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**Women and Religious Racisms in Inverclyde:
feminised intra-Christian sectarianism and
gendered Islamophobia**

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Abstract

This thesis re-problematizes the issue of intra-Christian sectarianism from the standpoints of women from different denominational backgrounds, social classes and age groups. It foregrounds alternative gendered knowledge, situated within private and familial spheres, to provide a less partial picture of sectarianism which has traditionally been associated with male-dominated concerns such as Scottish football. It reveals processes of feminised intra-Christian sectarianism, which construct Catholic women and girls as racialised outsiders in ways that are simultaneously gendered and classed. A new definition of feminised sectarianism is proposed with a view to enabling future research and practice to tackle this issue, in ways that are better attuned to the gendered sectarianisation of boundaries.

The empirical data are based on nine months of community fieldwork in Inverclyde, from across eighteen biographical narrative and semi-structured interviews, to research issues of religious difference through the lens of different women's everyday lives. It employs narrative analysis and a feminist intersectional approach to answer the following research questions: what are the boundaries of ethnic and religious belonging in Scotland? How are these boundaries transmitted? How do women think, act and feel about religious difference? And are there negative judgements of the 'other' or a ranking of one's own gendered cultural and religious norms and values as superior?

Overall, it argues that the continual expression and validation of the ethnic and religious boundaries of belonging operate across three connected levels. Firstly, rhetorically, at the level of ideas, drawing selectively on historical scripts and contemporary discourses to reproduce identity narratives in everyday life on which ethnic and religious differences can be continually (re)built. Secondly, overtly, through mobilising visible signs and signals such as the institutional markers of separate denominational schools or the Orange Order to provide legitimacy for these historical ideas about religious difference. And, thirdly, covertly, through invoking subjective beliefs about basic value orientations such as perceived differences in gendered cultural and religious norms to (re)produce, create and maintain ethnic and religious boundaries in more subtle ways. Focusing on these

different levels at which the boundary appears to be maintained emphasises the subjective, discursive, ideational and attitudinal processes that reproduce religious differences not on the sum of overt markers of difference. In other words, it sheds light on how groups categorise themselves - on how issues such as sectarianism are reproduced inter-generationally - by shifting the focus to the various social processes of inclusion and exclusion that appear to enable discrete ethnic and religious categories and dichotomies to be maintained over time.

Finally, a conscious decision to use the broader language of 'religious difference' rather than the term 'sectarianism' also revealed participants' emotional reactions to the presence of 'new' Muslim 'outsiders'. This is likely because interviews took place in the run up to the EU Referendum, a time of heightened social and political tension over issues of immigration. Therefore, analysing Catholic women's experiences of sectarianism revealed many similarities between their own experiences and the processes that they themselves also used to racialise Muslim women as the 'new' outsiders to the nation.

As such, this thesis makes a timely and contemporary contribution to existing research in the field. It argues that like all religious racisms, feminised intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland operates on a contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging. This hierarchy is imagined relative to a 'superior' white, masculine, middle-class, Protestant subjectivity. The number of children that women from ethnic and religious minorities have, their relationships with men, and their sexuality more broadly, can be politicised by others in ways that racialise on account of the overlapping characteristics of social class, gender and perceived religious identity. Gendered and classed respectability politics can thus be mobilised against minority women and girls in ways that racialise the boundaries of belonging. Entrenched patriarchal values and gendered cultural and religious norms help to sustain these different modalities of racism, precisely because the boundary of the ethnic is often deeply reliant on gender.

Keywords: intra-Christian sectarianism, Catholic women, religious racisms, racialisation, intersectionality, feminism, gender, sexuality, Islamophobia, Muslim women

Lay Summary

This thesis challenges mainstream research and policy definitions of intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland. It is argued that male-dominated concerns such as football-related violence have meant that the experiences of women and girls have been hidden. The findings are from nine months of community-based fieldwork in Inverclyde with eighteen different women and girls. This used biographical narrative and semi-structured interviews to explore issues of religious difference through the lens of these different women's everyday lives. The following research questions frame the discussion: what are the boundaries of ethnic and religious belonging in Scotland? How are these boundaries transmitted? How do women think, act and feel about religious difference? And are there negative judgements of the 'other' or a ranking of one's own gendered cultural and religious norms and values as superior?

A new definition of feminised sectarianism is proposed to assist with future research, policy and practice to tackle this issue in Scotland. Overall, it argues that the way women speak about "us" and "them" serves to reproduce, create and maintain the boundaries between different ethnic and religious groups. This appears to operate across three interconnected levels. Firstly, as rhetoric at the level of ideas drawing selectively on historical scripts and contemporary discourses to reproduce identity narratives in everyday life on which ethnic and religious differences can be continually (re)built. Secondly, in overt ways that mobilise visible signs and signals such as the institutional markers of separate denominational schools or the Orange Order to provide legitimacy for these historical ideas about religious difference. And, thirdly, in covert ways that invoke subjective beliefs about standards of morality. This uses perceived differences in gendered family values between different ethnic and religious collectivities to (re)produce, create and maintain boundaries in more subtle ways.

A conscious decision to use the broader language of 'religious difference' rather than the term 'sectarianism' has meant that participants' emotional reactions to the presence of 'new' Muslim 'outsiders' has also been revealed

through this research. Thus, analysing Catholic women's experiences of sectarianism highlighted the many similarities between their own experiences and the processes that they themselves also used to racialise Muslim women as the 'new' outsiders. It is argued that, like all religious racisms, feminised intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland operates on a contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging that places different kinds of women in different social positionings. The number of children that women from ethnic and religious minorities have, their relationships with men, and their sexuality more broadly, can be politicised by others in ways that racialise on account of the overlapping characteristics of social class, gender and perceived religious identity. Gendered and classed respectability politics can thus be mobilised against minority women and girls in ways that racialise the boundaries of belonging. Entrenched patriarchal values and gendered cultural and religious norms help to sustain these different modalities of racism, precisely because the boundary of the ethnic is often deeply reliant on gender.

Signed Declaration

1. I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

2. Small parts of this work have been published in an article entitled '*Women as Sectarian Agents: Looking Beyond the Football Cliché in Scotland*' in the *European Journal of Women's Studies* (Lindores and Emejulu, 2017) and in a briefing paper entitled '*Women and Sectarianism in Scotland: policing ethno-Christian relational boundaries*' with the *Centre for Education for Racial Equality*, University of Edinburgh (Lindores, 2014).

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Historically, sectarianism in Scotland - institutionalised and everyday intra-Christian bigotry and prejudice - has roots in the Protestant Reformation, Irish migration to Scotland and the constitutional politics of Ireland. However, the seeds of the modern debate in Scotland are often traced back to more recent events, which tend to construct the issue as predominantly masculine, working-class and located within public spheres of social life - particularly in connection with Scottish football and Orange marches or parades. The politics of Scottish football, mostly the Old Firm rivalry in Glasgow between Rangers (Protestant) and Celtic (Catholic) - have often dominated much of the policy and academic interest on the topic and continue to be identified as a key mechanism of reproducing religious conflict.

This thesis re-problematizes the issue of intra-Christian sectarianism from the standpoints of women from different denominational backgrounds, social classes and age groups. It foregrounds alternative gendered knowledge, situated within private and familial spheres, to provide a less partial picture of sectarianism which has traditionally been associated with these male-dominated concerns. It reveals processes of feminised intra-Christian sectarianism, which construct Catholic women and girls as racialised outsiders in ways that are simultaneously gendered and classed. A new definition of feminised sectarianism is proposed with a view to enabling future research and practice to tackle this issue, in ways that are better attuned to the gendered sectarianisation of boundaries.

The empirical data are based on nine months of community fieldwork in Inverclyde, from across eighteen biographical narrative and semi-structured interviews, to research issues of religious difference through the lens of different women's everyday lives. It employs narrative analysis and a feminist intersectional approach to answer the following research questions: what are the boundaries of ethnic and religious belonging in Scotland? How are these boundaries transmitted? How do women think, act and feel about religious

difference? And are there negative judgements of the 'other' or a ranking of one's own gendered cultural and religious norms and values as superior?

Overall, it argues that the continual expression and validation of the ethnic and religious boundaries of belonging operate across three connected levels. Firstly, rhetorically, at the level of ideas, drawing selectively on historical scripts and contemporary discourses to reproduce identity narratives in everyday life on which ethnic and religious differences can be continually (re)built. Secondly, overtly, through mobilising visible signs and signals such as the institutional markers of separate denominational schools or the Orange Order to provide legitimacy for these historical ideas about religious difference. And, thirdly, covertly, through invoking subjective beliefs about basic value orientations such as perceived differences in gendered cultural and religious norms to (re)produce, create and maintain ethnic and religious boundaries in more subtle ways. Focusing on these different levels at which the boundary appears to be maintained emphasises the subjective, discursive, ideational and attitudinal processes that reproduce religious differences not on the sum of overt markers of difference. In other words, it sheds light on how groups categorise themselves - on how issues such as sectarianism are reproduced inter-generationally - by shifting the focus to the various social processes of inclusion and exclusion that appear to enable discrete ethnic and religious categories and dichotomies to be maintained over time.

Using the broader language of 'religious difference' during the fieldwork, rather than the term 'sectarianism', has also revealed participants' emotional reactions in constructions of 'new' Muslim 'outsiders'. This is likely because interviews took place in the run up to the EU Referendum, a time of heightened social and political tension over issues of immigration across the United Kingdom. Therefore, analysing Catholic women's experiences of sectarianism has also revealed many similarities between their own experiences and the processes that they themselves also use to racialise Muslim women as the 'new' outsiders to the nation.

As such, this thesis makes a timely and contemporary contribution to existing research in the field. It argues that like all religious racisms, feminised intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland operates on a contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging. This hierarchy is imagined relative to a 'superior' white, masculine, middle-class, Protestant subjectivity. The number of children that women from ethnic and religious minorities have, their relationships with men, and their sexuality more broadly, can be politicised by others in ways that racialise on account of the overlapping characteristics of social class, gender and perceived religious identity. Gendered and classed respectability politics can thus be mobilised against minority women and girls in ways that racialise the boundaries of belonging. Entrenched patriarchal values and gendered cultural and religious norms help to sustain these different modalities of racism, precisely because the boundary of the ethnic is often deeply reliant on gender.

1.1 Chapter Outline

The thesis opens with a discussion of the research and policy context of sectarianism in Scotland, before presenting a review of the relevant literature to highlight the epistemological debates which divide the field in ways that have led to the marginalisation and silencing of different women's experiences and understandings of sectarianism. This is used to justify the overarching research questions stated at the end of this second chapter.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework; explaining why the concept of racialisation has been employed in the analysis of findings, defining sectarianism and advocating for the continued revival of anti-racist research which conceives of different modalities of racism as operating within a prism in Scotland. Chapter four outlines the rationale behind using feminist intersectional standpoint epistemology and describes the methodological decisions and research design.

From chapter five onwards the empirical data are presented. The first empirical chapter examines how boundaries between Catholics and Protestants appear to be maintained through (re)producing identity narratives that draw selectively

on historical scripts of unequal power relationships. It is argued that the continued expression of these narratives reproduces the dichotomisation of the two ethno-Christian religious groups and serves to validate these imagined boundaries of belonging. While chapter five explores how boundaries are maintained rhetorically, at the level of ideas, chapters six to eight examine how internal and external boundaries are maintained and legitimised through mobilising the more overt signs and signals of institutional affiliations such as denominational schools and the Orange Order.

Thus, chapter six presents Catholic participants' contradictory feelings of difference, community and belonging to highlight the ethnicisation of boundaries; the processes by which a Catholic identity seemed to be (re)produced, created and maintained despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence. It focuses on processes of internal fragmentation that include analysis of both the positive and negative elements of belonging, being and unbecoming Catholic. Although, this chapter focuses on these internal boundaries of 'being Catholic', as claimed and assigned through association with the Catholic school marker, it also points towards the boundaries of belonging more broadly. It is suggested that cross-cutting axes of inclusion and exclusion from within the Catholic community are based on a contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging which places a white, middle-class Catholic subjectivity at the pinnacle so that individuals can experience varying degrees of incorporation within the collectivity depending on their race, gender and class. This theory is expanded in chapter nine on feminised sectarianism, chapter eleven on gendered Islamophobia and chapter ten on the 'new' racialised Muslim outsider to suggest that a broader boundary of belonging to the nation operates on the same contingent intersectional hierarchy that instead uses a masculine, Protestant, middle-class subjectivity as the standard against which all other identities are judged; so that individuals can experience differential degrees of inclusion and exclusion depending on the inter-locking characteristics of their identities.

While chapter six explores internal boundaries of 'being Catholic', chapter seven, in contrast, highlights external processes of differentiation that, under

certain conditions, appear to mobilise the same school marker as a resource for stimulating conflict between young people from opposing collectivities. This is represented in participant narratives as inter-school conflict between young people from Catholic and non-denominational schools. One example of gendered sectarian violence of a sexual nature stands in stark contrast to the experiences of younger generations of women who describe tension between pupils of different schools as about 'the separation' and not 'purely' about religion. It is argued that youth subcultures may hold the potential to transcend boundaries because they have opportunities to choose individual identities that can be 'dis-embedded' from the traditional roles and structures of religion and class.

Continuing the theme of analysing overt, visible institutional markers of ethnic and religious belonging; chapter eight explores participants' narratives about the Orange Order and its associated marches and parades. This chapter provides insight into the ways in which this institution can also function as a marker of belonging, to (re)produce, create and maintain ethnic boundaries, in one of the more marginal ways to 'be Protestant' in Scotland. It is argued that sectarianism can be experienced in inter-subjective ways that are theorised as micro-aggressions and subconscious feelings of aversion which can be transferred from grand-mother to grand-daughter in 'silent' and embodied ways. This chapter reveals the potentially pernicious influence of sectarianism in the ever-shrinking spaces in which it still survives; demonstrating the complexity of affective responses to ethno-religious difference. Once again, it also draws attention to the need to re-frame what constitutes 'real evidence' of experiences of sectarianism in Scotland; to challenge the emphasis on perpetrator perspectives and better recognise the subtle, covert, subconscious - and perhaps even unintentional - forms of sectarian prejudice and bigotry that continue to exist.

Chapter nine moves the analysis from these overt institutional signs and signals to covert value orientations; the standards against which the morality of members is judged with implications for rights to belong to 'the nation'. This is a new avenue of research which highlights the female-led politics of policing

the choices, actions and behaviours of Catholic women and girls. This appears to be based on the belief that Catholic and Protestant women have different standards of morality in relation to gendered cultural and religious norms of 'appropriate' female sexuality.

Feminised sectarianism is said to operate as a myriad of female-led intersectional processes of racialisation which use religion as the main marker of difference. It is a modality of religious racism that appears to coalesce around a gendered and classed respectability politics. Personal choices such as the number of children that Catholic women have, their relationships with men and their sexuality more broadly, can be politicised by others in ways that racialise on account of the overlapping characteristics of social class, gender and perceived religious identity. Gendered and classed respectability politics can thus be mobilised against Catholic women and girls in ways that sectarianise the boundaries of belonging to the nation and, under certain conditions, re-construct them once again as racialised outsiders.

Ultimately, these processes of racialising Catholic women and girls are part of a broader historical exclusionary politics that serves to construct differentially positioned 'racialised outsiders' to the nation. It is about who is granted status and respect and who is not; it is about vying for position on a contingent intersectional hierarchy that is rooted in shifting historical constructions of national belonging. This is of interest because the same feminised patterns of inferiorising the religious other, in attitudes towards Catholic women and girls, appears to be mirrored in the prejudiced attitudes towards Muslim women who are constructed as the 'new' and more visible outsiders to the nation; as explored in chapters ten and eleven.

The way participants spoke about their perceptions and experiences of religious difference in relation to Muslims was perhaps one of the most surprising findings from the fieldwork. Initially, the intention was to exclusively research women's experiences of intra-Christian sectarianism. However, it became apparent that Islamophobia was an issue that could not be overlooked in the final thesis. Moreover, this discovery also enabled an analysis of these

two separate modalities of religious racism to contrast the intersectional similarities and differences between the differentially positioned racialised outsiders being constructed.

Therefore, chapter ten emphasises shifting historical constructions of racialised belonging. Participants' narratives suggest that the focus may have recently moved from 'old' racialised Catholic outsiders to the 'new' Muslim outsider. Their use of culturalist (and reformist) discourses of Islamophobia reveal feelings of discomfort, ignorance and lack of interest towards diversity and articulations of fear, anxiety and panic. Manifestations of these racist feelings and articulations included; the perception of an increased terrorist threat due to the presence of a small number of Muslims in the local community; a discursively violent reaction to the removal of pork from school meals, a fallacious belief that Christian schools were being taken over by Muslims, and discriminatory attitudes towards Muslim refugees and asylum seekers who were seen to be getting preferential treatment in access to social welfare.

Chapter eleven, moves the terrain of racialised articulations from these cultural and material concerns of mostly working-class women, at the level of nation, to the broader plain of values, on a more global level. This is articulated primarily by middle-class and well-educated women who claim to defend liberal constructions of 'modernity' and gender equality in the West to justify their constructions of a racialised female Muslim outsider to the nation. Four related processes of racialisation are outlined; firstly, participants engage in victim-blaming which places a disproportionate burden of change on Muslim minorities to assimilate and denies any role for the white 'Christian' majority to adapt. Secondly, they employ discourses of racial equivalence which distort the historical and contemporary, social and political specificities of different intersectional systems and structures of power and domination, as they are shaped not just by gender and religion but also social class. Thirdly, they essentialise and pathologise Muslim women as belonging to an inherently backward and homogenous collectivity in ways that assume a position of Western cultural superiority. And finally, some participants also appear to have

selective historical amnesia that conveniently ignores their own immigrant origins and the historical religious devotion of their own (Irish) Catholic ancestry.

The concluding chapter proposes that a model of integration founded on cultural pluralism could offer a two-way process of reforming the boundaries of ethnic and religious belonging to the nation. This would enable diverse ethnic and religious minorities to express their right to belong to Scotland, to have those claims accepted, and to still retain elements of their own identity. It is argued that this would also require the majority to actively engage in an on-going negotiation of the boundaries of what it means to belong in contemporary Scotland, not just as an elite-led process but as part of a grass-roots re-imagining of belonging to the nation from below.

It also argues that racial equivalence needs to be challenged so that Islamophobia and intra-Christian sectarianism are conceived of as possessing some similarities in the way they operate to construct racialised outsiders to the nation, but that, equally, they are still recognised as being fundamentally different modalities of religious racism. These modalities are said to operate on a contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging; contained within a prism of racism in Scotland.

Finally, intersectional feminism is offered as a practical approach to community-organising that can counter essentialised framings of 'women' and challenge the particularistic claims of white, middle-class liberal feminists. It is argued that grass-roots organisers and educators have a role to play in fostering meaningful relationships between different ethnic and religious collectivities in ways that seek to create solidarity across difference. Rediscovery of one's own history of marginalisation and oppression, for instance, could help to create a sense of shared outsider status and allow different women to unite around common causes to enable a more inclusive struggle for racial, ethnic and religious gender equality for *all* women.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Policy Context

In 1999 Glasgow teenager, Cara Henderson, sent a letter to the Herald newspaper following the death of her boyfriend, Mark Scott, as a result of sectarian football-related violence (Henderson, 1999). Two months later, James Macmillan delivered a lecture on 'Scotland's Shame' at the Edinburgh International Festival in which he claimed Scotland was 'a land of sleep-walking bigotry' (MacMillan, 2000: 15). This letter and lecture together sparked intense media, public and academic debate which ensured sectarianism moved up the political agenda of successive Scottish Governments. Following the founding of the charity and pressure group Nil By Mouth (1999) in August 2000, Glasgow City Council formally recognised that sectarianism continued to be an issue for the city (Glasgow City Council, 2003). By October 2001 the joint initiative of Sense Over Sectarianism was launched, bringing together football clubs, churches and local public services to tackle the problem, and by June 2003 sectarian behaviour was finally made an 'aggravation of criminal offence' in the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act (Scottish Executive, 2006b).

This high-profile recognition of sectarianism continued, with then Labour First Minister, Jack McConnell, calling a historic *Summit on Sectarianism* in 2005 (Scottish Executive, 2005). This resulted in an *Action Plan* and the formation of the *Cross Party Working Group on Religious Hatred*; raising the profile of *Football Banning Orders* and helping to channel the efforts of police and football clubs (Scottish Executive, 2006a, 2002; Scottish Government, 2006). Following the May 2007 elections, the SNP minority government, was criticised as having treated sectarianism as a 'de-prioritised issue', given that the most intense action seemed to have moved towards 'reaction rather than prevention'; heavily focused on football particularly following the online hate campaigns, attacks on supporters and death threats sent to Celtic manager Neil Lennon (Leadbetter, 2011). As a result, the *Football Summit* was called in May that year, resulting in an eight point Commitment Plan and Statement on

Scottish Football (Scottish Government, 2011b, 2011a, 2011c). Subsequently, after forming their majority government in 2011, the SNP passed the *Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act* (Scottish Parliament, 2012). At the time, it was noted by the *Equality and Human Rights Commission* (EHRC) that the *Equality Impact Assessment* (EQIA) carried out prior to the implementation of this new legislation included provision for all the 'protected characteristics' except for a consideration of gender (Scottish Government, 2011; Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011a, 2011b). This omission, while partially justified by the response that there is a 'disproportional impact of violent crime on men' was thought to reflect the un-critiqued assumptions about the nature of sectarianism in Scotland; often deemed to be less relevant to women's lives due to its almost exclusive framing as male, working-class and football-related (Scottish Parliament, 2011: 13).

At this point efforts to tackle sectarianism arguably over-associated Scottish football with bigotry, ignoring the wider socio-cultural context in which sectarian prejudices may be formed. However, having said that, Scottish Government's most recent program of activity resulted in the creation of an *Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland* and over £9m of funding to 44 community-based projects (Scottish Government, 2013c). Consequently, there has been a shift in approaches to addressing sectarianism within a wider equalities framework, beyond the football spheres, moving the focus away from solely public and male-dominated spheres of social life, to begin to explore the familial and relational contexts in semi-private spheres from a range of gendered perspectives (Engender, 2014; Glasgow Women's Library, 2013; Scottish Women's Convention, 2013). Nevertheless, there is still a specific need to better recognise women's agency in challenging and reproducing sectarianism. This requires a concentrated effort to legitimise different perspectives that move away from the hegemonic masculinity of football-related narratives, in order to reframe the discussion in ways which better acknowledge different women's experiences in everyday life.

2.2 Definitions and Levels of Analysis

The most recent official definition of sectarianism in Scotland was published as part of the Independent Advisory Group's recommendations to Scottish Government. In this report sectarianism was defined as,

'A complex of perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, actions and structures, at personal and communal levels, which originate in (intra-Christian) 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, 2013a: 5).

This comprehensive definition, which touches on a wide range of social spheres and aspects of identity, illustrates the complexity of sectarianism. Consequently, many academics have rejected the term 'sectarianism' proposing a range of theoretical perspectives as more appropriate frameworks for analysing the issue in Scotland. I will look in more detail at these theoretical frameworks below, but firstly I would like to explore how competing definitions of sectarianism are intertwined with the different levels at which it is thought to operate in Scotland. These levels of analysis, which are often implicit in much of the literature, play a significant role in shaping the conflicting conceptualisations of what is thought to constitute sectarianism in relevant research and policy contexts.

Several sources dealing with sectarianism in Scotland include a discussion of Allport's theory of the 'spectrum of prejudice' (Finn, 2000: 58; Finn et al., 2008: 10). This spectrum ranges from anti-locution, to avoidance, discrimination, physical attack and finally, extermination (ibid: 10). Finn (2000) explains that, 'activity at the lower levels makes more intense activity at the higher levels much more probable' (p.59). However, while this spectrum draws attention to the importance of recognising the different levels at which a social phenomenon such as sectarianism can operate, it focuses exclusively on the individual as the source of prejudice. Thompson (2003), however, points out that exclusive focus on this individual level allows the victim to be blamed

without recognising the different dimensions of discrimination and the impact of wider cultural, structural and societal influences (p.15). He defines this personal level as discrimination when the thoughts, feelings and actions of an individual impact upon the inequality and oppression of others (ibid: 14). He argues that discrimination operates not just at this personal level but also at the cultural level, given the fact that prejudice within groups is 'often remarkably uniform' and individuals can be affected by the 'prevailing norms and expectations' of that culture (ibid). The structural level is thought to connect to these personal and cultural patterns to influence social, political and economic aspects of the social order; while the cultural level is defined as including humour, language and assumptions. These are often used unconsciously as part of the 'taken-for grantedness' of everyday life to create an 'us-them' situation (ibid: 17).

In a similar three level analysis, Rosie and McCrone (2000) draw on Brewer's understanding of sectarianism as it operates in Northern Ireland; namely at the level of ideas (theological beliefs), individual behaviour and social structure. This links individual action to ideology and social structure but is less attentive to the cultural context in which actions are embedded. They provide statistical evidence from a range of pre-2000 election studies to suggest that in questions of religious, political and national identity that, at the level of ideas and theological beliefs, Scottish Catholics 'differ little from the population as a whole' demonstrating their assimilation into mainstream Scottish society (ibid: 217). They admit that 'one might pause a little at the level of individual behaviour' but argue that this 'is difficult to sustain without the institutional and theological support systems which still operate in Northern Ireland' (ibid: 202). However, although they recognise that sectarianism is about attitudes and prejudices, occupying the 'shadowy corner' of 'street-level bigotry', their evidence is concerned primarily with 'measurable manifestations which are systematic and structured' rather than on these local and street-level contexts of culture around which 'sectarianism' is thought to operate (ibid: 200).

Given that recent evidence on community experiences of sectarianism in Scotland has suggested that it is a phenomenon which occurs in 'pockets',

contingent on time, place, location and the people present at any given moment (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015: 30); the importance of considering shifting manifestations that are contextual, contingent and, therefore, dynamic becomes apparent. The cultural level of discrimination within which individuals are embedded need not be widespread, systematic or necessarily structured. Sectarian ideology could also be contained within these specific 'pockets' or local contexts and sustained by specific family, community or peer group cultures rather than the institutional or theological systems mentioned here in connection with Northern Ireland.

Having explored these different levels at which sectarianism in Scotland can be analysed, it is important to also consider the impact of choosing the level of analysis on the resulting definitions employed in conceptualising sectarianism in different research approaches. Kelly characterises much of this debate as a 'gulf in understanding' between, on the one hand, those who focus on systemic and material discrimination and, on the other, those who focus on the perpetuation of prejudice and bigotry (Kelly, 2005: 10).

Rosie (2001), for instance, examines sectarianism to argue that when it is carefully defined as systematic and structural to mean a society in which discrimination affects the life chances of entire religious groups, then Scotland is not sectarian (p.7). As a result, he employs comprehensive statistical analysis to make a strong case which clearly demonstrates that such systematic discrimination at a structural level is not related to a religious difference between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland (Rosie, 2004). Similarly, Bruce et al (2004) provide evidence that 'Scotland's Catholics, most of whom are the descendants of Irish immigrants, now enjoy social, political and economic parity with non-Catholics' (Bruce et al., 2004: 4). However, as Kelly points out this interest in systematic and structural sectarianism is primarily about the perpetuation, or otherwise, of denominational discrimination which leaves everyday bigotry and its context of culture unstudied (Kelly, 2005: 5).

At the other side of this 'gulf', are those such as Bradley (2004) and Finn (1999), who focus on sectarianism as the perpetuation of prejudice and are, therefore, more concerned with sectarianism as cultural exclusion and its everyday manifestations. Bradley (1996), for instance, argues that 'sectarianism' in Scotland encompasses a mix of 'racial, ethnic or religious contexts' and 'displays of Irishness' which are confined to a discourse of 'sectarianism' which does not handle the complexity of the 'fluctuating but ultimately indeterminate nature of this identity' (pp.90, 95). The contrast between these structural and systemic versus the contextual and cultural approaches to researching sectarianism maps onto this 'gulf in understanding' which has created a dichotomy between these two opposing definitions.

Researchers of ethnicity and everyday life can provide insight into this epistemological gulf which appears to divide the field. Smith argues that 'the everyday' provides the theoretical and empirical resources to examine the unruly, unordered and unpredictable patterns of relating in the contexts in which they are reproduced in daily life.

'The everyday is not only where ethnicity happens; it is also part of how ethnicity or racialisation happens. The everyday is not merely a scene for investigation because the ascription of everydayness itself plays a constitutive role in the making or sustaining of the boundaries of presumed or perceived difference' (Smith, 2015: 13).

Therefore, by analysing sectarianism at the personal and familial levels in everyday life, the definition used is re-orientated towards its relational, contextual and dynamic manifestations rather than a fixed or systematic conceptual understanding. This allows the very definition to be grounded in lived experiences and ensures that the sociology of an issue, such as sectarianism in Scotland, is considered in mutually informing ways to describe not just social structure but semi-private and lived realities (ibid: 11). In this way, the gulf in understanding can be bridged. Therefore, it is at this level that I analyse sectarianism in my own research in order to explore the dynamic mechanisms and processes which might sustain, or challenge, the perpetuation of this social issue in the micro-social relationships of everyday life in family and peer groups.

Definitions of sectarianism employed in the Scottish literature are shaped, not only by the level at which it is analysed but also by the extent to which they frame the issue as purely religious (intra-Christian) or intertwined with ethnicity, 'race' and competing nationalisms. This is further explored in the theoretical framework, chapter three.

2.3 Naming Sectarianism

Many of the truth claims in mainstream literature on sectarianism in Scotland centre around several interconnected narrative threads. These can be presented as an epistemological dichotomy between 'myth versus reality', 'expert versus lay' and 'perception versus evidence'. In this section I will explain how an intersectional framing re-problematizes these dichotomous narratives to highlight parallel epistemological arguments that have been developed in feminist theory.

Reflecting on the feminist theory which guides my own research concerns places these debates in a wider academic context. One of the earliest arguments of feminist theory was concerned precisely with this issue of the construction of knowledge claims in scientific research. Initially, feminists set out to challenge positivism, as the dominant epistemology, which believed in a direct relationship between reality and our ability to see, know and interpret 'the truth' (Oakley, 1998). Challenging the alleged neutrality of experts became a cornerstone of feminist scholarship which sought to validate personal experience (including subjectivities) as an important source in the construction of alternative, non-expert knowledge about the social world (DuBois, 1983). Feminist sociologists drew attention to the gap between personal experiences and the public systems or 'ruling relations' which constructed knowledge in ways which did not reflect the realities of the different experiences of women (Smith, 1988). The power differential between the experts and non-experts, the researched and the researcher also led to critiques of the power differences between ways of knowing and the very systems of thought used to differentiate between fact and perception (Ackerly and True, 2010: 21–39). Sandra Harding most clearly articulated this central question when she asked

'whose knowledge counts?' (Harding, 1991) These type of questions probed feminist researchers to seek out the most reliable ways to learn about the lives of marginalised groups from their subject positions, grounded in the standpoints of their lived experiences to replace 'the view from above' with the 'view from below' (Mies, 1983: 123).

More recently, Black feminist scholarship has taken feminism further, leading the way in challenging essentialised constructions of 'women'; introducing the term 'intersectionality' as a way to articulate the need to account for the multiple and overlapping effects, not just of gender, but other important characteristics that also shape social realities such as race, class and religion or ethnicity (Berger and Guidroz, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991; Krizsan et al., 2012). Therefore, the critique which follows seeks to open up these possibilities to justify the rationale behind the epistemological stance of my own research into women's experience of sectarianism in Scotland (see epistemology, chapter four).

2.3.1 Expert Versus Lay

In the expert versus lay debate, within the Scottish literature on sectarianism, it is argued that the anecdotes of lay people do not hold weight as hard evidence in comparison with the knowledge of experts and that, therefore, sectarianism is more of a social 'myth' than a 'reality'. In a heated exchange in the journal of *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Walls and Williams present accounts of discrimination in employment against Irish Catholics in Glasgow which were strongly contested by Bruce et al. and later re-defended by Walls and Williams (Bruce et al., 2005; Walls and Williams, 2003, 2005). In terms of methodology, Walls and Williams (2003) conducted 39 in-depth narrative interviews with Irish Catholics in Glasgow on a wide range of topics including health and employment (p.638). They claimed that seven of the participants reported and described personal experience of discrimination in employment, while many others shared knowledge of their family and friends' experiences (ibid: 643). They concluded that this established the 'fact of discrimination, but not its prevalence' (ibid: 652).

Bruce et al criticised the validity of their treatment of 'laypeople as experts', claiming that the findings of Walls and Williams did not give evidence of discrimination but rather it proved the power of social myths (p.151). They argued that Walls and Williams' participants reported under-representation rather than actual discrimination and that laypeople with no social scientific background were not qualified to judge the expected proportional composition of workplaces (ibid: 163). As they stated, lay witnesses are not experts in anything other than their own personal experiences (ibid: 154). Finally, Bruce et al. also accused Walls and Williams of bias and 'unwarranted interpretive work' and called for more 'objective evidence' to test the perceptions of laypeople (p.155, p.163). In defence of their original thesis, Walls and Williams (2005) then responded to their critics claiming that Bruce, in particular, had often claimed expert status in order to dismiss the experiences of those who are not social scientists (p.761).

Walls and Williams give a partial and openly partisan account of participants' personal experiences of what they believe to be forms of anti-Catholic discrimination in employment. Their research approach consistently focuses on the atypical and on the minority experience of Irish Catholics rather than the majority of Scots or that which is typical; concerns which Bruce has expressed that he prefers to tackle (see Bruce et al., 2004: 4) Given that Bruce et al. consistently employ quantitative methods to analyse experiences of the world 'from above' and Walls and Williams seek to present an alternative, partisan and unrepresentative 'view from below' it seems inevitable that their knowledge claims will provide competing evidence.

In their book *Sectarianism in Scotland*, Bruce et al., (2004) claimed that there is no hard evidence to suggest that Catholics in Scotland were discriminated against and that modern day assertions about the existence of sectarianism are exaggerated and founded on inaccurate anecdotes (pp.2-3). They argued for the 'need to distinguish carefully the various forms and expressions of sectarianism and what might count as evidence for any of them' (ibid: 3). Ultimately, the question here is reminiscent of Harding's feminist slogan 'whose knowledge counts?' Who decides what counts as forms and

expressions of sectarianism in Scotland and who decides what counts as evidence of its existence?

In a similar scenario Bruce and Conroy go head to head in the *Oxford Review of Education*. Conroy presents a passionate defence of Catholic schools. He discusses the polemic surrounding their alleged divisiveness, the system of approval and discrimination for teaching staff and the issue of Catholic identity fostered by the school environment (Conroy, 2001). On several occasions he mentions the work of Steve Bruce, which Bruce later interprets as having implicated him as an advocate for ending public funding for Catholic schools and being hostile towards Catholicism in his stance (Bruce, 2003). Bruce attempts to clarify his position by claiming a role as a 'dispassionate' observer who makes a clear distinction between 'social science and political preference' before sharing his views as a 'private citizen expressing a political preference' that he claims is separate from his professional and public life as a sociologist (ibid: 274). Conroy later responds to this, highlighting this contradiction in Bruce's hiding behind the social facts that he uses to make sense of the world, as the 'dispassionate voice of academic reason', which too readily dismisses the stories of actual people (Conroy, 2003: 407). Conroy also points out that academics are all 'actors as well as observers' and that private opinion and identity cannot be separated from what is presented in the public domain, particularly in the polemic debate on sectarianism in Scotland (ibid).

The key point to note is the different epistemologies at work in the conflicting positions of these various academics. The cornerstone of feminist scholarship argues that all knowledge is socially constructed and that power hides behind approaches which attempt to present as impossibly objective and impartial (Ackerly and True, 2010: 26). In both the Walls and Williams and the Conroy debates, Bruce contrasts the evidence of experts with the anecdotes of laypeople; a narrative which, ultimately, impacts whose knowledge carries weight, which voices are heard and whose definitions of sectarianism are prioritised. At the heart of these debates is what one author described as '...the hidden dimensions' that involves 'processes' obscuring that the very definition

of sectarianism is, itself, a stake in the struggle between competing sections of society' (Crawford, 2013: 181).

Therefore, applying feminist theory to critique this literature, explains the rationale and stance of my own research agenda. It argues that the definitions of what counts as experiences of 'sectarianism' in Scotland can be best understood when they are grounded in the lived realities of those individuals, families, groups or communities who it affects. From this stance, such individuals are considered the experts in their own lives and that the researcher can "know" 'the world more fully and more critically (with less of a stake in maintaining the status quo) from the subject position of the marginalised or oppressed' (Ackerly and True, 2010: 27).

2.3.2 Perception versus Evidence

Another epistemological divide centres on the argument that there is a gap between public perceptions of a widespread problem of sectarianism and a lack of 'hard' evidence to support these claims. There are two examples of this narrative. The first is Glasgow City Council's (2003) report on *Sectarianism in Glasgow* which used a survey and focus groups to measure the scale, nature and impact of sectarianism in the city. Participants in this study mostly defined sectarianism as an issue with historical roots in Ireland which related to a religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics that was most commonly associated with football and parades (ibid: 56). The study illustrated the widespread perception that sectarianism remained a problem, concluding that there was a 'culture of prejudice' in the city which was, albeit, more often directed at Asian, Black, Muslim, refugee/asylum seekers and homosexuals than towards Catholics or Protestants (ibid: 57). Nevertheless, at the personal level, they found that a 'significant minority' of respondents displayed sectarian prejudice and a 'significant minority' said they would be concerned if a close relative married someone of a different Christian faith (ibid: 24). 'Sectarian action as objective experience' was also measured in a range of ways from crime, to discrimination at work or by public services and self-exclusion from public places or social occasions due to religion (ibid: 56). Similarly, findings

also revealed some participants who displayed sectarian prejudices and others who reported self-exclusion from public spaces or certain social occasions due to their religion or football team (ibid:25-40).

It is important to note that these findings of evidence of sectarian prejudice were at the personal and cultural levels of discrimination and located within semi-private and community life. However, the report also found that 'while sectarianism was perceived as endemic' there was less evidence to suggest that participants had personally experienced corresponding levels of sectarian crime or discrimination – with the term 'discrimination' here referring only to 'objective experiences' in public spaces and not at the subjective and inter-personal encounters of everyday life in semi-private and community spheres where some evidence had been found (ibid: 58).

The second example of this perception versus evidence narrative is a review conducted by Scottish Government, entitled *Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism* (Scottish Government, 2013b). In this review the evidence is carefully divided into two sections – one on the 'perceptions of the extent of sectarianism' and the other on the 'evidence of the experience of sectarian behaviour' (ibid: 8-18). One of the central arguments of the review paper highlights an alleged 'mismatch' between the public perceptions that sectarianism exists and a lack of 'empirical evidence' to support these perceptions (ibid: 3, 38). The report also points out that this mismatch is reflected in several pieces of research; specifically citing Glasgow City Council's 'Sectarianism in Glasgow' report and research carried out by Deuchar and Holligan into Territoriality and Sectarianism in Glasgow and Action for Children's survey of young people's views on sectarianism (see Deuchar & Holligan, 2008; Action for Children, 2011).

The in-depth narrative and qualitative data collected in these respective studies covers a wide range of issues such as the use of sectarian language to intimidate and harass non-group members, as well as the neglected spheres of the household, wider mixed peer, family and kinship relational issues and the relevance of gendered (male) family roles as a site for 'learning' sectarian

attitudes and behaviours (Action for Children, 2011; Deuchar and Holligan, 2008; Glasgow City Council, 2003). The most striking point to note is that, where participants have been given an opportunity to shape the definitions and framing of sectarianism, there would appear to be an emphasis on the private and community spheres of social life in areas such as family and peer relationships and the way in which gender, in particular, might shape social roles and expectations within these spheres.

However, in the *Examination of the Evidence* review, these respective studies are classed under the section that deals solely with 'perceptions' rather than the later section on the 'evidence of experience of sectarian behaviour'. This suggests that they have been treated as anecdotal or less reliable sources of data; yet they all provide experiential evidence of sectarianism. This claim of a mismatch between perception and evidence in mainstream policy and research, works to marginalise those experiences which contradict this majority narrative through endorsing a fixed epistemological view of what counts as evidence and experience of 'sectarianism'. An issue, such as sectarianism, that is about relationships, everyday life and identities is better understood through narrative, ethnographic work which, while not representative, can examine specific personal, inter-subjective experiences and the localised contexts in which these experiences are embedded.

Definitions of sectarianism are influenced by epistemological stance which also impacts the level of analysis, methodological approach and the conflicting knowledge claims in the field.

Rosie (2001) states that,

'The absence of a debate, and of an academic literature, on religious conflict stems from the fact that such conflict has been episodic, localised, and relatively insignificant. To claim that religious conflict is relatively insignificant is not to deny its existence, or its localised impact, only to argue that when placed beside other conflicts – over class, over gender, between generations – it pales in historical and contemporary significance. (It is) marginal to the important issues of Scottish life. For sure it was not marginal to the victims or perpetrators of religious bigotry (...) but, at a societal level, religious conflict has been virtually absent in the Scottish twentieth century' (p.270).

Approaches which actively seek out minority experiences to get ‘the view from below’ are not usually concerned with representativeness or the prevalence of an issue such as sectarianism at ‘a societal level’. And as Rosie states, that it appears to be localised and episodic does not mean that it is a myth for those who do experience it in their everyday life. A consciously partial approach to researching minority perspectives takes lay notions as the starting point in order to better represent these dissenting voices and provide recognition of their different experiences within specific local contexts of culture and certain familial institutions and friendship relations (Mies, 1983). It is based on an understanding that sectarianism, as defined from below, is both contextual and contingent upon specific intersectional characteristics and that, although not a widespread concern, it still affects a ‘significant minority’ of people (Glasgow City Council, 2003: 24–40) in specific ‘pockets’ and social circumstances (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015: 30).

2.4 Framing Sectarianism

Scottish sectarianism has been constructed almost exclusively as a ‘masculine’ and working-class issue; perceived as a ‘gendered phenomenon, far more bound up with Scottish masculinity than with Scottish femininity’ (Crawford, 2000: 188). This hegemonic narrative has been created through a discourse which consistently portrays ‘sectarianism’ as an issue primarily manifested in public displays of physical and verbal aggression, or ‘hate crime’, in connection with Scottish football and parades, territorialism and ‘alcohol fuelled violence’; often thought to be located in specific geographical communities in West Central Scotland (COPFS, 2014; Scottish Government, 2005; 2014; 2015a; 2015b; Cramphorn, 2002; Deuchar & Holligan, 2008; 2010). As a result, the politics of Scottish football, mostly the ‘Old Firm’ rivalry in Glasgow between Rangers (Protestant) and Celtic (Irish/Catholic) - and to a lesser extent Edinburgh-based Hearts (Protestant) and Hibernian (Irish/Catholic) - have dominated most of the policy and academic interest. These concerns continue to be identified as key mechanisms in the

reproduction of intra-Christian conflict in Scotland (Bradley, 2004; Flint and Kelly, 2013a). Consequently, as Goodall and Malloch (2014) recently stated,

'...women are almost entirely absent from the officially recorded body of perpetrators. The typical offence often involves football and disorder in the streets, as a province of men rather than women; (...) men who are publicly drunk (and) associated with being working class' (p.165).

Reflecting briefly on the development of the socio-political context of sectarianism in public discourse, in recent years, illustrates the impact of this specific framing on different women's agency; both as actors for change and agents who can also reproduce sectarianism in different social spheres and contexts. This thesis challenges the hegemonic masculinity of these dominant discourses on sectarianism in Scotland to include the previously marginalised and hidden intersectional standpoints of different women.

For instance, applying Elder-Vass' theory on norm circles, it can be argued that one of the norms being enforced in this field is a way of constructing sectarianism through narratives which do not recognise different women as possible actors, or alternative expressions and manifestations of this issue outwith the dominant framing. Elder-Vass recognises both the internal and external effects of this normative behaviour that both endorses and enforces its power so that individuals also 'internalise a tendency to conform' (Elder-Vass, 2012: 23). Extending his thesis of norm circles specifically to discourse - 'the content of our communication' - Elder-Vass also draws on Foucault to consider the 'systems of power' and 'disciplinary practices' which regulate thinking about particular topics (ibid:143-146). These 'discursive formations' are 'sets of rules about what can be said and what should not be said (...) in a particular social space' (ibid). Therefore, what becomes important is not what a term (such as sectarianism) denotes but rather how we think of it; which statements are excluded and which are encouraged from a whole possible range of statements about the phenomena as a,

'...result of principles which operate from within or from behind discourse to constrain what can count as objects, what sorts of things can seriously be said about them, who can say them, and what concepts can be used in the saying' (ibid: 150).

As Elder-Vass points out, speakers often take up positions that have already been defined so that 'the archive of past discourse' constrains and influences the production of further discourse on the topic (ibid: 152). This is also explored in chapter five on historical scripts and identity narratives. The relational mechanism of discourse circles is thought to,

'...influence (sometimes very strongly indeed) what individuals regard as acceptable discursive behaviour, and thus generate discursive regularities, but because a mechanism depends upon interaction between many (sometimes conflicting) discursive dispositions as well as upon the operation of human reflexivity, there is always the possibility of innovation. (..) The moment of interiority in the process of reproduction and transformation of discourse allows for incremental innovation and change' (ibid:155-156).

Therefore, when the reaction is to choose the dominant narrative rather than 'innovate a way out of the conflict' one discourse circle is said to grow at the expense of the other so that the discursive norm endorsed by the first becomes more prevalent (ibid). This more dominant narrative is then seen as the "right" way to think about a topic such as sectarianism as it has been socially endorsed, thereby increasing the pressure to act in accordance with this more dominant discursive formation (ibid: 157).

There is certainly sufficient evidence to suggest that the discursive power behind the dominant framing of sectarianism may impact women's subjectivities, leading to a feminised discursive deficit which might limit their ability to recognise and articulate alternative experiences as legitimate manifestations of sectarianism. In the *Community Experiences of Sectarianism* study, for instance, it was found that the public manifestation of sectarianism was highly gendered and 'overlaid with masculine attributes and behaviours' (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015: 32). Similarly, in discussion about the semi-private sphere, participants more frequently described typically masculine cultures such as the familial and community role of men in transmitting and instilling sectarian values as part of an inter-generational 'hand-me-down identity' (ibid: 10). Activities mentioned included songs, jokes and traditions mostly associated with football and parades (ibid: 32). However, although the report also suggested that, while women were not entirely passive, a less

violent or aggressive manner coupled with lesser prominence in public events, meant that the possibility of their role in transmitting prejudices was only briefly mentioned.

This research is one of the few in-depth qualitative studies to analyse sectarianism in community spheres. Its consideration of the semi-private and familial role of men and the influence of inter-generational transmission are among its main strengths. However, with the dominance of the well-established football narratives left unchallenged, women's agency in reproducing or challenging sectarianism is still neglected. An active and conscious effort to explore counter-narratives to fully examine and legitimise any feminised roles, behaviours and cultures in connection with sectarianism is required and, as such, has been the main motivation behind this research.

Interestingly, in the Community Experiences of Sectarianism report, discursive deficits, normalising and the nature of story-telling were all recently identified as key findings about the challenges of researching sectarianism in Scotland. It was found that a 'discursive deficit' existed, relating to sectarianism, particularly in comparison to other forms of prejudice and discrimination (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015: 5, 18).

'In a couple of cases, participants did not even remember a very serious personal experience of sectarianism until late into the interview, then spoke about it hesitantly. Some of those who had had sectarian experiences appeared to be unused to talking about them, and it seemed that they had not told others about their experiences' (ibid: 2).

Similarly, they also discovered attempts to normalise sectarianism with participants 'saying at first that they encountered little but then later changing their minds and describing common, even frequent experiences as being sectarian' (ibid: 1). As I argued elsewhere,

'Despite having started to negotiate the unfamiliar terrain of 'women' and sectarianism, at times using very detailed examples, at first (the female participants) seemed to struggle to either articulate or accept their own or other women's apparent manifestations of a sectarian value base as a legitimate way of framing the issue; either trying to 'fit' females into the widely accepted football context or minimising the role that they appeared to play in other more relevant spheres' (Lindores, 2014: 10).

In the Community Experiences report it was proposed that this 'discursive deficit' and the practices of normalising were due to a desire to conceal their identities or the belief that it did not affect their lives. This meant that participants either tried to minimise experiences of sectarianism or struggled to articulate it due to unfamiliarity with the perceived lifestyle or community whom it should typically affect. However, I would argue that the discursive power which frames sectarianism as a 'boys' game', seems to have resulted in participants apparent reluctance to accept alternative experiences and discourses which do not conform with the socially endorsed narrative which relates sectarianism more readily to the lives of certain working-class men.

