greater number* of the Catholic community compared to periods of previous smaller narratives would be correct, but that must be examined within the context of the smaller narratives to understand the full implications of this comparison.

Period 1 (pre-1918) and Period 2 (1918) represent periods when many Catholics were still struggling to survive in the urban context. One of the challenges facing Catholic schools was that many children left schools as early as possible to begin earning and contribute to the family income. Period 3 (1920s and 1930s) represents a time of chronic economic depression. This was also a time (1921-1930) when large numbers of Scots emigrated to the United States, England and Wales and Canada.[89] Within Taylor's threefold typology, these Scots would be *resultant migrants* (Bonevea and Frieze, 2001*).* Darragh (1978) argues that it is reasonable to assume that this emigration included members of the Catholic community and that possibly they were 'over-represented' because of their low social status. Period 4 (1940s to 1970s) represents a war period and severe shortages of all goods up until the late 1950s/early 1960s and emigration overseas probably numbered about 900,000.[90] Again, it would be reasonable to assume that members of the Catholic community were at least proportionally represented in this emigration. Period 5 (1980s to 2005) does represent a period of financial growth – but not for all members of the Catholic community, as a large percentage of this community appear to belong to the economic underclass (Gallagher, 1987, Boyle and Lynch, 1998).

Within the context of the smaller narratives, two points can be made. Firstly, given that the only real periods of sustained economic development of growth appear to have been at the end of period 4 and within some parts of period 5, it is hardly surprising that members of the Catholic community have become proportionally more socially mobile than they were as more of the general population have become more socially mobile (Paterson and Ianelli, 2006). There remains an underlying suspicion within the Catholic community that this social mobility for Catholics is possibly as a result of the extraneous factors and separate Catholic schools. Secondly, the high percentage of members of the Catholic community who belong to an economic underclass remains. To return to the argument for social mobility, it is clear that Catholic schools have contributed enormously to the social mobility of the Catholic community, but within the context of the extraneous factors and general economic growth and development, so it becomes difficult to quantify the specific contribution of Catholic schools within this complex set of interlinked components. Secondly, the evidence suggests that many members of the Catholic community have not become

socially mobile and, according to the argument, Catholic schools have either failed or still have a role to play in the expansion of the economic prosperity of the Catholic community. Either way, the fundamental flaw in this discussion is located in the original argument that focuses on one single component, Catholic schools (albeit an important one), of the complex interlinked web of components that helped members of the Catholic community (and many of these components helped many other members of Scottish society) to become socially mobile.

Are Catholic schools an anachronism?

There is another sense in which Catholic schools can be perceived to be an anachronism. Professor Bruce has argued that Catholic schools are anachronistic because a critical mass of Catholics no longer practise. This has already been partly addressed in chapter five, where it was argued that the Catholic school is the arena in which the fall in practice rate can be identified and highlighted. It could be stated that a sociological response to Professor Bruce's argument that Catholic schools no longer fulfil one of their functions would that be that he is correct – in sociological terms, but the response to Professor Bruce's comments may be different within the context of theological perspectives. The theological outlook that is exemplified in the views of Professor Haldane appears to develop criteria for practice through identification of external observance and transmission of the faith. This perspective may lead to an analysis of the effectiveness of contemporary Catholic schools that is similar to the analysis of Professor Bruce. If we adopt the theological outlook that is exemplified in the views of Dr Clegg, then, this outlook is more concerned with internal attitudes and transformation and may be more difficult to measure and quantify. The application of these theological perspectives, of course, shifts the focus of the debate from a sociological discussion to a theological one. Professor Bruce, as a sociologist, may reject these perspectives as irrelevant to the sociological argument (that is concerned with measurable external criteria). Nevertheless, it could be argued that a theological response to Professor Bruce's argument that Catholic schools no longer fulfil one of their functions may not be correct – in theological terms (depending on the theological position adopted).

Sectarianism and Catholic schools

Sectarianism is an issue that appears to be continually linked with Catholic schools. None of the interviewees has articulated the view that Catholic schools are the cause of sectarianism or that Catholic schools encourage or promote sectarianism. On the contrary, some of them claim that it is antithetical to the rationale of a Catholic school to promote or cause sectarianism. Catholic schools, it would appear, are not perceived to be intrinsically linked to sectarianism. The Scottish Executive steers clear of such intrinsic links, but others such as the media tend, for whatever reason (even to blandly raise sales), to report or suggest such a link (Seenan, 2006). In the context of this line of argument, perhaps some of the interviewees are justified in their condemnation of the media and alleged media distortion.

Some of the interviewees, however, believe that Catholic schools are linked by association and, in this respect, Catholic schools are unhelpful. This discussion is set against a canvas of debate about the extent of sectarianism in Scotland. The focus on period 3, in terms of the wider history of the Scottish Catholic community rather than the history of Catholic schools, suggests that many interviewees perceive this as a period when both attitudinal and structural sectarianism was intense as some factions of the Church of Scotland attempted to legitimise structural sectarianism. Dr Bradley argues that sectarianism still exists but manifests itself in different and less easily discerned ways. A number of interviewees, however, argue that sectarianism and the effects of sectarianism have diminished in recent years. Professor Devine argues that structural sectarianism has almost disappeared although some residual attitudinal sectarianism persists. Professor Bruce thinks sectarianism is greatly exaggerated and challenges the Scottish Executive and other academics to provide evidence of the extent of sectarianism. His arguments carry some weight because the lack of precision in the definition and identification of expressions of sectarianism means that the parameters of the debate are very unclear.

Within the context of this lack of clarity it is perhaps understandable, as Professor Devine, suggests, that people, thinking on a superficial level, associate Catholic schools with sectarianism. Catholic schools are unhelpful, the argument states,

because they accentuate differences. The argument that Catholic schools are linked to sectarianism by association, however, is itself unhelpful. Following this line of argument, Catholic churches are linked to sectarianism by association – as are Protestant churches. Practising Catholic and Protestant people are linked to sectarianism by association. Those who are within the mainstream Christian churches, and within the context of ecumenism in Scotland in the 20th and 21st centuries, do not perceive their membership of different denominations as linked to sectarianism by association. Many of those who work in, or attend, Catholic schools do not perceive themselves to be associated with sectarianism, yet there is something about Catholic schooling in Scotland that appears to enable this association to be made. Perhaps the answer partly lies in the success of the ecumenical movement which has marginalised the more secular / cultural forms of Catholicism and Protestantism where (with some forms of secular identity) much of the residual sectarianism appears to reside. These secular forms of Catholic and Protestant identity have weak links (at best) with, or have broken, the chain of memory and have become increasingly estranged from their religious roots and contemporary ecumenical dialogue. Nevertheless, those who adhere to these identities live in society and participate in the mainstream educational system. Another part of the answer lies, paradoxically, with the inclusivity of the Catholic schools in Scotland. They do not select on the basis of commitment to religious practice and, as a result, include the vast majority of the members of the Catholic community, including those from a secular Catholic background. Similarly, the majority of those from a secular Protestant background will attend a non-denominational school. This does not negate the possibility of sectarian attitudes being held by other parents, teachers and pupils, and Catholic and non-denominational schools, like all public institutions, must be alert to this possibility and act as a corrective influence (the Catholic school acting also in coherence with its self-proclaimed Catholic Christian vision of life). This draws us into a highly sensitive area, the concept of children having sectarian attitudes, and possibly explains why the association between Catholic schools and sectarianism is often vague and unsubstantiated. This is clearly an area for further research, but in such a sensitive area, particularly challenging research.

Catholics schools provide choice in the Scottish school system

The argument that Catholic schools provide diversity and choice within the Scottish schools system is a curious argument. It is based of the premise that choice is a good thing. Presumably it is also based on the implicit understanding that the choice is a choice between a number of good (equally good?) options, otherwise would there be a real choice? The argument is perhaps more problematic than it appears. A percentage of parents, Catholic and non-Catholic parents who send their children to Catholic schools, do appear to commit to Catholic schooling by exercising this choice and some interviewees suggest that this is an informed choice (Mrs Gilpin, Mr McGrath). Other parents, however, as suggested by a number of interviewees, do not really choose to send their children to Catholic schools but send them because 'they are there' or 'it's almost like a tribal thing' (Bishop Devine) or 'they don't want to send them to that other place' (Professor Conroy) or revisiting Professor Finn's comments (my insertion in italics):

> Some (*choose Catholic schools*) out of loyalty to, as they see it, their broader community. Some probably because they wouldn't think of going anywhere else, they are not even aware that perhaps there is an option to go anywhere else, and some because that is just what you do, it is part of that kind of whole historical tendency.

This parental choice, then, for these Catholic parents does not always seem to be an actual choice, but an almost predetermined action based on loyalty, historical tendency or even a negative view, however ill-informed, of the alternative. It would appear, somewhat ironically, that many of the people who are possibly making an actual parental 'choice' are the non-Catholic parents who send their children to Catholic schools because, as part of their choice for Catholic schools, they must choose not to send their children to non-denominational schools.

Further, does the Catholic educational community propose that Catholic schools are a *choice* for Catholic parents, or do they expect Catholic parents to support Catholic schools? Professor Haldane has stated that schooling pe*r se* has arisen as an historical

'division of labour', but not a necessary form of education. This thesis has argued that Catholic schools should be viewed as a specialised form of the 'division of labour' though, adopting Professor Haldane's distinction, are not the necessary form of Catholic education. In acknowledging and adhering to this philosophical distinction, it is important to note that Catholic parents are not legally bound to send their child to a Catholic school and that some send their children to non-denominational schools or other forms of schools, or engage in home schooling.[91] It is clear, however, that Catholic schools in Scotland are currently perceived to be the preferred route for Catholic education and an integral part of the Home-School-Church triangle of support for Catholic children. It is also clear that the vast majority of Catholic children attend Catholic schools, and have done for some considerable time.

Should the argument that Catholic schools provide choice be reformulated to state that the legal existence of Catholic schools provides diversity in schooling that recognises the needs of a particular faith group and also provides, in many instances, a choice for people outside that faith group? There are a number of implications of this reformulation. Firstly, it may explicitly highlight the difference or otherness of Catholic schools more than the argument that they provide choice. The reformulation acknowledges that one particular faith group has opted to act upon the provision for faith schooling in the 1918 Act. Secondly, could the suggested reformulation focus the discussion on the possibility of other new forms of faith schools? The argument for choice can lead into this discussion, but does the reformulation actively highlight this discussion? The reformulation may open up other areas of discussion that some supporters of Catholic schools may wish to avoid, but arguably, it is a clearer and more coherent argument, in the view of this thesis, than the logically misleading argument from choice.

To conclude this subsection, let us return to the question of non-Catholic parents who send their children to Catholic schools. The spectrum and the findings of the research concerning the increasing support for Catholic schools from non-Catholic parents highlight this as an area that requires considerable research. Catholic schools, within comparisons that include socio-economic parity or adjustment, are as academically successful as non-denominational schools, but appear to offer something extra and have become increasingly attractive to non-Catholics. Schools are acknowledged to

be complex institutions and serve multiple functions, but parental expectations of schools are equally complex and not always simply focussed on academic achievement. The motives for non-Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools appear to be complex and mixed and focus on a combination of attainment, achievement, ethos, discipline and a coherent set of morals and values. Empirical research would help to uncover the socio-economic, cultural and religious background of these parents and the weighting attached to each of these components by these parents. This would provide some insight into parental aspirations and models of effective schooling as envisaged by groups of parents (McKinney, 2006a). This may reveal that some parents prefer some form of explicit religious value system incorporated into state school education, or who, at the very least, are able to accept aspects of explicit faith formational education in another denomination or religion to enable their children to receive/experience the other perceived benefits of Catholic schools. This type of research would not only provide empirical data concerning the aspirations of parents but would also inform policy making within the Scottish school system.

