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‘Finding’ the Female Irish Catholic Diaspora: a qualitative
investigation of the experiences of women in Glasgow

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MSc Equality and Human Rights

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Abstract

There has been much scholarly interest in the Irish Catholic Question in Scotland in recent years. The research which has been conducted has been undertaken largely by quantitative sociologists who seek to ascertain whether structural disadvantages still impact on the life-chances of Catholics in Scotland, with the category Catholic being deployed as a synonym for the Irish in Scotland. However, to date there has been little in the way of qualitative studies examining the actual experiences of people from an Irish Catholic heritage.

This study not only addresses this methodological imbalance, but offers a fresh approach to understanding this topic. Fieldwork began in 2015 and entailed 22 life history interviews with women of Irish Catholic heritage in Glasgow. Interviews were conducted using photo-elicitation techniques as this method is considered an effective way of gaining insight into participants' 'life-worlds'. The main aim of the thesis was to look at how the attribution of an Irish Catholic identity - by them or by others - had shaped their lives. This involved exploring issues surrounding identity both in a cultural and a group 'sense'. Further, the thesis sought to explore how diasporic identities were produced, sustained, and experienced within Glasgow.

The thesis found that there was a significant number and density of cultural networks within Glasgow which enabled 2nd and 3rd generation migrants to engage in activities which brought forth a strong identification with the island of Ireland. Secondly, it found that many who took part in the study were subject to pressures as to who to partner with, or marry. These pressures included experiences of bigotry, and family coercion to enter into relationships with coreligionists. Thirdly, underscoring all of this was the issue of prejudice. Many of the women who took part in the research talked of experiencing an aggressive secularism, a racialized nationalism and, most frequently, an anti-Catholic prejudice. Overall it became clear that an attribution of an Irish Catholic identity - whether through self-ascription or ascription by others - was a significant factor in shaping the everyday lives of participants.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: PAUL GOLDIE

Signature: _____

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

In discussing culture, Stuart Hall (1993) begins with an examination of the very moment in which he poses the question. He says: ‘These moments are always conjunctural. They have their historical specificity; and although they always exhibit similarities and continuities with the other moments in which we pose a question like this, they are never the same moment’ (p104). Therefore, in examining migration, as this thesis seeks to do, one might similarly begin with a broad sketch of what the present conjuncture ‘looks like’, and a reflection on why we are exploring the Irish Catholic Question in this moment, and what factors will contribute to our better understanding of it.

1.2. Political climate

In post-devolutionary Scotland, questions such as ‘what sort of nation are we?’ have been prominent on the political agenda. Such reflective questioning intensified in the run up to the Scottish independence referendum of 2014, and continues after Brexit. According to Fox (2017: 26), it is at moments such as these that the edges of the nation are rendered most visible. These edges include not only geographical boundaries, but the boundaries of political discourse that conceptually defines the nation itself. Consequently, often foregrounded during these times are questions about immigration and who comprises ‘the Scottish people’.

At the level of political leadership, the SNP’s current rhetoric on immigration has largely been progressive; it proclaims a civic model of a nationalism whereby people who live within the geographical confines of nation, and contribute to it economically, can be considered part of the nation (Kearton, 2005: 89-90). Although the binary between ethnic and civic forms of nationalism is problematic (Brown, 2000: 49), one can use these concepts in a loose sense to analyse political discourse. It is indicative that, recently, Alex Neil has said that ‘Scotland has a wonderfully diverse society and we are all, each and every one

of us, equal citizens and stakeholders of Scotland’ (Scottish Government, 2016: 2). Contemporary state level political discourse, therefore, as promoted by the current SNP Government, has argued for a Scotland where all people and groups can be understood as important component parts of a multicultural nation.

Although political rhetoric is important, this does not constitute the only discussion being had on national identity and belonging. Currently there are debates in the media and more widely on how newly settled EU migrants, from countries such as Poland and Lithuania, fit into a post-Brexit Britain. Running parallel to this are similar questions on belonging with regard to older, more established communities such as the Scottish Asian, Italian, and Irish communities. Thus the discursive construction of national belonging does not only occur at the level of national elites, but in every-day life. Les Back’s (1996: 49-50) term ‘neighbourhood nationalism’ describes a process whereby ‘meanings and identities are mediated within [a] particular context by a set of historical conditions and socio political circumstances’. Consequently, political proclamations of belonging can, and often are, expressed, experienced as well as challenged at the neighbourhood level, in everyday contexts.

1.3. The Irish Catholic question

In short, one characteristic of the present conjuncture is a heightened emphasis on, and consideration of, questions of Scottish identity and belonging. Given this political climate, it is perhaps no surprise to find academics, journalists, politicians, and ‘ordinary’ citizens revisiting the so-called Irish Catholic Question. However, when commentators discuss the Irish Catholic Question, there seems little in the way of unanimity as to what is at issue or how best to research it. Writers such as Bruce (2004), Devine (2014) and Rosie (2015) foreground the study of religious antipathies and argue that the category ‘Catholic’ acts as an effective means of identifying the Irish in Scotland. However, this claim is often made implicitly, rather than explicitly, leading to confusion and a popular belief that religious difference itself is the *only* issue. Consequently, broader questions of ethnicity and nationalism are often absent from discussions. Virdee (2015), in contextualising the Irish Catholic Question, argues that ‘[w]hile religiously-driven conflict was undoubtedly part of the story, it was never the whole story’.

Virdee's statement alludes to the fact that anti-Catholic tensions were also entangled with racializing discourses which represented the Irish as biologically or essentially inferior. These, amongst other conceptual problems, will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3. Suffice to say, at this point, that how we conceive of the Irish Catholic Question, and how we approach the study of it, have significant consequences, not least in a methodological sense.

To be clear then, I approach the Irish Catholic Question from the position that it is concerned with the causes and consequences of long-standing migration from Ireland to Scotland. This history, I would argue, is best understood as a form of colonial and more recently postcolonial migration whereby people from a former colony have come to live and settle in the previously colonising nation. In particular, for reasons that I explain below, the thesis will focus on the experiences of women living in the Irish Catholic diaspora in Glasgow.

1.4. Coloniality of power, diaspora and identity

The thesis, therefore, locates any study of the Irish Catholic Question firmly within the history and aftermath of colonialism. Consequently, I argue that it is necessary for us to be attentive to how the 'colonial structure[s] of power produced the specific social discriminations which later were codified as 'racial', 'ethnic', 'anthropological' or 'national', according to the times, agents, and populations involved' (Quijano, 2007: 168).

In developing this approach, I follow the assertions made by de-colonial scholars such as Aníbal Quijano (2007) and Mari'a Lugones (2007; 2010), that although colonialism as a specific system of world power has been defeated, the ramifications of that system are still a social force in the world today. Lugones (2007) is of particular importance for this thesis because her writings focus directly on the way in which coloniality is expressed in questions of gender and sexuality. Her theory on 'Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System' outlines how specific systems of gender and sexuality were imposed on colonised peoples; therefore, cognisance should be taken of these systems of power and their long term effects in any project concerning formerly colonised people.

My use of de-colonial theory within this thesis entails an extension of their approach. This is because there is very little recognition within the de-colonial school of processes of racialization which occurred within Europe. Quijano and colleagues tend to talk in binary terms of a colonising Europe and its role in creating regimes of discrimination in Latin America and Africa (Quijano, 2007: 168). However, such an approach neglects the racialization of the interior of Europe (Miles, 1993: 81) whereby (for example) Irish people were represented as ‘ape-like creature[s] of ridicule’ (Virdee, 2014: 4). Therefore, this thesis intends to make a two-fold contribution, conceptually speaking, in that it brings de-colonial ideas to bear on the experience of the Irish diaspora, but also suggests a way in which de-colonial perspectives themselves might be broadened.

1.5. Importance of history

Given the thesis’ use of a de-colonial paradigm, my discussions and findings were situated in a historically informed framework. The past matters as it still shapes how power is exercised in the world today. However, I am conscious that history and historical research is used and mobilised politically for different ends by different elites over time. Bannerji (1998) argues that the writing of history is not an objective task - as it necessarily entails a process of representation, and thus raises questions of ideology and epistemology. C Wright Mills (2000) sums this up by saying:

‘The historian represents the organised memory of mankind, and that memory, as written history, is enormously malleable. It changes, often quite drastically, from one generation of historians to another- and not merely because more detailed research later introduces new facts and documents into the record. It changes also because changes in the points of interest and the current framework within which the record is built’ (pp144-155).

Therefore, I draw on history not with the aim of providing a singular or unified view of the Irish Catholic experience; rather, I seek to piece together from the available evidence an understanding of the social forces which have shaped the experiences of Irish communities, and particularly of Irish diasporic communities in Scotland. This will involve laying bare many of the contentious debates within

historical enquiry, and not ‘shying away’ from the subjectivity inherent in all historiography.

1.6. Diaspora and diasporic consciousness

The thesis will examine the Irish Catholic community in Scotland as a diasporic population. The concept of diaspora helps us understand transnational migration in a number of ways. Firstly, it will be used in the manner advocated by Robin Cohen (2008) who argues that we can *categorise* diasporic populations using substantive criteria and established typologies. This method can illuminate some of the shared characteristics amongst members of a diaspora. These include: whether there exists a shared memory or myth about the homeland; a strong ethnic group consciousness; or a troubled relationship with the host society (p17). Secondly, a further use of diaspora as a category of analysis will focus on how diaspora identity and consciousness are ‘created’. Analysing diaspora consciousness by looking at cultural identity, and how this is produced, shaped and contested, can tell us much about the lives of people from an Irish Catholic heritage. Therefore, the concept of diaspora will be deployed within this thesis in a number of ways to help conceptualise and understand the lives and identifications of those with whom I worked.

Adjoining this is Avtar Brah’s (1996) concept of ‘diaspora space’ which will be used as a way of understanding the participants’ experience of living in Glasgow. In describing her concept of diaspora space, Brah says it:

[m]arks the intersectionality of contemporary conditions of transmigration of people, capital, commodities and culture. It addresses the realm where economic, cultural and political effects of crossing/transgressing different ‘borders’ are experienced; where contemporary forms of transcultural identities are constituted; and where belonging and otherness is appropriated or contested. (p238).

This concept will be of particular use when considering the co-creation of identities between those constructed as ‘indigenous’ and the Irish diaspora. The idea of diaspora space, points us towards processes of ‘othering’ and belonging

that occur within a context like Glasgow, and thus encourages us to recognise that Irish identities, like all identities, is formed in the complicated intersection of self-understanding and external ascription.

1.7. Aims, objectives and justification for the research

As mentioned earlier, post-devolutionary, post-referendum Scotland provides an interesting context in which to explore this issue. At the same time, however, I was conscious that any new investigation in this area of study risks getting bogged down in what I feel to be the rather sterile debates about ‘sectarianism’ (how best to measure it; whether it even exists or existed etc.). Therefore, I felt that it was important to adopt a conceptual strategy that made possible a wider approach to this question, not reducing it to an argument about whether prejudice exists. My use of de-colonial theory, my decision to focus on gender, and my concern to understand everyday issues of identity, are all attempts to think more broadly about these experiences.

The locus of the ‘everyday’ seemed to provide a particularly fruitful area of study because, as Plummer (2013: 506) puts it, ‘[o]ur everyday life drips with stories of how people live and love, work and play, hate and die’. Furthermore, it is in the everyday that our socially constructed identities are made real and experienced. In light of these, the following research aim, and questions intended at achieving that research aim, have been devised:

Research aim

To investigate the life-histories of women of Irish Catholic descent in Glasgow, with a view to understanding whether the attribution of an Irish Catholic identity - by them, or by others - has shaped and affected their lives.

Research Questions

- *What is the significance of an Irish Catholic background amongst participants?*
- *What are the factors that help to produce and sustain such identities paying particular attention to the issues of gender and class?*
- *Do experiences of, and/or perceptions of, discrimination and prejudice constitute important factors in the production of such identities?*
- *If present, what are the specifically gendered ways in which experiences of, and/or perceptions of, discrimination and prejudice impact on participants' lives?*

In order to address these questions effectively, I conducted one-to-one qualitative interviews with 22 people who identified as being of Irish Catholic heritage. The research involved the use of photo-elicitation interviewing whereby participants were invited to bring to the interviews photographs of their lives from childhood through to adulthood. These acted as the basis for discussion and the interviews were thus focussed on a rich and loosely structured exploration of personal, family and community experience. The methodology was particularly intended to help explore questions of identification, memory and belonging. One photograph, I discovered, could lead us down a multitude of conversational paths: this was something that often occurred.

1.8. Originality of approach

The thesis seeks to make three distinct but related contributions to knowledge. Firstly, it seeks to sketch out a picture of the everyday lives of women in the Irish Catholic diaspora in Glasgow. In doing so it will challenge the idea that no such community exists and that, in effect, members of this community have been 'assimilated' (Bruce et al., 2004: 110). In accomplishing this, I aim to create the space for those who took part in my study to 'exist' in terms of research. This may sound a rather grand claim, however, there has been very little in the way of detailed, qualitative investigation into the everyday life of the Irish Catholic population in Scotland. This is because most studies of ethnic minorities in Scotland - and in the UK more widely - have been conducted within the 'race' relations paradigm - which has routinely excluded the Irish due to

perceived whiteness (Walls and Williams, 2003: 635). As such, my research offers a new way of looking at one of Scotland's largest ethnic groups.

Secondly, the thesis will explore Giddens' (1992) claim that there has been a 'generic restructuring of intimacy' (p58). That is to say that there has been a shift to the 'pure relationship' whereby external criteria lose their significance in relationship formation as traditional identities are swept away. By using Giddens' thesis on intimacy and relationships as a backdrop, the thesis will provide fresh knowledge on contemporary relationship formation amongst the Irish Catholic diaspora community in Glasgow. This is salient given Michael Rosie's (2015: 345) work which shows that Catholics in Glasgow have a higher tendency to marry coreligionists. Therefore, two fresh questions can be identified: how does the notion of the pure relationship interact with ethnicity, and what are the possible reasons for the higher rate of 'in-marriage' in Glasgow?

Finally, the thesis seeks to provide fresh insight as to how people of an Irish Catholic heritage experience a self-asserted or ascribed Irish Catholic identity. More concretely, it will look at the stories people tell about being 'othered' in their day-to-day lives, and the effects this may have. In doing so, it will provide a better understanding of how perceived prejudice is made 'operational' in everyday settings, and also what the strategies of legitimation or resistance might be.

1.9. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into 8 Chapters. The first chapter has briefly sketched out the conjuncture in which the research was carried out, as well as introducing the research aim and questions directed towards that aim. Furthermore, the chapter has outlined why I have chosen to deploy the particular framework I have, and what the consequences of this are for the study. Chapter 2 will take an historical sociological approach to understanding the social forces that shaped Ireland and its people over the *longue durée*. Such an undertaking is important because it is only through historical inquiry are we able to begin to comprehend Irish Catholic lives and the circumstances that brought them to

Scotland's shores. To this end, this chapter will explore the measures used to oppress the population under feudalism, colonialism, and as an 'equal' part of the Union. The chapter will also focus on migration to Scotland and how the Irish Catholic diaspora were treated on arrival. In exploring both the consequences for Irish Catholic people under these social systems, and their experience of migration to Scotland, we can gain insight into how anti-Catholicism and racism fused to form a distinct modality of prejudice that shaped lives in particular ways. It will be argued in chapter 7 that these colonial epistemologies still affect the Irish diaspora.

Chapter 3 will provide a synopsis of the current literature on Irish migration to Scotland. It will focus in on a key debate about the usefulness of the concept of sectarianism in understanding the lives of participants. It will discuss how differing methodological traditions within this field of study has often led to a situation in which different researchers study different phenomena and arrive at conflicting conclusions. Particular attention will be given to a key text: *Sectarianism in Scotland* (2004), written by Steve Bruce, Michael Rosie, Tony Glendinning, and Iain Paterson. This work is particular influential in the field and time will be spent considering it and some of the criticisms levelled at it. The second part of the chapter will outline a proposal for an alternative theoretical framework. I will propose studying Irish migration to Scotland through use of a de-colonial perspective - using the concepts 'diaspora' and 'identity'. It will argue that such an approach will enable questions to be explored that have, thus far, gone unasked. This framework will allow us to gain insight into the production and reproduction of group identity and how these social identities are made real and experienced in everyday life.

Chapter 4 will outline my research design and research strategy. It will elaborate further on the research aim and research questions already mentioned in this chapter. In addition, the chapter will summarise why I decided to focus on the stories that people told about their day-to-day lives, and why I viewed this as significant. The chapter will also touch on issues of recruitment, sampling, positionality, ethics, and the process and practice of life-history interviewing.

Chapter 5 seeks to make visible the arguably invisible lives of the Irish diaspora in Glasgow. Through use of the rich data gathered during interview, the chapter will show that there exists a variety of cultural networks and contexts, which enable participants to engage in activities that sustain a strong identification with Ireland. This will involve analysis of narratives about the significance of music, dress, football, Irish dancing, and religion. The chapter will also reveal the challenges that many people reported when attempting to esteem their Irish Catholic heritage. Many felt the need to conceal practices associated with that identity - such as support for Celtic Football Club or Catholic observance. As such, the narratives suggest that navigating and negotiating an Irish Catholic identity in Glasgow is not easy. It often involved many of the women with whom I talked being pushed into a form of habitual reflexivity about their Irish Catholic heritage.

Chapter 6 looks at the complex process of relationship formation amongst those interviewed. The chapter begins by outlining Giddens' (1992) claim that we live in an era of the 'pure relationship' where external criteria informing relationship formation are swept away (p58). The chapter will then proceed to analyse the narratives on dating, relationship formation, prejudice and how these elements combine to shape participants' disposition on these matters. The chapter will then explore how the diaspora community has internally policed its own boundaries of belonging. These strategies of policing ranged from mild coercion to the outright prohibition of external relationships. After a thorough analysis of the data, alternative reasons will be offered as to why there may be a higher rate of in-marriage amongst Catholics in Glasgow (Rosie, 2015: 345).

Chapter 7 will look at the issue of prejudice specifically. It will begin by trying to disaggregate the varying forms of prejudice that people describe in their stories. For example, I will outline how experiencing anti-Catholic prejudice, in the form of - for example - an aggressive secularism, differs from what is usually conceived of as 'sectarianism'. These issues are important because if we are to properly understand prejudice, we must have nuance in our understanding as to what that prejudice is. The chapter will make clear that a common thread that ran through these stories was the effect of, and impact of, patriarchal power and misogyny. This was particularly evident in forms of spatial patriarchy, which

circumscribed many of the participants' use of public spaces. Finally, the chapter will talk about how the women who took part in the study dealt with or responded to instances of abuse; here I was particularly interested in exploring the agency of the women that I talked with, and how they negotiated, challenged or managed such experiences.

Chapter 8 will aim to summarise the PhD and clearly lay out the contribution to knowledge that it makes. This will include the contribution it has made, both to the conceptual debate on the topic, and to our empirical understanding of the day-to-day lives of the Irish Catholic diaspora. In addition, consideration will be given to possible implications of the research beyond academia and how the research can be used to bring about a change in the public discourse on the Irish Catholic Question.

2. History

2.1. Historical method

As specified in chapter 1, this thesis seeks to approach the Irish Catholic Question through a de-colonial lens. In order to achieve this, the following chapter will adopt the approach of historical sociology - such as was advocated by C. Wright Mills (2000). Mills argues that the social sciences are historical disciplines and, to understand contemporary societies, one must consider past events and how they shape current circumstances (p146). Consequently, in order to fully understand the question of Irish migration to Scotland, one must have a solid awareness of the historical factors that shaped Ireland as a country and its people. Comprehension of this context places us in a better position to understand Irish Catholic lives today, as well as the circumstances which brought them to Scotland's shores - the most significant of which were the long term effects of colonialism.

I argue that, given that the colonial relationship endured for over 300 hundred years, a de-colonial approach is relevant to any contemporary understanding of the Irish in Scotland. Therefore, this chapter will begin by outlining the evidence on how from the seventeenth century onwards England (and later Britain) colonised Ireland, strategically positioning itself at the centre of Irish economic and political matters (Virdee, 2014: 1). The chapter will go on to show how colonialism shaped Irish Catholic lives, and what the consequences of being viewed as colonial subjects were when they arrived in Scotland. Finally, I will discuss what the consequences of this development may be for a study of the Irish in Scotland today.

2.2. Introduction

Referring to a map of the British and Irish archipelago, Robert Kee (1997: 23) notes that: 'Whichever way you turn the map, the larger of the two islands off the north-east coast of Europe can hardly help appearing to want to grasp the smaller in its arms'. Kee's observation points to an imagined inevitability in

relations between mainland Britain and Ireland, a sense that these adjoining islands are inextricably linked and that the nature of that relationship is one in which the larger island is necessarily dominant. In order to understand that imagining we need to explore the real history of these relations and its long term conceptual consequences.

This chapter will begin by analysing the policy of *surrender and regrant*; a policy which sought to strip away the rights of Gaelic chiefs and establish royal authority in Ireland (Ohlmeyer, 1998; 2005). Running parallel to this legislative intervention was the programme of plantation. This is significant because, arguably, it was this policy, more so than any other, that socially engineered tensions between ‘native’ Irish, the Old English who were the descendants of the Normans, and subsequent and successive waves of Protestant settlers from Scotland and England.

Secondly, there will be an exploration of the juridical measures implemented by successive administrations beginning with what Edmund Burke labelled in a 1782 letter as ‘the ferocious acts of queen Anne’ (1836: 58). These acts, also referred to as the Penal Laws, remained in place for over a hundred years and formed the bedrock of what was to mutate into a form of state racism in Ireland. There incremental repeal would only occur as the British State moved from a policy of racialised to national oppression after revolutions in America and France (Allen, 1995).

Thirdly, there will be a focus on the reaction of Irish Catholics and the Old English to increased waves of inward migration brought about by colonisation. This will involve looking at how organisations such as the Whiteboys, Captain Rock, and the Society of United Irishmen sought to oppose colonial rule (Gott, 2011). In focusing on resistance movements, I will consider how the British state prevented a coalition of Presbyterian Protestants, Irish Catholic peasantry and Anglican Protestants (Bardon, 1992).

Ireland’s position within the empire after the formal Treaty of the Union in 1807 will be considered, demonstrating how this change meant that many within the nation itself became agents of imperial oppression. Further, the treaty of the

Union will be analysed to explore the extent to which it provided an opportunity for upward social mobility for Irish Catholics. In looking at Ireland's place within the Union, no examination would be complete without considering the state enforced starvation of the mid-1840s. Jackson (2005) argues that this event in particular was a demonstration of 'the heartless expression of London's social, political and economic interests in Ireland' (p134).

Finally, the mass migration movement of the 19th century will be outlined to show how this period, more than any other, created an Irish diaspora that stretches from the Atlantic, to the antipodean islands, and to mainland Britain. A focus on Scotland will show how Irish Catholic migrant communities were treated with fear and suspicion by a population who felt that their social-economic position was threatened by increased waves of migration. Further, this section will show how institutions such as the Church of Scotland mobilised to turn the local population against these displaced people. In particular, I will show how the church sought to use a discourse of 'race' to underpin their argumentation. Therefore, the chapter as a whole will examine the Irish experience over the *longue durée* (Burke, 1990) enabling an understanding on how the regimes of representation implemented during colonialism may still affect the Irish diaspora in Scotland today (Quijano, 2007).

2.3. Context and background

2.3.1. Was Ireland a Colony?

The status of Ireland in the British Empire is a hotly contested subject amongst historians (Howe, 2008: 138). Many argue that it was Britain's first colony (Ohlmeyer, 1998). Indeed, Friedrich Engels, writing to Karl Marx, stated that: 'Ireland can be counted the first English colony, and moreover a colony which, because of its nearness, is still ruled in the old way; and here it is already clear how the so-called freedom of English citizens is based on the suppression of the colonies' (Engels, 1844, in Fox, 1974: 7).

However, others argue that because of its status as a kingdom since 1542 and its formal joining of the Union in 1801, the colonial paradigm is misplaced as a

mode of analysis in the case of Ireland (Turner, 1995: 255). However, Howe (2008: 138) argues that the main issue is with the term 'colony' itself - as it has been overused and undertheorized by academics working within studies of empire and colonialism. Cleary (2002: 253) offers us a route out of this conundrum in his recognition that the British Empire 'comprised a heterogeneous collection of trade colonies, administrative colonies, protectorates, crown colonies, settlement colonies, administrative colonies, mandates, trade ports, naval bases, dominions and dependencies.' Therefore, the concept of colony can be said to be an ideal type, with many variations in the practical expression of colonial status. Consequently, this expanded understanding of empire and colonialism allows us to investigate the question of Ireland's status as a colony in a much broader manner.

2.4. The civilising mission and racialization of the interior

Our analysis begins with the Tudor Monarchs, Henry VIII and James VI, who used representations of backwardness to justify their subsequent claim to the island by implementing large-scale socio-economic and political reforms. Bardon (1992) sums up the overall aims of these monarchs by arguing that they looked to extend control over 'the whole of the island - the partition of Ireland between English Pale and the great Irishry was to be erased, and all Gaelic Lords were to hold their lands by English feudal law' (p71). Consequently, two key policies were implemented to bring about this 'civilising mission': *surrender and regrant*, and *plantation* (Ohlmeyer, 1998).

2.4.1. Surrender and regrant and Plantation

Surrender and regrant was viewed as a means by which the British monarchs could integrate the Irish Gaelic and Gaelicised lordships into a unified Irish polity (Connolly, 1998). The policy required both groups to surrender their land, relinquish their Gaelic titles, and assist in the establishment of English law. Additionally they were expected to render military service to the crown and anglicise their territories (Ohlmeyer, 2005: 37). In return for this show of loyalty, those who did surrender their land to the Crown, such as the O'Neil's of Ulster, received not only their land back, but English peerages as well. This

policy, of course, had a different symbolic and practical implication depending on who it applied to. The Gaelic Irish were giving up their perceived historic and 'indigenous' rights to their land; whereas, conversely, the descendants of English settlers, who had adopted Gaelic culture, were reaffirming their support to their distant rulers (Kee, 1997).

Plantation Munster and Ulster 2.4.2.

As previously stated the policy which has arguably left the greatest legacy and division on the island of Ireland is that of plantation. Ohlmeyer (2005) argues that 'after the outbreak of the Desmond rebellion [...] plantation became an instrument of royal policy and private enterprise and was put to work for the purposes of the state' (p38). The policy was particularly oppressive to the Irish peasantry who would see their land taken away, and given to a Protestant class - described in terms of an 'ascendancy' - most of whom were from Scotland and Wales (Ibid.: 27). The idea of plantation as a policy was not new as exemplary plantations had been present in Ireland since the 1500s; however, those were private ventures, which were co-operative by design (MacCarthy-Morrogh, 1986).

In terms of implementation, Munster was the first region of Ireland to experience intensive state-enacted plantation. The opportunity arose for land seizure when the Earl of Desmond was killed in a revolt against the crown. It was agreed by Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and King James VI, that there would be a project to anglicise Munster in order to create an area that resembled the south-east England on the confiscated Munster estate (ibid.).

The British State believed their actions to be just as those who had sworn allegiance under the policy of surrender and regrant had revolted; therefore, extensive land confiscation and plantation were justified as a response to sedition (ibid.). On 1 May 1585, the plantation of Munster was embarked upon (Ohlmeyer, 2005: 38). Initially, grants of land varied between 4 and 12,000 acres per undertaker who were, in turn, contractually bound to the State to introduce English households in the form of settlers, and to implement English farming techniques. Land was also set aside for 'civilising' institutions such as towns, schools, and Protestant Churches (Ohlmeyer, 1998).

However, in addition to an influx of undertakers, many Catholic elites were given land on the condition that they also implemented reforms. Thus:

‘Many nobles, including Catholic Gaels, quickly realised that, in order to survive and be considered ‘worthy subjects’, they had no alternative but to accept the new commercial economic order inherent in the Crown’s civilizing and ‘improving’ initiatives’ (Ohlmeyer, 2005: 47).

A further plantation was embarked upon in the north-east region of Ulster. This was after the confiscation of land relinquished following the so-called ‘flight of the Earls’ in 1607. The flight of the Earls refers to an event whereby key ruling Catholic Gaels and nobles realised the futility of resistance to English will and consequently fled Ireland altogether (Farrell, 2017). The English Government believed the best option for the use of their confiscated land was plantation. This would be carried out under the oversight of the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester, who believed that allowing settlers and natives to live side-by-side was the best way forward. However, this would still involve the removal of Irish Catholics from vast swathes of territory that they had previously held (Bardon, 1992). The land, which was predominantly fertile farmland, was to be allocated to mostly immigrant Scots from Dumfriesshire (Dobson, 2009: V).

The aim in Ulster was to create a rural society which would act as a civilising enterprise. The administrative order comprised 100 Scots Protestant Undertakers who were to clear Irish inhabitants from the estates being allocated. Furthermore, each Undertaker would be obliged to settle 24 Scots Protestants from ten families for every 1000 acres allocated - with each family being required to swear an oath of supremacy, that is, an oath of loyalty to King James VI. Some favoured Irish tenants were also given land on the basis that they would implement English farming techniques (Bardon, 1992). The King also turned to the city of London and offered the county of Coleraine and the Baronies of Loughinsholin, Culmore and the town of Derry to 55 private companies. Together these companies formed an umbrella corporation known as the Honourable Irish Society; a Society that changed the name of Derry to Londonderry (Dobson, 2009; Bardon, 1992). The colonial arrogance of this act

still resonates today, with pronunciation of the city's name often viewed as an indication of ethnic identity in Ireland.

2.4.3. Evaluation of the plantation system

The initial wave of plantation was not considered a success (Ohlmeyer, 1999: 29). This was due to a number of factors. Firstly, landowners and settlers were spread too thinly to create the model of a 'civilised' rural community that had been planned. Secondly, those who migrated found that the Irish Catholics, who were supposed to have been cleared from the land, were still present. Consequently, many of the Scots Undertakers allowed Irish Catholics to stay on the land as they were willing to pay higher rates of rent than incoming migrant Scots (Bardon, 1992; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 1986). Thirdly, displaced former tenants often conducted raids on the new settler communities, causing havoc with the day-to-day process of plantation. The peasantry, often referred to as the 'woodkern', had little option but to carry out these raids, deprived as they were of any alternative means of sustaining their existence. The mayor of Derry was said to have communicated back to his home in London that they were building with 'the sword in one hand and an axe in the other' (Bardon, 1992: 62).

Fourthly, capital costs for Undertakers exceeded expectations. This was the case because shipping and poor road conditions pushed up the costs of transporting supplies (Perceval-Maxwell, 1973). Finally, the policy of importing a large population of Scots and English Protestants to act as a social control stratum for ruling elites of the British State was both the policy's most enduring legacy and failure. This was so because resentment ran deep within the displaced Irish Catholic and Old English communities - many of whom lost both land and livelihood. Those displaced had nowhere to go and no means of sustaining themselves. As Farrell (2017: 277) states: 'Ulster was a society riven by underlying tension and conflict'. Therefore, the very policy of plantation laid the foundation for the divisions and bloodshed that would follow in the 1641 rebellion. Consequently, successive historians (Farrell, 2017: 295; Ohlmeyer, 1999: 29) have judged the first attempt at plantation in Ulster to be a failure.

Indeed Ohlmeyer (1999) argues that it was not until the conclusion of the Williamite Wars that Ulster, as plantation and the Irish frontier, was secured.

The legacy of the policy of plantation still resonates strongly today. Many view the partition of the north east of the island as evidence of the lingering legacy of empire and colonialism. Consequently, it causes antipathy towards identification with Britishness amongst many of the Irish Catholic diaspora today (Hickman, 2002).

2.5. Rebellion, Cromwell and the Williamite wars

In October 1641, rebellion originating in Ulster erupted and spread throughout the whole of Ireland. The leaders of the revolt were scions of wealthy families who had run into debt and had their protests for improved property rights ignored (Connolly, 1998). The conflict covered the whole of Ireland and many atrocities were said to have been committed on both sides. Kee (1997: 44) suggests that the conflict was responsible for 'slowly hammering the people of Ireland into two nations regardless of race: one Catholic and the other Protestant'.

The conflict became embroiled within the broader English civil war in 1642 when many within the conflict changed sides within that conflict but never came together (Bardon, 1992). The arrival of the Cromwellian army in Ireland ensured the defeat of the Gaelic aristocracy and the establishment of a Protestant ascendancy. Consequently, the conditions of Catholics would worsen further due to this and the effects of wider British and European political struggles. The most notable of these pan-European struggles, in terms of its Irish consequences, was the overthrow of King James II by his brother-in-law William of Orange.

2.5.1. The glorious revolution

William was sought by British ruling elites because of a fear that the current Monarch - James II - was pro-French, pro-Catholic, and had a belief in the power of absolute monarchy (Pincus, 2009). In particular, James II was seen as a threat because he was believed to be actively improving the rights of his Catholic

coreligionists. These actions included awarding Catholics military commissions and appointing Catholics as fellows to Oxford University (Ibid.: 4).

The opponents of James II, the most prominent of whom were seven senior Protestant statesmen, required William of Orange's assistance as they were unable to raise an army at home to challenge James's perceived pro-Catholic and anti-Parliament agenda (Ashley, 1966). The *immortal seven*, as they were termed, aimed at securing the hegemony of the Protestant faith in Britain, and the protection of constitutional powers for Parliament. The success of William of Orange over James II is often referred to as 'The Glorious Revolution' due to the relative lack of bloodshed during the transition of power (Bardon, 1992). However, recent scholarship by Pincus (2009) argues that although the revolution was comparatively bloodless, the threat of widespread battle remained:

The English endured a scale of violence against property and persons similar to that of the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. English men and women throughout the country threatened one another, destroyed each other's property, and killed and maimed one another throughout the revolutionary period (p9).

Regardless of how this period is portrayed in popular history, what is clear is that the events had significant implications for Ireland. This is so because when James II made an attempt to regain his crown, he landed in Ireland in an effort gain support for this venture - making Ireland a point of focus in this wider European conflict (Kee, 1997). William of Orange and James II met at the Boyne Valley where James was defeated thus ensuring the position of the Protestant faith in England and constitutional privileges for Parliament (Pincus, 2009). However, for Irish Catholics, this defeat would cement their position as a subordinate majority in their own land (Parnell, 1803). This moment has been recognised as pivotal in the loss of Irish independence in historiography ever since. This subordinate status was made effective by, firstly, William reneging on the terms of surrender enshrined in the Treaty of Limerick and, secondly, through the expansion of Penal Laws.

2.6. Treaty of Limerick and the intensification of Penal Laws

The Treaty of Limerick in 1691 signalled the end of the Williamite Wars. In exchange for their surrender, the Catholic army was guaranteed safe passage to France (Parnell, 1803: 18). The Treaty also guaranteed the surrendering army and broader Catholic population their right to: practice their faith, continue in certain trades and professions, security of estates for landed classes, and carry arms (Parnell, 1803: 32).

The ratification of the Treaty of Limerick came in the wake of new laws that William implemented in 1695 with the aim of establishing a strengthened Protestant order in Ireland (p 22). The level of William’s duplicity became evident when he passed subsequent laws denying Catholics the right to be legal guardians of their own children, who themselves were to be denied an education by law (p 32). It was from this point onwards that there was to be an intensification of laws diminishing Irish Catholic and non-conformist rights in Ireland. The nineteenth century Whig historian Henry Parnell argued that rather than making the surrendering Irish Catholic army ‘free subjects of a prince, from where they were taught to expect only justice and mercy [...] they were made the slaves of everyone, even of the very meanest of their Protestant countryman.’ (Parnell, 1803: 31).

An outline of the penal measures taken by the British State can be seen in table 1.

Table 1: Penal Laws

Acts to prevent the further spread of Popery (Furious acts of Anne)	
1704	1709

- If a Popish father's son is a Protestant then he is forbidden from mortgaging, selling, or disposing of his estates.
- There is a 31 year restriction of leases to Papists.
- No Protestant is allowed to marry a Papist.
- If a farm produced greater than 1/3 of the amount of rent then it must pass over to the first Protestant who notices it.
- Patriarchal inheritance rights are abolished.
- If there were no Protestant heirs, then the estates must be distributed equally amongst their children male/female or extended family.
- No Papist can reside within Limerick or Galway unless there are exceptional circumstances.
- Papist cannot vote unless an oath of allegiance and adjunction is taken.
- No papist to get an annuity of life.
- Converts in public office had to educate their children as Protestants.
- Papists may take on no more than 2 apprentices.

Source: Recreated from Parnell, H. (1803) *A History of the Penal Laws Against the Irish Catholics, From the Treaty of Limerick to the Union*. LSE selected Pamphlets.

In the wake of these laws, and through the years since their imposition, the question has often been asked: why did Irish Catholics not choose to convert to Protestantism? This question is addressed, and an answer offered, by Theodore Allen (1995) in his book *The Invention of the White Race*.

Allen highlights figures which show that during the 18th century approximately 1 out of every 1000 people in Ireland converted to Protestantism (p77). Those who did undergo this transformation were largely members of the property-owning classes who wished to maintain their existing privileges. However, much of the peasantry did not seek conversion because there was little in the way of state policy to enable this. For example, Allen argues that there were dozens of laws to curtail the spread of Popery but none to promote the spread of Protestantism. Allen argues the policies of racial and then national oppression required there to be a large and exploitable majority under colonial rule. As such, Allen states that 'the unwillingness of the Protestant ascendancy to promote the conversion of Catholics to Protestantism is a central fact of Irish history' (1995: 74). In other words, Allen argues that the religious bar operated in a similar manner to the colour bar in Africa: creating a marker of difference between racialised others and ruling elites, which served a justificatory purpose in relation to the exploitation of the former by the latter (Allen, 1995).

Finally, Allen argues that it would have been deleterious to the tactics of British statecraft for whole-scale conversion to have taken place for a further reason. Two-thirds of Protestants in Ireland were classed as dissenters or members of the Presbyterian faith. For the most part these were Scots-Irish who resided in Ulster. According to Allen, this group of people were inclined towards republicanism and therefore it became necessary to ensure that the Catholic peasantry did not join forces with these potential dissenters as this would have presented a threat to State authority. Therefore, as was the case elsewhere in empire, the establishment of a racialised division was instrumental to the defence of colonial authority.

2.6.1. Effectiveness of Penal Laws

The effectiveness of the Penal Laws is a contested area of historical inquiry (Cullen, 1986). Many social scientists such as Ignatiev (1995) and Allen (1995) argue that they epitomized the British State's prejudicial policies against a Catholic population in Ireland. However, others such as Connolly (1998) argue that they were targeted mainly at the landed classes and had minimal effect on the Irish peasantry. Connolly goes on to argue that the laws often went unenforced. Cullen (1986) argues that there has been little in the way of a comprehensive examination of the penal laws as legislation, in part due to their far reaching scope (p36). However, what is clear is that such laws demonstrate: the uneven relationship between Ireland and England; the beginnings of the Protestant Ascendancy and its place in colonial domination; and how colonialism functions in terms of mobilising regimes of representation against those whom that system colonised. Finally what is in little doubt is the extent to which both policies of plantation and the Penal Laws inspired successive waves of resistance from Catholics and dissenting Protestants alike.

2.7. Resistance to empire

Resistance to the policy of plantation has already been discussed; however, this resistance intensified after it became clear that the Presbyterian dissenters were not going to get a share of the spoils from the Williamite Wars. Further to this, the implementation of the Penal Laws saw both Protestant dissenters and

Catholic groups equally oppose British State policy, and embark upon forcible resistance (Gott, 2011).

A significant organisation which provided a template for subsequent resistance movements were the Whiteboys. This secret organisation was comprised of rural Catholic peasantry from the areas of Tipperary and Limerick, and their intention was to disrupt and agitate settler communities. In 1772, the tactics used by the Whiteboys included: attacking the enclosure system; killing or maiming cattle; unearthing fencing; and the intimidation of landowners (Gott, 2011: 51).

Inevitably, ruling elites treated these acts as further evidence of the need for the 'civilising' policies of colonial rule. However, such actions were more a sign of resistance to the material injustice from which largely dispossessed local communities were suffering. Gott (2011) argues that 'the racist nature of oppression, arising from the great distance perceived between the ferocious indigenous savage and the apparently benign advocates of free trade and industry would become the pattern for the Empire as it established itself on a more solid foundation' (p134).