Similarly in Goodall and Malloch's (2013) observations, some of the women who participated were also 'ambivalent' towards football and were initially 'reluctant' or unsure of its relevance in their experiences of sectarianism (p.171). As they explained, the difficulty here might be that, 'in order to be able to speak about something, one must first be able to define it' (ibid: 176). Or as Rooney (2006) points out this ambivalent relationship towards the abstract concept of 'sectarianism' is linked to 'the hegemonic masculinity of the discourse' (p.357). Denying women's agency

'[...] may initially seem simply a matter of common sense. (...) But this un-critiqued 'common sense' reality is one of the disappearing acts of "legitimising discourses", whereby women's invisibility goes unnoticed and unremarked' (ibid).

As a result, while there may well be a 'discursive deficit' on sectarianism in Scotland this thesis seeks to better understand how this might relate to the discursive power of the hegemonic narrative which frames it in exclusive ways that minimise different women's agency.

2.4.1 Agency

Goodall and Malloch's (2013) pilot study on women's experiences of sectarianism in Scotland provides an interesting insight into women's' positioning as victims of sectarianism who use 'avoidance strategies' for fear of their personal safety in public spaces (p.174). Their participants shared feelings of intimidation due to masculine displays of football-related

aggression, which were thought to be heightened in the aftermath of Old Firm games. Some of the women also described their roles 'behind the scenes', in the private sphere of the home, using tactics to tempt their 'men-folk' away from potentially violent situations in public, through the promise of good food and a warm atmosphere after the match (ibid).

Goodall and Malloch also point out that when women have been mentioned in public discourses, it is often in relation to their socially endorsed role to 'improve male behaviour' or as victims of domestic abuse thought to be connected to football-related sectarianism (ibid: 169). However, although domestic violence had been connected to *Football Banning Orders*, as a way to tackle its alleged increase on Old Firm match days, research participants 'stated that men who were violent in the home were likely to be violent regardless of football' and that this says more about male violence and 'entrenched views about entitlement and authority' than its possible correlations with sectarian attitudes and behaviour (ibid:172-173).

Nevertheless, this stance still approaches the issue of sectarianism primarily by attempting to fit women into male-dominated contexts. In other words, women are positioned as the passive victims who suffer the consequences of this 'boys' game' in the form of intimidation and having to 'manage' the impact of their 'working class men behaving badly' (ibid: 175). As a result, women have largely been ignored as active agents. This highlights the limitations of simply fitting women into hegemonic ways of framing sectarianism within a discourse which is unable to articulate and legitimise their distinctive perspectives and agency.

Sales (1997) makes a similar observation on women's positionality in relation to sectarianism in Northern Ireland. She states that where women have been visible, they are also portrayed either as passive victims or 'peace-makers' uninvolved in the sectarian conflict itself. However, they are often the 'backbone of the community,' actively engaged in informal politics through cross-community organisations which attempt to unite around common areas of concern; an agency which goes largely unnoticed (pp.1-6).

In Scotland, Engender (2014) also explicitly targeted focus groups of women to understand their experiences of sectarianism. They discovered that where it existed that it was embedded in community and family life and, as a result, they also argued that women's agency was being overlooked in many approaches to tackling this issue, particularly in terms of their role to challenge it but also as perpetrators who, for instance, played a role in educating the next generation (p.7). Participants spoke of the parenting roles within family contexts as the main place where sectarianism is learned and it was found that within familial contexts women's roles were often to ensure 'girls conformed to gendered family expectations through the use of inclusion and exclusion' in social and relational contexts particularly in issues surrounding 'mixed marriages' (ibid: 14, 8). In addition to this more traditional feminised role, they also found several younger participants who expressed a role for 'Geezer Birds' who sought inclusion in sectarianism through active participation in what were deemed more masculine behaviours connected to marches and football (ibid: 8). Consequently, in their conclusion, they stated that women's agency (both positive and negative actions) needed to be the focus in order to gain 'a deeper understanding of the gendered systems and structures that enable sectarianism to be inculcated through everyday family and community interactions' (ibid: 18).

Similarly, in my pilot study at master's level, I found evidence that also lends support to these claims pointing towards the active role that women appeared to play,

'...as loyal protectors of identity in policing, maintaining and reproducing the sectarianised boundaries of ethno-Christian groups in Scotland. This was particularly evident in discussion around their roles in civil society and family and kinship relations, in areas such as marriage and the education and upbringing of young people' (Lindores, 2014: 1).

In the study by Deuchar and Holligan (2008), they argued that sectarianism may still be used as a 'flashpoint' by young men 'for the expression of masculine aggression', particularly where alcohol (is) involved and in the (...) aftermath of an 'Old Firm' game' (pp.14–15) in 'hidden territories (dictating) where (they) could or could not go while wearing particular football colours'

(p.17). I proposed that, if gendered roles and expectations for ethno-religious identities require certain men,

'...to police the territorial boundaries of (..) groups in Scotland, then the other half of the story, that has been hidden, (may) require (certain) women to police the relational boundaries of these sectarianised ethno-religious identities' (Lindores, 2014: 1).

I argued that these findings pointed towards a socially assigned role for women in which they could choose to exert pressure on other women to conform to views of 'Scottish femininity' local contexts and familial cultures in which sectarian prejudices might be reproduced. In many ways it is the other half of the story presented in the study by Deuchar and Holligan (2008) which focused on masculinity, territoriality and sectarianism in Glasgow. Although they remarked that girls seemed 'less informed' about religious divides, their framing of sectarianism within the dominant narrative of hegemonic masculinities may explain why this discourse remained unchallenged by the young participants in a way that could have widened the focus to include the girls experience of the religious divide as it also impacted upon their lives (p.10). This thesis addresses this other side of the story to propose a new theory and definition of feminised sectarianism in Scotland.

As Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1993) point out, the 'boundary of the ethnic is often dependent on gender' (p.113) and 'constructions of nationhood usually involve specific notions of both 'manhood' and 'womanhood' (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 1). They argue that there is also a,

'...reliance on gender attributes for specifying ethnic identity; much of ethnic culture is organised around rules relating to sexuality, marriage and the family, and a true member will perform these roles properly' (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993: 113).

Therefore, thinking about sectarianism and the construction of boundaries between ethno-religious groups in Scotland, it is likely that both men *and* women are 'central in the construction and maintenance of sectarian divisions' (Sales, 1997: 47). When women are re-positioned as agents and given a central place and voice in the research enquiry, this can uncover their hidden

intersectional standpoints to reflect on the roles they might play to 'reproduce nations, biologically, culturally and symbolically' (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 2).

Walter (2013) takes up this challenge in her research into Irish women's personal and narrative accounts about their lives in Britain. She highlights two important concepts relating to 'embeddedness' and 'relationality'. These concepts describe the form of Irish women's 'linked lives' across generations in which they were encouraged to take forward 'part of the past' through the influence of close relationships with family, friends and neighbours (Walter, 2013: 42).

In a similar study with Orangewomen in Scotland, MacPherson (2014) also highlighted this role for family and friends in shaping the 'religious, social and emotional subjectivities' of female members of the Orange Lodge in Scotland. The evidence highlighted the complexity of the shifting dynamics of ethnic identity and the way in which these identities are formed through a 'close interplay in family and associational life' (p.91). Evidence suggested a deep-rooted attachment in which the participants' sense of self was derived from a collective memory of 'heritage' (ibid: 93). The heart of these identities was founded on 'family expectation' and a 'desire for friendship and social activities' that encouraged the women to express their religious commitment (ibid: 95). The social life and rituals connected to Orange Lodge functions were framed by a 'gendered religiosity' that actively encouraged 'sisterly relations' and intense community and family connections through references to traditional female roles in biblical scripture and Orange symbolism (ibid: 99).

Given these findings, the concepts of embeddedness and relationality are important considerations in developing a framework around women's capacity for agency in challenging and reproducing sectarianism in Scotland. In recent feminist studies in the sociology of religion, these concepts were also combined into a theory of 'embedded agency' to re-position religion as giving 'a capacity for action' which 'nurtures and validates (women to) exert agency through their efforts within (rather than against their) religious communities to improve their lives and those around them' (Prickett, 2015: 55) As Middleton

points out, these postmodern and post structural feminist theories can, 'accommodate people's multiple and simultaneous positionings in complex, changing, and often contradictory, patterns of power relations' (Middleton, 1993: 128) It shows how different religious women are not simply 'victims' of their culture but also 'active agents who stand in tension with as well as shape power hierarchies in their contexts' (Khurshid, 2015: 119). Or as Messer-Davidow (1995) explains, poststructuralist models of agency can open up opportunities for 'acting otherwise' from that which is expected of women in religious and familial ideologies (p.23). These opportunities are thought to reside in the contradictions of subjectivity, when subjects are 'interpellated' by conflicting discourses that require them to take up opposing positions. It is theorised that these contradictions provide opportunities to 'construct, recognise and exploit difference' rather than be forced to conform to their rules and assigned roles (ibid:27-28).

This offers the possibility that women can challenge sectarianism, repositioning them as agents who are nonetheless influenced and restricted by the specific local contexts of culture (through their relationships with family, friends and neighbours) in which they are embedded. These influences can, at the same time, exert pressure to conform which if left unchallenged can sustain and reproduce sectarianised boundaries across generations. It is for this reason that Messer-Davidow emphasises the importance of locating opportunities for 'acting otherwise' as an essential tool in the process of social transformation (ibid: 29). As she explains,

'...when they act conventionally, they maintain a given state of affairs; when they act otherwise, they "intervene in the word, or... refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a state of affairs' (ibid: 30).

This opportunity for change is about 'articulatory practices' that connect agency to new discourses when discursive conflicts arise through the course of human interaction (ibid: 31). This process highlights that new conceptual articulation is a necessary step in acting otherwise in feminist social action (ibid: 40).

2.5 Locating Sectarianism

Finally, in the small number of studies which *have* attended to women's agency there has been an emphasis on either their roles as reproducers of this social issue or actors for change. Moreover, such studies often choose to locate their research within the private spheres of social life and have often discovered the most relevant findings within familial and relational contexts.

Having reviewed the relevant literature to highlight the epistemological debates over naming and the discursive power of framing; it is to this final aspect of locating sectarianism to which I will now turn.

In research by the *Scottish Women's Convention* (2013) it was discovered that women faced pressure over school choices in mixed marriages (between Protestant and Catholics) and that deep-rooted traditional beliefs had a disproportional impact on women within family and religious contexts (p.5). They argued that the 'private face' of sectarianism is 'kept alive' by women while men were the 'public face'; perpetrating it in spheres such as football and parades (ibid: 6). Similarly, in my pilot study on gender and sectarianism in Scotland, findings also pointed towards the role that women might play, as protectors of identity in policing, maintaining and reproducing sectarianised boundaries between ethno-Christian groups in Scotland. These 'processes of sectarianisation' appeared to involve transmitting relationship and socialisation rules and in policing identity boundaries in particular community or family groups in areas such as friendship, marriage and the upbringing of children (Lindores, 2014).

In Northern Ireland, McLaughlin et al. (2006) also commented on Ward's study of motherhood in which they,

'...attested that in a deeply divided society mothers may not intentionally be reproducing the cultural norms that emphasise difference. (...) In an attempt to protect their family they may provide explanations of the situation, which are instrumental in maintaining divisions between communities' (p.614).

In contrast, several studies in Northern Ireland also emphasised the ways in which women actively challenged, rather than reproduced sectarianism, and, as a result, were able to transform tensions. Smyth and McKnight (2013) argued that women could also be 'at the forefront of softening sectarian boundaries' in which the connections between 'masculinity and sectarian hostilities' were found to prevent men from doing the same (pp.309–310).

In addition, research conducted into anti-Irish racism, mostly in England, also discovered the relevance of family and relational contexts in semi-private life. Bradley (2013) explores the significance of these familial contexts as a site for British-born Irish offspring to learn of their 'counter culture', believed to be at odds with British historical perspectives taught in the public sphere (p.73). Walter et al (2002) also found that 'the reproduction of Irish identities is largely a private matter, carried out within the home through family accounts of local connections, often reinforced by extended visits to parent/s 'home areas' (p.201).

These gendered studies in Scotland, Northern Ireland and England all illustrate the roles of different women as agents who can reproduce and challenge sectarianism (or anti-Irish racism) while also pointing to the relevance of private and familial contexts and the influence of these spheres for women's lives.

From a feminist perspective, the recognition that power relations also operate within these private and familial social relations has been a cornerstone of the 'political task to find voice', requiring a complete rethinking of what is political (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993: 80; Little, 2002: 164; Maguire, 2001: 63). Efforts to include these primary relationships within definitions of 'the political' have challenged the separation of the public and private spheres of social life.

'The public realm cannot be fully understood in the absence of the private sphere, and, similarly, the meaning of the original contract is misinterpreted without both, mutually dependent halves of the story' (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 4). She explains that, '... the construction of the boundary between the public and the private is a political act in itself' (ibid: 80).

Consequently, adopting a feminist approach to researching sectarianism in Scotland requires a focus on women's agency within these private and familial spheres; particularly due to the discursive power which frames this issue as one of hegemonic, working-class masculinities, mostly manifesting in the public spheres of social life. Such an approach attempts to provide a counter-narrative from below to better understand how sectarian divisions might also sustain patriarchal structures.

2.6 Research Questions

The literature review has justified this approach by highlighting several interconnected issues within the current research, public and policy contexts of the field. It has demonstrated that intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland has been constructed in ways that place limitations on how it is named, framed and located. It has been argued that this has led to the marginalisation of women's experiences of sectarianism; both as agents for change and actors who can also reproduce the issue inter-generationally and through the course of everyday life.

Therefore, the overarching research question is:

- *How do different women experience and perceive religious differences in Inverclyde?*

This re-orientates the issue to ensure that the research is centred on the lives of different women. It also frames the issue as one of 'religious difference' to avoid imposing a definition of what counts as legitimate experiences and manifestations of sectarianism.

The sub-questions focus on the (re)production and maintenance of ethnic and religious boundaries to uncover the actions and feelings women have about religious difference and how they experience their own subjectivities in relation to those they define as 'other'. These questions are:

- *What are the boundaries of ethnic and religious belonging in Scotland?*
- *How are these boundaries transmitted?*

- *How do women act and feel about religious difference?*
- *Are there negative judgements of the other or a ranking of one's own gendered cultural and religious norms and values as superior?*

As a result of these research questions and the choice to frame the research problematic as 'religious difference', rather than 'sectarianism', the scope of the findings was inevitably broadened. The original intention of this research was primarily to understand white-Scottish, British or Irish 'Christian' women's experiences of or attitudes towards sectarianism in Scotland. However, evidence of similar attitudes revealed participants' feelings, attitudes and beliefs, not just about Catholic 'others', but also about those they constructed as 'new' *Muslim* outsiders to the nation.

2.7 Islamophobia

The interviews took place in the run up to the Brexit Referendum in 2016; a time when Muslims in Britain were being used as scapegoats by politicians, the press and organisations on the far-right to gather support for the Leave campaign. Thus, it is later argued that findings from this research are not isolated or exceptional; they are symptomatic of a widespread problem of Islamophobia, reflective of a broader moral panic about Muslims in 'the West'.

Consequently, the following section has been added to the literature review to provide a brief overview of Islamophobia. This will cover three key areas. Firstly, definitions of Islamophobia and the difference between open and closed views; secondly, a brief history to critique the idea that this is a 'new' phenomenon; and thirdly, the use of culturalist and reformist discourses in racist media portrayals creating a moral panic about Muslims in the West. Although it is recognised that there is much more literature to review, these three areas have been carefully selected to contextualise the discussion of findings presented in chapter ten on *Muslims: the 'new' racialised outsider?* and chapter eleven on *Gendered Islamophobia*.

This section of the literature review on Islamophobia is continued in the discussion which follows in the theoretical framing in chapter three. This details

how these findings about Muslim ‘outsiders’ were interpreted in the context of the broader thesis. It conceives of intra-Christian sectarianism and Islamophobia as different modalities of religious racism that operate through similar processes of racialisation. It argues that there is a prism of racism in Scotland, as in the rest of the United Kingdom, in which individuals and groups are differentially positioned on a contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging to the nation. This operates in ways that are simultaneously raced, gendered and classed relative to a white, male, Protestant, middle-class identity. These unanticipated findings on attitudes towards Muslims have enabled a more nuanced and theoretically enriched perspective on the gendered and classed mechanisms that underpin the operation of these two distinctive modalities of religious racialisation.

2.7.1 Definitions of Islamophobia: open and closed views

The first major report on Islamophobia in Britain, entitled *‘Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All’* was published by Runnymede in 1997. As outlined on their website, Runnymede is the UK's leading independent race equality think tank. It generates intelligence for a multi-ethnic Britain through research, network building, leading debate, and policy engagement. This report built on the findings of a consultation document, taking on board comments and suggestions from a wide range of people and institutions. It provided a fuller explanation of Islamophobia and its consequences throughout society, and set out recommendations for practical action by government, teachers, lawyers, journalists and by religious and community leaders. The report stated that,

‘The term Islamophobia refers to an unfounded hostility towards Islam. It refers also to the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs’ (Runnymede Trust, 1997: 4).

Twenty years later, a second report was published entitled *‘Islamophobia: Still A Challenge for Us All’*, reflecting how ‘the phenomenon has become more complex and entrenched’ (Runnymede Trust, 2018: 1). It offered a shorter and arguably, as a result, a more hard-hitting definition; ‘Islamophobia is anti-

Muslim racism' (p.1). The longer definition, also included in this publication, was based on the UN definition of racism.

'Islamophobia is any distinction, exclusion, or restriction towards, or preference against, Muslims (or those perceived to be Muslims) that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life' (p. 1).

This conscious decision to focus more clearly on Islamophobia, as a form of racism, was justified because it operates 'not simply as an attitude or prejudice, but by denying people dignity, rights and liberties across a range of political, economic, social and cultural institutions' (p.7). This draws attention to the cultural component contained within modern racisms that are often overlooked in popular and public conceptualisations which still tend to focus on colour-coded racism. As the report points out, analysis of 'culture as a key component of current forms of racism is useful for understanding why its effects persist even as essentialist biological claims about race have become unfashionable' (p.8).

As Meer (2014) also points out this means that it is clearly an issue of the social construction of race and has little to do with 'theological logic'. Islamophobia, is thus, also about,

'The suspicion, dislike or hatred of Muslim individuals or groups, viewing their real or assumed 'Islamicness' as a negative trait. It therefore reflects a racial and not just a theological logic, and can take a number of forms including attitudes, behaviours, discourse and imagery' (Meer, 2014a: 69).

The second Runnymede report also pointed out that it is not intrinsically prejudiced to disagree with points of theology or religious practice, such as the treatment of women, or to criticise practices or policies of Muslim states, or regimes that run counter to internationally recognised human rights, or to condemn terrorist causes that claim to be underpinned by Islam. However, as the report states, a distinction must be drawn between legitimate criticism or disagreement and unfounded prejudice or bigotry. It is suggested that this can

be achieved through differentiating between open and closed views of Islam. This is to do with,

'1) Whether Islam is seen as monolithic and static or diverse and dynamic. 2) Whether Islam is seen as other and separate, or as similar and interdependent. 3) Whether Islam is seen as inferior, or as different and equal. 4) Whether Islam is seen as an aggressive enemy or as a cooperative partner. 5) Whether Muslims are seen as manipulative or sincere. 6) Whether Muslim criticisms of 'the West' are rejected or debated. 7) Whether discriminatory behaviour against Muslims is defended or opposed. 8) Whether anti-Muslim discourse is seen as natural or problematic' (Runnymede Trust, 2018: 4).

Each of these comparisons between open and closed views of Islam are useful distinctions to bear in mind. They shaped the analysis of the data presented in chapters ten and eleven, in which participants' essentialist and victim-blaming narratives inferiorised Muslims as belonging to an inherently violent, backward and sexist religion in ways that clearly demonstrated a closed and static discourse which fits with this definition and framing of Islamophobia.

In addition, many participants spoke of a Muslim presence as something 'new'. This problematic narrative placed the much-needed historical contextualisation of Islamophobia beyond discussion. As Brah et al. (1999) point out, *'these claims of newness are hard to substantiate if the historical roots of racist practises and the politics of difference in Britain are examined in any detail'* (Brah et al., 1999: 5).

2.7.2 Muslims in Britain: 'new' outsiders?

In fact, there have been Muslims in Britain for over 300 years; originally recruited as seamen known as 'lascars' and migrating in larger numbers in the 1950s due to labour shortages, particularly in the British steel and textile industries. By the 1960s the Muslim middle-class in Britain also expanded, following the *Commonwealth Immigration Act*, which encouraged professionals such as doctors and teachers to settle. This led to more established communities, the creation of Mosques, schools and specialist food outlets to meet religious, educational and dietary preferences (Runnymede Trust, 1997: 14).

In other words, the 'Muslim issue' in Britain pre-dates the more recent aftermath of the attacks on the World Trade Centre in 2001, the launch of the 'war on terror', the 'homegrown' terror attacks in London in 2005 and the response to so-called 'jihadis' heading to Syria to fight (or marry) for Isis (Runnymede Trust, 2018: 13). The focus of the 'issue' is most often traced back to the Satanic Verses affair in 1989 and the protests around the Gulf War in 1991. However, as the first Runnymede report pointed out, this dread and dislike of Muslims existed in western countries and cultures for centuries before and was used to legitimise the colonisation of Muslim countries by European powers during the Crusades. While it is recognised that there are many issues open to debate in tracing a line from the Crusades to the treatment of Muslims in our contemporary times; what does appear continuous is the way closed views of Islam are selectively used to racialise in ways that still construct Muslims as dangerous, uncivilised and backward 'outsiders' in Western nations (Runnymede Trust, 1997: 5).

As explored in more detail in the theoretical framework in chapter three, the fact that this is conceived of as a 'new' issue needs to be challenged. Although the contemporary context has fundamentally changed in recent decades, the processes and practices that construct Muslims as the 'new' racialised outsiders today, still contain many similarities and continuities with the past.

2.7.3 Culturalist and reformist discourses

2.7.3.1 *Muslims and terrorism*

Since 9/11 and 7/7 Muslims have come under greater media, policy and public scrutiny, both domestically and globally. Kundnani's book '*The Muslims are coming!*' explores the domestic front of the war on terror in the West. He argues that the lens of radicalisation has been used by western governments, non-state actors, scholars and various forms of media to construct Muslim populations, in the United Kingdom and United States, as potential terrorists. He demonstrates how the link between Islam and terrorism has been created and sustained through culturalist and reformist discourses which both collude to construct this 'Muslim problem' in the popular imagination of ordinary

people. While culturalists frame Islam and Muslims *themselves* as inherently violent 'by virtue of an inner fixed cultural essence'; reformists characterise Muslim terrorists as the political 'perversion' of Islam by an extremist minority who have 'misinterpreted' their religion as carrying a political message (Kundnani, 2015: 56–80).

The core argument at the heart of Kundnani's analysis is that these two public discourses both detach the issue of terrorist violence in the West from the broader political context of Western State violence in the Middle East. This has been achieved through shifting the focus onto the plane of Muslims' culture, religion or individual psychology; the fact that the number of terrorist incidents in the West have increased in Britain since the launch of the Iraq war, for instance, is therefore placed beyond discussion (ibid, p.103). This has led to the situation whereby even a Muslim who engages in legitimate political movements against foreign policy is automatically scrutinised and labelled as an 'extremist' in danger of radicalising and posing a threat to liberal order in the West.

Kundnani (2015) traces the consequences of these discourses, from the spread of the ideology underpinning the war on terror, to the creation of wider societal moral panics about Muslims in the West. He documents how government actions in the UK slowly moved from the surveillance of carefully identified extremist minorities by security officials, to later enlisting the support of teachers and youth workers in local communities, to gather counter-terrorism intelligence on children as young as four, deemed to be 'at risk of radicalisation' (pp.174-182). Similarly, he illustrates how media such as the Express, Mail and Star newspapers fed the masses a 'daily diet of cartoon Muslim fanatics' which are 'wholly consistent' with the narratives of far-right organisations such as the *English Defence League* who have campaigned against the 'creeping sharia of halal food being offered' on Britain's high streets (pp.239-241).

In the final sealing of the link between Muslims and terrorism in popular imagination, Kundnani's (2015) analysis of the spread of Islamophobia in the

UK can also be supported by evidence from a small but growing number of qualitative studies in Scotland, which illustrate how the everyday infiltration of these racialised discourses of fear and suspicion are being adopted by certain members of mainstream society (Goldie, 2018; Hopkins, 2004; Hopkins et al., 2015, 2017; Scottish Government, 2015b; Siraj, 2011). Signifiers such as wearing the hijab or buying halal food have become symbols of a Muslim identity that cannot be trusted due to the public's suspicion of Muslim allegiance to terrorist causes (Kundnani, 2015, p.108).

The 'need' for constant and everyday surveillance of Muslims is no longer solely in the hands of officials but is something which even ordinary people feel compelled to perform in their everyday social interactions with the Muslim 'other'. The classifying of Muslims into extremist and moderate is highly unstable. The boundary between the two is constantly shifting, putting moderate Muslims in the precarious position of continually being scrutinized for evidence that they really have distanced themselves from Islamist ideology.

The act of distinguishing a moderate from an extremist is not a matter of applying objective criteria (...) but a complex hermeneutic of suspicion, in which cultural, religious, and political signifiers are parsed for signs of allegiance' (Kundnani, 2015, p.108).

Kundnani's ideas about these two discourses are used in the analysis in chapters ten and eleven.

2.7.3.2 Muslim women and the media

The main platforms on which these racist, culturalist and reformist discourses are spread is undoubtedly through media. Cartoons and other reporting of Muslims is a major issue that clearly influenced participants attitudes and behaviours towards Muslims. Of interest in the context of this gendered research of religious racisms in Scotland, the Runnymede report (1997) highlights the lack of nuance and complexity when reporting about the treatment of Muslim women in Islamic faith. It points out that Christianity is still patriarchal and yet many Muslim women are more honoured and respected than in our more secular 'Western' culture which is heavily dominated by the male gaze.

'The claim that Islam oppresses women, in ways significantly different from and worse than the ways in which women are treated in other religions and cultures, is a recurring theme of much press coverage and comment' (Runnymede Trust, 1997: 58).

The issue with the constant barrage of negative media images, cartoons and discourse about Muslims in the British press is that they,

'...reflect and embody stereotypes in everyday conversation and culture, and give the stereotypes greater currency and credibility, such that they become part of common-sense, something to be taken completely for granted' (ibid.)

Consequently, the report recommends more regular reporting to the *Press Complaints Commission* of inaccurate, misleading or distorting reporting of Islam or Muslims (p.20).

2.7.3.3 Muslims and the moral panic in the West

This 'anxiety' about Islam transcends national boundaries. It is symptomatic of a broader moral panic about Muslims in the West. In recent years. There is evidence in participants' narratives, presented in chapters ten and eleven, which demonstrates how these political discourses, spread by the media and the resurgent political right, are infiltrating everyday speech. References to stories involving the French Front National and the removal of Pork from school dinners, attitudes towards the alleged 'Islamization' of education, talk of the street-based campaigns of the English Defence League (EDL) and use of the language adopted by politicians such as Nigel Farage, were all integrated into participants' racialised constructions of Muslims (Runnymede Trust, 2018: 56).

This ideology draws on historical forms of racism developing its own political language that is arguably most visible under the administration of Donald Trump and in elements of the Brexit Leave campaign in the UK. These 'charismatic leaders', have greater power to play on the public's emotions of fear and ignorance, further entrenching increasingly polarised debates about ethnic and religious minorities in both countries (Hochschild, 2016). In the UK, Brexit typifies the use of emotion in politics in contemporary Britain. Nostalgia for imperial Britain underpinned much of the Leave campaign's focus on white

working class victimhood; the 'deserving poor' whose rights to belong to the nation had allegedly been displaced by the EU's open door immigration policies (p.2397). At the same time, the right-wing press has simultaneously eroded support for the 'failed' project of multiculturalism (Sveinsson and Runnymede Trust, 2009); articulating a 'narrative of an excessively tolerant and politically correct, liberal, multicultural elite that has even abolished Christmas so as not to offend the enemy from within' (Kundhani, 2015, p.239).

The powerful influence of these discursive ideologies have created a permissive environment for the feelings of many white working class people to emerge (Kreiss et al., 2017: 471). This was clearly demonstrated in the polarised Brexit Referendum results. Nearly two thirds (64%) of those from the lowest social grades (C2, D & E) voted to Leave, while 58% of Christians also voted to Leave compared with 70% of Muslims who voted to Remain and 67% of Asian voters and 73% of Black voters who also both voted Remain. In other words, a majority of white working class older Christian voters wanted to leave the EU, while ethnic and religious minorities and those of higher social classes did not. Of those voting to Leave 81% thought multiculturalism was 'a force for ill' and 80% were also anti-immigration. Conversely, 71% of Remainers believed multiculturalism was a 'force for good' and 79% were also pro-immigration (See Lord Ashcroft Polls, 2016).

This short review of key literature establishes the context in which Islamophobia currently operates. It provides definitions and frameworks for analysis of participants' racialised articulations which construct Muslims as the 'new' outsiders to the nation in ways that are simultaneously gendered, raced and classed. As I will argue, these processes of racialisation are contained within a prism of racism that operates as part of a broader historical hierarchy of othering that places a white, Protestant, male and middle-class identity at the pinnacle. Thus, this thesis advocates an all-encompassing anti-racist framework that analyses the points at which different modalities of racism overlap to perpetuate white 'nativist' power and privilege as a key component of national identity. This theoretical framework will now be explored in chapter three which follows.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the theoretical approach underpinning the thesis. This provides a justification for rejecting the concepts of ethnicity, ethno-religion and ethnicisation in favour of 'race', racisms and racialisation to frame intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland. It also outlines the rationale behind employing a feminist intersectional analysis to study different modalities of racism. Finally, I explain the strengths of conceptualising sectarianism as part of a prism of racism in Scotland within a contingent intersectional hierarchy that serves to differentially racialise various 'outsiders' to the nation.

3.1 Defining Sectarianism

Definitions of intra-Christian sectarianism in academic and policy literature are influenced by epistemological and methodological stance. This impacts the level of analysis and the competing knowledge claims that characterise the polarised field of research in Scotland. As discussed in the literature review, the most recent official definition was published as part of the recommendations to Scottish Government by the independent *Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism (AGOTS)* (see p.24).

This comprehensive definition touched on a wide range of social spheres and aspects of identity to illustrate the complexity of sectarianism in Scotland. However, although it focused on the *public spheres* of sport and politics, and expressions of national identifications, it neglected the *semi-private and familial spheres* in which sectarianism can also manifest. As this thesis argues, mainstream definitions of Scottish intra-Christian sectarianism also routinely neglect the patriarchal structures within which gendered and classed religious ethnicities are raced; a position which will be fully outlined in this methodological chapter. It is, therefore, one of the key aims of this thesis to propose an alternative definition for *feminised* intra-Christian sectarianism as outlined above.

Most definitions of sectarianism employed in contemporary academic research have moved beyond dichotomous conceptualisations of a purely religious

tension between Protestants and Catholics. It is increasingly recognised that sectarianism is intertwined with additional characteristics such as ‘race’ and ethnicity, class and competing nationalisms. However, there is substantial variation in the degree to which different academics fully attend to the multi-dimensional complexity of these inter-locking characteristics. It remains the case that the most neglected aspect of mainstream definitions of sectarianism in Scotland is still its gendered character (Goodall and Malloch, 2013). None of the contemporary framings of this issue offer a fully gendered *intersectional* analysis that clearly articulates the interplay across all the constitutive characteristics of identities, as they specifically relate to intra-Christian sectarianism in the lives of different women in Scotland. This thesis attempts to address this gap.

3.2 Ethno-religion

Typically, many commentators will characterise sectarianism as an issue of ‘ethno-religion’. This term signifies that, although religion is the main marker used to differentiate between ethnic groups, that the idea of a common culture is of greater salience than strictly theological questions (Bradley, 1996: 96; Flint and Kelly, 2013b: 4–7; Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015: 53; Kelly, 2013: 38). Brewer (1992), for instance, describes sectarianism as a process of ‘ethnic differentiation (...) with the groups being seen as ethnic ones socially marked by religion’ (p.356). Social cues which are typically used to differentiate between these ‘ethno-religious’ collectivities can include aspects such as ‘residence, name, school, personal displays of cultural symbols as well as beliefs about variations in language and pronunciation, physical appearance, dress and physical features’ (Finn et al., 2008: 3). The *Northern Ireland Community Relations Council* (NICRC) shares this approach, stating that sectarianism is more about two ‘social identities’ in which religion merely operates as ‘a stereotypical cue,’ to ensure a ‘major difference between the two communities’ which can be ‘conveniently’ labelled (ibid.)

However, the danger of outlining a list of cultural markers or social cues is that ‘one cannot predict (...) which features will be emphasised or made

organisationally relevant by the actors' (Barth, 1998: 14). Moreover, ethnic identifications are not just visible, 'outer' characteristics or 'overt signals and signs' but are also about 'inner' value judgements or 'orientations' that 'set the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged' (ibid.) In particular, chapters nine and eleven in this thesis attend to the hidden dynamics of gendered and classed respectability politics, which are used to racialise Catholic and Muslim women for their allegedly 'failed femininities'. These chapters fall firmly within the realms of subjective value judgements that manifest as feminised sectarian prejudice and gendered Islamophobia in everyday life. Therefore, it is argued that mainstream definitions of sectarianism tend towards 'objective' lists of social markers in public life that place the different experiences of women and girls, in semi-private and familial spheres, beyond discussion.

Framing sectarianism as an ethno-religious cleavage only marginally widens the lens. It moves beyond a narrow focus on religion and theological differences to include aspects of culture or ethnicity. However, at the root of these critiques - that definitions neglect patriarchal structures that help to sustain this social issue - is a tendency towards flattening hierarchical power relationships across multiple intersecting axes more broadly. In other words, ethno-religion, used as a concept to frame intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland, does not only neglect the gendered divisions of social life but also the classed and raced divisions which, like gender, also shape and are shaped by sectarianism.

Ultimately, this relates to sociological debates within the field of race and ethnicity. The relationship between 'inner' and 'outer' identifications has played a key role in the development of contemporary formulations of ethnicity. Meer (2014) explains that whereas 'primordial' theories of ethnicity focused on constructionist accounts based on objective features of group belonging (such as blood and birth, with an emphasis on 'common ancestry' among kinship, inheritance and linguistic lines); the move towards constructivist accounts is more about subjective belief in different features of a common descent, culture or value system, irrespective of the reality of these beliefs (p.37). A greater

emphasis on these inner dimensions of ethnic differentiation has opened this field of study. It sheds light on how groups categorise themselves and shifts the focus to boundary maintenance; the 'social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained' over time (Barth, 1998: 10).

However, given that ethnicity is most commonly used to refer to cultural features of group identification (whether objective or subjective dimensions); its softer approach to categorisation is often devoid of rhetorical stance. The fact that intra-Christian sectarianism is also intimately related to a 'number of regional, class, gender and racial features which affect wider issues of identity in different ways' means that neither purely religiously based understandings nor ethno-religion, in isolation, are sufficiently nuanced to deal with this complexity (Bradley, 1996: 96). Using ethnicity to frame sectarianism frequently veers towards an apolitical stance that is divorced from a hierarchical analysis of the historically unequal relationships between these differentially positioned collectivities.

Consequently, this thesis argues that intra-Christian sectarianism is better conceived of as a modality of religious racism and not simply one of ethno-religious difference. The sectarian attitudes, actions and beliefs that still linger in 'pockets' of Scotland along the 'webs' of family culture are the remnants of the historical marginalisation of Irish and Catholic groups in Scottish society (Goodall, McKerrell, et al., 2015). The official collaborative of Scotland's national Presbyterian Church - conducted circa 1921-38 - actively campaigned against the 'menace of the Irish race to our Scottish nationality' (Rosie, 2008: 145). Since the Reformation, Scotland was a Protestant nation with legal obstacles preventing Catholics from full participation in Scottish society (Bruce, 1985). Although the Emancipation Act was passed in 1829, the Irish (a majority of whom were Catholic) started to arrive in greater numbers during the 1830's and 1840s as a result of the Potato Famine. Known for their willingness to accept low wages, they were seen as a threat for undercutting native labour (Ross, 1979: 33) and they quickly became a scapegoated and racialised group (Virdee, 2014). Irish Catholics in 19th century Britain constituted,

'A clearly demarcated racialised minority, members of an allegedly inferior Celtic race [who were racialised in ways that were] remarkably similar to that of 'visible' racialised minorities [using] a discourse of race and physical representations of Irish Catholics as simonised ape-like creatures of ridicule' (ibid: 4).

While contemporary racisms operate in more covert ways, they still involve categorisations laden with value judgements of 'inferiority' and 'superiority' that attempt to reproduce the same hierarchical social order. The embedded historical power dynamics of these categorisations should not be divorced from an analysis of the different modalities of racism. It is for this reason that the concepts of race, racism and racialisation are employed in the definitions and framing of sectarianism in this thesis. It re-problematizes this social issue in ways that better reveal the inferiorisation of Catholic women and girls. It also allows for a parallel discussion of more contemporary forms of religious racism, such as Islamophobia, which featured heavily in participants' experiences and understandings of religious difference during fieldwork interviews in Inverclyde.

3.3 Race, racism & racialisation

The extent to which this research on white intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland can, or even *should*, draw explicitly on the ideas of 'race', racialisation and racism has been a recurring issue of central theoretical concern throughout the entire process of developing this thesis. Such a framing was initially rejected following a literature review, prior to commencing fieldwork. It was only during the later stages of data analysis and the iterative process of drafting and re-drafting the empirical chapters, that racialisation - the dialectical process of constructing inferiorised collectivities based on any socially signified marker of boundary whether real or imagined - revealed itself once again as the more suitable way of framing sectarianism in Scotland (Meer and Modood, 2010; Miles, 1996; Murji and Solomos, 2005). This concept re-emerged as the overarching framework after recognising that the same feminised patterns of inferiorising the religious other, in attitudes towards Catholic women and girls in Scotland, were mirrored in the prejudiced attitudes towards Muslim women. I began to question whose interests were being upheld by employing the more

widely accepted framework of separating distinctive modalities of disparate racisms into different conceptual categories, or by using the more bland and neutral language of ethnic and cultural differences. In contrast, racialisation offers an all-encompassing anti-racist framework that provides the potential for raising awareness of the shared struggles of minority and oppressed groups, with a hope for the promotion of fostering solidarity across differences to unite around common causes for recognition and inclusion.

Initially, I had conceived of intra-Christian sectarianism as a dialectical process of *ethnicisation* 'by which meaning is attributed to socio-cultural signifiers of human beings' (Miles and Brown, 2003: 99). I rejected any discussion of 'race' based on an understanding shared by academics such as Cohen (1994) and Banton (1977). They argue that the conflation of 'race' and 'ethnicity' has broadened the scope of racialisation to involve too much 'theoretical inventiveness' which they believe has led to a lack of conceptual clarity that undermines racism that *does* explicitly involve 'race'; understood as an issue over colour and descent. Cohen, in particular, claims that any other use of racialisation is both 'dangerous and wrong' (Murji and Solomos, 2005: 13). He refutes the idea of academics such as Miles (1996) that issues such as anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish prejudice can be retrospectively understood as modalities of racism. Banton (1977) is also explicit and consistent in his position that if the colour-coded language of 'race' is absent then there cannot be any racialisation.

However, the language of 'race' that they refer to has experienced a cultural turn. Historically, 'race' was operationalised by invoking biological science to justify the hierarchical categorisation of humans by physical, mental and social characteristics to legitimate the domination of allegedly 'inferior' races by white European colonial powers (Meer, 2014a: 116). Since we now know that the biological 'fact' of race is not scientifically based (McChesney, 2015); attention has turned to racism and its measurable social and political consequences in ways that scientifically prove 'the social fact' of race (Bonilla-Silva, 1999; Loveman, 1999). Nevertheless, with this move away from crude biological stereotypes of inferiority to the 'new' racism - involving analysis of the less

direct discourses of 'cultural difference' - a historical superiority of one group's customs and traditions over another's is still implied (Cohen, 1999: 4). In other words, contemporary racisms need not be based on allegedly inferior somatic or phenotypical characteristics but on any processes by which 'race' as a social fact is created through various 'racial articulations' (Meer and Modood, 2010; Miles, 1989; Modood, 2005).

Racial articulations or 'racialisation' are terms used to 'signal the processes by which ideas about race are constructed, come to be regarded as meaningful, and are acted upon' (Murji and Solomos, 2005: 1). Race and racial meanings can be explicit or immediately obvious. However, in other circumstances, they might be 'inferred' through ethnicity, culture or social problems. In other words, it may encompass not just biologically distinctive 'races' but also processes of cultural differentiation or boundary creation and maintenance through more covert and hidden 'codes' in which 'the idea or language of race is not manifest at all' (ibid. p.4).

Miles (1996) articulates this through his criticism of the 'race relations paradigm'. He argues that this paradigm dominates British debates about the nature and origin of different forms of racism. This is characterised as an 'either/or' dichotomy between race and ethnicity. 'Race', in this limited context, is understood solely as a concept of 'blackness' and 'relations' are believed to be exclusively structured by 'white racism' towards 'blacks' (pp.243–247).

'Catholics are [categorised as] an 'ethnic group' and, like Protestants, are 'white'. (...) Given that the mark is cultural, then the groups are conceived as ethnically rather than 'racially' distinct. The conflict [of intra-Christian sectarianism] is thereby conceptualised as a variant of 'ethnic' rather than 'race' relations, a variant which is structured specifically by sectarianism rather than racism, in order to express the fact that religion (not 'race') functions as the mark of difference' (ibid. pp.246–247).

Miles (1996) argues that historical 'internal racisms' become obscured under this race relations paradigm. For Miles, issues such as sectarianism are rooted in the competing nationalisms across the United Kingdom; those 'colonised from within' such as the Irish and Catholics and other 'cultural peripheries' of

the United Kingdom (ibid. pp.233-238). They operate as a 'distillation of class politics' whereby class relations and poverty play significant discursive roles around which 'race' is framed (Murji & Solomos, 2005: 10).

Thus, contrary to Cohen and Banton, Miles defends his decision to analyse the treatment of groups, such as the Irish in Britain, as an issue of racialisation, despite the relative absence of any explicit contemporary reference to 'race' in their socially constructed otherness. Racialisation offers a paradigm to understand intra-white racisms as they are articulated with class, religious affiliation and competing nationalisms. This has led to a flourishing array of academic research and debate on the racialisation of the Irish (Garner, 2004; Hickman and Walter, 1995; Ignatiev, 1995; Walter, 2011), of other 'white' European groups in Britain, such as those of Greek Cypriot and Polish origins, (Anthias, 2002; Rzepnikowska, 2018) as well as the racialisation of religious groups such as Muslim (Meer, 2008; Meer and Modood, 2009, 2010) and Jewish people (Gordon, 2015; Knepper, 2007; Meer and Modood, 2012).

Racialisation enables an analysis of these seemingly disparate modalities of contemporary racisms without the need to rely on phenotypical 'race' as the sole badge of 'difference', precisely because it can occur based on any socially-signified boundary marker. This marker can be the use of religion as is the case with intra-Christian sectarianism or Islamophobia. This is employed in the three empirical chapters on feminised sectarianism and Muslims: the 'new racialised outsider' (see chapters 9-11). Crucially, these 'differences' need not be overt, visible or objective signifiers but can also include negative subjective evaluations of the 'other' that serve to racialise Catholic and Muslim women through gendered and classed articulations that simultaneously attribute racist views of inferiority as essentialised characteristics of the respective religious collectivities to which these 'others' are forcibly assigned. Other data chapters on Catholic Schools and the Orange Order also address the processes of racialisation as they draw on overt and 'outer' markers that are more traditionally connected to sectarianism in the mainstream Scottish literature (see chapters 6-8).

Broadening the scope of the social phenomena subsumed within the concept of racialisation is criticised by academics such as Cohen and Banton. As explained, they argue that it lacks conceptual clarity. However, it is precisely the malleability of the concept that makes for such a fruitful analysis of a dynamic, contingent and multi-layered social phenomenon like sectarianism. Moreover, racialisation offers greater practical potential as a political tool for challenging racism, in all its forms because it allows researchers to highlight the similar processes that are used to construct and reconstruct different racialised outsiders to the nation over time.

However, although Miles draws attention to the strengths of employing racialisation for researching different modalities of racism that are differentially raced, classed and rooted in competing nationalisms; his Marxist-centric framing over-emphasises class-relations at the expense of examining the ways in which these relations are indelibly shaped by gendered divisions that impact *the lives of different women* in ways that are also raced and classed. Moreover, he overlooks the agency of different female social actors in challenging these intersecting structures of differential racialisation. Unlike mainstream framings of racialisation, and research into intra-Christian sectarianism in particular, the central feminist stance of this thesis is to place different women's experiences at the heart of an analysis that recognises the links between sectarianism and patriarchal structures that are also raced and classed.

3.4 Feminist Intersectionality

This feminist analysis was made possible through combining the concept of racialisation with intersectional theory. Intersectionality,

'...refers to the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practises, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power' (Davis, 2008: 68).

Intersectionality is often recognised as one of the most important contributions of feminist scholarship. Matsuda referred to the intersectional approach as,

'asking the other question'- asking which other forms of oppression are at play in addition to the original feminist concerns of sexism and patriarchy (Matsuda, 1991: 1189). Critical race theorist, Kimberlé Crenshaw, is recognised as having coined this new feminist 'buzzword' to describe the need to articulate and highlight the complexities of multiple, intersecting categories of identities and their systems of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2008). Crenshaw argued that the original embracing of identity politics led to a conflation of intra-group differences so that the category 'women' does not capture the ways in which both racism and sexism intersect, in particular, in the lives of black women. Therefore, she proposed intersectionality to enable a more integrated approach that addresses the interaction between, within and across the multiple axes of inequality (Krizsan et al., 2012).

Although, originally a concept for highlighting the 'triple jeopardy' of race, gender and class as experienced by women of colour (King, 1988); more recently, intersectionality has been employed to deconstruct similar internally ethnicised and externally 'racialised' hierarchies of belonging subsumed within the 'invisible knapsack' of whiteness (Delgado and Stefancic, 1997; Hickman and Walter, 1995; Margolin, 2015; Nayak, 2003b). As Nayak argues,

'Whiteness is not simply constituted in relation to blackness as previous race studies expertly show, but it is also fashioned through and against other versions of whiteness' (Nayak, 2003a: 320).

Applying the concept of intersectional whiteness to sectarianism in Scotland is a way to problematise the unrealistically homogenous 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' dichotomy which would otherwise present a flat two-way process of racialisation that ignores the historically marginalised position of Catholics and the Irish in Britain.

Such an analysis of racialisation is informed by post-modernism and post-structuralism to highlight the '*contingent, uneven and unexpected features of the racialisation process*' (Murji and Solomos, 2005: 19). This places an emphasis on 'differential racialisation' to understand how 'intersecting modalities of power' relate to additional social divisions such as gender, class and religion. Brah, for instance, treats differential racialisation as,

'A concept for analysing processes of relational multi-locationality within and across formations of power marked by the articulation of one form of racism with another, and with other modes of differentiation' (Brah in Murji & Solomos, 2005: 19).

This approach has enabled a gendered and intersectional analysis of sectarianism that can take into account how sectarian divisions might also sustain patriarchal structures, to better understand how sexism and sectarianism may be intertwined in ways that are simultaneously raced and classed (Goodall and Malloch, 2013: 175).

This theoretical framing enabled the analysis of the similarities and differences between sectarianism and Islamophobia and drew attention to the gendered character of the processes of racialisation that differentially positioned Catholic and Muslim women in ways that were remarkably similar. In other words, the practical benefits of using this framing in anti-racist research outweighs the theoretical preference of academics such as Cohen and Banton for clear-cut categorisations. It opens up opportunities for exposing the racialised hierarchies on which the nation has been built; offering hope for the transformation of these structures in the struggle for greater racial equality.

3.5 A prism of racism: racialised outsiders

Using racialisation in this way might also be accused of portraying 'racial equivalence' in the distinctive experiences of Catholic and Muslim women in Scotland (Song, 2014). Therefore, it has been suggested that the different *modalities of racism* presented in this thesis are better conceived of as part of a contingent intersectional hierarchy of racialised belonging rather than as equivalent or even parallel processes. As such, the different forms of racism are conceptualised as part of a 'prism of racism' in which the criss-crossing processes of racialisation are seen to have some similarities but, equally, some fundamental differences (Miles, 1989; 1996; 1982; Brewer, 1992; Kelly, 2003; Virdee, 2014; 2017; Meer & Nayak, 2015; Meer & Modood, 2012; 2010; Garner, 2004; Walter, 2011; Murji & Solomos, 2005). The analogy of intra-Christian sectarianism being part of a 'prism of racism' in Scotland was first

articulated by Elinor Kelly back in 2003 (Kelly, 2003; see also Brewer, 1992). Recently, others have since revisited this framing and there is a growing collaboration between those researching different modalities of racism under the same umbrella of 'racialisation' in Scotland (See Davidson et al., 2018).