Other forms of faith schooling

It is common for the supporters of Catholic schools (and others engaged in the debate) to list the other forms of state funded faith schooling in Scotland to highlight the diversity of faith schooling. This is evident in some of the interviews (e.g. Mr McGrath) and the Scottish Executive lists a range of state funded faith schools that exist in Scotland on its website.[92] Nevertheless, despite these constant references, this thesis considers the Scottish faith school debate in Scotland to be ultimately quite limited. The Jewish primary school seldom features in the interviews, or in the literature. There is much confusion over whether the alleged Episcopalian primary schools exist or not, but even if they do exist as quasi-Episcopalian schools their theological rationale is not mentioned, nor, for that matter, any other detail concerning their existence and operation – neither in the interviews, nor in the literature. The references to other existing forms of faith schools in Scotland, both in the literature and the interviews, are, therefore, simply references. There is no evidence of any substantial academic discussion of other contemporary forms of faith schools in Scotland. Further, the interviewees are not agreed if the contemporary

lobby for Muslim schools has a bearing, never mind a significant bearing, on the faith school debate in Scotland.

The Muslim lobby for a Muslim school in Scotland, nonetheless, has become stronger. The density of Muslim population in Scotland has never been as great as in parts of England and although they may not be able to exert the same pressure, perhaps the Scottish Muslim communities have been encouraged by the successes of the Muslim communities in England (McKinney, 2007b). The two attempts to establish private Muslim schools in Scotland have failed because the narrow education that was offered did not appear to cohere with the aims of liberal 21st century Scottish education. This could be interpreted as meaning that there should be no Muslim schools in Scotland, or certainly none conceived on the models used at Iqra Academy or Imam Muhammad Zakariya School. Alternatively it could be interpreted that the state is acknowledged to be the only organisation properly equipped to finance and resource Muslim schools and monitor the scope of the curriculum and educational practices. This is a role that the state may not wish to undertake not least, as Fr Chambers has pointed out, because of the financial implications of establishing these new faith schools.

When Muslim schools are discussed in the interviews, they are discussed in a number of ways. They are discussed as: (1) an equality issue; (2) in reference to the debate in England; (3) in reference to liberal democracy and requirements of a liberal education. Despite these attempts to address some key issues in the debate concerning state-funded Muslim schools in Scotland, the discussion concerning Muslim schools in Scotland appears almost disjointed from the main debate. There is a sense in which the interviewees struggle to locate an appropriate context, conceptual language and conceptual tools for this discussion of Muslim schools. This is partly because this is a relatively new discussion. Perhaps this is also partly because of the historical limits of the faith school debate in Scotland – its main focus, context and conceptual language is, and has been, Christianity. As has been seen, however, this Christianity is perceived to be predominantly Catholic and Presbyterian Protestant (inclusive of all the different forms of Christian and quasi Christian identity identified in this thesis).

The debate in England and Wales is much more diverse and encompasses a much wider range of faith schools and models of faith schools. Historically, there have been substantial numbers of Church of England, Catholic and, to a lesser extent, Jewish schools for over a century. The debate has been intensified in recent years because of the expansion of existing state-funded faith schooling and the introduction of new forms of state-funded faith schools. This debate has identified a variety of contexts and has evolved a more sophisticated and complex conceptual language and conceptual tools to discuss these faith schools. Scotland has not experienced any expansion of state funded faith schools nor the introduction of new models of state-funded faith schools, and this helps to explain why some of the features of the faith school debate in England and Wales are almost completely absent in the debate in Scotland, or why some of the arguments in Scotland have such a specific and localised Christian focus. One of the key arguments in England and Wales, for example, is the question of faith schools precluding the growth and development of rational autonomy in children. This question, rooted in an academic philosophical and educational debate, can be applied to all forms of faith schools in England and Wales. The question seldom emerges in this form in Scotland, but emerges sometimes as a fairly crude discussion of the possibility of indoctrination (crude because, while the debate in England and Wales is a serious academic discussion concerning the philosophical definition of indoctrination and possible manifestations, the discussion in Scotland seldom employs such sophisticated conceptual analysis). Another example would be the question of faith schools impeding social cohesion. In England and Wales, this can refer to a number of faith schools and faith groups, and often refers to newer forms of faith schooling. Often the debate focuses on the implications of monocultural schools and the dangers of estrangement of particular national-cultural, religious groups. In Scotland this question usually refers to the association between Catholic schools and sectarianism.

Does the Scottish debate, then, require a broader conceptual language and more sophisticated conceptual tools to discuss Muslim schools? Hewer provides a reflection and analysis to inform the debate concerning Muslim schools providing insight into Islam and the Islamic tradition in education (Hewer, 2001). Castelli and Trevathan (2006), perhaps more critically, argue that that there are two main traditions in Islam – the intellectual and the legal. Currently the balance is weighted in favour of the legal,

but greater weight accorded to the intellectual, a possibility as Islam encounters and negotiates the effects of western secularism, would enable Islam to be perceived as more compatible with 21st century rational thought. In Scotland this discussion and outcome is clearly linked to the models of Islamic schooling envisaged by the pressure groups. The spectrum of views presented in this thesis, and some of the conceptual tools, do broaden out the variety of contexts for faith schooling and faith related schooling in Scotland and does introduce a broader conceptual language and wider variety of conceptual tools. The spectrum proposes that the state should develop transparent criteria that can be used to assess the appropriateness and suitability of newer forms of faith schooling and the spectrum provides an initial conceptual context in which to discuss other forms of faith schooling in Scotland (whether Muslim or not) more easily. This transparency would enable a more effective dialogue; for example, between Glasgow City Council and the Muslim pressure groups seeking the establishment of a state funded Muslim school in Glasgow (see chapter three and chapter ten).

Further, should the debate in Scotland be more aware of the features of the debate in England and Wales? Does the Scottish debate need to explore questions like the *precluding of the growth and development of rational autonomy in children* in a more sophisticated way? This would mean that the debate in Scotland would have to examine the thorny issue of the balance between a theological rationale for a faith school and an educational rationale in a more thorough and rigorous way. This would also provide a conceptual framework in which to discuss issues such as 'indoctrination', the 'rights of the child' and the 'rights of parents'. These are deep philosophical questions that require serious conceptual and empirical research, but it may be that these questions, and resultant research, should not be limited to faith schooling, but ought to be applied to all forms of state schooling (McKinney, 2006).

Alternative models of faith schooling and more openness to faith in non-denominational schools.

The argument by Dr Elliott for a greater openness to religion and religious faith in non-denominational schools is conceptually vague and the actualisation would be problematic, especially given the perceived division between faith schools and non-

denominational schools where non-denominational schools can be understood to identify themselves as secular institutions – educational sites that do study religion but do not favour any particular religious approach nor engage in faith formation. This initiative, if it was to be successful, would necessitate a re-conception of the non-denominational school and may face serious opposition from weak and strong secularists.

The concepts of an ecumenical or inter-faith school are intriguing, but how would they be modelled? An ecumenical school would appear to be the more feasible as it is possible that Christian denominations could develop a common theological rationale for the ecumenical school. How would an inter-faith school be developed in Scotland? Given the fact that Catholic schools are, ultimately, the faith schools in Scotland and consequently, the faith school debate in Scotland is ultimately a Christian debate, would the model for an inter-faith school require serious consideration to avoid the imposition, even if unconsciously, of a Christian model of faith school? It is important to note that Notre Dame Secondary in Glasgow, while including a large percentage of Muslim girls, remains a Catholic school and cannot be described as an inter-faith school. The concept of an inter-faith school may, of course, resolve, as far as some are concerned, the anomaly of Notre Dame, and provide some accommodation to the lobby for Muslim schools, but the historical and sociological starting point in Scotland would still be a Catholic school.

Insider status

As has been stated, the insider status of the interviewer and many of the interviewees has been openly and continually acknowledged by this thesis as a methodological challenge that had to be addressed. This thesis has identified a variety of ways in which the interviewees have explicitly, or implicitly, demonstrated some of the features of insider status as outlined by De Vos (1995) and by this thesis (see the introduction). While the insider status of the interviewer can be, and has been, constructed as problematic, it can also be perceived to be advantageous, and has allowed the researcher privileged access to the interviewees that has resulted in the richness of the insider views expressed in the interviews that have been integral to the quality and originality of this research. It could be, for example, that the use of

private versions of history, as articulated by the interviewees from a Catholic background, emerged in the interviews because the interviewer was perceived to be a fellow insider and could be expected to understand and respect, if not empathise with, the sentiments and emotions expressed. Perhaps some of these private versions of history would not have been revealed, or revealed in a different way, to another interviewer who was not perceived to have an insider status? A further advantage is that the interviewer could examine and analyse these private versions of history from the perspective of both an insider and of an academic researcher.

Concluding remarks

One of the contributions of this research is to reveal the extent to which the debate concerning contemporary Catholic schools is seriously under-researched and appears to be primarily a conceptual debate. Many of the main debating points, both in popular and academic discussions, appear to be influenced by political thinking and conceptual links rather than by harder, or more robust, empirical research. The discussion concerning the success of Catholic schools, for example, is limited, ultimately, to a collation and comparison of exam results, HMIe reports, and the apparent popularity of Catholic schools. The discussion concerning Catholic schools and the association with sectarianism appears to be a by-product of a deeper cultural discussion in contemporary Scotland that has strong roots in a number of the smaller narratives.

The range of expert status of the interviewees (and associated insider stories) indicate that this debate on Catholic schools in Scotland is a mix of religious, educational, philosophical and political ideologies within a sub-context of a history that, at times, has involved serious religious and cultural divisions. It may be difficult for some academics, church leaders and educationalists in Scotland to transcend their insider status located in this history and adopt a more balanced and measured view (the same could be argued for those who hold a secularist view). It could be argued that the debate in Scotland concerning Catholic schools is paradoxically both illuminated and enhanced and also flawed and inhibited by the insider status of the protagonists. This is one of the major challenges of qualitative research – simultaneously recognising insights contained in the interviews and that these insights are partly borne from the

complexity of the position of the insider. This is a creative and challenging tension that generates further complexity and possibly uncertainty, but should not be disregarded in favour of a more simplistic, 'neater' and more palatable analysis and discussion if the research is to retain authenticity.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have aimed to answer the following four research questions:

5. What are contemporary Catholic understandings of the rationale and nature of Catholic schools in developed western countries?

6. Why have Catholic schools in Scotland evolved to their contemporary construct?

7. Why does the Catholic school system in Scotland occupy a unique position in the UK?

8. What are the competing arguments for the continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland?

Research question number one has been answered in chapter two and, with particular reference to Catholic schools in Scotland, in chapters six, ten and eleven. The second research question has been answered in chapters three, eight, ten and eleven. Research question number three has been answered in the application of the five key issues to Catholic schools in England and Wales and to Scotland in chapters two and three and also in the discussion in chapters five to eleven. Finally, the fourth research question was answered in chapters three, and six to eleven.

Claims for originality in methodology and in the use of heuristic tools.

This thesis is not the first academic work to locate the history of Catholic schools in Scotland within the history of the Catholic community, but is, as far as the author is aware, the first to apply the postmodern critique of historiography to this history. Further, the author is the first academic to apply contemporary conceptualisations of immigrants and immigration to this history: Taylor's threefold immigrant typology (with the addition of the fourth type); Patchen's significant features and the

fundamental dilemma of migrants. The *private*, *public* and *official* versions of history have also not previously been applied to the history of Catholic schools in Scotland. The author also claims originality in the particular use and application of expert interviews in this debate and the conceptualisation and critical evaluation of this method, identifying the importance of insider status and privileged access. The sensitivity to the advantages and disadvantages of the insider status, of both the interviewer and the interviewees, is, arguably, a major feature of this research. These applications, within the features of originality in a PhD thesis as outlined by Phillips and Pugh (2003, pp.63-64), are examples of taking particular techniques and applying them to a new area. The identification and use of insider status, for example, has helped to 'create a synthesis that hasn't been done before' and has added 'to knowledge in a way that hasn't been done before'.