The Whiteboys are of historical interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, they were not solely a Catholic organisation; many Protestants joined their ranks as well. Furthermore, much of their agitation was directed at the Catholic Church, which the organisation felt had too firm a grip on the local peasantry. Gott argues that there is evidence of parish tithes drying up and of priests having to flee, leaving boarded up chapels behind them. To this extent the organisation and its actions can be seen as simultaneously anti-colonial, anti-monarchical and, on occasion, anti-clerical. Connolly (2003) argues that, in many ways, the Whiteboys represented the most disaffected of Irish society but he notes that they did not form a coherent political or ideological movement.

The Whiteboys set out the model for secret resistance societies which were to be the hall-mark of future organisations from the Young Islanders to the Irish Republican Army. The secretive element was seen as essential due to their vulnerability to infiltration given the divisions within a colonised society. Their hydra-headed leadership model would also be emulated by future organisations, making it increasingly difficult for colonial powers to deal decisive blows against

them. Finally, the Whiteboys gave birth to, and inspired, other agitation movements that adopted much of their *modus operandi* - such as the Whitefeet and, later on, Captain Rock (Gott, 2011).

2.7.1. Protestant resistance

Protestant resistance was also evident during the late 18th century with groups such as the Hearts of Steel agitating around similar issues as the Whiteboys (Connolly, 1998). The most notable of events carried out by this organisation took place in 1770 when more than 500 members of this organisation marched on Dublin to secure the release of David Douglas - an Ulster farmer accused of houghing or maiming cattle (Gott, 2011). The band of activists, who insisted on an exclusively Protestant membership, managed to free Douglas and return to Templepatrick. Two soldiers were killed in the process, leading to British State reprisals. The organisation died out, partly due to the response by the ruling elites and partly due to Protestant migration out of Ireland which was spurred on by the lowering of transportation costs to America (Canny, 1994).

2.7.2. Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen

According to Gott (2011), the British State's greatest fear was unity between the Catholic peasantry and the Protestant middle classes. This fear was at its peak in the period after the French and American Revolutions when radical fervour swept over much of Europe. Theobald Wolfe Tone was a Protestant from Dublin who became the principal leader of a disparate coalition of Catholic priests and Ulster dissenters - linking segments of the Catholic peasantry to sections of the Protestant middle classes (Gott, 2011).

The United Irishmen, headed by Wolfe Tone, initially aimed at constitutional reform, but later worked closely with The Defenders - a group emerging from the radical tradition of the Whiteboys (ibid.) The result was a rising of 1795 which was quelled when the British State realised the threat posed by unification between the peasantry and sections of the Protestant and Catholic middle classes. Additionally, failings of the rising were attributable to: Wolfe Tone being absent in France at the time of the uprising; infiltration of the

organisation by British State sympathisers; and the arrival of French troops late in the conflict. Wolfe Tone was captured and cut his own throat in November of that year. During the 3 months of the rebellion, 30,000 people died, 81 people were executed, and 418 were sent to Australia. During the conflict the Defenders of County Armagh were defeated by the Peep Oday Boys - an armed organisation that aimed to preserve the rights and privileges of the Protestant ascendancy. It was during this altercation that the Protestant militia established the Orange Order which Gott (2011: 134) believes made 'a successful Catholic Protestant uprising against British rule increasingly untenable' in future years.

2.8. Ireland: formal union and its place in empire

Before going on to look at Ireland's period in the Union, it is necessary to highlight the significance of Protestantism to a British identity and thus, also, how this has fed into the construction of Irish Catholics as 'other'. Colley (2003) discusses the relative heterogeneity of Britain at the time of Union:

'Great Britain in 1707 was much less a trinity of three self-conscious nations than a patchwork in which uncertain areas of Welshness, Scottishness and Englishness were cut across by strong regional attachments and scored over again by loyalties to village, town, family and landscape' (p17).

Colley proceeds to make the argument that a vital ideological claim which came to unite this diverse population behind a British identity was the idea of a shared allegiance to Protestantism. This was, in part, because the people of the island were increasingly encouraged to define themselves in opposition to an external enemy - which, at that time, was Catholic France. The belief in Protestantism straddled class divisions and was often cited as the reason people enjoyed more favourable circumstances than others in Europe (ibid.: 42). Colley summarises up the centrality of Protestantism in both the formation of the individual and of the nation. She says:

'Protestantism was the dominant component of British religious life. Protestantism coloured the way that Britons approached and interpreted

their material life. Protestantism determined how most Britons viewed their politics and an uncompromising Protestantism was the foundation on which the state was explicitly and unapologetically based' (ibid.: 18).

Given this and the colonial legacy already explored, Ireland's place in the Union was always going to create a problematic dynamic.

2.8.1. Ireland as part of the Union

The Irish rebellion of 1798 shares some similarities with the American Civil War in that it was dissenter-led and aimed at secession from colonial control (Bartlett, 1998). In recognising this, Allen (1995) argues that the British state moved from a policy of 'racial' oppression legitimised on the basis of the claims about the uncivilised nature of the victims to a process of national oppression. Nonetheless, I would argue that it remains crucial that we recognise and reckon with the enduring consequences of the racialisation of the Irish, in the course of the history already described.

The transition to national oppression occurred gradually with the repeal of certain Penal Laws, and with the proposal of formal Union between the two nations. The arguments made for those who favoured Union included highlighting the political, social, cultural, and religious benefits that a Union would bring. Furthermore, certain ruling elites favoured this approach as it was seen as a necessary step to provide the security the empire needed (Bartlett, 1998).

Therefore, Prime Minister William Pitt's Union can be seen as intended to bind Ireland more closely the metropolitan core of the Union (Jackson, 2004). Initially, some Irish Catholics were in favour of Union because it was felt that it would bring about emancipation from the long succession of Penal Laws.² Furthermore, a significant attraction of a formal Union with Britain was that it would provide local Irish elites with full access to the opportunities of empire. Bartlett (1998) argues that Ireland's incorporation into the Union was thus accepted, in part, because it served to 'meet the career aspirations of Irish Catholic middle-class [and their] claims for tangible benefits from emancipation'

² Catholic Emancipation however was not fully achieved in law until 1829.

(p88). For many Irish Catholics, the material opportunities of Empire were more significant than symbolic bonds of Union (Bartlett, 1998). Nonetheless, the willingness of Irish, as well as Scots, to become involved in the expansionist dynamics of empire helped make it a truly British affair (Ohlmeyer, 1998).

2.8.2. Ireland in empire

Further analysis of Ireland's position within Empire and formal Union involves looking at the way in which membership of both entities assisted separatist movements. Jackson (2005) claims that:

'Ireland was simultaneously a bulwark of the Empire, and a mine within its walls. Irish people were simultaneously major participants in Empire, and a significant source of subversion' (p123).

What Jackson is referring to here is the extent to which, after the Treaty of the Union in 1801, Irish people exploited the opportunities opened up within the British empire, but also how involvement in empire made possible the development of a nationalist culture that would come to sow the seeds of secession. This is particularly evident if we examine membership of the British army in the 30 years after Union. Figures show that in 1830, 42% of the British Army was Irish (ibid.: 141). Ireland at the time equated to a third of the population of Britain but constituted a disproportionate population of the army. As in India and elsewhere within the British empire, that involvement was double-edged: former soldiers could return, not only with the skills to carry out armed insurrection, but also fully aware of British military tactics. This is not to suggest that they necessarily joined the forces as a deliberate means of acquiring insurrectionary skills; generally, the motivation for enrolment was economic. Whether deliberate or not, experience in the colonial army meant that many young Irish Catholic men came to possess the skills that could later be used to start construction of Jackson's metaphorical 'mine'.

2.9. The famine and exodus

The most devastating event during Ireland's membership of the Union and empire was the state-enforced starvation that occurred in the middle of the 1840s. This catastrophe would galvanise anti-colonial and anti-British sentiment that would ultimately led to Ireland's extrication from both empire and Union.

In a bid to provide context to the period of unification, Kee (1997) says:

'It had left most of the Irish, except in the north-east, Roman Catholics in a Protestant State. It had left most of them, except in the North-east, largely dependent for survival on agriculture. More remarkable still, it had left most of them except in the north east, largely dependent for survival on one single agricultural crop: the potato' (p77).

The potato blight struck in 1845, with the first deaths occurring in 1847. The Irish Catholic population bore the brunt of the consequences of drastic crop failure (Kee, 1997). The magnitude of the disaster is evident in figures showing that, in 1841, the Irish population was estimated to be in the region of 8,175,124 with a projected rise in 1851 to 9,018,799. The recorded population in 1851 was a mere 6,522,385 (Handley, 1947). Therefore, it is estimated that over a million people perished from starvation and disease during this decade and many more Irish Catholics felt that their only means of saving themselves and their families was to flee their homeland.

Recent critiques of scholarship on the famine have suggested that revisionists go out of their way to avoid attributing blame to any specific factor or agency: not capitalism, not imperialism, not the English and no specific politicians (Brantlinger, 2004: 194). However, Brantlinger is deeply critical of these developments and argues that the causes of the famine were multifarious but clearly identifiable:

'Malthusianism coupled with laissez-faire economism, evangelicalism, racism, and sexism: these ideological factors contributed to a disaster that in economic and political terms had been developing for centuries, but

that was touched off, like setting a match to a stick of dynamite, by the potato blight. The blight was unpreventable, but that it should turn into the Famine was not inevitable' (ibid.: 2002).

The famine, and subsequent disease, meant that a significant proportion of Ireland's population not only died, but that many of those who survived had to flee their homeland to destinations around the globe. Because of its proximity to Ireland, Scotland was to be one of those key destinations.

2.10. Migration to Scotland

Although there was already a long history of migratory flows between Ireland and Scotland, Handley (1947: 1) states that: '[s]elf-improvement was the impulse that transported the Irish migrant to Scotland in the pre-famine days. Self-preservation was the urge that drove him onwards in the black night of pestilence'. The Irish who came to Scotland after the State-enabled starvation were largely poor, destitute Catholics who had been failed by a State that was bound by the Acts of Union to protect them (Devine, 2014). In addition, it is also worth noting that there was a significant amount of Protestant Irish who migrated to the west of Scotland, most of whom came from the region of Ulster (Gallagher, 1987; Devine, 2008).

As it represented the most affordable option for the very poorest migrants, the west of Scotland (and, more broadly, Britain) was viewed as a financially-viable refuge. In contrast, the most financially secure migrants eschewed this route in favour of making the journey across the Atlantic to America or Canada (Devine, 2008: 2; Vaughn, 2013: 348). Walter (2018) argues that this dispersal of the Irish population led to a split within broader Irish diaspora 'Identity'. This split relates to a perception amongst Irish people of the 'true diasporan' being those (and their descendants) who made the trip across the Atlantic. Conversely, those who had merely made the short journey to the previously colonising Britain (and their descendants) have been considered 'unauthentic diasporans' (p 189).

When the Irish Catholic population arrived in the mid-to-late 19th century, Scottish society was experiencing significant social and economic

transformation. Increased industrialisation and urbanisation were radically changing how people worked and lived their lives. To compound matters, a subsistence crisis in the Highlands meant that during the same period of Irish migration, many displaced Highlanders were also seeking refuge in Lowland cities such as Glasgow and Edinburgh (Devine, 2008: 20). Consequently, the fleeing Irish were not the only population at the time in desperate need of welfare support.

Furthermore, a fluctuating economy caused a depression between 1847-1849 and, when combined with the consequent recovery, exacerbated a sense of ontological insecurity within those living in Scotland at the time. Vaughn (2013: 19) identifies a paradox of Irish migration in that migrants were arriving just at a time of a 'skills drain' where many Scots were leaving to seek out new opportunities overseas. Therefore, population decline and skills shortage was countered by Irish migration. Overall the context within which post-famine migration occurred was: increased urbanisation, expansive industrialisation, a fluctuating economy, and population flows which weighed heavy on the demand for state welfare support (Devine, 2008: 20).

2.10.1. Reception

The reception that Irish Catholic migrants received is a contested area of historical enquiry. Writers such as Devine (2014, 2008) and Gallagher (1987) argue that in the late 19th century many Scots were initially fearful of an influx of people who adhered to an 'alien' religion. This was particularly so because the Catholic religion was viewed as the dividing line between British subject and the colonial 'other'. For these authors, what compounded matters was that powerful entities - such as the British State, the national Church, religious preachers and the media - were using their significant levels of symbolic capital to racialise Irish Catholics. As such, each act of signification consolidated the often-racist stereotypes.

These racist troupes included comparing Irish Catholics to ape-like creatures of ridicule and describing them as a dangerous migrant group that could cause moral decline within the Scottish working classes (Gallagher, 1987: 28). Devine

(2008: 29) argues that during the late 19th century what was ‘most subtle and significant was the consolidation of a new racial analysis of the Irish and their descendants as feckless, inferior and undisciplined who had brought the catastrophe of famine upon themselves’.

An example of the enduring nature of this institutional hostility and racialising discourse towards Irish Catholics is exemplified by the national Church in the early 20th century. The Church of Scotland had become fearful of the influx of Irish Roman Catholics, which it viewed as a threat to its hegemonic position as the established church in Scotland. In a report by the Presbytery of Glasgow and The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in 1923, to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, it was stated that the Irish Catholic population:

‘[C]annot be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race. They remain a people by themselves, segregated by reason of their race, their customs, their traditions, and, above all, by their loyalty to their Church and gradually and inevitably dividing Scotland, racially, socially and ecclesiastically’ (Church of Scotland, 1923: 750).

This report was accepted by the General Assembly and was subsequently published as *‘The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality’*. What is particularly notable here is the Church’s explicit use of a racialising discourse to stir up fear and resentment of the Irish Catholic population. Clearly, they felt that faith is taken as one component part of a racialised identity.

Devine (2008: 193) argues that such an intervention should not be underestimated because the ‘General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the 1920s was probably the most prestigious and respected force in the land, regarded as a surrogate parliament of a stateless nation’ (Devine, 2008: 193). It is only recently that the Church of Scotland has chosen to apologise for its part in stirring up fear and hatred towards the Irish migrants (Devine, 2014).

Considering the prevalence of such racialising discourse, any process of assimilation would be challenging, if not impossible. Gallagher (1987: 18) argues that the consequence of Irish racism is that it galvanised a sense of community

that otherwise might not have transpired. This was because the forging of strong community links acted as a form of psychological protection from the harshness of day-to-day life in Scotland. Gallagher goes on to discuss how the boundary of that community was policed when stating: 'The Irish side of the ghetto frontier may have been patrolled more vigorously from the inside than the outside' (Ibid.: 18). Thus, using Gallagher's analysis, we can see the cause and effect of racism: community formation, cohesion, and heightened protectionism.

A further factor that shaped 'local Scots' attitudes to the arriving Irish was a perceived influx of people who were physically weak and susceptible to disease. Such fears were thrown into sharp relief in 1847 when Fathers' John Bremier, Richard Sinnat, Daniel Kenney and William Walsh all perished from typhus around the Paisley and Greenock area (Gallagher, 1987: 11). All were tasked with ministering to the newly arrived migrants and perished in doing so. Indeed, these instances of infection would later feed into the stereotype of 'typhoid Mary' and epitomised the 'danger' of the newly arriving Irish migrants (Handley, 1947). What was less considered by the local population was that the previously mentioned rapid demographic change, poor squalid housing conditions, coupled with the inadequate water supply could have been responsible for infecting the newly arriving migrants. Also there weakened physical state of Irish Catholics from the famine may have made them particularly susceptible to any disease outbreak (Handley, 1947).

To properly analyse the reception that Irish Catholics received, one must consider the prevalence of the Orange Order in Scotland. The Orange Order came into existence in County Armagh, Ireland during 1795, having arose out of the conflict between Catholics and protestants over employment and land (Walker, 1992: 176). Given the flow of migration before the famine, and the acceleration of that flow afterwards, it was unsurprising that Orange Lodges were established around west-central Scotland. This was particularly so in areas settled by protestant Irish such as Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire (Ibid.: 178). According to Gallagher (1987: 28), the shipyards of Glasgow also became hotbeds of Orangeism. This was not just because of their close proximity to Ulster, where the Orange Order originated, but because of the cyclical flow of workers between the shipyards of Ulster and shipyards of the

Clyde. Therefore, 'many Scots protestants and indeed Irish protestants came to Glasgow with hardened views on the incompatibility of Catholicism to a British Identity' (ibid.: 27). Thus, a combination of both an influx of Ulster Protestants and local reaction to Irish Catholic migration helped place the Orange Order on a footing in Scotland that would not have occurred otherwise (Kaufman, 2008: 159).

Hostility between the Orange Order and Catholic migrants was originally viewed as an 'Irish fight' between Irish migrants. However, as ideas about Britishness and its perceived incompatibility with Catholicism spread, it became more than just an Irish affair. Orangeism spread across the central belt at such a rate that, in 1883, there were riots in Coatbridge and Airdrie with approximately 14,000 Orangemen involved in fights with the local Irish Catholic population (Vaughn, 2013: 48).

Providing a crucial gendered analysis, Kaufman (2008: 176) highlights the role that women played in socialising successive generations into the ways and values of the Orange Order. Such intergenerational value transmission ensured the Order's position as a key anti-Catholic institution which is still very present today. Thus, through successive waves of socialisation, Orangeism was successfully transmitted to the Irish Protestant diaspora and to the wider Scots Protestants population more generally.

During the economic gloom of the 1920s and 1930s, many in Scotland resented the Irish presence due to the increased competition for employment (Devine, 2014). Consequently, working-class Scots felt that their class position was in jeopardy. This fear, stoked by elites, encouraged a nativist mentality amongst many and resulted in protectionist policies within employment (Devine, 2014). Indicatively, there were acts of civil disobedience and anti-Catholic riots in Patrick as late as the 1900s (Handley, 1947). Kenefick (2013) argues that so great was the vitriolic hatred directed towards the Irish Catholic community, other immigrant groups were correspondingly less affected by anti-immigrant hatred. He argues there was 'less prejudice experienced by the Jews in Scotland because of the great hostility shown to the Catholic and Irish community by Scottish Protestants during the twentieth century' (p205).

In recent scholarship, Geraldine Vaughn (2013) discusses how the Irish gradually became more accepted within Scottish society. She says that key institutions, such as the formation of the Labour Party, offered a political ‘home’ for working class Irish Catholics. Indeed, Vaughn’s own work shows how migrants and their descendants not only found a political home in the Labour Party but occupied some of its highest positions (Vaughn, 2013: 352). Furthermore, factors that aided assimilation were the social reforms brought in by the Liberal Government of 1906-1914. This period saw the introduction of old age pension, free school meals and medical treatment (Hay, 1983). Further to this, the implementation of the post-war settlement and the formation of the welfare state after World War II provided the mechanism for greater equality in Britain in a broader sense. The gains in minority rights in the wake of the holocaust also added as a driver for assimilation for the Irish Diaspora. Finally, Vaughn asserts that an increasing public sector, with its accompanying employment equality legislation, meant that the Irish had more opportunities to gain good quality employment that was free from the prejudice found in other sectors (Ibid.: 351).

2.11. Conclusion

Immanuel Wallerstein (2004) argues that ‘historical systems have lives. They come in to existence at some point in time and space, for reasons and in ways we can analyse’ (p76). It would appear that many within Ireland, especially Irish Catholics, have suffered a great deal under the world-systems of feudalism and, later on, imperial capitalism. The chapter had two aims: firstly, to lay the groundwork for a historically informed sociological analysis of the Irish Catholic Question, thus situating the Irish experience within the *longue durée* of colonial expansion. Secondly, to provide the basis for my argument that a de-colonial lens is a fitting way in which to approach this subject.

My argument began by outlining how the policy of *surrender and regrant* aimed to replace land ownership rights, reaffirm loyalties to English elites, and enshrine these unequal relations in law (Ohlmeyer, 2005). Further to this, *surrender and regrant* had a secondary aim which was to ‘civilise out’ the Gaelic way of life - which was viewed as degenerate. Thus, the policy of *surrender and*

regrant can be reasonably considered the start of a policy of cultural imperialism on the part of the British State and Crown.

The policy of plantation, which was to become a model for other imperial projects, had mixed consequences (Ohlmeyer, 2005). It was clear however, that underlying all of these policies, there was a desire to expropriate Ireland's resources for commercial farming and industrial development by the emerging capitalist class of the 1700s. The barbaric manner in which this was carried out showed the brutality of primitive accumulation, as well as the lengths this emergent class would go to ensure the stability of that system.

Furthermore, the ascription of an inferior status to those who stood in the way of 'progress' was used by elites in both the under feudalism and later during the transition to capitalism. These doctrines included, firstly, a form of cultural racism, combined with sectarianism, and later, into the 18th century and onwards, a biological racism. Miles (1993: 89) Talks broadly about this strategy by saying: 'Colonial exploitation was achieved *inter alia* by means of a civilising process which entailed an inferiorisation of the colonial subject and practices of cultural imperialism.' The effectiveness of these divisive tactics is evident in the failure of any sustained alliance between middle-class Protestant, dissenters, and Catholic peasantry.

The Union was clearly a means of maintaining 'unruly Ireland' within empire at a time when empire was under threat (Jackson, 2005). For Irish Catholics, the Union offered new access to the opportunities of empire, similar to what had been experienced in Scotland since 1707. Access to empire did result in opportunities for working class and middle class Irish Catholics to improve their economic position; however, many industries and ventures were monopolised by others who were longer established within that system, such as the Scots (McMahon, 1999).

The paradoxical element to Union with Ireland and access to empire was that, on one hand, it opened up opportunities for social mobility; yet, on the other hand, it created an environment whereby separatist movements could flourish. Finally, the preventable famine in Ireland sounded the death knell for Britain's

hold on Ireland. It was the intractableness of politicians not wishing to deviate from *laissez faire* policies that was to galvanise a new revolutionary order (Brantlinger, 2004).

The famine added to an already existing worldwide diaspora. That diaspora would experience differing levels of prejudice and discrimination in the varying countries in which it was established, and in which it continues to exist in. In America, recent work done by Devine (2014) suggested that occupational class parity between the Irish and other migrant communities was reached at the beginning of the 20th century. In Scotland, however, such equivalence was not reached until 100 years later. Therefore, the question of where people moved is significant. Based on the evidence presented migrants who travelled to the formerly colonising nation (Scotland) have arguably faced longer lasting forms of exclusion.

Therefore, in light of the evidence presented overall in this chapter, I take the position in this thesis that it is reasonable to consider Ireland a British colony where many Irish people, most of whom were Catholic, were subject to de-humanising policies and treatment, and that this history has significant consequences for members of the Irish diaspora in Scotland and elsewhere. The next chapter will go on to examine the contemporary literature on the Irish Catholic Question, in the Scottish context, in a bid to understand what research tells us about the pervasiveness of prejudice and discrimination.

3. Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will provide a synoptic and, where necessary, critical account of the current literature on the Irish Catholic Question in Scotland. As previously stated I approach the Irish Catholic Question from the position that it involves an examination of the causes and consequences of migration flow from Ireland to Scotland, with a particular focus on Catholics as a historically racialised group.

The chapter will begin by examining the concept of sectarianism, which has been the dominant analytical lens through which researchers have approached this topic. I will show that some understand the concept 'sectarianism' primarily in terms of intra-doctrinal friction (Bruce et al., 2004: 4), while others seek to broaden the concept out to include nationality, sporting allegiances and politics (Scottish Government, 2013: 16-19). An analysis of the differing ways of conceptualising sectarianism is important because competing interpretations often result in social scientists researching different phenomena - and from opposing methodological positions - thus, arriving at conflicting conclusions (Devine 2000: 261).

I will explore the varying ways in which the concept is defined and catalogue the ramifications for research into sectarianism. For example, much of the research has emphasised the adoption of quantitative research methods that utilise large-scale data sets. This approach has yielded important studies that have focused on various dimensions of inequality at the level of social structure. To highlight this, I will discuss Bruce et al's *Sectarianism in Scotland* (2004) as it is considered by many a defining statement on the issue. In addition, it is a good example of the dominant way in which research within the topic is approached. I will argue that whilst such work is important, it occludes important questions such as the lived experience of Irish Catholic communities. As such, it reminds me of what Back (2015) said about similar studies addressed to social class: that they provide a study of a social issue but without any sense of feeling.

Secondly, the chapter will explore the value of using religious identity as a key indicator of Irish Catholic identity. I will show how writers such as Walls and Williams (2003) and Bradley (2006) have sought to develop a more historically grounded way of understanding Irish Catholic lives and I explain why, to me, this seems a fruitful way of exploring the situation of one of Scotland's largest ethnic minorities. For example, both authors approach the Irish Catholic Question, not only by focusing on religious identity, but also on conceptions of national heritage and on the history and experience of racism. To achieve this, they use qualitative research methods informed by an interpretive epistemology. This allows for an analysis of everyday phenomena and experiences such as applying for a job or supporting a football team.

The final section of this paper will advance and develop some of the ideas outlined by Walls and Williams to propose a different way of approaching the Irish Catholic Question in Scotland. I will argue that we need to consider how historical circumstances have, and may well continue to, shape the experiences of Irish migrants and their families. To that end, I will put forward an analytical framework which will draw on de-colonial theory by making use of the way in which that body of work has framed the concepts of diaspora and identity. I will argue that this approach can help us address new questions that have thus far gone unexplored. Therefore, the chapter provides a general literature review, mapping out existing work in this area, whilst also allowing me to develop and explain my own conceptual framework. Eisenhart and Jurrow differentiate these two tasks by describing a 'literature review which reviews a summary of important research, and conceptual framework which is a skeletal structure for organising or guiding a new study' (2011: 712). I intend the present chapter to speak to both of these objectives.

3.2. Conceptual clarity: the elusive concept of sectarianism

On approaching the literature on the Irish Catholic Question in Scotland, it is clear that social researchers are at odds as to what concepts to employ. Furthermore, there are also disagreements surrounding how the concepts in

question are actually defined. For example, many writers argue that sectarianism is the concept that offers most in analytical terms (Bruce et al., 2004; Devine, 2014; Rosie, 2008). Bruce et al (2004: 4) define sectarianism as ‘a widespread and shared culture of improperly treating people in terms of their religion’. This definition is broadly shared by Devine (2014) who states that sectarianism describes an ‘entrenched and popular hostility to individuals based on their religion’. These writers argue that the vast majority of Catholics in Scotland are descended from the children and grandchildren of those who left Ireland over the past 150 years (Bruce et al., 2004: 4; Devine, 2008: 191). However in focusing on sectarianism as a concept it makes inter-doctrinal relations the only way of understanding the consequences of Irish migration to Scotland. So that the inequalities and oppressions that result are seen as an outcome of inter-faith tension, and other aspects of that history: colonialism, and racialisation are excluded.

The Scottish Government has recently established an advisory group to tackle sectarianism (Scottish Government, 2015: 2.2). The role of this body is to gather evidence on the impact of sectarianism, to assess the evidence base, and to evaluate the work of community-based projects funded to tackle the issue. The advisory group also produced a working definition, which talks of sectarianism as being:

‘[A] complex of perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, actions and structures, at personal and communal levels, which originate in religious difference and can involve a negative mixing of religion with politics, sporting allegiance and national identifications. It arises from a distorted expression of identity and belonging. It is expressed in destructive patterns of relating which segregate, exclude, discriminate against or are violent towards a specified religious other with significant personal and social consequences.’ (Scottish Government, 2013: 5)

This attempt by the Scottish Government to define sectarianism is interesting for a range of reasons. Although it also emphasises religious identity as the basis for prejudicial acts, it also broadens the definition to include facets such as politics, national belonging, and the way in which these intermesh. I would argue,

however, that if it is important to understand and pay attention to these wider dimensions of Irish Catholic experience, it might well be that we should consider moving beyond a focus on sectarianism altogether.

Indeed, writers such as Gerry Finn (1990) are deeply critical of the use of the term sectarianism for just this reason and others. He argues that a significant issue with the dominant conception of sectarianism is that it ‘avoids any identification of causality, neglects any analysis of social and political power within Scotland and implies equal culpability for prejudice between majority and minority communities and helps retain the myth of Scotland as a democratic and egalitarian society free from the strains of racism’ (pp. 5-6). What Finn is arguing is that in presenting relations between ‘Scots’ and ‘Irish’ purely in terms of intra-doctrinal tension, the long histories of inequality and oppression which inform present social relations are expunged. Therefore, Finn, in his analysis, talks of the term sectarianism being omnifarious, suggesting that it obscures and impedes more than it reveals.

Regardless of the concept’s shortcomings, sectarianism continues to be the dominant lens through which questions of Irish migration to Scotland are explored. Its persistence as a category of analysis has led many researchers to analyse the topic using quantitative methods that utilise large-scale data sets. This method is attractive because the adoption of sectarianism as a conceptual lens neatly ‘flattens out’ an Irish Catholic identity into a singular categorical classification - ‘Catholic’ - defined in neat opposition to its adversarial Protestant ‘other’. An example of research that uses the concept of sectarianism from a quantitative perspective is Bruce et al’s (2004) *Sectarianism in Scotland*.

3.2.1. *Sectarianism in Scotland*

In what is considered by many to be one of the most ambitious works on this topic to date, Steve Bruce, Tony Glendinning, Iain Paterson, and Michael Rosie sought to evaluate the existing evidence about the social and economic positions of Catholics in relation to Protestants within Scotland, with a particular focus on the West of Scotland. Their conclusions were summarised in *Sectarianism in Scotland* (2004), and their analysis was conducted by using large-scale data sets

from the 2001 Census, the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, and a survey titled Sectarianism in Glasgow conducted on behalf of Glasgow City Council.

Bruce et al began their analysis by arguing that there had been a sharp decline in the general influence of Christian Churches in Scotland, and a marked reduction in religious adherence within Scotland as a whole. The authors outlined figures from the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey showing that the largest number of respondents (37%) stated that they were of no religion. This figure is compared with 36% who said that they identified as belonging to the Church of Scotland, and 14 % who were Roman Catholic. The analysis of the Glasgow Survey data showed that the Catholic population in Glasgow is higher than the rest of Scotland at around 24%.

The authors then go on to compare the figures on declared religion with data on church attendance. By doing so, they make the claim that there is a disparity between the numbers of respondents who state a religious preference in the census and other surveys, and the numbers who actually attend Church. Thereafter much detailed analysis is conducted demonstrating that the established Christian Churches have seen a significant declines in their congregations over the past 40 years, and that the largest cohort in census data are those who self-declare as having no faith (37%). Consequently, the authors make the point that if religious adherence is in decline, then it follows that sectarianism, defined as an inter-faith issue, would also be of declining social significance.

The book proceeds to provide an analysis of how Catholics fare in relation to Protestants in spheres such as: local and national representation in political parties; access to goods and services; the status of their church; educational attainment; protections in law; and socio-economic status. For example: the authors analysed the faith background of 800 candidates for local councils and 1000 candidates for the Scottish elections and found that 'there is no evidence that being a Catholic is a disadvantage for a political career in contemporary Scotland' (p71). Similarly, they argue that there is no impediment to Catholics accessing either goods or services. It is argued that this equality is attributable to the expansion of the state, and a number of legislative interventions. These

included the standardising of pay levels and terms of service. Therefore, it is argued that the wealth and background of those to whom services are provided have no bearing on the provision of those services (p76).

Their conclusions are similar with respect to educational disadvantage. The publication acknowledges that education has been a site where disadvantage has been historically present. However, the book argues that two key policies have combined to reverse this: the 1918 Education Act (Scotland), and the ending of academic selection. The former was of great significance as Catholic schools in Scotland had previously been funded by contributions from the Catholic Church and the local community. As a result, funding could be ad-hoc and vary from parish to parish. Thus, it is argued that the introduction of direct state funding has raised Catholic school standards. In terms of academic selection, the removal of this policy in 1965 helped mitigate the underperformance of many young Catholic pupils. It was no longer the case that the educational pathway of children was determined at a young age. The authors argue that it was not only Catholics who benefitted from the removal of this policy, but that many working-class Protestants benefitted too (p72).

Finally, on the issue of the socio-economic positioning of Catholics in Scotland, Bruce and colleagues concluded that, taken together, the Social Attitudes Survey, the Glasgow City Survey, and the 2001 Census demonstrated that 'religious differences in social class are largely restricted to older Scots' (p80). Figures presented show that Catholics who were 55 years of age and above only represent 26% of non-manual workers in the Scottish workforce. This represents a significant difference compared to Protestants for whom the figure is 49%. However, this disparity greatly decreases in relation to the position of younger Catholics. To illustrate this point, in those surveyed in the 18-34 year old cohort, the difference between Catholics and Protestants in non-manual positions was only 5% - which is within the statistical margin of error. Therefore the argument is made that there has been a gradual eradication of the occupational class disadvantage of Catholics in relation to Protestants in Scotland over the past 50 years.

The publication concludes by arguing that '[t]he Scottish economy, polity and society since the late 1930s have reduced the importance of religious and ethnic identity to a point of irrelevance' (p173). The authors argue that, therefore, there is no underlying or hidden spectre of sectarianism which blights Scottish society. Furthermore, the claim is made that the real issue within Scottish society is incivility due to excessive alcohol and drugs consumption. Consequently, those who indulge in sectarian behaviour are just as likely to act in such a manner in some other guise (p173).

3.2.1.1. Local authority employment

In what represents an extension of the analysis in *Sectarianism in Scotland*, Bruce (2014) has produced a further paper scrutinising the alleged underrepresentation of Catholics in local authority employment. He challenges the assertions made by an organisation titled 'Catholic, Work, and Local Authorities in Scotland'. The claim put forward by this body is that for parity to exist within local authorities, there would need to be an additional 28,322 Catholics employed (Equality Here, Now, 2013: 7 in Bruce et al., 2014: 447). However, Bruce et al's analysis shows that 85.59% of local authority workforce personnel responded by stating 'unknown' as their answer for the religion question on equalities forms. It is, therefore, argued that the lack of evidence to support claims about underrepresentation makes them partial at best, and misleading at worst.

3.2.1.2. Analysis

Because of the influence that *Sectarianism in Scotland* has had within academia, as well as in more general media and public discourse, it is necessary to spend some time examining the claims that it makes.

The desire of Bruce et al (2004) to elevate the level of discussion on the issue of 'sectarianism' is refreshing, as is their application of a rigorous empirical analysis to an important social issue. Their employment of large-scale data sets leaves us in no doubt about the decline of Christianity's social influence in Scotland, the extent to which political career opportunities have opened to

Catholics, the emergence of a more equal access to public goods and services and the increased rates of intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants. Furthermore, they demonstrate a decline in occupational inequality between communities, and show that the most glaring inequalities exist with respect to the 'no faith' category. Therefore, much of the work conducted by Bruce and colleagues sheds light on the contemporary situation of Catholics in relation to Protestants in Scotland. However, there are some claims made in the publication that have been subject to critique.

Elinor Kelly (2005), for example, has been critical of *Sectarianism in Scotland*. Her overall position is that, throughout the book, the authors make claims that cannot be substantiated by the evidence which they provide. For example, the claim that the 'ethnicity of one's ancestors is no longer an issue for most Scots' is criticised by Kelly as an overzealous extrapolation because it is denominational discrimination and inequality that is examined in the book, not ethnicity (p109). Further to this I argue that this is also an example of how the term sectarianism occludes or denies the significance of longer histories of racialised oppression. Furthermore, the claim made by Bruce et al that 'Scottish Catholics are no longer objectively distinct or that many Scots treat them as if they are is similarly challenged (p109). Again, Kelly claims that the evidence provide by Bruce and his co-authors does not substantiate such a conclusion: the authors do not have data that allows them to assess attitudes regarding Irish ethnicity and nor do they talk with those in the Irish diaspora to explore in a sustained or meaningful way, the daily significance of issues of identity.

The scope of the claims made in *Sectarianism in Scotland* has also been called into question by Stewart (2014). She argues that it tells us little about the situation of people who are young, female, and working class. For Stewart, the problem here is an inherent bias within census data, which gauges socio-economic status on the 'social grade of the chief income earner in the household' (p5). Stewart argues that with youth unemployment at 18.1% in 2010, and 1-in-5 graduates out of work, the number of young 'chief earners' within households is likely to be low. Furthermore, Stewart argues that the analysis fails to take on board that 58% of women work full-time compared to a figure of 89% for men. Therefore, inferring social class by chief earner data tends to

occlude the experiences of women. As much of the analysis on class position extrapolates from the position of men, it is, in effect, a study of male personhood (p5).

Stewart has also argued that selecting political career opportunities for Catholics as a point of focus for the research has the effect of emphasising the experiences of an educated elite who are unlikely to have faced the same barriers to employment as people in working-class communities (ibid:;). As a result, she feels that the publication fails to take account of social class in key parts of its analysis. Finally, imprecise language such as ‘some sort of qualification’, in reference to the achievements of young Catholics, fails to precisely measure ‘which qualification, and at what level’ the authors are talking about (pp4-5).

The philosophical premise of *Sectarianism in Scotland* is that society is best understood by studying disadvantage at the level of social structures: it is in this sense a structuralist analysis. Although such studies provide important answers to some key questions, they invariably occlude others. One such occlusion is the lived experiences of the Irish diaspora in Scotland. Writers such as Smith (2016: 5) have argued that examining everyday life can reveal much about how racialised identities are ‘made real’ in society. This is an important consideration for any study into a historically racialised group such as the Irish. A structural analysis can only take us so far in our attempt to understand the issue of Irish migration and its consequences. Therefore, a qualitative investigation may help us identify and consider aspects of the lived experience which tend to be overlooked in large scale quantitative analysis.

Others within this field of research have sought to approach the Irish Catholic Question from differing epistemological assumptions in order to draw out underlying dimensions that have so far been ignored. A notable contribution which takes this approach is research conducted by Patricia Walls and Rory Williams (2003). These authors adopt an interpretive approach and use qualitative research methods to explore experiences of employment discrimination.

3.2.2. Workplace discrimination

Patricia Walls and Rory Williams (2003) have sought to look beyond census data to examine experiences of workplace discrimination against Catholics of Irish descent in Glasgow. Their approach to employment-based discrimination focuses on understanding the relationship between health risk and ethnic/religious identity. They believe that an 'important issue is to examine how the experience of being Irish in Britain may link to social-class position and ill health, including the possibility of discrimination' (p633).

The authors begin by highlighting the flawed way in which previous investigations into people of Irish Catholic descent in Scotland have been carried out: sectarianism and religious identity are foregrounded at the expense of an analysis in terms of national heritage and racism. Therefore, 'the contemporary experiences of Irish-born people and their descendants in Britain has gone largely un-researched [...] for failing to fit prescribed boundaries' (Walls and Williams, 2003: 633).

Moreover, they argue that the Irish experience has often been marginalised because their identity has been submerged in a seemingly homogenous 'white' ethnicity. They believe that, in order to surmount these difficulties, consideration must be given as to whether the 'Catholic experience in Glasgow shows the persistence of prejudice denoting ancestral (ethnic) origin rather than religious belief or practice' (Walls and Williams, 2003: 635). Walls and Williams argue that if this motivation for hostility is identified, then debates on sectarianism need to be recalibrated so as to allow for the possibility of viewing sectarianism as a form of racism.

The conclusions from their research are as follows: firstly, that people of Irish Catholic descent are often marked out as a different religious/ethnic group by their schooling, by the fact of bearing Irish names, and/or by belonging to sporting organisations - such as those affiliated to Celtic Football Club (p651). Secondly, any evidence of discrimination unearthed during fieldwork was directed towards the Catholic population; the authors found no evidence of anti-Protestant prejudice or activity. Thirdly, respondents felt that their class

position was attributable to the social consequences of their perceived inferiority. Fourthly, the research findings showed that being labelled Catholic can affect employment chances: a total of 7 out of the 39 Catholics who took part in the study described personal experiences of discrimination. Therefore, both authors argue that their study provided evidence that, at a minimum, discrimination against those who are Irish-Catholic is still present within Scottish society, although they are careful to note that qualitative research of this kind does not allow for generalizable claims about the social extent of discrimination: the article concludes that ‘anti-Catholic discrimination in employment in Glasgow has not gone away. Discrimination against Catholics in Scotland needs to be recognized as a possible precursor to the employment and health disadvantage of Catholics and studies need to address this possibility’ (p657). Therefore, they conclude that their ‘results establish the *fact* of discrimination, but not its prevalence’ (p652).