One academic whose work helps to provide the historical context and rationale for this approach is Satnam Virdee. Virdee's research shows how shifting historical processes of re/racialisation have been employed, over time, to differentially position various religious and ethnic minority groups who have come to live in Britain (Virdee, 2014). By analysing intra-Christian sectarianism and Islamophobia in this way it can highlight the malleability of the boundary of belonging to the nation and the way in which it has been recurrently mobilised to marginalise and exclude different ethnic groups at all levels of society throughout history. At the heart of Virdee's argument, for instance, is that by bringing together the social groups impacted by the British colonisation of Ireland, North America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia, the parallels and differences between their experiences as racialised minorities within the UK can produce a more all-encompassing analysis of 'the nation' as it interacts with class struggles. To do this requires a conceptualisation of racism, as not simply processes of cultural differentiation or colour-coded prejudice and discrimination but, as a broader historical politics of power in which 'the British nation' has been underpinned by '*a shared allegiance to Protestantism and the idea of an Anglo-Saxon race*', an idea that he shows also had influence in Scotland (p.4). Virdee clearly demonstrates how the idea of the British nation was constructed around the notion of a singular people united by racial whiteness and a shared religion and national identity. This allowed for different racialised others such as the Irish Catholics, Jews, Asians and those of Caribbean and African descent to be constructed as unrespectable members of the working class. In other words, class relations were indelibly nationalised *and* racialised (p.5).

Virdee traces the historical contours of these different modalities of racism, starting with the gradual incorporation of Irish Catholics in 19th Century Britain. They were slowly re-imagined in ways that allowed their belonging within the

confines of a slightly expanded notion of the British nation-state. Their incorporation relied on shifting the focus of the racialised other onto different minority ethnic, racial or religious groups; such as the newly arrived immigrants of Jewish descent. The Catholic Irish were then re-imagined as fellow white citizens who shared in a Christian faith that was suddenly compatible with Britishness. In consolidating another 'newer' modality of racism, namely 'anti-Semitism', the Irish were able to stake their claim as part of the re-imagined 'British' nation, joining their white English counterparts in opportunistically reproducing the same 'scientific' and cultural racist ideas that had once been used against them. Fascist organisations such as the *British Brother's League* (BBL), with its hostile anti-Semitic stance, sprung up in London in much the same way as the current *English Defence League* (EDL) operates to spread their Islamophobic rants against the Muslim community in our contemporary historical moment (pp.33-59). Over time, *'the new unionism slowly and increasingly took on a virulent British nationalism underpinned by a shared allegiance to race and Empire'* (p.57). This was shaped by an idea of white supremacy that shifted focus from the Irish, then to the Jewish population and then onto new 'non-white' colonised others who came to live in Britain; such as those of Asian, African and Caribbean descent.

The argument in this thesis is that these dynamic and contradictory processes of inclusion and exclusion, along racialised lines, today target Muslims as the 'new' primary racialised outsider in Britain. That is not to say that, at times, the 'old' Irish Catholic outsider cannot still be excluded. The chapter on *feminised sectarianism*, for instance, demonstrates certain conditions under which women may still reproduce intra-Christian sectarianism, in classed ways that racialise Catholic women and girls as possessing a 'demonised sexuality' that serves to undermine their contraceptive agency and choice. However, in contemporary Britain, anti-Catholic sectarianism pales in comparison to the increasingly mainstream anti-Muslim sentiment (Hopkins et al., 2017; Kyriakides et al., 2009; Meer & Modood, 2015, 2012, 2010, 2009; Kundhani, 2015; Modood, 2005).

Although this might suggest a hierarchical structure to the conceptualisation of different racisms, that is reflective of our contemporary context, that is not to say it should be accepted or normalised. It has been suggested that one way of overcoming this is by adopting the analogy of a prism of racism within which different modalities of racism are cross-cutting.

Moreover, highlighting the continuities and discontinuities of racialisation over time is not to suggest that there *should* be direct parallels drawn between intra-white, intra-Christian sectarianism and anti-Muslim (or people of colour) difference. The prism analogy allows us to think of intra-Christian sectarianism and Islamophobia as possessing some parallels but, equally, some fundamental differences (Brewer, 1992; Kelly, 2003). As 'white ethnics', Catholics have greater choice over whether and when they choose to identify simply because of their relative privilege and 'invisibility' compared to non-white, non-Christian groups (Waters, 1990). Ultimately, this framing demonstrates how the same people that were once the racialised outsiders (the 'old' others) now redraw the boundaries of belonging to exclude the 'new' Muslim others who are now constructed to represent what one participant referred to as a more '*clear and present religious difference for people to actually navigate their way around*' (Alice).

However, Virdee also shows how a small contingent of Scots from Irish Catholic descent did choose to resist these racialising ideologies; creating a more inclusive politics of activism and solidarity across ethnic and racial differences, in collective attempts to democratise society (p.5). This was based on sophisticated understandings of their shared outsider status with other ethnic and religious minorities living in Britain and of their shared understandings of colonial oppression in their respective homelands. Born to Irish Catholic parents in Edinburgh, James Connolly's '*deep sense of exclusion from dominant constructions of the Scottish nation, underpinned by a shared allegiance to Protestantism,*' led him to interpret his class-based poverty and experiences of racialised national exclusion as requiring a broader, more inclusionary, socialist-internationalist approach that worked alongside the

primary racialised outsider of his era; Jewish members of the working-class (pp.68-70).

'By virtue of their contradictory location in the nation-state, [Irish Catholics] could universalize the particularist concerns of individual struggles to the advantage of all who were exploited and oppressed' (p.26).

In 1903 Connolly co-founded the *Socialist Labour Party* which played an influential role in shaping working class rejection of racism, especially on the Clydeside; which includes areas such as Greenock in which my research took place. One such movement, often held up as an example of solidarity and collective action, that made a conscious effort to retain solidarity across ethnic and racial lines, is the female-led protests at Singer's sewing machine factory in Kilbowie in 1911 which united the Irish Catholics, Protestants and Jews who worked there (p.70).

'It instilled in a generation of activists in the Socialist Labour Party the necessity of fashioning a political strategy that rejected divisions based on racism, gender and skill, and that relied instead on mobilizing the collective strength of the working class to effect radical social change' (p.71).

In the 1970s as the boundaries of the nation were being remade, yet again, the focus shifted from Catholic and Jewish racialised outsiders to Black and Asian communities. At this time, many 'whites' of Irish Catholic and Jewish descent 're-discovered' their own histories of racial and religious oppression to engage in a bridging role to challenge the backlash these newer migrant communities were facing, as a result of the rise in fascist and racist discourses and practices more broadly. Members of the Irish Catholic and Jewish diaspora then formed the *Anti-Nazi League* (p.142). There was an uneven and, at times, contradictory '*desire among a small but growing element of the white community to join with those from minority communities in actively challenging racism*' (p.132).

There are some promising historical examples of working-class resistance against racism that transcends multiple axes of identification. Therefore, by

recognising the similarities in processes of racialisation across disparate modalities; there are more opportunities for fostering solidarity across these differences, to create a more united struggle against all racisms. Racialisation, the creation of 'racialised outsiders' and the two modalities of religious racism (intra-Christian sectarianism and Islamophobia) are, therefore, theorised as operating within this broader prism of racism in Scotland for the reasons outlined above.

3.6 Feminised Sectarianism and Gendered Islamophobia: similarities and differences

One of the key findings of this research was the way feminised intra-Christian sectarianism operated as one modality of religious racism in Inverclyde. This interpretation was concretised during the analysis of participants' Islamophobic attitudes and behaviours. This came to light because of the remarkable number of similarities between the discursive mechanisms employed by participants in their racialised narrative constructions of these two different 'outsiders'. These can be divided into three broad similarities. Firstly, participants rehearsed stereotypes about Catholic and Muslim women's alleged propensity towards having more children. Secondly, they also essentialised Catholic and Muslim women in similar ways that ignored their agency and the diversity within their respective faith traditions. And thirdly, they often engaged in unconscious strategies of victim-blaming constructing both Catholic and Muslim women as making unassimilable cultural 'choices' that caused them to be discriminated against. These are all well documented practices of racism.

Historically, racist ideologies, making pronouncements over who has the right to belong to the nation, have been heavily gendered (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993; Yuval-Davis, 1996, 1997, 2006). Gender relations, women's role, sexuality and relationships with men are key sites of these political struggles. This final section of the theoretical framework explains why Islamophobia and intra-Christian sectarianism should be analysed together. It outlines how racialisation, feminist intersectionality and the analogy of a prism of racism,

already discussed above, should come together to create an all-encompassing anti-racist framework with which to analyse and tackle different modalities of racism.

However, having said that, striking the balance in the tension between similarities and differences between different racisms requires a deeper analysis of racial articulations to highlight different motivations, histories, and social experiences, to enable their contextualisation within the historical and contemporary structured systems of power and domination within which they are embedded. Thus, it is argued that sectarianism is an intra-Christian issue between two branches of the same faith and a phenomenon that, in the United Kingdom, is largely experienced as an intra-white 'horizontal' issue over status, power and rights to belong to the nation. As mentioned above, whiteness is constructed through and against other versions of whiteness so that some white people come to be seen as inferior to others (see p.68). This thesis argues that, Catholicism is seen as an inferior form of 'being white' in Britain. In contrast, Islamophobia is an inter-religious issue that operates along vertical axes of oppression. And yet, although there are key differences between these two different modalities of religious racism, at the core of the contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging to the nation is the gendered and classed issue of white power and privilege that underpin them both.

Brah et al. (1999) share this stance, pointing towards the multiplicity of power relations shaping changing processes of racialisation over time. As they state, taking two historical and contemporary significant issues (like anti-Irish racism or anti-Catholicism and Islamophobia) 'reveal that there is nothing new about cultural differentiation as a basis for racist discourse in this country' (p. 5). It is only by using this over-arching framework with its more inclusive conceptualisations that avenues can be opened to reveal the multi-dimensionality of disparate racisms and the similarities in their operation. Looking at the processes of racialisation and not the product reveals that the matrix of oppression is intersectional and they work to maintain white power and privilege. The danger of exclusive conceptualisations, that divide the field into disconnected systems of prejudice and discrimination, is that it conceals

the recurring nature of the processes that work to maintain certain forms of white power and privilege across these shifting historical contexts.

In other words, there is nothing new about Islamophobia; the processes of racialisation witnessed in participant narratives during fieldwork are well established and documented patterns of racism. Alexander (2017) also chooses to analyse anti-Catholicism and Islamophobia drawing together two summers in American history of heightened anti-Catholicism (1854) and Islamophobia (2010). He highlights their common elements as they 'intersect with and reflect the macro-historical systemic perpetuation of white power and privilege as a key component of national identity'.

In this way, he contends that looking at disparate forms of racism simultaneously under this same theoretical umbrella helps to broaden the discourse from a relatively narrow and historically myopic focus to include a more sustained consideration of the endemic "matrix of oppression" which has shaped, and continues to shape our respective histories.

'While vast and significant contextual differences between [anti-Catholicism and Islamophobia] abound, the outline of a distinct "matrix of oppression" appears to be emerging out of an historical fog. (...) This matrix has to do with the intersection - in the 18th century, in the current moment, and presumably at other moments in the intervening history - of anti-Catholicism, Islamophobia, and the social construction and maintenance of white power and privilege otherwise known as systemic racism.'

Carrying on from the work of Elinor Kelly, in my thesis, I refer to this as the 'prism of racism in Scotland' (see p.70). In this sense, there is nothing new about Islamophobia; it is as much about racism as anti-Catholicism, anti-Irish prejudice, anti-Semitism and colour-coded racism which was historically located on the plane of alleged biological or somatic features rather than culture, ethnicity or religion.

Similarly, in chapter two of the latest Runnymede report, entitled 'Racing Islamophobia', it was argued that, one of the biggest issues has been the separation of anti-Muslim discourse from this longer and broader historical and social context of racism. As a result, many attempt to deny that Islamophobia

is racism, to erase the differences within and between different Muslim groups and to deny the histories and practices of solidarity, resistance and resilience across different minority communities in Britain' (Runnymede Trust, 2018: 13). But while the contemporary context many have transformed, and the discourse may have changed, the fact that it is still racism at its core has not altered. Thus, it is argued that, re-racing these two modalities of prejudice and discrimination is essential to re-centre its social, structural and historical context, to highlight how the labels of 'Muslim' and 'Catholic' (or variations of these) are employed as ethnic and racial categories, to draw attention to the ways in which both groups are victims of racism and to emphasise that these are ascribed categories and not simply issues of adherence or individual choice (p.14). Otherwise, Muslims and Catholics continue to be victim-blamed, exceptionalised or seen as a 'problem' to be solved. Crucially, it also allows problematic diminutions of racism to be challenged; such as those which suggest that minority groups must lose their cultural distinctiveness in order to be 'accepted'.

Finally, in chapter eleven of the aforementioned report, entitled 'Everyone is a feminist when it comes to Muslim women', Rashid (2018) also argues that gendered discourse in public debate about Islam is one of its key features (p.61). It dominates discussions of Islam in media, and policy debates and, as this thesis demonstrates, there is evidence to suggest this is also reflected in popular imagination. Rashid examines how debates about the veil, forced marriage and honour-based violence and the gendering of the 'war on terror' all contribute to stereotypes of Muslim women as oppressed and passive victims.

As previously explained, the gendered character of sectarianism was the central problematic which originally prompted this research. The fact that the evidence also suggests that anti-Muslim racism reflects these gendered continuities and parallels with other types of racism reaffirms the thesis and this over-arching theoretical framework. One participant even made a similar statement to the title of this report's chapter title when she claimed that suddenly everyone in her work seemed to be a feminist when talking about

Muslim women (see section 11.4). This shift to 'values' tended to be an approach adopted by middle-class, more liberal and educated women who often defended their views about Muslims through appealing to these ideals about gender equality. However, again there is nothing new about this strategy. An analysis of these articulations under the auspices of a broader framework of racialisation enables these well-established mechanisms to be identified as diminutions of gendered racism.

'The effect of many of the public and policy debates on Muslim women is to locate the problem of gender inequality squarely within Islam rather than in patriarchy more generally. (...) This means that for Muslim women, gender inequality is inextricably linked to anti-Muslim racism and one cannot be tackled without dismantling the other. They are also subject to patriarchy in wider society, not only from within their communities. (...) People who purport to be feminist when it comes to Muslim women, while at the same time affirming Islamophobic tropes and failing to address wider gender or other inequalities, are inconsistent' (pp.63-64).

In other words, these ideas can only be achieved through recognising the diversity among different types of women, working to create a more inclusive feminist movement that is built on intersectional claims-making, creating solidarity across these axes of difference to advance gender equality for all women. The all-encompassing anti-racist theoretical framework proposed in this chapter enables this type of analysis and action.

Chapter 4 Methodology and Research Design

This chapter outlines the methodological framework, as well as choices in research design. It provides a justification for the use of intersectional feminist standpoint epistemology and qualitative methodology. The section on research design presents the overarching research questions and the chosen methods of biographical narrative and semi-structured interviews. It also evaluates the approach to sampling, and access to participants, and lays out the process of data analysis. Finally, the chapter closes by outlining ethical and reflexive considerations before setting out the criteria against which the empirical findings can be judged for their authenticity and reliability.

4.1 Methodological Framework

As highlighted in the literature review, many of the dominant truth claims about sectarianism in Scotland centre on three interconnected epistemological debates that have contributed to the silencing and marginalisation of the voices of ordinary women; distorting their everyday experiences of sectarianism (see chapter two). The epistemological dichotomies polarising this field of research were divided into two broad and diametrically opposed groups of researchers. This was then traced across the three related debates of 'myth versus reality', 'expert versus lay' and 'perception versus evidence' (see literature review). In this section, I reiterate what an intersectional feminist standpoint epistemology has to offer; to re-problematise these dichotomous narratives, by highlighting parallel criticisms of the construction of knowledge developed in feminist theory.

One of the earliest arguments of feminist theory was concerned precisely with this issue of the construction of knowledge claims in scientific research. Initially, feminists set out to challenge positivism, as the dominant epistemology, which believed in a direct relationship between reality and our ability to see, know and interpret 'the truth' (Oakley, 1998). Challenging the alleged neutrality of experts became a cornerstone of feminist scholarship which sought to validate personal experience as an important source in the

construction of alternative, non-expert knowledge about the social world (DuBois, 1983). Feminist sociologists drew attention to the gap between personal experiences and the public systems or 'ruling relations' which constructed knowledge in ways which did not reflect the realities of the different experiences of women (Smith, 1988). The power differential between the experts and non-experts, the researched and the researcher also led to critiques of the power differences between ways of knowing and the very systems of thought used to differentiate between fact and perception (Ackerly and True, 2010: 21–39). Sandra Harding most clearly articulated this central question when she asked '*whose knowledge counts?*' (Harding, 1991) These type of questions probed feminist researchers to seek out the most reliable ways to learn about the lives of marginalised groups from their subject positions, grounded in the standpoints of their lived experiences to replace 'the view from above' with the 'view from below' (Mies, 1983: 123). More recently, black feminist scholarship has taken feminism further, leading the way in challenging essentialised constructions of 'women'; introducing the term 'intersectionality' as a way to articulate the need to account for the multiple and overlapping effects, not just of gender, but other important characteristics shaping social realities such as race, class and religion or ethnicity (Berger and Guidroz, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991; Krizsan et al., 2012).

4.1.1 Intersectional Feminist Standpoint Epistemology

It is for these reasons that the methodological stance employed in this thesis is underpinned by an overarching feminist research ethic. This recognises that all knowledge is socially situated, that there are multiple definitions and experiences and, therefore, there is no singular 'truth' about sectarianism in Scotland. There are, however, 'less partial' knowledge claims which can be revealed (Mies, 1983).

Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore intra-Christian sectarianism from the standpoints of different women in order to contribute towards a 'framework of multiple realities' (Thomas, 2010: 78). Feminist standpoint theory is,

'A theory of knowledge that argues that one can "know" the world more fully and more critically (with less of a material or ideological stake in maintaining the status quo) from the subject positions of the marginalised or oppressed' (Ackerly and True, 2010: 27).

This is an appropriate epistemological stance for the research problematic because it also recognises that power and privilege can hide behind approaches and methods which have dominated a field of study, in ways that have inadvertently marginalised or silenced the experiences of different women. It is argued that this occurs particularly when social scientists attempt to present themselves, their research framing and data analysis as impossibly neutral, objective and impartial. Standpoint epistemology focuses on the way in which gender roles are constructed to position women as 'other', silencing or marginalising their experiences and understandings, in relation to the dominant picture of social and cultural life which has been built up around masculinity and its widespread expressions (Harding, 1991, 2004; Hartstock, 1983; Smith, 1988).

However, two objections have been put forward to challenge standpoint epistemology. The first relates to the difficulty of knowing against which criteria knowledge generated in this way might be defensible in the face of opposition. The second poses the need for recognition of the plurality across different women's standpoints (Blaikie, 2009: 103). Two of the proposed solutions, advocate 'strong objectivity' (Harding, 1991) and intersectionality (Cho et al., 2013; Davis, 2008; McCall, 2005).

Firstly, Harding (1991) argues that 'strong objectivity,'

'...extends the notion of scientific research to include systematic examination of powerful background beliefs (...) in order to be competent at maximising objectivity' (p.149).

This stands in contrast to what she refers to as 'weak objectivity'. This is said to offer scientists the hope that their knowledge claims will be accepted as objectively valid, without the need to critically examine their own historical commitments from which their research is generated and constructed. Feminist standpoint theorists argue that all scientists – but particularly those

with the most power and privilege relative to their research subjects – need to be concerned with the origins of their problematics and practices and be able to clearly outline the social values and interests that these support. They propose that stronger objectivity can be achieved through grounding research in women's everyday lives, to strengthen or maximise the standards of objectivity. This is based on the understanding that these social situations will generate knowledge claims with an enhanced objectivity for several reasons. Firstly, that women's lives have been historically neglected and devalued as starting points for research; secondly, that their oppression relative to men gives them less of a stake in maintaining the status quo, and finally, that the knowledge this generates is a different way of seeing and learning about social reality from the perspective of these *outsiders* to the *ruling relations*. (Collins, 1986; Harding, 1991; Hartstock, 1983; Smith, 1988) In other words, this approach justifies its 'conscious partiality' based on the premise that different women's experiences have been largely absent from mainstream debates on sectarianism in Scotland and that the view 'from above' needs to be challenged by the view 'from below' to create a less partial overall picture (Mies, 1983). This epistemological stance facilitates research with strengthened standards of objectivity.

A second criticism of standpoint epistemology is how to deal with the plurality of women's experiences without descending into absolute relativism. Intersectionality enables shared aspects of women's different experiences to be identified through conceptualising the points at which axes of difference overlap. In other words, the gendered differences and similarities across the characteristics of race, class, ethnicity and religion can be simultaneously revealed. For instance, in the chapter on *feminised sectarianism* in Scotland, an intersectional analysis enabled 'the standpoint of women' to be revealed in the topic of female sexuality. This opened avenues to discuss the ways in which standards of female morality were not just gendered but also differentiated by class and religion. Catholic women were said to be racialised because of the way they were positioned as inferior, on a contingent intersectional hierarchy that used a white, middle-class Protestant subjectivity

as the standard against which other allegedly 'failed femininities' were judged. Thus, something collective can be said about the standpoint of 'women' without, on the one hand, essentialising their experiences into a homogenous collectivity or, on the other hand, implying that there is an unrestrained moral relativism whereby it becomes impossible to draw out any concrete socially scientific conclusions. However, some standpoints *are* uniquely privileged over others and it is here that intersectional feminist standpoint theorists focus their attention.

4.1.2 Qualitative Methodology

Linked to these epistemological considerations is the choice of research methodology. It is important to recognise the value of both quantitative and qualitative research in order to understand the strengths and weaknesses of each.

As Westmarland (2001) explains, within feminist scholarship,

'Quantitative methods (have) traditionally (been) associated with words such as positivism, scientific, objectivity, statistics and masculinity. In contrast, qualitative methods have generally been associated with interpretivism, non-scientific, subjectivity and femininity' (p.1).

These associations have led some feminist researchers to completely reject quantitative approaches claiming that they are in direct conflict with the goals of feminism (Graham & Rawlings in Westmarland, 2001: 1). However, as Oakley (1998) explains this paradigm argument has led to an antagonistic dichotomy which is 'unnecessary, inaccurate and ultimately counter-productive' (p.176). Ultimately, the critical question should be the appropriateness of the method to the research questions. Therefore, rather than attacking methodological approaches, feminist concerns can be better articulated through emphasising epistemological issues pertaining to alleged 'objectivity' to *'highlight how mainstream definitions of valid knowledge may unintentionally reflect the partial view of men as the dominant group'* (ibid.: 724).

This is of importance because much of this field of research is also unhelpfully polarised by competing methodologies and epistemologies. For instance, Devine pointed out that researchers of sectarianism in Scotland either use statistical procedures to generalise from their data, or rely more on *'phenomenological techniques and their worldviews to extract meaning'* (Devine, 2000: 261). It is for this reason that it is important to emphasise, acknowledge and make explicit links between the value and contribution of both quantitative and qualitative techniques in contributing to the advancement of research into sectarianism in Scotland (see also, Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005).

As stated elsewhere, quantitative methods used in this field have already provided an indication of greater equality between intra-Christian groups in Scotland (Bruce et al., 2004; Rosie, 2004). However, *'even if we find no evidence of structural disadvantage, we cannot use this to argue that sectarian behaviour no longer exists'* (Scottish Government, 2013b: 19). This is of particular relevance given that the different experiences of women and girls is comparatively under-researched, meaning we have not yet got the full picture of sectarianism in Scotland (Lindores and Emejulu, 2017). As such, a qualitative approach has been selected due to the concern for the gaps, marginalisation and silences which have led to the invisibility of different women in relation to their varied experiences of sectarianism in Scotland. Qualitative methods are better suited to research questions of this nature which seek to uncover subjective experiences of prejudice and perceptions about identity formation. They allow participants to explore their experiences more freely, using their own words and categories, to begin to reframe sectarianism from alternative standpoints in the lesser researched semi-private and familial spheres of women's everyday lives. I now turn to the decisions in research design that resulted from this overarching qualitative, feminist intersectional standpoint methodology. The following section discusses the benefits of biographical narrative and semi-structured interview methods employed in this research.

4.2 Biographical Narrative & Semi-Structured Interviews

Biographical narrative interviews were used at the beginning of the interview dialogue with each participant. This was immediately followed by a seamless second phase, during which a semi-structured approach to interviewing was then adopted (See Appendix 3 for interview schedule). Biographical methods can vary in their approach but typically all include a narrative, life or oral history approach to researching biographies through the use of story-telling (Bornat, 2008; Brannen, 2012; Chamberlayne et al., 2002; Elliott, 2005; Hampshire et al., 2014; Ann Phoenix, 2014; Stanley and Temple, 2008; Wengraf, 2001; Woodiwiss et al., 2017). This encourages self-expression and the articulation of emotions and perceptions that allow the researcher to reveal deep and insightful understandings about experiences of a particular social phenomenon. It also encourages participants to narrate their experiences across the life course; inviting accounts that are structured in explicit ways. This can provide information about participants' perceptions of social change and is also particularly suited to research on identity formation and the boundaries between different collectivities.

For instance, in her research into Irish identities Feldman (2006) demonstrates how the social processes of 'race-making' or 'racialising' construct the boundaries of ethnic groups through the negotiation of identity narratives in everyday social interactions (p.103). Similarly, Phoenix (2005) also emphasises the importance of narrative social interaction and the relational nature of these processes. Incorporating positioning theory, she emphasises that people are not in fixed social locations, but rather, that they are engaging in dynamic social relationships in which they create and recreate positions for themselves or others to take up.

'The storylines that people develop in conversation can produce a social order that allows the claiming of particular identities, specific ways of negotiating the worlds, and anticipations of future identities (...) Many theorists now see identities and subjectivities as locally situated, accomplished in social interaction and performative' (p.106).

Often traced back to Barth's (1969) pioneering work on the 'social organisation of culture difference' and Fanon's theory on the relational processes of racialisation (Fanon, 2001, 2008); there is now a long-established tradition drawing on these psychosocial approaches to identity formation as narrated and negotiated in everyday life, particularly for scholars with an interest in race and ethnicity (Anthias, 2002; Barth, 1969; Brubaker, 2007; Ann Phoenix, 2014; Prins, 2006; Smith, 2015).

Anthias (2002) argues that a focus on these 'narratives of location' moves away from identities as 'possessive properties' to 'acknowledge and embrace contradictory and emergent selves' and the experiences of multiple and overlapping identities that are accomplished in 'modern personhood' (p.497). She defines a narrative of location as,

'An account that tells a story about how we place ourselves in terms of social categories such as those of gender, ethnicity and class at a specific point in time and space' (pp.498–99).

Location, sometimes also referred to as positionality, is thus used to investigate processes and outcomes of collective identification which includes how individuals narrate,

'...their position in the social order of things, their views of where and to what they belong (and do not belong), as well as [their] understanding [of] the broader social relations that constitute and are constituted in this process' (ibid: 512).

In short, the stories we tell, and the conversations we have, are ways of positioning ourselves in relation to the other and in relation to our wider social context. Adopting this narrative approach has enabled a complex intersectional analysis of processes of racialisation reproduced through participants' narratives of location and positionality in everyday life.

The first phase of interviews used this biographical interview method. This took the form of a participant-led story, opening with a 'single question aimed at inducing narrative' (Brannen, 2012). Each participant was asked to "tell me about your experience of religion and religious difference throughout your life". This had the advantage of enabling an analysis of both what was told and how

it was told, without my interference in this initial phase. This enabled me to better understand what points of interest seemed to be of greatest relevance to the participants themselves (Brannen et al., 2011). Moreover, by avoiding use of the word sectarianism it helped to reassure participants that I was not judging them and was open to learning about their perspectives and experiences of religion and religious difference more broadly. In practice, a small number of participants already knew or surmised that my research interest was in sectarianism; a point to which I later return in the section on reflexivity.

The second phase of the interview took place as the biographical narrative drew to a natural end point. For some participants, particularly those who choose to structure their narratives chronologically, this end point was more immediately obvious. For others, there was a more gradual and fluid switch between the biographical and semi-structured modes as their ability to lead the interview appeared to slow down. In these cases, the mode gradually switched from a full pace, participant-led biographical mode to a more researcher-led, semi-structured mode via a middle section that often became more conversational in style. A small number of participants struggled with the biographical mode and more prompting was required on my part to reassure them that any information they felt comfortable sharing on religion and religious difference was of interest. For these participants, the biographical mode was arguably more like an unstructured conversation that attempted to encourage their narration to be as participant-led as they were willing. Nevertheless, the benefits of having these different interview modes within the one encounter was that the semi-structured interview enabled me to further explore the salient points from each participants' initial biographical narrative, while still posing specific interview questions that were tailored to my broader research questions. This struck the balance between ensuring consistency in the responses and avenues for analysis, while also providing the opportunity for participants to speak freely about their own experiences.

Nevertheless, it is important to point out some of the limitations in choosing these less structured qualitative interview methods. Firstly, I often had to pay

'double attention', focusing not just on participant narration, but also on the questions that were to be asked in the follow on semi-structured interview; which, at times, proved to be distracting (Opdenakker, 2006: 3). Secondly, it limited the quantity of participants due to the time required to interview individual people, travel to and arrange meetings and type up the lengthier transcriptions that resulted from these methods. However, overall, less structured face to face interviews provided significant advantages regarding the quality and depth of the data collected. Therefore, while it can be said that the sample size is inevitably smaller than if more structured methods had been employed, the information gained through the chosen interview techniques resulted in more illuminative findings that address a significant gap in this field of research. This will be explored in more detail in the subsequent chapters. However, first I turn to look at the theoretical and practical issues of sampling and access in the field.

4.3 Sampling and Access

I conducted eighteen individual interviews with different women; comprised of one family triad, five family pairs and five individuals across three different life stages. Intersectional categories guided the selection of different women living in (or who had been brought up in) the Greenock, Port Glasgow and Gourock areas of Inverclyde. There were multiple reasons for these various decisions which are outlined below. The first section looks at the *theoretical justifications* for my sampling frame, the second section at the *practical techniques* used to access suitable participants, and the final section at the *adaptations to sampling and access limitations* encountered in the field.

4.3.1 Theoretical Justifications

Firstly, an *all-female sample* was chosen due to the concern for the invisibility of different women in existing research on sectarianism in Scotland. The literature review had also revealed a gap in research located at the micro-social level. This interest in the lives of different women, and the ways they are embedded in the small-scale social unit of the family, enabled an analysis of

the under-researched inter-subjective and relational aspects of sectarianism in everyday life. This led to rich qualitative data characterised by face-to-face interactions in which the participants' engaged in processes of meaning-making about their own actions, attitudes and beliefs, in the context of religious difference and their own and others positionality (See Blaikie, 2009: 164).

Secondly, *an intergenerational sample* - with family groups of women and individuals across three different life stages - were chosen due to an understanding that sectarianism is primarily a relational and inter-generational phenomenon. This was important because research focusing on the everyday lives of *women* in semi-private and familial spheres is lacking in this field of research. Moreover, prior to commencing my fieldwork, research commissioned and released by Scottish Government, concluded that sectarianism is like a 'cobweb' in which,

'There are both peer pressures (within generation) and familial inheritance (across generations) and these horizontal and vertical threads of the spider's web have different resilience against social change. [These webs are] running strongly down the generations and across masculine culture particularly, but experienced quite differently by different people depending on their social relationships' (Goodall et al., 2015: 298, 288).

The inter-generational and familial angles of my own research sample were in recognition of these findings from Goodall et al. This enabled an analysis that was attuned to 'change and continuity between generations,' to tease out,

'...the horizontal pull of within-generation influences (...) the vertical pull of inheritance (down the generations) and (...) the historical and cultural conditions in which (...) practices are embedded' (Brannen et al., 2011: 155).

However, while the research by Goodall et al. (2015) claims that inter-generational transmission of sectarianism in Scotland is primarily associated with 'masculine culture'; my own research framing rejected this commonly held assumption to re-problematise and re-define sectarianism from the standpoints of different women.

During the process of recruitment, 'family' was understood as 'fluid and open-ended' relationships, based on participants' own definitions of who counted as family in their own lives (Morgan, 2011: 21). The most important condition was the quality rather than the form of family relationships (Jamieson, 1998). Thus, recruitment decisions were based on the recommendations of the first participant who I encountered in the field (see Practical Techniques below). In this way, the process of defining family was more inclusive and developed through interactions in the field (Morgan, 2011: 30). Initially, I had intended to recruit six family triads. However, in practice, finding three generations of women from the same family (grand-mother, mother and grandchild) proved difficult; a point to which I later return in the discussion on adapting to limitations in the field (below).

Thirdly, the sample was also intersectional in the sense that participants were selected to reveal the standpoints of different types of women by social class and denomination. Given that the research was about intra-Christian sectarianism, I choose to interview only those women who identified as having a loosely 'Christian' background or upbringing (whether they still practiced or identified with this religion in the present day). In the field, I asked 'did you go to any church groups or activities when you were young?' or 'did your family go to church when you were growing up?' I did not meet anyone during face-to-face interactions in the community without some sort of connection to a Christian church in their childhood and all the participants identified as white Scottish, British or Irish (or some combination of these national identifications). During informal discussions many participants also pointed out that you would be categorised as either Protestant or Catholic in Inverclyde, based on assumptions about your school or family background, irrespective of your own thoughts on the matter. This was revealing and likely part of the problem that helps to sustain sectarianism. While it is recognised that grouping people into the same dichotomous categories of 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' may be accused of reifying the issue; it is justified because it appeared to reflect the lived realities that participants' described as part of their everyday negotiations of identity. In using these categories it is recognised that they are just 'anchor

points' and that they are imperfect and ever-changing boundaries in the ongoing relational and narrative negotiations of everyday life over time (McCall, 2005:1784-1785). The categories themselves were the central problematic of this research and thus the boundaries between identities were deconstructed in the analysis to better understand how they were 'produced, experienced, reproduced, and resisted in everyday life' (ibid: 1783).

The denominational category of each participant was determined based on self-ascription using a short questionnaire (See Appendix 4). They were asked 'what religion (if any) do you most identify with' and 'when you were a child what religion(s) (if any) did your mother and father identify with?' This enabled me to discover if the family unit in which they were raised was a 'mixed marriage', the denomination(s) in which they were raised, and if they still classified themselves as the same religion in the present day (See Raab & Holligan, 2012 on mixed marriages).

Similarly, social class was inferred through level of education and job type. Participants were asked a series of questions to enable this categorisation. These questions included: What is your current job? If unemployed or retired what was your last job? What job did your parents do? What is your highest level of qualification? Participants with professional jobs requiring a degree were categorised as middle-class, while those working in jobs without a degree level qualification were classified as working class. Given that the jobs of parents were also noted, I was able to determine social mobility. In practice, a few younger participants had degrees but were underemployed, while a couple of older participants were in (or had been) in professional jobs but had no degree, having worked their way up to senior positions over the years. In these cases, a judgement was made about which class group to assign them to, based on how closely they fitted with the standpoint of others in similar intersectional groups (see authenticity and relatability below). Similarly, the youngest participants who were still in education and, or living with their parents were judged based on the categorisation of their mothers who were also interviewed. In the case of one participant (aged 24), whose mother declined the invitation to participate; she was living at home and still in

education and was, therefore, also categorised using judgement according to the degree to which her standpoint related to those in similar groupings.

Therefore, using these rough intersectional categories, there were seven middle-class Catholic participants, five working-class Catholic, five working-class Protestant and one middle-class Protestant (see Table of Participants, Appendix 1). This enabled me to contextualise and interpret their interview data during the intersectional analysis. It also allowed for rich and in-depth comparative insights in which the individuals at each intersection acted as the subjects from which I was able to extrapolate illustratively to the broader social locations they embodied (McCall, 2005: 1781). This is not to say they were considered representative in the strict sense of the word, but rather, that the conclusions drawn for each grouping can be held up against similar research and experiences to judge their authenticity and relatability (See below). This inter-categorical approach adopted existing categories, as defined by participants themselves, 'to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions' (McCall, 2005: 1773). This allowed me to compare intra- and inter-group similarities and differences to understand attitudes within and between the various intersectional groupings.

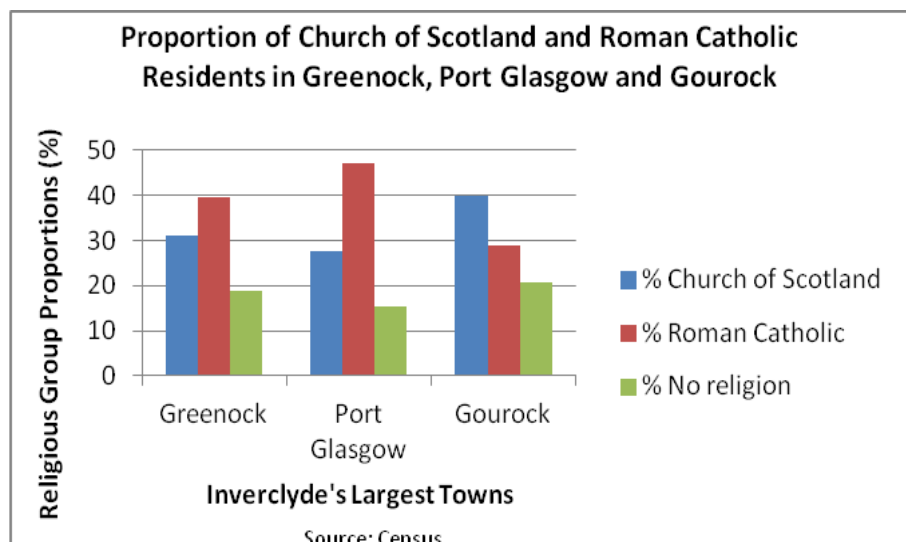
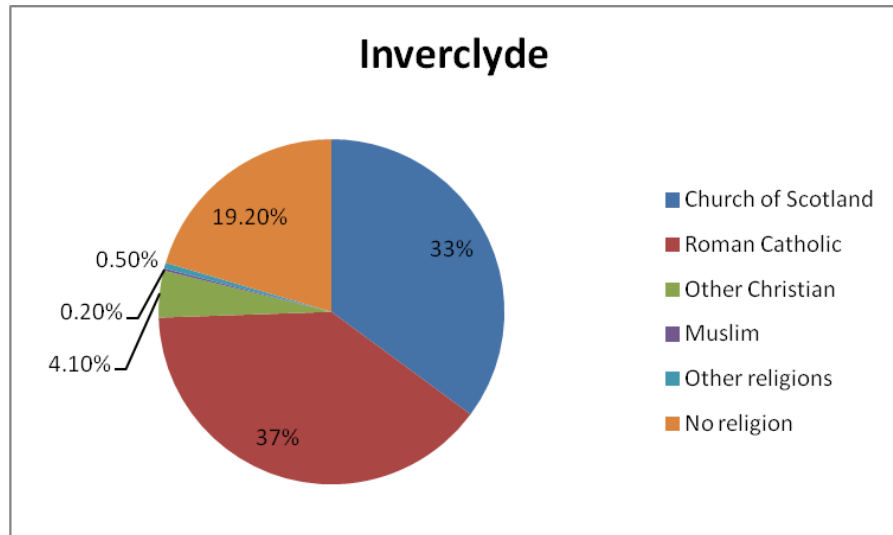
Finally, Inverclyde was chosen because it has the highest proportion of residents identifying as Catholic of all Scottish council areas; 37% (Catholic) compared to 33% (Church of Scotland). It is also one of only four council areas in Scotland where the proportion of Catholic residents is higher than the proportion who are Church of Scotland; the others are West Dunbartonshire (33% RC, 29% COS), North Lanarkshire (35% RC, 30% COS) and Glasgow (27% RC, 23% COS). In all the remaining 28 council areas in Scotland, the proportion of residents who identify as Church of Scotland is higher than the proportion who are Catholic. If the 'cobweb' of sectarianism still lingered in Scotland, Inverclyde seemed like a suitable geographical location from which to recruit my sample given this higher proportion of minority Catholic residents in comparison to other council areas in Scotland.

Additionally, Inverclyde is also the most 'Christian' council area in Scotland with 70% identifying as Catholic or Church of Scotland (98.9% of whom are white Scottish, British or Irish). This compares to just 50% Christian in Glasgow (94.2% of whom are white Scottish, British or Irish), 36% Christian in Edinburgh (88.9% of whom are white Scottish, British or Irish) and 48.3% who identify as Christian in Scotland's population as a whole (95.8% of whom are white Scottish, British or Irish) (Census, 2011). Moreover, most research on sectarianism in Scotland tends to have focused on Glasgow and other West and Central areas (Glasgow City Council, 2003; Deuchar & Holligan, 2008; Scottish Government, 2013; Scottish Government, 2015). Therefore, my research can add to the evidence across the geography of Scotland as a whole, as well as provide a unique picture that is explicitly gendered.

4.3.2 Practical Techniques

Recruitment of participants focused on the top two towns with the highest proportion of Catholic residents; Port Glasgow and Greenock. I also met professionals working in these areas who lived in the more affluent town of Gourock, which had a higher proportion of those identifying as Church of Scotland (See graphs below). Using the *Scottish Multiple Deprivation Index*, I initially identified target neighbourhoods with different socio-economic profiles in these towns (SMID, 2016). This index combines seven different measures to define social class, in relative terms, by issues such as employment, education and income at a national level. Larkfield and Branchton have neighbourhoods in the top 5% of Scotland's most deprived communities, some small pockets of Greenock West are marginally more affluent, while large parts of Port Glasgow also fall within the top 5% of the most deprived regions of Scotland (For SMID map see Appendix 2).

Top three towns in Inverclyde with highest proportion of Catholic residents



Source: Census 2011

I used this initial information gleaned from the SMID profiles to draw up a list of community-based groups and organisations in Larkfield, Branchton, Greenock West and Port Glasgow. This was based on google searches and word of mouth as I became more familiar with the different communities. As an initial entry point to the community, I met with some professional contacts who lived and worked in Inverclyde who I already knew from my background in youth and community work prior to entering academia. They also

recommended suitable locations I could visit in order to meet potential participants which I added to my list of organisations to contact. This initial mapping and meeting phase took three months of regular and lengthy visits to a range of community groups and organisations and involved several informal meetings with relevant gatekeepers (from late November 2015 to mid-February 2016), before I was able to conduct my first interview on 11th February 2016.

Initially, the primary method used to access participants was snowball sampling. Starting from three professional contacts, I identified four key community hubs across each of the geographical areas identified through the SMID mapping; in Larkfield, Branchton, Greenock West and Port Glasgow. One contact in Larkfield had put me in touch with a leader of a women's group in this community but unfortunately this avenue for meeting participants did not come to fruition due to conflicting schedules and the unwillingness of the gatekeeper to involve the group in what she perceived as another initiative addressing anti-sectarian work. There had been some work through the 'Gie's Peace' project run by Inverclyde Community Development Trust (funded by Scottish Government) and another initiative as part of the Link Up asset-based community development initiative, as part of the Cashback for Communities program (in partnership with Inspiring Scotland and the Violence Reduction Unit). I decided that this more explicit association with anti-sectarian work would have been detrimental to my findings.

I attended each of the other three community hubs in Branchton, Greenock West and Port Glasgow over the course of six months (from February to August 2016) to build relationships and meet potential participants in a naturalistic way. I spent the most time in Greenock West because I was warmly welcomed at this community group and decided to get involved in helping with some of their craft projects, making tea and distracting the children with games while the women worked on their project. On one occasion I also brought my new puppy which was another factor that assisted in developing relationships and encouraging potential participants to come forward and speak freely (See reflexivity below). This helped me to build trust and recruit a

range of different female participants who dropped in and out of the group during this time. They had a private Facebook group and encouraged me to join so I could see when they were running community events. I created a separate professional profile and used this to keep in touch and stay informed.

I told participants that I was from Northern Ireland, a student living in Edinburgh, and doing research on women's experience of religion and religious difference in Scotland. Some of them brought up sectarianism without being prompted, because of the immediate connection they made between my research interest in religious difference and my Northern Irish accent. However, I reiterated that I was interested in researching broader experiences of how different women experienced religion throughout their lives, to distance myself from the specific focus on sectarianism (See limitations below).

At the Port Glasgow hub, I attended a community meeting at which I recruited two participants who I later came back to interview on a separate occasion. One of these participants then put me in touch with her daughter who was also willing to take part. At the Branchton hub, I met one participant who was willing to take part who, in turn, referred me to her mother and aunt who were both also willing to take part. In contrast, the snowballing technique with participants at the Greenock West hub was less successful. I was keen to speak to the mother of Faye as she had been brought up in the Orange Lodge Juniors division and her mother was still heavily involved. However, despite numerous attempts to make contact, it seemed her mother was unwilling to participate.

As a second option, Faye put me in touch with her sister Linda who came to the group about a month after I interviewed her. At this point most of my participants had been Catholic working-class, a few Protestant working-class but no middle-class participants and a lack of Protestant participants overall. Therefore, I decided there was a strong justification for speaking to her sister as an alternative. In Branchton, a leader told me his wife and daughter went to a Protestant church and might speak to me. However, after many calls he then wrote me a message on Facebook saying that they had decided against it. Another contact I made with a male elder in a Protestant church said his wife

and daughter might participate, but again, this never came to fruition despite my pursuing it on multiple occasions. Catholic participants, in contrast, were often actively interested in participating (see limitations and reflexivity below).

Snowball sampling techniques had yielded mostly working-class and Catholic participants. Therefore, I decided changing tactics to recruit more middle-class and Protestant participants. In Edinburgh one evening I met a young professional woman who grew up in Port Glasgow during an international community event. After telling her about my research she asked if I would be interested in interviewing her. At first I was reluctant, given that it was an accidental or convenience sample, and an avenue that I had not planned to pursue (Blaikie, 2009: 177). However, given her professional status and existing family and friendship networks with women still living in Port Glasgow, I decided it would be better to have some representation from those who had left Port Glasgow and pursued middle-class careers.

We arranged to meet on a different occasion and the interview took place in Edinburgh at the University about two weeks after our initial meeting. I felt that the interview was justified on account of the fact it linked me back to contacts still living in the target communities in Inverclyde, some of whom were from middle-class and Protestant backgrounds that were underrepresented in my sample. Contact with Catherine led me to interview her mother Pauline (a middle-class woman in her 60's raised as Presbyterian who was still living in Port Glasgow and had converted to Catholicism). Catherine also put me in touch with her childhood friend Grace (also living in Port Glasgow) whose mother Molly also agreed to be interviewed. Molly was in her late 50's early 60's and was raised by Presbyterian parents but married a Catholic and decided not to convert. This fortunate encounter proved to be fruitful and helped me to gain access to participants that had been more difficult to reach.

After this round of interviews, I had been working in the field for nine months. I felt that I had gathered a substantial amount of detailed data and that I was starting to see many similarities within the different intersectional categories. Although the interviews with Molly and Pauline were useful, in the sense that

they had unique and under-represented standpoints; they did not reveal any new or novel information that contradicted the thesis that had already started to develop. Although more representation from Protestant (particularly middle-class) participants would have been preferable; I was limited by time constraints, had difficulties accessing this demographic, and had achieved some reassurance of data saturation to a certain degree within the other intersectional groupings (Saumure and Given, 2008). The following section explores some of these challenges and limitations in greater detail below.

4.3.3 Adapting to limitations in the field

There were several challenges encountered in the field to which I had to adapt. For instance, I had to compromise on the initial ideal of family triads of women. This was either because the oldest member of the family had passed away (which was particularly the case with working-class participants), that the middle generation had not yet had any children or that the youngest members were too young to interview. In some cases, the child of the middle generation was male or was a female who was simply unwilling to take part. Therefore, I decided that pairs of women from the same family (mother and daughter duos) would still enable an intergenerational analysis, and the sense of family biography that I was seeking.

Consequently, I also had to adapt to the challenges of recruiting suitable participants, from the different intersectional groupings, by shifting the intergenerational focus to include women from different life stages across the sample rather than solely within the same family group. Inter-generational categories based on life stage shifted to 1) those who had grand-children, 2) those who were mothers with children still living at home and 3) those who were without children and living with their parents. This enabled me to recruit an additional five individuals in the second phase of recruitment in Greenock West. This specifically targeted individuals from the intersectional groups that I had struggled to access until that point (i.e. working-class and middle-class Protestant women). For the one triad that I did manage to recruit I had to

compromise by speaking with the younger Aunt aged 56-65 (of the first participant aged 35) and her mother (65+) rather than the grand-mother, mother, grandchild trio I had originally intended. This was because the child of the youngest participant had a son and I was exclusively speaking to women.