Claims for conceptual originality

This thesis adapted and explored the five key issues in the faith school debate in England and Wales and applied them to Catholic schools. They were further applied to Catholic schools Scotland which resulted in them being reconfigured for the debate in Scotland. This application of the reconfigured issues demonstrated the uniqueness of the faith school debate in Scotland. In chapter ten, the data from the interviews was used to construct a spectrum of positions in the contemporary discussion of the continued existence of Catholic schools. This research has demonstrated originality in the conceptualisation of the debate because, by adapting Jackson, it builds on 'previously original' research' and by applying this uniquely to Catholic schools in England and Wales and applying the reconfigured issues to Catholic schools in Scotland this research, similar to the original use of methodology, makes a 'synthesis that hasn't been made before' and adds to the 'knowledge in a way that hasn't been done before' (Phillips and Pugh, 2003, pp.63-64).

Limitations of the research

There are a number of limitations in this research and much of this has already been discussed: the limitations of insider status on page 10; the limitations of the postmodern critiques of historiography on pages 8-9 and 208; the limitation of the

three versions of history on pages 198, the limitation of the immigrant typologies on page 194. This section will focus on the limitations of the use of expert interviews. Initially, I will restate the rationale for the choice of this method and justify this choice within paradigms of triangulation. I will then examine some of the limitations that are endemic to this type of qualitative research: (1) the focus on depth rather than breadth; (2) the conceptual preparation and (3) the challenges of access to the interviewees. I will further discuss limitations and issues in the use of expert interviews that have arisen within this particular research project: (1) gender imbalance in the sample; (2) gender of the interviewer and (3) national-cultural representation in the sample.

This thesis has argued that the deep focus on the literature and the expert interviews was necessary to establish and articulate the parameters of the academic debate in Scotland – parameters that had not been previously articulated. Some researchers would argue that the focus on the use of expert interviews and the review of literature, albeit a critical evaluation, appears to impose a limit on the triangulation of the research. This thesis has argued that the data from the literature and interviews has enabled the articulation of a sophisticated academic debate on the position and continued existence of Catholic schools. Arguably, this could have been complemented by another method, such as a small scale questionnaire survey to enable greater triangulation. Robson (1999, p.290, 383, 404) argues that triangulation, the use of a variety of evidence drawn from a variety of 'different sources', 'different methods of collection of data' and 'different investigators', should, where possible, be the preferred option for the researcher to enable greater reliability in the results, especially in the use of qualitative research 'where the trustworthiness of the data is always a worry'. Robson (p. 290) does acknowledge that some forms of triangulation are contested, e.g. the combination of methods constructed from different theoretical positions, but, he is anxious about the importance of measurement and maintains his position. Silverman (2005, pp. 121-122), on the other hand, suggests that qualitative researchers should be more confident about the usefulness of purely qualitative research (and even, where appropriate, restricting the approach to one method of qualitative research) and cautious about the perceived effectiveness of triangulation. He argues that many studies find the mapping of different methods (especially if based on different theoretical positions) onto each other hugely problematic. In this

research, the parameters of the debate have now been established and research questions that could be used for a questionnaire, or further interviews, or focus groups or other methods can now be formulated and future research could accommodate a much broader triangulation of methods.

Limitations of expert interviews

This sub-section will examine some of major limitations of the use of expert interviews. Firstly, as Flick (1999, p.71) comments, one of the fundamental limitations of expert interviews *per se* is that the use of a small number of interviews with members of elites will lack breadth. Rossman and Rallis (1998, p.118) argue that the researcher employing expert interviews has to make a 'trade-off' between breadth and depth in the expectation that the small number of interviews 'will encourage in-depth understanding ultimately not possible within a larger sample.' This research did yield rich data but the lack of breadth is a limitation that has to be accepted in the choice made for this method.

Secondly, the use of any form of qualitative research methods requires, according to Silverman (2005, p.209), 'theoretical sophistication and methodological rigor'. Expert interviews require a considerable amount of preparation by the interviewer and a considerable amount of competency in the areas under discussion (Rossman and Rallis, 1998, p. 134). The interviewer, according to Rossman and Rallis, must possess a 'thorough knowledge of the topic' or must be able to 'project an accurate conceptualisation of the problems'. The interview guide must be designed to be focussed so that the interviewees have ample scope to express their views on the topic but the guide also attempts to avoid discussion of irrelevant side-issues (Meuser and Nagel, 1991, in Flick, 1999, p.92). This means that the preparation for expert interviews is much more time consuming than the preparation for other forms of semi-structured interview.

A third challenge in the use of expert interviews is access to the interviewees. They tend to be, as Rossman and Rallis (1998, p.134) comment, 'busy people' and have limited availability. They can also be quite widespread in terms of geographical location. This means that the interviewer, more so than in other forms of semi-

structured interview, has to be flexible in establishing interview times and locations that suit the interviewees. The times of the interviews in this sample varied enormously, but the location of the interviews was to prove more problematic. The experts were located throughout Scotland and I had to travel extensively to interview them. The interviews were held in Aberdeen, St Andrew's, Stirling, Edinburgh (four interviews on four different days), Greenock, Motherwell, Glasgow (seven interviews). Some of these interviews were very time consuming because of the travelling time – e.g. the interview in Aberdeen, with travel, constituted a full working day.

Limitations in the use of expert interviews in this research project

This sub-section will examine the limitations of the use of expert interviews in this particular research project. Firstly, one of the challenges of this particular use of expert interviews is that the sample is drawn from educational, ecclesial and academic elites that do not include many female voices and there is an imbalance towards male perspectives. Delamont (2002, p.36) recommends that qualitative educational studies should ensure the inclusion of 'males and females in all enquiries'. If this is not possible, she proposes that the researcher should clearly articulate the reasons for choosing a single sex sample. While this research is not strictly a single sex sample, there is an imbalance caused by the difficulty of locating female experts engaged in leadership roles and in policy making in Catholic schooling in Catholic ecclesial circles in Scotland. Similarly there are few female academics engaged in the academic debate concerning Catholic schools in Scotland. Nonetheless, the three female participants in the sample were able to offer three different perspectives – as an academic, a senior member of the Church of Scotland and as a Catholic head teacher able to provide insights into the educational debate. It is important to note that while there are an increasing number of female head teachers in Catholic secondary schools, the leadership of Catholic schools remains an area of male domination.

This problem appears to be symptomatic of the power distribution of the genders in the Scottish Catholic Church. Brown (2006, pp.84-87) argues that the Scottish Christian churches have been patriarchal and 'important agents of male domination' and, at times, have encompassed elements of structural misogyny. This may have

receded as, through the work of female historians and historical revision, the importance of the role of women has become increasingly recognised in the development of Christianity in 20th century Scotland, but there remains, nevertheless, an imbalance in the power distribution in the Scottish Churches (pp. 91-98). There appears to be a related power distribution within the higher levels of Catholic education. This means that while this thesis has fulfilled one of its main aims to provide space for the history of Catholic schooling and the history of the Catholic community in Scotland (see introduction) it has only provided a very limited view from the female lens or perspective (Bentley, 1999, p.142, Brown, 2005, p.174, .180). Further research could aim to explore a greater variety of views (Black and MacRaild, 1997, p.146) by including a greater number of female voices: exploring the marginalisation of women, and examining the power distribution of the genders in the Scottish Catholic Church and in Catholic schooling.

A second issue, related to the first, is the gender of the interviewer. Miller and Glassner (1998, p.101) argue that each interviewer belongs to certain social categories (age, gender, class and race) and the response of the interviewees may be influenced by some of the social categories of the interviewer. I have argued that the *privileged access* proved to be an advantage in this research, but perhaps one of the limitations of this *privileged access* was that I was a male interviewing a predominantly male sample. Silverman (2005, p.264) states that in different situations the gender of the interviewer can be an advantage to gain access and he warns that too much can be made of the gender of the interviewer and not enough attention paid to age and social class. Nevertheless, he admits that very little research has been undertaken into the 'questions of the male researcher'. Seidman (1998, p.86) comments that one of the potential challenges of the gender congruence is that the interview process can be 'plagued by false assumptions of shared perspectives'. This could also have been manifested in the potential assumption, held by some interviewees, that the interviewer shares the 'insider' account of the topic (see page 91). The researcher strived to ensure that the academic nature of the interview was stressed to the interviewees and the nature of the roles of interviewer and interviewee clearly articulated and understood. This research does acknowledge that, while probably inevitable given the restrictions of the sample and gender imbalance, it could be perceived as a predominantly 'male conversation'.

A third limitation of this use of expert interviews is the absence of any diversity in the national-cultural voice of the Catholic experts. Perhaps this was also unavoidable. It may have been partially avoided by interviewing one of the Bishops of Italian extraction (Archbishop of Glasgow or Bishop of Paisley) rather than the Bishop of Motherwell (of Irish extraction) included in the sample. However, the choice of the Bishop of Motherwell was based on his long standing position as the Episcopal representative on the Scottish Catholic Education Commission. The Archbishop of Glasgow (appointed 2002) has spent 19 years as a priest and 25 years as a Bishop in the diocese of Aberdeen where there are a small number of Catholic primary schools and no Catholic secondary schools. The Bishop of Paisley has been only recently appointed (2005). It is also important to recall that the number of Lithuanian Catholics remaining in Scotland is very limited and that the Italian Catholics are also small in number and this explains why the number of people within these educational, ecclesial and academic elites who belong to these two national-cultural groups is currently very limited (Miller, 1998, Devine, 2006). The number of Polish Catholics has increased dramatically in the 21st century, including increasing numbers of Polish priests, and this may have an effect on Catholic ecclesial circles and the Catholic hierarchy in the future (Harrell, 2006, Morris, 2007).

Concluding Remarks

The faith school debate in Scotland, despite comparisons that can be drawn between the faith school debate in England and Wales, retains a uniqueness that operates on a number of levels. The Catholic schools are, ultimately, the faith school debate, but, as has been argued, a *Scottish rhetoric* has developed that can be discerned within both the intrinsic and extrinsic lenses of the debate for and against the existence of Catholic schools. Perhaps one of the most important insights in this thesis is located in the extended discussion of the relationship between the Catholic community, Catholic schools and the complexity and paradoxes of contemporary Scottish society and culture.

Within that context, one issue remains uncomfortably unresolved. How is the Catholic community perceived in Scotland and how does the Catholic community perceive itself? There are a number of interpretations of the roots of the issue, e.g. a legacy of 19th century nationalism and colonialism combined with the legacy of a post-Reformation division, but what are the contemporary perceptions? The successful application of the immigrant typologies in this thesis, and the persistent unsubstantiated association of Catholic schools with sectarianism, suggest that the Catholic community is still perceived by some to have outsider status. It may be that this outside status is no longer located in 'Irishness' or in being an 'immigrant', but is because of a perceived Catholic Christian identity that appears as an anomaly, or even a cultural aberration, within the context of an increasingly secular polity that seeks to marginalise all forms of Christianity, and religion, in 21st century Scotland.

Catholic schools are located in this ambivalence towards the Catholic community. From external perspectives, the Catholic schools can be perceived to preserve 'otherness' and an 'outsider' status. From internal or insider perspectives, Catholic schools could be perceived to preserve identity and culture and provide opportunities for social advancement. One point remains clear: if Catholic schools are the only real focus for the diversity of the Catholic community, then criticisms of Catholic schools can be perceived or interpreted as attacks not only on the Catholic school, but also the Catholic community. Perhaps in relation to this scenario, an over-defensive, or over sensitive mentality has emerged, at times, within the Catholic community. On the other hand, this thesis has demonstrated, in the expert interviews, that some members of the Catholic academic and educational communities are able to critically reflect on the position and continued existence of Catholic schools. Perhaps this represents, or identifies, a shift in the insider view to a less defensive position and to greater openness to dialogue? Perhaps some of the experts recognise that some important strands of 21st century Scottish society accept and engage with the position of the Catholic community (and value Catholic schools) as this society attempts to reconcile itself to the reality of a plurality of ethnicities, cultures and religions?