As will be evident, Walls and Williams approach the Irish Catholic Question from a different methodological tradition, and seek to challenge the adequacy of sectarianism as a concept, and as it has usually been deployed. By foregrounding a broader analysis which includes questions of national heritage, religion and racism, they are not only able to question sectarianism as a category of analysis - but the use of religious identity as a single basis for defining the Irish diaspora in Scotland. These are laudable developments in this field of research and, therefore, allow new research questions to be explored. A further author who seeks to approach the Irish Catholic Question by foregrounding the issue of national heritage, and using qualitative research methods, is Joseph Bradley (2006).

3.2.3. Anti-Irish sentiment in football

Joseph Bradley (2006) has conducted research on Irish identity and how expressions of Irishness can be met with hostility in Scotland. The focus of his study was support for Celtic Football Club; a club which has its roots in the Irish Catholic diaspora that arrived on Scotland’s shores in the 19th century. Bradley begins his study by criticising the dearth of academic research on the experiences of those of Irish Catholic descent in Scotland. The aim of his project

was 'to make sense of the place of Celtic in constructions and expressions of Irish identity in Scotland while exploring some of the ways that the Irishness of Celtic and its support base is represented in the Scottish media' (p1190).

Drawing on previous research from Ullah (1985), Bradley talks of the way in which 'white' second generation Irish could psychologically 'leave their group' to escape from the problems of being identified as Irish. This *passing* meant that they were able to avoid much of the unpleasantness directed at Irish Catholics in day-to-day life, and were able to navigate the ascription of notions of inferiority. Therefore, the study aims to look at how diaspora identity is constructed, and contested, through the prism of sport.

In describing the theoretical backdrop to his study, Bradley talks at length about the ways in which diasporic communities are often cut off from representations of their historical past in realms such as popular culture and mainstream education. He thus notes the consequent importance of non-public spaces - such as the family - in the reproduction of religious and ethnic identities. He argues that these cultural links have been especially important to the Irish diaspora - particularly in the face of experiences of hostility. It is in this respect, it is argued, that institutions such as sporting clubs have been significant in the formation and expression of Irish ethnic identity (Bradley, 2006: 1193). The importance of Celtic Football Club is evidenced by interviews conducted as part of the *Irish 2 Project* which looks at second and third generation Irish identity in Britain. For example, one participant talks of attending a Celtic football match and says:

'It was the only place you were allowed to express . . . a sort of an Irish identity. You were allowed to go see Celtic matches and express your Irish identity . . . It's maybe a lot more important, it's not just the football club of course, it's a lot more' (ibid.: 1194).

The essay goes on to explore the extent to which overt expressions of Irishness continue to be met with hostility in Scotland. He highlights the work of Finn (1990), as well as Walls and Williams (2003), who provide evidence of such hostility. Bradley goes on to explore the reproduction of that hostility in the Scottish print media, taking as an indicative example, the coverage of the UEFA

Cup final of 2003. He takes this enmity as evidence of a broader marginalisation of Irish history and culture in Scotland. An example of the dominant discourse, that he says is woven through editorials and letters in newspapers, is as follows:

‘Celtic is a Scottish club playing in Scotland and whilst their heritage should be acknowledged, this over emphasis on Irishness is at best an embarrassment and at worst an excuse for bigotry and violence’ (Scotland on Sunday, 1998 in Bradley, 2006: 1197).

And:

‘Celtic a Scottish Team whether some of their fans are willing to admit it or not... Celtic ARE Scottish so they belong to more than the supporters who follow them week in, week out’ (Daily Record, 2003 in Bradley, 2006: 1198).

Bradley concludes his examination of the print media discourse on Irish identity by arguing that national cultures and identities are a privileged discourse of the dominant social group. He argues that because Irishness is viewed in opposition to a ‘true’ Scottish identity, it is excluded from being a ‘legitimate’ part of a multicultural Scotland. This homogenising tendency paints any expression of Irishness as an ‘adversarial ethnic and disloyal ‘other’ (ibid.: 1204).

Bradley’s work on the public construction of Irish identity is illuminating. His qualitative research show us how important football has become as a context for the expression of Irish heritage amongst the Irish diaspora. In this respect, the article demonstrates how cultural practices can act as points of resistance to what may be perceived as assimilatory demands - particularly when diasporic communities live within a previously colonising nation. Furthermore, Bradley’s work shows us how the family is a site through which diasporic identities can be transmitted and celebrated.

However, Bradley’s focus on sport as a means of understanding ethnic identity has been criticised by some researchers. Rosie (2008) argues that focusing on religion and political identities in football, and then extending conclusions to wider society, is flawed. For Rosie, any study of football should be viewed as

subsidiary to a wider examination of Scottish polity and society as a whole. Rosie further argues that such research tends to tell us what we already know: prejudice and bigotry exist in football. However, I would argue, against Rosie, that we should not privilege macro-sociological analysis at the expense of an understanding of the everyday. If we want to understand the meanings and consequences of identities in social reality, we have to pay attention to the way in which they are ascribed, experienced and negotiated in popular culture and ordinary life.

3.2.4. Conclusions on the concept of sectarianism

This section has sought to show how the Irish Catholic Question and sectarianism have been approached, analysed, and debated in the context of recent academic research in Scotland. Sectarianism, in particular, is highly contested although the contest sometimes boils down to a rather sterile debate about its level of significance and how best to measure it. Therefore, these limitations mean that only certain research questions are being asked at the expense of others. Bradley (2006) and Walls and Williams (2003) seeks to establish a more nuanced way of exploring the Irish Catholic Question by being attentive to the significance of broader issues of religion, national identity, and racism. This, it seems to me, is a fertile way of researching the issue, and one that I will now seek to expand upon. In developing this new analytical approach, and given its absence in much of the existing research, I will explain why I think the issue of gender is important as a potential focus for research.

3.3. Proposal for a ‘new’ theoretical framework

3.3.1. Opening position

The previous section explored the contours of the debate on the Irish Catholic Question, discussing work from differing methodological traditions as well as a range of findings from key studies. I want to propose, now, a new way of exploring the Irish Catholic Question in Scotland. When I say ‘new’, I must insert a few caveats to this claim. Firstly, the kind of approach that I am interested in exploring has been used in studying Irish migration to England and America

(Hickman, 2014; Duff, 1999), so I am here suggesting how we might learn the lessons of that tradition of research, and apply them fruitfully in the Scottish context. Secondly, as previously stated, Walls and Williams (2003) and Bradley (2006) have used elements of this approach in their research; however, what I wish to propose would involve developing many of the ideas put forward by these authors to create a more comprehensive analytical framework. With these qualifications in mind, I want to propose studying Irish migration to Scotland through use of the concept of diaspora and identity as these have been elaborated in the tradition of post- or de-colonial theory. I contend that such an approach may shed a more revealing - perhaps unveiling - light on the topic, and allow us to ask questions that have previously gone unasked. The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to sketching out this framework; a framework I feel may help surmount some of the limitations of the existing debates.

3.3.2. The coloniality of power

As chapter 2 has shown, in order to begin studying the Irish in Scotland, one must consider the historical forces that have, and may continue to shape, their experiences. To elucidate, Mills (2000) argues 'All sociology worthy of its name is historical sociology' (p146). Therefore, I take the Millsian position that Ireland's colonial past is relevant to a contemporary analysis of Irish migration to Scotland. The ramifications for this study are clear: a post-colonial perspective is a fitting approach to take.

However, I feel, as others do, that the term post-colonial has potentially problematic implications: it might be taken to suggest that a particular time-period has ended, and the power relations that underpinned that system have since dissipated. Of course, this suggestion is in direct contrast to what most post-colonial theorists actually intend. Although semantic representations are not crucial for successful analysis, I believe that being open to new terms that better express shared goals or perspectives may lead to increased clarity. To this end, Aníbal Quijano (2007) deploys the notion of the coloniality of power, which I feel offers a useful development in understating the enduring effects of colonialism. Quijano argues that:

'If we observe the main lines of exploitation and social domination on a global scale, the main lines of world power today, and resources and work among the world population, it is very clear that the large majority of the exploited, the dominated, the discriminated against, are precisely the members of the 'races', 'ethnies, or 'nations' into which the colonized populations, were categorized in the formative process of that world power, from the conquest of America and onward. [...] Coloniality, then, is still the most general form of domination in the world today, once colonialism as an explicit political order was destroyed' (Quijano, 2007: 168-169).

Quijano's concept of the colonality of power makes explicit that although the flag may have come down on colonial outposts - and large-scale colonialism as an explicit economic and political order has been dismantled - global social relations continue to be shaped by the legacy of that imperial project and, particularly, by the epistemologies and identities which were central to its operation (ibid.: 169-170).

Quijano goes on to specify the key 'ordering' feature of the colonality of power, i.e. the classification of the world's population using racialised typologies, invoking ascriptions of superiority and inferiority (p171). Such a system, Quijano argues, still affects racialised groups in the modern capitalist world-system today. The consequences include enduring racism, exploitation, and structural inequality on a global scale. Therefore, given the way in which the Irish have been racialised during the period of formal colonialism, the use of Quijano's concept will allow us to link past and present in a theoretically informed way. Moreover, the colonality of power helps us to understand the situation of people when they have come to live and work in the previously colonising nation, such as the Irish in Scotland.

Quijano, it should be noted, does not discuss the racialization of the interior of Europe by capitalist elites, and how many populations, especially the Irish, were subject to distinct traditions of racialization (Miles, 1994). However, the core of Quijano's argument is relevant to that context: the effects of colonial power can, and still do, act as a social force in the world today. I therefore intend to

extend this argument so as to include those populations within the interior of Europe who were subject to histories of colonisation and to related processes of racialization. To this end, an application of the colonality of power in this context represents an extension of the original concept.

Consequently, in using the colonality of power as an approach there are a whole host of as yet unexplored questions to be researched in relation to the historical (and perhaps contemporary) racialization of the Irish. For example, an exploration of Irish migration could examine whether there are enduring representations of Irish people as an inferior 'race' in popular culture. In addition, any investigation could examine if state legislation directly or indirectly targets the Irish in ways that are similar to the targeting of Muslims in Britain. Conversely, in the wake of a racialized politics focussed largely on immigration from South East Asia - and where questions of belonging and nation have been increasingly framed through notions of colour - what might be the persisting effects of such politics be on communities, such as the Irish, that have been both subject to racializing processes, but do not fit easily into a racialized dichotomy between 'white' and 'black'? It is important, in this respect, that we 'leave the door open' to the possibility of 'de-racialization'; if groups can become racialised then it must hold that the opposite can be true as well.

Maria Lugones (2007: 186) extends the concept of the colonality of power to include not only 'race', but gender and sexuality too. She argues that colonialism not only introduced a universal system of classification of the world's population under different 'racial' typologies, but also gendered regimes that were 'alien' to most of the people who were colonised. However, these gender systems were not the same for colonised males and females as they were for white coloniser bourgeois males and females (p86). She argues that 'Colonized females got the inferior status of gendering as women, without any of the privileges accompanying that status for white bourgeois women' (p203).

Lugones thus conceptualises the 'Modern Colonial Gender System' and suggests that these gender regimes continue to prevail in formerly colonial societies. The aim of both Quijano and Lugones's work is thus to make visible the instrumentality of this system and its continued role in the subjugation of

racialised peoples today. Furthermore Lugones in particular wants to reveal ‘the crucial disruption of bonds of practical solidarity’ such a system brings about (p189). It is beyond the scope of this essay to explore their theories fully, however, the key assertions made by both authors are that ‘race’, gender and sexuality were actively implicated in the practices of colonialism and that any study examining previously colonised people should be cognisant of this. Therefore, I contend that using the colonality of power is a way of ‘studying history in order to get rid of it’ (Mills, 2000: 154). That is, to bring history to the fore of our analysis and view it as part of the overall social issue we are trying to investigate.

3.3.3. The globalised movement of people: the emergence of diaspora

In an important contribution to the study of transnational migration, Stuart Hall (1997: 176) satirically quipped that ‘[a]s they hauled down the flag, the former colonised peoples got on the banana boat and sailed right into London’. Hall is referring to the period following de-colonialization when many from Britain’s ex-colonies came to live and work in Britain. The irony Hall alludes to is that colonial elites, in their ‘retreat from empire’, felt that they would no longer have to deal with the populations that they had once ruled. However, instead of this ‘uncoupling’ occurring, significant levels of migration ensued from former colonies to Britain. As previously discussed in Chapter 2, the Irish were no exception in this regard. As we have seen, there have been significant migratory flows entering Britain from Ireland, historically in the wake of the famine, and more recently from post-independent Ireland (Devine, 2014).

How, then, can we better understand these transnational movements of people in the wake of colonialism? One body of discussion which has provided fertile ground, in this regard, is diaspora studies.

The concept of diaspora, often associated with Robin Cohen (1997), has developed considerably since its inception, and encompasses two broad approaches. That is, on the one hand, what can be called an objectivist position which seeks to *categorise populations* using specific criteria and thereby establishing typologies (Safran, 1991; Cohen, 1997). On the other hand, there is

a second approach which focuses on diaspora as a form of consciousness, or as a *social condition*. Such a method therefore concerns itself with studying questions of cultural identity and the subjectivity of people who have migrated, as well as the ascription of identity to such populations (Hall, 1990; Gilroy, 1993; Brah, 1996). Given the centrality of the concept of identity to this approach, it is worth discussing what it means, its value and its limitations.

3.3.4. Identity

The concept identity has been criticised for its lack of analytical value (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Brubaker and Cooper argue that when used in the 'soft' constructivist sense, the concept leads to a proliferation of 'identities: 'if identity is everywhere, it is nowhere' (p1). However, Hall (2011), whilst recognising the difficulties with the concept, also notes that it is unavoidable: 'It is an idea which cannot be thought of in the old way, but without which certain key questions cannot be thought at all' (p2). Hall also argues that the deconstructionist critiques of the concept have failed to replace it with anything more effective or suitable. Consequently, Hall says, the concept of identity is operating under erasure. Given the contested usage of the concept, it is necessary to be explicit about how it will be used within this thesis.

In discussing identity, Zygmunt Bauman (2013: 179) argues that '[t]here is no assertion but self-assertion, no identity but made-up identity'. What Bauman is expressing is that we 'make' and 'produce' our social identities through various practices and performances; identities are social products of a social world. As such, there is no elemental essence which underlies or guarantees a particular identity. Consequently, as sociologists we have to pay attention to how identities are constructed and made 'real' in everyday life. For example, we must note the affirmative choices people make, the practices of cultural consumption they engage in, because these produce the identity, sociologically speaking, even if they appear to merely express it. Hall (1990) also discusses a theory of cultural identity specifically, and how this is 'produced' within representation. He says:

‘Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation’ (p222).

What Hall goes on to discuss in this essay is the fact that, in the wake of colonialism there has been a displacement of old hierarchies such as European high culture in favour of American popular culture. This creates a fertile space for representations of cultural identities that have previously been marginalised in a new ‘war of position’ (Hall, 1993: 104). Therefore, in the post-modern world in which we live, there are real possibilities for the production and assertion of new cultural identities and for new cultural politics.

Bauman (2011) also emphasises the fundamental instability of identities in the postmodern modern world we inhabit. He attributes this instability in part to changes in the nature of work: the absence of a job for life and the rise of professions ‘appearing from nowhere and vanishing without notice’ (p6). Therefore, any possibility of professions and their associated skills providing a sense of social identity, in a Weberian sense, is emptied out in liquid modern times. Nor, Bauman argues, can we ‘hang’ an identity on the ‘coat hook’ of a relationship, as these are equally as unstable. The consequences of these uncertainties are that any attachments that we do make are profoundly destabilised, and can be undone as soon as circumstances change (p7). Therefore, for Bauman, identities are inherently fragile things, which must be worked at, constructed, and are ultimately susceptible to change.

Yet Hall notes that, despite this, identity is often associated with a longed-for stability (1999: 175). It is in this regard that he explains the significance of the concept of identity in a world of transnational diasporas. He says: ‘we keep hoping that identities will come our way: because the rest of the world is so confusing; everything else is turning, but identities ought to be some stable points of reference that were like that in the past, are now and ever shall be, *still points in a turning world* [my emphasis] (Hall, 1999: 175). Therefore, for Hall, identities are highly sought after and can provide psychological comfort in turbulent times.

Taking both Bauman's and Hall's positions together, we arrive at a potential focus for the thesis. What are the ways in which diaspora cultural identity are constructed and 'made real' in everyday life, and to what extent do such identities constitute points of stillness in an ever-turning world? We can recognise that people often seek that stability in their claims to identity, while also understanding, sociologically, that identities are, in fact, not fixed. Thus attention will be given to how diaspora identities are often hybridised, comprising elements drawn from both 'sending' and 'receiving' nations, and forged in the place of settlement (Brah, 1996).

3.3.5. Irish diaspora

Finally, an example of the explanatory power of these concepts which looks at the specificities of the Irish case is provided by Mary Hickman. Hickman (2002) argues that the identities of Irish migrants in Britain were constructed within a context in which there existed a regime of representation based on a racist British nationalism, for which Irish migrants were constituted as a specific 'other' (p20).

Further, Hickman talks of how Irish people tended to be denied access to hyphenated identities for two reasons. Firstly, she argues that immigrating to Britain was often viewed as a sign of failure in comparison to those who had made it to America. Therefore, those who did migrate to Britain were not considered 'true' members of the diaspora. Secondly, hyphenated identities were seen as undesirable because it pointed to the remnants of a dependant relationship with Britain. In concluding, Hickman argues that '[p]eople of Irish descent in Britain who identify wholly or in part as Irish have had particular difficulties in that they have been excluded from the public categories of multi-belongingness in an increasingly multi-ethnic Britain' (ibid.: 22). In other words, you cannot be 'British-Irish'. Consequently, any study in Scotland using the concept of diaspora will be attentive to Hickman's points, but also open to differences that may exist between the context in Scotland and that which exists in England.

3.4. Gender and patriarchy

As mentioned previously in this chapter, the most glaring gap that exists within the literature on the Irish Catholic Question in Scotland is the absence of research looking at the experiences of women. This absence of a focus on gender is not just an incidental problem, but significantly limits our understanding of migrant experience more generally. As Breda Gray argues that (2014: 42) gender, as it is lived and negotiated, is not an 'add-on' consideration in diaspora studies. Rather, because it is central to the structuring of immigrant identity, attention to gender is central to any understanding of the experiences of people who settle in societies other than the ones they were born in.

Before proceeding with the specificities of the Irish Catholic experience, it is worth being explicit about what is meant by the terms 'gender' and 'patriarchy' and what they refer to within the thesis. Both concepts grew out of the 'Women's Studies Movement' of the 1980s (Bradley, 2013: 16). This movement sought to address the systematic omission of women, as well as their experiences, from social and cultural knowledge production within the academy. Thus, gender and patriarchy were cognate concepts used to better explain the relationship between men and women and the inequality that existed between them (p16).

These terms gained popularity outwith the academy amongst campaigners and activists alike who used them as a foundation for a feminist praxis aimed at challenging male dominance in both the public and private spheres of everyday life (Walby, 1990). In addition, Bradley (2013: 16) also argues that: 'The terms 'gender' and 'patriarchy' were the key tools developed by the second-wave feminists to explore the relationship between women and men, seen not as fixed or predetermined but as varied and transformable' (p.16). Bradley's statement reveals a further element to the concept 'gender': it challenges the belief that relationships between men and women are 'natural' and immutable.

Ideas surrounding gender and patriarchy were developed further in a bid to distinguish between the biological 'attributes' of human bodies and the socially constructed ways of being a man or a woman. This theoretical advancement was

made by ‘decoupling’ sex from gender; with sex referring to the biological characteristics of the body, and gender viewed as the socially constructed forms of behaviour that are ascribed to male or female bodies. Scott (1988) sums this up in saying that: ‘Gender is a social category imposed on a sexed body’ (p18).

The separation of sex and gender enabled feminists to focus more on the expected ways of being a woman and challenge the ideas of biological determinism that underpin patriarchy itself. Therefore, as Connell (2002, pp33-34) says: ‘It cut the knot on natural difference and showed why biology could not be used to justify women’s subordination’. The emphasis on gender as a social construct led many to analyse and scrutinise how institutions such as schools, the family, the media and literature all acted to socialise bodies into gender roles (Oakley, 2016: 127).

Therefore, within the thesis I seek to use the terms gender and patriarchy in the following ways. Gender is a socially ‘generated’ category assigned to sexed bodies and governs the expected ways of being a man or a woman. Such social arrangements occur within a patriarchal society where men occupy a privileged position at the expense of women. Therefore, relationships between men and women are hierarchical and asymmetrical under a patriarchal system - with men being constructed as the dominant gender (Bradley, 2013: 16).

One final consideration for the thesis is how gender intersects with other characteristics. What is meant here is that attention will be paid to how gender is socially constructed within the Irish Catholic community, given that certain social groupings organise gender in particular ways (Connell, 2002: 10).

Therefore, this thesis is aware that ‘we have to be aware of variations of gender, especially in terms of how gender processes are affected by differences in class, ethnicity, age, religion, and nation’ (p27). Further, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, an additional factor in analysing gender is Lugones’s (2007) theory on ‘gender regimes’ that have been forced on previously colonised people.

3.4.1 Gender, resistance movements, and positionality within Nation States

In analysing the position of women in post-colonial societies, one also has to consider the way in which the social movements which challenged colonialism, shaped women's experience. Stuart Hall (1993) has been deeply critical of the way in which men within post-colonial liberation movements acted to suppress women through the propagation of idealised masculine representations.

Arguably, this is because such 'liberationist' movements have 'typically sprung from masculinised memory, masculinised humiliation, and masculinised hope' (Enole, 2014: 93). Similarly, McClintock (1997) has been critical of the way in which nationalisms position women in the pursuit of their nationalist goals.

McClintock says that women often have their needs, as well as their experiences and their own political agency, suppressed within such projects. She bolsters this point by arguing that no nation in the world grants women the same access to the rights and resources of the nation-state as men (p89). Taken together, all these theorists argue that women in post-colonial societies, and in diaspora more generally, can be subject to a unique set of pressures.

In a much-cited text, Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (1989) have shown four ways in which women are expected to play a role in ethnic and nationalist formations: as biological reproducers; as reproducers of ethnic/national boundaries; as transmitters of group culture; and as the bearers of symbolic representation of group identity. For example, Brah (1996: 51) discusses how women, in their 'role' as symbolic figures of cultural identity, are often required to maintain a level of separateness from the host nation in a bid to maintain collective group identity. This can have particular material consequences - such as pressure to marry within the diaspora community and, therefore, limit who they can and cannot enter into a relationship with. As a result of this, female diaspora consciousness and experience can be shaped very differently from men (Brah, 1994). Therefore, a key concern for this thesis will be to understand *both* the gendered aspects of any processes of 'othering' faced by the Irish diaspora in Scotland but *also* gendered processes and relations *within* the diaspora itself.

3.5. Conclusion

The second section of this chapter has sought to outline a ‘new’ way of thinking about - and therefore also - a possible way of researching the Irish Catholic Question. Quijano’s discussion of the colonality of power is a compelling one, drawing our attention to the contemporary endurance of imperial inequalities, and their persistence as a dominant form of power in global social relations. It is in this context that I want to explore whether members of the Irish diaspora in Scotland are still affected by the histories of anti-Catholicism, racism or prejudice, and their contemporary reproduction. This is salient because even though the Irish arrived at a particular post-colonial moment, of the enduring force of colonial representations and treatments may still shape subsequent generation’s experiences. Therefore, colonality draws our attention to the way in which such histories are threaded through our daily experiences and how they shape our lives in everyday-settings.

The concept of diaspora is a useful way to explore the Irish experience in Glasgow and points us towards both a historical understanding of the enduring effects of the histories that lead to dispersal, but also an awareness of how identities are made and ascribed in that context. In other words, diasporic identity is not just something *given*, but created and re-created. Therefore, in interviewing people, a key concern would be to understand the historical causes of migration, and what the consequences of this was for them and their families. For example, has it led to a collective memory and myth about homeland, an idealisation of the ‘ancestral’ home, a strong ethnic group consciousness, and a troubled relationship with the host society? To remind us of the importance of empirical investigation to answer these questions, Anthias (1998) says: ‘The forms of the transnational movement have no necessary social effects and any patterns must be discovered through substantive research’ (p563).

The concept of diaspora also enables us to explore how people construct their individual and group identity within Glasgow. In particular, it can allow us to understand how identities are co-constructed, and what the contributing factors to this process may be. Therefore, it will allow us to be attentive to the role that gender and class play, as well as racism. Furthermore, an investigation

could explore whether the Irish in Scotland occupy a classic 'third space', as Hickman suggests they do (2002: 22). Finally, given the historic lack of focus on women, any study must be attentive to the varying ways in which females have been positioned, and may continue to be positioned, within the Irish diaspora in Glasgow. These include not only the ways in which they are required to actively manage the reproduction of the community - as mothers, as care workers, as wives, but whether diaspora life itself may unshackle them from the patriarchal relations which inform the allocation of these roles.

4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I outlined how my research is situated in relation to existing studies, what concepts I will deploy, and - equally importantly - what concepts I will not deploy. It has shown that the dominant way of approaching the Irish Catholic Question has been through use of quantitative research methods focused on the analysis of structural outcomes. Furthermore, the chapter has shown that women's lives and experiences have largely been absent from recent research. In light of this, the following research aim, and questions intended at achieving that research aim, have been devised:

Aim

To investigate the life-histories of women of Irish Catholic descent in Glasgow, with a view to understanding whether the attribution of an Irish Catholic identity - by them, or by others - has shaped and affected their lives.

Research Questions

- *What is the significance of an Irish Catholic background amongst participants?*
- *What are the factors that help to produce and sustain such identities paying particular attention to the issues of gender and class?*
- *Do experiences of, and/or perceptions of, discrimination and prejudice constitute important factors in the production of such identities?*
- *If present, what are the specifically gendered ways in which experiences of, and/or perceptions of, discrimination and prejudice impact on participants' lives?*

Thus, the following chapter aims to connect theory and method by offering a detailed account of how the intertwined processes of theoretical elaboration, data collection, and critical reflection developed into a method for researching the Irish Catholic diaspora in Glasgow. This will involve disclosing the many decisions taken, and the new directions embarked upon - all of which culminate in the finished PhD (Burawoy, 1991: 8).

I will begin the chapter by briefly outlining what I learned from the reading. In particular, I will explain how writers from the field of critical race studies inspired me to approach the project in a 'non-reductive' way - thus ensuring that the rich complexity of participants' lives were foregrounded. This reflective account will also touch on the controversial way in which the Irish Catholic Question has been discussed by researchers in a field where *ad hominem* attacks and accusations of partiality are commonplace.

The chapter will move on to discuss the research strategy. It will explain why I adopted an interpretative epistemology in a context where much of the most influential research comes from a more positivist tradition. Resisting the temptation to take some of the existing debates within the field 'head on' meant that I was invariably committing myself to 'breaking trail', using less recognised methodological practices, and deploying a different conceptual framework (see, for related discussion: Hickman (2002).

The chapter will continue by outlining what my ontological focus will be for the research. It will explain why social constructivism was chosen and why a relativist position was seen as necessary in approaching the project (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Central in laying bare this process will be a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of narrative analysis. Further to this, I will discuss the epistemological status of the stories that we tell, and what their value is within the research process. For example, the argument that narrative analysis can result in a 'rhetorical illusion' (Bourdieu, 2000: 300) will be presented. However, whilst taking this cautionary position on board, the argument will be made that the patchiness and messiness of life can still be studied by taking seriously the stories that people tell of their lives (Barrett, 2015).

The penultimate section will go on to focus on data collection. This will include a discussion of sampling, of my method of recruitment, and the practices and process of life-history interviewing. There will be a section on my own positionality within the research and a discussion on ethical concerns as well. The discussion on recruitment will explain the difficulties I faced in securing participants. This, for me, was unlike any other project I had been involved in. This is because many of the most obvious routes to recruitment were blocked by what might be called a form of ‘institutional closure’. This section will also involve an explanation for my decision to use photographs in the research process, and how they were used to ‘access’ a richer sense of people’s life-worlds.

The final section will focus on data analysis. I used Qualitative Data Analysis Software (NVivo 10) which enabled me to categorise, classify, and code text in a manner that prevented me from becoming overwhelmed. In addition, I will explain how this software package allowed me to easily code, retrieve, and quantify certain phenomena (Bryman, 2012: 591). Therefore, the use of this software enhanced my ability to identify significant themes that emerged from interviews.

Finally, a conclusion will be offered summarising the end result of the labour of devising a PhD research project. This will involve showing how I continually adapted to changing circumstances encountered in the research process, and how these changes combined to influence the final research design.

4.2. Review of the literature - arriving at a focus for the research

The research process began with an examination of the current literature on the lives of the Irish diaspora in Scotland, as I have already described. Examining the available literature provided insight into: what concepts and theories are being used in this field of investigation; the dominant research methods and strategies deployed by researchers; the seminal thinkers in this area; and helped me to map out the significant controversies that exist within this field of study (Bryman, 2012: 98). Furthermore, immersion in the current literature enabled

me to identify any areas that I felt were neglected, or overlooked in previous research (Creswell, 2014: 24).

It is worth briefly reflecting on each of these points to make explicit what I learned from the literature, and how it influenced my research design and strategy. Firstly, as mentioned in chapter 2, it became clear that many researchers employed statistical methods in their work to understand the situation of the Irish diaspora in Scotland. Secondly, most of the research in this area is conducted through the prism of the concept ‘sectarianism’, which I felt had limited value therefore it was set aside as a potential tool to work with. Aside from the problems with the concept already addressed in the literature review, the decision not to deploy the concept ‘sectarianism’ was also informed by reading Paul Gilroy (1992) and his discussion of the politics of anti-racism. Gilroy talks of the ‘disastrous way in which they [anti-racists] have trivialised the rich complexity of black life by reducing it to nothing more than a response to racism’ (p60). I felt that something of this kind was also occurring within ‘sectarianism studies’, and it was this view that particularly motivated me to adopt a more qualitative approach.

Thirdly, and more generally, this field of research is contentious in that the language used by some academics to describe the research of others is often terse and disrespectful. It is my view that arguments put forward in relation to the sectarianism debate are frequently self-aggrandising - with some claiming to, for example, have provided ‘the best attempt to date’ (Bruce et al., 2004: 174) to understand the topic. Similarly, critiques aimed at the research of others is often characterised by *ad hominem* attacks on the author rather than focusing on what was presented in the paper (ibid.: 154).

Finally, the most remarkable controversy I came across during the research process were allegations that third sector organisations were exaggerating the problem because they ‘have an in interest in scaring us’ (Bruce et al., 2004: 133-134). In other words, the claim is often made that such organisations overstate the extent of prejudice in order to ‘persuade funders that there is a huge problem’ (ibid.: 146). Ironically, one of those who made these claims went on to take a post in the Government as an adviser tackling the issue of ‘sectarianism’,

a problem which they had previously said was an enduring ‘myth’ (ibid.: 164). In short, I realised early on that the field of research I was entering was not going to be an easy one to navigate - especially in relation to the eventual presentation of findings.

4.3. Devising a research strategy

4.3.1. Which way forward?

Having worked to map out this difficult and often contentious field I considered research strategies that might make it possible to investigate the richness of the lives of women in the Irish Catholic diaspora. In devising a research strategy, I was aware that this process ‘locates researchers and paradigms in specific empirical, material sites and in specific methodological practices’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012: 14). A positivist approach was briefly considered but then rejected for reasons that are explained above. In particular: a positivist approach, which stresses the parallels between social processes, and all other material processes, tend to have a bias which excludes the position and experience of women (Barrett, 2015: 3). Therefore, in considering the possible use of a quantitative approach, it was felt that there was an inherent mismatch between the questions I was interested in addressing and this method of inquiry.

4.3.2. Interpretive approach

An interpretive approach, using qualitative research methods, allows us to explore how human beings experience the social world around them. As Mason (2006: 63) states ‘qualitative research methods treat ‘people’s views, understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions as meaningful properties of social reality’. This approach seemed to fit neatly with what I was trying to achieve. For example, I was interested in participants’ experiences, their understandings of those experiences, and how they made sense of their surroundings. Therefore, it was logical to use an approach that valued participants’ subjective understanding of those experiences.

Moreover, an interpretive epistemology, related to the adoption of qualitative research methods, has a long record of development amongst feminist researchers and those interested in researching women's experiences. It allows for a higher degree of reciprocity, and fosters non-hierarchical relationships (Oakley, 1994). These points were particularly important because not only was I studying the lives of women within a discipline whose structures of knowledge have largely been constructed by men (Smith, 1987: 1), but I was doing so as a male researcher. Therefore, I thought that it was important for me to do all I could to foster a non-hierarchical relationship and to ensure reciprocity in the research setting. This would not only serve to mitigate some of the effects of unequal gender relations, but also of the perceived social class of the researcher.

4.3.3. Social ontological approach

Running parallel to this, I considered what my research paradigm and ontological focus might be. Choosing a paradigm and ontological focus are important because these decisions 'involve asking what you see as the very nature and essence of things in the social world' (Mason, 2006: 14). I was interested in how the women in my study experienced the world around them in light of their Irish Catholic background. Accepting that our 'identities' are socially constructed (Hall, 2011: 3) and performed (Butler, 2002: 179) led me to adopt a social constructivist paradigm. Social constructivism, which assumes a relativist ontology, takes the position that there is not one, but multiple realities. Therefore, a constructivist approach seemed an appropriate position for studying the varying experiences across a range of women. In addition, social constructivism would allow me to explore the way in which the social 'identities' of participants are constructed and 'made real' in everyday life. Consequently, two key points of focus emerged: a concern to understand life experiences, and an interest in the co-construction that occurs between 'identities' and those experiences.

Social constructivism was also an attractive position for me to take because working from this perspective involves the use of naturalistic methods and procedures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). Given (2008) sums up such approaches

when she says: ‘Naturalistic inquiry focuses research endeavours on how people behave in natural setting while engaging in life experiences’ (p54). Such a disposition towards naturalistic methods stemmed from my time as a Community Education Worker where I was heavily involved in the day-to-day lives of people in Glasgow’s communities. Therefore, I had an existing sense of the richness of community life in the city, and was able to think creatively about how I could gather data.

Questions surrounding my social ontological approach continued as I sought to identify a character, basic feature, structures, or an element that constituted the social world (Mason, 2006: 14). As previously stated, I was looking for something that gave insight into experience and identity and the interplay between them. Consequently, a possible means of accomplishing this was listening to the stories that people told about themselves and their lives. Lawler (2002: 251) argues that we live our lives and make sense of it through the stories we tell. Consequently, I felt that looking at the stories people tell about their lives would give me the insight I was looking for. At this point in the research process, I turned to the literature on narrative analysis to weigh up the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach.

4.3.3.1. Narrative analysis and life history interviewing

Narrative analysis, which focus on the stories people tell about their lives, is an emergent field within qualitative methods, and there is not one singular approach to such work (Bryman, 2012: 582). There are those who believe that research focussed around narratives should focus solely on exploring individual experience, and that such an approach does not allow us to generalise from specific stories to broader concepts. In essence, it should resist theoretical abstraction and focus on ‘identifying new possibilities within that experience’ (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007: 55). However, others focus on how stories are told by participants, and seek to identify patterns or repeated features within these narratives in order to identify how they interact with hegemonic discourses, especially in the context of research into social inequality (Riessman, 2002). Given the multiplicity of approaches to narrative analysis, I will now discuss the one I chose and why.

4.3.3.2. My approach

Contemporary narrative analysis has its origins in the frustration of researchers such as Catherine Riessman (2002: 695) who realised that ‘participants were resisting our efforts to fragment their experiences into thematic (codable) categories, in effect, to control meaning’. Narrative analysis was seen as a way of retaining the richness of responses by replacing the format of the ‘standard’ research interview with naturally occurring talk about, and reflection on, social interactions, experiences and histories. This approach seemed to me to be ideal given the feminist positioning of the project. It created the space for participants to have increased communicative control not only over the topics discussed, but also over the meaning being ascribed to the accounts provided. Also the approach would help foster the non-hierarchical relationships that I sought.

Lawler (2002: 242) argues that ‘narratives are social products produced by people within a specific social, historical and cultural location’. Similarly, Riessman (2002) also stresses that narrative analysis sheds light on the intersection of history, biography and society. Therefore, it was felt that analysing the stories people tell about their lives would reveal much about the spatial and temporal conditions under which such narratives are produced. To elucidate: I believed that the narratives that emerged through the research process would provide ‘context dependent’ knowledge that was revealing of lives led within the diaspora space of Glasgow City (Brah, 1996). As Anthias (2002: 500) states, ‘narratives are never innocent of social structure and social place’. Consequently, the implications of being a person of Irish Catholic descent might be better understood by approaching the complex intertwining of historical context, societal specific factors through the stories provided by my respondents.

Lawler (2002) also takes the position that narratives are not mere carriers of social experiences; they are devices used to *interpret* social reality (p242). Therefore, paying attention to the stories people told about their lives would not simply give me access to people’s accounts of their experiences, but also would help me understand how people made sense of those experiences for

themselves and what factors were at play in processing those experiences. For example, examining narratives could ‘disentangle’ and ‘reveal’ the role that socially constructed identities such as ethnicity, gender, and class play in interpreting those experiences. Failing to pay attention to all of this would be tantamount to ignoring the axes of power that exist within society.

In familiarising myself with the advantages of such an approach, I also made myself aware of many of the arguments about the potential pitfalls of using narrative analysis. A significant ‘trap’ for researchers is highlighted by Pierre Bourdieu (2000). Bourdieu’s main caution is that the way in which lives are narrated tends to involve an assumption that life takes the form of a single, coherent history:

The autobiographical narrative is always at least partially motivated by a concern to give meaning, to rationalise, to show inherent logic, both for the past, and the future to make consistent and constant through the creation of intelligible relationships, like that of cause (immediate or final) and effect between successive states. Which are thus turned into steps of a necessary development [...] This inclination to making one the ideologist of one’s own life, through the selection of a few significant events with a view to elucidating an overall purpose, and through the creation of causal or final links between them which will naturally make them coherent, is reinforced by the biographer who is naturally inclined, especially through his formation as a professional interpreter, to accept this artificial creation of meaning. [...] To produce a life history or to consider life as a history that is as a coherent narrative of a significant and directed sequence of events, is perhaps to conform to a rhetorical illusion (p300).

Bourdieu is not arguing against narrative analysis, indeed, he uses it extensively in *The Weight of The World* (1999). However he is cautioning us against the assumption, which is often contained in *how we story our lives*, that the social location we occupy was predetermined by some quality inherent in our selves (especially a feature, he says, of the way that powerful people tell the story of how they came to be powerful). He is highlighting the danger of the assumption

contained within these stories about the level of personal control we have over our lives. Therefore, he feels that narratives - especially the narratives we make out of our own lives - can conceal many of the social relations and exploitations that make our social positioning possible.

In my own research, I was not focused on 'grand narratives'. The aim of my research was not to select 'a few significant events with a view to elucidating an overall purpose' but to better understand the day-to-day lives of participants. The narratives in my research would thus be episodic, fragmented and patchy - a condition I am sure that Bourdieu would agree reflects the lives so reported. Barrett (2015) has criticised Bourdieu for deploying '[r]educative autobiographical conceptualizations of "selfhood"' and argues, [as I do], that researchers can devise methods of capturing the multiplicity of 'self's through one's lifetime (Ibid.: 2-3). Therefore, although Bourdieu provides us with some key concerns when using this method, I felt that my idea of looking at narratives, which are episodic in character, surmounts many of the problems that he outlined. For example, not only was I not interviewing the powerful, but the stories focused on everyday events such as walking to school or celebrations at a family party. As such, there was very little in the way of attribution of cause and overall effect on social positioning: most narratives are focused on reporting, and reflecting on, experiences.