Similarly, to seek out more women from Protestant backgrounds, I also compromised on the ideal of inter-generational triads by speaking to two sisters; one in her mid-20s and the other aged 36 who had been raised in the Orange Lodge Juniors division. Their mother refused to participate. Selection of these individuals enabled me to have 'both sides' represented given that, until that point, most participants had been Catholic. In the end I decided that the intersectional analysis of the four categorical groups (middle-class Catholic, working-class Catholic, middle-class Protestant and working-class Protestant) was of greater importance to my research questions than the original intentions to rigidly recruit triads of women from the same family. I still retained the intergenerational interest in continuity and change over time by using a life stage categorisation across the sample (see analysis).

As identified above, there were significant challenges in recruiting participants from a 'Protestant' background. There are several possible explanations for this, and this is another important issue that requires closer scrutiny. One possible explanation is that 'Protestant' participants do not form a homogenous group and the number of denominations create a more fractured landscape that makes them more difficult to identify. In contrast, Catholic participants primarily defined themselves using the overt marker of the school they went to and using snowballing techniques proved particularly effective as most still had contact with others who they went to school or church with (growing up). They were also often more eager to have their voices heard and share their experiences of 'religious difference' than their Protestant counter-parts.

Although I framed my research as a study about women's experiences of religious difference, the fact of my Northern Irish accent was also frequently the first point of interest in meeting potential participants. Many of the participants asked if I was researching sectarianism and there was great

interest in when and why I had come to Scotland and from which part of Northern Ireland I came from. The history of Irish migration to this part of Scotland is something that all participants were aware of and the history of sectarianism and the links to Northern Ireland were at the forefront of people minds. I repeated that I was interested in religious difference more broadly and on women's experiences of religion throughout their own lives. However, there was an (accurate) assumption that this would include an interest in sectarianism. For instance, when I met Faye, she said "I used to be in the Orange Lodge you will want to speak to me!" Her bravado and humour disappeared when we finally settled down to interview the following week. She seemed suddenly suspicious and keen to reassure me she was 'not a bigot'. Participants knew what sectarianism was and they knew where I was from and there was understandable concern about the aims of my work. I did my best to reassure participants and present a non-judgemental attitude. However, it was difficult to present myself as not being interested in researching sectarianism because of assumptions relating to my own background and accent. This was an inevitable feature of my own intersectional positioning and the social and historical context of links between the North of Ireland and Inverclyde (see reflexivity below).

Moreover, the fact 'Catholic' participants were also more interested in participating while 'Protestants' were more reticent tells us about the power dynamic at play and the unspoken assumptions about who is thought to be the perpetrator and the victim of sectarianism. Partly, this was also because those who I became aware of as connected to Protestant churches (through their relations I met in the community) were often middle-class and working elsewhere during the day. I didn't have the face to face opportunity to explain my research to them and had to rely on the contact I had made with their relatives or via email and social media. This didn't give me the chance to build a face to face relationship or trust, to reassure them of my broader research aims and interests, which made this group harder to reach. They also appeared more suspicious of the research topic than Catholic participants.

I did also attempt to make direct contact with Protestant churches but again this resulted in no reply. This may be due to the reluctance to tarnish the reputation of their church or the fact that they had been contacted already by funded initiatives tackling sectarianism (even though, once again, I was careful to frame it as 'religious difference'). Catholic participants were easier to identify simply because whether they were still practising seemed to be less relevant to them (and to others) in terms of their identity. The school they attended was used as a way for them to claim a Catholic upbringing or for others to identify them as Catholic. In contrast, participants who attended churches with a Protestant denomination while growing up did not have this identity consolidated with denominational schooling. They were also less tightly connected into a series of community networks due to the fragmented nature of the multitude of different branches of Protestant churches in Inverclyde. They also showed greater reluctance to participate as mentioned above.

4.4 Ethics and Reflexivity

Given that my sampling techniques involved recruiting adult participants through the course of everyday interactions in public spaces and community hubs, I satisfied the criteria for a level one ethical application which was completed and approved by the Graduate School of Sociology at the University of Edinburgh. This is in line with the *University of Edinburgh, School of Social and Political Science's, Ethical Review Procedure* which outlines risks and measures to be taken to ensure the protection of all participants. My research was funded by the ESRC, *Families, Relationships and Demographic Change* pathway; therefore, it also drew on the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (ESRC, 2015). The data gathered was handled according to the guidelines of The Data Protection Act (UK Public General Acts, 1998). The research was therefore attentive to following ethical principles in relation to issues of consent, anonymity and confidentiality. Nevertheless, as a precaution, I decided to update my PVG certificate with *Disclosure Scotland*, in respect of regulated work with vulnerable groups (Disclosure Scotland, 2019). I also had

over five years' experience of working in community development, so I was well equipped for community-based field work in this field of research.

Participants were informed of their right to withdraw at any point of the process and reassured throughout the interview of their right to refuse information to any questions without needing to supply a reason for their choice. The transcripts of the audio recording were anonymised, and a pseudonym used to limit the chances of linking the data provided to any identifying information supplied; such as name, names of family and friends or the names of specific institutions or organisations. The original audio recordings will be deleted following completion of the PhD so that the only record of the research will be the anonymised written transcripts from the interview. All data was stored on my password protected Dropbox on my University managed laptop. Any printed transcripts were either kept in my home office filing cabinet (locked) or in my university office in a locked cabinet. These working copies in print form have since been destroyed.

Permission was granted for using the findings in the final PhD thesis and for academic publications and/ or to speak at conferences. However, in all cases data will remain anonymised and participants will not be identifiable.

In addition, written consent was obtained from all participants and an information sheet provided to outline the purpose and format of the study, participants' rights and protection of confidentiality and anonymity.

Moreover, given the feminist stance of my research there were also ethical issues of representation and prioritising the voices of different women that were, at times, in tension with the inevitable limitations of my own subject position. However, through revealing my own intersectional positioning, the accountability of the whole research process can be more clearly judged.

'[Intersectionality can] enhance (my) reflexivity by allowing (me as the researcher) to incorporate (my) own intersectional location in the production of self-critical and accountable feminist theory' (Lykke in Davis, 2008: 71).

There are many different approaches to reflexivity in qualitative research. However, it is of importance to researchers committed to a feminist research ethic. This is because *'reflexivity under feminism is not just about the power embedded in one's research but it is also about doing research differently'*; doing research 'with' and not 'on' participants (Pillow, 2003: 178). This requires paying attention to methods that enable subjects to speak freely and to forms of representation that reveal their processes of meaning-making as accurately as possible.

Ultimately, reflexivity comes down to two key considerations and their impact on the data. Firstly, the fact that the research encounter was socially-situated meant that participants could 'know' who I was in that context; and secondly, that I had to accept the inevitable influence of who I was to them and who they were to me. These two factors sit in tension with the desire to gather valid data that is as true to life as possible and to represent the different female voices as accurately as possible. In the field, this involved doing the best I could to get myself out of the way and scale the 'empathy wall' (Hochschild, 2017; 1980). During the analysis and write up, this involved engaging in a 'self-conscious awareness of the process of self-scrutiny' (Pillow, 2003: 177). As Pillow (2003) explains this leads to an 'uncomfortable reflexivity' that *'seeks to know while at the same time situates this knowing as tenuous'* (p.188). Nevertheless, by engaging in this reflexive process it gives the reader access to the inevitable influence of my own subjectivity and provides information against which the claims made in the empirical findings' chapters can be judged for their authenticity and relatability.

This is not just about the role I chose to play as a researcher, but about *who I am*, how I was perceived in the field, and how this inevitably impacted the research process. The attributes I brought to the field extended beyond the role I played as my 'research-based self' to include characteristics such as my 'brought self' and 'situationally created self' (Reinharz, 1997: 5). My 'brought self' is all the aspects about my identity that simultaneously connected me to (and at times distanced me from) different participants, depending on our various intersectional positionalities and the nature of interactions in the field.

While my 'situationally created self' is the fact of my temporary incorporation into the various community groups I attended and the transitory nature of the friendly relationships established in the field (see also, Kirsch, 2005). There are two categories of characteristics relating to these variety of selves which I consider below (Reinharz, 1997).

Firstly, my privileged middle-class position as a PhD student living in Edinburgh and my age as a single childless woman in my thirties. During my participation at various community hubs many women asked about my relationship status and whether I had or ever wanted children. This came up on many occasions because most women who I met, that were a similar age to me, had young children. Most of these women were working-class and seemed to suddenly feel more comfortable knowing that I also wanted children someday. It was as if my lofty pursuit of education was somehow more comprehensible if I also aspired to 'normal' things. One woman even commented on a mug I'd unintentionally brought to reheat my soup at the community centre. It had the slogan '*the future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams*'. (I only brought it because it was large enough to reheat my soup!) This opened an informal conversation outwith the interview setting about her dream job and how various events had conspired against her achieving these goals. Through these naturalistic conversations and sharing a little about my own values and ambitions, I was able to build relational rapport without the need to hide what they perceived as my middle-class positioning relative to their own identities.

And secondly, my Northern Ireland accent, my outsider-insider status in Scotland and assumptions about my own ethnic and religious identifications. Remarkably no one asked me directly about my own religious identity despite the topic of my research. However, the fact of my Northern Irish accent was nearly always the first point of interest in meeting potential participants and it led to (sometimes unspoken) assumptions about my own background and reasons for conducting the research. As outlined above, I did my best to reassure participants I was interested in women's experiences of religion and religious difference more broadly. However, it was difficult to present myself

as not also being interested in researching sectarianism because of their (sometimes accurate) assumptions about my own background and Northern Irish accent. This was an inevitable feature of my 'brought self' and the social and historical context of being Irish in Inverclyde.

On the few occasions when I chose to share some of my own experiences of religion and religious difference, it was always after a participant had already initiated an avenue for discussion and solely to reassure them that I understood where they were coming from and that I was not a stranger to issues of sectarianism. I did not share any aspects of my 'religious' identity until after the biographical phase of the interview was complete. For instance, Faye had talked hesitantly about her experience of being in the Orange Lodge Juniors. She told me on several occasions that she left because 'she was not a bigot' and that this was how she was being perceived because of her association. Therefore, I decided to tell her my great-grandfather was in the Orange Lodge and that I watched Orange Walks passing my house in Northern Ireland with my family growing up. This encouraged her to speak more openly and to realise I was not going to judge her for participating.

Although I would never willingly choose to identify as Protestant, I recognise that this is how others would likely have categorised me. I was baptised Methodist and went to a Presbyterian youth group growing up. I attended an independent charismatic church in Scotland for a few years in my twenties but have had little interest in church over the last ten years. I had male family members in the Orange Lodge in previous generations of my family, so by all accounts was perceived as Protestant growing up in Northern Ireland, despite my own dislike of the connotations attached to this label. These contentious feelings about my own identity also allowed me to better understand how my participants must have felt being categorised by others in a similar way. It gave me an insider perspective and allowed me to build bridges by occasionally revealing aspects of myself when it seemed appropriate.

However, equally, my own intersectional positioning is also something that needs to be qualified. At various points, I had to make a conscious effort to

overcome my own identity commitments (which were not always immediately obvious); particularly during the analysis of the data. For instance, shifting my framework back to my original ideas on racialisation and contingent intersectional hierarchies was something I had resisted until the final stages of analysis. It was only after deep and uncomfortable reflection on the similarities between the experiences of Catholic and Muslim women, and their differential constructions as racialised outsiders to the nation, that I finally decided I had a duty to report the similarities I had observed using this more all-encompassing anti-racist framework. Even writing the statement that the British nation was founded on a shared allegiance to notions of white, middle-class Protestant subjectivity was an uncomfortable and revealing experience and one that I had continually wrestled with throughout the research process. I realised my resistance was because *I was* a white, Protestant middle-class British woman; despite my own contentious relationship with various aspects of these identifications. The role of these emotions in research are often overlooked; yet without 'uncomfortable reflexivity' they could limit the analysis of findings and the representations of participants (Pillow, 2003; see also, Bondi, 2005).

Therefore, in writing up the analysis I posed various reflexive questions in order to make decisions about the representations of my participants. As Koro-Ljungberg (2008) explains qualitative research is about representing partial truths, interpreting the interpretations of others and seeking to represent the constructions of others as accurately as possible. Therefore, rather than seeking 'truth' or 'neutrality' the questions I asked were: what words do women and girls use to represent themselves? What conditions led them to represent themselves and others as Catholic, Protestant (or Muslim?) Do these self-representations symbolise submission or resistance to broader power structures? Might they have used different language to represent themselves to peers, or a member of their own collectivity, however they define that? As such, it is important to recognise the uncomfortable '*tension between the desire to know and the limits of representation*' (p.231). In spite of the sincere desire to place women's voices at the centre of the study, I cannot negate the

fact that I entered the research context with my own personal experiences of sectarianism and religious difference and I also held particular views about this within the (albeit very different context of) growing up in a Protestant working-class community in Northern Ireland. With this 'conscious partiality' and a value stance that is openly feminist the question might arise – do these values and positions bias the research irrevocably? (Griffiths, 1998: 130)

This methodology chapter has attempted to outline the rationale behind the decision-making processes at the level of technique, methodology and epistemology to defend against these possible criticisms. In this reflexive discussion, I have also considered the relational rapport with participants and my own positionality. I have argued that taking a stance of conscious rather than (unconscious or hidden) partiality reduces bias by refusing to be impossibly neutral. It is understood that *'bias comes not from having ethical and political positions – this is inevitable – but from not acknowledging it'* and therefore it is about recognising the 'partiality of all perspectives' and the 'values and politics' which guide them (Griffiths, 1998: 133). By outlining my epistemological stance, methodological framing and choices in research design the reader can judge how to take them into account in assessing the knowledge claims being made in the empirical chapters.

While the previous sections have addressed these issues of 'whose knowledge counts' and the inevitable role of my own intersectional positionality in the construction of knowledge; the next section explores 'whose judgement counts?', in terms of the trustworthiness of the research. In other words, given the value-laden stance of my research to whom should the findings seem 'reasonable, right and plausible?' (Griffiths, 1998: 132).

4.5 Authenticity and Relatability

Some qualitative researchers, such as Mitchell (1983), argue that generalisation need not be the guiding principle in qualitative research, particularly if the end goal is theorising about a particular phenomenon that has been understudied. This is of particular relevance in my own research

problematic given that one of the goals is to re-define sectarianism from the understudied standpoints of different women, to offer a theory of 'feminised sectarianism' (Lindores and Emejulu, 2017).

It is not that generalisability has ceased to be of importance in this research, but rather, it is conceived of as a natural human judgement rather than a statistical calculation. Schofield (1993) speaks of 'natural generalisation' as something we habitually perform in our everyday lives; we recognise the degree to which social phenomena fits with our own understanding, interpretation and experience of the world. Lincoln and Guba (1985) speak of 'fittingness or transferability' while Bassey (1981) refers to 'relatability'. Bassey defines this as the criterion for judging whether the details provided by the researcher are sufficient and appropriate for someone in a similar situation to relate to their own experience or understanding of the research issue being studied (p.85). In this case, the 'thick description' of different women's standpoints on religious difference is provided in order to give rich details that can be judged for their relatability, fittingness or transferability; either by other women with similar experiences or other interested parties with knowledge or experience on the topic of intra-Christian sectarianism (Geertz, 2001).

This allows for tentative generalisations to be made in the analysis, not concerning the population of all Scottish women as a whole, but rather using judgement grounded in other similar studies in the field, about the extent to which what is observed represents a particular aspect of the phenomenon under study (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000: 40). As Griffiths (1998) explains, by paying attention to the multiple voices and potentially competing standpoints of different participants, it is possible to enhance confidence in the solidarity of the conclusions (p.149). To achieve this, it's also important to be attentive to my own intersectional positioning as outlined in the reflexive discussion above.

The final section of this methodological chapter outlines the process of analysis used in the empirical data chapters which follow.

4.6 Analysis

4.6.1 Theory

As outlined above, I attempted to recruit a balanced intersectional sample across generations for different social class and 'religious' groupings. This has allowed for rich and in-depth comparative insights in which the individuals at each intersection act as the subjects from which I extrapolate illustratively to the broader social locations they embody (McCall, 2005: 1781). Additionally, the biographical narrative approach was selected based on the understanding that *'the human capacity to narrate is central to making sense of experience and to the creation of identities'* (Phoenix, 2014: 112). Therefore, in the analysis I was also able to focus on narrativity, temporality and employment to *'attempt to address the potential disconnect between what people say and what they do'* (ibid: 113).

This is of particular relevance in light of recent findings on sectarianism of a 'discursive deficit' and an ambivalence in which people deny the existence of sectarianism, then subsequently begin to give detailed accounts of its prevalence in their lives, before later retracting these statements and 'othering' the problem they have just identified as explained in the literature review. Such an approach allows the unconscious in the mundane and every day to become more apparent (Phoenix and Brannen, 2014: 11). As such, my approach to analysis draws on aspects of narrative analysis (Chamberlain, 2013; Hampshire et al., 2014; Riessman, 1993; Stanley and Temple, 2008; Woodiwiss et al., 2017). It understands narrative reality as a socially situated practice (which sits nicely with feminist epistemology). It understands that context can come both from the researcher's own knowledge of the social world and also from within the participant's narrative itself (organically and unprompted by the researcher) (see also, Apitzsch & Siouti, 2007; Bornat, 2008).

4.6.2 Practice

The actual process of analysis involved transcription of the data during which I started to note down broad themes that emerged. I then used NVivo to code the data using these broad themes. Initially, these themes were difference,

community and belonging, gender roles, mixed relationships, sex, generations and social change. There was a wide range of sub-categories which I structured into hierarchies beneath these broader themes using NVivo. There were also many minor miscellaneous sub-categories which I later discounted due to the fact they were not representative across the sample or intersectional groupings of the sample, or simply because they did not reveal anything original that was in keeping with the main research questions. I then printed the sections of the various transcripts from each of these nodes and started to read and re-read the data using a manual process of thematic re-categorisation.

I later returned to NVivo and re-ordered my data under new thematic headings; 1) religion, sex and sexuality, 2) community and belonging, 3) class, place and identity, 4) relationships, 5) gender, generations and social change. Again, I reprinted the data under the new coded nodes from NVivo at this stage. At this point, I also decided to set aside the reprinted thematic data and to draw up a table of participant characteristics (see appendix 1). I then analysed the biographical content of each participant narrative individually with a particular emphasis on the references to religion and religious difference and their 'faith journeys' were appropriate. This process was very time-consuming, and it does not explicitly feature as a single chapter in the final thesis. However, it was a crucial stage in my analysis that enabled me to delve deeper into the biographies of each participant and begin to see the intersectional similarities and differences between their relationships to religion and religious difference across the sample. I eventually re-coded the data from this 'faith journeys' chapter to fit with the overall thesis and final chapter structure in the finished manuscript.

Following the biographical analysis of each participant's biography, I then returned to the manual process of re-reading the printed data from NVivo under the themes outlined above before a final re-categorisation and beginning the process of writing around the following themes; 1) new others in the community, 2) religion, gender & sexuality, 3) old others/catholic community (church-school-family), 4) the Orange Lodge. The titles of the chapters

changed, and data were moved back and forth during the iterative process of write-up and analysis. These broad themes eventually led me to the seven empirical chapters that appear in the final thesis.

Chapter 5 Historical Scripts and Identity Narratives

This opening chapter of empirical data examines the *historical 'scripts'* on which participants' *identity narratives* appeared to be built. It is argued that the memory of a sectarian past still seemed to shape perceptions of bigotry and prejudice in contemporary times. The processes of continual expression, transformation and consolidation of sectarian identity boundaries, appeared to serve as the foundations on which continued dichotomisation may be rebuilt with successive generations.

This chapter is also the foundation for the overall thesis which explores the different levels at which sectarianism may continue to operate in Scotland.

Rhetorically, at the level of *ideas*, drawing selectively on historical scripts to reproduce identity narratives in everyday life on which differences can be built (as this chapter explores).

Overtly, through mobilising *visible institutional markers*, to provide legitimacy for maintaining historical ideas about religious difference - as the two chapters on schools and the subsequent one on the Orange Order explore.

And covertly, through invoking *subjective beliefs* about different gendered family value systems, that further consolidate perceptions of difference, and (re)produce, create and maintain ethnic and religious boundaries (as explored in the chapter on feminised sectarianism and gendered Islamophobia).

The findings have been divided in this way in line with Barth's (1998) theory that ethnic dichotomies are of two orders; namely *overt signs and signals* and *basic value orientations*. *Overt signs and signals* are defined as 'the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity'; which, in this thesis, will be analysed through the lenses of separate Catholic and non-denominational school markers, and the Orange Order as another overt and visible institution typically connected to issues of sectarianism in Scotland (Barth, 1998: 14). *Basic value orientations*, on the other hand, are defined as 'the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged';

which, in this thesis, will be analysed through the lenses of gendered cultural and religious norms used to racialise the Catholic 'other' on account of their perceived deviations from standards of white, middle-class, Protestant femininity. The final empirical chapters on attitudes towards Muslims in Inverclyde (chapters 10 & 11), develop these ideas further by exploring how these same processes can also construct 'new' racialised outsiders to the nation.

Although Barth believes there are two orders to the dichotomisation of ethnic groups, as outlined above; this thesis expands his theory to consider the role of historical memory. It is argued that historical scripts help to maintain boundaries rhetorically, at the level of ideas, through the reproduction of identity narratives in everyday life. In other words, *historical scripts* are seen as the 'archive of past discourse' that inform participants' everyday *identity narratives* of intra-Christian relationships in contemporary Scotland acting as a resource around which identities, boundaries and differences can be (re)constructed over time (Elder-Vass, 2012: 152).

5.1 Historical Scripts

Since the Reformation Scotland had been a Protestant country (Bruce, 1985: 219). Presbyterianism was not just the state religion but an identity that 'defined the Scots to one another and to the rest of the world' (Gallagher, 1991: 34). The story of sectarianism in Scotland could start as far back as the Protestant Reformation of the 16th Century and the long road to the Emancipation Act of 1829; when Catholics finally had the rights to hold civil, military or political office, to purchase or inherit land or property and to freely practice their religion (Williamson, 1998: 16). However, of greater local importance for Inverclyde is the more recent history of Irish migration to Greenock and Port Glasgow. With the development of the Clydeside industrial belt, during the Scottish Industrial Revolution, West Central Scotland became an attractive location for the Irish who were seeking to escape the Great Famine of the 1840's (Devine, 2008). The Irish, a majority of whom were Catholic, arrived in Scotland ravaged by poverty and hunger and settled in

overcrowded neighbourhoods, in the cheapest rented housing, taking the least-skilled manual jobs with the lowest wages. They were known for their perseverance with hard manual labour and their willingness to accept low wages and, consequently, were seen as a threat for undercutting native labour (Ross, 1979: 33).

This is often seen as the historical context in which sectarianism originated in Scotland. However, this concise synopsis of historical patterns of Irish migration and Catholic-Protestant relations is just one of the many scripts about the past that could be shared. It is certainly one that seemed to fit with Catholic participants' identity narratives explored in this chapter. However, it is important to point out how the issues of Irish migration and the famine have been remembered and the complexities that these scripts and narratives can also obscure. Prior to the famine, for instance, in the 1841 census, it showed that 5% of the Scottish population was born in Ireland and that by 1851, after the Famine, that figure was 7% (Census, 1841). Therefore, it would seem that Irish migration to Scotland has a longer history that predates the famine. Similarly, the *Protestant* Irish made up a substantial proportion of 'the Irish' who are often presumed to be exclusively Catholic; a fact that is also often overlooked in participants' identity constructions. Meredith (2017) for instance, suggests a large proportion of the Protestant Irish in Scotland were Episcopalian, and thus they also struggled to integrate into Presbyterian Scotland. It is recognised that there are contested histories and multiple intersectional realities that underpin the 'Irish' experience in Scotland.

However, this chapter does not seek to present a singular 'truth' or reality about the historical relationships between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland. It explores how boundaries between Catholics and Protestants appeared to be maintained through (re)producing identity narratives that drew selectively on historical scripts of unequal power relationships to maintain the *idea* of a dichotomy. It is argued that these scripts and narratives form part of the processes by which boundaries are reproduced in everyday life. They are explored in three sections below; firstly, in perceptions of local decision-making power in the community; secondly, when participants imagined their ethnic

group identity to be threatened and, thirdly, when reflecting on beliefs about employment practices and access to jobs.

The first section explores narratives of protestant supremacy and paternalism as they relate to perceptions of local decision-making power.

5.2 Perceptions of local decision-making power

5.2.1 'Protestant Supremacy'

One side of the narrative related to the idea that Protestants were thought to convey a sense of supremacy and entitlement and that Catholics did not have the same automatic and historical rights to belong in the community. Genevieve talked about her experience as a Catholic child moving to a new majority Protestant neighbourhood in Port Glasgow,

'We moved to an area where we were the only Catholics in the street, and we weren't popular additions to the neighbourhood. I remember the next door [Protestant] neighbour describing to my Mum years later that when she heard Catholics were living right next door to her she was horrified! And then she said after a while she realised, we were just ordinary people, got to know us and liked us anyway. Even though we were really, really good friends there was still this note of acceptance from her supreme level (laughs) rather than as equals if you know what I mean?'

Genevieve felt that it was as if Catholic families did not have the right to belong and that they had to prove themselves to be 'ordinary people' in order to receive acceptance from the 'supreme level' of Protestant neighbours. Her narrative of Protestant supremacy also extended beyond this personal and micro-social example, from the past, to include perceptions that related to the fabric of the wider community in more recent times. These narratives sat at the intersection between gender, religion and class and conveyed the idea that Protestant families tended to be from the wealthier areas and possessed most of the local decision-making power.

In discussions about who makes up the majority of the middle-class two older Catholic participants, Genevieve and Sylvia, expressed similar perceptions of Protestant privilege despite their different socio-economic positions and

background. Genevieve is from a working-class background with a voluntary interfaith leadership role in various youth and community projects in Port Glasgow; while Sylvia is from a middle-class family and is a paid youth and community worker in Greenock. Genevieve focuses on the links between private education, Protestantism and the privileges she believes this brings for securing high paying jobs and positions of influence; while Sylvia focuses on the connections, she perceives between Church of Scotland elders and their local decision-making positions on various boards, councils and associations.

Genevieve describes a local school that used to be run as a fee-paying institution in Greenock,

'There was a school here locally. It was traditionally a Protestant school, some Catholics did attend, but because it was a fee-paying school you didn't get as many Catholics. You've still got the people saying with pride that they went to that school and it's a different kind of pride than you have with any other school. And it would still probably be the best thing to have on your CV if you were applying for a job in this area. The education you received was remarkable compared to other schools. And there was a great desire to work there as well as to attend it. I'm not sure if that is a good thing or a bad thing. I've not really examined that. But it is still definitely part of the old boy's network, quite literally those from that school. Where most of the people that own things or run things or are Round Table or heads of charities and societies would have either gone to that school or their parents did. You had to have money and the right address to be in the school catchment area, which happened to be in the West end of Greenock with the very over-priced houses for monied people. But as well as that it was fee paying so you had to pay every term for your kids to attend and you had to wear special items of uniform and sports kit and to donate to the school for things. And if your kids took on lessons and things, they had to provide their own instruments and money towards tutoring. It was very much a private school. When it changed to be a state-run school in later years all those things still went with it. They still had an elitist connection with proper orchestras and musicians and people to come and do the extracurricular things'.

Although this fee-paying school was never officially designated as exclusively Protestant, Genevieve immediately makes this connection. She explains her reasoning by highlighting how the catchment area boundaries would have inadvertently excluded Catholics who were more likely to reside in working class areas out-with the catchment and who, in any case, would not have been

able to afford the school fees. However, the prohibitive costs and class-based catchment areas would also presumably have excluded working-class Protestants too. Genevieve chooses not to explore this; focusing instead on Catholic disadvantage set against Protestant supremacy or entitlement without recognising the additional axis of social class which would have fractured these divisions in more complex ways. Similarly, she also overlooks the possibility that middle-class Catholics, who maybe could have afforded to attend this school and were perhaps also in the right catchment areas, may have actively chosen not to send their children to a non-Catholic school as a matter of preference. Thus, she draws selectively on historical scripts of unequal power relations between 'Protestants' and 'Catholics' to reproduce identity narratives that also serve to (re)produce the idea of a dichotomised boundary founded on disadvantage. This is not to deny the historically unequal power relations between Protestants and Catholics or to deny the multiple axes of disadvantage experienced specifically by working-class Catholics; but to briefly point out that the reality has more intersectional complexity than Genevieve implies.

For instance, Genevieve also invokes gender in her narrative; referring to the 'old boys' network' and explaining how the school's elitist connections likely helped former *male* pupils to become key local decision-makers as adults. She believes that these privileges led to former pupils harbouring 'a different kind of pride'; a pride that she connects not only with being Protestant but also with being male. Again, while there is also likely a degree of truth in her narrative it overlooks the fact that participants such as Sylvia, whose narrative I explore next, is a middle-class Catholic *female* who didn't attend this school and yet she now has an influential decision-making role in the community. Again, this is not to deny what Genevieve describes but to highlight the contradictions, silences and complexities of the narrative she shares and the way it draws selectively on historical scripts of Protestant supremacy and Catholic disadvantage to reproduce a dichotomous boundary that was and still is equally fractured by gender and class.

5.2.2 'Protestant Paternalism'

Sylvia, who is of a similar age to Genevieve, but from a middle-class background made some similar observations about perceptions of Protestant supremacy or entitlement.

'There is something there that is about who controls society and who makes the decisions and who the business people are and what influence they have. There is something around religion and it is that the Church of Scotland is quite prevalent [in Inverclyde] and you can see it. You can see that influence with who is on the council, who is on the school board, who's on the community council, who's on the Traders association, it's the church elders. There's a little clique there that I had blissfully gone through my life and not really noticed but it's there. (...) They tend not to be Catholic quite as much, it tends to be Church of Scotland people and they are all Elders and they are this and they are that. But that kind of sense of, I'm going to use the word, 'entitlement', cos that's the most what it feels like. It's that sense of entitlement that they are better than other people and that they know how to do things. You know that they are the ones who think they can help all the poor people! There is something going on there that I'd not really registered'.

Sylvia refers here to Church of Scotland, Presbyterian, elders. She sees this group of Protestants as occupying many local decision-making positions in Inverclyde. Thus, like Genevieve, she also appears to draw on the historical script of unequal power relations to reproduce the same Protestant-Catholic dichotomy in her narrative. She states that the people on the council, the school boards, community councils and Traders association, for instance, are 'all Elders' of one of the local Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) churches. Again, the balance of power and the actual number of Catholics who might also hold these decision-making roles is not the focus of this analysis. The focus is on the way participants draw on certain historical scripts to selectively reproduce the idea of a dichotomy that, in turn serves to (re)create imagined identity boundaries on which 'differences' can be built. The Presbyterian Elders are depicted as the ones who 'control society', 'make the decisions' and run the businesses. They are portrayed as having a sense of 'entitlement', like they are 'better than other people' and that they are the only ones who 'know how to do things'. Thus, even as a Catholic woman who herself has various local decision-making responsibilities, Sylvia still appears to draw on historical

scripts and reproduce the same narratives of Protestant supremacy and entitlement set against Catholic oppression, victimisation or disadvantage.

Sylvia also repeats that she had 'not really registered' that 'there is something there' about the link between Church of Scotland members and their representation in local decision-making roles. She repeatedly states that she 'didn't really get it', had 'blissfully' gone through life and 'not really noticed' because it is not as 'apparent' or 'in your face'. Sylvia clearly feels that this is something that has been going on for years, but which she had just taken for granted, and mentioned how it is only now that she is more politically active in her local community that it has come to her attention. Sylvia's 'blissful' ignorance is also linked to, what appeared to be, participants' perceptions of the so-called normative nature of 'Protestantism' (or perhaps more accurately Presbyterianism) in Scotland. Again, these are not reports of fact but a presentation of the selective interpretation of historical scripts and their reproduction in identity narratives by participants. In discussions about schools this sense that 'Protestantism' was and still is 'normative' and that Catholicism was and still is side-lined are mentioned directly. That 'Protestantism' is deeply fractured within its own boundaries did not appear to matter; different denominations of Protestantism were treated as one homogenous collectivity and something that was 'normative' in comparison to the othered status of Catholicism in Scotland.

Thus, the next section looks briefly at narratives that conveyed a sense of Catholic identity being under threat in comparison with what was perceived as the culturally normative nature of Protestantism.

5.3 Perceptions of a threatened ethnic group identity

5.3.1 'Protestant Normativity'

Molly, for instance, was raised as Presbyterian and still considers herself to have 'Presbyterian values at heart' despite marrying into a family with a majority of Catholics. She states that,

'A lot of people here, mostly Protestants I would say, want mixed schools. But from my point of view if it was mixed schools, they would then just eventually become over the years Protestant schools. You'll find that it's Catholics who are the ones that want to keep them separate because they know that they are the ones that will get pushed to the side. I just believe that that is the norm. It is what it would become eventually.'

It is worth noting how she believes that mixing schools would eventually lead to Catholics being marginalised and excluded into what she still perceives to be the more dominant Protestant majority. Interestingly, Molly also works part-time in the playground and dinner hall at a school in Inverclyde that decided to join a Catholic and non-denominational school in the same building. It was reported by several participants that this was due to the fights between the neighbouring schools (see chapter seven on inter-school conflict). The two schools now share the same building but still retain separate uniforms and some separate lessons.

'I work in the school and they brought the two high schools together in the big campus. So, it's the Catholic school and the Protestant school that is in it together. And the dining area is the common area and there are another couple of areas that are common. But the weans get on great. (...) On the whole they get on great. They all kind of mix. Although some will keep to their own school and they will sit all together, and you can see the two different ties sitting together sometimes. (...) But a lot of them tend to stick to their ain. I would say it is [a good solution] as long as they've got separate identities. I'm all for that. I think it would be a shame if they lost their identities. Either or, do you know what I mean?'

Molly is arguing for both schools to keep their identity in a way that also links back to her previous comment expressing a concern that mixing might be most likely to eventually lead to Catholics being 'the ones that will get pushed to the side' and lose their distinctive identity.

Her Catholic daughter, Grace, also expressed a similar concern,

'I think if [Catholic traditions and schools] completely die out people won't bother anymore and it's a shame. It's a shame when something that meant so much to your families just dies out. (...) You've got to keep your own traditions going as well, don't you?'

These concerns that Catholics would be the ones to get pushed to the side, the need to preserve their distinctive traditions, and the fear of losing their identity are also closely linked with the perception that Catholicism is an othered identity in comparison to, what some appeared to describe as, a more ‘culturally Protestant’ leaning even in allegedly non-denominational schools. Alice explains,

‘I, first of all, went to a Catholic school but then I changed to go to a non-denominational one. (...) It was in inverted commas a “non-denominational school” but it was, you know, Protestant Ministers and things that would carry out the services on high days and holidays. So, although it was a non-denominational school, culturally it was very much a Protestant school’.

This perception of non-denominational schools being ‘culturally Protestant’ by default was expressed by most Catholic participants. One of the youngest participants, Alison, stated that,

‘At Primary school we were forced to go to the Church of Scotland school and to go to church with them, which I think is wrong cos it was meant to be a non-denominational school’.

Similarly, others, such as Angela, casually conflated ‘non-denominational’ with Protestant in reference to schools throughout their interviews.

‘I went to a Catholic High School and we just lived down the road from what was known as a non-denominational school, but it really wasn’t it was more kind of, I suppose, Protestant’.

While there is arguably a need to challenge this conflation, the fact of its prevalence in participants’ identity narratives, in the first instance, necessitates an explanation of the historical script from which it originates.

Laws over religious observance in Scottish schools date back to 1872 when ‘non-denominational’ schools were first created. Church of Scotland jurisdiction over schools was transferred to local school boards which, in principle, severed the ties between the Protestant churches and state schools. However, as Brown points out, ‘those churches continued to exercise a strong degree of control over the transferred schools by virtue of their de facto presence on school boards, and by virtue of the statutory recognition of the

ongoing custom of religious observance and instruction in such schools' (Brown, 2015).

This 1872 statutory obligation for religious observance in schools is still in force today. Recent guidance from *The Scottish Office Education Department* expressed the view that religious observance was still a valid and important aspect of children's 'spiritual development' and gave pupils a sense of 'corporate identity'. It also stated that in non-denominational schools religious observance should be of a 'broadly Christian character' (Scottish Government, 2001). The later 2005 circular updated this advice but also reiterated that 'Scotland is a society with a longstanding Christian tradition' and that although 'religious observance needs to be developed in a way which reflects and understands diversity' it also needed to be 'sensitive to *our* traditions and origins and should seek to reflect that' (Scottish Government, 2005, *my italics*).

Moreover, as Brown points out, religious observance in schools today is also 'often a matter of general government guidance, local authority policy, head teachers' discretion, and local custom' (Brown, 2015). In other words, a combination of the legal requirement for religious observance in non-denominational schools, dating back to 1874, the historical ties between the Church of Scotland and national schools and the discretion of teachers in how this legal obligation is implemented locally, inevitably means that in some areas the historical tendency towards a Protestant default in religious observance still remains. As the report of the *Religious Observance Review Group* outlined, that is not to say that non-denominational schools are being deliberately one-sided in how they implement religious observance, but that,

'...head teachers were finding difficulty in taking account of the guidance contained in the Circular(s) and of the intentions of legislation dating back to 1872, in ways which were meaningful in the social, cultural and educational context of today' (*Scottish Government, 2004*).

These issues of religious observance, in schools place participants' comments into the broader social context and go some way towards explaining the reasons behind their *perceptions* of a wider culturally normative Protestantism (Presbyterianism). (The history and practices of Catholic schools is explored

in more detail in chapter six). Once again, here participants' narratives draw selectively on historical scripts of unequal power relationships to reproduce the idea of an enduring dichotomy. While the narratives on local decision-making power ignored the intersections of class and gender as it overlaps with religion; these narratives on perceptions of a threatened minority identity also ignored the fact that Scotland's majority preference is for no religion. That is not to say that Catholic Schools do not face opposition (they are often wrongly assumed to be the cause of sectarianism in popular 'victim-blaming' approaches); nor is it to deny participants' perceptions of a Presbyterian default in schools (See McKinney, 2015; Conroy, 2001, 2003, 2007; Bruce, 2003; Flint, 2007). However, once again, it is about highlighting the way that that identity narratives can over-simplify and essentialise in ways that draw selectively on available information to reproduce the idea of an enduring Protestant-Catholic dichotomy.

The final section looks at how these narratives also extended to beliefs about employment practices and unequal access to jobs in memories of Catholic oppression.

5.3.2 Catholic Oppression: discrimination in employment

Memories of Catholic disadvantage and the inter-generational passing down of the historical scripts of oppression were particularly evident in discussions around discrimination in employment. Unsurprisingly, this is also one of the key areas of academic interest and debate (See Abbotts et al., 2004; Finn et al., 2008; Bruce et al., 2004; Bruce et al., 2005; Rosie & McCrone, 2000; Paterson, 2000; Williams & Walls, 2000; Walls & Williams, 2003).

I interviewed Tracy, a Catholic woman in her mid-thirties, before meeting her mother Sheena and finally her Aunt Joan (Sheena's sister); all three of them told the same story of Sheena's experience of sectarian bigotry when applying to work at the Royal Bank of Scotland. Tracy told me I was sure to hear the story about her Mum applying for work at the bank; showing that it was a familiar family memory that had clearly been discussed on many occasions.

'You'll get this if you get to interview [my Mum], that when her and her friend were working in the bank, they were the only two Catholics in the whole of Inverclyde. Because as soon as they heard what school you went to, that was it. You didn'ae get a job'.

Her mother Sheena explained what originally happened.

'When I was 17, I went for this job in the Royal Bank of Scotland. I had the qualifications that were needed and at the end of the interview, with the manager of the bank at the time, he told me to my face as a 17-year-old, the only reason that you won't get the job is because you are a Catholic! And he actually sat across from me as we are now and said that! I think I was too gobsmacked to actually do anything. So, I went away home and I said to my Dad that, you know, he actually told me that the only reason I wouldn't get the job was because I was a Catholic. However, I got the job! But, at that time, I mean that's over fifty years ago, only two Catholics worked in the bank in the whole of the Inverclyde area. I mean that's away up Kilmacolm, Bridge of Weir, right down to Gourock and beyond. There were just two Catholics who worked in the bank. My friend and I. We were the only two Catholics at that time. And that was when the banks had lots of branches in Kilmacolm, Bridge of Weir and there were three in Greenock at the time too. There were loads of branches all over the place but only two Catholics'.

In the first portrayal of this foundational family narrative, Tracy shares the familiar historical script that when employers heard you went to a Catholic school you did not get the job. However, despite her mother experiencing what appeared to be bigoted sectarian attitudes of the bank manager during the interview process, she *did* get the job in this case. The family then appeared to have turned this original historical script of oppression or 'victimhood' into a narrative of succeeding against the odds. Sheena had 'won' the battle despite the seemingly bigoted views of this manager and was one of the first Catholics in Inverclyde to get a job in the bank. Sheena later reinforces this *victory narrative* and draws attention to the historical shift that took place as more Catholics were able to enter the professions and achieve social mobility with their Protestant counter-parts.

'I went back to work in the bank in 1974 [10 years later after a break for maternity]. Over that period there were actually more Catholics than there was non-Catholics. So, it had totally turned around, totally turned around. I think it was all now on qualifications. We always considered

ourselves to have the best education! (Laughs) Coming out with the higher grades and that. I think that maybe had something to do with it, but it was certainly like chalk and cheese from all those years ago. But to have somebody say that to you at 17 is just... (Tails off)'

Sheena explained how things had changed with a sudden rise in the number of Catholics working in the banks. Catholic social mobility, in part due the success of Catholic education and penalties for discriminatory employment practices, meant that many participants recognised that it was unlikely that discrimination in employment could still happened today to the same extent. Again, the question of whether Catholics were *really* discriminated against in the 1960's in the RBS branches in Inverclyde is of less interest than the way the historical script of Catholic oppression is passed down through the family generations and the way that the narrative is modified to one of victory and pride in succeeding against the odds. This *victory narrative* still reproduces the Protestant-Catholic dichotomy and the idea of oppression in a way that also accommodates the fact that Catholics were starting to get access to jobs that were historically perceived as only open to the Protestant middle-classes.

Challenges or contradictions to the original historical script of Catholic oppression was often replaced with these victory narratives in a way that bestowed a sense of pride and achievement on 'our good schools' and on the family members who had been the first to get degrees or professional jobs. However, despite these victory narratives of Catholic social mobility the original historical scripts from memories of discrimination and disadvantage still lingered on and informed how present-day experiences of 'success' were understood.

In two contradictory stories about 'draughtsmen' - a higher paid and qualified person who makes detailed technical drawings and plans for engineering projects - Alice and Sylvia (who are not related) also reproduced a similar narrative to that of Sheena, Tracy and Joan's RBS family narrative.

'I know you couldn't get a job in the shipyards locally at the more kind of engineering end, the draughts people you couldn't get an apprenticeship or that if you were Catholic. You were the guys that did the plating and the riveting and the kind of more manual stuff. It was

quite clear that if you were Catholic it was the lower rung that you got into' (Sylvia).

'Interestingly my Great Granddad, was the first Catholic to work in the offices of the Shipyard in Greenock and this was quite a big thing in my family that they were quite proud of and quite happy about the fact that he was the first Catholic. He was a draughtsman and it was during the Second World War and this was a really big thing. And they kind of know and are clear about the whole thing that it was because it was during the War and things were a wee bit different at that time but that was something that was important to them, I think. (...) I think they did have historical notions about employment and all of that as well about people not being able to get jobs in particular areas' (Alice).

Interestingly, Alice shared Sylvia's perception that Catholics were unable to access higher paid engineering jobs such as a 'draughtsman' despite her Great Grandfather securing this very post during the War. Similar to Sheena's RBS story, when the traditional historical script is challenged, the narrative is reproduced to accommodate this inconsistency by emphasising the unique conditions under which he got the job. The same feelings of pride in succeeding against the odds are part of her family victory narrative which still reproduces the idea of oppression while bestowing a sense of pride on the family member's achievement.

Genevieve also shares a narrative about Catholic oppression except, in her experience, she reports often not securing the jobs she applied for.

'In the older generations there is still a feeling of Protestant supremacy. There is still a feeling of giving jobs to people who are of certain types (...) I'm sure it's happened to me several times when I know deep down in my heart that I'm pretty much as well qualified as the next person coming away and thinking why did they get picked and I didn't and then finding out they are a different faith from me and the same as the interviewers and you kind of wonder. Is that what they really think? It's still a worry that [being Catholic] is the reason'.

Genevieve later shared several challenging stories; one of which involved her experience of a gendered sectarian hate crime during her early teenage years. It seemed that, particularly for Genevieve, the memory of this ordeal and her direct experience of the oppression of Catholics was still 'deep down' and seemed to shape her interpretations of present-day interactions to a greater

extent than some of the younger and middle-class participants (see chapter seven).

Alice, for instance, is a younger Catholic participant who also highlighted the narrative of discrimination in employment yet for her it was mostly 'a spoken thing' 'a viewpoint' and 'an idea' which had been passed on, rather than a direct personal experience.

'I did have experiences of it a wee bit when I was younger. I worked in lawyers a lot when I was young, doing temporary work when I was at school, but it was a thing. It definitely was a ... spoken thing about people's school that they went to and so on. And certainly, in terms of that kind of getting your foot in the door sort of thing. It wasn't a likelihood if you were coming from a Catholic school. The work experience opportunities were offered in the non-denominational school in places that they just weren't... (tails off) I certainly know of people saying that this was something that had happened to them in my family and people that I know. (...) But also, why would people have these perceptions of not applying for job in a particular place in the first place? (...) In my family there would have been a viewpoint about whether people could or couldn't get particular jobs. (...) There seems to be an idea about particular professions, having recruitment, you know, not actual policies but unsaid policies and so on...'

The fact Alice tails off before completing her sentence on the unequal provision of work experience opportunities, between Catholic and non-denominational schools, suggests that she changed her mind about making this statement, perhaps realising that it no longer held up to the extent that it maybe once did. Similarly, although she starts off with a strong statement that she 'did have experiences of it' those experiences seem to consist primarily of perceptions she formed through hearing these employment narratives from others, rather than from her own direct experiences of public life. Alice seems to struggle to reconcile the mismatch between the historical scripts that have shaped her perceptions and her own, more recent, experience as a younger Catholic woman who has benefited from opportunities to achieve educational and professional success; opportunities less likely to have been open to previous working-class generations in her family (Bruce et al., 2005; Finn et al., 2008; Scottish Government, 2015a; Walls and Williams, 2003, 2005; Williams and Walls, 2000).

5.4 Conclusion

The argument that there is a mismatch between the perception of a problem of sectarianism and direct evidence of its existence is a core debate within existing research in the field (Glasgow City Council, 2003; Scottish Government, 2013b). In recent recommendations by the *Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland* (AGOTS), these issues of knowledge claims or ‘truth’ about sectarianism were also touched upon. The report accepted the reality that modern day manifestations of sectarianism, while rooted in the historic religious legacy of the Reformation (*historical scripts*), did not have to be about ‘live’ religion to be about ‘sectarianism’; it’s enough if the ‘belief or perception that the ‘them’ and ‘us’ opposition is still alive and well’ (Scottish Government, 2013a: 17). This is very much in line with the evidence and argumentation presented in this chapter. However, there is a danger that perceptions are too readily dismissed when, in fact, the way they appeared to operate suggests that they play a foundational role in reproducing the problem. Alice’s question ‘why would people have these perceptions (...) in the first place?’ is of central importance in this respect. Do people have these perceptions because of scripts and narratives passed on that no longer have any basis in modern Scottish reality beyond ‘the level of ideas’; or is it perhaps that the problem has changed, moved elsewhere or is primarily an issue which manifests in the under-researched private and familial spheres which are often not part of expert definitions? It is clear from participants’ identity narratives that the historical script of Catholic oppression in the public realm of employment practices has been adapted to one of ‘victory’ on account of their structural integration. However, at the level of culture and in the private and familial spheres there is still a feeling of Catholic ‘ethnic options’ being treated as inferior, other and perhaps as still not fully ‘Scottish’ when compared to the historically normative and ‘superior’ Protestantism. Could it be that participants’ perceptions of sectarianism are based not on the public sphere over issues of structure (where they would have historically resided) but on *actual* experiences within the private and familial spheres? Or is it that the

belief in the legacy of historically unequal power relations is enough that it shapes the way that people interpret and experience certain interactions as characterised by sectarianism? This has implications for the way experiences of sectarianism are researched (see also Ormston et al., 2015).

As I will explore in later chapters, these identity narratives appear to shape participants' interpretations of inter-ethnic social interactions in ways that lead them to label a wide range of gendered experiences as constituting '*feminised sectarianism*'. This demonstrates the power of perceptions to actively influence attitudes, actions and behaviours which ultimately serve to keep the problem alive.