APPENDIX 1

Interview Questions

Interviewees views

- What is your understanding of purpose of Catholic schools as stated by the Catholic Church?
- Do you think this is evident in the Catholic schools in Scotland? Why? Why not?
- How do Catholic schools fit into the contemporary Scottish educational system?
- Do you see them in the wider context of faith schools?
- Do you think Catholic schools are perceived as divisive?
- Explore
- Do you think Catholic schools are linked to sectarianism in any way?
- Do you think Catholic schools should continue to exist in the 21st century? Why? Why not?

Views attributed to others

- Why do you think some people contest the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland?
- Why do you think some people support the existence of Catholic schools in Scotland?
- Explore.
- Why do some Catholics support the existence of catholic schools?

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APPENDIX 2

STATEMENT for Participants in research project:
The position and continued existence of Catholic schools

This research is concerned with the position and continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland. The research is being undertaken by Stephen McKinney of the Department of Religious Education, Faculty of Education, University of Glasgow, to fulfil the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. This research is subject to the University of Glasgow, Faculty of Education code of ethics.

The empirical phase of this research involves interviews with a small number of experts in the field. The participants were selected on the ground that they have been actively involved in the debate surrounding this topic and have considerable depth of knowledge and understanding of the topic.

The participants are invited to be interviewed by Stephen McKinney. The interviews are timed between one to one and a half hours. If permission is granted the interviews will be audio taped and transcribed for analysis.

The data collected from these interviews will be used for the purposes of the PhD thesis, but will also be used in journal articles, conference papers, books and lectures.

Participants are reminded that their participation in the research project is entirely voluntary and that they have the right to withdraw consent at any time. The audio tapes, notes and transcripts of the interviews will be accessed by Stephen McKinney, academic 'critical friends' and his supervisors, Dr C Forde and Dr A McPhee only. The tapes, notes and transcriptions will be stored safely in a locked cabinet in the Faculty of Education for five years. At the end of that period, the materials will be destroyed as confidential waste.

It should be noted that there is a relatively small number of participants who are all well known public figures and it may be difficult to guarantee complete anonymity. While not denying the right to anonymity, the researcher requests that anonymity be waived in this research project, because of this difficulty. Participants will be asked to give specific written permission regarding the use of their name. This has been incorporated into the consent form. Participants do have the right to anonymity if they so wish and can indicate this in the relevant section of the consent form.

Participants are advised that if they have any concerns about the conduct of this research project they should contact:
Professor Rex Whitehead
Ethics Officer,
Centre for Science Education
Faculty of Education
University of Glasgow.

APPENDIX 3

Consent Form

Title of research: The position and continued existence of Catholic schools

Research work undertaken by Stephen McKinney of the Department of Religious Education, Faculty of Education, University of Glasgow, to fulfil the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

I ………………………………………………………………………..

consent to being interviewed by Stephen McKinney as part of this research.
I give this consent freely and voluntarily and understand that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time.

I have been asked to consider that the interview be recorded on audio tape and transcribed.

I consent   /   do not consent   (please delete as appropriate)
to the interview being audio taped and transcribed.

Security

I acknowledge that I have been informed that any notes, tapes and transcriptions and computer discs generated as a result of this interview will be accessed only by Stephen McKinney, his two PhD supervisors and a small number of academic advisors. I also acknowledge that I have been informed that these materials will be stored securely in a locked cabinet in the faculty of Education and destroyed after five years as confidential waste.

Anonymity   *(please delete as appropriate)*

I acknowledge that I have agreed to waive anonymity due to the small number of participants in this research and their expert status.

I acknowledge that I have not agreed to waive anonymity and request that all efforts are made to safeguard my anonymity.

Dissemination

I accept that the findings of this interview will be published as part of the PhD thesis of Stephen McKinney and may also be incorporated in journal articles, conference papers, books and lectures. I am aware that I have the right to read the completed thesis when completed.
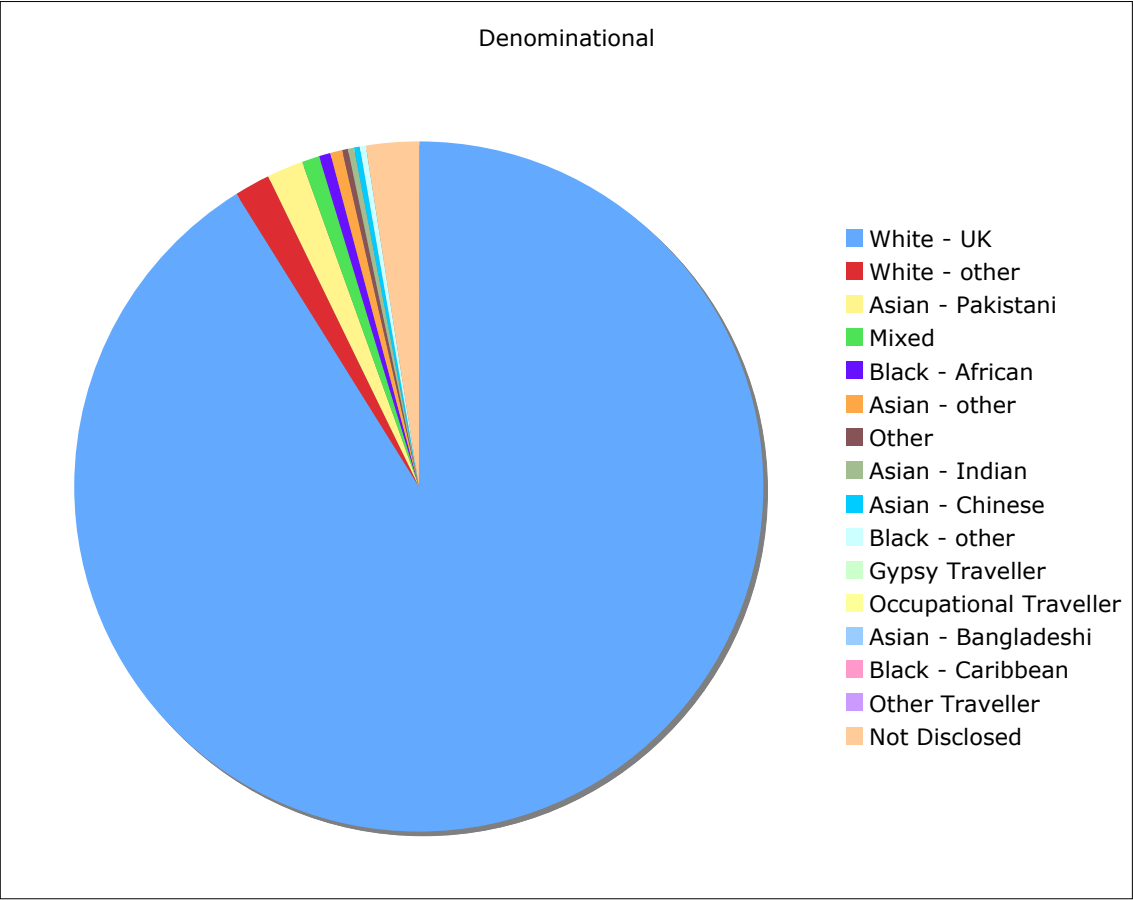
Signed

Date

Appendix 4: Denominational and non-denominational schools in Scotland: statistics on ethnicity and free school meals (according to September 2006 census)
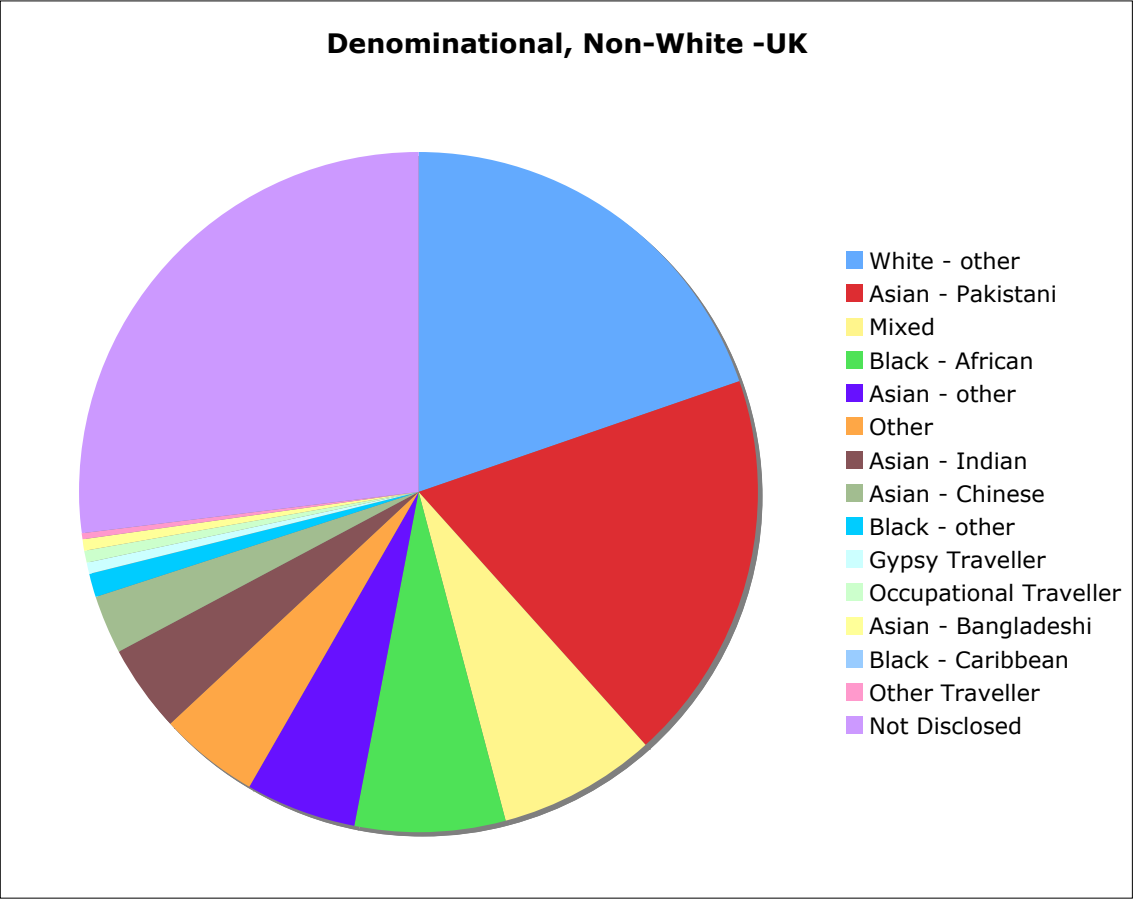
1 Ethnicity