4.3.3.3. Narrative analysis: what kind of knowledge does it produce?

Much consideration was given to the status of historical narratives and what sort of knowledge such narratives provide. This was particularly pertinent because participants were taking part in biographical interviews which covered their whole-life trajectory. Lawler (2002) argues that narratives are not an unmediated way of accessing a person's past experience, or a glimpse at an 'authentic' identity. She says the 'truths that people produce through such stories are not truths in a positivistic sense, however they do speak of certain truths about peoples' (socially located) lives and identities' (p255). I concur with this view that there is no unmediated access to 'authentic' past experience; however, this does not render an analysis of historical narratives useless. Lawler talks of Hacking's (1994) concept of 'memero-politics' where 'the past is

reinterpreted in light of the knowledge and understanding of the subject's 'present' (p248). Essentially, we read time backwards - making sense of more recent events in light of earlier ones, and establishing cause and effect relationships. Therefore, as researchers, we should 'envisage life as something both lived and understood forward and backward in a spiral movement of constant interpretation and reinterpretation' (Ibid.: 251). Therefore, whilst we cannot say that the stories people relay give us the conclusive truth about their past experiences, they do give us insight into how people go about making sense of those experiences. Further, it is arguable that within the stories that people disclose, there is a likelihood that what people say happened to them, did happen - even if this is reported from their own inevitably subjective viewpoint.

Narrative analysis was also seen as a means of overcoming the limitations of the concept of 'identity'. As previously stated the concept has come under fire for implying too much when used in the 'hard' essentialist sense, and too little in the 'soft' constructivist sense (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 1). Therefore, narratives are a better means of understanding what 'lies behind' the internally and externally imposed categories of Irish Catholic.

Taking on board all these considerations, my approach to narrative analysis was aimed at: allowing for a holistic consideration of participants' interpretation of their experiences; preventing the fragmentation of experiences through a process of abstract coding; remaining sensitive to the interplay between remembered past events and present ones; allowing for the narration of collective identity; staying sensitive to the effects of the structural inequalities that participants have been subjected to (Lawler, 2002: 251; Riessman, 2002: 695).

4.3.4. Selecting a research design

After establishing the epistemological basis, ontological focus, and research aim, I considered what the most appropriate and effective methods of recruitment, data analysis, and narrative eliciting strategies. Denzin & Lincoln (2011) state that qualitative research methods are 'a complex interconnected family of terms, concepts and assumptions' (p3). Initially, I had the idea of recruiting

participants from a singular geographical location and asking them to take photographs of where they grew up, as well as key places that feature in their life today. This case-study approach would have allowed for an intensive analysis of an individual community, and an intensive analysis of the relational factors that existed between participant and environment (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). However, as will be discussed later, recruitment in a single geographical area provide unfeasible and the time involved threatened to hold the project to such an extent that I felt that recruitment had to be broadened out to take in a larger geographical area. This caused me significant levels of anxiety; however, I was mindful of what Mason (2006) says about research design and strategy: ‘In qualitative research, decisions about design and strategy are *ongoing* [my emphasis] and grounded in the practice, process and context of the research itself’ (p24). Reassuringly, I realised that I had to be flexible in matters of research design, and not allow the deviations from my original plan to overwhelm me.

Although a focused case study approach was not possible, I felt that the idea of using photographs was a sound one, and should be retained. Because of the central role of photographs in the project, it is worth briefly outlining how the idea emerged.

4.3.5. Using photographs in the research process: the origins of an idea

As a Community Learning Worker in the east of the city, I asked a group of learners to take photographs of their community so I could gain insight into how they experienced where they live. During this process, I found that participants on the project focused on very different phenomena. Some took photographs of buildings, many of which were in a state of urban decline. Others photographed people who lived in the community and said that, for them, these photographs demonstrated the changing demographic of the area. At the end of the project, an exhibition was held of their work, with each photograph on display having accompanying corresponding text. The text explained why the learners had selected their images, and what each photograph meant to them. Therefore, organising and co-ordinating this project gave me profound insight into the

power of photographs as a means to express feelings, elicit emotions, and convey memories. With these reflections in mind, I turned to the literature on photography and its role in social research to think of a way in which it could be applied to the PhD.

4.3.5.1. Sociology and photography

Tim Strangleman (2012: 2.1) states: ‘In the nineteenth century photography and sociology emerge almost as contemporaries; both are products of the modern, and technologies for understanding the modern’. Furthermore, not only did both emerge at the same time, and have similar uses, but photography has been used within social research itself. For example, the same author has shown how the visual method (and, in particular, photography) can shed light on the experience of work in the neo-liberal era. Furthermore, Pyle (2013) has shown how photographs can help us explore children’s experiences of classroom learning. In particular, her research showed how using photographs in research can surmount barriers to communication; a problem that is inherent in researching young people. Finally, Harries (2014) has argued that photographs can be used to access narratives that reveal much about the effects of racism on, or in, everyday life. All these research projects used photographs in some way, although the manner in which they were used varied considerably. For example, Strangleman used archival photographs to arrive at findings, whereas Harries used photo-diaries to investigate experience. Therefore, I had to think clearly as to what ‘work’ I wanted photographs to do within the research process.

4.3.5.2. My approach to the use of photographs

As discussed earlier, my initial thought was to pick one community and get 22 participants to photograph the places where they currently lived, and where they grew up. These photographs would then act to elicit memories and reveal episodic narratives during our discussions. However, it became clear that many participants felt that revisiting all the places they have lived was too labour intensive, and therefore this request became off-putting: most of my participants had moved home a number of times. During interview, I realised, through the stories people told, that frequently moving home was linked to the

search for upward social mobility that many had experienced and something that is, no doubt, a common experience in a diasporic community. Through discussions with my supervisory team, it was thought that a Glasgow-wide study would overcome the recruitment problems I was experiencing, but also still allow for insight into how geographical and socially constructed spaces shape lives. At this stage, however, there was still the problem of how to best incorporate visual methods within my interviews. It is at this point that I had a discussion with Dr. Lindsey Garratt, a researcher in the ESRC Research *Centre on the Dynamics of Ethnicity* (CODE). Through our discussions I decided modify my plans so that participants would bring along *existing photographs*. These might include photographs of family members, photographs of them growing up, and photographs of their lives today. This was also thought to be more manageable for participants and, therefore, would assist with the recruitment process.

This modification was to prove a big step forward in the research design. This is because the photographs people brought along represented not only places and spaces, but people who are (or were) important in their lives. Further to this, existing photographs offered a glimpse of their whole-life trajectories - incorporating and taking in significant events in their lives. Therefore, participants bringing along photographs (which contained a range of people, places, and events) which were set in different time-periods paved the way for discussions that were rich in content.

4.4. Data collection and interviewing

4.4.1. Sampling

Once I had identified women of Irish Catholic descent, living within Glasgow, as the focus of my study, I had to decide *which* women I wanted to talk with. During this process, I was mindful of the problems of analysing diaspora lives through a methodology using solely the category 'Catholic'. Therefore, I wanted to make sure I was specific and accessed participants who had some affinity or connection with the island of Ireland and the Catholic faith. Therefore, to ensure this criteria was met, I replicated some of the criteria used by Walls and Williams (2003: 636) in their study of employment discrimination. These authors

sought to speak with people of an Irish Catholic descent and defined ‘descent’ as someone who has one or more parent or grandparent who was born in Ireland. In addition to this, I included the criteria that participants should have had a form of Catholic upbringing. A Catholic upbringing for the purpose of this research was defined as having attended a Catholic school, or having a family that practised Catholicism in the home (or both). Essentially, I felt that to address the Irish Catholic Question, which was the overarching topic of the PhD, I had to speak to people who have, or have had, a connection to those socially constructed identities. Therefore, in deciding to sample people who choose to link their Irish and Catholic identities, I realised I am consciously excluding those, who for whatever reason, may not self-identify in that way.

Participants were aged between 18 and 45 years old. My thinking was that interviewing people who were older than this would lessen the contemporary relevance of the study. For example, there is some level of agreement that prejudice against Catholics in Scotland was a historical fact (Bruce et al., 2004: 11). Therefore, I wanted to interview women who had grown up in Glasgow in the latter part of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century so that the focus was on an exploration of more recent experiences. As stated earlier, potential prejudice was only one of the focuses of the research, but it was still an important one. Therefore, I had to factor that into the research strategy.

Due to the criteria that were set, purposive sampling was used because ‘the goal of purposive sampling is to sample participants in a strategic way so that those sampled are relevant to the research question being posed’ (Bryman, 2012: 418). Purposive sampling also allowed clear parameters to be set *within* the relevant criteria - ensuring there was significant variation amongst participants. To be clear: I was interested in the lived experiences of second and third generation Irish Catholic women aged between 18 and 45. However, much care and attention was taken to ensure variation existed *within* this population in terms of socio-economic background, age, and current adherence to faith. As such, an element of *strategic sampling* was introduced because it became clear that older women were coming forward in greater numbers. Consequently, I had to be proactive and seek out younger women to provide balance to my sample. Further to this, I wanted to speak with people who were no longer practising

Catholics, and those who were ambivalent about faith; therefore, purposive sampling allowed me to achieve this. As a result of this approach, I had telephone conversations with people prior to interviews in order to help identify relevant respondents according to criteria such as age and extent of present religious observation.

4.4.2. Access to participants

Access to participants was one of the most challenging aspects of the research process. My initial strategy was to approach local authority organisations and use them as gatekeepers. I had hoped that they could identify service users or clients who would be interested in taking part. However, even though public bodies collect data on ethnic background, they do so anonymously for monitoring and evaluation purposes. This means that such material is not linked directly with client files. Therefore, the organisations who I approached said they could not easily identify people of an Irish Catholic heritage without first asking them.

I did consider asking organisations to gauge ethnic background by name analysis; however, Walls and Williams (2003: 636) have shown that such an approach often omitted important 'sub-populations' - such as women. Given that women were the focus of my study, this approach also seemed futile. Consequently, I felt that I had to go directly to organisations that dealt with, or provided services or support to, members of Irish diaspora. These included: the Irish Heritage Foundation; Irish Dance Clubs; Gaelic Football Clubs; and Irish Language organisations.

The Irish Heritage Foundation proved to be unhelpful in this regard. The head of the organisation took offence that I was seeking to speak to Irish Catholics and not Irish Protestants. It felt as though there was a perception by the organisation head that I was in some way being 'sectarian' in my approach to studying Irish diaspora lives. Similarly, the Irish language organisation, dance clubs, and football clubs that I approached showed little interest in becoming involved as well. This was very frustrating and led me to move on to a grass-roots approach using social media, alongside a more 'top-down' approach facilitated by the Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church was by far the most helpful institution I dealt with. Every church I approached welcomed and supported me in my quest to recruit participants. I began by meeting the priests of each church to talk through issues such as informed consent, confidentiality, and what the findings of the research would be used for. This was an essential step because seeking to avoid power imbalances in the research setting is a fundamental concern when using intermediaries as a means to recruitment. A number of churches allowed me to attend events and speak directly with people about the project. Furthermore, two churches actually permitted me to conduct interviews on their premises. In addition, a number of places of worship put my advert in their monthly newsletters which were distributed to a sizeable audience. After making contact with the Catholic Church, momentum started to gather and participants began to come forward. As previously stated, many who came forward felt that my initial plan of asking them to return to where they grew up to take pictures was too labour intensive; therefore, I had to modify my research design by asking them to bring along their own photographs. This adjustment was done in a timely way so as not to lose any momentum with the project.

Most of my participants, however, were not recruited via faith organisations but via the internet. To me, this was a new method of recruitment and took some getting used to. This is because I have worked on two other research projects where recruitment was achieved through gatekeepers and/or through face-to-face recruitment. Posting flyers on Facebook and Twitter led to the recruitment of most participants - particularly amongst online groups such as the Glasgow Irish and St Patrick's Day Parade. Using these platforms, of course, necessarily produced a sample of people who continued to actively identify in diaspora networks.

Therefore, to conclude this section, recruitment entailed a multi-pronged strategy, which targeted a range of organisations. Local authorities, although helpful, proved not to be able to identify potential participants due to the way in which they kept records. Key institutions, such as the Irish Heritage Foundation and a number of other organisations, were unwilling to help. The Catholic Church was an excellent gatekeeper; however, I had to ensure that the sample I gathered for interview were not all people of faith, and therefore social

media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter proved immensely valuable, and ensured that I could sample in a strategic and considered way.

4.4.3. Interviews

Interviews were conducted in various locations across Glasgow - including Maryhill, Shettleston, Govanhill, and the University. Decisions on where to hold interviews were made by assessing how comfortable people felt about: coming into the university, having a home interview, or attending a local community centre. My approach was guided by the principle that researchers should seek to be as non-invasive as possible with respect to the lives of research participants (Bryman, 2012: 136). Further to this, such an approach was an important step in fostering the non-hierarchical relationships that were required. Finally, I was also mindful of how social class may affect people's level of comfort in coming into a university as, for example, many working class people may find the experience intimidating. Therefore, decisions on the location of individual interviews was guided by participants' own preferences.

In preparing to speak with participants, I was aware that interviews are a familiar mode of enquiry in all kinds of institutional settings. Most people are familiar with interviews in contexts such as housing applications, job interviews, and credit applications (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012). However, I felt that there was something additionally daunting about the research interview. This is because it is recorded and there is a passage of formal, preparatory talk about legal issues such as confidentiality, rights, and responsibilities. Therefore, I adopted the four-phase approach outlined by Corbin and Morse (2003). Both authors advocate planning for an interview by structuring it in four phases. These are: the pre-interview, and then what they call the 'tentative stage', then immersion and emergence phases. This model was made 'operational' by designing a schedule that took cognisance of the 'naturalness' of each of the interview stages (*see appendix A*). Two key advantages of this approach are that it ensures there is sufficient lead-in time to the main body of the interview after form filling, and that the emergence phase is incrementally completed at a sensitive pace.

The interviews lasted between 1.5 and 3 hours. The length of time was often dependent on the age of the participant, and the level of ease they felt in talking with me. Interviews were completed over one or in some cases two sessions. Second interviews were necessary and indeed advantages because researching the stories people tell about their lives can bring up sensitive subjects (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Therefore, it felt prudent, where necessary, to have follow-up sessions with participants to ensure their wellbeing. Secondly, it gave me time to transcribe the first part of these interviews and consider what participants were conveying in the storied accounts of their lives. This helped in the inductive process of theory building (Bryman, 2012: 24) because I could approach the second interview with a refined strategy for eliciting stories, or returning to previously discussed experiences with sensitivity.

4.4.3.1. Pre-Interview phase

Participants were given a plain language statement prior to attending the interview. This was mainly done by e-mail or, in a few cases, handed to them on arrival. In addition, all participants were spoken to on the telephone before they came for interview. This was because I wanted to ensure that they met the criteria for the sample and that they understood the purpose of the research. Also, I wanted to remind them to bring along a variety of photographs, and explain what purposes these photographs would play in the interview. After discussing the research with participants, interviews were arranged in varying locations around Glasgow.

When people arrived for interview, the plain language statement was discussed and all were asked if they had any unanswered questions about the research. In addition, I requested that each person sign a consent form (*see appendix C*) to say that they agreed to take part in the research, and for the findings to be used in accordance with the University of Glasgow, College of Social Sciences' Ethics Committee guidelines. Participants were reminded once more that they are free to withdraw from the study at any time. This was essential to ensure that the

interviewees felt that they had a significant level of control over the process as a whole (Corbin & Morse, 2003).

4.4.3.2. Tentative phase

The tentative phase is where ‘participant and researcher assess each other and begin to establish a degree of comfort and trust’ (Corbin and Morse, 2003: 341). Therefore, I began this phase by asking some introductory questions about the participant’s background. This was done so I that could strike up a rapport and identify common points of connection. This information was also used to later develop basic biographical profiles which were to prove valuable during the coding process. Questions during the tentative phase sought to ascertain age, place of birth, current place of residence within the city, and what connection the person had to the nation of Ireland. I found that, after asking these fairly simple questions, I was able to put the interviewee at ease, and gauge how best to proceed with the interview itself.

4.4.3.3. Immersion phase

The immersion phase of interview was structured around a biographical concern: it was going to discuss, where possible, the whole life trajectory of the person’s life to date. That is to say that the guiding idea was to discuss childhood, schooling, family life, working life, and adult social life. The photographs were intended to provide the avenues into our discussion. For example, I enquired about the school(s) the interviewee attended and if they had any photographs of that point in their life. Looking at the photographs opened up a variety of (often surprising) avenues of discussion. Therefore, although school was used as an ‘entry point’ for discussion, it could often lead to discussing courting, family holidays, and places they stayed as a child. In addition, looking at photographs provided me with an opportunity to ask a range of context-specific questions that I would not have been able to prepare in advance. Using photographs was also helpful because, as Harries (2014: 1108) says, it was more feasible ‘for respondents to externalise their experiences because they were orientated towards there [the photographic] content, rather than exclusively towards themselves’. Therefore, the use of photographs provided very rich avenues for

discussion, but also acted to keep the research interview informal and relaxed. Finally, during the interviews I drew on my skills from an accredited counselling Skills Course I undertook with Strathclyde University. These skills guided me in how to approach topics and deal with sensitive issues when they arose.

4.4.3.4. Emergence phase

The emergence phase of the interview began by letting participants know that the interview was ending in approximately ten minutes, and asking them if there was anything in particular they would like to discuss. I felt that this again gave a significant level of control to those who took part in the research. Most importantly, it ensured that the interview was not abruptly terminated - leaving people feeling emotionally vulnerable. What I found was that many used this time to reveal or disclose aspects of their narratives that they felt particularly important to them. This sits neatly with Corbin and Morse's (2003) findings that, during the emergence phase, 'sometimes, participants take this opportunity to reveal some extremely relevant information or secret' (p343). I felt that when this did occur, it was evidence of the successful way in which I had given control to those who took part in the study. This was particularly evident because some interviews then went on for a further half hour, with respondents discussing important experiences in their lives and providing extremely detailed narratives.

Finally, at the closing stages of the interview, I noticed that participants often needed reassurance that they had been 'good participants'. This was a recurring reaction at the end of the interview, and I feel that this was a result of the 'naturalistic' methods employed. For example, one participant said 'all I have done is rabbit on for an hour and a half'. Therefore, often at the end of interviews, I had to reassure people that their stories were interesting, and expressly thank them for sharing them with me.

4.5. Positionality and ethics

A central concern during the research process was my position as an 'outsider'. What is meant by the term 'outsider' is that I did not share many of the socially constructed identities of my participants - such as ethnicity and gender (Hesse-

Biber & Leavy, 2007: 140). Therefore, after much consultation with research on being an 'outsider', and given the differences to my participants, I was aware that I would find it difficult to gain access to participants' 'lifeworlds'. Further to this, I was also aware that there could be ethical issues too. In particular, these ethical concerns related to the power imbalance that could occur between being a male researcher interviewing female participants.

In terms of gaining access to people's life stories, Padfield (1996: 364) has argued that when there is a 'mismatch' between the gender of the interviewee and interviewer, women tended to reveal less about sensitive issues such as abortion. He concluded that the ideal researcher-participant relationship would be where both share the same gender. However, this idealised researcher relationship has been criticised by Warren (2010) for failing to be scrutinised through a 'post-modern lens'. The post-modern approach to understanding identity argues that they are better understood as fluid, changing, and intersectional. Thus, the crux of Warren's argument is that this idealised model of women interviewing women ignores the power imbalances that exist between women. These power imbalances exist due to the way in which 'race', class, and sexuality 'conspire' to form a hierarchy of power within the category of 'women' itself (p4). Consequently, women interviewing women is never totally 'innocent' of social power. An explication is as follows: it is conceivable that a working-class, male researcher may well share similar experiences to that of a working-class woman. Therefore, it is possible for people of differing genders to have experienced similar forms of structural disadvantage, thus creating a 'point of connection' between researcher and participant.

In terms of my own research, I fully acknowledged that I could not draw on any shared experience of gender subordination (or 'sisterhood') and ethnic oppression (Oakley, 2015: 196). However, I could connect with participants in terms of class-based oppression. This is because I had experienced poverty and disadvantage while living in one of Scotland's most disadvantaged communities for 20 plus years. To be clear, I am not arguing that men and women experience class-based oppression identically; they do not! However, because I had experienced structural oppression over a sustained period of time, I was able to use this as a point of connection with some of the women I interviewed.

Secondly, the research design comprised of an institutional ethnography modelled on the framework proposed by feminist scholar Dorothy Smith (1987) and was orientated to allow for a feminist epistemology to emerge. For example, the women not only selected the photographs that they felt constituted significant moments in their lives but were also free to direct the many conversational avenues that flowed from these ‘snapshots in time’. Consequently, during the research process, I was guided by the women who I interviewed on how they viewed the world, and how they interpreted their place in it. Thus, I feel I had ‘given over’ a sufficient level of communicative control in the research process.

Finally, as briefly touched upon previously, I had completed a year-long COSCA certificate as part of a counselling skills course at Strathclyde University. This course was taught from a person-centred approach devised by Carl Rogers (1959) and was ideally suited to working with people who had experienced structural disadvantage such as gender subordination, homophobia, and classism. Central to his approach is the concept of unconditional positive regard (UPR). Rogers, in discussing UPR, says that if:

‘self-experiences of another are perceived by me in such a way that no self-experience can be discriminated as more or less worthy of positive regard than any other, then I am experiencing unconditional positive regard for this individual’ (1959; 208).

I believe that adopting a person-centred approach during the interviewing phase enabled me to bridge some of the issues of ‘gender mismatch’ in the interviewing process. That is not to say that I completely eradicated the gender relations; I didn’t. However, I do feel that I was sufficiently reflexive about my positionality in the research process, and that this was at the forefront of my mind when contemplating research design, data collection, and data analysis.

4.5.1. Example

An example of how it was helpful to design my research on a model of institutional ethnography to not only surmount access to participant’s life-

worlds, but to appease my own ethical concerns as well, was during the chapter on relationships. I had no plans whatsoever to discuss dating, partnering, and relationships when I began the research process. This was for two main reasons. Firstly, I was aware of Walby's (1997) assertion that women are often compelled to tell their life-histories in ways that foreground occasions such as marriage and childrearing. Therefore, I didn't want to pursue a gender stereotypical mode of questioning. Secondly, I felt that discussing participants' intimate lives could be uncomfortable for those taking part, particularly because I was a male researcher.

However, it is at this point that the real effectiveness of the data gathering technique for feminist research was realised. This was because participants chose to bring along photographs of their wedding day or photos containing current partners. Participants were not directed to do this at the pre-interview phase. Therefore, I argue that participants had, in effect, pre-selected some of the many conversational avenues they were comfortable speaking about. Further to this, they had prepared themselves and given me permission to discuss their intimate lives. If I had been rigid in my thinking and adopted a 'standard' interview format, I would have exercised an undue level of control over the women who took part in the research by leaving out what clearly was an important part of their lives and something they wished to talk about.

I am aware however, that there are broader structural forces at play in the research process such as patriarchy. That is to say that had it not been for patriarchal relations between men and women - the women in my study could have brought along more photographs of individual experiences, and career achievements. Thus, although women defied expectation on what they brought along this still may have been 'determined' by patriarchal forces assigning women's identity to the home (Walby, 1997).

4.5.2. Personal biography

Prior to, and during, the PhD I was acutely aware that much of my motivation for studying the effects of ethnic prejudice stemmed from my experiences as a serving soldier with NATO during the Bosnian conflict. In the winter of 1996, I

was deployed to Šipovo in the Republika Srpska as part of the Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) tasked with ensuring that the Dayton Peace agreement was adhered to by all protagonists in the conflict. In a practical sense, this meant: protecting food convoys; distributing food aid; and patrolling the demilitarised zone. For me, the most important duty I had was the protection of vulnerable populations such as the Bosnian Muslims.

It was during these protectionist operations that I became intimately acquainted with the way in which idea of 'race' can be 'mobilised' to demonise and exterminate populations within the boundaries of a nation state. This was brought home to me in sharp relief during the time I spent living with, and guarding, the Muslim community of Omici - a small village in the central Highlands region. The IFOR presence was necessary because of the strong feelings of hostility that existed towards the Muslim community amongst' amongst residents of the nearby Bosnian Serb village - a village that was only 1 kilometer away. As such, I spent a significant part of my posting armed and ready to defend a minority population from aggressive acts of racist hostility.

After serving my tour of Bosnia, I decided that I wanted to leave the army and gain an education. This was to prove challenging as I had left school with nothing in the way of formal academic qualifications. In terms of what to study, my experience in Bosnia and, more generally, the Armed Forces drew me to have a real interest in the study of people and society (a subject that I would later discover was called Social Sciences). As my academic career slowly gained momentum, there seemed to be 'natural fit' between focusing on critical 'race' studies and my desire to process my experiences in the former Republic of Yugoslavia. Therefore, studying the Irish Catholic Question represents a significant milestone in helping to not only adjust to civilian life but, most significantly, in processing my experiences of an operational tour with NATO.

4.6. Participant list

Aileen is a 30 year old women from the south-side of Glasgow. She is a Health Promotion worker in the NHS. Aileen has 3 children is divorced and is currently in a relationship with an Irish Catholic man from Northern Ireland.

Teagan is a 40 year old from the west end of Glasgow. Both her parents are from Donegal who came over as seasonal workers but decided to stay in Scotland. She has 2 children one of whom is 16 year old. Her husband is Irish.

Lydia was born in Maryhill but now live in the south side of Glasgow. Both her parents were born in Glasgow, and were Publicans. Both of her grandparents were born in Ireland. She is a school teacher and has 4 children.

Patricia's is a factory worker from the east of the city and is aged 40. She is married to a Scots protestant. Her mother is Irish, and father is Scottish. She has 2 children.

Daley is a lawyer she is 28 year old and lives in Dennistoun. She is married to an Irish man. Her father is Irish and her mother is Scottish. Daley has 3 children.

Ciarra is a 22 year old student from the west end of Glasgow. Her father is Irish, and mum is Scottish, she has a boyfriend who is of Irish catholic descent. She is a big Celtic fan.

Margaret 40 year old women from the south side of Glasgow. She is married to a Scottish man.
Morgan 40 is a senior broadcasting executive who lives in the East of the city. She is currently not in a relationship, and has 1 child.
Amanda 27 sales executive from Anniesland and is a student studying social care. She is a big supporter of Celtic Football Club.
Sinead is a 30 year old trainee education psychologist. She is no longer a practising Catholic. She is an educational psychologist married to a Scottish person.
Erin is an 30-year-old NHS worker from Govan hill. She enjoys going to concerts and watching Celtic play home games.
Danna is a 30 year old Social worker with 2 children and is still a practising Catholic. She lives in central Glasgow.
Rose 35 year old Teacher from the East End of Glasgow. Married to an Irish Catholic man.
Reagan is 28 year old Social Science researcher from the west end of Glasgow. She is engaged and has no children.
Julie, is a 40 year old who lives in Bailleston. Julie is divorced with 1 child,
Mary is a 28 year old subway worker from the City centre of Glasgow.
Kathleen is a 30 year old Bar Worker from Kinning Park. She is a big supporter of Celtic and enjoys socialising in Irish bars.
Jade 43 year old from Govanhill and works as a Community worker in Glasgow. She has one child.

Kelly 40 year old nurse from the north east of Glasgow. Her mother is Irish.
Donna is a 28 year old Social Worker from Paisley but moved to Glasgow in her teenage years.
Siobhan is a 24-year-old Student doing an Undergraduate Degree. She went to a denominational school.
Bridgit is a 19-year-old cleaner from the south side of Glasgow and has 2 children.

4.7. Data analysis

Transcription was undertaken by myself and, for a portion of the interviews, by a commercial firm. The transcribed interviews and recordings were stored and analysed using NVivo 10 software. This allowed the researcher to centralise the storage of data and use many of its features during the coding process (Bryman, 2012: 592). A broad categorical indexing scheme was devised which included the grouping of narratives from different points in people's lives. These included school life, social life as a child, education and employment, and social life as an adult. I was aware that this process was undertaken in order to organise the data for the purpose of further analysis; however, this necessarily involved a degree of interpretation as well. That is to say that the very selection of the categories themselves is an interpretive act and must be acknowledged as such.

After establishing 'time-period nodes', I went on to develop thematically specific categories which related to emergent themes in the data. It was only through continued immersion in the data that I was able to identify key themes. To that end, I identified three areas that could conceivably constitute the basis for distinct analytical chapters, with those being: the cultural lives of the Irish diaspora; experiences of and responses to prejudice, and relationship formation.

These three areas were so frequently discussed during interviews that it made sense that they should provide the overall structure of the discussion of findings.

Deciding on what constitutes a narrative is a subject of much debate (Lawler, 2002; Ricoeur, 1980). For example, Paul Ricoeur argues that to be considered a narrative, an act of speech or text must have three distinct elements. These are: transformation, plot line, and characters. However, often the stories I was exposed to did not neatly fit these criteria. Often people would slip in and out of time periods, introduce a range of characters, and link past and present accounts for a specific purpose. To me, it seemed that the notion of *purpose* was most important. I realised that this was because personal narratives serve to argue, convince, engage, or entertain their audiences (Riessman, 2001). Therefore, during the coding process, a broad approach was adopted on deciding what constituted personal narrative - taking cognisance of what the teller of the story was trying to achieve, and how they were trying to achieve it.

4.8. Conclusion

In conclusion, the path to arriving at a research strategy and design involved many twists and turns. The decision to employ an interpretive epistemology, in the face of so much research coming from a more positivist tradition, ensures that the research explores new ground and opens up new avenues for discussion. In particular, an interpretive approach using qualitative research methods will not only address this methodological imbalance, but also provide a fuller picture of the lived experiences of participants.

The research is guided by a feminist epistemology. This is so because it is not only sensitive to how women have been constructed as subjects in a society that is profoundly unequal, but also how that positioning offers them a unique standpoint on social relations as a whole. Evidence of this sensitivity is in the data collection and gathering techniques where women not only selected the photographs that acted as the basis of our conversations, but freely described what the photographs meant to them. My approach was fundamentally concerned to learn from the way in which my participants made sense of their own lives. Therefore I feel that the research design has been set up to counter a

‘consciousness of society and social relations [that] has been created from the standpoint of those who do the ruling: middle class men’ (Smith, 1987: 9).

Narrative analysis is a fitting approach for the project because, amongst many benefits, it helps mitigate the limitations of the concept of identity. This is so because although people may belong to a certain ethnic group, it does not really tell us about the ‘identities’ that they build or create. Lawler (2002) sums up this point by arguing that ‘although the identities people hold are related to the social context they inhabit, the process of being anything is, it seems to me, more complicated than simply an identification with a single, externally imposed category’ (p255). Therefore, the research design allowed participants to discuss how they experienced and asserted their Irish Catholic identity in day-to-day life, as well as the factors that contribute to those experiences. diaspora.

Recruitment and sampling, although challenging, did eventually provide a diverse sample of women who had differing levels of ‘connection’ to diaspora identity. Some were religious, and some were not; many had strong connections with Ireland, and others less so. Overall, however, I feel that social media platforms ended up yielding an ‘organic’ sample of participants and surmounted some of the dangers of institutionally guarded selection by gatekeepers.

The naturalistic methods used sat well with a constructivist approach, thereby enabling a rich flow of stories to emerge during interview. I feel that without the use of photographs, the thesis would not have provided anywhere near as broad an insight as it does. Therefore, the use of the visual method (and photographs in particular) can be cited as one key success of the project. The use of pre-existing photographs provided a greater number of avenues for discussion than ‘contrived’ photographs would have done, and allowed participants a greater control over the telling of their stories. The disadvantage of such a method was that some participants possessed very few photographs, or forgot to bring them altogether. Furthermore, people are still constrained by the photographs available to them. For example, some people had moved home so many times that they had very few family photographs available to them. One participant could only bring a few photos because her mother had recently died and it was too painful for her to look at historic family photographs.

Overall, I feel that a combination of the epistemological position taken, the method of data collection, and the means of analysing the data has led to me achieving my aim of researching the rich complexities of diasporic lives. This approach allowed for taking on board how ethnicity, class, and gender combine to create a particular set of experiences for the participants.

5. Making Visible the Invisible Lives of the Irish Catholic Diaspora in Glasgow

‘[Popular culture has] its base in the experiences, the pleasures, the memories, the traditions of the people. It has connections with local hopes and local aspirations, local tragedies, and local scenarios that are the everyday practices and the everyday experiences of ordinary folks.’

(Hall, 1993: 4-5)

‘The ‘unities’ which identities proclaim are, in fact, constructed within the play of power and exclusion, and are the result, not of a natural and inevitable or primordial totality but of the naturalized, overdetermined process of ‘closure’.’

(Hall, 2011: 5)

5.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore the contours of participants’ sense of cultural belonging by analysing the narratives they tell about their cultural lives in the city of Glasgow. This is a necessary exercise for two reasons. Firstly, it will contextualise subsequent chapters by providing an understanding of the day-to-day lives of those taking part in the research. Secondly, very little attention has been given to studying the lives of the Irish diaspora in Scotland; therefore this exercise will serve to fill a gap in the literature about one of Scotland’s largest ethnic minority communities.

As stated previously this omission of the Irish diaspora in research has occurred through a combination of disciplinary boundaries being drawn too narrowly within studies of racism and ethnic minorities in Scotland (Walls and Williams, 2003: 633), and what Macmillan (2000: 16) calls ‘a desire to narrow and restrict

the definition of what it means to be Scottish'. Consequently these two processes function in mutually reinforcing ways to erase the presence of the racialised Irish. Taking all these points on board then the aim of this chapter is *to make visible the invisible lives of the Irish diaspora in Glasgow*.

With this aim in mind, the chapter will begin with a brief discussion as to why certain academics have arrived at the position that those of an Irish Catholic heritage are not an 'established community' within Scotland. I will challenge this position by arguing that the methodology used by those who take this viewpoint can only ever provide limited insight into community life. I will then go on to recapitulate Avtar Brah's (1996) concept of *diasporic space* which provides a much more fruitful way of understanding 'inhabited' locations. Therefore, an underlying argument throughout this chapter will be that we should reframe the way in which we understand 'community' if we are to properly understand not only the Irish Catholic population in Glasgow, but other diasporic communities as well.

The chapter will go on to ask the question: what type of culture are we talking about when referring to the Irish diaspora? I will contend that a de-colonial approach provides the most fitting way through which to understand the Irish diaspora. As Stuart Hall (2011: 4) states: 'We need to situate the debates about identity within all those historically specific developments and practices which have disrupted the relatively 'settled' character of many populations and cultures'. Therefore, the chapter will be attentive to the material relations that shaped the cultural practices, and the regimes of representation that influence behaviour.

The chapter will then go on to explore and interpret the research findings. It will examine what these tell us about the importance of both the family and community in (re)producing and sustaining an Irish cultural identity. It is in these sites that most become aware of their cultural heritage, and how it is practised and performed (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 43). The discussion will explore the significance of a range of cultural phenomena, including: music, dress, football, religion, and Irish dancing. These five elements of culture were the most

recurring themes that emerged from the data; therefore, an analysis of them will provide a rich insight into the lives of the community.

Within each cultural theme there will be: a discussion on the relative salience of each activity; an explication of the performative qualities of ‘cultural stuff’; and an outlining of the complications that people face in engaging in such activities. By ‘complications’, I refer to how certain dimensions of power relations - such as gender, class, and ethnicity - articulate and disarticulate in the diasporic space (Brah, 1996: 209). The salience of the latter point became particularly evident as I listened to the stories that my participants told me, which demonstrated the extent to which sexism, anti-Catholicism, classism, and anti-Irishness were significant social forces at play in their lives. For example, participants told stories of experiencing prejudice whilst attending Catholic weddings, whilst others talked of the challenges of supporting Celtic Football Club.

Finally, I will provide a summary of the findings to provide insight into the lives of participants. This summary will draw on the various strands of the cultural content discussed in the narratives, and highlight the varying forces that are ‘at play’ in the social construction of cultural identity for member of the Irish Catholic diaspora in Scotland.

5.2. Background

Bruce et al (2004: 110) argue that: ‘Catholics may once have formed a distinctive community; they do not do so now’. Using the term ‘Catholic’ as a surrogate for the Irish diaspora in Scotland, Bruce’s conclusion was reached by his preferred method of using large statistical data sets to show that historic Irish Catholic areas such as the Garngad (now Royston) are currently mixed in terms of religious identification. Their argument is that the lack of evidence of contemporary spatial segregation, similar to that seen in Northern Ireland, demonstrates a lack of a sense of community. This, to me, seems to be a very limited sociological understanding of the concept ‘community’. For example, Harries (2018: 1) has shown how: ‘Different types of data generate different

stories and how different methodological approaches can produce varied understandings of place, which have implications for how a place comes to be known'. Bruce et al's method provides us with a very particular understanding of place and community and equates the continuation of identification with the extent to which groups live apart.

There have, however, been many advances in studying communities within the social sciences, which can act to broaden out our understanding of group identity. For example, Wessendorf (2013: 415), using qualitative methods, has shown that strong community identities can exist within super-diverse areas such as in the London Borough of Hackney. Wessendorf undertook ethnographic fieldwork in order to explore questions of place and better understand the lived experiences of those who occupy diverse places. Given this, Bruce et al's (2004) claim that Catholics do not form communities because of an absence of geographical segregation, tells us very little. Consequently, I am arguing that one cannot read declining forms of identification (Catholic and community) from an empirical measure of spatial segregation, such as it is presented in *Sectarianism in Scotland*.

There is a strong link frequently made between community and culture (Bauman, 1996: 10). The dominance that Bruce and colleagues enjoy within this field of study leaves the 'door open' for the emergence of a popular belief that those of an Irish Catholic heritage are no longer culturally distinct within Scottish society. In effect, the argument is, they have been assimilated. Such conclusions are surely premature if they are not attentive to the ways in which people themselves understand the space in which they live in (Harries, 2018: 15), and their own selves. It is here that I briefly visit the concept of diaspora space as a useful way of understanding contemporary forms of migration, settlement, and community formation.

5.2.1. Diaspora space

In discussing the concept of *diaspora space*, Brah (1996) focuses on how the concept helps us conceptualise places which are populated, not only by those who have migrated and their descendants, but equally by those who are

constructed and represented as indigenous. As Brah herself puts it '*diaspora space* foregrounds the entanglements of genealogies of dispersion with those of 'staying put'' (16). A rudimentary reading of Brah's concept points to the fact that places of settlement are 'mixed' and often comprise multiple ethnicities. Moreover, I feel the concept of *diaspora space* provides us with a much more fruitful way of examining the lives of those of an Irish Catholic heritage because it specifically points us towards the contested 'nature' of identity formation within social space and examines the political and cultural concerns of migrants, their descendants, and those deemed to be indigenous. Brah's concept appears a far more sophisticated way in which to understand community formation than the simple segregation model adopted by Bruce et al (2004).

Joseph Bradley (2006) also acknowledges a lack of visibility of the Irish in the cultural life of Scotland. His analysis of this invisibility, however, rather than attributing it to a 'successful' process of assimilation, emphasises a strategy of collective forgetting. That is to say, he claims that there has been a strategic denial of the contribution that the Irish and their Scottish-born children have played in the cultural life of the nation. He says: 'The Irish in Scotland have become largely invisible; they are for the most part absent in research, novels, histories, and stories from life in Scotland' (Bradley, 2006: 1192). Therefore, whilst both Bruce and Bradley agree on the lack of visibility of the Irish diaspora in Scotland, they have very different explanations: for Bruce such invisibility is a consequence of inevitable assimilation; for Bradley it has been a product of strategic exclusion.

5.2.2. What sort of 'culture' and 'identity' are we talking about?

As discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, Ireland was (and some participants argue still is) Britain's first colony (Ohlmeyer, 1998). During which racism, one of the many oppressive ordering tools of empire, was brought to bear on Ireland's population. Prior to introducing the analysis of the data, it is necessary to make the point that many such as Bradley (2006: 1203) and Walters (2006: 206) make: that an Irish cultural identity has been labelled as offensive or what they term 'sectarianised' within Scotland. Therefore, the term 'sectarianised' - for the purpose of this paper - refers to the multifaceted ways in which expressions of

Irish cultural heritage can be (and have been) deemed as acts of sectarianism - a thoroughly demonised term in popular media. Linking expressions of national heritage to a demonised term makes it far easier for individuals and state bodies to suppress Irish culture in Scotland. This 'sectarianising' of Irish identity is a theme we will return to later on in this chapter.

5.3. Data analysis

I will now bring consider a wide range of narratives, across a range of cultural sites, in a bid to demonstrate that many of those descended from Irish migrants engage in rich cultural activities which simultaneously connect them with others in the diaspora, and with their parents' or grandparents' country of birth. In other words, there is ample qualitative evidence of the continued assertion and reproduction of an Irish cultural identity in Scotland.