This chapter has laid out the narratives of Protestant supremacy, paternalism and normativity set against Catholic oppression. These identity narratives serve to reproduce the dichotomisation of the two ethno-Christian religious groups through the continued expression and validation of boundaries in everyday social interactions. It has demonstrated how participants' identity narratives draw from historical scripts, memories and the legacy of the Protestant Reformation and Irish Catholic migration to Scotland. It has also argued that the transmission, reproduction and adaptation of these historical scripts is achieved through selective borrowing from the archive of past discourse to suit the changes that have occurred over time; the most striking of which has been the social mobility of Catholics in achieving structural (but not full cultural) integration. This chapter has also identified these identity narratives as the principal mechanism which perpetuates intra-Christian dichotomisation and suggested that this is responsible not only for the reproduction of intra-Christian boundaries at the level of ideas or perception but that these narratives can also influence attitudes, actions and behaviours in ways that, under certain circumstances, can lead to the negative evaluation of the other and thus constitute evidence of alternative manifestations of sectarianism from the standpoint of different women in Scotland. Something I will now explore in the chapters which follow.

Chapter 6 The School Marker: internal fragmentation

The last chapter looked at how boundaries between Catholics and Protestants are maintained rhetorically, at the level of ideas, through the reproduction of identity narratives in everyday life. It focused on the way that participants drew selectively on historical scripts of unequal power relationships to maintain the idea of a dichotomy. These identity narratives appeared to be reproduced in discussions surrounding three key aspects of social life. Firstly, in perceptions of local decision-making power in the community. Secondly, when participants imagined their ethnic group identity to be threatened. And, thirdly, when reflecting on beliefs about employment practices and access to jobs.

Moving beyond the level of ideas, this chapter explores how internal boundaries are maintained and legitimised through the more overt signs and signals of institutional affiliations. It presents participants' contradictory feelings of difference, community and belonging, through the lens of Catholic schools, as it relates to associated church and family functions.

6.1 Background to Catholic Schools in Scotland

The historical development and contemporary maintenance of Catholic Education is thought to be of central importance in understanding the social mobility and eventual integration of the descendants of Irish Catholic immigrants in Scotland (Bruce et al., 2004; Devine, 2008; Paterson and Iannelli, 2006; Rosie, 2004).

For much of the late 18th and early 19th century, the Catholic Church in Scotland was primarily focused on funding and supporting its own primary schools; a process accelerated by the needs of a rapid influx of Irish Catholic immigrants and the introduction of universal compulsory education in 1872 (Treble, 1979). However, the 1918 settlement and 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Act eventually saw the integration of Catholic Education into the State system, thereby easing the financial burden on Catholics who had, until

that point, been effectively 'paying twice for schools once through rates and direct payment from the pulpit' (Williamson, 1998: 26). These Acts had enshrined Catholic Schools through an Act of Parliament and has since meant that 'failure to maintain [them] could bring the full force of the state on any local authority' (ibid: 26). The post war era, from 1945 onwards, saw the rapid expansion of Catholic secondary schooling, linked to the move towards a comprehensive system and the increase in the school leaving age to 15. When the Universities Tests Act (1871) opened higher education to Catholics, the process of Catholic Emancipation in the United Kingdom was well underway, with a steady increase in Catholic participation in higher education and those entering the professions (Ross, 1979: 45).

Schools were, and arguably still are, at the centre of local Catholic community life. Many family-based church practices - such as First Communions - still revolve around school-led religious activity which joins together the three pillars of the Catholic 'church-school-family triangle'; thereby 're-creating and maintaining the sense of a distinctive identity with each successive generation' (Bruce et al., 2004: 107). As Lynch (1998) states,

'The existence of a separate Roman Catholic school system within the state sector is [still] probably the most public example of a distinctive Catholic community in Scotland. It also has the effect of maintaining the Catholic community's religious distinctiveness in Scotland to a considerable degree' (p.48).

6.2 The 'Catholic community' in Scotland

The so-called 'church-school-family triangle' is a term adopted by historians and sociologists with an interest in researching the extent to which Irish Catholic migrants formed a close-knit community (Bruce et al., 2004: 107; see also Boyle & Lynch, 1998). The relationships between the three pillars of this triangle are described below.

'The main reason for involvement in the life of a church is belief in its tenets, but the family is an encouragement to such involvement. The ceremonies of family life – weddings, christening, first communions – provide occasions for reaffirming one's ties. For those who have a faith, wanting to see their children raised in it is a good reason for active

participation. The Catholic Church's schools have always provided a strong link between the Catholic family and the institutional church' (Bruce et al., 2004: 108).

In practice, there is disagreement about the extent to which these three institutions worked together to form an entirely separate Catholic community or 'ghetto' in Scotland (Boyle and Lynch, 1998). Critics who challenge this 'Catholic ghetto' narrative argue that the rates of Protestant-Catholic inter-marriage and the lapsing from faith of many Catholics on reaching adulthood, contradict the idea that there were impenetrable walls separating the two communities (Devine, 2008; Mitchell, 2008). This chapter does not deny the reality of these facts; there is substantial evidence of increasing rates of inter-marriage between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland (Raab and Holligan, 2012) and well-documented evidence of Catholic structural integration (Bruce et al., 2004; Rosie, 2001; Rosie & McCrone, 2000; Census, 2011). However, there is also evidence of those who still choose to retain an element of their ethnic and religious identity, and an interest in their ancestry, despite this integration (Hickman et al., 2005; McWilliams and Walter, 2013; Walter, 2011; Walter et al., 2002).

Moreover, as Waters (1990) argues, '*even when such primary relationships as ethnic intermarriage occur, there is still evidence that ethnic identity is maintained*' and thus the question becomes 'what kind of ethnicity exists when the structural forces that maintain it are not evident' (p.5, p.11). Some commentators use evidence of inter-ethnic contact to argue that, over time, this can and should lead to acculturation; when the children of migrants fully adopt all aspects of the host culture. However, throughout this thesis, I argue that integration of diverse ethnic and religious minority groups is best conceived of using a paradigm of cultural pluralism, rather than assimilation (Bruce et al., 2004: 68–69). Cultural pluralists, such as Meer (2010) argue that assimilationist models place a 'disproportionate burden of change (...) upon the minority' (p.47). They see 'full integration' not as a one-way process requiring new-comers to fit into the dominant culture, essentially 'a watered down version of assimilation' (Meer, 2014a: 5); but as a *two-way process* of

adapting which requires both the newcomers *and* the members of the existing society to engage in a mutual process of adapting their respective values, norms and behaviours (Castles et al., 2002: 17–18).

Therefore, it is argued that the successful structural integration of Catholics in Scotland need not incite a similar desire for full cultural assimilation. This is not about proving or disproving areas of cultural similarity between Protestants and Catholics or about searching for evidence of homogeneity or otherwise (See Bruce et al., 2004:94–117; Rosie & McCrone, 2000:208–230). If ethnic groups are interacting to the extent of Protestants and Catholics in Scotland (Raab and Holligan, 2012) then it would require and indeed generate a ‘congruence of codes and values’ (Barth, 1998: 10). In other words, we would expect there to be some similarities or areas in which there were many shared values and understandings of social life. However, just because there are high levels of ‘mixing’, and signs of Catholic structural integration, does not mean that the boundaries of both ethnic groups will or even should disappear entirely. It is quite plausible and indeed laudable that ‘differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and inter-dependence’ (ibid.) Moreover, these differences and dichotomisations need not always be the root of the problem of sectarianism in Scotland, or as something that needs to be eradicated or explained away. As Barth (1998) suggests,

‘Ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built’ (p.10).

For Scotland to be ‘an embracing social system’, however, requires a framework of cultural pluralism not the paradigm of cultural assimilation which tends to have dominated many of the debates characterising the field to date. As Barth points out, recognising that a degree of congruence in ‘codes and values’ is likely and indeed necessary for a functioning society can also be held in tension with acknowledging - and where appropriate celebrating - ethnic desire for differences. For research, this then shifts,

'The critical focus of [the] investigation [to] the ethnic boundary that defines the group not the cultural stuff that it encloses' (Barth, 1998: 15).

In other words, it is how the dichotomy is reproduced that matters in terms of the desire for participants to maintain distinctiveness from one generation to the next.

'Ethnic groups are not merely or necessarily based on the occupation of exclusive territories' but rather, what needs to be analysed is how a boundary is maintained 'not only by a once-and-for-all recruitment but by continual expression and validation' (ibid: 15).

This idea of continual expression and validation of boundary is at the heart of this thesis. It is argued that this operates 1) rhetorically, at the level of ideas, drawing selectively on historical scripts to reproduce identity narratives in everyday life on which differences can be built (chapter five); 2) overtly, through mobilising visible institutional markers, to provide legitimacy for these historical ideas about religious difference - as the two chapters on schools and the subsequent one on the Orange Order explore 3) and covertly, through invoking subjective beliefs about different gendered value systems relating to family that further consolidate perceptions of difference and (re)produce, create and maintain ethnic and religious boundaries (see chapters 9 & 11).

By focusing on these different levels at which the boundary appears to be maintained, the emphasis is on the more subjective discursive, ideational and attitudinal processes that reproduce difference *not* on the sum of overt markers of difference. Thus, the research is about 'the structuring of interaction which allows for persistence of cultural differences' in the areas which the 'actors *themselves* regard as significant' (ibid: 14, my italics).

This chapter explores the ways in which separate schooling still appears to shape participants' everyday experiences of difference, community and belonging; albeit in contradictory ways and despite high degrees of inter-ethnic contact and inter-dependence. It addresses the role of the overt school marker in maintaining and legitimising ideas of difference, community and belonging and the complexity of processes of *internal* location and dislocation. Chapter

seven, which follows, then explores the related *external* processes of differentiation that, under certain conditions, appeared to mobilise the same school marker as a resource for stimulating conflict.

6.2.1 The Church-School-Family Triangle

The church-school-family triangle is adopted as an analogy to represent a system of coordinated institutions because it appeared to reflect participants' experiences of growing up Catholic in Inverclyde. Catholic schools (and the related church and family functions) were described as primary markers for 'being Catholic' (or in some cases for being (mis)recognised as Catholic or being excluded from full belonging). It is recognised that the extent to which these three pillars work together as an effective system is something requiring further exploration and, as such, the contradictions that arose to disrupt the analogy are explored in further detail below. It is not argued that the church-school-family triangle is fully self-reproducing or that it operates as a system of full social closure.

This analogy is also supported by drawing on Brubaker's (2004) pioneering research into 'ethnicity without groups' - in a Transylvanian town in Romania. As with 'being Catholic' in Inverclyde, Brubaker (2007) also identified separate Hungarian Schools (and its associated church and family functions) as key institutions that worked together to (partially) reproduce the Hungarian world as a matter of everyday practice.

'The Hungarian world is an institutionally grounded world, sustained not only by personal preferences, but by public policies; not only through informal networks but through formal institutions, organisations and associations; not only in the private sphere of family and friendship but in the public sphere of schools [and] churches' (p.266).

Similar to Brubaker's Hungarian participants in Romania, Catholic participants sense of being markedly different in Inverclyde was clearly experienced as a 'matter of everyday practice' as part of the 'texture' of, for instance, different bedtimes, waking times and journeys to a separate Catholic school that shaped their daily life. For instance, one participant, Tracy, attended Catholic primary and secondary schools in Inverclyde. The question of whether she had

any sense of 'being different', immediately invoked her childhood memories of going to bed and getting up much earlier than her friends, who lived on the same street and went to the non-denominational school just across the road.

Where I grew up, you were aware that you were in another school from other people. I've always been aware of that. There was a school in my street that was non-denominational, and it would have literally taken a minute to get from my front door into that school. Whereas my mother had to take us by taxi to school because we went to the Catholic school. (...) So, I was very aware that pals round about, who you played with at night, could get up at half past eight in the morning and still be at school for nine. Whereas we'd have to leave the house at half past to get to school and walk or get the taxi or whatever.

Here Tracy draws attention to what Brubaker (2007) refers to as 'the connections between institutional orders, social relations and the texture of social experience' (p.266). Attending a Catholic school is an overt signal of difference which structured the 'texture' of her everyday experience of 'being Catholic' and growing up in Greenock.

Similarly, Pauline drew attention to the salience of schools as a primary marker of difference, not just in everyday life but also as a way of 'placing' and categorising people.

'You would be divided, and people would know which camp you were in. They put you in that box regardless of what you thought. Nobody ever asked your opinion. You were one side or the other according to the school, work or whatever. It was just accepted that you were Catholic or Protestant. You never even thought about anything else, it was either one or the other. That was it and you sort of had to conform. There was no point standing up and saying, 'oh I don't come from here, I don't actually believe in all this!' That would just never have cropped up in conversation. I could only live life by showing that I didn't want to make division. But I found that what people didn't work out, they were willing to surmise. So, they would try to find out your whole life and then categorise you accordingly.'

Here Pauline describes a close-knit or insular community in Inverclyde where everyone was well acquainted or, if not, would be able to use their contacts and connections with others to decide about your ethnic and religious identity. Again, Brubaker (2007) found a similar process of categorisation which also often relied on institutional affiliations, particularly school, to identify others.

'The Hungarian world is small and tightly interconnected. People often know one another; when they do not, they can quickly place one another in familiar contexts and networks. (...) The institutions are inter-locking. The Hungarian churches, for example, are closely affiliated with the three main Hungarian high schools. [So that,] social relations formed in one institutional setting, especially schools, carry over not only into private life but into other institutional sectors' (p.295).

These opening examples reiterate the salience of the school marker both as the primary institution structuring the texture of everyday life for young people and their families in Inverclyde, and to identify and categorise others. Similar to Brubaker's research, here school also appears to 'inter-lock' with the associated church and family pillars of the triangle to support the religious functions of the school.

The presentation and discussion of findings which follows covers, firstly, the positive elements of internal belonging in narratives of 'helping' and 'sticking' to 'your own'; secondly, participants negative narratives of 'trauma' and 'dislocation' experienced as 'outsiders inside' the Catholic community; and thirdly, the resulting processes of 'unbecoming Catholic' due to exceeding or failing to uphold the standards and expectations embedded in the Catholic church-school-family triangle. The following chapter (seven), looks at external processes of differentiation negotiated through young people's use of the school markers, as a resource for stimulating conflict.

The choice to analyse and present the findings in this way is informed by the overarching theoretical framework (see chapter 3). The dual character of ethnic and religious identifications and the processes of boundary creation are understood to contain both positive and negative aspects of internal belonging and fragmentation, as well as processes of external differentiation. This maps onto the concepts of ethnicisation and racialisation, discussed in full in chapter three. While ethnicisation is understood as processes by which meaning is attributed to socio-cultural signifiers to create legitimate (and sometimes positive and healthy boundaries of difference) between ethnic collectivities; racialisation, in contrast, involves negative processes of inferiorising the opposing collectivity though mobilising socially-signified boundary markers,

whether overt or covert, real or imagined. In other words, markers used to define who 'we' are (such as Catholic schools) are not necessarily part of the problem of sectarianism in Scotland; but rather, the way that certain people may choose to mobilise legitimate expressions of ethnic and religious identity, to make negative value judgements that inferiorise the 'other', are understood to be the root of the problem. This is an important point and one that fits with a pluralist approach to integrating diverse ethnic and religious collectivities.

Thus, this chapter looks at Catholic participants' contradictory feelings of difference, community and belonging to highlight the *ethnicisation* of boundaries; the processes by which a Catholic identity is (re)produced, created and maintained despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence. The chapter which follows, and subsequent chapters, however, look more closely at the processes of *racialisation* during which these same boundaries can, under certain conditions, become sectarianised through negative evaluations of the other.

However, firstly, this chapter explores both the positive internal narratives of location and positionality from within, and the negative internal 'traumas and dislocations' that participants also faced from within the Catholic community (Anthias, 2002: 502). It is argued that these negotiations appeared to be structured primarily around the school marker and its associated church and family pillars.

6.3 Helping yer ain and sticking to yer ain

The idea of a self-contained and close-knit Catholic community in which people would 'help their ain' - that they would give preferential treatment to members of their own ethnic group - and 'stick to their ain' - that they would develop friendships and intimate relationships exclusively with members of their own ethnic group - was a feeling many participants shared. That is not to say that it was an impenetrable boundary, but rather it was a boundary that was still present and had an impact on the degree of inter-ethnic contact due to the way that separate schooling naturally structures relationships in everyday life. This

is important because it tells us about the processes of ethnicisation by which Catholic-ness in Scotland is reproduced, created and maintained.

Tracy explained,

'Once we went to [Catholic] High School there was nae inter-race, inter-religion stuff at all. We never done anything, I mean even with the closest non-denom[inational] high school or anything like that. There was just nae interaction. The fact that my first boyfriend went to a non-denominational school kinda shocked people. People wondered how I knew people who wern'ae Catholic. (Giggles) How do you end up knowing people that aren'ae your own religion? (Laughs) And it's quite sad but now I could probably go through the 200 people I've got on my Facebook and... nearly every one of them will be Catholic or have been Catholic'.

Here she demonstrates the impact of school structuring most of her childhood and teenage relationships, leading to a greater proportion of them coming from her own ethnic group. However, the fact that she had a boyfriend from the opposing group, again inferred by the school marker, provides evidence of the permeability of these boundaries and the existence of high degrees of inter-ethnic contact. Other participants also conveyed this sense of a 'close-knit' or 'insular' Catholic community.

'I suppose for me growing up everybody I knew was Catholic. I come from a large Catholic family. My grandparents and great grandparents are all from the North of Ireland. They'd to come over here to work and had brought their traditions with them. So, everybody, everybody I knew in my family circle was Catholic which is quite bizarre and might even sound quite bad. But I didn't know anybody who was of another religion. We didn't socialise. All the friends and family. Even the people you called Auntie, when they weren't your Auntie, they were all Catholic too! That was just the way life was. It was probably quite insular'.

At first glance, Sylvia also highlights the insularity of the Catholic community. However, as she progresses, she shares a similar story of an inter-ethnic romantic relationship as that described by Tracy.

Well it was really only meeting my boyfriend, who is now my husband, but I was 15 and started to go out with my husband and he came from a mixed family. And that was my first experience of anything other. It's utterly bizarre to realise that there are other religions and Catholics CAN marry others! That was something that had just never ever crossed my

mind. (...) Some people went to one school and some people went to the other school across the hill and we didn't mix at all. It is utterly bizarre. (...) When I met my husband, I was working in a café in [Inverclyde]. I was working in there and he kept coming in and he had his motor bike and his long hair, and I guess I thought he was quite exotic! (Both Laugh) It was one of those things you knew your mother wouldn't approve, so there was a wee bit of that going on. (...) But he certainly wasn't in my social circle it was only because he came into the café'.

Again, this testifies to the permeability of these ethnic boundaries and particularly to young people's opportunities to subvert these boundaries.

Finally, Catherine articulated a similar narrative in relation to inter-ethnic friendships rather than romantic partnerships.

'I was quite lucky in that my neighbourhood friends were pretty much divided 50:50. So half went to [the Catholic Primary] with us and half went to [the non-denominational Primary] which was sort of the Protestant school. But because we all lived in the same little cul-de-sac we just played together. We knew we went to different schools (...) but it just became the norm that we would be friends. Maybe it was more in the teenage years that it was sort of like expected that you would stick to your own kind in a way. (...) When I went to [Catholic] High School (...) it was always a wee bit that you couldn't associate with people from, like the Protestant High school. You definitely couldn't date a guy from there! I mean I don't suppose people might of really said anything, but it might have been a little bit frowned upon'.

Here she describes the mixed neighbourhood and how younger primary-aged children subverted the boundaries, structured by separate schools, to establish inter-ethnic friendships in mixed local neighbourhoods. At first, she also attempts to claim that you were expected to 'stick to yer ain', especially when it came to romantic relationships. However, she appears to immediately back away from this claim. Catherine also reminds the reader that, although there were varying degrees of inter-ethnic contact, separate schooling still had a significant impact in the way that it naturally structured more frequent and meaningful social contact with members of one's own ethnic group.

'Most of my friends were from (Catholic) school - apart from the neighbours kids growing up. But my closest friends were school friends but just because I suppose they were the ones I spent most time with. I also had a couple of friends who went to other Catholic schools in the

town. We would maybe meet them through the church and church events. So, yeah, probably most were the same religious background as me'.

Most of Catherine's friends still tended to come from her own ethnic group due to the close-knit and arguably 'insular' church-school-family triangle also described by the other participants. This 'sticking to yer ain' also fed into the idea that you 'help yer ain'. In one example, Catherine recalls the memory of the first time she took her driving test.

'I remember when I was going to sit my driving test, and somebody asked me who was actually going to be doing the test and I told them the name of this guy and they went 'Oh remember he went to [the same Catholic High school as us].' I was like 'why does that matter' and they were like 'cos he's more likely to pass you!' (...) I just remember being really, really shocked about this and thinking surely that doesn't affect my ability to drive! But funnily enough, I get in the car and the guy is like 'oh, you know, what's your name, what school do you go to?' It was almost the first question that he asked me. I kind of looked at him and said [the name of our school] thinking to myself, yes, I'm going to pass! But then ... I didn't actually! I ended up failing on the first time! (Both laugh) But, you know, it just seemed like such a strange concept to me, like what school you went to, i.e. what religion, would have any kind of bearing on how you did in a driving test'.

From this amusing anecdote Catherine demonstrates how wider community perceptions suggested that because the driving instructor was also from the 'Catholic community' that he would be more likely to 'help his ain' which, in this case, he didn't. However, the fact that the perception was still there, in the first instance, once again, demonstrates the power of these shared ideas in creating the sense of an imagined and separate 'Catholic community' which centres on the school marker.

These positive internal boundary narratives of 'helping' and 'sticking' to 'yer ain' tell us about women's perceptions, judgements and experiences of being Catholic in Inverclyde. They demonstrate how these ethnic boundaries are transmitted and reproduced through narratives of location which invoke the school marker to negotiate positionality as a matter of everyday life. They suggest the sense of a close-knit Catholic community in Inverclyde, within which participants claimed that they would mostly associate with or 'stick' to

their own ethnic group, particularly within friendship circles, and that you could also expect locals from their own ethnic group to exercise preferential treatment to 'help' with accomplishing particular life goals such as passing a driving test. However, several participants also described opportunities to meet a romantic partner who was from a non-denominational school or not in their usual Catholic 'social circle'. This shows how young people can choose to subvert these boundaries in more autonomous spaces. At the same time, participants also explained that platonic relationships were, and still are, mostly intra-ethnic due to the texture of everyday experiences of social life as they were structured by the Catholic church-school-family institutional triangle.

Participants may have had friends from non-denominational schools but their 'closest friends', particularly in Secondary school, appeared to be mostly Catholic. Catholic friends could also be met through joint Catholic school and church events. Again, this demonstrates how intra-Catholic friendships can 'carry over' and reinforce the boundary and separation, not only through the institutionally structured school environment but also through its supporting extra-curricular church events with other Catholic schools.

The two competing narratives articulated in these participants' internal boundary negotiations reflected the two contradictory processes which appeared to operate simultaneously across different contexts in everyday life.

'[In short,] the [Catholic] school system and the social relations that it shapes provides the basis for a largely self-reproducing [Catholic] world; but because that world is not tightly encapsulated, it is not fully self-reproducing' (Brubaker, 2007: 277).

In short, there is simultaneous continuity and blurring of the ethnic boundaries of intra-Christian religious difference in Inverclyde. On the one hand, continuity is structured by the Catholic church-school-family institutional triangle while, on the other, a blurring of that same boundary is supported by choice of association in more autonomous spaces such as through young people's part-time jobs in the local community.

Again, this is consistent with Brubaker (2007) who describes the character of social relationships that result from religiously or ethnically segmented school

systems. He draws attention, not only to the fact that schools shape curricular relations within that institutional environment, but that they can also 'carry over' into extra-curricular social relations 'if only by providing a matrix for the formation of friendship' (p.274). In line with Tracy and Catherine's claims about their 'closest' and 'majority' friendships being Catholic, despite inter-ethnic contact in their local neighbourhoods, 'there is a strong esprit de corps among students of each of the main [denominational] schools, and school-based friendships are far more important than neighbourhood-based ones' (p.275).

However, as Brubaker (2007) explains, when there are no 'spatial enclaves' of ethnic collectivities and only 'institutional spaces' serving as the 'backbone' of the identity, participants experience different degrees of participation, belonging and encapsulation that can vary widely (pp.268-69). This could depend on the interplay between the structural intersectional characteristics of individuals and the choices that may (or may not) be open to them in any given circumstance. In the quote which follows I've replaced 'Hungarian', as used in Brubaker's research, with 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' as it applies to the analysis of similar findings in Inverclyde.

'Even those who grow up in [Catholic] families and attend [Catholic] schools are not hermetically sealed inside the [Catholic] world. Although their friendship networks, shaped by [Catholic] schools, are likely to be predominantly [Catholic], they are seldom exclusively so. Neighbourhoods are a source of [Protestant] friends for younger children, as are mixed family connections for many [Catholics]. (...) At university [or Secondary school] some get involved with [non-Catholic] girlfriends or boyfriends [and] workplaces also provide opportunities for friendships and sexual relationships to form across ethnic lines' (p.277).

As Tracy and Sylvia demonstrated, opportunities do evidently exist for the formation of inter-ethnic partnerships even if many platonic relationships are still, by in large, intra-ethnic due to the institutional structuring of social relations reproduced through the church-school-family triangle. As Catherine claims there may be an expectation, or at the very least a preference, that you 'stick to your own' when it comes to choosing a romantic partner but this appeared, at least on the surface, to depend on the 'choices' of the individual (Waters, 1990).

Recent quantitative evidence in Scotland, using individual 2001 Census data from the *Scottish Longitudinal Study*, examined the prevalence of these 'inter-sectarian partnerships' (Raab and Holligan, 2012). This highlighted that, from a sample of 111,627 Scottish born couples, there are 16.5% who are in mixed Protestant-Catholic partnerships, compared to 71.9% who are in 'homogenous' relationships (p.1942). Of these mixed partnerships, 43% of Catholics and 12% of Protestants were found to still retain their faith once married and this mixed marriage trend also appeared to increase in younger generations (p.1942). Raab and Holligan argue that this should lead to a reduction in inter-ethnic conflict, in social distance between groups and 'have relevance to the inter-generational transmission of religion and perhaps to the persistence of sectarian attitudes' (p.1948). However, while this is certainly suggestive of better integration potentially leading to reduced conflict and social distance, particularly between Protestants and Catholics of younger generations and in autonomous spaces outwith the school environment; its relevance to the inter-generational transmission of ethnic and religious identity requires a qualitative approach.

Overall, this section has dealt mostly with positive internal boundary narratives of 'helping' and 'sticking' to your own in ways which consistently invoked the separate school marker. This has revealed the simultaneous continuity and blurring of intra-Christian ethnic boundaries; on the one hand, through the role of the institutional church-school-family triangle reproducing identity boundaries and, on the other hand, inter-ethnic partnerships blurring and transforming these boundaries. However, it has been argued that inter-marriage does not lead to an inexorable decline in ethnic and religious identification. Instead 'white' Christian ethnicities may be, partly, about 'choice' and 'flux' in identifications throughout the life course and they can remain strong despite high degrees of inter-ethnic contact (see Waters, 1990). While these are positive and healthy expressions of ethnic and religious identity and difference, the following section explores the darker side of community and belonging in negative internal boundary narratives. These examples complicate the surface level appearance of 'choice' in ethnic identifications.

6.4 The Outsiders within

Turning to look at the 'outsiders' within the Catholic community offers a different internal boundary perspective that gives a more nuanced account of positionality.

Molly married a Catholic man in the Catholic Church making an oath to bring their children up in accordance with her husband's faith. She refused to convert to Catholicism when she married despite pressure from her married family, the majority of whom were also Catholic. This earned her a reputation as a 'rebel' despite the fact she actively supported her children's education and upbringing within the Catholic Church-School-Family environment. She explains her reasoning,

'I read in the Bible you should never insult your Mother and Father by saying I don't want your religion. They had chosen [the Presbyterian] religion for me. I thought that (pauses) by getting married in the Catholic Church I was coming and going as well, but I wasn't prepared to convert too. I think they might have been more hurt if I had changed my religion too and I didn't want that. I didn't want to stick it in their face and say well I'm just gonna be a Catholic, I know you brought me up as a Protestant and you's are all Protestants but I've decided ... (tails off) Over the years I have thought about it at different stages, but I couldn't do it. I still couldn't do it. I could never bring myself to do it. Do you know what I mean? I think I am Presbyterian, and I have Presbyterian values deep down. Am't I? (Looks at her daughter who laughs) (More quietly) Well I think I am in a lot of things'.

Due to her 'coming and going' between the two denominations she is also misjudged as a Catholic even though she still feels she has 'Presbyterian values deep down' and that this is part of her ethnic roots.

'One of the women [whose daughter] went to school with [my daughter], she actually thought I was a Catholic. Cos I was up and down and taking part. For their Communion I was obviously going and seeing about things. So, she just assumed. In fact, see at work they all think I'm a Catholic and I don't make them any the wiser. (Louder) It's none of their business is it? But I would tell them if they asked me. But they just assume that because [my married] family is Catholic, and I married one then I'm one. They never think to ask me what I am'.

This demonstrates how people, especially other Catholics, used the Catholic school marker of Molly's children to also categorise her ethnic identity. Interestingly, Molly doesn't exercise agency to challenge the misjudgement and ascription of a Catholic identity by others. It could be that she chooses not to challenge the misguided assumptions of others for fear of judgement. Molly clearly 'passes' for Catholic to others within the Catholic community even if this ethnic assignment is not what she personally chooses for herself 'deep down'.

Catherine, by contrast, did self-identify as Catholic during her childhood. Yet despite attending Catholic schools herself and her mother also converting to Catholicism, she described internal dislocations that were raced, gendered and classed.

Catherine had moved with her mother and sister from London to Port Glasgow when she was five. Her mother was from Dundee and her father was South American. She explained that apart from her mother securing work in Port Glasgow that the main reason their all-female family of three had moved back to her mother's homeland of Scotland was due to her parents' divorce. She explains that,

'Because my Dad is South American, we didn't have any other choice but to be Catholic, which was quite funny because my Mum and her family are all Protestant, Church of Scotland, and for them church was never really a big thing. But when we moved to Port Glasgow, I got enrolled in the Primary one of the local Catholic school. So, obviously, going through school my sister and I kinda had a lot of influence of the church in school and my Mum used to take us every Sunday. So even though she didn't have a clue what was going on she used to just take us! I guess growing up it was kind of the thing that everybody did. I do remember it being quite separate'.

It is interesting to note that Catherine's Mum still decided to enrol her two girls in Catholic school even after divorcing her Catholic husband and coming from a Church of Scotland background herself. Catherine had the sense that this was an inevitable 'choice' because of her father's Catholic identity; yet he was living in South America and her parents had parted ways. Although she focuses, in this initial narrative, on her Mother's Protestant ethnic background, she later reveals that when she was twelve her mother *'actually decided to*

convert to Catholicism' to support her and her sister. However, interestingly, this is something that her mother never mentions in her interview with me despite my prompting on several occasions.

Catherine also understood her mother's decision to enrol them in Catholic school as a way for the three of them to integrate more easily because of the strong sense of 'Catholic identity in the community'.

'I think in the Catholic community in Port Glasgow you were expected to go to church and everybody kind of knew each other and it felt quite small in a way. I guess because we were already outsiders that there was a sense of it being the way we integrated, and you just went along with it because that was the expectation. (...) I was always an outsider. I don't think that my family ever really fitted into Port Glasgow. I kind of felt like my life growing up was an observation! They used to say things like "If you throw a stone in the Port, you'll hit one of your own" basically meaning that everybody was related to everybody. We were one of the only families where there was just the three of us; my Mum and my sister and me. We had no other relations. We were always slightly ... separated, maybe side-lined to a slight extent'.

Here Catherine also narrates the multiplicity of her positionality in relation to 'being Catholic' in this local context. The emphasis on the fact she was part of an all-female family of three with 'no other relations' draws attention to the fact her father and extended family were not close by unlike other local Catholic families. This provides one possible *gendered* explanation for her feeling of outsider status within; given that her father was absent and her family was headed by a single mother, due to divorce meaning that their unconventional family structure would be less likely to achieve legitimacy (Heaphy, 2011). Unlike Molly, attending Catholic schools, or participating in its related church and family functions did not appear to suffice as a marker for Catherine's full acceptance.

Aside from Catherine's single parent family breaking the norm, there is also the question of her mixed ethnic background. Catherine's Mum, Pauline, even asked for clarification when talking about a sense of difference following on from a discussion about religion, *'Do you mean cos of our foreign surname or more specifically through religion and being Catholic?'* This shows that, like her daughter, she too was aware of this sense of being different in multiple

ways both as an outsider within the Catholic community and as an outsider within the wider geographical community for being a Catholic in the first place. Further analysis of their narratives of location reveal how Catherine positioned herself across multiple intersectional positions which suggested that boundaries are contingent and shifting.

'I didn't particularly look like anybody in Port Glasgow because, hmm... (Pauses) ... I've got South American heritage, so I look like the only Hispanic kid in a predominantly white area! (Laughs) I was about as ethnic as it got whenever I was growing up! (Laughs ironically) So yeah it was quite strange... I think it's safe to say I always felt like an outsider'.

Here she positions herself as Hispanic compared to the majority 'white' population reproducing a boundary that not only affected her belonging within the Catholic community, but also appeared to separate her from the wider geographical community in Port Glasgow. This speaks to the potentially racialised nature of her feeling of 'outsider' status.

In addition to this *racialised* positioning Catherine's location as an outsider, inside the Catholic community was also classed and gendered and linked to her early childhood connection with London, thereby also invoking place and class.

'My family is quite middle class. My Mum was always into education. (...) But for people I know [from Port Glasgow] they didn't really have any kind of focus on wanting to go into higher education. They married the boy next door, they had family, they stayed in the same area. (...) They didn't really want to break out from that. (...) I know that sounds terrible (both laugh) but that's the kind of impression I got. (...) I used to feel quite judged a lot of the time (...) whenever I said I was going to London. People said to me "why would you want to do that!" (...) It was almost like they thought there was something wrong with me that I didn't want to stay there. They used to just say "Oh well you're not from here anyway" so that was almost like their little disclaimer "You're not a Port bird" (Laughs) (...) Even in school (...) on careers day I said that I want to go to University and they are like "you can do an HNC in this" (pauses) And they were trying to force me down, like, a lower level of education, not to sound bad, but I said "No, I actually want to go, to get a degree" and it was sort of like "Oh, er, well, mmm..!" you know, I was kind of a bit against the norm. (...) There were actually a few of us that

did go on. And it wasn't like everybody just sort of stayed in the town, there were some 'breakouts' as I call them! They did go on and they did do really well for themselves, but they were the ones that were probably the most encouraged and generally they came from good family backgrounds. So, you could see that clear distinction'.

Here Catherine claims that she was also excluded from full acceptance by other Catholics, with whom she had contact through school-based relationships, on account of her family's middle-class emphasis on higher education, a professional career and waiting until later in life to have children. This highlights, not only, how she felt 'othered' or differentially positioned within the Catholic community on account of social class, traditional gendered appropriateness and being visibly different or 'racialised' as 'Hispanic'; but also, how she now distances *herself* from the very same Catholic ethnic identity to which her family had, previously, wished to belong. She achieves this by producing negatively evaluated differences between herself and other Catholic women who still live in Inverclyde, thereby creating a rigid internal boundary based on a portrayal of her own more 'superior' ideas of social, economic and geographical mobility. It could be said that she is making an implicit claim for a broader, perhaps secular, white, Scottish, middle-class subjectivity by distancing herself from 'being Catholic' and othering women from 'her own' ethno-religious group.

These examples show how participants believed that self-ascribed or other-assigned belonging to the Catholic community occurred primarily as a result of affiliation with or attendance at a Catholic school. This was often closely linked to ethnic group members' participation in the schools' related church and family functions. In other words, the school - and the family and church functions it encouraged - were the main way to 'be Catholic'. It was apparent that school was often used as a primary marker of belonging to make decisions on the ethnic location and positionality of others in everyday interactions.

However, further analysis of Molly's narrative highlighted the way in which people can also be *mis-judged* as 'being Catholic' by others if, for instance, they are seen supporting their children who attend a Catholic school. In contrast, Catherine's story provided a multi-layered example of the

intersectional complexities of belonging and the way in which attendance at a Catholic school is not *a/ways* sufficient when making a claim of belonging for those who are differentially positioned. In short, the school can be both a marker that leads to mis-labelling people who do not identify as Catholic yet, at the same time, it can also prove to be an inadequate marker in isolation to ensure full acceptance as a member of the ethnic group for certain people who *do* wish to identify as Catholic. It is apparent that there are other things that matter in addition to the school marker to satisfy conditions of belonging that are gendered, raced and classed; none of which are reducible to 'choice'.

Molly's decision not to challenge the mis-guided assumptions others made about her ethnic identity, also draws attention to the gendered sacrifices that Protestant women in mixed marriages may make in order to raise their children in accordance with their husband's denominational traditions. It appeared that Molly was struggling to reconcile her competing loyalties to her Catholic husband and to her Presbyterian father. This ties in with similar findings about women often being the ones who make the sacrifice in mixed marriages to fit in with their married family and the pressure they may feel to suppress their own ethnic identity for the sake of their new family (Engender, 2014; Lindores and Emejulu, 2017; Scottish Women's Convention, 2013).

While Molly manages to 'pass' as Catholic (despite wishing to respect her Presbyterian roots and values 'deep down'); Catherine, who did initially wish to be identified as Catholic, is unable to gain similar acceptance from within the Catholic community despite her attending Catholic school and her family participating in the related church functions. Her intersectional positioning as an 'outsider within' is gendered in the sense that her all-female family breaks the traditional family form as an outcome of divorce. Her Hispanic parentage also adds another layer of outsider status which makes her *visibly* different and as a result she also uses her educational and career aspirations to distance herself from the ethnic group to which she and her family had initially chosen to belong.

Phoenix and Phoenix (2012) share remarkably similar evidence of how experience can 'interpellate' people into racialised and gendered positioning in ways that also invoke social class. Interpellation is the process by which ideologies embodied in major social and political institutions constitute individuals' identities through discourse which 'hails' them into particular social interactions.

'In everyday life, institutions such as families, churches and schools 'hail' people by including them in categories that prescribe and enforce particular ways of thinking about themselves and acting as subjects' (Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012: 57).

They draw on their research into the transition to motherhood with women from Tower Hamlets in east London (an area with a large Bangladeshi community) to illustrate the raced, gendered and classed dis-interpellations. Dis-interpellations are defined as 'feelings of strangeness and lack of belonging' which led one white English mother to construct rigid racialised boundaries (p.58). In doing so, they highlight racialised inclusions and exclusions from the nation, racialised hierarchies of belonging and the differential intersectional positionings which were performed through narrative constructions of location and dislocation. Similar to Catherine, this white English mother generalises from one unfavourable example, of a mother not feeding her child properly, and in doing so is said to 'racialise social class' by criticising the Bangladeshi woman's assumed lack of career, and the suggestion that they 'do not wait to have children' (p.56).

Catherine's 'good' middle-class family background encouraged the pursuit of 'higher education' and 'breaking out', both geographically from Port Glasgow and symbolically from the values which her Catholic school and church environment had emphasised. It could be argued that she was interpellated by her family in a way that was also at odds with the ways of thinking and acting that were prescribed and enforced by the Catholic Church and school. In this sense, she was interpellated by a non-unified ideology that required her to make a choice about her subjectivity in the longer term (Laclau, 1977).

There are many different types of interpellations (political, religious, familial etc.) which coexist while being articulated within an ideological discourse. These are successfully unified when one evokes another; when a familial interpellation, for example, evokes a political, religious or aesthetic one and when each of these operates as a symbol of the other, we have a relatively unified ideological discourse' (Finlayson, 1996: 95).

As a result, of these dis-unified interpellations, Catherine's biography is narrated as one of 'unbecoming' Catholic. Bunch describes un-becoming as a necessary process for those who find themselves interpellated into subject positionings for which they either fail to meet or exceed the expectations to which they are hailed (p.41).

'When subjectivity is compromised, lives can literally become unliveable. To live outside of subjectivity is to be deprived of consciousness, agency and social comprehensibility. (...) Subjects must find a way to critically suspend subjection in order to change the conditions by which one is subjected, while retaining coherence as subjects in the long run' (p.41).

Drawing on Bunch's concept of 'unbecoming', Catherine's classed and gendered dis-interpellations - on account of her outsider status as a racialised 'Hispanic other' who also flouts prescriptions for classed and gendered appropriateness within the Catholic community - maps onto her biographical trajectory of 'un-becoming' Catholic later in life; something that arguably occurred as a result of her internal dislocation growing up as an 'outsider within'. Her present-day narrative, reflecting on her biography of 'being Catholic' in Inverclyde, now contains an implicit claim for a broader, perhaps secular, 'white', Scottish, middle-class subjectivity by distancing herself from 'being Catholic' through the ethnicisation of class, religion and gender that also 'others' women from 'her own' ethno-religious group.

As a 'break-out' from Port Glasgow she has not only symbolically dis-interpellated but physically distanced herself by moving to London and then Edinburgh for career opportunities. Her explicit references to *place*, as they invoke class, feature heavily throughout her entire interview in ways that are often gendered and framed in the language of family.

'They stayed in the same area. (...) They didn't really want to break out from that. (...) I didn't want to stay there'.

The 'they' she refers to are working-class Catholic women with whom she went to school, who she claims have married the boy next door, had family and stayed in the same area. It is worth briefly drawing attention to 'the entanglements of genealogies of dispersion with those of staying put' if not to at least illustrate that the ethnicisation of boundaries is not simply a single axis issue of a Protestant and Catholic dichotomy, with school used as a straightforward marker to assign or ascribe identity. Location and positionality is clearly complex, contingent and multi-faceted as it intersects with race, gender, class, religion and place (amongst other things) so that ethnicised boundaries are as much internally fragmented as they are externally differentiated in opposition to the 'other' (Brah, 1996: 181).

While Molly's internal dislocation is solely based on gender and the patriarchal traditions which could discourage the assertion of her own ethnic choices in favour of fitting into her married family; Catherine's dislocation is not only gendered but more explicitly raced and classed. This gives evidence of the intersectional hierarchies of internal white, ethnic belonging to the Catholic 'community' in this local context.

On the surface, these internal questions of ethnicisation might appear to be primarily about 'choice' and self-ascription as 'being Catholic'. However, the evidence also suggests that this ascription can be contingent on the assignment and acceptance of this identity from within one's 'own' ethnic group. Going to Catholic school, for some, is not a sufficient marker for 'being Catholic'; while for others (ironically even those who do not wish to belong) a mere affiliation with a Catholic school seems enough for being (mis)-labelled as 'Catholic.' What happens when we 'ask the other question?' What has led to one non-Catholic participant being so readily accepted as 'Catholic', while another actively participating Catholic describes multiple and intersecting reasons for her feelings of dislocation? (Matsuda, 1991: 1189).

I would argue that claims of belonging are seemingly judged against intersectional hierarchies of whiteness that are raced, gendered and classed.

Where someone is judged to be 'less white' (as in the case of Catherine's Hispanic parentage) – thereby also invoking questions of 'race' due to a more visible phenotypical difference – claims of belonging would appear to be subject to closer scrutiny. Therefore, it could be argued that not all interpellations are equal, and some characteristics would appear to have greater social importance than others. Brah (2012) speaks about the internal hierarchies of whiteness fractured by social class and the ways in which these are also internally gendered and differentiated by additional modes and axes. She explains how these 'internal fissions could be subsumed within the boundary of 'us' when facing comparison' with racialised or ethicised others; illustrating how whiteness is a 'malleable boundary compared to that constructed against the 'Other' colour(s)' (p.17).

'Class is not only about income, the nature of your job, your accent, how you dress or how you furnish your home. It is more than that for: (...) class does not operate independently of other axes of difference. It is gendered, raced, sexualised, and so on, in precisely the same way. Accept that colour-based racialisation is not merely under the skin. The colour of our skin is precisely what 'colours us', our very being, across asymmetrical power relations' (p.24).

This raises the important question of who gets to choose a Catholic ethnicity and who does not? Could it be that 'whiteness', as it intersects with gendered and classed values and expectations, is the 'privileged signifier' for belonging and acceptance even before markers of religion are invoked? (p.24) (see chapters 10 & 11)

In these previous sections, addressing the internal processes of ethnicisation, the boundaries of 'being Catholic' have been examined as they relate to interpellations which draw primarily on the school marker and its associated church and family functions. On the one hand, this has revealed the *positive* expressions of difference that Catholic school can engender - through ideologies of 'helping yer ain' and 'sticking to yer ain' - which appear to promote the sense of a close-knit and supportive community. These narratives of boundary setting, and maintenance occurred despite seemingly contradictory evidence of inter-ethnic contact which, in turn, also testified to the malleability

of these ethnic boundaries in some social and relational contexts. On the other hand, analysis of 'outsiders within' the Catholic community also revealed *negative* accounts of positionality whereby those wishing to 'fit in' were seen to suppress their 'true' ethnic roots, passing over opportunities to correct those who mis-labelled them as Catholic. This demonstrated how 'whiteness' can operate as a *privileged signifier*. It could offer a pathway to acceptance even as a 'Presbyterian' *outsider within* the Catholic community, for those who had familial affiliations with Catholic school which appeared, under certain conditions, to be the primary marker of ethnic belonging. Conversely, this also highlighted the 'raced' intersectional hierarchies of belonging that also invoked gender, class and place. Those who were differentially positioned as 'less white', at the boundaries of multiple axes of identification, found that school could be a contingent and insufficient marker for full acceptance as 'being Catholic.' Moreover, where these multi-locational and 'raced' individuals then also exceeded expectations for membership, through aspirations of moving away for educational or career opportunities, it could be said that they were interpellated by competing school, church and family ideologies which then forced them to make choices about their subject positionings in the longer term. This revealed that internal ethnicisation was not just about 'being Catholic' but also about 'unbecoming Catholic'.

However, in the section which follows, the ethnicisation of boundaries can also carry additional conditions over and above the salience of intersectional positionings, whiteness as a privileged signifier and the consequences for those who are seen to exceed the expectations for membership. It can also be about the extent to which ethnic group members are seen to uphold the moral standards, values and expectations embedded in the institutional ideologies of the Catholic church-school-family triangle. In other words, it would appear that 'unbecoming Catholic' can relate as much to exceeding expectations and experiencing internal dislocation, as to 'failing' to uphold those same expectations and experiencing internal 'trauma' as a result.

6.5 Unbecoming Catholic

Grace, one of the few younger Catholics who is still practising, reveals the assumption that the church-school-family triangle is at its strongest or most influential during the Primary School years.

I was talking to my Dad about this earlier on and I was saying that when you are in Primary School there is a lot of emphasis on religion and on church and making your Communion and Confirmation and things. And the Primary School we went to was lovely, a really close-knit community, so you'd do your hymn practice once a week or you'd say your prayers all the time and you are learning different things all the time. And then you get up into High School and you might as well just go to a non-denominational school cos there is no emphasis anymore on whether you go to church or that. So maybe that's where it falls apart, I don't know. Obviously, years ago it wouldn't have mattered cos the family would have done that. But I think that is maybe when kids need a bit of guidance. It seems strange... In High School you had nothing like that, and it was a Catholic High School which is strange. So, you are going from one extreme to the other with this emphasis on your religion [in Primary school] and then nobody cares about it in [Catholic] High School'.

Grace observes that the formative primary school years place emphasis on Church through providing opportunities to participate in religious practices such as Communion and Confirmation; reaffirming ethnic identity and giving the sense of a 'lovely' and 'close-knit' community. However, Grace's suggestion that being Catholic 'falls apart' during the secondary school years and that 'nobody cares about it in High School' require further consideration. Her references to displays of religion include making your Communion and Confirmation, hymns, prayers, learning things and going to church; all of which can be categorised as practices. In other words, she seems to be referring to the fact that Catholic secondary schools don't place as much explicit emphasis on religion as a *practice* in comparison with the Primary school years. This means that members are likely to have fewer occasions to reaffirm and 'display' that identity in an explicit way during the secondary school years.

However, while Grace's assessment of displaying religious identity in primary years is overwhelmingly positive, from her perspective, others such as Sheena suggested that it could also be a potential source of expectation, pressure and embarrassment for those who did not follow suit.

'On a Monday morning when the teacher was taking the register she also took whether you had been to Mass and then when you were that wee bit older, and got to sort of seven and eight and had made your first Holy Communion, you had to tell the teacher whether you had been to Mass, Communion and Confession. All of that was taken along with the register. You didn't want to have to stand up in front of the class every Monday morning and say Mass, Mass and never go to Communion or Confession. So, you did these things. I suppose some people did them because they wanted to, and some people did them because they didn't want to be embarrassed in front of the rest of the class'.

This more negative portrayal by Sheena widens Grace's initial claim to include an analysis of the pressure and expectation from others, so that it becomes not only about meaning-making activity by members, engaged in reproducing, creating or maintaining ethnic, but also about wider group cultural expectations.

In Catholic secondary school, there is a lack of formal institutional requirement to display the identity at the critical time of young people's transition to adulthood, when compared with First Communion and Confirmation, which take place in the Primary school years. As participants pointed out, at this time, there is also the potential for young people to fall away from their religion during the so-called 'rebellious teenage years'.