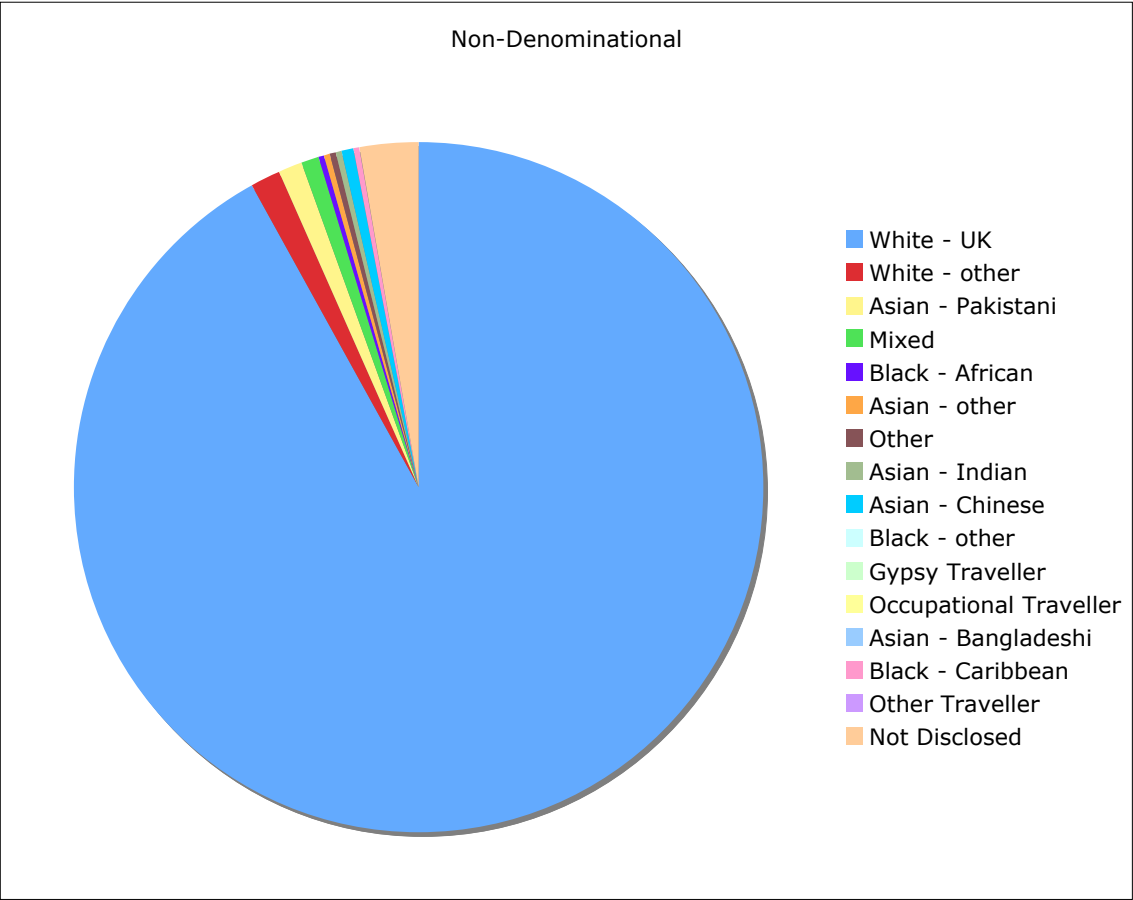**Pie Chart 1 Ethnicity in denominational schools in Scotland[93]**

Pie Chart 2 Ethnicity in Denominational schools excluding White -UK

Denominational, Non-White -UK

- White - other
- Asian - Pakistani
- Mixed
- Black - African
- Asian - other
- Other
- Asian - Indian
- Asian - Chinese
- Black - other
- Gypsy Traveller
- Occupational Traveller
- Asian - Bangladeshi
- Black - Caribbean
- Other Traveller
- Not Disclosed

Pie Chart 3 Ethnicity in non-denominational schools in Scotland

Non-Denominational

- White - UK
- White - other
- Asian - Pakistani
- Mixed
- Black - African
- Asian - other
- Other
- Asian - Indian
- Asian - Chinese
- Black - other
- Gypsy Traveller
- Occupational Traveller
- Asian - Bangladeshi
- Black - Caribbean
- Other Traveller
- Not Disclosed

Pie Chart 4 Ethnicity in non-denominational schools in Scotland excluding white-UK

Non-Denominational, Non-White-UK

Legend:
- White - other
- Asian - Pakistani
- Mixed
- Black - African
- Asian - other
- Other
- Asian - Indian
- Asian - Chinese
- Black - other
- Gypsy Traveller
- Occupational Traveller
- Asian - Bangladeshi
- Black - Caribbean
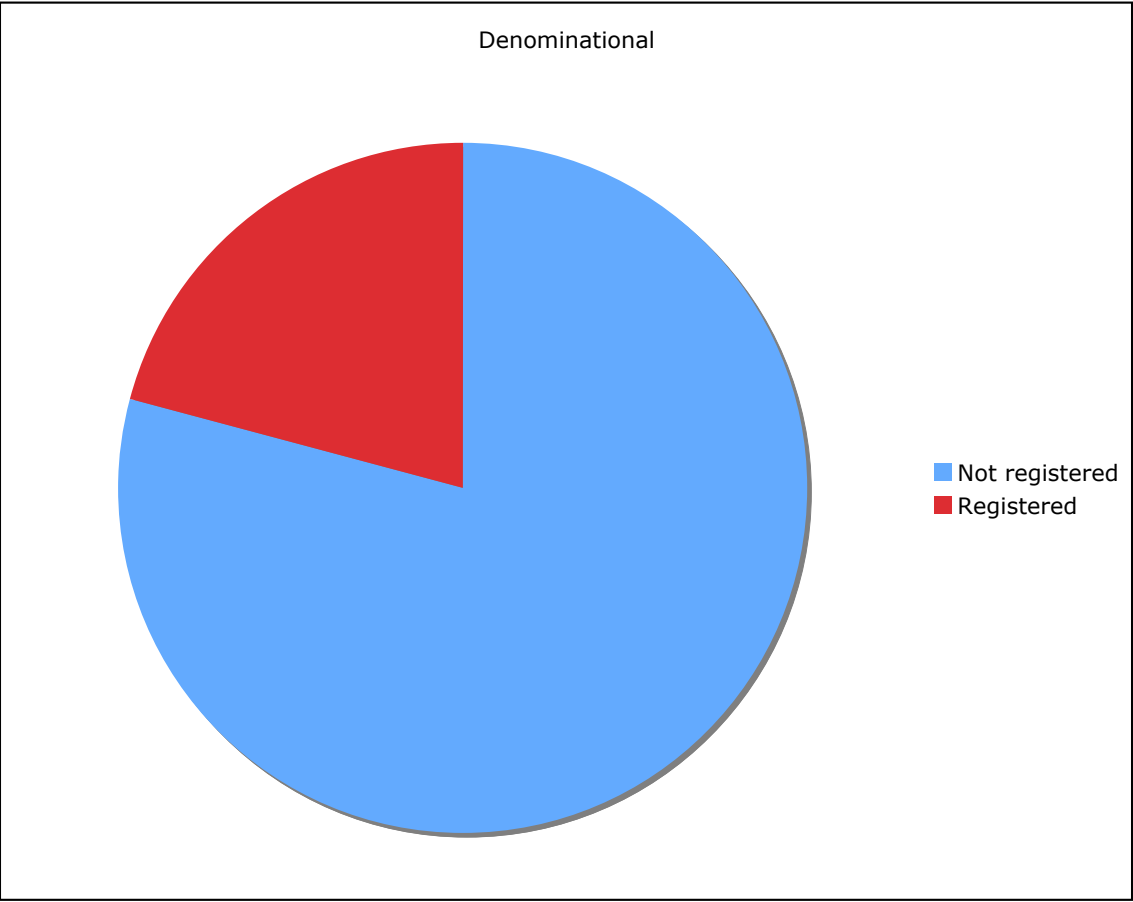- Other Traveller
- Not Disclosed
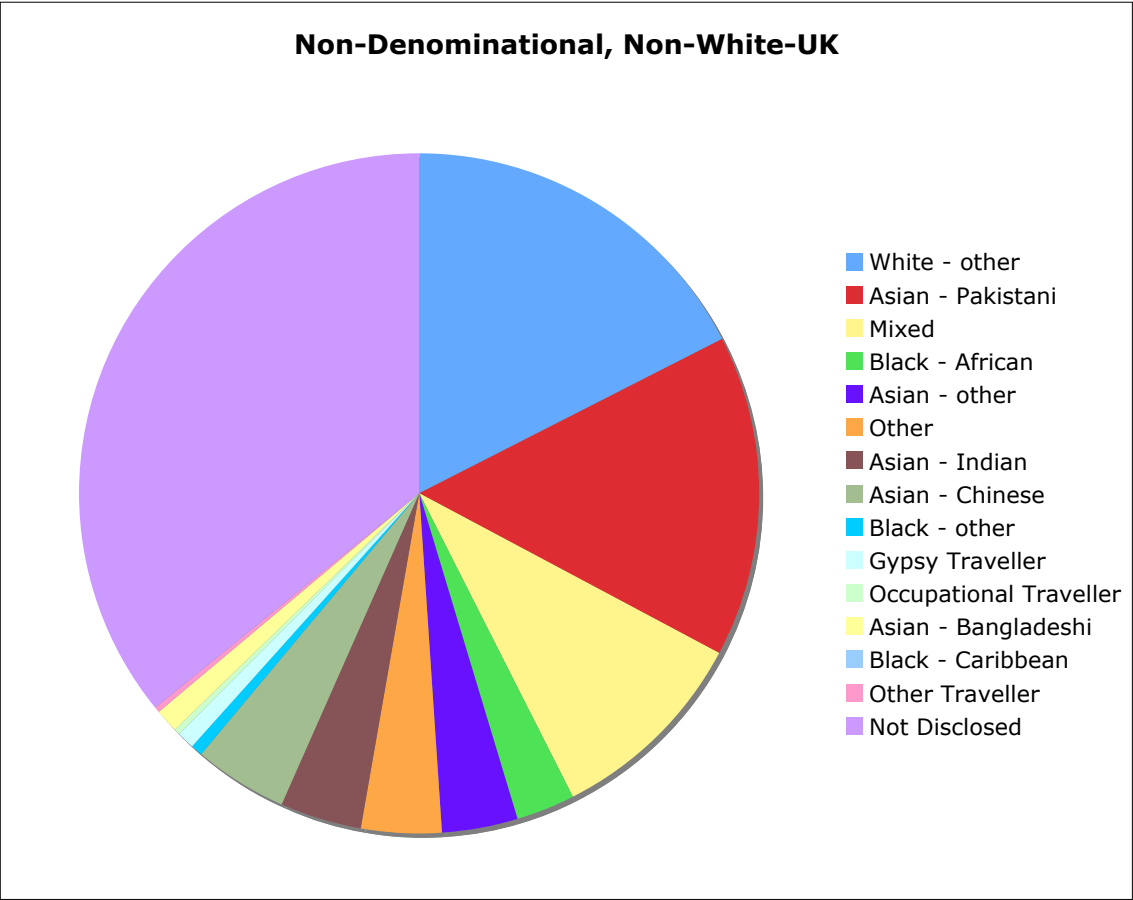
2 Free school meal registrations