5.3.1. Contemporary family composition and its role in the production of cultural identity

The ways in which we define 'family' at the beginning of the 21st century are increasingly dynamic and flexible (Chambers, 2012). The growth of single-headed households, same sex couples, unmarried cohabiting couples, and post-divorce couples means that often children are brought up within 'blended family relationships'. During the course of the interviews, these shifts were often discernible in the life-histories that people described. Many were brought up in single-headed households due to bereavement or divorce, and some were brought up by grandparents. Therefore, when referring to family life, this paper takes cognisance of such changes in family composition and relations; however, it recognises the continuity that often exists within these changing relations. The continuities within these new forms of intimate relations include continued commitment, emotional support, economic interdependence, and child rearing (ibid.: 54).

Focusing on culture, Yuval-Davis (1997), in her book *Gender and Nation*, talks about the central role of gender relations and the family in the process of cultural (re)production. She states that:

'The construction of 'home' is of particular importance here, including relations between adults and between adults and children in the family, ways of cooking and eating, domestic labour, play, and bedtime stories, out of which a whole world view, ethical and aesthetic can be naturalised and reproduced.' (p43)

Throughout the course of the interviews, it became clear to me that the home was indeed an important site of cultural (re)production. Moreover, not only were immediate family important to participants, but extended family mattered too. In this direct sense, family relations were often central to the maintaining of diasporic identity. This was evident in the stories told about frequent trips back to Ireland and how these shaped people's sense of belonging. As one participant said: 'Do you know, Ireland was always referred to as 'home', no matter what... whether you'd lived there or not. And we all went back for six weeks at the summer'.

However, family was not just a site of reproduction; it also a site where cultural identities were contested, often by 2nd and 3rd generation diaspora members who wished to challenge family expectations. Therefore, although there are many aspects of Yuval-Davis's quote that resonate with the experiences of the participants, the family was also a sight of conflict between different generations, and different genders.

5.3.2. Music

What now follows is an exploration of the narratives surrounding music within the context of family and community life. Such an exploration will tell us much about the day-to-day lives of those interviewed. It will also tell us a great deal about how cultural identity is shaped within the broader social forces of

patriarchy, class, and ethnic exclusion. The first story is from Aileen, who is a 30-year-old from the south-side of Glasgow, and whose grandparents were born in Donegal:

I remember... one of my earliest memories was in a... at a family party and singing the Fields Of Athenry, do you know, you were taught the Irish songs from a real young age and as I say, me, Breda, Kieran and Mary, we love to go to the Wolfe Tones together. It's a big... a family night out and we go and... and where... there's a lot I suppose our... not so... I'm saying my age, but Mary, Kieran and Breda are a wee bit younger than me. They're still in their mid-20s.

Aileen's narrates a memory of a family party where they would sing Irish folk songs. This narrative is constructed over multiple temporal and spatial locations which are systematically layered together to inform the listener about the centrality of Irish music to her and her family: initially she refers to a family party but this memory is overlaid with a confirmatory narrative about the joy she feels in going to concerts to see The Wolfe Tones - an Irish traditional band.

The narrative demonstrates a number of things: firstly, that the family does indeed play an important part in cultural (re)production, as Yuval-Davis suggests. But, secondly, it also gives us a glimpse into how cultural identity is made 'real' through cultural consumption practices - such as attending a musical event. In a broad sense, Shankar (2009) argues that:

'Consumer culture is thus to be considered pre-eminent arena for the production and circulation of competing, discursive representations or identity positions, with consumption the means through which the symbolic potential of these identity positions is incorporated, reproduced and realized into the extended self and into ongoing identity projects' (p77).

Therefore, the consumption of consumer goods, combined with the performative act of attending a concert, can be considered as part of the practice and process of the production and sustainment of an Irish diaspora identity.

In addition, the intentionality of asserting and confirming that identity draws on cultural acts which are loaded with meaning. For example, Aileen identifies with a particular type of music - one that emphasises the historic struggles that emanate from Britain's colonial relations with Ireland. The folk song refers to the material degradation of the Irish peasantry under colonial relations. Moreover, the Wolfe Tones are a band that write and perform songs pertaining to Ireland's political struggles. Therefore, the cultural act, and its content, informs the listener that Aileen and her family locate their cultural heritage in Ireland and its colonial legacy: it is a cultural identity located in the memories of struggle. This appears to resonate with Fanon's (2001) thoughts on the national culture of colonised peoples. He argues that such culture should inevitably 'describe, justify and praise the action through which the people created itself and keeps itself in existence' (p188).

A further example of the salience of Irish music to participants' cultural heritage is given to us by Teagan. Teagan's narrative tells us about the importance of certain forms of music to her, but her story also testifies to a perceived vibrancy of cultural networks within the city of Glasgow. Teagan says:

I, we go out most weekends, more or less, although we went out that week. When we go out... I always look up the Gig Guide, to see if there's, what bands are about. Erm, and if it's Scottish bands, I don't, I'm not interested. So I always just go, if I know quite a lot of the guys in the bands, from being going in my early twenties. Erm, that's just, that's just what I do, you know, that's just what we do, we go out and, erm, see where the bands are playing and just... I mean, it's some, some is Rebel, and some is kind of Irish folk. That's it, it's a mixture of music.

Narratives are used to describe, explain, convince, persuade, and even shock: they invariably have a purpose (Riessman, 2012: 373). In this case, it is doing identity work. Teagan's story makes clear her disinterest in Scottish music in favour of Irish music, and how these affirmative choices are made in her life. Her narrative also indicates that, for much of her adult life, she has been going to these musical events due to knowing many of the people within the bands. Therefore, arguably in the context of diasporic culture, links between

performers and audience might be more direct and personal than is the case in 'mainstream' cultural production. Teagan's narrative is also interesting because it gives us insight into how the type of music she listens to is categorised as being Irish folk, or 'Rebel'. Fanon (2001), in his chapter on national culture, talks about how culture should be rooted in the struggles of decolonial people - and, in many ways, this is where Teagan locates her musical dispositions. Overall, though, what is evident from this narrative is the performative and consumption aspect to cultural identity. The participant is actively constructing her identity through making affirmatory (and exclusionary) choices in favour of particular types of music. Irish music is her type of music; but Scottish folk music is not.

Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that women play a number of roles within ethnic and national formations. In the following extract, we can see women in their role as symbolic border guards and how the participant has sought to actively foster an interest in Irish music amongst her children. Lydia talks about her perception of her children's sense of identity. In particular, she talks of the salience of an Irish heritage to her children, and how it is manifested in material products and musical pursuits. She says:

And I think because they're... they're... they see their... their Irish heritage has been really important to them too. They've all got very Irish names Bernadette, Kieran, Theresa and Cara. And they're all spelt the Irish way. Erm, well, Breda was born there but, erm, they all see a lot of their identity as being... being Irish... erm, and even in the house we've got a lot of Irish things, Irish pictures and stuff from Ireland that they're very, kind of, attached to I suppose. You know, they're very aware, very aware of their heritage and their culture.

Like I would have taken the kids to my father's home place... when they played music at that world championship that I'll tell you about. They played at one point in County Carron which is just beside Longford and I took them to my father's home place so that was where my father... that would have been the house, [points to photograph] okay, the roof's off it

and stuff now... and I think then when they saw me being emotional they got quite emotional as well.

Lydia draws on a range of symbolic markers to discuss her perceptions of her children's sense of identity. Her children, all of whom have been given Irish first names, are believed to have a strong sense of Irish heritage. The family home is adorned with 'lots of Irish things'. This highlights again the consumption element to 'identity' work in that purchasing 'Irish things' engenders a sense of 'Irishness'. Furthermore, not only has she given her children Irish names, but she has actively encouraged them to cultivate skills playing folk music - to the point that they now play at international competitions. At the end of the narrative, Lydia also talks of travelling to Ireland for a competition and taking them to her father's place of birth. Therefore, for Lydia, elements such as names, household objects, and leisure pursuits are all 'soaked' with ethnic meaning. As such these artefacts symbolise, for her, what being of an Irish heritage 'is' and how she actively brings this to the fore in her day-to-day life. But, most significantly, it shows the process of (re)production of cultural identity within the family home, and how women are often positioned to act as agents of cultural reproduction due to their socially constructed role in childrearing.

The latter section of Lydia's narrative focuses on Irish folk music and, as mentioned, a number of participants expressed a preference for this type of music over others. To understand the centrality of Irish music to diaspora identity, the work of Leith Davis (2006: 222) is instructive. Davis discusses how Irish traditional music has been at the heart of both the colonial and nationalist projects. He argues that British colonial elites sought to proscribe Irish music as part of an English 'civilising mission' which aimed to eradicate evidence of Celtic culture. Conversely, nationalists sought to galvanise the power of music to promote claims of national legitimacy. Davis concludes by arguing that, consequently, music has been inextricably linked to a sense of Irishness since the nineteenth century. In many ways, therefore, it is a cultural battleground where attempts at domination and resistance are evident.

A further example of the centrality of music to the cultural life of the Irish diaspora is provided by Patricia. Patricia's parents are in a mixed marriage with her father being Scottish (albeit with an Irish heritage) and her mother being from Ireland. Patricia talks of how expressions of Irishness manifested in her home. She browses through photos of her mother and recalls the following story:

My mother she would get really pished drunk. And eh, St Patrick's Day was a big thing. And she got sozzled and played the most dreadful music. It's not dreadful now - now I listen to it but at the time I was like 'O god this is killing me'! I remember this time she had this old 45 vinyl and it was James Connolly the Irish rebel song and it's no really an Irish rebel song if you listen to the lyrics it's just the story of a man dying. But oh this got played over, and over again. And she would be sitting in the chair absolutely burst, steam boats and every now and then you would hear "up Dublin, up the Gunmen"! And we would be thinking: 'What Gunmen? I don't know anyone who owns a Gun'.

Interviewer: So was that quite confusing as a kid?

It was a wee bit cause it was never mentioned, my dad wouldn't have tolerated that, because he is a - if you live in this country you make your living in this country then why are you harking back to a country you don't make a living in. He feels that if you are living here you owe your living to this country, you owe your loyalty. Her loyalties never left Ireland.

As noted already narrative analysis requires us to be attentive to moments when past events are interpreted through a subject's present (Lawler, 2002). Here Patricia has interpreted and re-interpreted the experience over her life course, and this process may continue to gather alternative meanings as she gets older.

Patricia's narrative possesses a distinct temporal reference ('this old 45') which situates the story in Patricia's youth. She recalls her mother listening to what she initially refers to as a 'rebel song'. Despite the song actually having this title, Patricia goes on to problematise such a description by reframing its content, saying that it is not really about rebellion but 'just a man dying'. Her

story continues to describe her mother's drink-fuelled nostalgia for Ireland, and its struggle against British colonial rule. Patricia, at the time of listening to the song, had insufficient knowledge of Irish history to understand the significance of her mother's response to the music, or indeed the song itself. In fact, she goes on to foreground her own limited understanding of the event at the time in a humourful manner.

As we have seen, Cohen insists that a key feature of diasporic identity is the presence of a 'collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements' (p17). Patricia's story is an example of the way in which this is practised and made real in everyday life. In this instance, this was achieved through listening to certain forms of music. In addition, it shows how this is commodified and exists in material forms - such as vinyl records. Werbner (2002) says 'diasporas 'exist' also as observable realities objectified through the global distribution of packaged 'culture'' (p59). In Patricia's case, the record is that objectified form. Therefore, Patricia's narrative also captures this important component of identity formation within the Irish community in Glasgow.

A key aspect of this story are the tensions that emerge between her father, who is Scottish (albeit of Irish heritage), and her first generation Irish mother. Bearing in mind that gender relations are constructed differently within the family amongst differing ethnic groups (Walby, 1997), it appears that although women are often seen as cultural (re)producers, that process can be, and often is, strongly controlled by patriarchal relations with the family. Patricia feels that this type of music would not have been tolerated in the presence of her father. As such this gives us a glimpse into moments when the reproduction of cultural identity has to navigate a form of patriarchal domination within the family

Within the data, there were - conversely - occasions where male power was challenged by mothers who identified as Scottish. In moments of that sort, it seems possible that cultural hegemony can 'trump' patriarchy. This is so because there were situations (such as the one detailed below) within a 'mixed marriage' where Scottish mothers would completely refuse to esteem Irish culture of any

kind. Daley tells us of growing up in a household where her mother was deeply dismissive of any manifestations of Irishness. Despite her mother being married to an Irishman, she talks of her pervasive tendency within the family home of infantilising Irish culture and, more generally, Irish people:

She just doesn't have any patience for Irish people I remember going to Dublin to gigs on a weekend and I would meet my cousins over there and that was just at the right at the time but she would just be like: 'I don't know why you are going there you should go to London or Paris'. Just that kind of attitude that she didn't really rate it culturally.

Interviewer: Rate it?

Aye, she just thought all Irish people were a bit stupid!

Daley's narrative is also of interest because it demonstrates the remnants of cultural racism outlined in chapter 2 whereby justification for oppression was based on a need to 'civilise', the 'backwards', or 'childish' colonial people (Miles, 1993: 89). This clear disdain for all things Irish created a level of identity ambivalence for Daley, who possessed a sense of Irish heritage despite Irishness being demeaned in the family home. What is of interest is that Daley, like many participants, resisted this attempt to disrupt cultural transmission. This was evident in the fact that she is now married to an Irish Catholic man.

5.3.3. Dress: the shamrock

Given that sartorial items can be 'soaked' in symbolic meaning and act as boundary markers (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Walby, 1997), an exploration of dress is of interest in terms of understanding cultural identification. A typical narrative in relation to this theme was offered by Ciarra; she pointed at a school photograph and recalls a time when her father put a dress pin of a shamrock on her school uniform to celebrate St Patrick's Day. Ciarra says:

In terms of Irishness, one of my first memories of Primary school was my dad for St Patrick's Day got a wee, eh, shamrock and tied it round a green

ribbon on a pin for me, and I got home from school and it must be P1 and went like that 'how many other boys and girls in your class had one?' And I was like 'no one else had one'. And he was like 'what!' And he was really disappointed that no one in my class would had a wee St Patrick's Day, kind of, I can't mind what you call it. Maybe it was more popular when he was at school.

This narrative describes to the listener how Irishness is manifested in the family home, but it also demonstrates a level of ambivalence within Ciarra when this occurs. Cultural boundary markers are often fluid and change in different spaces and times (Hickman, 2002). Ciarra's story is interesting on a number of levels. Firstly, her father, who is the son of Irish Catholic immigrants, places great significance on the holiday of St Patrick's Day. Given that girls are often seen as the symbolic embodiment of an ethnic collectivity, the act is not only a form of celebrating a meaningful holiday, but boundary marking by her father (Yuval-Davis, 1997). A further participant tells a story similar to Ciarra's which highlights the significance of the shamrock as a symbol of Irishness amongst diaspora members. Margaret says:

Yeah. I mean, we... we, kind of... I didn't know I was Irish until [laugh]... until, kind of, I went to school. And we always work... like, from... I remember when St Patrick's Day came round, we'd get shamrocks sent in bags over from Ireland and you'd get them pinned on. You'd get red, green and white and gold ribbons put in our hair. We'd go to school like that and... but, like, I... I thought... when you're tiny, you don't know any different.

The significance of the shamrock for the global Irish diaspora is explicated further by Bronwen Walter (2009). Walter (2009: 195) suggests that the wearing of the shamrock, and other dress items, is a clear assertion that second generation children belonged to the 'national Irish family'. Moreover, she argues that it was assumed that not only would such children wear the shamrock, but that they would publicly assert their Irish heritage. This public proclamation of Irishness also symbolises the interconnectedness across extended families, linking Ireland to the place of settlement. Such actions can be costly: my

participants talked about children being bullied because of wearing such items. Walter, who conducted 116 interviews and 13 focus groups across Scotland and England, states that: 'These assumptions [public assertions of an Irish identity] are an interesting contrast to the uncomfortable challenges issued to the second generation, in other situations that they are inauthentic Irish people, who lack an Irish birthplace and an Irish accent, and are therefore "plastic paddies"' (Walter, 2009: 195). Therefore, Walters's research sheds light on the two component parts of both of the aforementioned narratives: family symbolic boundary marking and ambivalence.

On the latter point, Margaret's narrative in particular reminds us of the inherent problem of identity work for colonial people and their descendants which Frantz Fanon discusses in *Black Skins, White Masks*. He says: 'I will not make myself the man of any past. I do not want to exalt the past at the expense of my present and of my future' (Fanon, 2008: 176). Although Fanon's gender politics are problematic, his theoretical insight shows how modes of identification can in themselves become oppressive, particularly when children are being asked to act as the symbolic markers for ethnic collectivities. Also, it demonstrates a contemporary form of internal boundary policing, a phenomena Gallagher (1987) identified over 100 years ago.

Ciarra and Margaret's families were not unique in celebrating the holiday of St Patrick's Day; it was marked and celebrated by the majority of participants in a variety of ways. Some would go to organised events, and others would have private celebrations in the home. Mary Hickman (2014: 115) conceptualises St Patrick's Day as a 'significant moment in a hybridised life, one in which family history, memories, and other experiences crystallise together in different ways over time'. A tentative finding that emerged from the data was that those who showed a preference for private celebrations were often from upper middle-class families. One participant, who was a senior executive at a broadcasting company, stated that she enthusiastically celebrated St Patrick's Day but only in the privacy of her home. Morgan said: 'It's great; we had Irish dancing and family games, and invited the neighbours round'. However, when asked if she went to any of the publicly organised events, she replied that she was not part

of the 'Catholic Mafia' and sought to distance herself from the broader Irish Catholic community.

A further story about the salience of dress to those interviewed was told by Aileen. Aileen talks about a photograph she has of her son's christening, and then moves on to talk about her wedding. She says:

And even his christening robe was Irish linen and it's got shamrocks and claddaghs all embroidered round the bottom and Celtic crosses and then their names... I got their names embroidered inside them. That's Brendan's christening. So they've all worn the same christening robe, cause recently I showed it to Duncan's and he was like, did we all wear the same? And I was like, yeah, but look... and inside I've got it all embroidered, their names, their dates of birth and their christening dates... and I was like, it's a family heirloom, creating something... but I got it all handmade and embroidered. Even my wedding dress had the Celtic cross on it. I was married in green.

Aileen's narrative shows us how the wedding dress and christening robes can be used as symbols of ethnic identification. Therefore, within Aileen's narrative we see an intertwining of celebrating significant life events, with culturally significant dress items associated with an Irish/Gaelic heritage. This was common within the data whereby many participants would highlight the importance of their cultural heritage by wearing dress items at moments of heightened significance. Walby (1997) points out that, women are often required to narrate their life-histories in ways that foreground occasions such as marriage, and childrearing. This is something that Aileen, as well as many other participants, did during interviews. Therefore, we see how clothing and rites of passage can be imbued with ethnic meaning, and hold great symbolic value for diaspora members.

Evidence of the gendered division of labour which assigns to women the role of cultural border guard is also evident in relation to dress (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Teagan states that:

My, like, my son has got a ceilidh coming up in school in sixth year... erm, next Christmas, or whatever. And he was saying, a lot of the guys, the Asians in his class are getting kilts. And I was like that, 'well you're not getting a kilt [be]cause you're not a Scotsman'. That's what... and we, that's why Tony never had a kilt on for his wedding. And I'm thinking, I'm not even giving him the choice. And he won't, he'll do what I say. The seventeen year old. And I'm just thinking, why am I not letting him? Because Tony said to me, my husband said last night, don't ever let him wear a kilt.

In the narrative, Teagan tells a story about a discussion she has with her son about what to wear for a school function the following year. She recalls him referring to the fact that the 'Asians in his class' are getting kilts for the occasion, and that he is considering wearing one. An interpretation of this aspect of the story may be that her son is using the strategic argument that if 'visible minorities' such as Scots-Asians can wear the kilt, then so can he as a person of an Irish background. Therefore, it would suggest her son may see himself as a distinct minority within Scotland. Or indeed it is possible that he sees himself as Scottish and this is evident in his desire to wear the kilt.

The kilt, which has been appropriated from Highland culture to symbolise Scottishness more generally, is a step too far in the direction of 'assimilation' for Teagan and her husband. Teagan clearly states that he is 'not a Scotsman', and therefore has forbidden him to wear this item of dress. This disavowal of symbolic Scottishness is significant because he was born in Scotland - as were his parents.

Teagan's narrative hints, again, at patriarchal relations within the family which see men occupy a domineering position over not only women, but children too (Yuval-Davis, 1997). This is evident in the story told by Teagan as she acts to implement her husband's desire to forbid her son from wearing a kilt. Although this may be her view as well, Tony's position is evident in her justification for cultural boundary maintenance. Indeed, at the end of the narrative we see Teagan reflecting on her own motive for this prohibitive act before then pointing to her husband's opinion as being a decisive factor in her decision.

Stuart Hall (2011) argues that '[t]he unities which identities proclaim are, in fact, constructed within the play of power' (p5). Therefore, what is of particular importance in this narrative is the play of power that Hall mentions. Teagan and her husband are hostile to their son being identified as Scottish. Reasons for this could include a sense of antipathy towards a Scottish identity due to real or perceived prejudice or discrimination directed at Teagan and Tony for being of Irish descent. Therefore, for their son to wear signs of Scottish cultural dress would be a significant transgression of their cultural boundary. Again we see strong evidence of community identification and boundary policing within this narrative.

5.3.5. Irish dancing

A distinct element of cultural activity that emerged from the findings was the prevalence of Irish dancing. One participant sums up the frequency with which this activity emerged by saying that 'I did Irish dancing, it's a rite of passage'. In total, 19 out of the 22 participants had some experience of Irish dancing. The following narrative discusses the way in which one participant's family arranged the tuition of Irish dancing and the perception that she had of this experience. She says:

My gran got me into it and said that she took me to the first classes. But then after that, it would probably be mostly my mum, in terms of like, taking me to the classes, and then organising, just organising things around it. It was like... I don't know if you've seen Irish dancing, but you have to get your hair all curled, and it was a strange, like, micro community. Because you would get girls that were all, like, seven or something, and they had false tans from head to toe, and have makeup on. And with the hair, it was kind of just a bit odd. And, but yeah, I really enjoyed it until I got a bit older, I used to go about three times a week, I think. And it would usually be my mum that would take me, and she would kind of wait. And my dad would come sometimes, but he worked sort of night shifts at that time, so he wasn't around in the evenings.

This narrative is representative of the stories many people told about Irish dancing. Mothers and Grandmothers would be responsible for taking their daughters and granddaughters to lessons and attendance at those classes and events galvanised a sense of community for many within the Irish diaspora. A recurring theme that came up in the narratives was a dislike of the wigs, nails, and fake tan - which many participants told me was a recent development within Irish dancing. Many people said the aesthetics had changed, so much so, that it was the reason many did not continue to dance. It was perceived by many as garish and tasteless.

Helena Wulf (2005: 46), in her ethnographic study of Irish dancing, argues that the body is a site of culture, and that movement in dancing can be linked to political and national identity. During her research, she pointed to the commonly held belief amongst instructors that the structure of Irish dancing - with the rigid upper body and straight arms - can be traced directly to Ireland's colonial relationship with Britain. For example, many of the instructors she interviewed believed this style was adopted to counter the colonial stereotype of the Irish as sullen, lazy and mopish figures. Furthermore, interviewees believed that such actions within dance were historically linked to a form of protest against having to dance for colonial masters.

A significant amount of people talked about the strictness of the Irish dance scene. For many, this was off-putting. For example, Julie stated that:

And then, like, every weekend or every second weekend they would expect you to go to different, em, shows and competitions and it was very... and, em... some... I remember some of the mothers, when some of the girls didn't do too well, they would slap them. 'You could have done better, you've been practising all week and you're like that' [laughs].

Wulf argues that this pressure emerged from the centrality of championships to this cultural world, and that fact that Irish dancing was viewed by both parents and teachers as a 'good education in Irishness' (Wulf, 2005: 50). Others, such as Hickman (2002), have argued that the perfection often sought in Irish dancing has become a particular trait of diasporic communities in Britain. Hickman

attempts to explicate this emphasis on rigidity by saying that it is attributable to Irish diaspora communities' need to recreate their cultural identity in the face of the constant possibility that diasporic communities are accused of inauthenticity. She argues that: 'The Irish who were born overseas reinvented their cultural identity to recreate a link with homeland; this was in part due to them feeling forgotten' (2002: 17). Therefore, perfection in step dance and costume became strict benchmarks through which one's 'Irishness' could be 'measured' and demonstrated.

Davis (2006) has been critical of, on a number of levels, many of the contemporary forms of Irish dance. Drawing on an analysis of *Riverdance*, he argues that this production was supposed to be emblematic of a new Ireland entering the 21st century; however, it was reliant on the old stereotypes of women as the embodiment of tradition and men representing modernity as innovators. He goes on to critique Irish dancing specifically, and Irish global culture more generally, by saying that '[c]ultural hybridity is often constituted more by corporations than individuals or nations' (Davis, 2006: 230). These theoretical insights are illuminating and shed light on why Irish dancing may have featured strongly within the data, and why they clearly played an important role in the cultural lives of those who took part in the research.

In the final extract regarding Irish dancing, we not only see the importance of Irish Dancing to diaspora members, but also how this cultural pursuit acts to actively construct a sense of the Global Irish diaspora itself. This is done again through the establishment of competitions at the national, transnational and global level:

Lydia: One of the mums said one night why don't we get a wee team, a wee ladies team together... because there's like dancing at the world championships [which are held in Glasgow]. And we were like, hmm, oh no, will we, well, will we and we all, kind of, thought about it and thought 'do you know what we'll do it but we're doing it for the craic'. Just for the laugh. And that is exactly how it was. We did it for the laughs.

So, it was all mums, all in our forties, eight of us, we danced every Tuesday night. We then went and danced in the all Scotland. We got the biggest cheer ever. We got put through to the all Britain. We went down to England. We went and bought lovely wee dresses out of Wallis.

We danced at the all Britain. We ended up getting through to the world [championships]. Then we went to the worlds, then we saw the competitive edge. Then we went in amongst all these other women... who were taking it really seriously... and that's when we, kind of, went... So, we didn't do it again after that.

Interviewer: So, you basically had enough?

Lydia: Uh-huh.

5.3.6. Celtic Football Club

As might be expected, a central theme in terms of cultural practices and affiliations, was a strong support for Celtic Football Club. Indeed, 17 participants out of the 22 expressed support for the club. This adds weight to Bradley's (2006: 1195) claim that 'Celtic's emblematic and symbolic identity is intrinsically linked to the Irishness of the Irish immigrant diaspora in Scottish society'. In the following narrative, a participant describes the significance of going to a Celtic football match for her, and how it involves much more than just entertainment. Amanda says:

Also a big part of it is going to the football cause just basically because I don't '[t]hink you can talk about being Irish without talking about Celtic; it's like just like a whole cultural phenomena. I mean when you go to the football it's likely that the person next to you is going to be of the same background as you, 2nd or 3rd generations. And the songs that are sung at football. And em, you never you would never ever see a Union Jack there, but you would rarely see a Saltire. It's always the Irish Tri-Colour.

Amanda's narrative, like many narratives, is multileveled and brings together a number of time frames. She seeks to inform the interviewer about the importance that Celtic plays in her sense of Irish heritage. Therefore, within this one narrative, we gain an insight into: the significance of sport to diasporic identity; the importance placed on being close to fellow diasporans; and the level of esteem held for symbols of Irishness. Overall, whether present at the game or not, watching Celtic play can be considered to create a moment of 'unisonance', one which brings into being a feeling of shared identity despite the fact that those partaking in the event do not necessarily know each other (Anderson, 2006: 145). In essence support for Celtic football club continues to be an important variable in community formation and cohesion 130 years after its formation.

Bradley (1998: 128) has demonstrated how 'sport has a capacity to go beyond the aesthetic and entertaining and become socially and politically significant'. Drawing on parallels between Catalonia and Scotland, he has shown how football grounds can become a safe space for people to maintain and celebrate their sense of ethnic identity. Bradley argues that, historically (and now perhaps contemporarily), watching Barcelona enabled Catalonians to come together and celebrate their identity under oppressive conditions. He argues that similarly in Scotland, Celtic Park became a place where people could celebrate their Irishness in a country where displays of Irishness are often met with hostility.

5.3.6.1. Negotiating support for Celtic Football Club

For those participants who did support Celtic, attending football matches was viewed in a variety of ways within the family. Some families took their children to games, some actively discouraged this and, for others, attendance was something that was negotiated over time. The data suggests that these varied positions were motivated by a number of factors. For example, many would actively encourage their children to attend games in a bid to celebrate their heritage; however, others discouraged such actions because of a fear for their child's safety. Some parents, particularly fathers, viewed supporting football through a 'gendered lens' and would forbid their daughters from attending games because of a perception of football as a masculine sport. Sinead's story

shows how watching Celtic on television, and attending games, involved a process of negotiation between her and her mother:

I remember watching it from 5-6 [years old] so quite young watching the football. Em, but I wouldn't have been allowed to wear a Celtic shirt. My mum wouldn't have allowed it. She used to tell me all the time, the lesson was well and truly drilled in. She would still have said even when I was 15 and I had a season ticket, she would still say to me at 15: 'Make sure your scarf is in your hand bag. Only take it out when you get to the game'. 'Put it back in make sure it is not hanging out your bag'. She was so strict about it.

Bradley contends that the wider occlusion of Irishness in Scottish cultural life has given Celtic Football club a heightened symbolic meaning; it is the 'greatest single public space where [the Irish] can express and celebrate their distinctness within Scottish society' (Bradley, 2006: 1202). However, as a consequence of this, he argues that it makes supporters especially susceptible to anti-Irish/anti-Catholic prejudice. Ironically, Sinead went on to say that she felt that being female protected her from certain masculine behaviour often associated with attending football matches. For example, she said: 'In the ground as I say people tended to watch out for you, a bit, and whatever, 'you alright hen'? And that kind of thing'.

5.3.6.2. Perceptions of prejudice

However, there were numerous stories about negative experiences that people had when attending a game. A notable example is in the story told by Ciarra. She talks about the phenomenological effects of attending games where anti-Catholic prejudice was commonly encountered. She talks of a time that she went to watch an Old Firm match with her father, and how this shaped the way in which she experienced games. She says:

I have been going to the football since I was wee, you know going to Rangers games and just hearing, you know, 10,000 people singing about like wanting to be up to their knees in Fenian blood like that kind of

something that sticks with you - you are like 'oh my god, they actually, they hate us' [laughter].

We might recall here Du Bois' (2008) discussion of the psychological effects of racism, and of the experience of seeing yourself through the eyes of others who hold a negative opinion of you. Du Bois points us to the extent to which symbolic violence, as we might describe it - (see Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) - can, over the long run, be internalised by those at the receiving end. In this instance, Ciarra frequently attends such matches and it appears that although the singing of such songs has an effect on her, there is a resignation that this is just something that she just has to endure to continue supporting Celtic.

Bourdieu talks of the 'doxic acceptance of the world, due to the immediate agreement of objective structures and cognitive structures, is the true foundation of a realistic theory of domination [...] of all forms of "hidden persuasion," the most implacable is the one exerted, quite simply, by the *order of things*' (p168). Therefore, Ciarra's feeling that enduring such expressions of hatred is just part of diaspora life in Glasgow is an instructive example of the implacability of the 'order of things' for this diasporic community.

5.3.6.3 Sexism and supporting Celtic

There were also numerous instances where participants told stories of being victims of sexist abuse whilst attending football matches. One such narrative was provided by Erin, a lifelong Celtic supporter who was very proud of supporting the team:

I've experienced a lot of, kind of, bigotry from Rangers fans through the football. One of them actually told me in front of my dad: 'Away...you get shagged by your priest!' And I did retort. I was only about 17 as well and I... or... I was a wee bit older maybe, aye, so I was about 21 and I retorted and said, 'I'd rather be shagged by a priest than an ugly fucking Protestant like you'. And my dad nearly dragged me back in to the... he's like: 'Erin McGinn' and I was like, 'Well what are you meant to say?'

And I just... through football I think I've experienced a lot of... and I know it's easy to say and I bet you Rangers fans would say the same about us and say like, you are as bad, but I just... I think a lot of the worst incidents that I've come across and things that get instigated and it's... and I just think, no you are very different.

What Erin's story makes clear is how misogyny and anti-Catholic discourse can fuse, creating a particular type of gendered abuse directed at her as a person of Irish Catholic heritage. There are a number of significant aspects to the narrative. Firstly, there is an interlinking of ethnic identity, faith, and football teams: Rangers and Protestant are linked, as are Catholic and Celtic. Secondly, feminist scholars - such as Hlavka (2014) - consistently find that traditional gender arrangements, beliefs, and behaviours reinforce women's sexual subordination to men; and that a heteronormative framework often informs sexually abusive practices. For Hlavka (2014: 339), girls are frequently 'expected to endure aggression by men because that is *part of man*'. This is evident in Erin's narrative where not only is the insult expressive of a heteronormative framework, but it is additionally layered with a distinct reference to sexual abuse that has become a significant talking point both within and surrounding the Catholic Church in Scotland.

Finally, her story shows the conflict that emerges when she is in receipt of anti-Catholic/sexist abuse but is still expected to embody the 'proper way' of being a woman (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 47). Erin then goes on to 'retort' by indulging in body shaming the individual and linking this shaming to her abuser's perceived faith. As such, we see how gender intersects with ethnicity identity in a double sense: because external prejudice occurred in a gendered way, but also because the internal patrolling of her identity can take a gendered form. Insight into instances of sexist/ethnic abuse will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 7. However, this narrative shows the tensions that women from an Irish Catholic background face when wanting to assert their Irishness in the 'greatest single public space' they can in Scotland (Bradley, 2006: 1202).

5.3.7. Catholic Church

Within the findings, one of the most significant aspects of an Irish cultural identity was the Catholic religion. In many ways, of course, this is not surprising, not least because my aim in recruitment had been to seek those who ‘had a Catholic upbringing’, but were ‘not necessarily still [...] practising Catholics’. So in this respect my aim was to produce data that would shed light on the salience of religious identity amongst participants, and demonstrate how (and if) Catholicism is practiced in their day-to-day lives, and how (and if) it contributes to a sense of community life. The first of our narratives addresses the issues of salience. Danna says:

My Catholic upbringing was just part of our life... We... we were practising Catholics. Wir parents went to church. My dad knelt down every night and said his prayers... We said the rosary during, um, October was it? Or in May or something. We'd say the rosary every night. The family would kneel down... the rosary. It was great fun because my wee sister couldn't stop giggling she would always get... put out the room [laugh].

Danna, who is still a practising Catholic, tells her story with the intention of describing the centrality of the Catholic faith to her and her family's sense of cultural identity. This is conveyed with a warm, vivid example about how it was practised in the home with her family. Danna's memory demonstrates how religious observance can be a form of practice that creates continuity between private and public identity, the home and the wider institution. This story was typical of many of the narratives told by participants. The narrative, amongst others, is indicative of an enduring legacy of colonialism whereby national and religious identity has become fused (Allen, 1994).

Rose gives us a further example of the centrality of the Catholic faith to participants, and how this was ‘policed’ within the family:

I still... I still, whenever I'm going into the chapel, I would still lift it [chapel bulletin] and then take it up to my dad the following day or whatever and my dad has recently said, you know, that... your chapel

bulletin's rubbish, don't be bringing that up anymore. But I still feel like if I don't bring it up, you know, it's just my kind of way of proof because I don't like to be questioned 'Were you at mass?' That kind of way, I don't like... it.

Rose is a 35-year-old from the East End of Glasgow who self-defines as Catholic. She tells a story of the way her father would monitor her church attendance by asking her to bring the church bulletin to him after mass. Rose was not the only participant who mentioned this practice which suggests that some second and third generation Irish migrants are still subject to strict boundary 'policing' long after leaving the family home. In further attempting to understand how faith and ethnic identity shapes Irish diaspora life in Scotland, the work of Peggy Levitt (2003) is useful.

Levitt (2003) argues that, in a globalised era, significant attention should be given to religion and how it shapes identity and belonging (p869). She elaborates her point by saying that because religion is a transnational institution, it is unsurprising that many migrants use religion to live out their transnational lives. Furthermore, Levitt says that diasporas often use religion for more than just worship; they use the contexts and institutions of religion for social and recreational purposes. This was evident within the data whereby participants would attend social evenings in order to meet other people of a similar background. Indeed, many participants told stories of how their parents met at these events, and some met their own partners at them as well. The interlinking of faith and national identity at these events was evident not least in the fact that Irish folk music and Irish dancing were given a prominent place at such festivities. Such institutional activity could be viewed as a means of internally constituting ethnic boundaries within a collectivity (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989). An example of such a narrative is given below when Kelly looks at a photograph where she is wearing a jumper and recalls an event she attended with her family:

The chapel hall of the Immaculate Conception, they didn't always have the chapel hall - they raised funds to build one. And the pensioners would always be in the kitchen making coffee, and they would be a run of

people, a Brian McGill would be playing the accordion, and he used to come to our house. So a big Irish man and he would play the accordion, and people would join in, and then the girls would get up and start dancing and people would just get up and dance. And there was no alcohol, it was tea, coffee, and Irn Bru because it was the parish hall. So for my mum that was a good family night, em. It didn't cost a lot of money, you paid per family, so she could take us all and that was why I was moaning, 'cause I am dressed to go to one of them. I was told I had to do the dishes before I could go - that's probably why I am standing there greeting [crying in the photo], and they are all getting ready, to go as well.

Interviewer: So it was big thing for the local community?

Kelly: Yes, all Irish, so the McBride's were Irish, Bob McGlinn were there so they would come and we would all go together, so they were good nights and I suppose now looking back it was great, it was a good celebration of your Irish Culture, em you learned to dance, we liked it.

5.3.7.2. Encroaching secular attitudes

Bruce et al (2004: 106) have argued that increased secularisation is a phenomenon that is occurring in contemporary Scotland and beyond. Whilst the survey data suggests this is the case, it does not really tell us much about the social processes that are occurring within the Irish diaspora regarding religion. For example, whilst people may not identify as practising Catholics as frequently as they once did, many continue to claim to be 'cultural Catholics' which involves attending events in order to maintain community links. One participant stated that 'I don't believe in all that [Catholicism] anymore; however, I still go to mass and other hings because it's a good way of keeping in touch with family, friends and people a went to school with'.

There certainly was evidence of the encroaching secularism that Bruce and colleagues describe, amongst my participants, but again this ought not to be taken to imply a simple binary in which people chose to identify as Catholic or

not. Many talked of the quandary they faced, questioning their inherited religious beliefs, and described the tensions they felt around their desire to pass on their heritage to their children. Others clearly struggled with a pragmatic concern to ensure that their children received a good quality education. One narrative by Sinead summarises these competing pressures. She says:

The Irish part of me I will be keeping, I will take my children over to Ireland. The Catholic part I do not know, em, it is a bit of a thing we talk about, because we don't know whether to get them baptised or what, or to go to Catholic schools. Quite a lot of the schools around where we live are good are Catholic. I don't really want to give them all the guilt and all that stuff. Because I was quite analytical as a child I didn't get the worst of it I - can see it in Connor [her partner] a lot of guilt, a lot of things. And I don't really want that for my kids.

5.3.7.3. Anti-Catholicism

As cited at the beginning, identities are often created within the 'play of power' and one of those powerful forces that came out in the data was participants' experiences of a visceral anti-Catholicism. Again, chapter 7 will focus more on the dynamics of the 'othering process'; however, it is timely to provide a brief example of the prejudice people face in engaging in cultural practices such as religious worship. In talking about being Catholic in Scotland, Regan says:

I suppose, across your life, if there's just things that happen, just ten minutes on a Friday night, but then it happens over, and over again, I suppose, it builds up an identity where you feel a bit, like, not the norm... I remember going to Italy when I was about 16 or something, and there was Catholic churches everywhere, everybody seemed to be going to mass. And I was thinking, actually, it would be really good to work in a country where you were the norm, like, you weren't a kind of aberration, or whatever, and not the norm... I am now a bit, not coy, but I would be wary about saying I am Catholic in some situations.

This extract shows a participant expressing ambivalence towards her faith. Regan talks about the ‘everydayness’ of her anti-Catholic experiences, and the role it plays in shaping her ‘identity’. So insidious is this process in Scotland that she grew up feeling like an aberration. This powerful narrative gives us insight into the internalised effects of being viewed as an ‘alien other’ due to her Catholicism. It touches upon what Fanon (2008) discusses in *Black Skin White Masks*, where he talks about a particular sensitising effect of entering and inhabiting a world where one is constructed as an ‘other’ and how such everyday encounters can damage one’s sense of worth. Although Fanon was talking about the effects of racism, his insight could be extended to include cultural markers of identity where such markers have been inscribed with negative meaning.