Sheena, for instance, explained, that her parents 'weren't as strict' about her attending church at this age and that if she wanted to go, she went and if she didn't, she didn't *'it was as simple as that.'* Similarly, Genevieve, singled out the secondary school years as a time of change, *'the era of finding identity, grouping with friends, in-groups and out-groups (...) a time for saying I'm not this and I am that.'* While Angela also emphasised the need to rebel against parents by not attending church,

'I would be kind of pretending to go! (laughs) And [then] coming back home and telling them I had been! It was the whole [teenage] rebel, I'm not going back kind of thing!'

This rebellious teenage phase, coupled with the fact that there are no milestones or 'moments' that require young people to personally 'display' their identity in the same way as in Primary school, help to place Grace's sense that

things 'fall apart' in secondary school into the wider context of participants' biographies and transitions to adulthood. However, her claims that 'nobody cares' about young peoples' *practice* of religion in Catholic secondary school needs to be separated from these expectations to uphold the *values* which still appeared to remain strong.

For several participants their 'failure' to uphold these value-orientated expectations in secondary school led to feelings of internal 'trauma' which also mapped onto their biographies of 'unbecoming' Catholic as a result (Anthias, 2002: 502; Bunch, 2013).

So, I was christened Catholic, brought up Catholic, went to Catholic primary, Catholic high school and I attended Catholic church for quite a lot of that time as well, you know? Obviously, you have to attend church as part of school, there's certain events you have to go to. But I actually went to church, voluntarily, quite a lot of the time. It was something that, actually, you quite enjoyed. You got dressed up and you went, you went to Chapel. And you sang your songs and it was quite nice. I'd go with a couple of pals and it would be like a wee Sunday morning out. But at some point, it just stopped being enjoyable. It started to feel quite like the Catholic Church hated everything about me, having my son so early, having a child so early... (...) I mean there were certain teachers who were really horrible to me. (...) They didn't worry that I was a 14-year-old girl who was pregnant and maybe there were issues that they should have been more concerned about, other than (sarcastically) "saving ma soul" ... which seemed to be their top priority. It was definitely, it was the teachers, they were a nightmare! Mmm... particularly the ones that were very obviously incredibly religious, like the one that sent me to the nuns... (...) I also got sent a card which was, purporting to be supportive of me but, mmm, it was from a pregnant teacher. So, we were both pregnant at the same time and it said that ... (clears her throat and pauses for effect) that we "were both in situations where children were neither planned nor wanted!" (Pauses for effect again and tuts disapprovingly) That sent ma mother into an absolute tailspin! (...) Mmm, but aye, it was just... there were certain teachers who were, really, really... (tails off)'.

Tracy's initially positive identifications with 'being Catholic' are shrouded by her later experience of the 'trauma' she faced from within the community, because of her teenage pregnancy at Catholic secondary school. At first, she states that the Catholic *Church* 'hated everything' about her. However, it becomes clear from her narrative that the 'church' is represented by her school teachers who

are seen to be upholding the values associated with the religion. The teachers made it clear to Tracy that they (and by association the church and wider Catholic community) believed that she had 'failed' to uphold their standards of gender appropriateness for a young woman.

As Tracy points out, they were more concerned with,

'saving [her] soul than actually investigating the circumstances around how it ended up that [she] was pregnant (...) as a fourteen-year-old girl'.

Although Tracy doesn't elaborate on these circumstances, there are various points in her narrative where she talks about her passion for teaching young women about 'healthy relationships' and her concerns over 'rape culture'. The reactions of teachers all placed the blame firmly on Tracy's shoulders with no consideration of the role that the man played in her pregnancy, the status of their relationship or the circumstances in which she got pregnant. Tracy is rejected from the community rather than supported. Classed and gendered assumptions are made about her and it is clearly communicated that she has 'failed' to uphold the values and expectations required for membership of the Catholic community. Grace's earlier idea that 'nobody cares' about religion in secondary school are called into question when set alongside Tracy's experience. It seems plausible that there is less emphasis on the religion as a practice in secondary school; perhaps in recognition of the fact that teenagers must make that choice for themselves. However, that teachers seemed to 'care' enough to pass judgement when Tracy 'failed' to uphold their expectations for gendered appropriateness, would suggest that religion as morals and values still retains its significance.

Teachers at her school would appear to have been 'hailed' by the Catholic Church and school institutions to take up the positions of 'border guards' for the identity, to make it clear that Tracy's actions were not deemed acceptable for her continued full membership of the group (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993; Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012). Tracy describes her response to this treatment as feelings of shame, guilt and embarrassment; sharing examples of her choosing to wear 'twins' and blouses' during her family holiday in

Blackpool, rather than jeans, to present the image that she was 'old enough' to have a child and also avoiding being 'seen with [her son] in [her] school uniform' at home.

'I'm not ashamed anymore, but Catholic guilt is a REAL thing. (...) For me I don't even believe in God anymore. I don't have ANY interest in it. But you're always going to be just a lapsed Catholic. I'm always going to be Catholic. I'm always going to have all of that, of having grown up as a Catholic. The Catholic guilt, it's just overwhelming sometimes (laughs gently). You'll never get away from that!'

Unsurprisingly, given her experience, Tracy's biography is also one of 'unbecoming Catholic'; except here she explains how she feels that she can never fully break away from the Catholic identity because of her background or upbringing and settles with the idea of being a 'lapsed Catholic' harbouring feelings of 'Catholic guilt.'

In the previous section on 'outsiders inside', I argued that Catherine's biographical journey of 'unbecoming Catholic' was a result of her being interpellated by competing school, church and family ideologies. Her middle-class, single-mother had encouraged her to pursue a higher education and build a professional career by relocating from Port Glasgow to London rather than 'settling down' to marriage and a family which was encouraged by her school and church environment. Catherine was then said to have experienced a 'dislocated' subjectivity, forcing her to make the decision to reject a Catholic identity in the longer-term, partly due to her having 'exceeded expectations' for being a Catholic woman in this local context.

In contrast, Tracy's trajectory of 'unbecoming Catholic' focused more on her 'failing' to uphold those same classed and gendered expectations (rather than 'exceeding' them) because of her having a child as an unmarried teenage girl. For Catherine, her family ideology was at odds with school and church interpellations because it encouraged her to go above and beyond the requirements for membership as a Catholic woman. Her middle-class family identity 'hailed' her away from the school's efforts to 'force [her] down a lower level of education' and from the church or local Catholic community who held 'staying put' and settling down to marriage and children in higher esteem.

Ironically, Tracy, on the other hand, 'failed' to uphold expectations precisely because she stayed put and produced a family on account of her young age and unmarried status. By contrast, her working-class family identity along with her breaking the rules for gendered 'appropriateness' were also invoked through classist judgements about her getting pregnant as a young working-class teenager. In short, while Catherine experienced dislocation for being 'too middle-class' to fit in, Tracy experienced 'trauma' at the hands of her Catholic secondary school teachers through judgements which linked her teenage pregnancy with her being 'too working-class'.

Similar to Catherine, Tracy also appeared to respond to her internal rejection from 'being Catholic' by, in turn, invoking social class as a way to dis-interpellate or distance herself from the identity through portraying a more superior status that also othered 'other' Catholic girls who, like her, had fallen pregnant in Secondary school.

'If I'd been a young person who didn't do well at school and wasn't really bothered, I think I'd probably have got an easier ride. If they'd had a vote on the person the least likely to do something like that, it would have been me! (...) There were three other girls who got pregnant [and they] took it as an opportunity to ditch education, but I wasn't about to do that. (...) I wasn't gonna let [the teachers] get me down. (...) Cos also, a part of it is that people are quite impressed by that. They don't judge you as much than if you're sitting at home, you know what I mean, churning out kids and stuff? (...) I still think generally, when you look at young people now who get pregnant, I still think I'm the absolute anomaly. You know, really, really educated, really academic, you know, top grades, top everything and top for things that weren't even girls' things, you know, top in science and stuff. (...) I kind of think that I probably could have done more, had I known then what I know now. Which is, excuse my French, fuck [all the people who judged me]! You know what? Just fuck them all!'

Here Tracy also uses her 'new' social class, afforded by her going to university and later securing a professional public sector job, to 'prove them all wrong'. Again, this dis-interpellation is not only classed but gendered; she was 'top for things that weren't even girls' things' at school. Similar to Catherine, she would also appear to be making an implicit claim for a broader secular, white Scottish, middle-class subjectivity by distancing herself from 'being Catholic' like the

other girls in her school who had also fallen pregnant while also othering these young women from 'her own' ethno-religious group. In doing so, she too can be said to be dis-interpellating from 'being Catholic' through the ethnicisation of social class, religion and gender. Interestingly, although the biographies and positionality of both women are very different, both attempt to dis-interpellate from the Catholic ethnicity of their childhood through claiming a more secular white Scottish middle-class subjectivity in adulthood. Once again, this illustrates the intersectional nature of 'being' and 'unbecoming' Catholic so that ethnicised boundaries are as much, if not more so, about internal fragmentation as external differentiation.

6.6 Conclusion

Thus far, I have argued that there are multiple overlapping processes of ethnicisation, and racialisation involved in the creation, (re)production and maintenance of identity boundaries. I have analysed this from the point of view of 'being Catholic' using the school marker as the central anchor around which claims of belonging are articulated and categorised by others. I later explore this from the perspective of another overt and opposing institutional boundary marker (the Orange Order). However, unlike those who affiliate with the Orange Order, internal processes of boundary-making or 'being Catholic' did not appear to involve sectarianism. In other words, being Catholic did not seem to be contingent on inferiorising Protestants to define what it meant to belong to the imagined Catholic community. Internal boundaries, within the Catholic community appeared to be much more salient than external boundaries in participants' identity narratives. This is perhaps not surprising given the historically unequal power relationship between these two collectivities. The issue of sectarianism is arguably more about how those on the outside (non-Catholics) might choose to use a legitimate and acceptable boundary of 'difference' to racialise and exclude Catholics from full belonging to the wider national collective, particularly during certain flashpoints. This is a point which is explored in further detail in the chapter on feminised sectarianism.

This chapter, however, has revealed narrative processes of reproducing positive internal boundaries of community and belonging in discourses of 'helping yer ain and sticking to yer ain'. It has also highlighted negative internal boundaries of dislocation that resulted from those constructed as 'outsiders within' the Catholic community on account of their 'raced' and classed positionings being seen to exceed the conditions for membership in this locality. And, finally, processes of 'unbecoming Catholic' were identified in narratives about the trauma experienced from within the boundaries by those who are seen to fail to uphold standards and expectations for belonging. However, while this chapter has looked at 'being Catholic' and the positive and negative aspects of internal, intra-denominational, identity boundaries that are (re)produced through mobilising the overt school marker; the next chapter looks at the evidence of external boundaries of differentiation using the same marker.

Chapter 7 The School Marker: external differentiation

The previous chapter looked at 'being Catholic' and the positive and negative aspects of internal, intra-denominational, identity boundaries that are (re)produced through mobilising the overt school marker. This chapter looks at the evidence of external boundaries of differentiation using the same markers of separate Catholic and non-denominational schools.

Historically, it is recognised that gang formation in Glasgow was often based on religious affiliations (Davies, 2007; Patrick, 1973). In contemporary Scotland, however, researchers Deuchar and Holligan (2010) argue that geographical territoriality and poverty are more significant causes of youth gang violence. They claim that sectarianism is merely used as a 'flashpoint' or 'resource' for stimulating masculine aggression, particularly when alcohol is involved and in the aftermath of a Rangers and Celtic, '*Old Firm*,' football match (p.25). Deuchar and Holligan link this 'less open religious bigotry' in (male) youth gang violence in Glasgow with the increase in religious inter-marriage between Protestants and Catholics (Raab and Holligan, 2012). They claim that these demographic changes promoted a shift in values towards greater acceptance of difference amongst the younger generations, with their evidence pointing towards older generations as the main 'conduits of bigotry' given that 'Catholics before 1960 were less prone to marry a partner who was not also a Catholic'. They argued that although youths might still shout sectarian abuse, they are often ignorant of wider meanings, suggesting that they were picking it up from older *male* members of their family (Holligan and Deuchar, 2009: 740). I will return to the need for a gendered critique of their conclusion later in this chapter. However, firstly I would like to pick up on the fact that there was also some evidence in my own findings to suggest that younger people believe that sectarianism is 'not our fight'. Similar to Deuchar and Holligan's research, this suggests that there is an important generational dimension to women and girls' experiences of inter-school conflict.

For this reason, participants' narratives have been divided into three generations to aid with the analysis which follows.

Three participants were aged between fourteen and twenty-five and had no children of their own, meaning that they attended school in the noughties or were still attending when the research took place. I will refer to them as *the younger generation*.

Eight participants were in their thirties, all but one had children, meaning they had drawn from their own experience of attending school in the eighties and nineties and from their current experience of their own children in (mostly Primary) school. I will refer to them as *the middle generation*.

The remaining seven were over fifty-five (five in their late fifties and two in their late sixties and early seventies). This group would have mostly attended school in the late sixties and seventies with just two who would have attended in the fifties and early sixties. They also had experience of their daughters in Primary and Secondary school and of their grand-daughters in (mostly Primary) school. I will refer to them as *the older generation*.

One Catholic woman from 'the older generation', the only one in this age group who I interviewed from Port Glasgow, shared an experience of gendered sectarian violence. Aged around fifty-five, this incident presumably occurred in her early teens, meaning it was likely over forty years ago (circa 1975). As the only working-class Catholic woman of her generation from Port Glasgow, her experience stood in stark contrast, not only with others in her generation (none of whom were from Port Glasgow) but also with the experiences of those from the middle and younger generations. The other female participants' experiences of inter-denominational conflict between pupils from Catholic and non-denominational schools were, by contrast, rarely involving overtly physical (and never sexual violence) and rarely linked exclusively with religion as the main motivating factor. As such, the relevance of Genevieve's geographical and intersectional social locations are crucial for contextualising her traumatic experience. Here she recounts her experience,

'When I became a teenager and went to [Catholic] secondary school it was very threatening. To the point where we were under attack constantly from the [non-denominational] school down the road. I was dragged away by people regularly and threatened and we had bricks and all sorts of things thrown at the school, broke windows, broke people's bones. (...) It is because we were Catholic. It wasn't just because we were another school down the hill. It was because of this religious thing. (...) It was their job to attack us. (...) One of the things they used to do when they dragged you away from the school, and they were always doing it, was they would get you to say words that were derogatory toward your faith, they got you to call people fenians or all these sort of things. I wouldn't have known what fenian blood was [then]. (...) I don't know any girls that got [raped] but there was always the fear of that as well and I did get stripped once. (Matter of fact tone) It was quite traumatic. (Quieter tone) But you know you just had to get over it. (Laughs) That particular occasion when I got taken everybody covered it up, back into class, I never came back at all that day. And I'm thinking they are going to save me, somebody is going to save me, but they didn't... (Loud swallow) The boys left me in a doorway round the back of another building with no clothes on. They took my clothes away. (Dry laugh) And it was a wee cleaning lady gave me her pink, you know these wee thin overall things? She gave me that to put on, giving ME trouble for having no clothes on. (Laughs) (...) I could still name them all and recognise them all. It was scary. It was the 4 of them and they had been in and out of jail, really criminal boys, bad boys. (...) I never told people. You would never have told your Mum. You told a couple of your friends and next time they were fighting even harder not to get taken away, you know, cos they just couldn't face that. It's awful but... I could still report them. [But] I wouldn't have even known how to articulate it then. You were embarrassed and ashamed. You were the one that caused the problem in some way cos that's who girls are. If you told people then you would forever be the girl that this happened to, you knew all that, you knew. I kept thinking if I can just get through this. I didn't realise that I could have been assaulted or that I was in fact assaulted! (Laughs) I didn't realise how far it could have gone in my mind. I didn't know how far ... [But] it was to do with being Catholic. I don't think they would have done that to a Protestant girl - that wouldn't even have been on the agenda. It just wouldn't have been. They disrespected you and to be honest I think the police probably did as well. I think they would disrespect you if you had been the one. I think at that time in that position with those boys. I think the police would have disrespected you too. I'm pretty sure they would have blamed the girl in those days. It wasn't the kind of feminist attitudes you have now'.

While there are multiple avenues for analysis in the experience that Genevieve shares, the research questions narrow the focus to women's intersectional experiences of religious difference, how intra-Christian boundaries are

reproduced and when this occurs in such a way that can be defined as sectarian violence, prejudice or bigotry. There is also a need for a feminist critique of what counts as manifestations of sectarianism in Scotland; in what has historically been a male-dominated field of research often framed with masculinist presumptions (Lindores & Emejulu, 2017; see also chapter nine on feminised sectarianism).

Drawing on two contrasting gendered studies into youth violence in Scotland; one focusing on young men (Deuchar and Holligan, 2010b; Holligan and Deuchar, 2009) and the other on young women (Brown et al., 2001; Burman et al., 2003); I will reflect on their different gendered definitions of violence and the importance of its social meanings in context for understanding Genevieve (and other women's) experiences of inter-denominational conflict between pupils from Catholic and non-denominational schools in Scotland.

7.1 Gendered Definitions of Sectarian Violence

Firstly, it is important to point out that the violence that Genevieve experienced on account of her religion was mostly emotional and psychological and primarily about instilling the fear of it 'going further'. The word violence typically refers to physical harm inflicted by one person on another. However, as Burman et al. (2003) point out,

'It can also refer to the trauma (emotional or psychological) that comes from being frightened or threatened, or consistently terrorised, and it has also been used to denote not only particular acts or their consequences but also a general climate in which the omnipresence of violent acts creates an atmosphere of fear and demoralisation' (p.73).

Genevieve's experience certainly fits the category of emotional and psychological violence. The way she told her story of the general climate in which she had lived demonstrates its emotional impact on her as a young Catholic woman growing up in Port Glasgow in the 1970's. There were moments when she appeared reflective, questioning why she had never reported this, and then confiding that she would not normally tell anyone.

Moreover, the sexual and gendered nature of this violent act may not, at first, be labelled as 'violent' (by both the victim and potential researchers) given that it was not primarily about physical harm. This has particular implications for research which typically focuses on masculine aggression and physical violence between young men as it relates to sectarianism in Scotland (Deuchar and Holligan, 2010b; Holligan and Deuchar, 2009). As Burman et al. (2003) point out,

'There is a paucity of British literature on girls and violence, as most research on youth violence has focused on boys. Girls' voices are rarely heard. However, the international research literature shows not only that forms of violence and aggression differ between girls and boys but also that girls' violence emerges from experiences that are qualitatively different from those of boys. [Therefore], it demands qualitatively different questions from those concerning boys' violence' (p.71).

This will be an important factor to bear in mind when looking specifically at the performance of hegemonic femininity and the emotional and psychological 'violence' between women which were expressions of sectarian bigotry in the chapter on feminised sectarianism.

Genevieve is firm in reiterating that the violence she experienced happened because she was Catholic. It was not just because it was a separate school 'down the hill' that happened to be Catholic, 'it was to do with *being Catholic*.' This stands in contrast to the experiences of the middle and younger generations who often said that they were not sure if it was 'purely religious' and that it might just have been 'the separation' that caused fights between pupils from Catholic and non-denominational schools. Genevieve's experience also stands apart given the historical context in which it occurred.

Although Davies (2007) and Patrick (1973) claim a decline in gang membership along religious lines from the mid-1960's onwards in Glasgow, just across the water from Inverclyde, around the same time this attack occurred (circa 1975), the exact opposite was happening in Northern Ireland. 1975 is often cited as the height of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland, not long after the imposition of direct rule and Bloody Sunday and some of the worst years of sectarian killings with internal feuding escalating between rival

paramilitary gangs (Elliott, 2009; Sales, 1997). This seems to be what Genevieve refers to when she explains why she never reported her attack.

'I think it's because in the end it wasn't personal. I think in the end it wasn't about me. It was about something away outside of me and outside of them that was like a drama that you were going through that somehow had to be endured and that other people had worse. I didn't know anything about that but still somehow that was ingrained in me. Very strange... (Pauses and becomes very reflective).'

Perhaps the 'other people' that Genevieve refers to here 'who had it worse' were Catholics in Northern Ireland. Bearing in mind the political context of sectarianism in the mid-1970s places this inter-school conflict into its broader historical context. It also allows it to be something residing in the historical memories of the older generation (either through direct experience of it themselves, the fear of it at the time or from hearing similar stories of violence that occurred to people they knew at this time). It seems unlikely that this was an isolated incident, at this time in this area, given the wider climate of fear and intimidation and the routinised nature of the attacks that Genevieve describes.

Also, of interest is the meaning of this act of sectarian violence. The actions of the witnesses to Genevieve's attack seemed to collude in encouraging her to cover up her ordeal at the time. As Burman et al. (2003) point out,

'The meaning of violence cannot be achieved by solely addressing the motivations of the 'perpetrator'. [It] is not inherent in a particular act but emerges and becomes established as a consequence of the actions and interpretations of individuals or groups [whether as actors or witnesses] in particular social, situational and spatial contexts' (p.77).

Everyone and everything that Genevieve mentions seemed to work together to cover up the religiously-motivated sexual attack. Her class mates told teachers she was just sent home ill and nobody who had seen her dragged off sent an adult to help her. The cleaning lady gave her a garment to cover herself and told her off for being naked without asking questions. The police were said to have been on the side of the boys and likely to have also disrespected and blamed her for being a (Catholic) girl who had been naked in front of a gang of (Protestant) boys. She also believed that the wider community would have

focused on her as the *girl* for being naked rather than the *male* perpetrators of the crime if she had reported it at the time. The whole scenario was not only about sectarian violence, but about gendered sectarian violence which was heavily shaped by patriarchal undertones that caused Genevieve to internalise the blame for something that was very clearly not her fault; something she feels would not be accepted by younger generations of women.

7.2 Separation or 'purely' religion?

As already mentioned, Genevieve is explicit in describing the intentions behind her attack as sectarian and primarily on account of her Catholic identity. This stands in stark contrast with the other participants, particularly those from the middle and younger generations, who often stated that it wasn't 'purely religion' and could be more about the 'separation' structured by different schools.

Anna, from the middle generation, describes her experience,

'We used to call them 'Proddies', but, you know, just cos you are children and there is not any harm in it. (...) I think it was just the separation. (...) But there was very much a hatred, there were fights every day. It actually got to the point, they had to stop it and the schools had to come out at different times. It was on a daily basis. There was fighting every day of some kind. It maybe wasn't spoken about that, that was what it was about but yeah, we just knew, it was just the thing and we just knew'.

Anna appears to be talking primarily about fighting that revolved around sectarian insults which other participants also described as shouting things such as 'fenian or hun' to incite fighting between pupils from Catholic and non-denominational schools. She describes it as a routine and normalised occurrence and, even as children, they knew that 'that' was what it was about. The 'that', to which she refers, would appear to be sectarian bigotry. However, she also comments that because they were children, it was likely because of the 'separation' and something that was 'just the [norm],' rather than something exclusively or openly about religion.

Grace also explains the irony of the fighting between pupils of different schools.

'We went to the Catholic [Primary] and there's a Primary school right next to it which is non-denominational. So, there was always a bit of rivalry and competition between the schools. But it was just a total nonsense! I mean, you were friends on the bus or outside, and at home you were friends with them. But then there was a fence in between the two schools and at break time you would throw stones at each other. Name calling and songs that you would sing to each other. I don't even know if it was purely a religious thing'.

Here Grace describes how pupils were friends outside of the school environment which led her to suspect that the fighting that occurred, specifically at school, was unlikely to be 'purely' about the different denominations. Interestingly, when Grace introduces her mother, Molly, who also participated in the research, she too recounts the same story except she excitedly attributes the fighting to religious difference. Molly's interview took place with her daughter, Grace, present in the room.

Molly - It used to be years ago [in the 80's and 90's] that the weens used to go and fight. (laughs) [The Catholic school] and the [non-denominational school]. They'd shout, "there's a fight!" When I worked in the school before, you went into the campus [and] you'd see them all flying out and the teachers all running out after them and there would be a big fight. Obviously, all the ones on the outside were then egging them on and them just battering the hell out of each other!

Interviewer – And you think that was because of the different religions?

Molly – Aye. Definitely! (excited tone)

Daughter – I was saying to Sara even at Primary school. (talking over each other excitedly)

Molly – There was a big wall between each other or a big fence. And they used to stand and shout out to each other, didn't you? (Looks towards her daughter laughing) Even in Primary school! (laughs) That's terrible! (laughs) (...) And the two play grounds right next to each other and all! And the one school was as bad as each other when it came to it.

Daughter – And then we all used to get on the school bus.

Molly - Aye! And then they'd all get on the school bus and go home together. (laughs)

Interviewer – And were they ok on the bus? Or were you fighting on the bus too?

Molly – No cos it was your pals wasn't it! (all laugh)

Interviewer – Uh huh so help me out here cos this is where I don't understand. People are telling me 'oh but we were all pals' and then you all start telling me about all this fighting! (all laugh)

Daughter – I know but you just get caught up in it all.

The way that Molly automatically attributed the fighting to religious difference between pupils from different schools, in this interview, was unconvincing. Both her and her daughter had an excited tone and were laughing, appearing to delight in sharing this 'shocking' story and the irony that the children fighting were friends that went home together on the school bus without any problems. The idea that the children were 'egging each other on' – encouraging each other to fight – and that they got 'caught up in it all' also seems true of Molly's statement; she and her daughter appeared 'caught up' in sharing this story as one coloured exclusively by religiously-motivated fighting between pupils. This explanation did not seem to fit with the fact that the children were reported to be friends outwith the school environment or with Grace's earlier, more reflective solo interview, during which she stated that she suspected it was not 'purely' a 'religious thing'.

Being in the school environment at break, lunch and leaving time are more likely to be the 'flash-points' when young people draw on the marker of different schools, which represent the different religious denominations, as a 'resource' to stimulate and justify their fighting. Deuchar and Holligan (2010) also found that young men in rival territorial gangs in Glasgow occasionally drew on bigoted sectarian insults as a 'resource for stimulating aggression' during the 'flashpoints' associated with the aftermath of Old Firm Games (p.20). However, they were also not convinced that 'a sectarian habitus' explicitly lay behind the reports of conflict (Holligan and Deuchar, 2009: 734). They claimed that the fact some youth gangs were mixed religion suggested community disorder was more about territory, status and belonging, particularly in deprived communities, rather than 'open' sectarian bigotry. While Genevieve's

experience was undeniably about open sectarian bigotry operating within the context of an explicitly sectarian habitus, these experiences of younger generations seem to be less so.

7.3 Autonomous youth sub-cultures

Similar findings were revealed through my interviews with the younger generation of women. Here Brook, aged twenty-five, explains the complexity of mixed-gender youth subcultures in Inverclyde,

'If you were hanging out around our way, at our park or whatever, we would run from the wee NEDs. (...) But, actually, in high school the friends I hung about with we were a mix from my high school and from the Catholic high school as well. We were a really weird mix, but we all hung about. And, um, we were wee goths. So, we didn'ae really get involved in the same sort of fights, cos we weren't wee BAMs. It's actually just an excuse to pick a fight'.

Brook highlights the complexity of identification, pointing towards the declining importance of religious identifications as the sole marker of differentiation between youth subcultures in Inverclyde. In this example, based in the park, or other locations out with the school environment, Brook reveals how young people can choose to subvert the boundaries of religious difference, structured by separate schooling, when in autonomous spaces. The division that matters most in terms of rivalry between groups of young people in this scenario is not religion but whether young people were from a 'goth' gang or were considered 'NEDs' or 'BAMs'. Similar to Deuchar and Holligan's findings about mixed-denomination gangs of young men in Glasgow, this appeared to be an example of all-female and mixed gender youth subcultures in Inverclyde.

Later in the interview Brook also explains the complexity of identifying with these youth subcultures in a way that attempts to argue against a simplistic distinction by social class.

'But being a BAM or being a wee NED isn't a class thing either. (Sounds agitated) (...) it's just wanting to be a wee hard man. So, typically, wee NEDs would come from the schemes. That would be it typically and they are wearing Lacoste tracksuits [which are] most likely (...) off the back of a van, but still! (...) A lot of the kids who went to my primary school

and whose parents were really well off, with two full time workers, great jobs. Like this guy got an Audi for his f'in 17th before he'd even passed his test type of thing! They were all wee NEDs as well because it was cool and it was in style so being like that isn't a class thing, like, it's not a class thing wanting to go out and pick fights, it's not a class thing! (Sounds agitated!) It can be seen upon being a class thing (swallows loudly) but it's easy to wear a disguise and wear a mask and do that (swallows loudly again). So, it was just a reason for these wee NEDDY teenagers from both sides of school, it was actually a socially acceptable reason to fight'.

This discussion appears to claim that youth subcultures such as 'NEDs' (also known as 'BAMs' or Chavs) are not just about class; something that is often assumed in popular cultural stereotypes (Jones, 2016). Here Brook is arguing that belonging to any of the youth subcultures is more about a 'style' or image, that young people choose to 'wear', and that this can transcend not only the class boundaries but also the traditional religious boundaries of the 'two sides' of schools.

Archer (2010) focused on the interaction between working-class pupils' identities and educational achievement in the school environment. Archer draws on Bourdieu's (1984) concept of '*habitus*' - dispositions or learned ways of thinking, being and acting associated with a particular social classes - and '*symbolic violence*', when working-class identities are defined as inferior in order to 'keep them in their place.' Archer argued that this 'symbolic violence' led young working-class youths to construct meaningful identities through investing in 'styles' such as Nike or other sport's tracksuits to earn respect from their peers. This ties in with Brook's idea that being a NED is also about 'being a wee hard man', wearing 'Lacoste tracksuits' and gaining respect and a favourable reputation with peers; in this case through the performance of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). However, Brook's claim that you can still *choose* to be a NED even if you come from a more middle-class family is something that complicates Archer's more binary thesis on 'Nike' identities and working-class youth 'styles'. Here Brook would appear to be asking the same question that Young (2012) proposed in his research with pupils in the West of Scotland '*Can Neds Be Non-delinquent, Educated or Even Middle Class?*'

Brook's narrative of 'choice' in young people's identifications fits better with post-modern theories. In this sense, young people can choose to identify with a sub-culture or 'style' in such a way that might allow them to transcend the traditional intra-Christian boundaries of religious difference and class structures. This supports the 'individualisation thesis' and other post-modern theories of identity, suggesting that young people have become 'dis-embedded' from traditional roles and structures with more freedom to choose a 'do it yourself biography' or a 'pick and mix' identity (Beck, 2014; Giddens, 1991). Young people's identities would not appear to revolve primarily or exclusively around religious difference or separate schools, as they may have done for previous generations, but instead be open to a much broader range of choices, negotiated across multiple axes, and structured instead by more autonomous youth subcultures particularly in spaces beyond the school environment.

However, as May and Smart argue in their opposing 'connectedness' thesis; while limitless agency in identifications may be an attractive option, it doesn't mean that traditional structures such as gender, class and religion – or the role and influence of the family at the intersection of those axes of identification – have ceased to structure or limit individual identifications (May, 2013; Smart, 2007). As they argue, not everyone is as 'free-floating' as the individualisation thesis would suggest. Moreover, women are arguably particularly 'embedded' within family relations and obligations, especially where religion still retains a significance and is inflected by social class (Lindores & Emejulu, 2017; see also chapter on feminised sectarianism). As I will argue, class and gender structures, as they overlap with religion, still appear to limit certain women's agency over the kinds of identities they can freely choose during feminised 'flashpoints', circumstances or moments. As a result, it could be said that young people are as much constrained by the structures of gender, class and religion, in certain spaces, as they are able to subvert them in others (Jamieson, 2011). In other words, there is both continuity and change in young people's identifications as they relate to sectarianism and the traditional ethnicisation of intra-Christian boundaries. A closer analysis of gender-specific

manifestations of sectarianism, in the context of the family, as it's shaped by class and religion, are required to further explore the interplay between agency and structure in issues of ethnic and religious identifications as they specifically impact on different women's lives (see chapter nine).

7.4 Going but not gone: a hangover from the past?

Finally, it is important to consider the inter-generational differences that enabled specifically religiously-motivated conflict to occur between Protestant and Catholic school pupils in Genevieve's story from the 1970's and the shift to more contingent post-modern identifications, whereby conflict between pupils from opposing schools need not always be primarily about religious difference, or even class, for the younger generations, such as Brook, in more recent times.

Here Brook explains her understanding of the motivation behind inter-denominational conflict between pupils of Catholic and non-denominational schools.

'I don't think it's our fight [the younger generations] but we've allowed ourselves to be pulled in and just believe the same because that's what we've been told to believe and that's what our families have believed and that's what our brothers have believed and that's what our Dads have believed. (...) You're Catholic, I'm a Proddy let's fight about it. Because if I was to hit you cos you were black that would get me into a lot of trouble and that's no right and everyone will say that's not ok. If I was to hit you cos you were a girl, although sometimes they did, that's not ok cos you don't do that. But you are this and I am that and it's been long since standing that we are not meant to get on so that's just fine, let's do that. So, it's just an excuse. (...) I just think it's a hangover from previous problems'.

Once again, the idea that school is used as a resource or 'excuse' for fighting by younger generations is reiterated. In addition, she draws attention to the older generations as 'conduits of bigotry' with an emphasis on the role of male family members. This has similarities to Deuchar and Holligan's (2009) findings which suggested that sectarian values were more prominent among older generations of adults (particularly men) in Glasgow and that when young

people did use bigoted insults as a resource for fighting that they were 'ignorant of wider meanings' (p.740).

'[Young people] felt that adults tended to seek the excitement of football bigotry more than they would, but it was evident that these adults also encouraged their children (and boys in particular) to support certain teams, wear certain colours and sing certain songs as a means of encouraging a heterosexual male identity. Thus, there was evidence to suggest that young people were subject to a form of bonding social capital that put pressure on them to conform to certain cultural expectations, which were defined by narrow views of masculinity and sexuality' (Deuchar and Holligan, 2010b: 25).

However, while this helps to explain the differences between the older and younger generations of men; gender-specific questions must be asked about its relevance as an all-encompassing theory for this inter-generational, all-female sample. Holligan and Deuchar's (2009) research was openly biased in interviewing a majority of young men leading them to make the statement that further research is required into the distinctive ways in which women and girls may interact in the context of the themes they also document as relating to sectarianism (p.742). As I argued elsewhere the 'other side of the story' as it relates to feminised sectarianism and the performance of hegemonic femininities is missing from their account which focused exclusively on the young men's narrow views of masculinity expressed through manifestations of physical violence (See Lindores & Emejulu, 2017).

Nevertheless, the suggestion that fighting between young people of different Christian denominations need not be primarily about religion is something which also seems to hold true for those from the youngest generation of this sample. This adds weight to the idea that sectarianism in Scotland is a problem that is 'going but not gone' (Williams and Walls, 2000) and is seen by younger participants as a fight that is not theirs or a 'hangover from the past'.

As the youngest participant, aged fourteen, explained,

'I think compared to young people, older people might respect people of different religions more because [they have] more knowledge about what can happen when religious difference gets in the way of friendships. But [then] older people might also have stronger opinions

about things as these are deep-rooted in what their parents and family members have told them from a young age'.

Lucy's assessment of older people and religious difference articulates the 'hangover' that Brook mentions as it pertains to issues of inter-denominational conflict between pupils of different schools, like the story which Genevieve shared from the 1970s. It was 'their fight' and perhaps for younger generations, fights need not always be so heavily structured exclusively by religious identifications.

7.5 Conclusion

This section opened with the discussion of an act of gendered sectarian violence of a sexual nature that appeared to be openly and exclusively motivated by religion in the mid-1970s in Port Glasgow. Historically situated during the height of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland; this example may represent some of the experiences of certain older generation Catholics who lived in this area of Port Glasgow at that time. It may also account for the 'scripts' they were seen to be passing down to their children and grand-children which appeared to reside in their memories of these more troubled times (See chapter five). As such, there is a need to recognise some of Scotland's shared history with Northern Ireland given our geographical proximity and the social connections afforded by migration which ran in both directions of the Irish Sea. There is also a need to avoid the tendency towards forgetting or downplaying this new peak in the 'Himalayas of anecdotal evidence' from this sectarian past which, if publicly validated, could help to dismantle one of the final vestiges still residing in living memories which may account for why sectarianism still 'lingers on' in Scotland; albeit in ever-shrinking spaces with the passage of time (Devine, 2008: 207; Reilly, 2000: 31).

It was argued that this example of sectarian violence stood in stark contrast to the experiences of the younger generations as well as to those of the older generation, middle-class, participants who typically lived in wealthier areas outside of Port Glasgow; an area well known for having one of the highest rates of deprivation in Scotland (See SMID, 2016). Younger generations of

women, irrespective of class, stated that their experiences of inter-denominational conflict between pupils of Catholic and non-denominational schools were not 'purely' about religion. Religion, ascribed through the school marker, was thus used as a 'resource' for stimulating conflict between young people during the 'flashpoints' of break time, lunch time and home time. However, during the bus journey home from school, in mixed neighbourhoods where children from different schools were friends and when in other autonomous spaces as members of 'goth' or 'NED' youth subcultures, young people appeared to subvert the traditional boundaries of intra-Christian religious difference. These youth subcultures also appeared to hold the potential to transcend class boundaries which suggested that the youngest generation had some opportunities to choose individual identities that were, at times, 'dis-embedded' from traditional roles and structures of religion and class. However, despite this promising post-modern revelation, it was argued that the contingent nature of young people's identifications and their 'connectedness' with older female family members, particularly for those women at the intersection of gender, class and religion, could mean that there were occasions when they were able to subvert traditional boundaries in favour of identifications of their own agentic choosing, while, on other occasions, they could be limited by those same traditional patriarchal, classist and religious structures (See chapter nine on feminised sectarianism).

Overall, it seemed that younger participants had less experience of explicit, direct or 'open' sectarian bigotry, in comparison with the older generations. This meant that they could be less aware of the historical memories of the older generations from a time when intra-Christian difference was of greater social and political significance. Younger participants sensed that the older generations might have more 'deep-rooted' feelings about sectarianism and that this was, therefore, not their fight. For some, sectarianism was a 'hangover' from Scotland's past.

Having said this, the discussion has also highlighted a gap in existing theory on sectarianism in Scotland through drawing on two contrasting studies into young men and young women's actions and experiences of violence; the

research of Deuchar and Holligan into male youth gangs and territoriality in Glasgow and the findings of Burman, Brown et al. in their research into the distinctive contexts and manifestations of violence amongst 'gangs' of young women in Scotland (Brown et al., 2001; Burman et al., 2003; Deuchar and Holligan, 2010b; Holligan and Deuchar, 2009). Using these respective studies has highlighted the way in which existing research on sectarianism in Scotland neglects the distinctive ways in which women and girls may interact during feminised 'flashpoints' which may also draw on sectarian insults as a 'resource' for emotional or physiological violence through the performance of hegemonic femininities and equally narrow views of *female* sexuality. This point has been developed and enhanced through discussion of gender-sensitive definitions of violence which are more attentive to its emotional, psychological and symbolic forms and to the salience of the social and relational contexts which shape the meaning of acts of violence for different women and girls. This will be of importance in the presentation of findings in the chapter on feminised sectarianism.

In brief, although there may be evidence that sectarianism in 'going', until this 'other side' of the picture comes into full focus, through equal research attention, then this is a chapter of Scotland's story that cannot yet be closed.

Chapter 8 The Orange Order

The previous chapter analysed how narratives of location (re)produce, create and maintain identity boundaries in and through interpellated positionings in relation to Catholic schools and their related church and family functions. These boundaries were seen to be created, for the most part, internally within the Catholic community and, to a lesser extent, externally in relation to the non-Catholic other in the form of conflict between opposing schools. School as the marker, therefore, appeared to be the most visible, overt and everyday signal of belonging and the primary way to 'be Catholic'.

The chapter will look at the Orange Order as another overt primary institutional marker of belonging, frequently connected to issues of sectarianism in Scotland in academic research, policy and practice (Hamilton-Smith et al., 2015; Scottish Government, 2015; 2013a; 2013b; 2014; 2011). This offers insight into the ways in which this institution can also function as a marker of belonging, to (re)produce, create and maintain ethnic boundaries, in one of the more marginal ways to 'be Protestant'. However, despite some similarities in the role that this institution might play in 'making ethnicity happen' from one generation to the next; it is important to point out that membership of an Orange Lodge does not have the same salience for Protestant identification as attending a Catholic school has for 'being Catholic'. In other words, the analysis which follows must not be interpreted as an equivalent or parallel marker for 'being Protestant'. This is because Orangeism, as a signal of ethno-religious belonging, is located at the fringes of 'being Protestant'. Firstly, this is because the Orange Order no longer enjoys a sizeable membership; secondly, because wider public opinion connects it with violence and aggression on account of its members' notorious reputation for anti-Catholic prejudice and bigotry, and thirdly because the actual practice of Protestantism has also declined amongst members of the Order. This raises questions about the more fragmented nature of 'being Protestant' given its relative lack of 'institutional backbone' in comparison to 'being Catholic' given the structure provided for this by Catholic schools in Scotland.

However, with these caveats in mind, this section explores evidence that the Orange Order and its associated marches, parades and family functions were used by participants in negotiations of identity boundaries in some similar ways to the use of Catholic schools as an institutional marker of belonging or a way of 'making' difference.

Before presenting this evidence, it is important to outline the historical background in which the Orange Order developed in Scotland and to briefly trace its transitions over the years to better understand the contemporary context in which it continues to operate.

8.1 Background

Bruce (1985) aptly summarises Scotland's relationship with Ireland and the establishment of the Orange Order in Scotland.

'Scotland got its early Christianity from Ireland. When the North and East of Ireland was settled by Scots, Scotland returned the compliment by exporting its Presbyterianism. (...) In the next turn of the screw, Ireland gave Orangeism to Scotland' (p.147).

Founded in Armagh in 1795, following the so-called 'Battle of the Diamond', the Orange Order was organised as a movement along the lines of Freemasonry and reflected support for King William of Orange who had 'saved' Protestants from the Catholic Stuarts at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Essentially, it was established as a fraternity *'whose constitution commits its members to the defence of Protestantism and the British Crown'* (Kaufmann, 2008: 159). Its focus is alleged to be against 'the system of Romanism' with leaders emphasising that they have nothing against individual Catholics. Their constitution even states that all members must abstain from *'uncharitable words, actions and sentiments towards his Roman Catholic brethren'* (Marshall, 1996: 185). However, it is well known by,

'...anyone who has ever spent time in the company of a working-class Orangeman (...) that 'uncharitable' does not begin to describe the practical attitude that many of them have towards Catholics who are regularly talked about in the basest and most vulgar stereotypes' (Bruce, 1985: 150).

8.1.1 On New Soil

Given these origins, when the first Orange Lodge was set up in Maybole, in Scotland, in 1800 by Protestant Irish migrant weavers, it was argued that it was essentially a 'foreign import' (Kaufmann, 2008: 171; Walker, 1991: 50). Research by Kaufmann confirmed this by evidencing that Irish Protestant percentage was the strongest predictor of Orange density in Scotland. This suggested that Irish Protestant ethnicity was of greater relevance to the development of Orangeism in Scotland, as an 'Irish Protestant way of maintaining a distinct identity' from their Irish Catholic counterparts (who had migrated in greater numbers); rather than a native Scots-Protestant response to Irish-Catholic immigration (Kaufmann, 2008: 159; Walker, 1991: 51). Or more simply, as Marshall (1996) states, the development of the Orange Lodge in Scotland was essentially an 'old [Irish] battle on new [Scottish] soil' (p.20).

Consequently, membership of an Orange Lodge was often linked with the sectarian divide and the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland. In the 1970's the two largest paramilitary organisations in Northern Ireland the UDA (Ulster Defence Association) and the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force) gained support from Orangemen in Scotland to the point that being an Orangeman was often seen as an extension of '*being in the UDA, being in a flute band, being a Rangers supporter, and drinking in certain pubs and clubs*' in Scotland (Bruce, 1985: 184). As Kaufmann (2008) points out, the Orange Order's growing membership in the mid-1980's in Scotland may have been related to the growth in licenced social clubs attached to the Orange Lodges 'as well as the masculine appeal of Protestant football and paramilitary culture from this period' (p.178).

Perhaps owing to these additional sources of masculine identity and belonging; the Orange Order experienced a parallel decline in its members' church attendance. As Kaufmann (2008) explains,

'Whereas an orange initiate in the 1950s required a letter from his or her clergyman to join, this had become watered down to mere 'vouching' from a churchgoing fellow Orangeman by the 1970s' (p.179).

Orange services in Glasgow were then consolidated into one church, Glasgow Evangelical Church, as the Orange connection to institutionalised religion continued to contract. By 2002,

'One Church of Scotland minister reflected the sentiment of many in the Kirk when he remarked that membership in the Church was incompatible with membership of the Order' (Kaufmann, 2008: 178).

Similarly, as McFarland and Walker point out Irish Protestants were not usually from the higher classes and this would have been reflected in Lodge membership (McFarland, 1990; Walker, 1991; 1992). Kaufmann also claims that the Orange Order was a means of promoting Protestant-dominated manufacturing interests to divide and control the working classes (Kaufmann: 160). While, in Greenock, McFarland (1990) showed how the Orange Order membership was made up of largely unskilled and casual workers.

These associations with the 'old battles' of the Northern Ireland 'Troubles', the decline in Orange members church attendance, and its majority working-class status and Conservative politics; meant that the Orange Order was unrepresentative of most of the more liberal Scottish Presbyterian middle-classes.

'What is clear is that the Church of Scotland, and the other Protestant churches, had little love of the Orange Order' (Bruce, 1985: 165).

Therefore, more so in contemporary Scotland, it is important to reiterate that the Orange Order is in no way representative of the broader Protestant group as a whole; even at its peak in 1951 Kaufmann points out that the Scottish Orange Lodge membership density overall barely averaged 2% in its Clydeside heartland compared to Belfast's 16% (Kaufmann, 2008: 163). Consequently, the Orange order is still a marginal way to 'be Protestant' when set alongside Catholic schools as a marker for 'being Catholic' in Scotland (See chapters 6&7). Essentially, the Orange Order is 'one small subculture in a society knee-deep in small subcultures' (Bruce, 1985: 247).

Nevertheless, there are 'pockets' of Scotland where the Orange Order would still appear to retain a degree of significance and support in particular

communities and on specific occasions. (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015; Goodall, McKerrell, et al., 2015) For certain families, it serves as an important way to 'make' a British, Protestant ethnicity 'happen' in everyday life (Brubaker, 2007). Similarly, collective historical memory and 'chains of assumptions' passed down through the generations in certain families still tend to associate the Orange Order with its traditional sectarian 'flashpoints' of prejudice and bigotry, particularly manifested through its marches and parades, irrespective of the ways in which its leadership attempt to portray its contemporary purpose (Rosie, 2016).

In this chapter there is also evidence to suggest that supporters and opponents of the Orange Order experience deep-rooted and subconscious tribal feelings of ethnic belonging as an instinctive reaction to its visible manifestations in marches and parades. Therefore, it is important to examine the Orange Order in the lives of those for whom it still retains relevance as a site for inter-sectarian tensions and to mark, (re)create or maintain ethno-religious boundaries between 'Protestants' and Catholics in Scotland. As a caveat to the data which follows, it is important to bear in mind that only two participants had been active members of a Lodge - sisters Linda and Faye whose mother is still active but declined the invitation to participate - and one participant (Molly) who has brothers who are still active members. Therefore, much of the data are about Catholic attitudes towards the Orange Order (twelve participants) and the remaining Protestant participants' attitudes (Clare, Pauline and Brook).

8.2 Experiencing sectarian micro-aggressions

Catherine, a Catholic participant, spoke of finding the Orange parades 'intimidating' and experiencing feelings of being an outsider because of a fear that it would 'be so obvious that I'm not one of them!' Other Catholic participants such as Pauline also articulated a sense of the Orange processions 'taking over' and not being free to go where she wanted without 'permission from the marshals.' Alice described the 'challenge' she often 'struggled' with, that participants in Orange walks could be 'hateful towards

you' for being 'culturally' Catholic. Genevieve felt 'embarrassed to be in a place [like the Orange Lodge] that you don't think you are going to be welcome [as a Catholic]' and that 'there is still that culture of places you wouldn't go or that you wouldn't be accepted' despite opportunities to do so with her voluntary community work. She said there was a 'chance' you 'might be accepted' but that she didn't want to risk it. She stated quite plainly that it is 'part of our culture to have people that hate you [for being Catholic].'

Feeling intimidated and worried that you will be singled out as an outsider, that your presence, attendance or participation is limited or restricted in some way and that people 'hate' you because of your (perceived) religion are all evidence of women's experiences of sectarian micro-aggressions. Micro-aggressions,

'consist of those words and interactions perceived as racist [or in this case sectarian] by racialized [or sectarianised] targets that rarely reflect [overtly] vindictive intent yet inadvertently inflict insult or injury' (Fleras, 2016: 1).