Table 1 Free school meal registrations – comparison between denominational and non-denominational schools
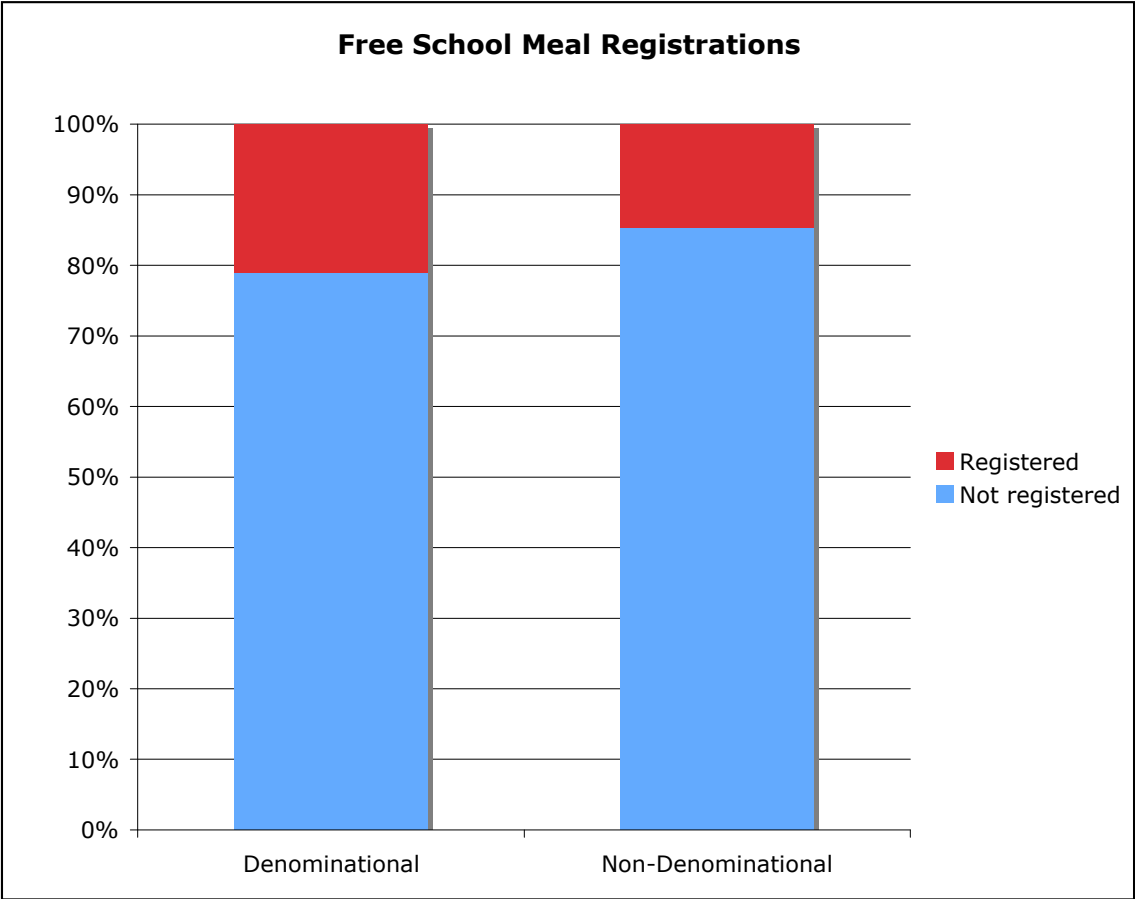
Pie Chart 5 Free school meal registrations denominational schools

Denominational

- Not registered
- Registered

Pie Chart 6 Free school meal registrations non-denominational schools

Non-Denominational

■ Not registered
■ Registered
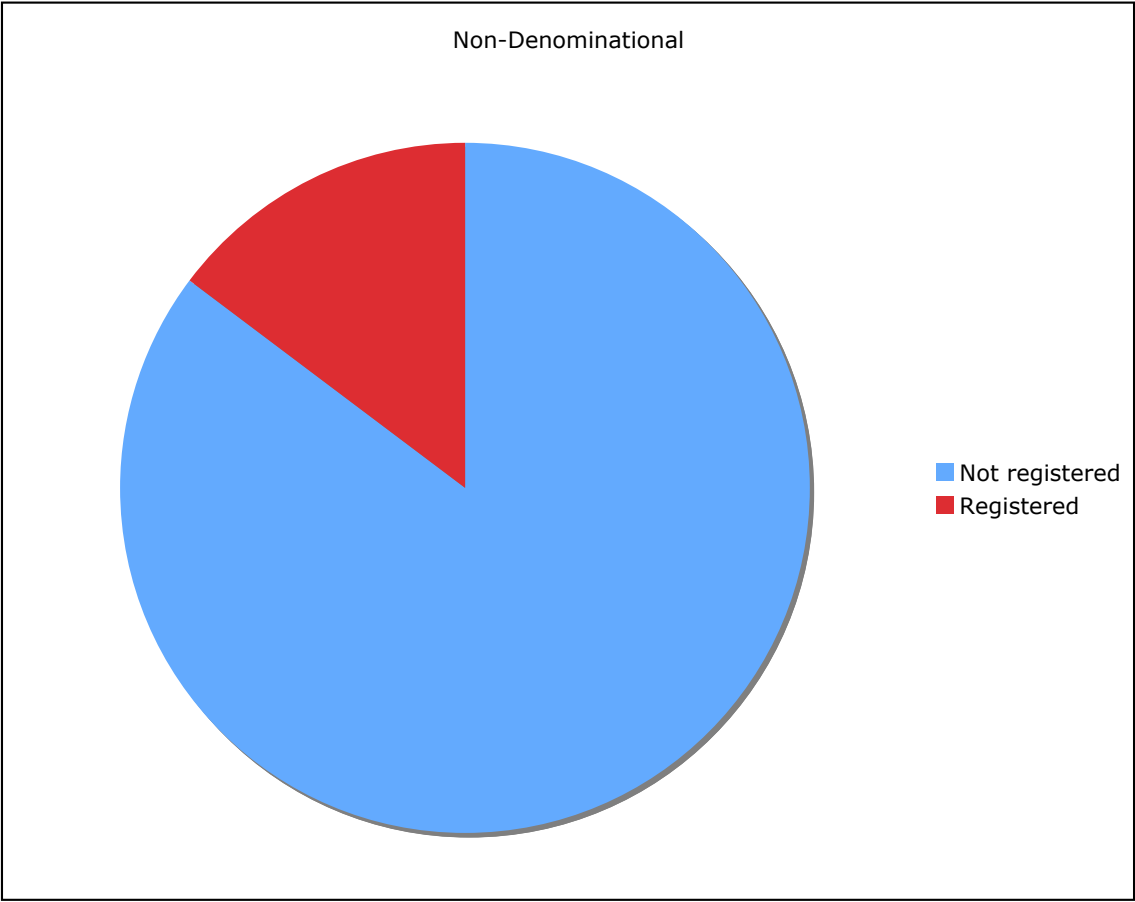
3 Data as provided by Scottish Government

Table 2 Ethnicity of pupils in denominational and non-denominational schools in Scotland

Ethnic Background	RC	other
White-UK	110,290	534,359
White - other	2,159	8,198
Asian - Pakistani	2,027	7,102
Mixed	814	4,644
Black - African	762	1,328
Asian - other	593	1,606
Other	491	1,793
Asian - Indian	456	1,932
Asian - Chinese	302	1,973
Black - other	138	326
Gypsy Traveller	60	368
Occupational Traveller	60	147
Asian - Bangladeshi	44	471
Black - Caribbean	25	85
Other Traveller	16	75
Not Disclosed	2,934	16,813

Data from Sept 06 pupil census, excludes grant aided special schools.

Table 3 Free school meal registration in denominational and non-denominational schools in Scotland

Free School Meal Registration	RC	Other
Not registered	95,512	496,310
Registered	25,335	85,234
% registered	26.5	17.2

Data from Sept 06 pupil census, excludes grant aided special schools.

Figures converted into percentages by S. McKinney

Table 4 Ethnicity of pupils in denominational and non-denominational schools in Scotland in percentages

Ethnic Background	RC	Percentage	other	Percentage
White-UK	110,290	91%	534,359	92%
White - other	2,159	1.78%	8,198	1.41%
Asian - Pakistani	2,027	1.67%	7,102	1.22%
Mixed	814	0.67%	4,644	0.80%
Black - African	762	0.63%	1,328	0.23%
Asian - other	593	0.49%	1,606	0.28%
Other	491	0.40%	1,793	0.31%
Asian - Indian	456	0.38%	1,932	0.33%
Asian - Chinese	302	0.25%	1,973	0.34%
Black - other	138	0.11%	326	0.06%
Gypsy Traveller	60	0.05%	368	0.06%
Occupational Traveller	60	0.05%	147	0.02%
Asian - Bangladeshi	44	0.04%	471	0.08%
Black - Caribbean	25	0.02%	85	0.14%
Other Traveller	16	0.01%	75	0.01%
Not Disclosed	2,934	2.42%	16,813	2.89%

Notes and commentary

1. Pie Charts 1-6 and Tables 1-4 are based on figures provided by the Scottish Government. These were not sought under the Freedom of Information Act but were provided upon request.

2. Pie Charts 1 and 3 contain all categories of ethnicity in Scottish schools as determined by the Scottish Government. As can be observed both charts are dominated by White – UK.

3. Pie Charts 2 and 4 exclude White – UK. Although White – Other and Not Disclosed are just less than 50% in chart 2 and just over 50% in chart 4, the spread of ethnicities can be more easily discerned.

4. Table 1 distinguishes between those who are registered for free school meals and those who are not. These figures do not reflect entitlement to free school meals but registration. The Scottish Government (2007) concedes that 'Local authorities continue to vary widely in their ability to identify pupils who are entitled but have not registered their entitlement'. [94]

5. Pie Charts 5 and 6 provide the same information as Table 1, but separately for denominational and non-denominational schools.

6. Tables 2 and 3 are the figures as provided by the Scottish Government

7. In table 4, the figures have been converted into percentages.

8. It is clear from Pie Charts 1 to 4 and Tables 2 and 4 that the ethnic composition of denominational and non-denominational schools is very similar and differences are marginal. For example, there are less White –UK pupils in denominational schools by 1% (the largest difference between the two), but there are more White – other pupils by 0.37%.

   Marginally more pupils of ethnic origin in denominational schools:
   - White –other
   - Asian
   - Black – African
   - Asian – other
   - Other
   - Asian – Indian
   - Black – other
   - Occupational traveller

   Marginally more pupils of ethnic origin in non-denominational schools:
   - White- UK
   - Mixed
   - Asian – Chinese
   - Gypsy Traveller
   - Asian – Bangladeshi
   - Black - Caribbean
   - Not Disclosed

   The percentage for Other Traveller is the same for both denominational and non-denominational schools. The ethnic composition of denominational and non-denominational schools is, despite marginal differences, almost identical. These are national figures and further research could identify if there are any significant differences in particular locations.

9. The figures for free school meals are very significant. There are 9.3% more children in Catholic schools registered for free school meals. This may not be surprising as the vast majority of Catholic schools are in the central belt which contains many areas of severe deprivation. According to The *Child Poverty Action Group in Scotland (2007):*

   One fifth of Scotland's poverty is in Glasgow City, and Glasgow has a disproportionate share of Scotland's poorest local areas.[95]

   Further research could try to ascertain why the children in Catholic schools are more likely to be registered for free school meals.

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Mr Michael McGrath, 10 August 2005, SCES Offices.

Anonymous academic, 8 August 2005, University of Glasgow.

Dr Joseph Bradley, 12 August 2005, University of Stirling.

Professor Steve Bruce, 11 August 2005, University of Aberdeen.

Mgr. Joseph Chambers, 18 August 2005, Our Lady of Good Council, Glasgow.

Professor James Conroy, 18 August 2005, University of Glasgow.

Professor John Haldane, 19 August 2005, University of St Andrew's.

Mrs Frances Gilpin, 29 August 2005, Notre Dame High School, Greenock.

Dr Alison Elliot, 6 September 2005, University of Edinburgh.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] Dr James MacMillan delivered a public lecture at the Edinburgh International Festival in 1999 which raised the issue of the persistent recurrence of sectarianism in Scotland.

[2] This reciprocity is not always recognised and Aldrich (2000) comments that education is often absent from general histories.

[3] For example: Jews (Collins, 1987, 1990; Daiches 1957, 1977; Glasser, 1986); Asians (Maan, 1992); Italian (Colpi, 1991, 1993; Ugolini, who is married to an Italian, 2000); Lithuanian (Miller, real name: Stepsis, 1998); Poles (Ziarski-Kernberg, 2000) and Scots-Irish Catholic (Bradley, 1995, 1998; Devine, 1991, 2000, 2006; Fitzpatrick 1985, 1986, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2003; Gallagher, 1987, 1991; McKinney, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008; O'Hagan, 1996, 2006).