This mental distress, which Regan talks of, is in stark contrast with a time when she was in the predominantly Catholic country of Italy. In Italy, she is not a faith minority, and doesn’t experience regular ‘othering’ such as ‘ten minutes on a Friday night [...] over, and over again’. Therefore, she is temporarily relieved of her habitual reflexivity regarding her identity. Finally, within this story we see the strategy of ‘passing’ being adopted by Regan who talks of selectively revealing her faith in situations. Therefore, this narrative also shows us that second and third generation migrants choose, on occasion, to engage in passing to avoid being singled out as culturally ‘other’.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to make visible the ‘invisible lives’ of the Irish diaspora in Glasgow. It has shown the different processes involved in everyday community formation and, therefore, has acted to provide a context for subsequent chapters, and to shine a revealing light on an ethnic group that has gone largely un-researched. Implicit within this task was the need to challenge the overly simplistic claim that those of an Irish Catholic background are no longer distinguishable from ‘other’ Scots (Bruce, 2004: 110). I argue that any examination of those of an Irish heritage should be informed by significant work which has explored the formation and expression of diaspora identity, taking on board Brah’s concept of diaspora space, and focussing on the multiple forces which interest in identity construction.

In examining what kind of diaspora we are talking about, it is worth considering, once again, the work of Stuart Hall (2011). Hall argues that in a period of globalisation, we have to be attentive to the ‘process of forced and free migration which [has] become a global phenomenon of the so called ‘post-colonial’ world’ (Hall, 2011: 4). With these thoughts in mind, a distinction should be made between the Irish families who came to Scotland after the famine in the late eighteenth century, and those who took part in the research. Most participants’ ancestors came to Scotland in the 1950s at a time when Britain was faring better economically than Ireland, and there were greater social protections due to the recent establishment of the welfare state (Bew, 2009). Therefore, the material conditions under which their families emigrated was very different from the ‘classic’ image of the colonial migrant ‘fleeing’ destitution. However, the environment in which they entered was still shaped by the regimes of representation and forms of discrimination established under colonialism. Indeed, much of the experiences that participants talked of sit neatly alongside the historical analysis carried out in chapter 2.

Hickman (2002) argues, ‘[t]here are specific challenges when people migrate to the former colonial ruling nation. The identities of Irish migrants in Britain were constructed within a context in which there existed a regime of representation based on a racist British nationalism, for which Irish migrants were a specific ‘other’ (p20). In addition, chapter 2 has shown how Protestantism was, and to a certain extent still is, a core part of what constitutes Britishness (Colley, 2003). This, therefore, has particular consequences for the Catholic ‘other’. Despite the economic conditions differing from those which are taken to characterise the ‘classic’ image of the colonial migrant, certain enduring forms of stigma continued to shape those experience.

Using ideas from post-colonial and decolonial has proven valuable during analysis of the narratives around musical practices. Although not all participants listened to Irish folk music or ‘rebel music’, a significant portion did. It could be said that for those who did identify with such music, it mattered because of the extent to which it enabled them to locate their cultural identity within a memory of a politics of struggle. This adds weight to Davis’s (2006: 222) claim about the centrality of music with the colonial project, and for post-colonial identities.

Further, the narratives suggest that there is a perception that Glasgow is a city with a vibrant music scene that caters especially for the Irish diaspora. This testifies to a strong sense of community formation and cohesion. Therefore, for many, the singing of songs constructed as Irish in the home, and in public spaces, was an important part of their cultural life. These often provided occasions of unisonality for those who took part (Anderson, 2006).

In terms of dress, there were fewer narratives on this topic that emerged from the data. Perhaps this could suggest that those of an Irish Catholic background are less sartorially distinct than other minorities in Scotland. However, many did remember the wearing of the shamrock and, indeed, many still did on occasions such as St Patrick's Day. Again, this goes some way to confirming Walter's (2009: 194) claim that this emblem is a way of connecting families across transnational boundaries, and a means by which people are marked out as belonging to the 'Irish family'. However, the data demonstrated a level of ambivalence in this regard. This is possibly due to what Hickman (2014) describes when saying that 2nd and 3rd generation migrants often had their eye on the world beyond the family. This may be further explained by recognising that cultural symbols of identity often become cliché due to commodification and mass production. Finally, the theme of dress highlighted the role of women as symbolic cultural border guards (Yuval-Davis, 1997) whereby woman with their 'traditional' role in socialising children were often central in policing sartorial practices - albeit in ways that sometimes had to navigate expressions of patriarchal power within the family.

The narratives around Irish dancing revealed a number of things. Firstly, they demonstrated the salience of the activity. Indeed, Glasgow has hosted the World Championships more than any other location outside of Ireland. Most who took part in the research went at some point to Irish dancing lessons or classes - albeit for varying amounts of time. Secondly, mothers and grandmothers would often be the ones to facilitate this activity, suggesting that it was more important as a boundary marker for women than men. These findings reflect Sylvia Walby's (1997) claim that within ethnic and national collectives, some cultural boundaries have greater meaning for women than men. Finally, the narratives around dance often showed that increased consumerism - evident in

the heightened importance of hair style, nails, make-up, and expensive dresses - had become off-putting for many. The Irish dancing scene was often felt to be garish and tasteless. The reasons for this could have been explored further to assess the extent to which such views were expressive of emerging middle-class sensibilities, and a growing distinction within the community in respect of this conventionally working-class cultural activity (Bourdieu, 1984). Alternatively, antipathy towards these practices could be a result of the fact that the 'identity work' which they entailed was felt to be too obvious and therefore resented.

Support for Celtic Football Club was very marked within the findings, and the narratives painted a rich picture of what this meant to participants. It was clear that, for many, supporting Celtic went beyond mere aesthetics or sporting preference - rather it was a symbolically meaningful way of celebrating their ethnic identity with fellow diasporans. However, there was a paradoxical relationship between celebrating their ethnic identity in the 'largest public platform available', and the fact that doing so made them susceptible to overt anti-Irish Catholic prejudice. There were many examples of this in the stories that participants told. Consequently, there were real tensions that existed within families, and parents were often torn between wanting to celebrate their Irish heritage through sport, and being concerned to keep their children safe.

Similarly, the Catholic faith was central to many of the participants' sense of cultural identity, and was still significant to those who were no longer practising. On the former point, it acted as a transnational link between their parents' and grandparents' homeland and the diasporic space they occupied in Glasgow (Brah, 1996). Further to this, religious identity was viewed as a 'bright boundary' amongst both the parents of participants and the participants themselves (Ryan, 2014: 68). Many participants recounted stories about strict boundary maintenance and enforcement by parents towards their Scottish-born children. On the latter issue, it was clear that amongst those who never identified as practising Catholics, the church still played a significant role in their lives. This was because of the church's institutional role in community activity; therefore, rather than being merely a conduit for relationships with

God, it created significant levels of *bonding capital* within communities (Levitt, 2003; Cheung, 2013). Finally, in terms of religion, the participants reported frequent experiences of anti-Catholicism within their day-to-day lives. Chapter 7 will cover this in greater detail.

Overall the data has shown that the Irish, as a diaspora, possess a rich cultural heritage. However, as with all cultures, and diaspora culture in particular, it is hybrid and consists of a synthesis of elements of sending and receiving countries. Powerful forces shape the contours of culture identity 'which are inextricably linked with the material conditions of society, so that cultures are inscribed with the social and economic conditions of a group at various stages of its history' (Brah, 1996: 18).

6. Relationships

‘Boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories.’

(Frederick Barth, 1969: 10)

‘Women are often constructed as the cultural symbols of the collectivity, of its boundaries, as carriers of the collectivity’s ‘honour’, and as its intergenerational reproducers of culture.’

(Nira Yuval-Davis, 1997: 67)

6.1. Introduction

Anthony Giddens (1992: 58) famously argued that we live in an era of the ‘*pure relationship* [...] where a social relation is entered into for its own sake’. This perspective suggests a new form of democratic relationship has emerged whereby external criteria, traditionally key in shaping relationship formation, are largely dissolved (Giddens, 1991). This assessment of the times we live in is an optimistic one; it suggests greater levels of freedom in partner selection.

Using Giddens’ thesis as a backdrop, the aim of this chapter is to explore the process of relationship formation amongst women of an Irish Catholic heritage in the city of Glasgow. It will begin with a discussion on recent research by Rosie (2015) who demonstrates that there is a higher rate of in-marriage amongst Catholics in Glasgow compared to Scotland as a whole. The chapter will then present data on the relationship status of participants to provide context for the

preceding discussion. I will argue that the reason given for the higher rates of in-marriage put forward by Rosie is only one of many possible explanations. That is to say, it is not sufficient to look purely at relationship status ‘outcomes’ and draw conclusions; one must also examine the stories people tell about their life experiences in order to understand the processes that gave rise to the outcomes.

Given this, I will go on to explore the social forces that shape experiences of dating and partnering by drawing on the rich narratives produced during the interview process. I will show how the diaspora boundary is maintained despite frequent ‘interaction’ and ‘flow of personal across boundaries’ (Barth, 1969: 9). Commencing the chapter with a focus on dating is important due to both dating and partner selection playing important roles in family formation, as well as broader community formation (Jamieson, 2005). For many who were interviewed, dating and partner selection were not straight forward processes. This was due, in part, to anti-Irish-Catholic prejudice amongst potential partners and their families. The consequences of this prejudice were that it often prevented, or cut short, potential relationships.

The paper will also examine how members of the Irish Catholic diaspora themselves internally ‘policed’ the boundary of their community. Ironically this is an observation Gallagher (1987) made about Irish Catholic community over 100 years ago. That is to say that there was strong evidence of parental pressure for the women who took part in the study to partner with or marry Catholics, or - as it was often reportedly put - a ‘nice Irish boy’. In exploring the dynamics of these processes, two key ‘enabling factors’ will also be discussed: the trip back to Ireland, and cultural networks. These two factors often provided opportunities for parents and extended family to orchestrate situations whereby their daughters could partner in line with their wishes.

The chapter will be structured in such a way as to allow for a detailed account of intimate relationship formation throughout participants’ whole-life trajectories. Therefore, where possible, a significant amount of space will be given to allow participants to discuss their experiences over multiple periods of time. It is particularly important within this chapter because it seeks to provide, where possible, an up-to-date account of who they partner with and why such

dispositions may have emerged. Also, the lengthy narratives are presented in such a way as to guard against the control of meaning in the research process (Riessman, 2001: 695).

The paper will then conclude by arguing that there is a complex of factors at play during dating and partner selection, but that these factors frequently combined to create a common set of experiences for many who took part in the study. It will also be argued that these common experience may shed light on why there is a higher rate of in-marriage amongst Catholics in Glasgow. Therefore, I will seek to add complexity to the straightforward probability argument put forward by Rosie (2015: 345).

6.2. Background

In recent research, Michael Rosie (2015: 345) reveals that there is a higher rate of marriage amongst Catholics in Glasgow and attributes this to '[t]he greater concentration of Catholics in west central Scotland'. In his article he seeks to examine '[h]ow far we can conceive of 'Protestants' and 'Catholics' as divided in the personal, informal and intimate spheres of contemporary Scottish life' (p328). In doing this, he seeks to contest, more broadly, the idea that sectarianism is an enduring social issue in Scotland. His analysis shows that 69% of Catholics in the city are married to spouses of the same religion; whereas the figure for Scotland more generally is 59% (p345). Rosie's 'population density' argument is just one possible explanation for the higher than average rate of in-marriage. To be clear, Rosie is arguing that the greater level of in marriage is a consequence of proximity rather than a response to prejudice.

I, again, argue that statistics can only take us so far on a journey of understanding both the meaning and expectations inherent in intimate relationship formation. To gain a fuller picture, we must move beyond a position of simply knowing *what* is happening and explore people's life-stories to understand *why* things are occurring. The data I have gathered goes beyond narrow definitions of marriage as the privileged site of personal life, and considers all forms or relationships (Jamieson, 2005: 136). In order to provide context for the chapter, I will begin by outlining relationship statistics. This is

purely for the purpose of informing the reader about the sample, rather than an attempt to draw larger scale conclusions about the Irish diaspora as a whole.

6.3. Fieldwork data

Of the 22 people interviewed, 12 were currently in relationships with Catholics or people who had a Catholic upbringing. 3 were in a relationship with a partner who they identified as Protestant; with the same number being in a relationship with people of no religion. There were also 3 participants who were single and there was no data on 1 participants. It is worth stating that these figures are a 'snapshot in time' and can only be discussed in these terms. However, keeping this caveat in mind, the figures do tally with Rosie's more general finding that there is a greater likelihood of in-marriage amongst people of an Irish Catholic heritage. This point is reinforced by the fact that Catholics comprise 27% of the population in Glasgow (Census, 2011 in Rosie, 2015).

6.3.1. Defining relationships: my framework for analysis

Lynn Jamieson's monologue *Intimacy: Personal Relationships in Modern Societies* examines the notion that '[i]ntimacy is at the centre of meaningful personal life in contemporary societies' (Jamieson, 2005: 1). In this publication, she discusses the changing 'nature' of relationships but also the marked continuities that exist. This includes the tendency for people to form 'marriage type' relationships - despite falling levels of marriage and increasing divorce rates. What now follows is an exploration of the stories participants shared on dating, partnering, and intimate life. This is an important area of investigation because, as Rosie (2015: 346) acknowledges, whom people choose to partner with and 'make babies with' tells us much about ethnic relations.

6.3.2. Dating and the formation of disposition

The logical place to begin any analysis of the processes of relationship formation is with courtship and dating. This is because an analysis of these experiences helps us understand what they reveal about dispositions and expectations in relation to partnering and/or in marriage. Put simply, it is a time when people

explore 'what can be derived by each person from a sustained association with another' (Giddens, 1992: 58).

In the following narrative, I asked whether Siobhan felt that being from an Irish Catholic background shaped her experience of dating in any way:

Siobhan: Well, em, there was this time when I was getting chatted up by a guy. Alicia [her friend] and I were out one night and we had went to a casino because we didn't want to wait in the taxi queue. We came out and we were waiting for a bus and she was going to get a taxi. Anyway, it turns out he was fae the East-end, and he was like: 'We could share a taxi?' And I am like: Hmmmm... No. And we got talking and he asked: 'What school did you go to?' And a went: 'St Andrews'. And he went: 'Oh you are Catholic'. And Alicia went 'are you fucking serious?' The guy was like: 'I don't even like, I won't even like, I couldn't even take you home tae my mum. I am just going to stop talking to you now'. And I said: 'Why?' And he said: 'I couldn't take you home to my mum'! And I am like 'sorry, what?' The conversation just got shitty. You hear of it but I wasn't aware of it in my everyday life.

Interviewer: How did that make you feel?

Siobhan: I wasn't gutted or anything cause the guy was clearly an arsehole! It made me think 'wow, it's an eye opener, that's a new thing for me'. It was the first time I had seen the stereotype on a personal level. And he genuinely just walked away from us, like 'ok'!

During this narrative, Siobhan comes across a person who holds prejudicial views towards Catholics. What is significant is the reason provided to Siobhan for ending the conversation. It is not only because of her Catholic schooling, but because her religious background would make her an unsuitable partner from his mother's perspective. This resonates with Yuval-Davis's (1997) claim that woman, as mothers, are often attributed the role of 'symbolic and cultural border guards' within ethnic and national formations (p23).

What might the effect of such an interaction be on Siobhan? During my continuing discussions with Siobhan, evidence of a denial of ‘everydayness’ emerges. In the following extract, she talks about being on a date with a trainee doctor and attention being drawn to a ring she is wearing which bears the image of a shamrock. Part way through the date, she was asked by the person: ‘[w]hether she wears a ring because she supports Celtic?’ She says:

I was like ‘whit’! And I thought ‘here we go’, like I already knew it wasnae going to work - it was like he was vetting me for, like, could I one day marry this person. In my head I was thinking you have this like predisposed idea in your head that I am this ignorant narrow-minded person that hates anyone - that hates Rangers script or like hates Protestants... So I just left. But I would say I was more aware of what he was getting at because of that experience [The event described in the previous extract].

Drawing on critical race theory can help to explicate the effects that this encounter (and the previous one) has on how she experiences flirtatious exchanges and dating. Writers such as Smith (2016: 2) and hooks (1990: 41) have shown how racism, as a form of prejudice, operates through everyday acts and practices - such as queuing and walking down the street. My position is that this anti-Catholic prejudice is operating in a similar way and therefore can be considered a form of everyday ‘othering’, or - as this participant puts it - a form of mundane ‘vetting’.

As a result of the events described in the above extract, Siobhan reported that she felt a particular kind of self-consciousness. Rather than feeling the victim of anti-Catholic prejudice (as in the previous incident), she feels she is in danger of being labelled a ‘sectarian bigot’ who holds anti-Protestant views. This is a further example of the ‘sectarianising’ of Irish Catholic identity, previously discussed in this thesis, whereby signs or symbols of an Irish Catholic heritage have been linked to prejudicial views (Walter, 2009: 203). This everyday prejudice has the constitutive effect of denying to Siobhan the possibility of conversation which is not shadowed by this need to be self-aware. That is to say that it deprives her of her ability to live a life free from having to check what

she reveals about herself, and to whom during potentially romantic encounters, or on dates.

More broadly, the narrative demonstrates the force of dominant assumptions about how women have to perform their gender identity during dating (Butler, 1999: XV). In Siobhan's narrative, she understands that her behaviour is being read or assessed in terms of her potential as 'marriage material'. What is interesting in this account is that she recognises the performative expectations being placed on her, but resists these by deciding to terminate the encounter. This is evident when she says that 'I already knew it wasnae going to work'. This resistance could be an example of recent social change where there has been a 'flight from marriage' by women in modern western democratic states (Walby, 1990: 85). Walby attributes the decline in women marrying at a young age to them now being in a better economic position than in previous years. To this end, an increase in freedoms in the public sphere have led to increased freedoms in the private sphere of life (ibid.: 84).

During our final discussion on dating, Siobhan talked about her current relationship status and the relationship with her partner. She says:

It's funny though now my partner couldn't even tell you who plays on a Saturday; he has no interest in rugby, football or anything. Although I don't think that's a reason we got together, but it is a nice bonus [laughter].

This final extract brings us right up-to-date with Siobhan's life. Within this extract, we see the common and interchangeable use of ethno-religious categories and sporting allegiances. Therefore, it seems to me that one of the constitutive effects of the everyday 'othering' is that it creates a particular disposition in dating. Siobhan, it might be said, is looking for a version of the 'pure relationship' - for a partner who is not predetermined by other social commitments or identities. In particular, she seems content that her partner has no strong commitments with identities or attitudes that have thus far have caused her harm.

Within the data, the interchangeable use of the terms Celtic and Rangers to denote ethno-religious identity continued to emerge in the context of dating. When asked whether she had any experiences of dating people who were not of the same background, Teagan says:

Erm, no, just maybe one night, or something like that, that's all it would be, one night stands. I went out with a boy, John, erm, that went to another school, in another area, and it wasn't, he wasn't a Catholic. I went out with him for about two months, I think. I was about fifteen. I don't, I was gonna say, I wasn't that keen on him. But it was religion, I think, as well. He didn't like football but his brother was a Rangers and I didn't like that.

Strong feelings against becoming intimately involved with people of a different background were often justified on the grounds that they 'don't have the same value base'. In the following lengthy narrative, we see how this perception is significant for Aileen. The narrative also reveals the part that prejudice has played in the establishment of presumptions around dating. She says:

Aileen: I couldn't have a relationship with somebody [who] was... wasn't my background. I don't... as I say, I split up with my husband three years ago and I go to the gym and stuff and one of the gym instructors for about six months kept asking... and I got on really well with him and I knew... and I kept thinking to myself, could... and then I just kept going back to, oh no I can't. I was like... it's... and I ended up telling him the truth and he was like... so he gives me pelters [ridicules her] every time I'm in the classes, and stuff. 'Cause I had to just tell him, I was like, 'I couldn't go out with a Rangers... I'm sorry, I couldn't do that'. I just don't... I just...

Interviewer: It... yeah, for you it's broader than a Rangers fan, is it?

Aileen: Aye. I just know on every level their values and backgrounds and... it's so different from me. And he kept saying like, 'oh I can't believe...' and he kept trying to win me round. And I was like, 'I'm sorry, that's just the way I am' and I've thought about it and I've thought long and hard and

I've never done it and I will never do it. I just don't... I don't see the same value base that we have. I do... and I know that's very judgemental and I know it is, but that's just the way I like... I've experienced a lot of, kind of, bigotry from Rangers fans through the football.

Like that whole... I don't know how many times you've been called a wee Fenian bastard and stuff and it's just like... and it is like water off a duck's back... and do you know, I think it's... you build up resilience to it in terms of a defence mechanism that I had... can, kind of, say, that's their mentality, do you know. I think the mentality of grown men to shout at women... I just say something and I know it's really bad to lump them all together, but that's I suppose my way of thinking and I was just like, no way on earth would I ever go out with a Rangers. I want somebody in my life that's... likes the same... not necessarily all the... but has the same the sort of, kind of, principles and values and me and I just don't think somebody that's a Protestant Rangers fan equates to that.

Aileen's narrative further demonstrates the constitutive effect of everyday 'othering' on relationships formation. She notes that going out with a 'Rangers', which she takes as interchangeable with a Protestant identity, is in no way an option for her. In a bid to explore Aileen's narrative further, the work of Frederic Barth (1969) is useful. Barth (1969) says that when there is a:

'[d]ichotomisation of others as strangers, as members of an other ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest' (p15).

It is clear that Aileen believes that ethnic dichotomisation means that there is only a limited possibility for shared understanding between her and the person in the story. Therefore, to quote Barth, they are not 'fundamentally playing the same game' (p15). Aileen goes on to tell me that she is currently in a relationship with an Irish-Catholic from Belfast who holds strong Republican views. These are values that Aileen also holds, and therefore provides a site for

shared intimacy. In Aileen's case - because of repeated 'othering', including sexist 'othering' - she actively seeks out relationships with those who share her strongly asserted self-identity. Theoretically, she could be said to be searching for the very opposite of Giddens' 'pure relationship'; the established social criteria of a person's identity are, for her, important factors in shaping relationship formation.

However, repeated acts of prejudice can affect people very differently. Siobhan's response, as we have seen, took a very different form. In her case, she enjoyed being with someone who held no strong commitments to identities that have thus far been harmful to her; whereas Aileen's experiences of prejudice have disposed her to someone who strongly identifies as Irish Catholic.

Finally, within Aileen's narrative, we see the recurring theme whereby participants seek to lessen the harmful effects of prejudicial encounters by proclaiming that it no longer affects them, and attributing such views to a few people on the margins of any group. I believe such a strategy provides a level of reassurance for Aileen. That it is to say that it is preferable for her to view such acts as the 'flawed' characteristics of only a few individuals rather than seeing them as part of broader social relations. This is an understandable coping strategy for the prejudice that she encounters. Writers such as Philomena Essed (1991: 37) have successfully drawn links between macro and micro processes in critical race studies. She argues that the idea of individually or peripherally located prejudice is a contradiction because such manifestations are invariably an expression of group power.

6.3.3. Dating and the internet

Jamieson (2013: 29) argues that '[i]ncreasing numbers of personal relationships are initiated by digital technologies'. This has resulted in new ways in which people can connect with each other, and discover information on prospective partners. These changes in the way people connected were evident within my data as well, with many participants discussing how social media platforms such as *Facebook* and personalised pages provided new opportunities to talk to, and get to know, potential partners. However, the internet, as well as being a place

where new intimate relations can be formed, was also a place where women experienced 'hate speech' whilst testing out relationships. An example of this is reported by Reagan. She says:

I remember, this was towards the end of school, I started to kind of, not seeing, 'cause it was in fifth year, but you know, when you kind of fancy somebody in the school, and it was just a sort of thing. And then, I'm sure it was on, like, MSN Messenger that we were speaking, and I don't know if you remember, you could have like a profile on MSN Messenger. And I looked at his and it said something about, he was like a really big Rangers fan, and it said something about wanting to kick all the Fenians, or the Tims, or something like that. And I remember just being a bit, kind of, like stunned by that, really taken aback. And I was just like, you know, 'do you know I'm a Catholic?' you know what I mean, 'do you know I'm a Catholic?' I remember, at the time, just feeling like, not upset by it, because I think I was kind of used to it, in terms of people saying, like, Fenian, or Tim, not directly to me, but it being like something that was in sort of common vernacular.

The rise of cyber technologies and their effect on dating is a contested area. Stevenson (1999: 849) argues that the 'internet can act to mitigate emotional harm in dating for young women'. The context and effects of this narrative can be understood in two ways. Firstly, in-line with Stevenson, it can be argued that the existence of these technologies allowed Reagan to realise that the person she 'fancied' held anti-Catholics views. Therefore, she was forewarned about the damaging effects of continuing with an inter-personal relation. At the same time, however, that same technology was the context in which these forms of hate speech were being expressed, and encountered, and there was no evading the effect which they had on her. Therefore, cyber-space can act in a similar way to other socially constructed spaces in creating marginalised subjectivities through the content it mediates. As such, the online world can act to replicate broader societal relations which originate in the offline-world (Jamieson, 2013). Reagan went on to reveal that she is currently engaged to a Catholic who is 'a big Hibs fan'.

To further explicate Regan's story, it is worth borrowing again from critical race studies. Philomena Essed (1991) argues that those who are most affected by prejudice often have the most detailed knowledge of, and a practical awareness of, the way in which prejudice manifests and plays out in everyday situations. In discussing racisms, she says those who 'problematize racism, in the assessment of specific events, become more sensitive to information that may be either consistent or inconsistent with the hypothesis that racism is involved' (Essed, 1991: 284). One can see evidence of just such an awareness in Regan's story, something that has emerged through first-hand experiences of anti-Catholic prejudice. As mentioned in the previous chapter, she reported that she sometimes felt like 'a kind of aberration' in Scotland. Regan gradually accrued knowledge about how to navigate prejudice, and that navigation necessarily had consequences for the formation of her relationships.

Attitudes towards dating were not solely shaped by prejudice. Many participants talked about how dating someone from a similar background was a source of comfort, or about how 'natural' it felt. In the following extract, Ciarra talks about how she initially meets her current partner at school but their relationship only developed once they attended university. In particular, she discusses how finding out that their families had a close connection made her feel positive about her relationship:

So, eh, my boyfriend we have been going out for 2 years and a couple of months into us going out, eh, kind of dating and being in a relationship. We had been in school together but since I was first year we went to Strathclyde together but we didn't really talk. Anyway, we got talking and he, em, he was at my brother's 16th birthday party in the house and, eh, he met my granny and she was like 'who is your granny?' Eh, and he went: 'Patrick McBride', he was from Tyrone. My gran was like 'Patrick McBride - he was with Ciarra's grandfather, he was in our house drinking!' So that's how connected we all are, known him all that time but turns out our grandfathers were drinking together in the 60s.

He is not strong Irish, and I am Scottish [however, he is a lapsed Catholic and a Celtic fan and has Irish Grandparents]. I think it is natural to be

drawn to your own kind, I mean my mum and dad are married from the same background, and their grandparents.

Frederick Barth (1969) states that:

'The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'playing the same game', and this means that there is between them a potential for diversification and expansion of their social relationship to cover eventually all different sectors and domains of activity' (p15).

Ciarra clearly recognises her partner as a fellow member of an ethnic group, and this is appealing to her. What is interesting is that she cites this family party as the point at which she experienced an intensification of the relationship. It is clear that mapping out the extent of their shared ethnicity is what 'opened the door' for an increased level of intimacy. This is particularly evident when she says that 'it is natural to be drawn to your own kind'.

This last point can also be understood in light of the work of Max Weber (1969). Weber believed that when attempting to understand the essential characteristic of ethnicity, important foci are the shared set of subjective 'beliefs', the collective understandings of a common ancestry, and the shared sense of culture identity (pp385-389). Therefore, when Ciarra talks of 'natural' and 'own kind' it exhibits much of the features of Weber's thinking on ethnicity.

6.3.4. Prejudice in established relationships

I will now move on to look at the experiences people had within longer-term relationships. Some of those I interviewed talked of discovering, only over time, that their partners held anti-Catholic views. This not only had an effect on them, but on their families as well. An example of this is given by Rose. She says:

There was a point in my life where I'd met this guy and I'd started going out with him. He had no connection to Ireland. He wasn't a Catholic or anything but we went to a wedding in Ireland and it was a nightmare.

Like he was on about the Catholic priests and about the... he was making jokes about the altar boys and stuff like that and, you know, he was repeating the jokes and stuff like that and at the... and we were with like some of our cousins, and at the time everybody had a drink and stuff like that but they'd obviously picked up on it, you know, that he was saying it and my brother, Roger he was like: 'no, he can't be saying this and this is coming from his dad. Does he... is this what he thinks of us'? [...] And I never really thought about it before because he'd always known that I'd went to mass and he'd never come with me or anything and he didn't have a problem with it and... but he'd... I think this is the first time that he'd experienced like been in a chapel, seeing what they do and he couldn't understand like... he was, like, all you're doing is chanting all the time and I never thought about it like that either but he just thought it was so bizarre but that didn't really... it didn't pan out but it's not... not for that reason.

Interviewer: How did that make you feel?

On reflection. More afterwards wherever it was like this big family meeting in the next room. It was like everybody was... like all my brothers and sisters were there and my brother was just like this is not cool. You need to find out exactly what he thinks of all of us kind of thing and, yes, we thought he was alright until he started saying things like this... so after that I started going back to Ireland like every summer holiday and went over and met my husband... and he is from the same place that my mum and dad's from. [...] Yes, that was just I went over one May weekend and it was like a summer romance... not like a... like a holiday romance and then I never really... like I didn't really think it was going to come to anything and then I was going over in the summer time again and I thought I'll give him a phone, so gave him a phone and then that's how it started to go.

Rose's story gives us much to consider. In her story on dating, she describes an experience whereby a partner is welcomed into her family and then subsequently reveals his anti-Catholic prejudice at a family wedding in Ireland. His actions are a surprise to Rose because he was fully aware of her Catholic faith for as long as they had been in a relationship, and had previously not displayed any anti-Catholic beliefs.

This begs the question: why might the person in the story behave one way in one situation and then differently in another? In a bid to shed light on this, it is worth turning again to critical race theory for some insight. Rattansi (2007) has called for a more complex view of understanding prejudicial behaviour. In referring to racism, he says that there is a better way of understanding the messiness, contradiction, and variability of attitudes and beliefs. For example, he talks about how people have often contradictory and ambivalent responses to certain groups within society, and that they have culturally absorbed certain views about these groups (pp120-121).

In further attempting to understand this ambivalence, the work of Edward Said (2003) is also useful. In writing about global power, Said distinguished between latent and manifest forms of orientalism. He argued that latent prejudice lay in an 'almost (and certainly an untouchable) unconscious positivity' of the inferiority of populations who lived in the east of the globe (p206). These included the 'various stated views about oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology and so forth' (ibid.: 206). Manifest orientalism was considered as all the changes in knowledge that were discovered about the east - which was informed by that latent prejudice. Therefore, it consisted of writings and expression in words, actions, and policies in relation to places and people from the east. I argue that Said's distinction between latent and manifest forms of prejudice may be relevant here. Rose's ex-partner's actions are based on the presupposition that Irish Catholics, as a formerly colonised people, are backward looking, archaic, and in need of modernising influences. Therefore, being in Ireland and at a Catholic wedding results in a manifestation of his anti-Irish-Catholic behaviour.

Furthermore, the narrative conveys the deep sense of hurt felt by her family at these experiences. Such occurrences could account for the numerous stories told by participants about parents and other members of the extended family, viewing marriage outside of the diasporic community unfavourably. For example, writers such as Pilkington (2008: 9.1) have documented the part that racism plays in community formation, causing communities to become 'inward looking' for protective reasons. I argue that anti-Catholic prejudice can have just these effects.

Rose discusses how the relationship broke down but says that it 'wasn't for that reason'. However, she goes on to reveal that she ended up meeting and marrying her husband, who is Irish-Catholic, on a family trip to Ireland. The significance of the aforementioned 'trip back to Ireland', and the opportunities it gives for families to find a suitable partner, is worth noting. This is because *all* participants said that such trips were part of their yearly routine. This places the Irish diaspora in a particular position: they are able to maintain strong links with the 'sending country' due to geographical closeness. As a consequence, it is far easier for working class families to acquire the economic capital to make frequent journeys to Ireland, and therefore maintain strong interpersonal and familial links.

Sinead tells of a further example of the latency of anti-Catholic feeling, and the social harm it causes when revealed in a relationship. This happens even though Sinead is no longer a practising Catholic. In the following story, she tells of a time when she was dating a person and went to visit his family. Not only was Sinead given a cold reception by the father, but she was subjected to harsh stereotyping by her partner:

Sinead: What happened was I went to his house, met his dad - his dad was a bit cold with me, em, just got the feeling he wasn't very keen. And then he had his dad had remarried so Jim had a little half-brother who was a wee brother who was about two or three he had a cute wee outfit on or whatever and I so him and I said something like: 'Oh your wee brother is so cute, such a great wee outfit'. And he said to me: 'Typical Catholic - thinking children are attractive'. Essentially accusing me of being a

paedophile! Obviously the relationship didn't go too well after that, because you know people make jokes about priests and Catholics and whatever around me and I am fine but, being accused of one myself I think was just a bridge too far. Em, so that just obviously just didn't work out.

Interviewer: I can understand why.

Sinead: A know he said obviously it was just a joke but I felt like that's so abhorrent! Although I hesitate to say it's experiences like that make me think it would have been harder to have been with a Protestant.

Sinead's narrative again demonstrates how people can be some time into a relationship before being exposed to a partner's anti-Catholic views. However, it also provides insight into aspects of the 'othering' process not previously mentioned. That is to say that Sinead's Catholic schooling and perceived Catholic faith are here linked with the egregious act of systematic child abuse within the Catholic Church. This representation came up a number of times with one participant Danna reporting that a former partner: 'said I fancied kids, can you believe that? I told him where to go in no uncertain terms'. Ironically, Sinead is not a practising Catholic, and indeed is quite critical of the Catholic Church herself; however, she was repeatedly associated with the Catholic faith by her then partner, and by others, due to the fact that she had attended a Catholic school. Therefore, in Sinead's case, it was impossible to 'escape' being identified as Catholic because people still ascribe her that identity because of the school she went to.

Sinead goes on to tell me about meeting and marrying her husband. In the following narrative, she discusses her absence of faith, her family's desire for her to marry a fellow Catholic, and a sense of ambivalence with regard to shared heritage. These taken together intersect to create a particular set of experiences for her:

Sinead: My husband was a GUU [Glasgow University Students Union's] man so he looks down on the QM [Glasgow University Queen Margaret's Student's Union] and I feel that GUU is nicer. So at my wedding the crowd

was about 60% Irish. So he was just in the bar drinking in the bar drinking whisky and Guinness so his mum was born, in County Tyrone and they all still have the accent and stuff despite living in Airdrie.

Interviewer: How did you meet?

Sinead: We met online so it turns out my gran's from 5 minutes from where his family is from and people keep saying that we look alike. Please hope we are not related! So we will find out if we have kids I am sure [laughter].

Interviewer: Was that an attraction for you then that you had this shared heritage?

Sinead: Em, I think it's easier, I would say that it would have been hard for my family if I hadn't married an Irish Catholic. Em, my Grans, my gran would have preferred it although she would have been mellow about it. She died in 2006 so never met him. My auntie and uncle so there is a certain element of pressure from him as he is the head of the family. He is very Catholic, as I said, so his son was dating a Protestant girl it just didn't play out because of the religious thing. I don't know what was said, he then went on to marry a Catholic. So when I found out about that, there was a picture of this girl who I didn't recognise and my mum went mum said who it was and how it didn't work out because she was protestant. So that was from when I was quite young. Probably even then I got a wee bit of a message, em.

Interviewer: Do you think it was instilled within you about who it was desirable to marry?

Sinead: Yes, I think so. I think it's just that they understand - another Catholic understands what it is like. All the different sacraments and how things are done. Even though now I don't identify as a practising Catholic, I didn't want that for my wedding.

Interviewer: Do you feel that your faith, or in your case your historic faith, is a point of connection for you both?

Sinead: It's easier to begin with, it's easier on the run up to the wedding if you had asked me that I would have said it was a pain in the arse.

Obviously then I was marrying into a family that is still very religious. My husband isn't but he can't tell them that. But, em, probably at that point I would have said that I wish I was marrying into a Protestant family. It would have been easier but at the beginning it was easier, much easier that we had a shared background.

To summarise this lengthy narrative, Sinead is currently married to a fellow member of the Irish diaspora in Scotland. His family comes from the same region as one side of her family³. She talks about her own family's desire for her to marry a Catholic; particularly her uncle who appears to be the patriarch within broader kin relations. She goes on to talk about the challenges of marrying into a religious family when she no longer adheres to the faith. These competing pressures of family expectations from both sides create a level of ambivalence about whether marrying a fellow Catholic was easier; however, she concludes that having a shared heritage is a positive aspect of their relationship.

During my continued discussion with Sinead, I discover that her husband was also no longer observant; however, he is unable to disclose this to his family. For Sinead and her husband, this secret is an impending problem for them as they seek to expand their family. This is because decisions about having a family - such as where to baptise their child and what school to send their children to - will inevitably produce situations in which the public performance of faith is expected. Therefore, we can see a situation whereby what unites this couple is not so much their shared faith, but rather a shared dissension from it and the need to navigate the challenges that this brings, in a context where religious identity is so strongly associated with diasporic identity. This narrative sets the

³ Many participants did not recognise partition which occurred in 1921. For them, Ireland was the whole island of Ireland.

scene for the next section which will now look in greater detail at family pressure in relationship formation and boundary maintenance.

6.3.5. Family pressures and boundary maintenance

Dating and partner selection were internally policed by parents and extended family in various ways; methods ranged from mildly coercive practices of censure, or expressions of disapproval, to outright prohibition. What is interesting is that such forms of control surrounding dating not only occurred within the diasporic community but amongst many of the families of potential partners. In the following extract, an example is given of the ‘soft power’ exercised by a family, and how local networks such as the Catholic Church could play an effective role in this regard. Lydia says:

Erm, and as well just within, sort of, the whole, kind of, social scene once you did start to go out, you know, your parents encouraging you to, sort of, go to, you know, ‘now you... you should go into that wee convent disco now and blah, blah, blah’ [laughing]... ‘you’ll meet a nice catholic boy’ [laughing]. Do you know, that kind of stuff, you know... or like when you’ve been in Ireland on holiday, erm, there would always be, kind of, funny wee comments made from like your parents, your aunts and uncles, and ‘that’d be lovely now if you come over here now and met a nice wee Irish boy and got married’.

The above extract typifies how many participants described the way in which families sought to influence who they became involved with. As mentioned in chapter 5, within Glasgow there are broad cultural networks established around popular cultural and other activities which sustain a strong identification with the island of Ireland. These same networks, however, are the site of forms of control; they are used by some within the community to increase the chances of their daughters being in a relationship with a Catholic, therefore, maintaining the boundary of their community. As explained earlier, frequent trips to Ireland were also seen as an opportunity for extended family such as aunts and uncles to ‘set up’ their daughters with young Irish boys. Finally, a clear heteronormative

assumption underpins such practices whereby all participants who talked of parental coercion were assumed to be seeking male partners.

Evidence of internal boundary construction continued to emerge within the data, but of a more coercive form. Many participants told stories of their parents or other family members explicitly making their feelings known about the undesirability of marrying someone outside of the Catholic faith. Dana states:

I went out with this one boy that wasn't Catholic... it's almost like there was a couple of wee things, kind of, mentioned, you know, and there was something mentioned within the family now that I remember it. Some... my mum said something to me one time and it wasn't... it was almost like, 'look, if this is your decision, if this is your choice that you're going to, sort of, be with this person then, no, I suppose there's not much I can do about it'. And I was, kind of, like, 'right, right', and I thought: 'Well, what difference does it make?'