They are forms of bias that 'operate under the radar' and consist of words or interactions that are perceived as sectarian by the targets. These actions or insults may not reflect overtly malicious intent yet can still inadvertently inflict injury (Fleras, 2016: 1). This can include being slighted, avoided, excluded or made to feel like an unwelcome outsider through everyday interactions, which result in the type of feelings expressed by the 'unintentional' targets. (see also Marshall, 2016; Drabble, 2013; Estacio & Saidy-Khan, 2014; Das Gupta, 2009).

For instance, in similar research, those working with ethnic minority women have identified a host of implicit putdowns, subtle insults and covert innuendos that they experience on a daily basis; ranging from instances of women of colour in senior management roles perceiving their being repeatedly mistaken for junior or support staff as evidence of the experience of racism (Drabble, 2013; Marshall, 2016) or ethnic minority nurses perceiving that they either face tokenistic approval from colleagues, a lack of meaningful recognition from management or excessive monitoring compared to their white colleagues (Das Gupta, 2009; Estacio and Saidy-Khan, 2014).

In each of these cases, the subjective impact of the micro-aggression on the victim is prioritised rather than the intent of the perpetrator so that what 'counts' as racism, sexism - or in this case sectarianism is about impact, reflective of situational circumstances and about people's lived experiences; a claims-making activity, a dynamic and interactive process whose 'realness' is applied after the (f)act, depending on the context, criteria, or consequences' (Fleras, 2016: 2).

These experiences can gradually and insidiously accumulate over a person's lifetime and are often hard to articulate, identify or prove when asked about direct or 'objective' experiences and measures of discrimination. Nevertheless, it is recognised that the victims' perceptions of the problem are founded on their own interpretations of social interactions which they later deem to be racist (or in this case sectarian). As a result, the subjective perception of 'experiencing' sectarianism in this way carries a real burden of emotional weight or mental distress for the victim irrespective of the 'real' intent of the perpetrator (p.18). It is also why lay definitions and interpretations are essential in understanding what the public thinks actually 'counts' as sectarianism. Moreover, this may also provide the answer, or at least an alternative or additional reading, of the alleged 'gap' between *perceptions* of sectarianism and evidence of its *experience* which, in this framing, become one and the same (see also Ormston et al., 2015: 284).

Looking in more detail at a specific example involving a Catholic woman's experience of sectarianism during an Orange parade, highlights the usefulness of this epistemological stance.

Anna initially spoke of her desire to be visible and present in her local community in Inverclyde, even on the days when 'the Walks' took place, but of being indirectly challenged and 'othered' by an Orange supporter on account of the way in which her Catholic identity was perceived.

'It's a fantastic atmosphere. I think if you support [the Orange parades] and you just let it pass it can be a brilliant atmosphere. I've been to [Orange] walks. I've been with my family who are Celtic supporters as well. I've been with friends who are Rangers supporters. And the

difference, there is a difference there. Hm, I remember when I was in school somebody came up to me and was like what are you doing here? You go to [a Catholic school]. And I was like, so! (Laughs) What does that mean? Well, it's a Catholic school. So? What's your point? I'm part of THE community! And? And that was it. You were judged for going to a Catholic school and then your interests are automatically assigned to you. So, it's a bit weird.'

The way she narrates this experience portrays her in an agentic and defiant role, pretending to the Orange supporter that she doesn't understand his judgements, categorisations and assumptions. Her reporting of this interaction also demonstrates her desire to subvert these traditional ethno-religious boundaries and assert her right to belong to the wider *geographical* community. In doing so, Anna brings out the conflict between the idea of Orange Walks as a '*community event*' and the fact that, even though she too feels part of the *geographical* community, that she was clearly not welcome as a Catholic on this occasion. This demonstrates how boundaries between 'us' and 'them', which may otherwise lie dormant under normal circumstances, can be activated during these historical 'flashpoints' of Orange walks, marches or parades.

It also links with the findings from the *Community Experiences of Sectarianism* research, commissioned by Scottish Government, which highlighted its sporadic nature. Researchers proposed the analogy of a 'cobweb' 'full of gaps' and only apparent in particular places or 'pockets' at particular times, such as during the 'traditional flashpoints' of Loyalist parades (including the Orange Order) (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015; Goodall, McKerrell, et al., 2015). They also identified 'chains of assumptions' which caused people to automatically link Orangeism, Catholic schools and football teams with religion, nationality and colours to signify belonging; such as 'Rangers-Protestant-British-Orange-Others' and 'Celtic-Catholic-Irish-Green-Others' (Goodall, McKerrell, et al., 2015: 293). The assumptions that the Orange supporter made about Anna's 'automatically assigned' interests are evidence of these chains of assumption in action. He knows that she attended Catholic school and therefore, this dictates that she shouldn't be participating in an 'Orange-British-Protestant-Rangers' community event. Enforcing these chains of assumptions is a way to

create and maintain the ethno-religious boundary during the occasions when the Orange Order is publicly visible and encounters 'the other'.

Despite Anna apparently hoping that the Orange parades could be an inclusive 'community' event, she also highlights the 'difference' between attending with her friends who are Celtic supporters compared to those who are Rangers fans. This reveals her own awareness of the same chains of assumption by which she too has been categorised and judged. Her emphasis on being part of '*the*' community also illustrates her active attempt to subvert these assumptions and boundaries through asserting her right to be present, as someone from a *Catholic* background at an *Orange* parade. Anna clearly recognises that the Orange Order is known for its exclusionary and bigoted attitudes towards Catholics but yet she refuses to employ 'avoidance strategies' on the days when they are present in the community as she feels strongly that she too has the right to belong in 'the' community (Goodall and Malloch, 2013).

Moreover, the Orange supporter's reaction to her presence adds weight to the argument that Orange marches and parades simply cannot be inclusive 'community' events, despite any claims of the organisers to the contrary. Irrespective of the publicly stated aims of the Orange Order in contemporary Scotland, or the fact that the majority of their events are facilitated in an orderly manner, 'by dint of history and tradition' these chains of assumption make their events traditional sectarian flashpoints so that they continue to be 'read as troublesome' by the majority of the Scottish public (Hamilton-Smith, Malloch & Ashe, 2015: 311: 323; Hamilton-Smith, Malloch, Ashe, et al., 2015a; Hinchliffe et al., 2015; Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015; Glasgow City Council, 2003; Orr, 2005).

With an overwhelming majority of the Scottish public citing Loyalist processions as one of the main visible manifestations of sectarianism, and only a small minority of people supporting their right to parade (Hinchliffe et al., 2015a); it would be fair to say that the general public clearly perceive the Orange Order to be a significant 'contributor' to sectarianism in contemporary

Scotland, irrespective of the intentions or best efforts of organisers and facilitators (Rosie, 2016). Once again, this also highlights the salience of perceptions and interpretations in determining what 'counts' as evidence of the 'experience' of sectarianism.

For instance, people's heightened awareness of Loyalist processions as traditional sectarian flashpoints can cause them to interpret, perceive and experience certain everyday interactions in connection with these organisations, its members and their events as discriminatory. Anna clearly perceived the Orange supporter's thinly veiled assumptions as an experience of sectarian discrimination. As Ormston et al (2015) point out, this is why attitudes and subjective experiences of how people 'read' and internalise interactions are essential to understanding the so-called gap between the perception of a problem of sectarianism in Scotland and the alleged lack of evidence of 'experience'. This can also be more clearly researched using the framing of sectarianism as micro-aggression, such as suggested above.

'If people feel excluded from social gatherings, if they are aware that people view them differently when they find out what school they went to, or if they are hurt by the language their peers use to describe their religion, they may well view this as sectarian discrimination. When it comes to these more 'subtle' expressions of sectarianism, attitudes and behaviour arguably become harder to disentangle, since the expression of sectarian attitudes may in itself be experienced as discriminatory' (Ormston et al., 2015: 267).

These subtle sectarian micro-aggressions would appear to be experienced both inter-personally and inter-subjectively and, as I will argue, are at the core of how the majority of what the general public may count as sectarianism appears to manifest in contemporary Scotland.

8.2.1 Whose community?

While Anna had hoped the Orange parades in her local community would be inclusive, her experience as a Catholic 'outsider' proved otherwise. In contrast, another participant who was also raised as Catholic did not expect these events to be in any way inclusive nor did she have any desire to support their

'passing'. As such, she drew attention to the different perceptions of these 'community' events depending on your upbringing.

'One of my friends was saying oh but it's a gala day and [the Orange parades] are a great community event and everything else, you know, and I was just thinking oh, what a different take on things! (...) What a difference your upbringing can have. She sees it as being this cuddly warm community gala and that it's a family event. But myself and one of my other [Catholic] friends we were like nah, no way! We were like it absolutely is NOT a community event, it's just completely different! (Laughs) And you see it can be perfectly decent civilised people and yet you have absolutely marked views on what it means to you. (...) Cos this other woman she is in the Orange Lodge 'Sisters of the Somme' [and] she was adamant that we were in the wrong. How do you even associate with someone like that! But I become quite tribal about it and I would never have thought that I was like that' (Sylvia).

Unlike Anna, as someone who was also from a Catholic upbringing, Sylvia did not expect the parades to be inclusive nor did she attempt to subvert the chains of assumption or assert her right to be present in the community during Orange marches and parades. In contrast, she openly reads the parades as inherently divisive, problematic and sectarian. She is critical of the Orange Order's supporters, such as her colleague in the 'Sisters of the Somme', who reportedly views the parades as a family event and a '*cuddly warm community gala*'. As Sylvia states, people tend towards these 'marked views' on what the parades mean.

In the *Community Impact of Public Processions* research, for instance, participants and spectators of marches and parades generally reported feelings of 'excitement and enjoyment', while those who chose to avoid them or 'happened upon' them reported 'disruption and inconvenience' and, on occasion, 'serious concern and upset' (Hamilton-Smith, Malloch, Ashe, et al., 2015b: 3). We do not know the ethno-religious background of either the participants who had positive views - as supporters or by-standers - or the background of those who 'happened upon' or avoided the parades. However, it seems plausible that these 'marked views' correspond with the individuals ethno-religious background or upbringing given the nature of these particular processions.

8.2.2 The paradox of tolerance

Sylvia's narrative, when viewed in its entirety, also encapsulates the central conundrum facing legal and policy experts who are required to balance the right of communities to have their concerns about public processions taken seriously, against the right to freedom of expression for those who are taking part (See Hamilton-Smith et al., 2015: 309).

In the recent *Community Impact of Public Processions* project, researchers attempted to go beyond the critiqued 'narrow focus on public disorder' and the one-sided view of the *'intent'* of the participants to also assess the negative *'impact'* of marches and parades on those who feel victimised (Hamilton-Smith, Malloch and Ashe, 2015: 323). However, 'impact' in this report was not defined with a rhetorical stance that clearly intervened to prioritise the concerns of those who felt *negatively* impacted by marches and parades. In an attempt to present a 'balanced' view of (what some might say) is an imbalanced organisation, the conclusions arguably fell short of the original aim to sincerely address the sectarian micro-aggressions which they listed as the more subjective experiences of 'fear of alarm' and feelings of threat or intimidation at the hands of organisations, such as the Orange Order, that are well-known to be prejudiced against Catholics. In the concluding statement, they justify this by highlighting the dilemma they faced in conducting this research within a public policy context, questioning what should influence the response of the State?

'This raises significant and perhaps unresolvable dilemmas in terms of prioritising either the gaze of the onlooker or what lies in the heart of the participant' (p.325).

Particularly in legal studies, this difficulty of striking the balance between equality, freedom of expression and the potential for hate speech is also recognised and often debated with vigour (Cramphorn, 2002; Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service, 2014; Hartley, 2004). It is widely acknowledged that, while freedom of speech is a 'worthy passion', not all free speech is necessarily good speech which makes it a particularly challenging and

perhaps 'unresolvable' dilemma for public policy such as Hamilton-Smith et al. remark. As Massaro (1990) states,

'the focus of the commentary has been the uneasy tension between robust protection of offensive expression and protection of the dignity and physical integrity of potential victims of such expression' (p.212).

Karl Popper describes this as 'the *paradox of tolerance*'; the idea that unlimited tolerance of freedom of expression will eventually lead to the disappearance of tolerance if we extend complete tolerance to those who are intolerant. In this paradoxical argument he argues that to preserve true tolerance the irony is that, ultimately, we will need to 'claim the right not to tolerate the intolerant' (Popper, 1966; see also Rawls, 1971).

This *paradox of tolerance* seems to be precisely what Sylvia is articulating in her struggle to reconcile her own 'marked' views against the Orange Order; an organisation who also have 'tribal' views and yet still have the same rights to freedom of cultural and religious expression. If the framework of sectarian micro-aggressions was used to prioritise any negative (subjective) impact on the victim, rather than the impact according to the processors, their supporters or the facilitators, this would offer more opportunities to 'pin down' the impact according to the views of those who are adversely affected or targeted. In short, perhaps there is a case for taking up Popper's call to claim the right not to tolerate the intolerant?

8.3 Embodied knowledge transfer and instinctive tribalism

As Sylvia also states, 'marked views' on both sides can become 'quite tribal' during these flashpoints. When asked to explain what she meant by becoming 'tribal', Sylvia reveals how her grandmother had transferred knowledge of ethno-religious differences to her and her sister in a silent and embodied way during childhood.

'I have an instinctive reaction to Orange marches coming down the street. As soon as I can hear them. I have a physical reaction to them.'

(...) They've been doing this for 20-odd years and EVERY single time I hear it I go grrr... I shut the windows! And my husband would go why do you even care? (high pitched) And I donno! But I do remember them marching past my Grannie's flat and we used to stay there on a Friday night and they always marched past going to their various places. And they'd all come down, hundreds of them, and we were never allowed to watch them. She was slamming doors and put down the blinds and put the TV up. We weren't even to look at the men marching by. So nobody, nothing was ever explained about who they were, what they were doing or why they were doing it. We were just not allowed to look at them. And we were young girls and we were quite intrigued by this noise. So, I don't know whether it is almost ingrained into you to have that reaction. But I have a reaction.

Here Sylvia is exploring the reasons behind her instinctive and 'tribal' reactions to ethno-religious difference. She reflects on the possible correlations between her grand-mother's silent and embodied responses during her childhood and her own reactions now as an adult.

Connerton (1989) describes parades as ritual performances or commemorative ceremonies that serve as embodied forms of knowledge transfer like a 'cult enacted' rather than an identity story that is simply passed down through the generations using more conscious discursive practices. The performance not only makes the identity alive and part of the present day as a way of reminding the 'imagined community' of its shared identity, but it also subconsciously shapes the person to behave in particular ways and 'hails' them into particular subject positionings (Anderson, 2006; Connerton, 1989; Finlayson, 1996).

Moreover, these performances of ethno-religious identity and practices of boundary work do not necessarily require any explicit discursive interaction. They can entail what I have labelled '*automatic practices of excluding the other*' - which may manifest as subtle inter-subjective micro-aggressions such as that described by Anna - or as '*embodied practices of erasing the other*' as Sylvia articulates in her exploration of the links between her grand-mothers silent but powerful 'communication' about how to respond to ethno-religious difference that she recalls from childhood.

Anna's experience of the subtle micro-aggression of being made to feel unwelcome, during Orange processions on account of her Catholic upbringing, is an example of the automatic practices of excluding 'the other' that appeared to originate from rigid and often erroneous chains of assumption and left much of the practice and experience unspoken between the perpetrator and the target. As others have also noted this has implications for 'the uninformed observer' who could easily miss the unspoken subtleties and nuances of these types of experiences of sectarianism; especially given that it is only 'at specific moments [and in] certain locations [that they can] suddenly become laden with meaning and association' (Hamilton-Smith et al., 2015: 318).

Sylvia's experience, in contrast, although equally instinctive or automatic in character, is better described as an '*embodied practice of erasing the other.*' Sylvia's Grandmother, quite literally 'shut out' all sights and sounds of the Orange processions in a silent but forceful attempt to erase them, without offering any explanation to her grandchildren for her actions.

Interestingly, researchers in the *Community Experiences of Sectarianism* study argued that 'essentialising' and 'reducing' the 'other' was founded on 'chains of assumption' that were rooted in a similar 'lack of communication' (Goodall, McKerrell, et al., 2015: 293). They coined the term 'discursive deficit' to describe their sense that many participants did not appear to be habituated to talking about sectarianism in the same way as they did with similar issues such as racism (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015: 63). Although they proposed several explanations for this phenomenon, ranging from a relative absence of sectarianism and the declining visibility of religion in Scotland, other suggestions included 'social indifference', the fact that in some instances it appeared to be 'normalised' and sectarianism being treated as a 'silent topic' (ibid.)

It is worth considering each of these explanations to understand which of their proposals are supported and extended by evidence from my own research analysis, particularly in connection with Sylvia's description of her grandmother's silent but powerful embodied reactions to difference and the

relevance this had to her in terms of ‘communicating’ difference in a non-inscribed way.

In their research report, social indifference referred to ‘where most members of a majority group do not actively look for markers of difference’ which can mean that they are ‘unaware whether prejudice or bigotry exists,’ ‘resistant to believing it exists in their communities’ and ‘inclined to ignore signs of it’ (ibid). Similar findings were also revealed in my own research with an ex-Lodge member, Linda, who defended the Order’s right to march by employing the blinkered argument that it actually ‘brings people and cultures together’ citing the English Silver bands with ‘glockenspiels and sticks’ and the bands who had come ‘all the way from Canada’ as examples to support her view. Here her ‘social indifference’ makes her inclined to conveniently ignore what MacPherson (2012) describes as the Orangewomen’s ‘diasporic imagination’ shaped by an ‘imperial ideology’ which is connected by a strong overarching belief in a narrow conception of British identity as exclusively white and Protestant. Or as Kirkham (2016) points out, this is essentially a discourse strategy that uses alleged ‘multi-culturalism-as-beneficial commodity’ to defend against or deny possible charges of racism (or in this case sectarianism) by naively pointing out how ‘everybody’ gets along (pp.383–385).

Normalised, on the other hand, referred to behaviours and attitudes that are ‘overlooked because [they] seem to be a normal part of life’ with some participants describing incidents of prejudiced behaviour as being ‘linked to ethno-religious identity’ but (at first) not classifying them as sectarian while, at the same time, describing avoidance strategies for parades or concealing identity markers such as school as if they were ‘normal’ routine and everyday habits to which they had become accustomed (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015: 63). Again, similar findings were also confirmed in my own research with, for instance, Genevieve’s matter-of-fact way of just accepting that ‘being hated [as a Catholic] is part of our culture’ to the extent that you would miss it if it wasn’t there!

However, of greatest interest to my own findings is the final explanation which is offered for this apparent 'discursive deficit'. This suggests that sectarianism is largely a 'silent topic'; that 'some experiences of sectarianism are not seen as suitable for every day, or even private, conversation' (ibid.)

This fits with Sylvia's experience of her grandmother's reactions to the Orange parades that she recalls from childhood. She describes how her granny went around slamming doors, putting the blinds down and turning the TV up when the parades were passing her flat. This communicated, entirely through actions, that Sylvia and her sister were not allowed to watch the Orange parades without her Grand-mother ever actually discussing who the Orangemen (and women) were, why they were there or why they, as young Catholic girls, were not allowed to watch them. In other words, although there was a 'deficit of discourse' or, in this case, a lack of explicit *discursive* communication; her gran's actions clearly spoke a thousand words to the childhood Sylvia.

Consequently, I would argue that there is not necessarily a 'discursive deficit' as suggested by Goodall, McKerrell, et al. (2015), but more precisely *a lack of explicit discursive communication*. Crucially, this does not mean that there is nothing being communicated just because it happens to be a 'silent topic'. In short, the knowledge that is passed on from one generation to the next might tend towards embodied forms of knowledge transfer that make critical reflection in an interview scenario more difficult to articulate due to the non-inscribed form in which the associated attitudes have been internalised. Or as Connerton (1989) states, embodied knowledge transfer through instinctive reactions (or rituals such as marches and parades) are largely subconscious practices that are,

'...not easily susceptible to critical scrutiny and evaluation by those habituated to their performance (...) thus guaranteeing a measure of insurance against the cumulative questioning' that would be entailed in expressions which might involve more explicit discursive practices' (p.102).

In other words, the way sectarian attitudes, feelings or reactions are both internalised and transferred might be difficult to discuss precisely because they are communicated subconsciously. This has implications for researchers, policy-makers and practitioners working to tackle sectarian prejudices in Scotland. Due to the covert processes of internalisation and transmission, it is both harder to detect the presence of these attitudes and it could also be wrongly assumed that a lack of evidence means there is no longer a problem with sectarianism.

Sylvia still clearly remembers her granny's silent but *embodied practice of erasing the other* and, as an adult, now finds herself engaging 'instinctively' in the same 'physical' practices and reactions to 'even just the sound of the parades'. She describes her affective response not only as 'tribal' but as something which has her 'whole heckles up'. She also articulates this automatic and embodied response as 'ingrained' and both subconscious and irrational because of the way it seems to defy her own sincerely held values to 'respect other people's beliefs'.

8.3.1 Dual attitudes and aversive sectarianism

Prompting her to reflect more deeply on this apparent conflict between her liberal values on freedom of expression and yet her instinctively 'tribal' reaction against the Orange 'walks' she reveals the contradictory 'dual attitudes' that she holds in an uncomfortable tension.

I find it quite embarrassing cos I shouldn't have [this reaction]. But I really, really don't like [the Orange Order] at all. And I keep saying, oh God I need to be a bit more open. Its tradition and you respect other people's beliefs and everything else, but I really can't, I really struggle with it. (...) When I was [canvassing] there and you are getting invites to go along and talk to people. They are saying go along and talk to the Orange Lodge and I'm thinking over my dead body! And I'm thinking why am I saying that? What is wrong with me? I'm not selling my principles. But then I'm thinking what principles am I even talking about! I don't even know myself, but I actually just can't go there. So, something in your upbringing really does affect just exactly how you see. Cos I couldn't have walked in there and shook hands with them. And they are only human beings after all! It is ludicrous but it's clearly deep inside you somewhere cos your whole heckles are up at even just the sound of the bands. So, I suppose that with sectarianism that's

probably me expressing sectarian views! (Laughs) And I can't explain it. I couldn't rationalise it, I couldn't sit there and explain why I do that. And I would never be against somebody coming in for a job or anything else but my personal reaction to it is really quite... (Exasperated sigh) It's just a deeply unpleasant thing.' (Sylvia)

This duality that Sylvia struggles with is a phenomenon with which social psychologists and critical race theorists are both familiar. Social psychologists have documented the pervasive occurrence of discrimination without conscious awareness even by people, like Sylvia, who strive to live in a non-discriminatory fashion in accordance with unprejudiced values and identities that they sincerely and actively endorse in their everyday lives (Devine, 1989; Kang, 2007). Sylvia, for instance, has spent her entire career working to challenge inequalities in her local community.

Kang (2007) demonstrates how most people can have implicit biases in the form of negative beliefs and attitudes about minority groups notwithstanding sincere self-reports to the contrary. He argues that this form of 'disassociation' occurs because we internalise the categories and social relations into which we are initially socialised without question. He admits that the existence of such automatic processes of bias disturbs us because it questions our 'self-understanding as entirely rational, freely choosing, self-legislating actors' (p.45). However, he provides convincing evidence of implicit and subconscious racial or ethnic bias that is consistently manifested in his research participants, despite their sincere commitment to acting in non-discriminatory ways in their everyday lives. He visualises the existence of these 'dual attitudes', even in the type of 'decent' and 'civilised' people which Sylvia both describes and represents, as a 'Trojan horse'; an 'insidious forms of bias [which] resembles a malicious computer virus' (Salter and Adams, 2013: 784).

Similarly, sociologists of race and ethnicity have also come to recognise that this 'dissociative implicit bias' (or dual attitude which Sylvia is struggling with) is what characterises most contemporary discrimination. Building on Allport (1979), Dovidio et al. (2005) illustrate how these subconscious biases constitute a form of 'aversive racism' which can also exist among middle-class and liberal elites who sincerely endorse egalitarian values. Aversive racism is

a covert contemporary form of racial prejudice which, when applied to sectarianism in modern Scotland, could help to explain the alleged gap between perception of a problem and the lack of 'evidence' that perplexes researchers in this field of study. It demonstrates how more subtle, contemporary forms of prejudice are expressed in indirect and often unintentional ways given the legislative interventions which have made discrimination not simply immoral but also illegal and resulted in a decline in the more overt expressions of prejudice in recent years (Dovidio, 2001: 834).

In contrast to blatant "old-fashioned" racism, or in this case sectarianism, aversive forms of prejudice and discrimination represent a subtle, often unintentional form of bias by those who possess strong egalitarian values and who sincerely believe that they are non-prejudiced. It is argued that such people can possess negative racialised feelings and beliefs to which they are typically exposed during socialisation. Often, they are unaware of these deep-rooted and instinctive tribal responses from which they try to dissociate from their non-prejudiced self-images. Given that these 'decent', 'civilised' and otherwise well-adjusted people can consciously endorse egalitarian values, they will not discriminate directly and openly in ways that can be obviously attributed to sectarian discrimination. However, because of their negative feelings they may discriminate, often unintentionally, in covert, normalised and everyday ways when their behaviour can be justified or rationalised based on some factor other than race, ethnicity or religion. An example of this is also briefly mentioned by Sylvia, who after revealing her instinctive and tribal reactions admits that she can't 'explain' or 'rationalise' her response, before reflecting on her sincere commitment to equality by stating that 'I would never be against somebody [associated with the Orange Lodge] coming in for a job or anything else'. Interestingly, not only did she appear to sincerely believe this but so did I. However, these 'dual attitudes' that she articulates still appeared to coexist in an uncomfortable tension.

As Dovidio (2001) explains, the cornerstone of aversive racism is this contradiction between the denial of explicit attitudes of personal prejudice and the more deep-rooted, implicit and subconscious negative feelings and beliefs

(p.838). These dual attitudes or dissociative implicit bias occur through experience or socialisation such as the silent and embodied reactions of Sylvia's grand-mother that she recalls from childhood which she now instinctively replicates as an adult. Although people can change and develop their attitudes and beliefs in the transition to adulthood, the original attitude is typically not replaced but is stored in memory and becomes implicit, whereas the newer attitude of tolerance, or being as Sylvia states 'a bit more open', is typically more conscious and explicit (ibid: 839).

8.4 Reverse sectarianism?

However, having proposed this framework of 'dual attitudes' and the so-called Trojan horse of aversive sectarianism, it is important to recognise that Sylvia is from a *Catholic* background and is talking about her feelings towards the *Orange Order* and its members. There are several factors which make her reactions open to rationalisation and empathy. As a Catholic, Sylvia represents the historically targeted minority group against which the Orange Order asserts its need to 'defend' Protestantism and the British crown. They are well-known for their bigoted attitudes towards Catholics and, as a result, the majority of the Scottish public believe them to be one of the main contributors to sectarianism and only a small minority actually support their right to march (Hinchliffe et al., 2015a).

Consequently, the question which Sylvia also essentially asks herself is can reverse sectarianism even be possible given this historical context of the relationship between Catholics and the Orange Order? As she says, 'I suppose that's probably me expressing sectarian views?' However, as Song (2014) argues there is a need to challenge this growing 'culture of racial equivalence' which implicitly assumes that any racial or ethnic attribution, regardless of who made it (or the specific context in which it is made), constitutes racism or in this case sectarianism (p.109). Song makes the case for distinguishing between disparate and multiple forms of racialised interactions by considering their historical basis, severity and power; thinking about whether the interaction reproduces historical structures of domination (p.120). With this framing

Sylvia's reactions can be rationalised, emphasised with and defended against charges of being rooted in sectarian bigotry.

However, pausing to consider how her reactions and responses to members of the Orange Order might be perceived from the 'other side' reveals a different picture. While not necessarily a popular perspective, sympathy for Orangeism was a view that was also expressed by several participants who worried that 'the attack was on them now'.

Genevieve, a working-class Catholic participant, painted a picture of the generational shifts in the local Orange Lodge which she had witnessed over the years. She described her relationship with her 'Orange' neighbour who was 'immaculately dressed' and used to lead the Walk 'with pride' in 'our time'. She states that he eventually left because of the shift in its culture. She describes how the participants now appear to have become more 'aggressive' and unaware of the reasons why they marched particular routes or stopped in specific locations. She notices that,

'the faces are angry and sinister and very, very threatening and they are really, really annoyed' and 'they are not even knowing why [but] they are just angry anyway.'

Genevieve implies that this is because they are now the ones who are targeted for their views and culture.

'The attack is on them now, it's anti-Protestant. I think that is tangible. (...) I do want us to be mindful of generations of people [in the Orange Order] that thought they were doing the right thing, good or bad, whatever they did. I do feel for them I really do. I mean it is what they do, and I think there has to be an alternative and a place for them and that has to be put into our culture.'

Here Genevieve highlights both the shift in the culture of the Orange Order towards what she perceives as a more 'aggressive' stance and its decline in popularity among the older generation who used to lead the walk 'with pride'.

Similarly, Faye, an ex-Orange Lodge member describes the similar rationale behind her own reasons for leaving in more recent times.

'I was in the flute bands when I was younger. (...) I just kind of realised that was no what I wanted to present myself as. I'm not sectarian, I'm not a racist or anything like that. I don't care about other people's religion. It kind of made me be perceived as if I was against Catholics or that and I'm really not. So, I just decided it wasn't for me anymore. (...) I think it's dying out now. (...) There are not really as many women involved from what I can see. Not now. When I was younger, our flute band, it was mostly women, so it was. But a lot of the girls left when they started going to college and getting their jobs and deciding what they wanted to do. They kind of left. So that wasn't their social place that they wanted to go anymore they got other places to go now. (...) And see when you were going on parade and stuff, you end up just seeing ones that are just lying about the ground drunk. That's just what I was seeing all the time and I didn'ae want to see it. Like I seen people taking cocaine on the buses and stuff and there were kids on the bus and that too. Nahhh, I just didn'ae want involved in that anymore.'

Here Faye provides a more recent 'insider view' which confirms Genevieve's feelings that the younger generations who are still connected with the Orange Lodge tended to be more 'aggressive' and perhaps losing touch with the original reasons for the organisation's existence. Faye also communicates her awareness of the way the Orange Order is perceived by the public and in doing so, once again, highlights the idea that 'the attack is on them now'. Although arguably a justified attack, given the reported behaviour of some of its members, it is interesting when set alongside Genevieve's insistence that there still 'has to be a place for them in our culture'.

These narratives of the generational shift in the culture of the Orange Order, its lack of wider public support and declining membership are echoed in many of the key historical accounts in the field. Kaufmann (2008) describes the conflict between 'Orangeism, as a 'traditional' unionist organisation, and the street politics of 'rebel' unionism with its emphasis on action and its lack of deference to hierarchy and tradition' in a what Dominic Bryan calls a '*rough vs. respectable dichotomy between an often sectarian rank and file and a more image-conscious leadership*' (p.185).

'The marching bands the Order hires for parades and the spectators who line the streets to watch parades rarely display the decorum demanded by Orange ritual and laws' (p.154).

He attributes this to the growth of ‘blood and thunder’ or ‘kick the pope’ (flute) bands and points out how many were regularly suspended for poor behaviour when attempts were made to regulate both their symbolism (i.e. paramilitary flags) and hymn tunes (i.e. sectarian songs). As he states the Order’s leadership are aware that,

‘It must seek to safeguard the organisation’s wider respectability to the greatest extent possible – especially in the face of falling membership. (...) The Order is also aware of its plebeian make-up and the need to win public approval in order to have influence and retain the right to parade’ (p.187).

Arguably, the reasons for the reported generational shift in culture is also highly classed and likely also connected with the high rates of unemployment in these communities that were once previously industrial heartlands. The associated loss of masculine sources of identity in these communities has been well documented (Nayak, 2003b). The Orange Lodge provides status and meaning when its members feel that ‘the attack is on them now’ in more ways than one. This adds a degree of intersectional complexity to the earlier argument that Sylvia cannot be guilty of ‘reverse sectarianism.’

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted several important processes by which boundaries between Catholic and Protestant groups can be reproduced, created and maintained through mobilising the markers associated with the Orange Order. It provides a rich and fruitful theoretical framework for explaining the more covert and everyday ways that contemporary sectarianism may still manifest through a detailed analysis that both complements and extends existing qualitative work in the field.

It has laid out some of the subjective ways in which sectarianism is experienced both from the perspective of agents or perpetrators and from the standpoint of self-identified victims or targets. These experiences have been theorised as inter-subjective micro-aggressions from the standpoint of the victim and manifested as subconscious feelings of aversion, transferred from

grand-mother to grand-daughter in 'silent' and embodied ways, from the perspective of the agent or perpetrator. The idea that these instinctive and tribal reactions to difference can co-exist as subconscious dual attitudes, alongside sincerely held egalitarian values, reveals the potentially pernicious influence of sectarianism in the ever-shrinking spaces in which it still survives. It is argued that this can instil instinctive reactions to difference in the form of an implicit or dissociative bias that is hidden, sometimes even from oneself.

Thus, the complexity of these affective responses to ethno-religious difference requires a re-framing of what constitutes 'real' 'evidence' of the experience of sectarianism in Scotland to challenge the emphasis on 'perpetrator perspectives' and better recognise the subtle, covert, subconscious - and perhaps even unintentional - forms of sectarian prejudice and bigotry that continue to exist (Salter and Adams, 2013). As such, the evidence in this chapter also highlights the central epistemological debate that divides scholarly analysis in the field between 'expert' versus 'lay' definitions of sectarianism, between the so-called 'myth' versus 'reality' of the problem and the alleged gap between the 'perception' of its existence and the 'evidence' of its experience (Bruce, 2003, 2011; Bruce et al., 2004, 2005; Conroy, 2003; Glasgow City Council, 2003; Raab and Holligan, 2012; Rosie, 2004; Scottish Government, 2013b; Walls and Williams, 2003, 2005). It is argued that perceptions and subjective experiences matter in terms of understanding the nature of the problem of sectarianism from the standpoints of different women and girls. As Ormston et al (2015) point out, it may not be that there is a gap between perception and reality but rather that 'the public thinks of sectarianism in broader terms which are not fully captured by questions about specific examples' or, as this chapter demonstrates, that the way it is experienced is largely subconscious, embodied and subjective (pp.284–285).

Finally, although many of the examples are from the standpoints of different Catholic participants; further research with additional collectivities could test the extent to which tribal and subconscious dual attitudes exist in broader samples. Sectarianism is 'going but not gone' and there is a need is to

encourage renewed efforts to develop effective techniques to combat these contemporary forms of aversive bias.

Chapter 9 Feminised Sectarianism in Action

The last three empirical chapters have examined overt signs and signals (the institutional markers of Schools and Orange Order) around which dichotomous boundaries can be (reproduced), created and maintained. The next three chapters, however, consider basic value orientations relating to gender, sexuality and 'family values'. This examines the more covert ways in which beliefs in different standards of morality can be employed in ways that serve to construct racialised outsiders to the nation. (For discussion of Barth & the rationale behind presenting the data in this way, see chapter 5).

As such, this chapter explores feminised sectarianism in action; defined as a myriad of female-led intersectional processes of racialisation which use religion as the marker of difference (see theoretical framework). Firstly, it looks at prejudiced discourses of *demonised sexualities* that construct racialised Catholic outsiders by discriminating against their '*failed femininity*' (Tyler, 2011). And secondly, it addresses prejudiced discourses racialising Catholic (and Muslim) 'outsiders' as *baby factories* that discriminate at the micro-familial and institutional levels, by undermining their *contraceptive agency and competence*.

Thus, feminised sectarianism is presented as a modality of religious racism that appears to coalesce around a gendered and classed respectability politics (Evans, 2016; McKenzie, 2015; Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012; Tyler, 2013). It operates through the differential construction of those with allegedly superior or inferior family values. The new definition of feminised sectarianism that is proposed as a result of this research is that, like all religious racisms, feminised intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland operates on a contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging to the nation. This hierarchy is used to differentially position Catholic women and girls through processes of racialisation that are simultaneously gendered and classed. This hierarchy is imagined relative to a 'superior' white, masculine, middle-class, Protestant subjectivity. Personal choices such as the number of children that Catholic women have, their relationships with men and their sexuality more broadly, can be politicised by

others in ways that racialise on account of the overlapping characteristics of social class, gender and perceived religious identity. Gendered and classed respectability politics can thus be mobilised against Catholic women and girls in ways that sectarianise the boundaries of belonging to the nation and, under certain conditions, re-construct them once again as racialised outsiders.

As such, the argument is that this female-led, everyday politics of racialisation is not merely about reproducing softer ethnic boundaries of cultural and religious difference. It is about the, inherently racialised, intersectional dynamic of hierarchical power relations that seeks to determine who can be included as rightful members of 'the nation' (Yuval-Davis, 1996). It is part of a broader historical exclusionary politics that serves to construct differentially positioned 'racialised outsiders' in Britain (Virdee, 2014). This is about who is granted status and respect and who is not; it is about vying for position on a contingent intersectional hierarchy that is rooted in shifting historical constructions of national belonging.

As outlined in the theoretical framework, to conceive of intra-Christian sectarianism in this way is part of a broader tradition of anti-racist scholarship that seeks to challenge horizontal accounts of power relationships that are divorced from Britain's colonial history (Hickman et al., 2005; Meer and Modood, 2010; Miles, 1989; Murji and Solomos, 2005; Nayak, 2003b; Phoenix, 2005; Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012). Having said that, to highlight the nuances of feminised sectarianism, in the everyday spaces in which it still lingers, is not to deny the success story of Irish Catholic integration in Scotland; their pathway to social mobility is well documented (Bruce et al., 2004; Devine, 2008; Rosie, 2004; Rosie and McCrone, 2000). Similarly, it is not to suggest that every person from a Catholic background is (or was) Irish or that every Irish person who migrated to Scotland was necessarily Catholic (Walker, 1991). It is recognised that 'reality *is* always a little more complex' (Aspinwall, 2000: 105, my italics). However, the narrative data which follows is not intended as an objective account of 'facts' about the *reality* of ethnic, religious and racial categories in contemporary Scotland. It is about accounts of participants' attitudes, beliefs and desires that reveal their imagined

belongings and identifications in ways that often served to create a 'racialised outsider' (Meer, 2014a: 37–42; Virdee, 2014). And yet, although these narratives construct 'imagined' belongings and exclusions does not mean that the consequences of the prejudices that underpin them are not a *social reality* for the racialised outsiders they construct (Bonilla-Silva, 1999; Elder-Vass, 2012).

9.1 Superior Family Values?

While there is a small pool of existing research on what I have previously labelled 'feminised sectarianism' in Scotland (Lindores and Emejulu, 2017), it focuses primarily on relational concerns - such as within the context of mixed marriages (Engender, 2014; Scottish Women's Convention, 2013) - or, more frequently, on women as the 'passive victims' or 'peace-makers' in a phenomena that is still largely portrayed as male-centric (Devine, 2000; Flint and Kelly, 2013a; Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015).

However, *feminised sectarianism* re-positions women as active agents with the capacity to challenge or reproduce racialised boundaries in their own right. This is a new avenue of research that highlights the female-led politics of policing the choices, actions and behaviours of Catholic women who are judged as 'transgressing' gendered and classed norms of respectability. One way in which this appears to operate is through prejudiced discourses of *demonised sexualities*, that construct racialised Catholic outsiders, by discriminating against their '*failed femininity*' (Tyler, 2011). It also appeared to operate as prejudiced discourses racialising Catholic (and Muslim) outsiders as *baby factories* that discriminated at the micro-familial and institutional levels, by undermining their *contraceptive agency and competence*. What both processes have in common is, not only that they are female-led but, that they are framed within the context of making value judgements on who has 'superior' or 'inferior' family values in ways that are simultaneously raced, gendered and classed.

Perceived differences between the ‘family values’ of Catholics and Protestants were articulated by one participant as ‘emotional or relationship conversations’ in the private spheres of social life.

Alice explained,

I think within my [Catholic] family it certainly seems to be the case that they have a perspective that there are different values that underlie the different denominations of Christianity. But I think that is very much a perception rather than a reality. But, you know, an idea about them [Protestants] having a different concept about what a family is, or how they should take care of one another. But there wasn't much substantiation to any of it. There wasn't a sense of [Protestants] feel differently about this, that or the other. But there was very much the idea that there was a different value base and that that was what it was about. I don't think it was so much about practising the religious aspects. We would never have talked about transubstantiation (laughs) or the particulars of what was different about the religious denominations. It was much more about what the family values are. (...) I certainly think that in terms of who would communicate issues in my family about who you were in a relationship with, or a friendship with, it would tend to be women in the family that would have those conversations more than men in the family. I don't know whether that is because it mattered to the women, and it didn't matter to the men, or whether they were just the people that carried out those sorts of conversations. So, I think that that is an aspect of it that is gendered.

Here Alice claims that gender, family and different women's roles, in emotional and relationship conversations, are also part of the way that sectarian difference appears to be reproduced in Scotland. As I argued elsewhere, the hegemonic masculinist frame of associating sectarianism with football and physical violence has excluded any meaningful analysis of women's agency in reproducing or challenging sectarianism in their own right (Lindores and Emejulu, 2017). Evidence from my pilot study suggested that various forms of ‘feminised sectarianism’ appeared to coalesce around women's coercive behaviours; whereby they might exert pressure and control over other women's choices of romantic partners and childrearing decisions. This was to ensure conformity with the perceived family values and relationship rules associated with their own ethno-religious group. It was argued that,

'The politics involved in these relationship choices demonstrate how sectarianism has both a private and public face, and how these multifaceted manifestations of sectarianism contribute to its reproduction in Scotland' (Lindores and Emejulu, 2017: 12).

This female-led politicisation of the imagined boundaries between Protestant and Catholics appears to centre on perceptions of different 'family values'. This is crucial to understanding the neglected gendered dynamics of this phenomenon in Scotland. As Yuval-Davis (1997) argues, it is typically women who play these,

'...roles as symbolic border guards and as embodiments of the collectivity, while at the same time being its cultural reproducers. This dimension of women's lives is crucial to understanding their subjectivities as well as their relations with each other, with children and with men. (...) The boundary of the ethnic is often dependent on gender and there is a reliance on gender attributes for specifying ethnic identity; much of ethnic culture is organised around rules relating to sexuality, marriage and the family. A true member will perform these roles properly' (p.23; p. 113).

Although Alice offers little 'substantiation' to precisely what the different 'family values' might consist of; she hints at a vague perception that Protestants might have a different 'concept about what a family is or how they should take care of one another'. To focus on unpicking the 'reality' or 'truth' of her perceptions is to miss the point entirely. The *idea* that there are different 'family values' appears to be sufficient, in so far as it serves as an active perception that can be called upon to make value judgements about different women's actions, attitudes and behaviours in certain situations. This seemed to be the case when it concerned Catholic female sexuality and their reproductive or contraceptive agency and choices.

9.2 Failed femininity and demonised sexualities: the racialised Catholic outsider

In the opening data above, it is important to note that Alice, a woman from a Catholic background in her thirties, does not make any value judgements about either religious collectivity possessing superior or inferior values. In

contrast, 'family values' were actively politicised in a sectarian way, by one young Presbyterian participant. She stereotypes the alleged promiscuity of Catholic teenage girls in what could be characterised as a form of *demonised sexuality*.

I feel like there are things that affect women in the way that all Catholic school girls are slappers. All Catholic school girls are thought to be slappers. All Catholic school girls are sluts. Like, you've always got the whole Catholic girls are wild kind of thing. It's like because part of the labelling and the perception is that they've been kept so pure and so restrained that they have to break out. Like St Trinian's that was a [teenage film aimed at girls], you know what I mean, that was all wee Catholic school girls' type of thing?

Brook makes a clear distinction between those who she believes are 'Christians' (from a Protestant denomination like herself) and those who are 'Catholic' and therefore, presumably in her understanding not 'proper Christians'. She claims, *'the faith part is the same but [Catholicism] is a different religion'*. This was a perspective that was also shared by Linda, a woman in her thirties who had grown up as a junior member of an Orange Lodge and strongly identified with being British. This distinction is important because it demonstrates how those with stronger Protestant and/or exclusively white British subjectivities may use hierarchical categorisations to place Catholic women in a subordinate, racialised and 'outsider' position. Here Brook describes Catholic school girls as 'wild' (Brook's term) and engaged in a sexual rebellion against the constraints of their 'oppressive' (my term) religion during their teenage years. This demonstrates the expectations of a higher standard of sexual purity which is placed on Catholic girls. Brook mobilises this stereotype to construct their demonised sexualities in contradictory ways. Despite many participants being Catholic, the type of stereotype articulated here was not assigned to women from a Protestant background. This suggests that there is something about the social meaning attached to being Catholic that is more broadly conceived of as 'other' in comparison to a Protestant identity. As I will argue, this unidirectional inferiorising of Catholic women and girls is reflective of broader historical power relations.

For instance, although Brook (a young Presbyterian woman) later admits to having sex before marriage with multiple partners and facing some similar expectations for her own 'purity' as the Catholic girls she describes; these pressures only appeared to come from within her own church community.

I feel like with the likes of being Catholic you've got to be a good Catholic or a bad Catholic [woman or girl]. You can't just be Catholic and ... the same with Christianity all this purity ring stuff and (long pause) ... there's just so many things that are left to bind you. (...) I now don't believe in sex before marriage. When I was a teenager that didn't bother me, it wasn't an issue for me. But I was in two long term relationships back to back and through those I just felt that I was sinning, and I felt guilty. I felt guilty, I fell away from God and I just felt that my faith wasn't as strong. (...) So, my boyfriend and I, at the time, we split up and it was about a couple of months later that I thought I need to go back to church, that's what will help. I wasn't keen on going back cos I felt that I was the black sheep, but I went back anyway.

In this example Brook demonstrates how the same expectations, for the purity of Catholic women and girls, also applied to her as a young practising Presbyterian woman. However, as she explains these standards can be differentially applied to Catholic and 'Christian' (Protestant) women because Catholic women and girls are more strictly categorised into 'good' or 'bad' Catholics compared to their Protestant counterparts. In other words, Presbyterian women, such as Brook, may face judgements for engaging in pre-marital sex from within their own church community, but Catholic women appeared to face greater prejudices, judgements and expectations from both within and outwith their denomination.

These stereotypes also extended to the wider societal influence of images which label Catholic school girls as 'naughty'; a 'fantasy' which Brook claims 'men probably want to buy into as well'. These messages were seen to have also infiltrated films aimed at teenage girls such as *St Trinian's*, which sexualises the boarding school girls and portrays them as inherently rebellious. Similarly, in later discussions prejudices towards Catholic women's family planning choices (in issues concerning contraception and family size) and their sexuality (depicting them as too 'pure' and at the same time too 'promiscuous'), also appeared to be the target of greater judgement both within and outwith

Catholic Church communities. Crucially, even though many participants were from a Catholic background they did not pass any judgements on the sexuality of Protestant women and girls in the same way.

As Yuval-Davis (1997) points out, strict gendered cultural and religious codes of what it is to be a 'proper woman' are often developed to keep differentially positioned women in an inferior location.

'All societies have a pool of cultural traditions, collective memories and 'common sense' in which the image of the 'others' and the 'rules' about how they should be handled are to be found. Of course, as in any other cultural production, cultural constructions of 'otherness' are dynamic, full of contradictions and differentially available to different social categories and groupings' (p.47).

Brook's essentialising of Catholic school girls into 'good' and 'bad', according to their sexual conduct, downplays her own equally 'sexually rebellious' choices during her teenage years. She foregrounds her regrets at having sex before marriage, emphasising that she now believes in premarital chastity, by characterising her prior actions as the 'black sheep' exception to the rule. Later in her interview, she sheds light on how she appears to navigate these contradictory double standards.

I think, that the identifier as a Catholic is very different from the identifier as a Christian [Protestant]. If you are Catholic, I feel like its very duty bound and you go out of duty even if it's just high days and holidays and that's instilled in your family from long back. And you don't have big, necessarily big Christian [Protestant] families but you do have big Catholic families, whether they practise or not. And they will hold onto that identity of being Catholic. Whereas, I feel like a Protestant who doesn't believe and is just, that is their identifier that's their label, I don't feel that they hold onto that the same way as someone from the Catholic community who doesn't believe. I think a Catholic who doesn't believe and identifies as Catholic holds onto that identity stronger.

According to her own understanding, the rules for gendered religiosity might be less stringent for women who have been raised as Protestant because they have more choice over how closely, and on which occasions, they self-identify with that label. Conversely, the pressure for Catholic women and girls to adhere to cultural and religious standards of sexual morality might be stricter

and those judgements might come from a wider range of people across society, regardless of whether they are still practising or not. Brook believed that these double standards for cultural and religious femininities are due to the way that Catholic women and girls have less choice over how and when they identify. Brook appears to be essentialising a Catholic identity so that the options over the rules of identification, and the expectations for adherence to the associated family and moral values, are 'differentially available' and differentially applied to Protestant and Catholic women. This raises the issue of 'ethnic choices' over the self-ascribed Protestant identity which she claims, versus the racialised and other-assigned Catholic identity which she applies to these 'outsiders'.