[4] I acknowledge that I am a practising Catholic and am employed in the education of Catholic teachers. I am currently a member of the Scottish Catholic Education Commission. I explicitly acknowledge the possible dangers of personal bias. It should be noted, however, that, despite this Catholic insider status, this thesis is not intended to be a defence of the Catholic community and the Catholic school but a critical evaluation and analysis of the range of arguments, used by experts, concerning the position and continued existence of Catholic schools in Scotland.

[5] The Census of 2001 constructed a three-fold distinction of the Christian denominations in Scotland: 'Church of Scotland', 'Roman Catholic' and 'other Christian' (Scottish Census form online, p.7). A more complete picture of the Christian denominations in Scotland can be found in the 1994 Scottish Church Census as recorded in Brierley and MacDonald (1995, p.112).

[6] It grew amid discontent with the immorality and incompetence of the Catholic clergy and political intrigue as nobles sought to acquire church property (Iserloh, 1980, pp.410-411).

[7] George Wishart (c1513-1546) was an early leader of Scottish Protestantism who converted many to the new form of Christian faith. After he was burned at the stake for heresy in 1546, John Knox became the leading figure (Iserloh, 1980, pp.410-411).

[8] The constitution of the Church of Scotland is not to be found in single document but rather in a number of documents. According to McGillvray, the Westminster Confession of Faith has occupied 'a special place as the Church's subordinate standard in matters of doctrine' (McGillivray, 1995, p.2). The other documents that 'set forth the constitution, standards, rules and methods of the church' are listed in Cox (1976, pp.388-389). In the late twentieth century, the position of the Westminster Confession of Faith was the subject of a critical re-appraisal. A number of key theologians and senior Church men debated the status, theological limitations and the contemporary relevance of this document (Dale, Murray, Philip, Reid all in Herron, 1982, pp.107-140). In 1986, the Church of Scotland dissociated itself from the anti-Catholic statements in the document.

[9] In the last thirty years of the sixteenth century the following Acts were passed: Jesuits and priests were ordered to leave the country; attending Mass was illegal and could result in execution; it was prohibited to participate in pilgrimages to chapels and wells. The Act of Parliament of 1700 decreed that no papist

could be engaged in any form of education of youth (schoolmaster, tutor, and pedagogue). Children of Catholic parents were to be brought up as Protestants. Catholics were also 'denied any legal right of inheritance'. Protestants, in fact, could claim the land or property of their Catholic neighbours. Although these laws may not have been enforced particularly rigorously, life was potentially difficult for the Catholic population of Scotland (Johnson, 1983, pp.4-6; p.12).

10 It should also be acknowledged that Law and the 'Higher reaches of Education' also developed into national symbols of Scottishness, but this does not detract from the influence of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as a strong focus for Scottish identity.

11 See Finn (2003, p.904). Recent documentation in Scotland has recognised the scope of contemporary sectarianism in Scotland that includes, for example, the Islamic groups in Scotland (LTS Scotland online, 2006).

12 In the history of Christianity, some sects have separated from the church and have divided the Christian church (e.g. Donatism).

[13] He also cites the lecture delivered by James MacMillan at the Edinburgh International Festival in 1999. Dr MacMillan expressed bewilderment at the way in which anti-Catholic prejudice still existed in Scotland and has often manifested itself in criticism of the existence of Catholic schools (Finn, 2003, p.902).

[14] See Scotland clamps down on Sectarianism. *Guardian Unlimited*, 5 December, 2002, and Team bid to tackle Sectarianism. *BBC News*, 6 January, 2005.

[15] The record of the Scottish Summit on Sectarianism held in 2005 avoids this problem by containing neither a definition nor a description of sectarianism (Scottish Executive online, 2005a).

[16] Groome (1998), Bruce et al. (2004), Learning and Teaching Scotland (online, 2006). See McKinney (2007a) for discussion.

[17] Goosen argues that disunity and the subsequent striving for reconciliation has been a feature of Christianity since its earliest days (1 Cor 1:10-16; Eph 4:1-6; Phil 4:2-3) and has continued, in various forms – most markedly in the schisms with the east and the Protestant reformations, throughout the different ages of Christianity to the present day (Goosen, 2001, pp.1-5; 11-12).

[18] It is important to note that the ecumenical movement and the World Council of Churches currently face some hard challenges (Birmele, 1994, pp.6-7). There has been an increase in the number of churches from the developing countries which have joined the World Council of Churches and the Catholic Church does cooperate in some initiatives, but the organisation continues to be dominated by Anglo Saxon Protestant churches. Pentecostal churches, for example, are not well represented. Official

attempts to include a quota of youth and women has created difficulties – it was felt by some that a quota did not guarantee 'true and effective participation'. More fundamentally, the impetus to include a greater number of women caused tensions for those churches which deny women 'representative function' (Birmele, 1994, pp.18-20).

[19] A distinction it shares with Adventism and the Salvation Army, though they too cooperate with the World Council of Churches (Goosen, 2001, p.24).

[20] The norms for intercommunion with churches of the reformed tradition can be found in: *Code of Canon law* (1983) canon 844; *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (online, 1993) sections 1400-1401; *Directory for the Application of Principles and Norms on Ecumenism* (1993), 129-136.

[21] Bradley (1995, pp.185-186) adds that this includes estrangement from active participation in ecumenical dialogue with the Catholic Church and that this secular Protestantism can be anti-Catholic, though this type of anti-Catholic sentiment (and anti-Catholicism as a whole in Scotland) is not a united force. Bruce (1992, p.110) uses the term 'secular protestant' exclusively for organisational forms of anti-Catholicism such as: the Orange Order; Scottish Loyalists; Apprentice Boys of Derry and groups related to the UDA and UDF. Bradley (1995, pp.185-186; 1998, p.143) comments that elements of anti-Catholicism are manifested also in Freemasonry and factions of the support for Rangers football club – groups omitted by Bruce. This thesis proposes that the terms 'militant protestant' or even 'para-military protestant' would be more appropriate terms to describe the groups identified by Bruce and Bradley (groups often identified as foci for explicit sectarianism).

[22] These figures are updated regularly on the SCES website.

[23] In Scotland the Scottish Executive introduced the Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 that became law in 14 November 2005. The term Additional Support Needs has now replaced Special Educational Needs in Scotland. See HMSO (online, 2004).

[24] There is criticism of some of the ultra-Orthodox and even Orthodox approaches to Jewish schooling, especially secondary schooling. Short states that this theologically conservative approach can be restrictive in terms of teaching and topics taught and lack openness to multiculturalism and other faiths. Miller (2001, p.511) comments that this 'insularity' is not encountered in all Jewish schools and some of these schools try to counter it.

[25] The term 'theological foundation' is taken from 'The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium' (1998, section 18). See also Grace (2002, p.24).

[26] See Matthew 28:19-20.

[27] Jews and Muslims have a similar view concerning the integral role of education to their faiths (Bowker, 1998, p.139, Imram, 1993, pp.55-56).

[28] See also Bryk et al. (1993) for discussion of this in the American context.

[29] Sander (2001) comments that empirical studies in American Catholic schools demonstrate that African Americans and Hispanics have 'substantially higher levels of educational attainment and academic achievement' when they attended Catholic schools. This could not be claimed for non-Hispanic whites who probably have access to better alternatives.

[30] Foster (1988, pp.318-344) provides a careful analysis of the background to the Famine and the resentment of the Irish towards the British. He contextualises the Famine within 'fourteen partial or complete famines in Ireland between 1816 and 1842' (p.320). Ireland depended on agriculture, often 'conducted at a fairly backward and unproductive level' and this contributed to the famines, but he also points out that Industrial investors felt southern Ireland was not a good option partly due to their perception that Ireland was volatile and partly because of the pre-Famine emigration of many young men (p.322). Collins (1991, p.2) explains the causes of the famine in terms of over-population caused by socio-economic factors: early marriage and high fertility; subdivision of farm land and a dependency on the potato crop. Devine (2006, pp. 414-419) compares the Famine with the potato famine in the Scottish Highlands. Relief could be provided successfully in the Highlands because of the smaller scale of the disaster: 200,000 on the brink of starvation in the Highlands compared to 3 million in Ireland.

[31] During the famine, the government used public works and price control in attempts to alleviate the effects of the Famine, but relief was often inconsistent and dogged, according to Foster (1988, p.325), by prevalent anti-Irish sympathies. Private relief schemes also struggled – in their case because of the protracted nature of the Famine. Religious groups such as the Quakers provided valuable relief, but some Protestant groups offered assistance co-joined with proselytism, a combination bitterly resented by the Irish Catholics (p.329).

[32] Skinnider (1967 p.13) records that in 1779 there were only 30 Catholics in Glasgow and there was no Church or priest.

[33] Initially the only place to obtain a qualification was the Normal School in Dublin, but the Scottish HMI had concerns that this training lacked rigour and seriously questioned the quality of this training. Colleges were later opened at Hammersmith (1851) for men, and Liverpool (1856) and St Leonards (1855) for women (Skinnider, 1967, p.18, Fitzpatrick, 1995, p.26, Fitzpatrick, 2000).

[34]Ugolini (2000, pp.34-35) states that the treatment of the Italians during war-time appears to have had a profound effect on older Italians. Colpi (1991, pp.99-101; 195) states that the deeply wounding effect of the Arandora Star and internment in the Italian community were combined with ambivalence concerning the pre-war support for fascism and distress because Italy lost the war. This has created difficulties for researchers like Ugolini and Colpi, because older Italian people are reluctant to speak about the past, especially the war, not just to oral historians who are fellow insiders but also to the younger generations of Italians.

[35] The chief organizer of the demonstration was John Cormack, an Edinburgh councillor who was also a leader of the Protestant Action Society. His dislike of the Poles was motivated by the fact that the majority of Poles were Catholics. He was also influenced by Communist newspapers, such as 'The Daily Worker' and 'Pravda', which he quoted during the meeting. According to Cormack, the Poles were to blame for the queues and the food shortages, for the economic depression of Scotland, and for the shortage of housing. He accused the majority of Poles of being murderers and rapists. (Ziarski-Kernberg, 2000, pp.120)

[36] Initial research by Paterson was limited because of a small sample and no evidence of the effects of differential migration (Paterson (2000, p.375-376). He claims that subsequent evidence based on the larger scale Scottish Household Survey of 2001 provides more robust evidence (Paterson & Iannelli, 2006 p.356, pp.374-376).

[37] Though the Scottish ecumenical initiatives are closely linked to the wider international movement, there are some localised issues which appear to be exclusive to Scotland (Fitzimmons, 1998 pp.103-106). The discussions in Scotland have been dominated by deep and difficult issues: intercommunion, Catholic views on mixed and inter-faith marriages, differences on teaching on morality (especially abortion) and the 'rationale for separate Catholic schools'. Interestingly, this differs from the discussion between the Catholic Church and other Christian churches in international, and other national, ecumenical dialogues (Goosen, 2001, p.77-91) - the issue of Catholic schooling (or any Christian denominational schooling) does not appear to be an issue in other national or international ecumenical dialogues, but appears to be exclusive to Scotland.

[38] Kelly (2003a). Declaratory Act Anent The Westminster Confession of Faith (Church of Scotland online, 1986).

[39] Confession of Faith (1963), chapter 22, section 7; chapter 24, section 3; chapter 25, section 6; chapter 29, section 2.

[40] During the course of his sermon he commented that 'sectarianism has wrecked the face of Christianity throughout Scotland'. After the service he further commented that he and the Catholic Archbishop, Mario Conti, 'both take very seriously the necessity to combat the sectarian mindset'. Archbishop Conti added that the service was 'vital in helping eradicate the antipathies we see in sectarianism' (Bannerman, 2004).