A further example of a more prohibitive approach is given by Julie. She discusses her disposition in courting at a young age, the experiences she had going out with a protestant, and her family's attitudes to her dating a protestant:

Interviewer: Did you ever go out with, eh, or see any other boys from a different school?

Whenever I was at the dancing, just round the corner from there... that was always the first question when you did meet somebody that you liked, 'what school are you at?' And then that would curtail whether or not it was going any further [laughs]. Well, if you did meet someone and they said... they said they were... they were from, like, Lochend High or a school that was obviously... didn't start with Saint something... then you, kind of... kind of, go off them quick and not take it any further unless you really liked them. And you had to be prepared to face the consequences even so much. Because if they did meet your family that was their first question too.

Interviewer: And what... what would all those consequences be?

Julie: Well, you were building a bar up, because your family would maybe not... likely not welcoming them... them in. And whatever they did wouldn't be good enough anyway. Because, eh, em, they kick with the wrong foot. 'Just keep in with your own'... [it was] rammed in strongly, drummed into you. And it's not even that. It's in the future and if you have any children there would be a big barney about what school they would be at. And you can't get married in the chapel.

Interviewer: Did you ever experience anything, like that?

Julie: Well, I did know a fellow once and he did ask me what school I was at and... and... and then I met his mum and she'd ask... she asked me what school I was at and then he says: 'My mum says that we're not to go out'. I says: 'But it's not her that I'm going out with, it's you'... So that didn't last, you know... aye, because you're Catholic and they're Protestant.

Here we can see, again, evidence of the social processes of exclusion and ethnic boundary maintenance as discussed by Barth (1969). That is to say that Julie's story demonstrates how family pressure became so great that any relationship with a Protestant became all but un-imaginable. The challenges of a 'mixed relationship' is shored up (again) by a belief surrounding the different values that people have within, and outside of, the diaspora community. Therefore, there is a perceived ethnic dichotomisation both within and outside the diasporic community.

Julie goes on to discuss potential future problems of any relationship with a non-Catholic. These problems include marriages not being sanctioned within the Catholic Church, and tensions around agreeing on appropriate schooling of children. Therefore, we see that these boundary drawing processes were tacitly sustained by the institutional presence of the Catholic Church. In a similar manner, one participant discussed how the Church was unwilling to 'recognise' her relationship. Daley says:

We weren't able to be married by a priest because he [her partner] was divorced; they were going through an annulment process just now so we can't get our parish priest to marry us. Em, and we have had big issues about me going to communion. But now I am allowed to go to communion cause my parish priest says so and there has been changes about that.

Returning to Julie's story, she goes on to talk about the fact that she was seeing a boy who was not Catholic and his mother ensured the relationship ended. Therefore, within this one narrative we see the effects of family pressure from both within and outside the diasporic community, and the pressure religious institutions place on followers. This is, we might say, a boundary that is 'drawn' from both sides. Ironically, Julie goes on to talk about her own experience of being a mother and finding out her son was seeing someone who is not a Catholic:

Interviewer: You talked about how your parents and that, or your grandparents would have viewed, sort of, you going out with somebody from a different 'race'.

Kind of, frowned upon.

Interviewer: How do you feel about that about your... your son? Would it be ok for him to marry somebody who's also Catholic, or do you...

Well, I would prefer it. You know, and I've got my eye on a few girls that are good for him.

Interviewer: [Laughs]

He said to me, Mum, I've fifteen. [Laughs]

Interviewer: Can you tell me a time that you had that discussion with him, because, I'm interested in the stories that people tell about their lives?

It wasn't too long ago and I said to him because [clears throat] not too long ago I... I saw him at the front door and a girl with her arms wrapped

round him, and I was, like... And it was quite obvious that James was a bit fazed [laughs].

Interviewer: Right. And how did... how did you know that she was, not Catholic?

Because I'd already asked her. That was my first question. 'What school are you at, pet?' Before I even asked her, her name. And it was Bannerman High, and I said, 'Oh, dear!' And he's like this, nudging me. You just think they've got different outlooks sometimes as well, do you know? So I said to him he couldn't see her any more.

In Julie's final extract, we see of the reproduction, across a generation, of this process of prohibition and boundary maintenance. At one point in her interview, she described being prohibited from dating a Protestant which impacted on her; however, she is now the person enforcing that boundary. Further research is required into whether men within the Irish Catholic diaspora are subject to the same pressures as women; however, this extract could suggest that they may be.

Some participants talked about the fact that they learned about boundary maintenance, not through personal experience, but indirectly through siblings and other family members. In the following extract Mary, who is married to an Irish Catholic, discovers the tensions that arise from her sister's relationship:

My mum has openly admitted that she would prefer that we married Catholics because she thinks it would be easier. I argue it's because we are conditioned to go down a certain road.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a bit about a time when she said this?

Well when we talk about my sister's boyfriend it's like she always thinks there is going to be trouble and Nadine my sister, is like she wants the thirty thousand pound wedding in a chapel. And he is like, 'well, I will do the chapel thing with you but I won't have them going to a Catholic School, they will go to a Protestant school'. My mum is like, 'there will be trouble'. I genuinely think that she doesn't hate anyone that is Protestant,

she just, they are different to her so she is like 'oh!' But I can see her over-compensating for these predisposed, quite negative views that are quite irrational she has about Protestants.

Mary continues to reflect on her own experience of courting a person who was not of the same religion. She talks about the disapproval she senses from the community; a community that she strongly feels a part of:

Yes, but so there was maybe a couple of times, you know... I remember going out with a boy from Dyke Park Secondary and I remember, you know, people just making comment. You know. The odd wee comment here and there, you know, sort of, remarks about, oh, you know: 'How's that going down in the family' and, you know, and 'what about his house and that'll get frowned upon, he's going out with a pape, and all this kind of stuff'. And I was, like, 'what', you know, so just stuff like that that I thought was just really... I was like 'what the hell...what the hell difference does it make?'

Erm, but it's not until you actually get older that you maybe look back and you, kind of, think, god, do you know, was I, kind of, conditioned in some way that I was going in a certain wee pathway. It was unconscious, you know, you don't really... you know, you don't realise at the time.

6.3.6. Mixed marriages

Steve Bruce (2004) argues that the relative increase in the rate of intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants is a symptom and cause of integration. In terms of being a cause of integration, he says that 'being a good uncle or brother-in-law competes with being a loyal Catholic or Protestant, and in stable affluent societies that are not divided by competing political agendas, family trumps loyalty to religio-ethnic group' (p96). However, during my discussions with participants, this was not initially always the case. In the following extract, Patricia tells us of 28 years of anti-Catholic prejudice her and her family experienced, and how after this period it gradually subsided:

I had never experienced religious bigotry ever!

Interviewer: Can you tell me the first time you did?

It was when I got married to John; when I met John's family. John's family are split down the middle - em, John's dad was Catholic he didnae practice at all, just one of those things, just didnae. But his sister who were all very catholic. John's other side is Orange and as Blue as you could be. It was fun bigotry right but it wasnae really, they sent a Christmas card the first year we were together and it played the sash, when you opened it up. And I thought just looking round and if my mum had heard that she would have set fire to it! But I thought 'my god'.

Interviewer: What age were you then?

Patricia: We were 21. We had, it was our first Christmas together it was his uncle Charles and it was I took it as fun. I did think that's a bit inappropriate so I gave it back, I sent it back the following Christmas. We will leave it at that.

Interviewer: You say it was fun? But it wasn't fun was it?

Patricia: I didn't think it was funny, why would you send that knowing that I am not that way. I did you get ma wee joke? (Charles) and I said it was really funny I thought it was really funny. 'Just don't let my mother see it'. But yeah it wisnae funny! I thought that that wisnae nice.

Interviewer: Was there any other instances when things happened within the family?

Patricia: They widnae come any of ma children's baptisms. It was 'we are busy' or 'we are working', it was excuses and they didn't come and I thought 'ok' that's fine. And then I don't know what happened but - if John's mother tore through them but - they started bit by bit the communion, they would come a few came to the communion. And then when my grandson was baptised they were all there on mass. Which I

thought that's odd. Something had obviously changed I don't know what it was but there was a big change, and it was really nice and it was nice. And they were really interested in the service and everything I don't know if it was - it wasn't put on it wasn't, they were actually asking, they kneeled and when they stood up. And I just thought that's really nice, but why did it take 28 years from them to do it!

Bruce and his colleagues' statement seem to be, yet again, over simplistic in light of Patricia's narrative. That is if we are to assume, as I am sure Bruce does, that Britain is a stable affluent society not riven by political differences. His position underplays the friction, difficulty, and pain involved in the process of coming together of people from different backgrounds. His account of integration as being a product of 'affluence' ignores the real, challenging, and difficult *processes* or *acts of agency* which make these conciliations possible.

6.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can return to Anthony Giddens' (1992) assertion that external criteria have lost their salience in relationship formation. This appears to be partially challenged by the evidence presented. It seems to me that ethnicity, class, and gender, all of which can be considered external criteria, continue to play their part in intimate relationship formation within the Irish diaspora in Glasgow. That such criteria remain important is evident in Michael Rosie's research (2015) which shows that there is a higher percentage level of in-marriage amongst Catholics in Glasgow. Of course, Rosie's own explanation as to why this is the case would sit neatly with Giddens' theory. He attributes these tendencies to mere geographical proximity rather than to any other forms of power articulating within the diaspora space. I argue that the following factors intersect to contribute to increased levels of partnering and/or marriage amongst those studied.

Firstly, the everyday 'othering' process, which many within the study were subjected to, had constitutive effects with regards to dating, partnering, and marriage. It added to, or reinforced, the perception of ethnic dichotomisation between the diaspora community and the broader population in Glasgow (Barth,

1969). Therefore, many developed a 'disposition' to partner with fellow diasporans because they felt they were 'naturally' 'their own kind' and because of an awareness of how in-group relations might be simply easier to navigate. Conversely, though, there was some evidence of an alternative response: that is, of people were drawn to partners who had no attachment to ethno-religious identities; what may be termed as Giddens' 'pure relationship'. Thus, we see evidence of two different reactions to everyday 'othering'. With regards to the latter point, it could be argued that the 'pure relationship' itself may be a consequence of, or a way of responding to, the 'impure' relationship structured by experiences of prejudice and exclusion.

Further, experiencing anti-Catholic prejudice within dating and partnering increased participants' knowledge of this form of prejudice. To paraphrase Essed (1991: 234): knowledge of everyday 'othering' is the product of direct experience. Therefore, with this increased understanding of anti-Catholicism came an increase in participants' reflexivity. Participants talked about learning to be guarded or careful about what they revealed about themselves and to whom. In this respect, experience of prejudice had the effect of denying to them 'the possibility of being able to act in the kind of 'unreflective' or 'unremarkable' way that characterizes much of what we do in everyday life' (Smith, 2016: 9).

Secondly, where marrying a fellow Catholic was important for the family actions ranged from the mildly coercive to outright prohibitive behaviour. This sheds an interesting light on the concept of 'homeplace' put forward by hooks (1990: 41). She argues that 'ones homeplace was the one site where one could freely confront the issue of humanisation, where one could resist' (p42). However, whilst this may be the case in terms of sheltering from the oppression that existed on the 'other side of the door', the home can also be a site where gender relations are reproduced, and also where oppressive notions of who one can, and cannot, partner with and marry are forged. Therefore, I suggest, as hooks does in later writing, that the homeplace can be paradoxical for minority communities: a source of comfort but also potentially a source of oppression.

Thirdly, it would appear that mothers within, and outside, the community were expected to do much work of expressing, emotionally or otherwise, what is and is not acceptable for daughters in terms of boundary maintenance. The duties of these 'guards' included ensuring that their daughters reinforced the boundary by forming relationships in line with their families wishes.

The symbolic importance placed on women to partner in line with parental wishes adds to the position argued by Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (1989). Both authors feel that women play a special role in collectivities: they are the biological reproducers of that collectivity, and the socialisers of young children. Further to this: 'Women do not only teach and transfer the cultural and ideological traditions of ethnic and national groups; they often constitute their actual symbolic configuration' (ibid.: 9). Therefore, this insight could explain why mothers featured in such a prominent role within the narratives.

Fourthly, as discussed in chapter 4, there exist a range of networks such as the Catholic Church, dance clubs, and schooling systems that enable a strong diaspora identity to emerge. These same networks can make partnering with fellow diasporans more likely. To this extent, Michael Rosie's position about 'population density' and probability could be supported; however, the evidence here demonstrates just how knowingly some of these networks are used by parents to influence relationship outcomes. The family trip home was also a significant event where parental and broader family encouragement could be exercised. Indeed, four participants were either in a relationship with, or married to, men from the island of Ireland.

In a related point, it is worth understanding why many families may hold such strong views. In an area of academic enquiry which has seen much disagreement, one thing there is broad agreement on is that there has been structural disadvantage levelled at those of an Irish Catholic background in Glasgow (Devine, 2008). Therefore, this could account for the generational anxiety that parents had about their children marrying outside the community boundary.

Finally, two areas are left to summarise: mixed marriages, and people who no longer have a faith. In terms of the former, there is some evidence to challenge the simplistic assertion made by Bruce and colleagues' that being a good family member trumps any religious allegiances. Patricia's story demonstrates how mixed relationships can be extremely stressful for those who marry into families who hold prejudicial views. However, there was a positive outcome - but only after 28 years had passed! In terms of participants who no longer held Catholic beliefs, this often caused a unique set of pressures for them. Stories revealed that families were often insistent on them marking family occasion within the confines of the Catholic Church. These tensions became particularly acute when participants planned to marry, and/or choose a school for their children.

7. Understanding prejudice and forms of ‘everyday-othering’

7.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters, I have sought to make visible the invisible lives of the Irish Catholic diaspora in Glasgow, and highlight the complex process of relationship formation amongst the diaspora community. This has shown that in the process of performing cultural identities and forming relationships, women in the Irish Catholic diaspora are often circumscribed by power relations and are required to navigate and contest anti-Irish Catholic prejudice, sexism, and classism. In acknowledgement of this, it is therefore necessary to devote the following chapter to analysing narratives that spoke directly to the issues of prejudice and discrimination, and how these affected people’s lives.

The chapter will begin by providing an analysis of three discrete narratives. These are narratives where women describe experiencing prejudice, and the perceived basis for the intolerance they faced. This is a necessary exercise because it not only allows for a more nuanced understanding of such experiences, but it implicitly challenges the ‘sectarian paradigm’ by showing the diffuse and often intersecting nature of the processes which generate ‘othering’. The data will demonstrate how perceptions of an aggressive secularism, racialised nationalism, and anti-Catholicism intertwine with patriarchy to create a unique set of challenges for women of an Irish Catholic heritage. These power relations pushed many into a habitually-reflexive subject position where they routinely ‘checked’ what they revealed about themselves and to whom. In particular, the sexism and male aggression that participants experienced is in line with Valentine’s (1989: 385) recognition that ‘[t]he association of male violence with certain environmental contexts has a profound effect on many women’s use of space’.

The following section will expand its focus to examine a number of the strategies that people adopted to lessen the harm that such interactions brought about. These included depersonalising experiences, using humour to make light of situations, and infantilising those who perpetrated abuse. Therefore, the strategies which people adopted constitute techniques to process and deal with the daily *symbolic violence* they face.

The penultimate section will examine what the narratives tell us of the relationship people form to *rigid designators* of ethnicity; for example, I will explore how some became estranged from their Christian and family names. Further to this, an example will be given as to how estrangement towards signs of Irishness is learned within the family. Finally, there will be a brief discussion of the ways in which state institutions, such as schools, can contribute to feelings of alienation from the imagined community of Scotland (Anderson, 2006). This was due to a privileging of Protestantism within these supposedly non-denominational spaces.

I will conclude by arguing that the attribution of an Irish Catholic identity - by participants, or by others - has had deleterious effects on some of those who took part in the research. Conversely, for some experiencing this prejudice, it led to a strong endorsement of that identity. The main assertions are that women of an Irish Catholic heritage in the diaspora space of Glasgow are required to become reflexive about their identity, and about how they perform their identity, and that these processes often intersected with strategies for the navigation of gendered oppressions such as strategies to safely navigate public spaces in the city. Finally, the paper will show how parents, who in most cases were mothers, took on the responsibility for keeping their daughters safe and for dealing with the effects of prejudice.

7.2. Background

As explained in chapter 3, the concept sectarianism has been a 'lens' through which many researchers have sought to analyse and understand experiences of prejudice directed against those of an Irish Catholic heritage in Scotland. As discussed earlier, there are those who construct the 'sectarian problem' as an

issue between Catholics and Protestants, and others who view it as an issue pertaining to the poor treatment of the Irish diaspora in Scotland (Bruce et al, 2004; Finn, 1990). The consequences of these methodological and conceptual differences are that researchers working in this field are often at cross purposes when discussing the issue.

7.3. Relevance within the data

Experiences of prejudice were a frequent feature of the stories that my participants told me. Indeed, there were 89 accounts of instances of prejudice from 21 participants. Largely these were personal accounts that came up during interview. Often they were presented without solicitation and, in others, discussing such experiences was a logical development of the conversation. In general, it was very clear to me that such experiences played a significant role in shaping the day-to-day lives of those who took part in the research. What is interesting is that very few of those I talked to described themselves as being subject to ‘sectarianism’; this is despite the fact that their narratives contained accounts of prejudice focussed on their faith, national heritage, or cultural identity. This lack of connection with the term ‘sectarianism’ could possibly indicate two things. Firstly, the academic and other commentary suggesting that we live in a ‘post-sectarian’ society may have become more widely accepted. Therefore, this makes it difficult for people to ‘name’ their experiences. Secondly, the understanding of the term is highly gendered, meaning that there is the belief that it is an everyday concept ‘reserved’ for explaining the behaviour and experiences of working class men in specific social settings.

7.3.1. Social space

The locations within which participants’ recounted harmful events were varied. These ranged from walking to school, drinking in local bars, and viewing online content. What was equally varied was the perceived basis for prejudice. For example, there were perceptions of an aggressive secularism; of explicit anti-Catholicism; and of a racialised nationalism. In addition, many of these experiences were often imbricated with misogyny and sexism. Because these lived experiences are complicated and messy, it is important to start with

examples which demonstrate that complexity rather than trying to jump straight to analytical neatness. Therefore, in a bid to provide context for the chapter, I will now discuss three narratives which best exemplify the complexity of these experiences.

7.3.2. Secularism and modernity

According to Bruce (2015: 26), there has been a decisive shift towards secularisation as modernisation occurs within western developed nations. He states ‘that modernization undermines the power, popularity, and prestige of religious beliefs, behaviour, and institutions’. The ‘Secularisation Thesis’ therefore proclaims that the ‘modern’ is characterised by secularism and the ‘pre-modern’ by the pre-eminence given over to religious ideas. Bruce, however, states that there are exceptional cases where religion and national identity have become intertwined - such as in Poland and Ireland. I contend that because of the importance Catholicism has played in the construction of Irish national identity, emigrants who migrate from Ireland to more overtly secular nations - such as Britain - can experience a form of aggressive secularism which is directly in opposition to their own socially constructed identities. This often takes the form of an infantilising of religious beliefs. This ‘vulnerability’ then extends on to the descendants of such migrants due to the central part faith can play within the family and within the diasporic community more broadly. Further to this, when that denomination within Christianity has also been historically constructed as the boundary between colonial ‘other’ and ‘native’ then this potentially creates the conditions for a form of prejudice that is derisory about Catholicism in particular. An example of this can be found in the following extracts. Reagan says:

Yeah, I can think about people talking about a wedding that they were going to, it was a Catholic wedding. And they were just kind of making fun about it, and saying it was strange that people would still get married in a church, and that they were getting married very young. And it was more, I think, their tone was kind of obviously derisory of that. And I think that's probably been in terms of my own life experience. I've never experienced sort of something that I would define as a hate crime. But in terms of how

discrimination works, you know, it can be sort of structural, or institutional, rather than necessarily, you know, somebody calling you a Fenian in the street, or something like that.

Reagan goes on to say that:

The times I felt most awkward about admitting that I'm a Catholic, would be here in university [university undisclosed]. Because I think there's a kind of, often, a kind of academic middle-class snobbery around religion. That's the times I can remember distinctly, now, where I wouldn't just say, I'm a Catholic. And I think, say, like, to take some people in my department, who I've kind of chatted to about it, they will say - I can't remember, like, specific things - but things that are obviously very anti-religion. And then, they'll say something about, like, the Catholic Church. And I don't think they would, I think they'd be probably more sensitive to saying something about, say, Islam.

These linked narratives provide insight into the experiences of being someone of Irish Catholic heritage in an increasingly secular nation such as Scotland. On the two occasions in question, Reagan is subject to discourses, which, in her own words, are 'derisory' about religion. She feels that this is the most recurring form of prejudice that she experiences in her day-to-day life. Her narratives also provide an interesting insight into how she categorises forms of prejudice: hate crime, and institutionalised prejudice. What is interesting is that Reagan believes that anti-religious sentiment is embedded within the very fabric of society.

In a bid to understand Reagan's perceptions on how deep-seated anti-religious views are in her society, the work of Judith Butler (2008) is useful. Butler argues that the period in which we live is constructed as being both 'modern' and secular. Central to this construction is the establishment of a 'hegemonic culture' which is contingent on progressive accounts of increasing freedoms. Therefore, '[t]his uncritical domain of 'culture' that functions as a precondition for liberal freedom in turn becomes the cultural basis for sanctioning forms of cultural and religious hatred and abjection' (Butler, 2008: 6). She adds that this

occurs through defining certain ‘types’ of people as ‘modern’ and others, such as religious minorities, as ‘pre-modern’. Whilst Butler is discussing how LGBTQI rights have been ‘instrumentalised’ to attack Muslim communities in Europe, her substantive point is relevant. Religious groups can come under attack from the ideas that underpin ‘modernity’. I argue that what Reagan is describing is a situation where ‘a certain version and deployment of ‘freedom’ can be used as an instrument of bigotry’ (Butler, 2008: 3). This is particularly evident in the first narrative where she describes those that ridicule the lack of ‘freedom’ Catholics ‘possess’, especially in respect of intimate relationships.

Finally, the consequence for Reagan of this perceived religious intolerance is that it pushes her into a position of habitual-reflexivity with regard to an important part of who she is. That is to say that, in everyday life, she feels the need to consider whether it is appropriate to reveal she is a practising Catholic. In the latter part of Reagan’s narrative, she makes reference to her feelings on how certain religious minorities receive greater protection than others. For Reagan, open criticism of Catholicism is viewed by middle class professionals as ‘fair game’, whereas this is not the case for other faith based minorities.

7.3.3. Racialised nationalism

Within the data, many participants reported instances of hostility towards representations of Irishness in public spaces such as bars and public transport. This led to frustration and a sense of resignation. Kathleen says:

I think... I was at a Scotland-Ireland game when I was... recently, ‘You dirty rebel bastards’ and they just giving it all that and I was like that, ‘fuck’s sake’. And you’re standing in a pub where 45 per cent of the population of Scotland’s voted to do what Ireland was doing at that time, which was to separate from Great Britain. But I don’t know what... I didn’t point out the hypocrisy.

Balibar (1992: 40) argues that ‘[t]here is not merely a *single* invariant racism but a number of *racisms*, forming a broad open spectrum of situations, and to a caveat that may be intellectually and politically indispensable: a determinate

racist configuration has no fixed frontiers; it is a stage in a development which its own latent potentialities, as well as historical circumstances and the relations of force within social formation, will shunt around within the spectrum of possible racisms'. It appears here that Kathleen is in the presence of someone expressing a form of racialised nationalism which many argue is a dominant form of racism today (Taguieff, 2001). We can note that within this narrative there appear to be the echoes of a discourse which represents and essentialises Irish people as both unclean and rebellious, attributing these as part of an ascribed 'national character' (Mosse, 1995: 167-168). To understand this signification process, it is useful to look at the work of Virdee (2014). Virdee in his monograph *Racism, Class and the Racialized Outsider* talks of how Irish people, who moved to Britain during and after colonialism, became victim to forms of class-based racism. Further to this, because of Ireland's bloody struggle against colonial rule, elites often feared Irish migrants because of their revolutionary potential. I argue that, within this narrative, we can identify a discourse which combines class-based racism fused with a fear of the revolutionary 'other'.

Kathleen goes on to draw on the contemporary political situation in Scotland in order to challenge this racialised stereotype. That is to say that she draws on the parallels between Ireland's struggle for independence, and the Scottish referendum to highlight that many within both nations struggled to extricate themselves from a union with the rest of the United Kingdom. Therefore, in Kathleen's mind, the 45% who voted for Scottish independence could equally be described as 'rebel bastards'. Furthermore, Fanon (2008) when discussing his first encounter with racism talks about how he, in that moment, felt responsible for his 'ancestors' (p84). It is conceivable, given Kathleen's comments, that she too is feeling the 'weight' of representations of her ancestors as uncivilised savages with a predilection for violent insurrection.

The effect this experience on Kathleen is that it engenders a sense of anger and frustration which she suppresses due to a fear of escalating the situation. Butler (2004: 21) argues that '[t]he body implies mortality, vulnerability, agency: the skin and the flesh expose us to the gaze of others but also to touch and to violence'. As such, bodies can be both instruments of violence and pleasure, but also vulnerable to both. Furthermore, as bodies we are politically constituted

and, therefore, in certain societies - under certain conditions - some are more vulnerable to bodily harm than others. Consequently, in a society where anti-Irish prejudice presents itself, Kathleen does not feel safe to point out the hypocrisy through fear of bodily harm.

Finally, in relation to this narrative, Campbell (2000: 576) notes that the pub is a site where hegemonic masculinities are reproduced. He says masculinised behaviours are often a 'desperate struggle to avoid and negate any accusations or appearances of femininity'. Therefore, behaviour such as aggressive phallogocentric, homophobic, sexist language and hate speech is often used to guard against such appearances. Within the social setting of the pub, this dynamic has particular consequences for those who do not perform their gender in this way. Consequently, women and some men are relegated to the margins of such an environment or excluded from it all together (Jayne, 2011). It is arguable that this is what Kathleen is experiencing in this setting - where aggressive male anti-Irish Catholic behaviour has a silencing effect on her - and pushes her to the margins of public space. Indeed others reported similar stories with Daley saying that 'we were in this bar one time and it was "stinking bog hoppers this and Irish bead rattlers this". So we just sat there, quietly finished our drinks and left'.

7.3.4. Anti-Catholicism

Within the data, the most frequently reported form of prejudice experienced by participants was verbal abuse directed at them for being Catholic. This often happened at a very young age, and continued through adult life. There is evidence that resilience develops with age and this will be discussed later on in this chapter. On this occasion, Jade talks of the first time she was in receipt of anti-Catholic abuse:

I think when I was in primary school not really, I am trying to think. I do remember when I was about 9, em, there was boys from the protestant school, can't even remember the name of the school, and they - I had a uniform on which would have been known as the Catholic school. And they so, I mean, they called me a 'Fenian bitch'. So I went home to my mum

and asked my mum what a Fenian was and she tried to explain to me what the IRA was and I was still none the wiser as to why people were calling me a Fenian bitch. I was just a kid!

Slurs such as ‘fenian’, ‘tim’, and ‘bead rattler’ were frequent phrases reported in similar instances by participants. These derogatory terms are but one of a number of common threads that emerge from the narratives that are of interest. Firstly, it was common - as in this case - for participants to remember with great vividness the first time that they were on the receiving end of prejudice. This tended to stick with them and shape the way in which they experienced life in Glasgow. As Morgan said after a very similar incident: ‘This was when I realised that there was something a bit, I don’t know, controversial about who or what I am’.

Secondly, it was common for mothers to be the person within the family who would help their daughters ‘process’ or make sense of such experiences. In this example, Jade’s mother draws from the political situation in Ireland to put these terms in historical context; therefore, within this process of ‘sense making’, there is an interplay between religion, its place in the construction of Irish identity and the legacy of colonialism. However, the explanation of why the incident occurred is too complex for Jade to comprehend at such a young age; it is only through growing older that she understands that lived experience. Sadly it would appear that many within the Irish catholic diaspora still experience anti-Catholicism outlined in chapter 2.

Finally, Valentine (1989) argues that public spaces are arenas where the dominant groups within a society take control of how they are used and what occurs within them. In this case, young boys espousing anti-Catholic, sexist abuse dominate the streets of where Jade lives. One might call this an expression of spatial patriarchy ‘informed’ by anti-Catholic prejudice. The topic of spatial patriarchy was also a recurring theme throughout the narratives which will be returned to later in this chapter.

This section of the chapter has sought to provide three discrete narratives that demonstrate the complexity of the issue of prejudice, and demonstrate that

such prejudice occurred in a variety of settings. In terms of the latter point participants felt that prejudice occurred not only within the football ground, as some have asserted (Bruce et al., 2004), but in workplaces, public bars, in street corners, and on the internet. In terms of forms of prejudice, participants narrated stories showing a range of prejudicial attitudes, which extend beyond the explanatory capabilities of a binary religious model. That is to say that there is a strong perception that a combination of anti-Catholicism, racialised nationalism, sexism, and an aggressive secularism articulate and disarticulate within the diaspora spaces of Glasgow (Brah, 1996).

The consequences for the women in the study are equally varied. For many, they felt the need to strategically conceal their identity, denying them full recognition as a person. Some were pushed to the margins of social settings, and even silenced altogether. The overall cross-cutting theme is that as a consequence of these experiences, many felt that being a woman of Irish Catholic heritage was something that they had to be self-conscious about; a part of their 'identity' which could be 'controversial' if revealed at the wrong place in front of the 'wrong' people. However, it must be stated at this point that others become emboldened in the face of prejudice and responded by re-asserting their identity as a member of the Irish Catholic diaspora.

7.4. Dealing with prejudice

7.4.1. Infantilising the abuser and humour

The previous section has provided examples of the varied ways in which people perceive prejudice, and the multiple effects that this has on them. This section will build on these themes but also discuss some of the 'strategies' people employ to lessen the harmful effects of such experiences. Some of the most commonly reported 'strategies' included showing pity and/or infantilising the bigoted person, and using humour to protect against forms of symbolic violence. Our first narrative is from Erin, an NHS worker. She says:

I have been in different situations like last year the placement I had, one of the lassies who was really nice actually - I didn't sit down and say 'I go

to mass' and all that. But she did make a comment like: 'Wan of the do-gooders that go to mass every week'. I was sitting there thinking that I go to mass every week and I don't think that I am a do-gooder. It wisnae as if she was talking about me so I never said anything. I was mare thinking she doesn't even know. It's like a shame that people sit through that. So I didn't feel intimidated or anything an' that, I just felt kind of sorry for her.

In this narrative, there are a range of themes of interest. Erin begins the story by stating clearly that she never drew attention to her Catholic faith; therefore defending against claims that she brought up the issue of religion. Erin goes on to discuss how the individual within the story describes all who go to mass as 'do-gooders' and how this makes her feel. The experience pushes Erin into a state of reflexivity about who she is and what her actions say about her. That is to say that she examines her own behaviour and how she is seen by others. The attempt to construct a representation of Catholic people is challenged during this process of reflections, and she concludes that the representation does not fit with her own sense of self. However, Erin feels no need to employ a counter discourse to challenge this representation. This could be due to, as she says, the comment not being directed at her, and/as well as a sense of insecurity she feels due to her subordinate position as a student on placement.

It is worth considering the discourse used by the woman to understand its effects. It attempts to construct an image of Catholics as people who seek to 'self-separate' from the general population through feelings of self-righteousness. This, in turn, is used as a basis on which to belittle them. Jean-Paul Sartre (1944: 15), in discussing anti-Semitism, talks of how the 'anti-Semite does not claim to have individual superiority over Jewish people for those who engage in antisemitism are constructing an "elite of the ordinary"'. In Erin's narrative, the religiously intolerant person is using a discourse which is creating two mutually reinforcing subject positions: the Catholic - a self-separating person who seeks to elevate themselves above others - and the 'ordinary people' who hold no such 'pretensions'. It is not terribly helpful to speculate about the motivation of the person within the above narrative who is voicing their prejudice but it shows how those of Irish Catholic identity have to navigate

questions of self-expression and representation even in the most mundane contexts and encounters.

Finally, a tactic emerges where the narrator seeks to feel sorry for the person who holds such views. Such a position lessens the psychological harm of these encounters because it locates the ‘problem’ within the ‘faculties’ of the person voicing their disinclination to people of organised faith. A further note of interest is that she seeks to de-personalise the incident by saying that: ‘It is a shame that some people sit through that’ when clearly it has been unpleasant for her. Therefore, this twin strategy of depersonalising the experience, and employing a benevolent attitude towards the abuser, helps protect Erin against the social harm that encounters such as these may bring.

Some who were interviewed talked of how prejudicial behaviour affected them spatially and how, at times, this engendered a sense of fear. In this extract, we again hear from Jade who talks initially of feeling threatened whilst on a night out in Bridgeton with her friends, and then contrasts this with the anti-Catholic prejudice where she lives:

I think just going down the streets in Bridgeton, the union flags scared me. So like mibee you would get a guy coming out the pub and he would be like ‘Fuck the Pope!’ and ‘You Fenian’ and I would be like ‘God, I go to Mass’. So mibee I would be like that a bit feart.

Interviewer: Does that happen quite a bit?

Oh, aye! It even happens here [the place she lives] but because you know it’s in your area it doesnae seem as intimidating. I don’t even bother now, when I was younger I would mibee be a bit wary. But now I don’t even bother I just think it is their issue, their mentality.

Jade’s narrative incorporates a number of themes already discussed. Again we see her being pushed into being aware of the need to manage the public expression of her identity. The phrase ‘God, I go to Mass’ shows the stark realisation that the abusive male is directing his comments at people ‘like’ her. The gendered nature of this aggression was a significant and recurring theme

within the findings; with perpetrators of prejudice often being drunk and male. Thus it is important to recognise that the forms of abuse described here are often simultaneously gendered in this way.

At this point it is worth discussing why there is this pattern of masculine aggressive hate speech. The work of Connell (2002) is helpful in this regard. In her seminal work on the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity', she talks of how different societies construct '[t]he most honoured way of being a man' within and around which other men position themselves. She argues: 'The most visible form of this dynamic is the circulation of models of admired masculine conduct, which may be exalted by churches, narrated by mass media, celebrated by the state or embedded informally in local cultures' (Connell, 2002: 90). It is unlikely that drunken, sexist, anti-Catholic behaviour is exalted by churches; however, representations of Glaswegian men as drunken 'men's men' are extensive in the media and in popular discourse. One only has to examine the fetishizing of 'hard men' in crime reporting and fiction to see the endurance of these representations. Therefore, it is possible that these repeated instances of drunken male, misogynistic and anti-Irish-Catholic aggression are manifestations of certain prevailing ideas about what it is to be a man in specific localities within Glasgow.

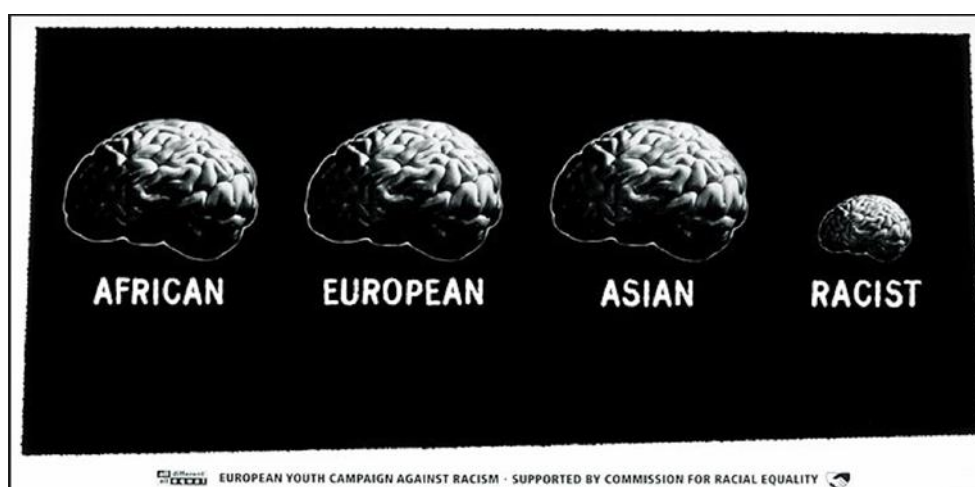
Returning to the specifics of Jade's narrative, we can discern a number of themes. Valentine (1989: 388) argues that: 'When a woman is in an area beyond her local environment she makes judgements about her safety [...] from the actual physical surroundings'. This quote sheds light on an important aspect of Jade's narrative because she not only feels unsettled because of her unfamiliarity with Bridgeton but because of the prevalence of Unionist flags. Therefore, the narrative is an example of how spatial ordering often produces moments of exclusion for certain groups (Valentine, 2007: 18). As such, it is an example of the social construction of space, and how such constructions have real consequences for people who use them.

Following on from this point, two further interesting themes emerge. Firstly, Jade feels that a familiarity with a sense of place lessens feelings of fear when faced with male, anti-Catholic aggression. Secondly, she also feels that with age

comes an increase in her own resilience in the face of such incidences. The tacit acceptance that these experiences are just a part of everyday life is a further example of the symbolic violence that many from the Irish diaspora face.

Finally, there is a strategy of belittling the intellectual capacity of the abuser. This strategy, which is evident in both narratives, could possibly stem from successive campaigns which aim to represent people who hold intolerant and/or racist views as intellectually inferior. Indeed, a recent initiative by the European Youth Campaign Against Racism, backed by the Commission for Racial Equality, sought to represent racists as having smaller brains than others (*see figure 1 for picture of advertising campaign below*). Both organisations have significant levels of symbolic capital and are therefore able to ‘to act upon the world by acting upon the representation of the world’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 148). Therefore, for many on the receiving end of hate speech, it is conceivable that such representations provide the basis for a strategy of resistance.

Figure 1: European Youth Campaign Against Racism Advert



Source: European Youth Campaign Against Racism

A further tactic adopted by participants and their families was to use humour as a means of diffusing the stress that harmful encounters brought about. In this narrative, Amanda feels that going to football is important to her because ‘[i]t’s a central part of being *of the Irish*’. Therefore, for Amanda, attending match day is about much more than the sport as such, it is also a celebration and practising of her national heritage.

My first Old Firm game, which was called 'the shame, game' [2011] where Neil Lennon and Ally McCoist [then managers of the football clubs Celtic and Rangers respectively] were arguing with each other, but where we were sitting I was 3rd year at school, me and my dad were sitting near, like here, next to the Rangers fans and, eh, they stated throwing coins at us, and eh, my Dad picked up this one pound coin that was flung at us and he went like: 'That that's going in the plate at Mass'. Stuff like that, you have to joke about it!

Bourdieu argues that '[t]he analysis of the doxic acceptance of the world, due to the immediate agreement of objective structures and cognitive structures, is the true foundation of a realistic theory of domination and politics' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 168). Clearly in Amanda and her father's case there has been an acceptance that vitriolic hatred is an inevitable part of social relations when attending football matches. That is to say that there appears to be little in the way of shock in their reaction to what is a violent act. Her father employs humour to make light of the violence in a bid to lessen the harm for both him and his daughter. This strategy is then endorsed by Amanda who says that 'you have to joke about it'. Therefore Amanda's narrative also shows that even in the face of such symbolic violence there is resistance. That is to say that even where there is an element of resignation, running parallel there is also a refusal, rejection, self-assertion against such acts of violence. In this case through the use of humour.

7.4.2. Ambivalence, estrangement and resistance: what's in a name?

The previous section has focused on the effects of prejudice and looked at two strategies that participants used to deal with harmful situations. This section will touch on those themes but focus particularly on the issue of how such instances affect the relationship one has with *rigid designators* - such as names. My contention is that such repeated instances of perceived anti-Irish Catholic abuse can gradually create a sense of ambivalence and estrangement with regard to one's given identity.

In the following extract, Kelly tells a story of how her relationship with her name became problematic. She says:

We used to go roller skating in Lambhill, we used to get the bus on our own and there was always a group of boys on the bus who were like: "What's your name?" And I would say it [her name] and they would say: "They are Catholics". And you knew not to sit up the back of the bus, or upstairs on the bus, you sat down with the driver so he could see you, if there was any bother. I remember Julie saying don't tell anybody your name, cause Julie is not really a Catholic name, but [her name] - you have to be Catholic - you have to be Irish.

Kelly continues to talk about the effects of such interactions over a lifetime. She says:

Pretty much at school I, kind of, decided that I never really liked the name. Do you know it did... to this day, I still feel like it doesn't suit me. The whole Kelly Marie thing, it's too much. It's too flowery, it's too fanciful. Kelly is short and common and straight to the point and that is exactly how I see myself. So, consequently, I just... I don't identify with [her original name]. It's a pretty enough name and it's... weirdly it's a family name as well. I was given that name after my mum's sister who she lost when she was really young.

Kelly is a 40-year-old from North East Glasgow. She tells me her real name is something different but avoids using this name. She has used Kelly over the years as it doesn't conclusively identify her as from an Irish Catholic background. In this narrative, she talks of a fear of male violence and being singled out because of her background. Her friend, who is also Catholic, can 'pass' due to her name being free of any ethno-religious connotation. Julie acknowledges this danger and asks her not to use her name. She goes on to talk about feeling sorry for her sister Bridie who is unable to shorten her name and, therefore, unable to engage in 'passing'. In the final narrative, we see the cumulative, self-estranging effect of these interactions.

Her narrative can be explicated further by looking at how women experience the threat of violence in public spaces. Valentine (1989) argues that women, because of their gender, are more fearful of crime, particularly violent crime, in public spaces. She also adds that this is exacerbated by the feeling that they often have little or no control over who approaches them or speaks to them. I argue that Kelly's narrative is an example of not only this, but of how ethnicity and gender intersect to create a unique sense of threat for women of an Irish Catholic heritage at certain points in their lives. Such is the sense of threat that she felt the need to sit next to the bus driver who she hoped would have come to her aid should anything have happened. Kelly's story also shows how power operates spatially in, and through, spaces we move through on a daily basis in systematic ways - creating a hegemonic culture which marginalises women in public contexts (Valentine, 2007: 19). The consequence for Kelly is that, at that point in her life, the 'taken for granted' route choices she uses in the city are shaped by strategies for staying safe.

The guardedness surrounding ethno-religiously identifiable names was often learned from the parents of participants. In the following narrative, Donna discusses a conversation she had in the past about how names were chosen within the family. She says:

Yeah, you'd ask things like, you know, who was I named after or why... you know, the way you do when you're trying to, kind of, work out things like that. And my mum would always say: 'Well I don't' - she doesn't like names that can be shortened and she doesn't like Irish... well, I don't think she dislikes Irish names now, but at that time she felt it was a disadvantage to have an Irish name in Glasgow. She felt it was very much a disadvantage. Cause I suspect, you know... well in fact, I don't suspect I know that, you know, her and her brothers' experienced more discrimination than we would have done. So her take on it was, I wouldn't give you Irish names, because that'll mark you out or it'll give you a difficult time.

The extract shows how ethnic signifiers are negotiated within the family, and that an important consideration in this process is keeping children safe from

harm. This was a common occurrence within the data where many parents acted in particular ways to protect their children from perceived prejudice. These parental strategies included: regulating how children presented themselves in public; the times at which they used certain public spaces; and how they should act when faced with prejudice.

A number of participants talked of how, in turn, they had to support their own children in situations where they were encouraged to conceal their names by state professionals. Aileen stated that: 'When my son was going for... doing his CV and going for jobs a few years ago, he got commented... he was advised by his careers [officer] to change his email address, cause it was like, SeanMcConnell@ something and it was just... and he's... they've all got the fadas over their names, it's spelt the Gaelic ways and... aye'. The reason given for this by Aileen was that '[t]hey just said that he might find it difficult to get work'.

The school careers officer may have felt he was trying to be helpful in this case; however, he has reinforced the idea that an Irish Catholic identity is problematic. There has been a heated debate about the prevalence or otherwise of workplace discrimination amongst those of an Irish heritage (*see Bruce et al (2004) and Walls and Williams (2003)*) and, although this narrative cannot tell us anything about the extent of such discrimination, it tells us about the power of the perception of such exclusionary practices, and the damaging effect this has on participants and their families.

The narrative adds another dimension to the already mentioned theme of hyper-reflexivity. That is to say that the teacher, acting in this way, has either started the process of, or added to the production of, a hyper-reflexive subject position in Aileen's son. The participant goes on to discuss how she had to go to the school to challenge the teacher who encouraged the erasure of her son's name, and also the stress that this caused her. She says 'I was just sick of it, just sick of having to explain to them why it is not on'. This reinforces a key assertion of this chapter - that mothers are, in most cases, the parent who has to deal with the consequences of perceived ethnic prejudice against the Irish diaspora in Glasgow.

Names were not the only manifestations of Irishness that were felt to be demonised within the stories that people told. The following extract shows the constitutive effect of accentism for one participant. Danna says:

I remember it once, in town, when we were in Littlewoods, my mum used to get her biscuits in Littlewoods, and the lady didn't understand my mum and it was so derogatory, that my mum put the biscuits down and she left the shop. And, I can't remember what she said, but I know that my mum didn't speak after that, she never spoke on the phone... and I think she, em, accepted that people didn't like her because of where she was from, and she just avoided these people.

Danna's narrative of a trip to the city centre describes a mundane but harrowing experience. She watches on as her mother is ridiculed for her Irish accent and subsequently sees the effects it brings about. Fanon (2008) in his chapter on 'The Negro and Language' talks of the psychological effects of racism and the use of language. He says 'to speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture to support a weight of a civilisation' (p8). Although Fanon is talking about how the mastery of French makes people 'less black' in the Antilles, his key point is relevant. That is to say that Danna's mother's accent is what is used to attribute to her an inferior status. This is 'achieved' because how we speak is socially read in ways that are taken to be profoundly revealing of our inner self; speech is the public expressing of ourselves, and hence responses to speech, and the stigmatising of particular speech, play a profound role in the making of oppression because it is taken to be a marker of our inward or essential character (Fanon, 2008).

From Danna's perspective, her mum is being treated poorly due to the idea shopkeepers have of Irish people - her accent makes her both 'visible' and vulnerable to prejudice. According to the participant, this has a deleterious effect on her; so much so that her mother no longer spoke in public in Glasgow any more. The constitutive effects of this encounter become obvious during the course of the interview when she says: 'Mum made sure we always spoke properly - no West Coast lilt for us'. Indeed, what was clear throughout the

interview was that Danna herself speaks with a non-regional accent which is arguably a hyper-correction - what Fanon would call an 'over-determination from within' (Ibid.: 87). This is so because although Danna would not have adopted her mother's accent due to her being a second generation migrant, there is still a desire to steer clear of accents that link person with an 'other' place. Such a strategy, of course, may well also have a classed dimension.

7.4.3. Resistance

Within the data there were numerous stories where participants recounted forms of resistance to anti-Irish Catholic prejudice. These ranged from when participants were young children through to adulthood. In the following instance, Kelly describes a vivid recollection that 'there was a difference in our society' between people of an Irish heritage and others she played with as a child. She said:

There was a time there was the two James' and there was, em, what was it he said, em: 'You're a Catholic and you are just I think you are just shite!' I think that's what he said. And I remember getting into a fight about it, and I was never a fighter, but I remember going home and it was after school we were on our way home from school when we were playing out on the street, and saying to my mum, and I said to my mum cause all the buttons were off, blouse and my tie, and my cardigan, and she went: 'Do not antagonise anybody! You just ignore it, you are better than that'.

And I was like 'naw we're no!' You have taught us we have got to stand up for our ourselves and I think it's around about 8 when you make your Holy Communion em, not everybody does, and that is when you realise there is a difference in our society.

Kelly's narrative reiterates a number of the recurring themes already discussed. A vivid recollection of becoming aware of difference at a young age; the role of the mother in helping her daughter make sense of violence; and also the role of the mother in devising strategies to avoid such situations. However, Kelly goes

on to discuss how she has developed pride in her Irish identity and how such incidences have emboldened her sense of self-affirmation.

A further narrative of resistance comes from Kathleen. She talks of the repeated ‘nature’ of prejudice throughout her childhood and throughout her experience at secondary school. However, after one of those experiences, she recalls arriving at a position where she could not and would not conceal her heritage any longer:

But I do remember there was a bit, kind of, general, you know, sort of, anti-Catholic... you know, people talking about things like, you know... using terms like, you know, ‘papes’ and ‘bead rattlers’ and, you know, that kind of stuff. You know, all the, sort of, derogatory terms that... and, kind of, sort of, bristling a bit about it. You know, whereas now I wouldn’t hesitate to take somebody to task for that. But on that day I definitely came home thinking that... I don’t know whether it crystallised a feeling in me or something like that, ‘that was it!’ I wasn’t going to hide the fact that I have an Irish culture and an Irish background.

Her narrative develops over multiple time frames, and describes the repeated ‘nature’ of anti-Irish Catholic abuse, the anger that she felt from these experiences, and how feelings of resistance to these encounters developed with age. The latter point is salient because many who I spoke with described how they too had built up a resistance to prejudice with age.

7.5. The institutional environment

7.5.1. State bias in education

When examining the issue of prejudice within the data, it is useful to conduct an analysis of stories pertaining to institutions because of the key way in which these institutions wield power over individuals (McGhee, 2005). It was clear, in this respect, that participants felt that the Scottish state, despite being founded on secular principles, had an institutional bias in favour of Protestantism. One of the areas that this was most evident was education. Siobhan says:

Right, yeah, well I think a lot of people go to Catholic schools, and I can see why, and, you know, there's a lot of critics about Catholic schools, and I'm always kind of conflicted about them. I think it is hard to be a Catholic. At least when I was younger, I don't know what schools are like now, but when I was younger, non-denominational schools, they weren't non-denominational, cause you went to the Church of Scotland. I mean, I always went to the services, anyway, and it was fine. But there was a distinct, you know, there was a religious presence. Even things like the minister would come and give a talk in assembly, and stuff like that.

Siobhan's narrative highlights a number of themes. Firstly, it shows that there are competing discourses on the desirability or otherwise of Catholic schools existing within the state sector in Scotland. These competing discourses reflect the ambivalence in Siobhan's mind to the extent she says that 'it is hard to be a Catholic'. Given the importance of institutions to the performative element of identity construction (Butler, 1999: 179; Hall, 2011: 3). When there are discourses, which call into question the very existence of those key institutions, which facilitate the accomplishment of those identities, it is feasible that our attachments to our social identities can be ambivalent, as is the case with Siobhan.

The narrative continues to reveal Siobhan's own experience of attending a 'non-denominational' school as a practising Catholic. Her story demonstrates circumstances whereby she was forced to attend Church of Scotland religious ceremonies despite being Catholic, and despite the school's proclamations of being 'non-denominational'. On a political level, the Scottish Government is currently being taken to court by the Humanist Society for Scotland who argue that the current system where children and young people have no choice but to attend religious observance in school fails to meet the standards set under the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child (Humanist Society Scotland, 2017). This organisation would be equally critical about faith-based schools, of course, however, their action does point out the muddled position of state policy in respect of secular education. The lived experience of those attending supposedly 'non-denominational' schools was one which tended to

make clear the central place that Protestantism occupies in the construction of Britishness / Scottishness (Colley 2003).

Further to this, when Siobhan is forced to attend faith-based services at the school, there is a resignation within her that she should just go along with this practice. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 168) argue that '[s]ocial agents are knowing agents who, even when they are subjected to determinisms, contribute to producing the efficacy of that which determines them insofar as they structure what determines them'. Therefore, in attending these state-sanctioned religious services, she invariably contributes to a system which marginalises her own faith background.

A number of participants also told stories about how certain teachers within state schools contributed to the stigmatising of Irishness in the classroom. In the extract below, Bridgit discusses one of the two occasions when she had to speak with the head teacher about such practices:

My son, a few years ago, at school, he was in primary four, three, no, five, four or five, at the time, primary four or five. And he was doing, they were to do a newspaper article, and he said to the teacher: 'I'll call mine the Donegal Democrat'. And the teacher said: 'Oh no, you'd better not, because there'll be something about the IRA in it'. So, when my son came home and told me that, I just thought, 'what!' You know, here he was just repeating back what she said, and I phoned - I was raging because I thought, what does that mean, everybody that's Irish is connected to the IRA, this is the way. She had no right to say that, so I went up to the head teacher, and, erm, he was appalled.

Jonathan Seglow (2009: 71) argues that institutions, such as schools, can act as important sources of recognition which are necessary for people to have their identities validated. Building on Honneth's theory of recognition, Seglow argues that institutions can provide a particularly stable basis for recognition because they have an 'objective' existence - that is, they exist prior to our joining them, and will continue well after our departure. Therefore, it is this permanence and separateness from the individual that make them durable sources of symbolic

recognition or affirmation. In building his argument, Seglow goes on to state that '[s]elf-respect is not something one strives to achieve. Self-respect, on the wide interpretation, is born from the routine performance of one's daily activities in institutions' (p73). Therefore, having one's 'identity' fully recognised within an institutional setting can be an important source of self-respect. Conversely, he acknowledges that those same institutions may be oppressive, denying their members autonomy, through offering inadequate channels for individual freedom. I argue that in both cases there has been a failure of recognition for Siobhan, Bridget, and her son. These denials of recognition stem from the way Scottishness is constructed and Scotland's post-colonial legacy.

The stories also show how the burden of challenging prejudices against children often falls to the mother - given their prominent role in child-rearing (Chambers, 2012). This, in its own way, is a form of gender inequality whereby mothers disproportionately have to endure the emotional harm of dealing with, and supporting, their children through traumatic events.

7.5.2. Sense of lack of recognition amongst local authorities

Some who were interviewed talked about feeling that Glasgow City Council also failed to give due recognition to the Irish diaspora as a cultural group. They felt this was evident in celebrations such as St Patrick's Day, which many believed were a muted affair within the city. A number of respondents reported travelling elsewhere to celebrate the festival. This feeling of unequal treatment was contrasted with a perceived over-representation of religious parades organised by groups such as the Orange Order. Aileen says:

Yeah. You see, I think that... I think there's... that's when they institutionalised racist... or it got... discrimination comes in. I think that they're in tune about people's names and where... their background. I just think that there has been, kind of, a... things in terms of... things that are allowed [orange parades] that they're... as I say, that there's been things asked for in terms of parades that have not been allowed, the... Coatbridge have St Patrick's Day parades, so we've been to various, but

none in Glasgow. And then... but yet you're allowed the Orange Walk on the 12th, do you know, and it's like, well how can they have that?

The extract demonstrates a perception of a hierarchy of rights as these are accorded - or not - to citizens in Glasgow City. Aileen's sense of alienation is shaped by the belief that Irish heritage is not valued in the city. Therefore, an interpretation of Aileen's narrative is that state proclamations of multiculturalism - which is aimed at combating racism and creating space for people to practice and enjoy cultural expression - become a context for occluding the presence of the Irish diaspora in Glasgow.

7.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has explored the contours of the narratives in which people discussed perceived experiences of prejudice and the effects these experiences have had on them in Glasgow. It has demonstrated that those interviewed felt they experienced prejudice due to a range of acts of signification. Many felt that when they revealed their religious beliefs, they were ridiculed, viewed as anachronistic and, therefore, not considered 'modern' people in 'modern' times. This form of prejudice cited the 'constraints' of religious doctrine and contrasted them with ideas of progressive freedoms which has become part of the hegemonic culture of western 'developed' nations (Butler, 2008: 6).

Further to this, some participants felt there was a discourse which sought to represent all Catholics as morally self-separating, and that this representation was used to belittle them by creating an 'elite of the ordinary' (Sartre, 1944: 15). The consequence for participants was that some people chose not to be open about their faith, with one person saying: 'It was my daughter's communion but I wasn't going to tell anyone, as I didn't know how it would go down'.

Anti-Catholicism was the most frequently cited reason that participants felt that they experienced prejudice. It is at this point that one can understand why the concept of sectarianism has been so widely used within the social sciences.

However, my argument is that this concept does not adequately capture the complexity and the entangled nature of the forms of prejudice reported by my participants. Also it sets up a false equivalence between levels of structural prejudice between Catholics and Protestants. The prevalence of prejudice, focussed on religion, has its roots in the extent to which Britain (and Scotland) are historically and contemporarily constructed as white Protestant states. Current day symbols of this are evident in the fact that the Head of State occupies the role of *Fidei Defensor*: the defender of the reformed church. However, the historic construction of Catholicism as the boundary between colonial 'other' and 'native' means that doctrinal tensions are only part of the broader power relationship that are at play. There was, in this respect, also evidence of a racialised nationalism which painted Irish people as unclean or as rebellious in character. Overt anti-Irish racism was the least reported phenomena; however, the theoretical complexity of the issue makes it difficult to establish the dynamics of this. This is because the terms Irish and Catholic became interchangeable in public discourse in Scotland during the 20th century (Devine, 2014). However, what is clear is that much of the prejudice outlined in chapter 2 is still, to some extent, a social force in people's lives today.

A further finding here is that mothers performed a number of roles in navigating and negotiating life in a society they felt was prejudicial towards those of an Irish heritage. Firstly, they were often the person within the family who participants said they went to after experiencing prejudicial acts. Therefore, mothers were often burdened with responsibility for 'sense making' in relation to these experiences, and this extended out to cases where participants, as mothers, had to deal with those experiences as well. Secondly, participants also talked about how their mothers would encourage them to keep a low profile in public spaces. This reminds us of bell hooks' (1990) discussion on 'homeplace':

Since sexism delegates to females the task of creating and sustaining a home environment, it has been primarily the responsibility of black women to construct domestic households as spaces of care and nurturance in the face of brutal harsh reality of racist oppression and sexist domination (p42).

Furthermore, it concurs with the account of MacMillan (1999: 15) who reports that '[m]ost Scottish Catholics learn at an early age that the best self-defence mechanism is to keep one's head down'.

Finally, mothers would regulate ethno-religious signifiers such as names to avoid their children being identified as being from an Irish Catholic background. This led to some women developing an ambivalent relationship towards expressions of this aspect of their identity. When participants were asked why they felt their mothers insisted on these 'strategies', many responded by saying they felt it was attributable to the overt prejudice they faced growing up.

Spatial patriarchy circumscribed participants' use of public spaces. Many recounted feeling threatened in pubs, buses, social halls, and on the streets. Such a sense of threat was mainly a consequence of actions by men who were often, but not always, drinking alcohol. Consequently women would often 'transfer their sense of threat they face from men to public spaces' (Valentine, 1989: 385). Given this, the way in which women navigated these spaces was often constrained, or involved forms of coping strategy, so as to stay safe. Further, there was evidence that a familiarity with one's local surroundings helped lessen feelings of threat when faced with prejudice. The frequency of male aggression suggests that there are certain ideas about what it is to be a male in certain localities within Glasgow. Such 'exemplary masculinities' may not necessarily correspond to the lives of a majority of men, but they do 'express ideals, fantasises and desires, provide models of relations with women' (Connell, 2002: 90). As such, accounts such as these can be considered as a form of 'exemplary masculinity' fused with a normative Protestantism.

When faced with such hostility, many participants talked of using a strategy of 'passing' in order to avoid being identified as being from an Irish Catholic background. The passing covered a broad range of activities from not using Christian and family names, to concealing family celebrations from colleagues, and to not revealing their religious beliefs. One thinks of Fanon (1967) discussing anti-Semitism: 'The Jew can be unknown in his Jewishness. He is not wholly what he is. One hopes, one waits. His actions, his behaviour are the final determinant. He is a white man, and, apart from some rather debatable

characteristics, he can sometimes go unnoticed' (p87). The psychic consequences of such prejudice are that participants were pushed into habitual reflexivity about their ethno-religious background.

However, within the narratives there was evidence of strategies of resistance, whereby those interviewed challenged the varying ways in which women of an Irish Catholic heritage were represented or treated. Although this was often muted in situations where the aggressors were male, and perceived as threatening, people still rejected this representation and cited the mental faculties of the bigoted person as the 'issue'. Humour and the depersonalisation of experiences were also used to defend against social harm. In a broader sense it became clear that many felt that age brought an 'intolerance of intolerance'. Respondents often concluded with statements such as: 'no way would I put up with that now'. However, a note of caution must be added here. There were as many recent examples of prejudice as there were historic; therefore, there may be a gap between what people say they will do and what they actually do.

These everyday occurrences were backed up with the perceptions that state bodies failed to acknowledge or celebrate Irishness as a part of national or civic life; indeed, there were occasions where there was outright hostility to such displays. This largely occurred in the school setting where children attended 'non-denominational' institutions. Furthermore, there is a perception that, at the level of local authority policy making, prominent celebrations such as St Patrick's Day were either dismissed or given limited support⁴. Therefore, this perceived denial of a parade, in the face of many Orange parades, led many to feel that the policy of multiculturalism in Scotland is selectively applied. Many argued that it is a process whereby certain cultural minorities received recognition and support, and others - such as Scotland's largest diaspora community - received only a fraction of that support.

⁴ As a researcher, I attended St Patrick's Day celebrations in Coatbridge and Glasgow. The event in Coatbridge was a large civic event where people used public spaces freely to enjoy and celebrate their heritage with local authority support. Whereas in Glasgow, it was a muted affair set within the city's merchant square which is flanked by 'trendy' expensive bars and restaurants. Therefore, in Glasgow it resembled more of an economic strategy to boost the economically prosperous service sector in an already wealthy part of the city than a celebration of the city's Irish heritage.

8. Conclusion

Any examination of the Irish Catholic Question invokes passions in Scotland - this is in part down to researchers, academics, and commentators taking entrenched positions resulting in a polarisation of viewpoints. Consequently, discourse surrounding the topic rarely yields a consensus. Such disagreements centre not only on which methods best 'reveal' the most about the topic, but on what concepts one should use to analyse the question itself. I have sought to address some of these divisions head on and, where appropriate, shed some light on where these points of contentions lie. In doing this, my intention was not only to push the boundaries of understanding the subject; but also to create a level of clarity in the thesis enabling my analytical framework to be firmly contextualised.

Overall this thesis has sought to address the question of Irish Catholic migration to Scotland by use of the concept 'diaspora' as informed by de-colonial theory. It has sought to look at questions of identity (both individual and group) in the context of living in the diaspora space of Glasgow. As mentioned in chapter 1, the timing of this study, as with any other time, provides a unique set of contributing factors to how the question is asked and answered. The current conjuncture can be considered a point in time when questions of national and transnational identity and belonging are foregrounded to a greater extent than before. Using innovative photo-elicitation interviewing, the thesis has sought to explore the everyday lives of women of an Irish Catholic heritage. It aimed at understanding how being a 2nd or 3rd generation female descendant of Irish Catholic migrants has shaped their lives and, in particular, what are the consequences of this self/other ascription.

Glasgow was chosen partly through problems with sampling but also because it is where the greatest concentration of people of an Irish Catholic heritage live in Scotland (Rosie, 2015: 345). The thesis has also made the case for women being the focus of the study because, except for Lindores' (2019) small pilot study involving interviews with 6 women, there has been no extensive examination of the issue through a gendered lens. Therefore, this thesis it is explicitly a

feminist project, which seeks to address the relative absence of women in discussions on the issue so far.

This final concluding chapter will revisit the research aim and research questions. I will then consider the analytical and methodological significance of the research project, and what this thesis will add to the understanding of the Irish Catholic Question. Finally, I will go on to discuss what I feel the implications for future research might be.

8.1. Aim and research questions revisited

The key aim of the research was to comprehend how the female children and grandchildren of Irish migrants to Scotland experienced living in Glasgow. More explicitly, I wanted to: *investigate the life-histories of women of Irish Catholic descent in Glasgow, with a view to understanding whether the attribution of an Irish Catholic identity - by them, or by others - has shaped and affected their lives.*

Research Questions

- *What is the significance of an Irish Catholic background amongst participants?*
- *What are the factors that help to produce and sustain such identities paying particular attention to the issues of gender and class?*
- *Do experiences of, and/or perceptions of, discrimination and prejudice constitute important factors in the production of such identities?*
- *If present, what are the specifically gendered ways in which experiences of, and/or perceptions of, discrimination and prejudice impact on participants' lives?*

8.2. Key findings

In a bid to answer the research questions, I will outline the key findings of the research, how they relate to each other, and how they answer the research questions.

To begin with, Chapter 2, through use of extensive historical evidence, has sought to make the case that Ireland was a colony and that any study of the Irish in Britain should take cognisance of this. This is important as Quijano (2007: 168) points out that much of the discriminations in existence today have their origins in the colonial 'project'. Therefore, disentangling the extent to which (or if at all) Ireland was a colony was an important foundational activity for this thesis. In establishing this, the thesis was then on a solid footing to examine Irish Catholic lives through use of a de-colonial lens. Furthermore, chapter 2 explored how Irish Catholics were treated on arrival in Scotland. This was also an important activity because it allowed us to examine forms of historical prejudice. Therefore, establishing what forms of prejudice migrants experienced when they arrived in Scotland helps in our analysis when exploring contemporary forms of prejudice in Glasgow today. Thus, establishing the appropriateness of a de-colonial paradigm and identifying historic forms of prejudice enabled the thesis to then draw on critical 'race' theory and demonstrate how 'race' had become - and, in my view, continues to be - enmeshed in an anti-Catholicism.

The research demonstrated that the significance of an Irish Catholic heritage to participants varied but was, by in large, an important factor in the lives of most participants. What made this identification possible were key cultural networks that enabled people to engage in activities that brought about a strong identification with the diaspora community. These included the Catholic Church, the Catholic schooling system, Irish dancing clubs, the music scene, sporting clubs (in particular Celtic Football Club), and Irish language classes. The thesis has also shown how the consumption of goods and services was a key 'mechanism' in the production and sustainment of diaspora identity. This was particularly evident in areas such as leisure pursuits and entertainment events. Overall, a key argument of this thesis is that if we look at Scottish culture and society, the Irish and their descendants have one of the widest arrays of cultural

networks that enable them to construct, and perform their identity. Therefore, this thesis explicitly challenges the facile claim made by Bruce and colleagues that Irish Catholics and their descendants no longer form a community in Scotland (Bruce, 2004: 10).

With this in mind, chapter 4 established not only the significance of that identity but also explored how that identity is produced and sustained. Solidifying this for many was the important activity of the 'trip back home'. This was because all who I spoke with made frequent trips to see extended family, including grannies and grandpas, aunties and uncles, and cousins - most of whom lived in rural Donegal. Given the Irish diaspora can return home with relative ease and with a modest financial outlay (compared to other diasporic populations), I argue that proximity to homeland is an important variable in the production and sustainment of their Irish Catholic heritage.

Chapter 5 has further added to our understanding of the production and sustainment of diaspora identity by looking at partnering and relationship formation. The findings show that female diaspora members are subject to a complex of pressures that influence who they partner with (and who they do not). It was clear that a form of everyday 'othering' had two distinct affects. For some it resulted in them seeking out partners who strongly identified with the diaspora, and for others they sought people who held no strong identifications. Therefore, there is some evidence for Giddens' argument that we live in an era of the 'pure relationship' (Giddens, 1991: 58); however, most of the evidence showed that ethnicity within the Irish diaspora is often a pre-condition for relationship formation. Consequently, I argue that the dynamics of prejudice in intimate relationship formation acts to reinforce community formation.

Family pressure was also an important factor on who the women in the study partnered with and/or eventually married. The extent to which pressure was applied ranged from the mildly coercive to the outright prohibitive. Interestingly this finding resonates with Gallagher's (1987) claim that policing of the Irish Catholic community over 130 years ago was strictly done by those within that community (p 18). In a contemporary sense, what aided the coercive approach

was the previously mentioned range of cultural networks, but also the ‘soft power’ of parental approval/disapproval (Hoghugh, 2004).

There was evidence that when participants were dating or in established relationships, they were still in receipt of anti-Catholic prejudice. This had particularly harmful effects for them because experiencing prejudice of this kind within intimate relationships, or within familial circles of partners, had unsettling effects on those who experienced it. This evidence challenges Bruce et al’s (2004) claim that families simply ‘fall into line’; shedding prejudicial views because a family member is in a ‘mixed marriage’ (pp 165-166).

Underscoring the findings on the production and sustainment of an Irish Catholic identity lies at the issue of prejudice. The thesis sought to show how - in order to understand ethnic discrimination - one must begin with a disaggregation of people’s accounts of that prejudice in order to tie it down conceptually. Chapter 7 has shown that participants were subject to a range of marginalising discourses. One of the most significant of these was an aggressive secularism. This secularising power often made participants feel that their faith marked them out for ridicule as pre-modern people in modern times (Butler, 2008: 6). It is interesting again that (Gallagher, 1987) identified liberal ideology as a basis of religious abjection some 120 years ago. Thus, it shows the stubbornness of this form of prejudice and how ideas surrounding liberalism can be ‘mobilised’ to curtail human freedoms.

In terms of what one may call a ‘classic’ sectarianism, there were numerous narratives surrounding this form of prejudice. This was largely conducted by men in public spaces, and therefore such experiences circumscribed women’s use of those spaces. Spatial patriarchy is well documented in broader gender studies but the way it intersects with religious identity, as is the case in this study, is not. Finally, with regards to prejudice, there was some evidence of the remnants of a racialised nationalism whereby women were in the presence of a racialising discourse which signified Irish people as biologically inferior. When this did occur, it often had a silencing effect on those women also. Overall, the forms of prejudice participants talked of defies analytical neatness. That is to say that perceived prejudice oscillated between, and at times included, forms of

misogyny, anti-Catholic feeling, anti-religious sentiment, and a racialised nationalism.

8.3. The contribution and significance of this thesis

As previously stated, this thesis represents the first extensive study of the lives of the female Irish Catholic diaspora in Glasgow. It has sought to make visible the previously invisible lives of this group of people and, in doing so, it challenges the claim made by Bruce et al (2004: 110) that no such community exists. The reasons for this invisibility in academic research are largely due to studies of ethnic minorities being conducted through the race relations paradigm which routinely excluded the Irish because of their 'whiteness'. This was despite clear evidence of the Irish as a racialised group (Curtis, 1997). Therefore, this marks out the thesis as significant because it represents an inclusion of one of Scotland's largest ethnic minorities into the rubric of academic inquiry.

The thesis has contributed to the establishment of a clearer conceptual framing of the Irish Catholic Question. This contribution is largely evident in the critical discussions surrounding the concept 'sectarianism' - which I argue has been shown to be a woefully inadequate category of sociological analysis (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). It is surprising that such a concept prevails in the wake of previous criticisms from Finn (1990: 5-6) and more recently McBride (2018: 89). Consequently, the criticisms of the concept contained within this thesis will add to those aforementioned voices calling for greater degree of critical reflexivity when using the concept to research people of an Irish Catholic heritage in Scotland. That is if we want - and I assume we do - the conceptual language we use to be an 'instrument for expressing and not for concealing or preventing thought' (Orwell, G. 1953, in Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 1).

This thesis is also unique in that it has shown how a de-colonial approach, which to date has been focused on populations in the Global South, can be used to examine the lives of previously colonised people within the interior of Europe. As such, the thesis represents an extension of the field of de-colonial studies and challenges some of the assumptions within it. A key assumption that is challenged is when Quijano (2007: 168) and others talk unproblematically about

a colonising Europe; which fails to take on board how Ireland was a 'laboratory of empire' (Ohlmeyer, 2005). That is to say that many of the practices and modes of social control began and endured longest within Ireland itself.

The thesis is also significant because of the way on which it approached the issue of prejudice. It sought to disentangle everyday accounts of intolerance and therefore provide a more transparent account of the experiences of women. This is best exemplified in the way in which the research has sought to understand religious intolerance. It has shown that not only Irish Catholic women can be constructed as pre-modern people, but all religious people could be subject to these forms of representation as well. Therefore, it provides empirical evidence for Butler's (2008: 3) argument on how the establishment of a 'hegemonic culture', based on progressive notions of freedom, can be used as the cultural basis on which antipathy and even hatred towards religious minorities can occur.

Finally, in terms of gender, this thesis has provided a significant contribution to understanding the role that gender plays in diasporic formations and ethnic collectivities. It has shown that women are often positioned by patriarchy to perform roles - such as cultural border guards and cultural reproducers - and that women themselves often represent the boundary of that diasporic population. However, it does show how these processes can be, at times, resisted - causing tension within the family home. Therefore, in some ways it confirms much of the theoretical claims made by Yuval-Davis (1989); but, in others, it challenges them.

The thesis has also shown that ethnicity and patriarchy intersected for the women who took part in the research - with many experiencing spatial patriarchy informed by anti-Catholic prejudice in everyday settings such as walking to the shops. Such was the effect of this everyday patriarchy that it denied people the ability to live their life freely and in an unreflective way. This contribution reminds us of the emancipatory call on everyday life made by hooks (2009), when she says:

'I need to live where I can walk. I need to be able to walk to work, to the store, to a place where I can drink tea and fellowship. Walking, I will establish my presence, as one who is claiming the earth, creating a sense of belonging, a culture of place' (p2)

8.4. Implications for further research

Although this thesis made a number of contributions to knowledge, there are many avenues of research that require further investigation. Firstly, a comparative study looking at the male diaspora experience would allow for a rounded picture of the intersectional experience of gender, ethnicity, and class. That is to say that a study of male personhood would shed light on whether Yuval-Davis and Anthias' (1989: 7) claim, that women are expected to do specific forms of collective identity work, is indeed reserved primarily for women; or if the division of labour in such matters is more evenly spread between the genders.

Furthermore, in focusing the research on the female Irish Catholic diaspora, it invariably excluded the Irish Protestant diaspora and those who do not identify with the diaspora population at all. With regards to the former, any study looking at descendants of Irish Protestants could examine if issues, such as a racialised nationalism, affect them given their Irish ancestry. An examination of the protestant Diaspora could also explore if they are similarly constructed as pre-modern people in a modern land given their adherence to Christianity at a time of increasing secularism (Bruce, et al 2004). Finally, any study into this group would allow for a more general comparison between how they experience their identity at a time when questions of Scottishness and Britishness are at the forefront of Scottish politics.

Concerning the latter, a study examining those who do not identify as diasporic people would allow for an examination of the factors that contribute to why this is the case. That is to ask, firstly, did individuals conceal and later leave those identifications aside because doing so made day-to-day life in Scotland easier to navigate; and, secondly, was any form of disavowal a strategic move to avoid prejudice? Conversely, focusing on those who no longer identify with the Irish

Catholic diaspora (but have an Irish heritage) could provide insight into whether certain populations simply 'become Scottish'. Thus, such an investigation could provide broader insight into the dynamics of 'assimilation'. Overall, there are many avenues of research still to explore within and around the Irish Catholic Question.

Appendix A: interview schedule

Interview Schedule (these questions are a guide only in case conversation dry's up therefore are only a guide)

Pre-interview stage

- Explain the purpose of the interview, go over **plain language statement**
- Explain about life history interviews
- Confirm consent at being recorded
- Explain how and what the findings will be used for
- Free to withdraw at any time
- Also if you need to take a break at any point
- Sign the consent form.
- Do you have any questions?
- (try and gauge why people want to take part and what they will get out of it)

Tentative phase

- Establish where in Glasgow participant lives
- Strike up some light discussion on this to gain rapport
- Establish age.
- Occupation, seek to make some form of connection. (I am not only a researcher but I have held posts in a range of professions).

Emersion Phase

1. **Schooling.**

Refer to and discuss any photographs that illustrate participant's time at school.

Remember all questions should be asked in such a way that elicit narratives! (Tell me about a time? etc)

Possible questions may be:

- Did you go to a denominational school?

- Can you tell me about your experiences of primary/secondary school?
- Was it an enjoyable part of your life?
- Is there anything that sticks out about your experience of school that we haven't talked about that you would like to share with me?

2. **Socialising as a child**

Refer to, and discuss any photographs that illustrate where participants socialised as young people.

Examine factors that contribute to friendship formation and location of social activity.

Possible questions may be:

- Thinking back to making friends as a child what was the main way in which that happened?
- Where did you hang about as a child was there a specific part of Glasgow where you frequented? Why was that the case?
- Did you tend to hang about with people from school or the street you lived on?
- **(Personal question)** did you have any romantic relationships when you were in secondary school?
- Could you tell me a bit about how that arose?

3. **Employment**

Refer to, and discuss any photographs that illustrate where participants have worked and or study:

If research participants present any photographs of places of employment, or study then facilitate the telling of stories on why vocations were chosen, factors that helped them arrive at this decision.

Possible questions could be:

- When you left school did you get a job or go to college?
- Why did you choose to work/Study there?

- Did you enjoy it here? If so why?
- What things made you choose here?
- Is there anywhere that you would not have worked because you felt that you would not have fitted in?
- If so why?

4. Worship

Refer to and discuss photographs on place that the participants practice their faith.

- Can I ask if you have a faith? Of any kind? If so would you share this with me?
- How significant this place of worship is in their life?
- How significant is this in your life?
- How do you practice your faith?

5. Socialising (adult)

If participants provide photographs of places in their local community where they socialise? Where? and if their Irish Catholic heritage plays any part in the decisions people make?

- Encourage story telling on how/why they choose to spend their time in this venue and who they socialise with.
- What do you do in your social life?
- In your adult life how do you find that your social circle arises? Work colleagues? School mates?

Non-directed photographs

7 Allow at least 80% of time for 'organic' issues to emerge.

The researcher is trying to allow as much freedom for the participant to bring issue to the research process; therefore a significant amount of time will be allocated for topics highlighted either in their photographs or through discussion.

Emergence phase

- As the final stages of a photo ask if participants want to discuss anything that hasn't come up during our discussion thus far!
- If emotive discussion has occurred give relevant support material
- Thank participant for taking part.

Appendix B: participant information form



University
of Glasgow

College of Social
Sciences

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Research: An exploration of the Life-Histories of Women of Irish Catholic descent in Glasgow.

Invitation 'You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

Details of the research: The research aims to explore the life histories of women of Catholic descent in Glasgow.

As per our phone our discussions during the phone call, you will be asked to bring along photographs covering as much of your life to date.

The photographs will then be used as the bases for an informal interview which will take between 1-3 hours. The interview can be separated out over 2 sessions. The interviews will involve talking about things like school life, where you socialise, where you went to work/study.

If you agree to take part in the study this is much appreciated; however, if you feel uncomfortable or uneasy at any time you are free to stop and leave the process. If you wish to withdraw, any information that you have provided up until that point will be destroyed on the same day.

Confidentiality*: The research will be **strictly confidential!** You will be recorded on an electronic recording device known as a dictaphone which will be securely stored. Your personnel details will then be

removed when the research is being written up and your name replaced with a 'fake name' - what we call a pseudonym.

*Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results will be analysed by the researcher who will look at the stories that people tell about their lives. This will give me a clearer picture of what it is like to grow up as a women who has an Irish Catholic heritage. The information gathered will then be written up and submitted to the University of Glasgow as a PhD. The findings may also be used as the basis for presentations at academic conferences and/or used in published journal articles.

Where will the information I provide be stored?

Data will be stored on a password protected computer in a locked office at the university. The dictaphone will be kept in the same office in a secure cabinet which is locked. Only the researcher has a key.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The Economic and Social Research Council of Britain and Centre on the Dynamics of Ethnicity are funding this research. For more information see www.esrc.ac.uk and www.ethnicity.ac.uk

Who has reviewed the study?

This project has been considered and approved by the College of Social Science Research Ethics Committee

Who can I complain to about the conduct of the research ?

College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

11. Contact for Further Information

Paul Goldie p.goldie.1@research.gla.ac.uk (Temporary phone number to follow)

Appendix C: consent form



College of Social
Sciences

Consent Form

Title of Project: An exploration of the life-histories of women of Irish Catholic descent in Glasgow

Name of Researcher: Paul Goldie Supervised by Professor Satnam Virdee

Basic consent clauses

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. Also if this happens during the process - information I have provided will be deleted from the recorder.

Consent on method clauses

1. I consent / do not consent (delete as applicable) to interviews being audio-recorded.
2. I consent to sharing and discussing the photographs that I have taken as part of the research process. The photographs will remain my own property; however, I am happy for the content of the discussion surrounding them to be held by the researcher.

Confidentiality/anonymity clause

I acknowledge that when taking part in the research my name will be deleted and a different name used in the thesis or any other publications and conferences that may follow from the research.

Data storage

I understand that the data collected from this research will be stored securely with my personal details removed and agree for it to be held as set out in the Plain Language Statement.

Basic consent clause, tick box format

I agree to take part in this research study ☐

I do not agree to take part in this research study ☐

Name of Participant..... Signature

Date

Signature Date

Name of Researcher: Paul Goldie

Signature: *Paul Goldie*

Date

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