[41] As Scotland approached the millennium in the late twentieth century, a number of key works evaluated modern Scottish history and society, e.g. Devine and Finlay (eds.) (1996), McCrone (2001) and Hassan and Warhurst (eds.) (2002). The Scotland Act 1998 established the first Scottish Parliament since 1707. This Parliament is able to legislate for devolved matters such as education, but not for reserved matters such as employment legislation (Scottish Parliament online).

[42] The Church of Scotland had an important input in the 'questions for home rule' in the 1940s and 1990s and the campaign for the Scottish assembly in the 1980s and the 1990s. Furthermore, the Church and Nation Committee influenced the debates on Central Africa in the 1950s and 1960s and the North Sea Oil debates in the 1970s (Walker , 1996, p.254).

[43] Up until the 1960s the Church of Scotland provided a focus for a variety of social and leisure activities that were supported by many Protestants, practising or not (Walker, 1996, p.264).

[44] An alternative interpretation could be that it was simply a matter of convenience as the Assembly Buildings were in the vicinity, a suitable size, and available.

[45] Finn (2003, pp.902-903) is not in complete accord with Conroy's (2001, p.549) claim that MacMillan couched his arguments in a 'balanced and thoughtful manner', acknowledging that 'not every point of MacMillan's lecture was well considered'.

[46] Nil by Mouth (online) is an 'independent campaign leading the challenge to rid Scotland of sectarianism'. See also: Scottish Executive (online, 2005a); One Scotland (online).

[47] 'Denominational schools play valuable part in raising standards: McConnell' Scottish Executive Press release (2001 online); 'School given glowing report', *BBC News* (2006 online).
'St Ambrose is top of the class' *North Lanarkshire Council News* (2007 online).

[48] Examples would include *Faith and Teaching* (2003); *Charter for Catholic Schools* (2004); *Faith and Citizenship* (2005) and *Called to Love* (2007).

[49] Catholics fight plans to integrate pupils, the Guardian 13.3/2002 online; Education the Religious Divide in the Herald 5/3/2006.

[50] Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003, (Scottish Executive online, clause 74).

[51] Gorrie's comments on the 'merging of the best values of Catholic schools' appears to be based on an understanding of the external success criteria of Catholic schools and not the internal mission and purpose of Catholic schools. The Catholic school is internally conceived as a 'theological' community which ultimately serves society as a whole (Catholic schools, 1977, 29; The Religious Dimension of Education in the Catholic School, 1982, 31). The 'best values' of Catholic schools, as perceived by the Catholic church, are firmly rooted in the gospel values of Catholic Christianity and cannot be meaningfully abstracted from these roots.

[52] The poll surveyed 1,005 Scottish voters but does not provide any details of the poll nor describe location of poll.

[53] This has included requests that St Albert's Catholic Primary in Glasgow which has a 90% Muslim population be changed to a Muslim school.

[54] I was an honorary research fellow at the Centre for Theology and Public Issues, University of Edinburgh, Summer Term 2005.

[55] I have used this method in my MPhil dissertation and in my participation in AERS.

[56] He acknowledges that this derives from the writings of Max Weber.

[57] Presbyterianism was established as the national Church of Scotland in 1690. see:
http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/organisation/orghistory.htm

[58] They are both members of the Westminster parliament.

[59] Although the interviewees fail to mention them, the *National Secular Society* (online) and the *Humanist Society of Scotland* (online) are committed to eradicating all religious influence in the state, especially faith schooling.

[60] Although they focus on the perception of ignorance of the nature of the Catholic community, this historical illiteracy equally applies to the other immigrant groups that have come to Scotland

[61] An interesting parallel exists with the Church of Scotland. In Church without Walls (online, 2001, pp.10-11), it is claimed that Robin Gill's research shows that 'loss of church attendance does lead to the erosion of Christian belief in society'. The decline of church attendance is conceptualised within a context of newly emerging forms of *Christian discipleship*, rather than *Church membership*. The challenge for the Church of Scotland, in the midst of this erosion of belief and broken chain of memory, is to engage with and nurture 'long term discipleship in a short term culture'.

[62] See especially the Gospel of John and passages such as 'In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light shines in the darkness and the darkness has not overcome it' (Jn 1:4-5). See also: Jn 8:12; 9:5; 12:35; 12:46; Leon-Dufour (1980, p.269).

[63] Genesis 2-3. See also Clifford & Murphy (1990).

[64] For a contemporary discussion of the use of this dualism in John and comparison and contrast with use of dualism in Gnosticism, Qumran and Jewish religious thought and scripture See Lindars (1990, pp.45-51); Moody Smith (1995, pp.16-17); Brown (2003, pp.115-150).

[65] The two documents produced are: *Guidelines for Teaching Relationships and Moral Education* (2001) and *Relationships and Moral Education: Guidance for parents and teachers* (2003).

[66] The National Sexual Health Advisory Committee (online) acts on behalf of the Scottish Executive: 'the Committee has been established to provide advice on policy, to monitor and support the implementation of the national strategy 'Respect and Responsibility', as well as taking forward some key aspects around influencing Scottish culture, sex and relationships education and clinical services'. The thirty three members include a representative of the Church of Scotland (currently Reverend Andrew Philip of Dunfermline, Fife).

[67] This point concerning the proposed provision for Catholic children omits one detail. There was faith education during the school day in many of the Scottish schools in the 19th century, but it was in Presbyterian Christianity and the Catholic community considered this to be unacceptable for Catholic children. (Kenneth, 1972, p.7)

[68] As has been explained earlier in this thesis, this rejection and enmity was experienced at certain periods of time by other immigrant Catholic groups such as the Italians, Lithuanians and the Poles. Other immigrant groups, for example the Jews and the Asians, also experienced difficulties.

[69] According to the Census of 2001 (Scottish Executive Statistics online, 2005b) there are 42,600 Muslims in Scotland compared to 6,600 Sikhs and 5,600 Hindus.

[70] The relationship between faith schools and social capital is discussed in Annette (2005, pp. 191-201).

[71] Scottish Executive statistics (online, 2006) indicate that over 30,500 pupil attend independent schools in Scotland. This represents a steady rise from 3.9% of school population to 4.2%, within the context of a declining birth rate. See also: 'Increase in private school intake' BBC News 24 online, 17 April 2007.

[72] The symbol used on the job adverts was a cross. The jobs being referred to are not 'open to Catholics only', but are open to Catholics who are explicitly approved by the Catholic Church in terms of religious beliefs and character for specific posts in the Catholic school (Religious Education teacher, guidance teacher, biology teacher and senior management posts). Not all Catholic teachers would necessarily be approved by the Catholic Church for these posts.

[73] The legislation states:

> …a teacher appointed to any post on the staff of any such school by the education authority…shall be required to be approved as regards religious belief and character by representatives of the church or denominational body in whose interest the school has been conducted.

Education (Scotland) Act 1918; Education (Scotland) Act 1980 Section 21 (2); Self-Governing Schools (Scotland) Act 1989 Sch.10 paragraph 8 (7) (SCES online).

[74] Not all posts in Catholic schools are reserved for Catholic teachers, although all teachers require approval to work in a Catholic school. See instructions for non-Catholic teachers applying for approval (SCES online). As this thesis has been completed, this issue of approval has been highlighted by the McNabb case. David McNabb successfully challenged his exclusion from a promoted pastoral post in St Paul's High in Glasgow. He argued that the post did not require church approval, an argument upheld by an employment tribunal. This has lead to a re-examination of the legal status of approval. (Denholm, 2007).

[75] There is an historical aspect to this argument that has also been ignored. Similar to the Catholic schools in Northern Ireland, Catholic schools in Scotland provided access for Catholics to a profession and to a social mobility that appeared to be denied to them in other professions (Gallagher, 2005, p.157.

[76] These issues are discussed with reference to England and Wales in McKinney (2006a, pp. 106-107; 113-114).

[77] The mainstream world religions are often perceived to be: Christianity; Judaism; Buddhism; Islam; Sikhism and Hinduism as examined in texts such as Cole (1998). Alternatively, the Interfaith network for the UK also includes representative bodies from the Baha'i, Jain and Zoroastrian communities (Interfaith Network for the UK online). In England and Wales the faith schools are predominantly Church of England, Catholic and Jewish. In Scotland the faith schools are predominantly Catholic.

[78] Although the discussion of Catholic schools has focussed on the conceptualisation of a Catholicism and Catholic culture that is predominantly of Irish origin, In the 19th and 20th centuries, Catholicism and Catholic culture have consisted of a much richer mix of indigenous Scottish Catholics and Irish, Lithuanian, Italian and Polish Catholic immigrants.

[79] Treble (1978, p,132) points out that the raising of the school leaving age in 1947 to 15 and in 1972 to 16 had a significant impact as many pupils continued their studies.

[80] The number of Catholic students in Glasgow University trebled between 1956 and 1972 from 700 to 2,000, forming one of the largest student bodies in the UK (Gallagher, 1987, p.240; Maver, 1996, p.281).

[81] Paterson (2000, pp. 147-155; 2003, pp.147-148) demonstrates, from the school leaver surveys of 1981 and 1995, the proportion of children passing three or more Highers in denominational schools increased from 12% to 27% as compared to 20% to 31% in non-denominational schools. In terms of working class children, the proportion passing three Highers or more in denominational schools increased from 9% to 21%, compared to 10% to 19% in non-denominational schools.

[82] Ironically the example used by Thompson's (2000, pp.165-166) concerns the version of history of a persecuted Protestant minority in the French Alps.

[83] An inter-denominational school would be a faith school that incorporates different denominations of one religion. An example would be a Catholic, Episcopalian and Presbyterian faith school that has a shared Christian rationale. An inter-faith school would be a faith school that incorporates two or more

faith groups and has some form of shared theological rationale (e.g. a Christian-Muslim school or a Hindu-Sikh school).

[84] The six would be Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism. The census in Scotland of 2001 included two questions concerning religious adherence and upbringing. The categories to be ticked for both questions were: none; Church of Scotland; Roman Catholic; other Christian; Buddhist; Hindu; Jewish; Muslim; Sikh and another religion. See General Register Office for Scotland (online, 2003).

[85] The Inter-Faith Network of the UK (online) includes the six plus Baha'i, Jain and Zoroastrian.

The Scottish Inter-Faith Council does not define or describe what constitutes a faith.

[86] See the brief portraits of Italian, Lithuanian and Polish immigrants on One Scotland online.

[87] See Vote Green in Glasgow Green (Green Party online).

[88] As explained in chapter 1, the terms 'Protestant' and 'Protestant community' do not refer to homogeneous groups, but incorporate a wide and disparate group of Christian denominations. Sometimes the word 'Protestant' can be used by Catholics in the sense of 'not Catholic', the 'other'.

[89] Darragh (1978, pp.210-247) points out that over two million people emigrate from Scotland between 1871 and 1876.The emigration was most intense between 1921 and 1930.

[90] Darragh (p.224) points out that the earlier emigration was mainly to other parts of the United Kingdom.

[91] Approximately 5% of Catholic pupils attend non-denominational schools. Bishops Conference of Scotland (2006 p.2).

[92] On its website, the Scottish Executive stated that: 'Scotland has 391 state-funded faith schools - 387 Catholic, 1 Jewish, 3 Episcopalian and the remaining are special schools, of various Christian denominations.' (Scottish Executive Schools Information online).

[93] I am indebted to John Hall, Research Officer in SCRE (Scottish Council for Research in Education), for assisting me with the pie charts and table.

[94] The Scottish Government (2007) *School Meals in Scotland* [Online]. Available at
http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2007/06/04134749/1
[Accessed 18 December 2007]

[95] Child Poverty Action Group in Scotland (2007) *Poverty in Scotland 2007 – Briefing*. [Online].
Available at: http://www.cpag.org.uk/scotland/Poverty_in_Scotland_2007briefing.doc
[Accessed 18 December 2007]