Waters' (1990) research with Californian and Philadelphian suburban white ethnics looked at the identities of the descendants of Catholic migrants who settled in the United States. She found that they enjoyed a 'great deal of freedom' over how and when they identified as 'ethnic' compared to 'those defined in "racial" terms as non-whites [who were] socially constrained to accept their ethnic identity' (p.18).

'For later-generation white ethnics, ethnicity is not something that influences their lives unless they want it to. (...) Individuals do not have to admit to being ethnic unless they choose to. Ethnicity has become a subjective identity, invoked at will by the individual' (p.7).

However, what we see here in the Scottish context is that a white Catholic identity can also be racialised, constrained and other-assigned in ways that *deny* that ethnic choice. Waters' colour-coded framing of racialisation, from the United States context, does not map neatly onto the 'competing nationalisms' at play in the United Kingdom and Ireland and the histories of those 'colonised from within' such as Irish Catholics (Miles, 1996: 233–238). This is about who has the power to racialise 'others' as outsiders in ways that use religion, not phenotypical 'race', as the marker of difference (p.247). Brook, a white Presbyterian woman, positions herself as possessing ethnic choices over her Protestant identity. She can divorce her sexuality from her religious background, beyond the confines of her own church community. She

simultaneously racialises the Catholic other as an 'outsider' in ways that assign sectarian value judgements about this essentialised identity. She achieves this through applying discourses which demonise the sexuality of Catholic women and girls.

This is about a gendered respectability politics that places a white Protestant middle-class femininity at the top of an intersectional hierarchy of belonging to the nation, in ways that are raced, gendered and classed. Catholic femininities, as Brook portrays them, can never fully belong while they are simultaneously depicted as both too pure and restrained and yet also too promiscuous or wild on account of their religion. This links to historical constructions of 'superior' white Protestant femininities that also reflect middle-class norms of gendered respectability (Davis, 1982; Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012; Tyler, 2011).

The construction of an ethnic or religious other, using double-standard sexualised demonologies, is by no means a new cultural, social or political phenomenon. Historically, this rhetoric has been employed as a means of racialising most images of the ethnic or religious 'other' (Gilman, 1991; Lewis, 1996; Lutz, 1991). Said (2003), for instance, demonstrates how those from the Orientalist cultural tradition have been racialised as the sexually 'exotic' people of the middle and Far East. While, at the more extreme end of the spectrum, Blee (2008) illustrates how the women's Ku Klux Klan 'grew from an underlying message in the symbol of white Protestant womanhood' which used 'gender and female sexual virtue as prime political symbols' (p.41).

Women are often the primary contributors in maintaining these gendered and religious respectability politics. They are rooted in patriarchal values and racialising strategies that have been employed across history.

'In different social and political contexts, the combination of sexuality and differential power relations manifests itself in a variety of ways. (...) The interplay of the power relations between women and men as well as those between masters and slaves, the colonizers and the colonized, the locals and 'the strangers' has tended to create some common scenarios that have been played out in more than one context [and to varying degrees]' (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 51).

These scenarios can also be reflected in seemingly innocuous ways. For instance, in cultures where demonised sexualities are mobilised, common literary themes often reflect this racialising pattern of boundary construction between different collectivities. This is highlighted by Brook's reference to the 'naughty' Catholic School girls in the St Trinian's movie. Yuval-Davis also shares similar examples in novels such as Doris Lessing's *The Grass is Singing* on Southern Africa, Amos Oz's *My Michael* on Israel and Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* on the USA (ibid.)

The idea of literary themes reflecting broader societal patterns of boundary construction, value orientations and standards of morality, also surfaced in one participant's biographical narrative. Tracy describes the judgement she faced as a Catholic school girl during her pregnancy in her teens.

I mean one teacher, an English teacher, suggested for my fifth-year personal reading that instead of picking a book of my choice she give me 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles'. Which if... if you know the story? Well it is about a young woman who sleeps wi' the wrong man. She's, she's ... I never read it, cos I read the first couple of chapters and I thought this is totally disgusting that she's gave me this. But it's about a young woman of the 'lower' class who sleeps with the wrong man, this powerful- kinda 'land-owner-y type' and gets pregnant and gets sent away. Because she is bad and dirty and horrible and yeah ... so you know? (Louder) That was the kinda things I got. I didn't get n'body shouting at me in the corridors or n'thin like that, it was all sly stuff.

Tracy's English teacher directs her towards *Tess of D'Urbervilles* for her personal reading while pregnant in Catholic high school. Combined with Brook's reference to the 'slutty' Catholic school girls of St Trinian's, these two examples highlight how media, popular culture and literature can also reflect prejudiced gendered and religious cultural norms. Tracy's recommended reading after getting pregnant and 'sent to the Nuns' is a judgement on her 'failed' Catholic, working-class femininity. As various feminist scholars have argued young working-class lone motherhood 'carries a whole range of vilified meanings associated with failed femininity' (McRobbie, 2008: 732; Tyler, 2008; 2011). Culturally, there is nothing particularly unique about these classed judgements towards girls who get pregnant as teenagers in Scotland (Ferguson, 2015). However, within the context of Tracy's Catholic school

environment she was made to feel not only had she transgressed the standards for culturally 'acceptable' norms concerning female sexual morality more generally; but that she had transgressed the religiously 'appropriate' norms on account of also being a young *Catholic* woman from a working-class background. Understood in the context of 'triple jeopardy', this draws attention to the intersectional ways in which Catholic identity is simultaneously raced, gendered and classed (King, 1988). In other words, there is something about the social meaning that is attached to being a Catholic woman or girl that adds an additional layer of judgement and scrutiny to their sexuality. Similar to Brook's discussion of the judgements she faced from within her own Presbyterian church community, this example shows how these judgements of Catholic female sexuality can also originate from within the community itself. Interestingly, Catherine, who also attended a Catholic school, perpetuates the stereotype of a 'failed' Catholic femininity. In doing so she 'self-racialises' using social class to distance herself from the religious collectivity to which she once belonged (Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012: 56). Once again, her narrative is clearly underpinned by a gendered and class-based respectability politics. This also subtly plays into the same essentialising discourse of a demonised Catholic female sexuality.

Catherine - My family is quite middle class. My Mum was always into education. (...) But for people I know [from Port Glasgow] they didn't really have any kind of focus on wanting to go into higher education. They married the boy next door, they had family, they stayed in the same area. (...) They didn't really want to break out from that. (...) There were some 'breakouts' as I call them! (...) But they were the ones that were probably the most encouraged and generally they came from good family backgrounds. So, you could see that clear distinction.

Researcher – Interesting! So, the girls you said who decided to stay there, why do you think that was?

Catherine – In all honesty, (tone goes up) I would say teenage pregnancy had a lot to do with it! (Laughs) And that sounds like such a cliché! But I remember when I was in [Catholic] high school, one of my really close friends, really smart girl, she actually wanted to be a doctor, mmm... and by pure, I guess you could call it misfortune, she fell pregnant at the age of fourteen and that was it. (...) I think that a lot of

females, certainly in my school, just felt that, "oh well we are just stuck here, so we might as well make the most of it" or you kind of just fell in love with a guy in your school and that was it, you were ready to settle down. (...) Maybe it was that their families didn't encourage that desire to go out into the bigger wide world.

Catherine portrays her friend as possessing a 'failed' working-class Catholic femininity that mobilises gendered and class-based respectability politics. As explored in Chapter six on the Catholic School marker, Catherine is 'dis-interpellating' from the Catholic identity of her childhood in an effort to make a claim for a secular, white, Scottish middle-class subjectivity in a process of 'unbecoming' Catholic (Bunch, 2013; Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012). Whether her claim is accepted by others remains to be seen. However, what this highlights is that the internal hierarchies of whiteness are fractured by race, gender, religion *and* social class.

In her research into transitions to motherhood in East London, for instance, Phoenix looks at how women are interpellated into racialised and gendered positionings in ways that also invoke social class (Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012: 57). In particular, she draws attention to one white mother who constructs her identity by asserting her difference from Bangladeshi mothers; generalising from one unfavourable example of a Bangladeshi mother not feeding her child properly. In doing so she 'racialised social class since the lack of career she criticises, and the suggestion that Bangladeshi women do not wait to have children, is at least partly related to social class and education' (p.56). Phoenix argued that this woman was self-racialising using social class to distance herself from the 'other' ethnic group, who also lived in Tower hamlets, by producing negatively evaluated differences between herself and the Bangladeshi community to feel more powerful and superior in terms of social class, gendered appropriateness and belonging to the nation (p.59-60). For Phoenix, multiple cross-cutting characteristics can be used to perform these 'racialised inclusions and exclusions from the nation' to create racialised hierarchies of belonging' and 'differential positioning in power relations' (ibid.)

In Catherine's case she is dis-interpellating from the Catholic collectivity to which she used to belong by self-racialising herself through making a claim for

a new and 'superior' white, Scottish, middle-class and non-Catholic subjectivity. This simultaneously racialises other Catholic women and girls using their lower social class status as an essentialised property of their inferior 'failed femininities'. Those Catholic women and girls who 'stay put' due to things such as teenage pregnancy are unfavourably compared to the superior 'breakouts' who, like herself, leave Inverclyde to pursue higher education and career opportunities (See Brah, 1996, 2012; Gedalof, 2012).

Similar stories of 'failed femininities' were also articulated by Angela and Alice who felt that the attitudes and behaviours of other members of their own collectivity stigmatised and/or subtly excluded them from full belonging. For Angela this was due to being a single mother while, for Alice this was on account of her having pursued a divorce from her former husband. Again, this is about their transgressing of the gendered cultural and religious norms of 'respectability' as *Catholic* women within the boundary of their own collectivity.

The earlier examples of a demonised Catholic female sexuality or 'failed femininity' came from outwith the Catholic community, while these later examples come from within the boundaries of the collectivity itself. Interestingly, Catholic participants in this study did not pass judgements about Protestant women and girls' sexuality in a demonised and essentialised manner. Although there was some evidence to suggest that Presbyterian girls may face similar expectations for gendered and classed respectability, these pressures and judgements only appeared to come from within their own church community. There was no evidence to suggest that Protestant women's sexuality was culturally and socially demonised in participants' narratives, film or literature.

In my pilot study, at Masters level, I found evidence to suggest that internal feminised judgements from female 'messengers' forced gendered expectations of respectability on other Catholic women. One participant claimed this pressure was motivated, not just by internal expectations, but by the fear of *outside* judgement. She stated that Catholic women who 'let the side down' gave non-Catholics 'an excuse (...) to attack you!' (Lindores and

Emejulu, 2017: 12). In other words, if one Catholic women or girl is seen to be disloyal by transgressing gendered religious norms of respectability, there was a concern that this would be interpreted by outsiders as an essentialised characteristic of the entire religious collectivity. Brook's discussion of the internal judgements she faced from within her own church community, for having transgressed the same norms, did not carry this additional burden of outsider scrutiny.

These examples illustrate how location, positionality and claims of belonging are complex, contingent and multi-faceted. They intersect with race, gender, class, religion and even place, so that boundaries can be as much internally fragmented as they are externally differentiated in opposition to the 'other' (Brah, 1996: 181). However, that the judgements, prejudices and stereotypes appeared to be primarily directed at Catholic women and girls tells us about the historical power dynamic between Protestant and Catholic identities. There is an additional layer of scrutiny placed on Catholic women and girls which did not seem to apply to female Protestant identities in the same way.

I have argued that this is explained by the historical construction of a racialised Catholic 'outsider' to the British nation (Virdee, 2014). It uses an intersectional raced, gendered and classed hierarchy to scrutinise the 'failed femininities' of Catholic women and girls who are believed to have transgressed gendered cultural and religious norms of 'respectability'. That the consequences of this no longer apply as systematically, at a structural and material level, does not negate the social and cultural experiences of feminised sectarianism directed toward Catholic women and girls in everyday private, familial and community spaces.

The next section explores prejudiced discourses racialising Catholic (and Muslim) 'outsiders' as '*wee baby factories*'. It is argued that these discourses appeared to discriminate at the micro-familial and institutional levels by undermining the *contraceptive agency and competence* of Catholic women.

9.3 The contraceptive 'incompetence' of Catholic women

Linked to these ideas of demonised sexualities is the popular cultural stereotype that Catholic families are much larger than average because they 'don't believe in contraception' (Brook).

Brook stated that,

'There's always like 20,000 kids in the Catholic family. There's always 20,000 kids because they don't believe in contraception... Like [Catholics] would all have eight kids and ask us [Protestants] why would you just have an only child, like that's the strangest thing ever! Well having eight kids, we are like, well you must have hunners of money and all that jazz...'

Another older Presbyterian participant, Molly, points out that,

'You'd think we were the Catholics by the way! I'm one of seven and [my husband's Catholic mother] only had two children. So, there were seven of us and we were Protestants! (Laughs ironically).'

Brook links Catholic women's 'overbreeding' with a classed respectability politics that places Protestant women in a superior position for making the 'right' choice over their fertility (my terms). Using an example from her own experience, Molly points out how these essentialised stereotypes - of large Catholic families and small Protestant families - rarely hold up to scrutiny. However, although taken from a small sample, it is important to note that large Protestant families such as hers did not appear to face the same stereotypes and judgements. This is particularly interesting given that the sample was also comprised of more Catholic than Protestant women. Once again, this tells us about the hierarchical power relationships between these religious collectivities and the subtle prejudices over who is seen to possess greater rights to reproduce the nation (Yuval-Davis, 1996).

This idea of a (middle-class) Protestant women making the 'right' choice over her fertility, in comparison with the 'wrong' choices of (working-class) Catholic women, must be considered alongside the historical and socio-political context in which the feminist birth control movement developed (Davis, 1982; Gordon, 1977; Soloway, 1995). Davis (1982) traces the movement, led by white middle-class women, to reveal the ways in which their demands for birth control

simultaneously popularised the idea that working class women, especially women of colour, 'had a moral obligation to restrict the size of their families' because of the 'drain' on public resources by larger working-class families. In this way racism and class bias became part of the movement so that 'what was demanded as a "right" for the privileged came to be interpreted as a "duty" for the poor' (p.121). In Britain, research into the contraceptive pill (Marie Stopes Centres in London) was arguably more about class and population control than 'race'; which played a more central role in Margaret Sanger's birth control clinics in New York. Nevertheless, it was similar eugenic interests that supported the research into the contraceptive pill on both sides of the Atlantic in efforts to curtail the reproduction of the 'stupidest' and most 'undesirable' members of society. There has always been a tension between this eugenic conservative agenda to control the genetically suspect poor from 'overbreeding' and the radical feminist birth control agenda which was originally intended as giving choice to *all* women (Soloway, 1995: 639).

Feminist scholars in the UK have looked at more recent narratives judging different women's reproductive 'choices' and the way they are more typically framed around issues of class and welfare (Evans, 2016; McKenzie, 2015; Tyler, 2013). So-called 'chav mums' are a demonised group whose 'failed femininity' coalesces around narratives of 'moral incompetence and greed, an unacceptable personal aesthetic and a more or less total rejection of the Protestant ethic' (Evans, 2016: 439; see also Weber, 2001). For Evans, respectability politics are now less about women's sexual activity and more about their ability to act as financially autonomous citizens whose every 'choice' is dictated by material calculation (p.449). However, the evidence here suggests that both material calculations and Catholic women and girls' sexual activity are used in an intersectional way - along the axes of gender, religion *and* class - to deny them the same rights or respect over their contraceptive agency, reproductive choices and competence.

Brook and Molly both convey popular stereotypes about large Catholic families that are deeply intertwined with gender and class. White, middle-class Protestant women are placed in a superior position. They are depicted as

having exercised competence over their use of contraception in ways that are linked to material calculations. These same 'choices' are indirectly denied to Catholic women, unless they have 'hundreds of money' to support themselves. Reactions to any potentially large working-class Protestant families is not scrutinised in the same way as large Catholic (or Muslim families) by participants (see below). The fact this gendered and classed respectability politics is linked to essentialised religious collectivities demonstrates the way in which Catholic femininity is, once again, specifically constructed as inferior and 'failed' in comparison with white, Protestant, middle-class women; the standard against which other femininities are judged. This provides further evidence of how the contingent intersectional hierarchy of white Scottish femininities can be discursively employed by women to reproduce racialised Catholic outsiders in everyday life; another example of feminised sectarianism in action.

Interestingly, these same stereotypes which focus on Catholic women's fecundity were also the focal point for Sylvia's reflections about her colleagues' assumptions, concerning the new Muslim 'others' in the community.

'It's still very much about [differences between] Christians but, you know, what's been interesting over the last few months with the new families coming in, the Syrian and Afghan families coming in. (...) It forces you then to think about traditions, particularly with the Afghan families. (...) They are what somebody in the team called them, wee baby factories, because there are about seven babies born in the last year. The young girl is just having lots of babies and even in the conversations around about whether they can even have birth control, I mean pain control, because they have a natural birth and don't have any involvement. Whereas we are like you take what you can get! (Laughs) The families are really not wanting that medical invasion type of thing.'

It was not uncommon for participants to make this sudden leap from talking about gendered intra-Christian sectarian 'differences', to comparisons with Muslim women and their more 'extreme' gendered cultural and religious norms and traditions. Although the next two chapters look, in more detail, at the attitudes towards these 'new others' in Inverclyde; Sylvia's example draws out some of the comparisons which were made between the 'old Catholic others'

and these 'newer' religious minorities, particularly where they intersect with gender and family values.

One possible explanation for this recurring pattern is that it served as a discursive defence strategy, whereby uncomfortable conversations about the gendered dynamics, embedded in the remnants of intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland, could be offset by constructing the more visibly different religious other as 'excessively backward' in comparison with the more 'modern' Western or Christian gendered cultural and religious traditions. As Sylvia states when it comes to 'pain control' – or even her Freudian slip regarding birth control – 'we' [white, Scottish, Christian] women 'take all we can get' in terms of modern medical 'invasion.'

Once again, these racialised judgements and stereotypes are about power and who has the right to belong or take up space and national resources. It still operates within the realm of a gendered and classed respectability politics, based on embedded cultural assumptions that white, Protestant, middle-class femininity is superior; the standard against which 'other' femininities are judged (hooks, 1992; Lewis, 1996; Lutz, 1991; Spelman, 1990).

A central tenet in Yuval-Davis' (1997) thesis on *Gender and Nation* is also situated within debates over women's struggle for their reproductive rights. She connects different women's 'choices' over their assigned biological role in 'reproducing' the nation with their different symbolic and socially constructed roles as the reproducers or 'carriers' of the ethnic collectivities traditions and culture. It could be argued that this idea of Catholic and Muslim women being 'wee baby factories' producing 'like 20,000 kids' is linked to underlying sentiments of a racist or sectarian 'threat'. This 'threat' of being 'rather swamped by people' with the different 'traditions' to which Sylvia refers or the different 'family values' to which Alice refers has similarities with racialised Conservative rhetoric also employed throughout history by various members of the political elite (see Bourne, 2013; The Observer, 2008). The concern is that these discourses have been normalised into everyday narrative negotiations. They reproduce the subjective boundaries that inferiorise

Catholic (and Muslim) women using an essentialised and stereotyped view of the fecundity of these different ethnic and religious collectivities in ways that construct them as racialised outsiders to the nation.

Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that informal pressures on women's reproductive decisions, are often foregrounded in the name of 'custom and tradition' when the larger political issue is actually the ethnic or religious collectivities power and having the 'right' number of the 'right' type of people in the nation; the so-called 'people as power discourse' (p.22). She discusses how policies of population control, women's reproductive rights, and the way they can be controlled at these different levels of society, have been used in a range of ways to manipulate the population make-up at various historical moments. For instance, women in Northern Ireland are still subject to a near total ban on aborting 'future defenders of the nation' perhaps, in part, due to concerns that Catholics will soon outnumber their Protestant counter-parts with potential consequences for the balance of power influencing democratic decisions over Northern Ireland's constitutional position (Burns, 2012; Lennon, 1995; McGregor and McKee, 2016; Yuval-Davis, 1997: 30).

Similarly, in Kundnani's (2015) critique of the discourses surrounding Islamophobia in his book *The Muslims are Coming!*, he draws attention to how public discourses have popularised an obsession with Muslim women's higher 'replacement rate' of reproduction compared to the much lower birth rates of women of western Europe (p.112). Amis (2013) also claims that,

'Europe's valuing of women's autonomy in sexual reproduction hampers the continent in its "demographic war" against immigrants from Muslim countries because women choose to have fewer children' (Kundnani, 2015: 112).

Amis' far-right political view of women's reproductive rights is clearly rooted in patriarchal ideas about traditional gender roles that see childbirth as women's primary responsibility to the nation. However, crucially it is also overlaid with racialised ideologies that seek to encourage white European women to reproduce while simultaneously discouraging those (Muslim women) who are

seen as 'undesirable', contaminating the national stock and not part of 'the nation' (Yuval-Davis, 1996; 1997).

These racist and sectarian discourses of female religious others' as 'wee baby factories' with '20,000 kids' are examples of feminised sectarianism and Islamophobia in action. They link to the people as power discourse and represent informal social pressures that are exerted, often by women, on other women regarding their reproductive choices. They serve to inferiorise, oppress, marginalise or exclude the perceived cultural and religious gendered norms of 'unwelcome others' in Scotland. However, while they may appear to foreground 'custom and tradition' the larger political issue is the underlying expression of concern for the ethnic or religious collectivities power. The fact that large Catholic and Muslim families were the focus of these prejudiced discourses and not white Protestant women speaks to ideas about 'imagined' rights of belonging to the nation (Kyriakides et al., 2009; Virdee, 2017; Virdee et al., 2006).

What makes this data so intriguing is that Scotland, or Western Europe more broadly, is associated with modernity, Enlightenment and the triumph of science over religion. This is often symbolised by progress in women's rights in areas such as reproductive choices and gender equality. However, in this corner of Scotland – a nation in which religion is presumed to be dead and women's fight for equality long past the 'unmodern' issues presented in this chapter – there is evidence to suggest that gendered religious and cultural norms can still sometimes form the basis of intra-Christian judgements, prejudices and stereotypes, in a *feminised culture of sectarianism*. Certain women may scrutinise Catholic women's reproductive 'choices' and sexuality in the name of a raced and classed respectability politics of competing intersectional femininities.

While these examples focused on *prejudices* and the narrative reproduction of racialised boundaries in feminised sectarianism; I now turn to look at the ways in which these prejudices also appeared to underpin *discriminatory* actions and

behaviours which undermined the contraceptive agency and competence of Catholic women at the micro-social and institutional levels.

Once again, these experiences related to Catholic female sexuality and reproductive rights as in previous sections. Taken together these prejudiced discourses and discriminatory actions and behaviours, in micro-social and institutional spaces, add weight to the developing picture of feminised sectarianism. It can run, not just 'down the generations of masculine culture', but also, apparently, down *feminine culture* in ways that could also contribute to the reproduction of this 'cobweb' of sectarianism in Scotland (Goodall, Hopkins, et al., 2015; Goodall, McKerrell, et al., 2015).

In the first example, Alice's boyfriend's Aunt is seen to scrutinise and pressurise her into using contraception based on the Aunt's negative assumptions about Catholic women's 'rejection' of contraception (my term). The second example concerns assumptions and stereotypes that also serve to undermine the agency and competence of young Catholic women in the domain of family planning. This example is set within the institutional space of family planning and maternal health care.

In both instances what is most striking is that the experiences described by and about white Catholic women has some similarities with the experiences of women of colour from more visible ethnic and religious minority groups with which these types of 'backward' and 'unmodern' issues are more typically associated.

9.4 Micro-aggressions in private and institutional spaces

Alice shared her experience of a Protestant boyfriend's Aunt questioning her on their use of contraception while they were dating. She believes this scenario was based on the Aunt's presumptions about her 'contraceptive incompetence' as a Catholic woman (my term).

'And then I had a boyfriend whose family were Protestant but not, they were very culturally Protestant, they didn't go to church or anything. And

then we went to his Auntie's house to visit cos I'd never met them, and he was away getting his hair cut and I was left in the house. And she gave me a box of condoms and was asking me about my religious background and everything like that and would that be ok? And I was like totally not ok, but not getting it. I knew she was getting at something at the time but really didn't have any perspective. I felt upset and kind of interrogated and stuff, but it wasn't until later and speaking to other people about it that I realised that it was because I was a Catholic and that there was a, you know, this was her presumption about all of that. But it was like, oh ok, more just being upset about how inappropriate it was but not really getting that there was an element of that, that it was about religion at the time.'

Alice implies that she later realised that her boyfriend's 'Protestant' Aunt's actions were motivated by an underlying assumption that as a Catholic woman she wouldn't use contraception. Alice sees this incident as related to sectarianism and specifically to the ways in which women face prejudices and bigotry about their contraceptive choices based on judgements and stereotypes about the 'religious other'.

Alice also shared that she had her daughter, as a young single mother from a Catholic background and that people were often surprised that she had 'really liberal views' on contraception and abortion which are in direct opposition to the position of the Catholic Church. She reflects on the institutional prejudices of medical practitioners that she and other Catholic female friends experienced in relation to their family planning decisions.

'And on issues like abortion [my friends] know my very liberal views on things like that – but they would almost expect you to be able to make some sort of commentary on the Catholic Church position even though that might not be my position. Like as if you are making a statement by not following the party line or something like that. And I'm like that's not how it works for everybody I'm afraid. (...) A hugely gendered thing that I've experienced myself, as a really young Mum, is about pro-life, pro-choice. And that is so specifically in the women's domain in relation to sectarianism. I know of very, very recent examples of friends of mine and their family planning choices having experienced what you could not have really any struggle in describing as sectarianism when engaging with doctors or nurses or people that are from the clinics. That is definitely a location where you will experience judgement of one kind, or another based on your religious background or the choices that you are making. (...) I definitely experienced that. People completely assume that the reason that I had my wee girl even though I was really

young is because I am a Catholic. There's no question about it, it wouldn't have happened otherwise which just isn't the case.'

Alice understands these experiences of religious presumptions and judgements, surrounding the family planning choices of different Catholic women, as examples of sectarianism. The micro-aggressions that she describes here are consistent with the experiences reported in the research on the racialised interactions between religious minority women and medical practitioners in the UK and US that typically focus on women of colour from non-Christian faiths (Almond and Lathlean, 2011; Bawadi, 2009; Bulman and Mccourt, 2002; Cross-Sudworth, 2007; Davies and Bath, 2001; Digirolamo et al., 2003; Thomas, 2018; Weisse et al., 2001).

This literature outlines the implicit bias, and at times direct discrimination, of medical practitioners in maternity care and services which led to culturally insensitive and misinformed decision-making due to their erroneous or essentialised cultural and religious stereotypes about women from religious minorities. When interviewed, different women from these minority groups all shared the same experience of having their agency, choices and competence undermined by the majority white health practitioners. In research conducted by the *London Maternity Alliance* (2004) for instance, Muslim women using maternity services explained that the *'discrimination was often subtle (...) such as staff responding to women's questions or requests in a rigid and inappropriate manner.'* Examples included; information being withheld regarding their treatment options, their consent not being sought for other medical staff to be present during their medical examinations, inappropriate pressurising into using contraception and staff belittling their health concerns by accusing them of exaggerating, wasting time, over-using services or even becoming pregnant simply to 'get more money from the State' (pp.19–24). The different Muslim women who were interviewed believed that the discriminatory treatment they faced, when accessing family planning and maternity services, stemmed from practitioners' lack of understanding or desire to ask them what their religion meant in terms of their choices over their maternity care.

This is not to suggest that Muslim women's experience of prejudice and discrimination over their reproductive health is directly comparable to the experiences of white minority ethnic and religious women in the UK. However, what is striking is how religion is still seen, by Alice, to be something that structures white Catholic women's experiences of family planning and maternity care. The literature and popular perceptions would likely suggest that being bound by 'unmodern' religious traditions in relation to maternity care and women's family planning choices is typically ascribed to women of colour from non-Christian religious minority groups. However, Alice's own experiences as a young single Catholic mother (and those of her Catholic friends) who also recently accessed services relating to their '*family planning choices*' are very similar to the experiences of different Muslim women in the UK as outlined above. Alice describes this type of feminised sectarianism as '*judgement of one kind or another based on your religious background or the choices that you are making*' and the feeling that her competence and agency were judged on account of her religious background as Catholic; they thought that '*the reason that I had my wee girl even though I was really young is because I am a Catholic.*'

It is important to place Alice's experiences within the broader context of this chapter. Her experiences of sectarian micro-aggression are linked to the popular stereotypes which demonise the sexualities of Catholic women and girls as well as to the historical racialised fears over their fecundity. It has been argued that these sectarianised discourses operate on a contingent intersectional hierarchy that places white, middle-class Protestant femininity at the pinnacle. Catholic (and Muslim) women who do not display the desirable qualities of female 'respectability' through financial autonomy and exercising 'appropriate' controls over their fertility, based on material calculations, appear to be more harshly judged for their '*contraceptive incompetence*'.

The point is not to 'prove' sectarian discrimination on the part of the health professional. Nor is it to 'prove' that the Aunt's informal social pressures on Alice are solely motivated by bigoted assumptions. The point is to understand how Catholic women's continued interactions in these everyday spaces

appear to repeatedly undermine their agency and competence in making choices over their sexuality and reproductive health in ways that are not entirely dissimilar from the well-documented experiences of non-White and non-Christian minority ethnic women. This feeling of being judged as 'incompetent' with contraceptive choices should not be divorced from the racialised narratives that demonise Catholic women's sexuality or essentialise and stereotype their fecundity in ways that are simultaneously raced, gendered and classed. There is a broader social and historical context to these unequal power relationships whereby certain women are seen to be more rightful citizens worthy of respect, acceptance and inclusion in constructions of the imagined nation, while others are more harshly scrutinised and positioned as outsiders.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how racialised discourses construct a contradictory demonised sexuality associated with Catholic women and girls. They are being both too 'pure' and too 'wild'. It illustrates how their sexual activity and contraceptive or reproductive choices are held to higher standards of scrutiny from both within and outwith their church communities. It highlights the ways in which Catholic women and girls who are perceived as having transgressed gendered cultural and religious norms of 'respectability' are constructed as having a 'failed femininity'. This stands in contrast to a white, middle-class Protestant femininity which is portrayed as superior, more respectable and making the 'right' choices over fertility. It has been argued that feminised sectarianism is about mobilising these gendered and classed respectability politics to racialise Catholic women and girls as outsiders to the nation. This is achieved through undermining the contraceptive agency and competence of Catholic women and girls in everyday private and institutional spaces.

These prejudiced and popularised stereotypes about Catholic women and girl's sexuality and fecundity coupled with the corresponding discriminatory actions and behaviours towards their reproductive choices are well known

systems of discrimination that have the potential to influence health inequalities for Catholic women in terms of their family planning care. Although this is beyond the scope of this study, these findings highlight an important avenue for future research into the provision of maternal health and family planning services to Catholic and Muslim women and girls that seeks to investigate the links between popular prejudices and stereotypes and the potential impact this may have on unequal health outcomes at a structural level.

Chapter 10 Muslims: the ‘new’ racialised outsider?

The previous chapter looked at feminised intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland. It argued that Catholic women could, at times, still be constructed as racialised outsiders to the nation on account of their ‘failed’, ‘inferior’ or demonised femininities. This chapter builds on these foundations to emphasise the shifting nature of historical constructions of racialised belonging; moving the focus from racialised Catholic outsiders to the ‘new’ Muslim outsider.

This chapter explores participants’ emotional reactions through their use of culturalist discourses which served to construct Muslims as the ‘new’ racialised outsiders to the Scottish nation. It reveals white Christian participants’ feelings of discomfort, ignorance and lack of interest towards diversity; to more extreme articulations of fear, anxiety and sheer panic. Manifestations of these racist feelings and articulations included; the perception of an increased terrorist threat due to the presence of a small number of Muslims in the local community; a discursively violent reaction to the removal of pork from school meals, a fallacious belief that Christian schools were being taken over by Muslims, and discriminatory attitudes towards Muslim refugees and asylum seekers who were seen to be getting preferential treatment in access to social welfare. Each of these will be explored in detail below.

However, firstly, it is important to look at recent demographic trends in Inverclyde so that the claims made by participants concerning the ‘new’ others can be placed in context. As such, a recurring theme was the mismatch between perceptions of the presence of ‘new others’ and the actual numbers of other ethnic and religious minority groups. This suggested that participants’ perceptions were heavily informed by racist media portrayals of Muslims.

10.1 Demography

Inverclyde is one of the council areas in Scotland with the smallest populations, estimated at 79,500 in 2015 (National Records of Scotland, 2017). It also experienced the smallest numerical increase in the non-UK born population

between 2001 and 2011, and the lowest increase in the population share of foreign-born residents of all Scottish council areas. The non-UK born population grew by just 72 residents (a 3.5% increase between 2001 and 2011), while the population share of foreign-born residents increased from 2.2% in 2001 to 2.5% in 2011. In comparison, the largest numerical increase in the non-UK born population between 2001 and 2011 took place in Glasgow with 39,917 additional residents; representing an increase of 122%. In Glasgow, the foreign-born share of residents also increased by 116% from 5.7% in 2001 to 12.3% in 2011 (Migration Observatory, 2013). Similarly, just 0.6% of residents have a Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim or Sikh religion in Inverclyde combined, compared to 7.2% in Glasgow, 4.4% in Edinburgh and 2.3% in Scotland as a whole.

As one participant commented,

There is just nae infrastructure for any other religions other than Christianity. (...) There's nae mosque, nae Synagogue. It's a terrible thing to say, but it's still the case in Inverclyde if you were going round town and you see someone who's no white that's unusual. We don't have other colours (laughs) and we don't have other religions! It's very parochial, that's probably the right word for Inverclyde! (Tracy)

Here Tracy comments on the lack of diversity in Inverclyde while laughing and using the word 'parochial'. This suggests that she sees multiculturalism as a normative social good and something that is lacking from Inverclyde. However, there *are* some other ethnic and religious minority groups living in Inverclyde. This suggests that she may be comparing Inverclyde to other more urban areas such as Glasgow where she works on occasion.

Inverclyde also has the highest proportion of residents identifying as Catholic of all Scottish council areas; 37% (Catholic) compared to 33% (Church of Scotland). It is also one of only four council areas in Scotland where the proportion of Catholic residents is higher than the proportion who are Church of Scotland. In all the remaining 28 council areas in Scotland, the proportion of residents who identify as Church of Scotland is higher than the proportion who are Catholic (Census, 2011); see also methodology chapter four.

Again, these statistics on the high proportion of Christian, particularly Catholic residents, in Inverclyde support participants' narratives. Although some, such as Sylvia, also reflected on how things have started to change.

When we were growing up there wasn't [any other religions]. (...) I suppose we have been quite closeted here in Inverclyde. We are a tight-knit community and we've not really had a lot of people incoming. (...) Well, except, there are more Asian people here now and I know there are a lot of people who go up and down to the Temple and the Mosque but that didn't happen when I was growing up. (...) They go up there quite regularly. They have to travel up to Glasgow. Especially for a wedding cos they always have absolutely gorgeous dresses. (...) Hm, but other than that [other religions] weren't very apparent growing up. You were either one or the other, [Protestant or Catholic]. There wasn't a third or fourth choice (Sylvia).

Here Sylvia sees things from a different perspective. Her comparison for diversity is made with when she was younger so, unlike Tracy, she believes that there are actually more people from non-Christian religious backgrounds now. Her references to it being a 'tight-knit community' before mentioning 'a lot of people incoming' suggests she sees diversity as something which may potentially cause the community to fracture. However, she does seem concerned that Asian people living in Inverclyde have no Temple or Mosque and must travel to Glasgow. Her focus on their dresses suggests she sees this 'new' vibrancy and diversity as a normative good; but that perhaps there is a conflict between her belief that multiculturalism is positive, and the reality of integrating and accommodating this greater diversity in practice, given her focus on the lack of infrastructure for those who are not Christian. This is something explored in greater detail in this chapter.

Sylvia also seems to classify Asian people as one category, suggesting that she might overlook the diversity of the different ethnic and religious collectivities that this encompasses. The largest non-white ethnic groups in Inverclyde are Indian (256 individuals) and Chinese (196 individuals); only 3% of whom are Muslim. Yet, Muslims were the group that elicited the most extreme emotional reactions in discussions of 'religious difference'. In total, across all ethnic groups, there are just 197 individuals who identify as Muslim; making up 0.24% of the total population, a majority of whom are Pakistani

(69%). This compares to 5.4% of the population in Glasgow who are Muslim (32117 individuals), 3.3% in East Renfrewshire (3002 individuals) and 2.6% in Edinburgh (12434). The proportion of Muslim residents across Scotland is 1%; 76,737 individuals in total (Census, 2011). Since this last census, Inverclyde has also resettled twelve Afghan families and six Syrian families under the *Refugee Resettlement Scheme* (Inverclyde Council, 2016a, 2016b). Despite the two largest non-white ethnic groups in Inverclyde coming from a wide range of faith backgrounds, Muslims were singled out and constructed as the racialised outsiders who caused the greatest concern; of the Indian residents 31.6% are Hindu, 30.9% Sikh, 25% Christian and just 3% Muslim, while of the Chinese residents the majority had no religion (53.6%), were Christian (11.7%) or Buddhist (9.2%).

These statistics help to contextualise the analysis and discussion of participants' narratives which follow. Several key points can be drawn from the statistics, against which participants' claims can be analysed. Firstly that, proportionally, Inverclyde is one of the least ethnically and religiously diverse council areas in Scotland; secondly, that it is the 'whitest', most Christian and with the highest proportion of Catholic residents of all council areas and yet, thirdly, despite its two largest non-white groups being Indian and Chinese (the majority of whom are not Muslim); it was Muslims who participants focused on as causing the greatest concern in discussions of religious difference.

Consequently, this chapter argues that the findings presented below are symptomatic of a widespread problem of Islamophobia in Scotland, and that it is reflective of a broader moral panic about Muslims in the West. Interviews took place in the run up to the Brexit Referendum (between February and August 2016 with the vote on 23rd June 2016); a time when Muslims in Britain were being used as scapegoats by politicians, the press and organisations on the far-right to symbolise all that was wrong with Britain and its allegedly open door migration policy under the EU. For more information, see the critical discourse analysis of a range of ultra-nationalist media sources portraying the views of the Leave Campaign during the Brexit Referendum (Valdés-Miyares J. Rubén, 2017).

10.2 Multiculturalism – a normative good?

In this first section I will look specifically at the tension between multiculturalism as a normative political ‘good’ and the conflicting prejudiced feelings towards Muslim ‘outsiders’ (which included discomfort, a sense of loss and disinterest) that played out in everyday social interactions across lines of religious ‘difference’. It is argued that these participant narratives are a ‘microcosm of a widespread problem’, reflected in wider societal debates and moral panics over how best to integrate ethnic and religious minorities (particularly Muslims) living in contemporary Britain (Kundnani, 2015: 235).

10.2.1 *I actually find it strange to say hello to a Muslim!*

Initially participants’ present multiculturalism as a normative good; something to be proud of and celebrate. However, they also reveal their everyday struggles to negotiate these ‘differences’, particularly within the context of schools. When asked about her experience of ‘other religions’ growing up, Angela reflects on the ‘change’ by referring to one Muslim boy in her son’s Catholic primary school.

I probably, maybe was, [aware of other religions growing up] but not so much. None that I really was aware of, not when I was at school anyway. Whereas now it’s, aye, it’s completely different... (quickly) which I find really good and enlightening and wonderful (pauses). But no, I don’t really remember having different religions within my school. I mean, I’m actually in awe now. My son, as I say, he goes to a Roman Catholic school. Well, they cannae call it a Roman Catholic school as such now, cos there is people from SO many different [religious] backgrounds in his school ... (pauses) but I love it. But then I actually find it sometimes strange to say hello to somebody that’s a Muslim (laughs). And it’s not from a racist point of view or anything. It’s just this wee boy goes to the same school as my wee boy. This wouldn’t have happened years ago and it’s ... (pauses) well, this is fantastic!

Here Angela appears to be struggling to come to terms with the presence of non-Catholic religious minorities in her son’s primary school. Her comment that you ‘can’t really call it a Catholic school anymore’ suggests that she feels the Catholic identity of the school is fragile, that something has been lost since the inclusion of children from ‘SO many different [religious] backgrounds’ (her

emphasis). She is also quick to defend against any charges of racism; making several references to the fact she finds this more multicultural environment 'good', 'enlightening', 'wonderful' and 'fantastic'. This reveals the conflict she feels between multiculturalism as a normative 'good' and her own personal feeling that it is 'strange to say hello to somebody that's a Muslim.' This not only reveals her lack of meaningful social interaction with anyone of 'difference' but it is also reflective of broader societal debates over the tension between multiculturalism as a normative good and concerns over how best to integrate minority groups in Britain; not just as an elite-led political project but also in these everyday spaces such as at the school gates.

As Meer (2010) explains,

'When most people say that multiculturalism is a good thing, they mean the experience of living in a society that is less insular, less homogenous, more vibrant and cosmopolitan than before. [But we need to] separate the idea of diversity as lived experience from that of multiculturalism as a political process' (p.28).

Meer's distinction between the normative ideology of a multicultural 'good' and the realities of actual lived experiences of diversity help to explain these tensions in Angela's narrative. It could also be argued she feels obliged to believe in multiculturalism as a normative good, yet her own experience of negotiating that diversity is at odds with these 'feeling rules'. Hochschild's (2016) term 'feeling rules' - the emotions that people believe they are meant to have towards a range of political issues - is a useful concept for characterising Angela's surface level appreciation of multiculturalism versus her own complex (and at times racist) feelings of fear and mistrust towards Muslims and other 'people of difference' (p.15).

In Kirkham's (2016) research, similar discursive tensions between the 'feeling rules' and lived experiences were revealed as pupils attempted to negotiate the everyday realities of ethnic diversity in their multi-cultural secondary school. The school actively marketed its diversity as a key selling point to parents and pupils; claiming that it was 'more representative of society' and allowed its students to become 'tolerant' and 'understanding' of 'other cultures'

(p.385). Kirkham found that this narrative was also reflected in the interviews with pupils who were said to construct 'multiculturalism-as-a-beneficial commodity' in their discourses. He argued that students used these discursive strategies to negotiate race and ethnicity in ways that ultimately denied racism at the school despite evidence to the contrary.

'Everybody in the school claimed to have witnessed racism, yet most students also maintained that the school was a multicultural haven where everyone generally gets along. Managing this tension was most commonly achieved through denial of racism discourse strategies (...) which are used to construct the image of a 'cosmopolitan canopy' in which everybody consents to shared values...' (ibid: 394)

What is striking about Angela's discursive strategy is the tension between wanting to feel that multiculturalism is a normative good, and actually feeling discomfort when faced with religious difference in superficial everyday social interactions. At first, 'multiculturalism' is a commodity she uses to 'sell' the benefits of her son's school before later admitting her feelings of 'finding it strange to say hello to a Muslim'. Her earlier 'selling' of multiculturalism as 'enlightening' and 'wonderful' is used as a discursive strategy to deny potential charges of coming from a 'racist point of view', like the pupils in Kirkham's research.

10.2.2 I'll teach him some people don't celebrate Christmas

Linda reveals similar tensions, also situated within the context of education. In particular, she shares her future strategies to teach her son about interacting with non-Christian religious minorities. Her narrative mixes up different religions, nationalities, festivals and languages; again, demonstrating her lack of meaningful social interaction with 'people of difference'.

I think they were all the same [religion when I was at school] but there was somebody in my sister's year who was Pakistani. They celebrated all the Diwali and all that, or whatever you call it, where they fast and all. So, I don't know how they managed that in school at lunchtime where everybody else is eating and they are not eating and having to wait until he got home. Maybe now there would be more cos you've got all the Polish children and stuff coming in. I think they are celebrating these festivals now in schools as well. Not so much celebrating but learning. Cos, I know when I was doing my college courses ... (tails off)

The other girls in my course were saying that they were doing more [multicultural education activities at the college nursery] cos there was a little one that was Polish and Jewish and then they were doing Farso [Farsi] cos there was Urdu and that. So, at the college nursery I think they are really mixed, and a few other ones are really mixed too. But the ones that I've been to didn't seem really all that mixed. I know it sounds silly, but from skin colour, I mean you can see they are all white, the children were all white, so I just assume they are all Christian or Catholic, or maybe just atheist or whatever. But they did learn at schools and stuff, they are doing a broader spectrum [of religions]. I mean, when I was at school, in High school, we did have RE [religious education] but the teacher didn't really teach much. Well, they did teach Buddhism and all that, but he found a way of watching Simpsons every week. So, we were 'learning' about Apu's religion, and we were learning about Krusty the clown's religion, cos he's Jewish. But when my son is older, I'm going to teach him that some people don't celebrate Christmas. So, some people don't get a present from Santa. Just so he's not going back to other people and saying oh I got all this off of Santa and they are like, oh I never got anything off Santa. Just to make him aware of not being too showy-offy.

Linda is a working-class woman who was a member of the Junior Orange Lodge growing up. Although she now identifies as having 'no religion' she was one of the few participants to select a British rather than a Scottish identity. Her assumption that white equals Christian essentialises diverse ethnic and religious collectivities into one homogenous racialised group. She singles out Polish children (a majority of whom are likely to be both white and Catholic) as part of what she perceives to be a 'new' multiculturalism in Inverclyde, compared to when she was a child. She also distinguishes between Christians and Catholics indicating that she views them as constituting separate religious collectivities; albeit both subsumed within her constructions of whiteness. This reveals the intersectional hierarchies that she uses to differentially racialise these religious collectivities. Her narrative clearly reveals the ethno-centric lens through which she views the world; a world which she divides into Christian (of which the 'best' form is non-Catholic) and everyone else who she categorises into a homogenous non-White collectivity, who are deprived of celebrating Christmas due to their non-Christian status. This racist reading and misrecognition of diverse ethnic and religious groups has parallels with similar research conducted by Hopkins et al. (2017) with over 200 young people

across Scotland. They found that Sikhs, Hindus, Black and Caribbean young people were regularly mistaken for being Muslim and targets of Islamophobia as a result.

Linda claims that she wants to teach her son about these non-Christian 'others' by discouraging him from 'showing off' his Christmas presents, presumably to demonstrate respect and tolerance towards the Muslim, Hindu and Jewish children, whom she indirectly references through a disrespectful collapsing of these diverse ethnic and religious categories. For instance, her collapsing of Hindu's Diwali festival of light and Muslim's Ramadan period of fasting is dismissed using words like 'and all that or whatever you call it'. She also jumps from collapsing together Polish and Jewish children, to mentioning Farsi (spoken in Western Iran a majority of whom are Shia Muslim) and Urdu (the official language of Pakistan a majority of whom are Sunni Muslim); before finally referencing Buddhism and Apu from the Simpsons (who incidentally is depicted as Hindu rather than Buddhist and often portrayed as a terrorist) and Krusty the clown who is depicted as Jewish.

Knowledge of Linda's own biography - her struggles with a cycle of domestic abuse, poverty and unemployment - caused an initial reticence to bluntly characterise her ignorance as evidence of her racist views. It was clear that her views, and many others, were essentialising diverse ethnic and religious collectivities in racist ways; but simply stating this seemed to serve little purpose in terms of offering recommendations to challenge these attitudes going forward. Searching for an explanation that simultaneously recognised her own disadvantage and marginalisation, while also calling out her relative privileges and prejudices led to the work of DiAngelo.

DiAngelo (2012) is both an academic and a community educator engaged in anti-racist practice in the United States. She uses the concept of white fragility to describe a scenario when,

'White people [in certain geographical locations] live in a social environment that protects and insulates them from race-based stress. This insulated environment of racial protection builds white expectations for racial comfort while at the same time lowering the ability to tolerate

racial stress. White fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves' (DiAngelo, 2012: 54).

She acknowledges the difficulties in challenging the racist attitudes of white working-class people because they are simultaneously experiencing class disadvantage; yet their 'whiteness' still confers privilege relative to people of colour. Whiteness can be defined in different ways (see Meer, 2014:152–157) but in this context is perhaps best understood as a privileged social location or standpoint; 'a place from which white people look at ourselves, at others and at society' and a set of processes and cultural practices that are usually unmarked and often presumed to be shared by all, but which are only consistently afforded to whites (DiAngelo, 2012: 1). Linda is in the 'privileged' position of making judgements on the non-Christian groups she scrutinises despite her relative class disadvantages. Her own religious preference for celebrating Christmas is unmarked and unscrutinised, reflective of normative whiteness and cultural Christianity in Scotland. In contrast, recognition of other religious festivals such as Muslim's Ramadan is described as something to be 'managed' by schools rather than an automatic right. Whiteness is therefore about this privileged social location rather than an issue of skin colour. Linda's class disadvantage does not cancel out her racial privilege using this lens.

Moreover, whiteness is 'not simply constituted in relation to blackness (...) but it is also fashioned through and against other versions of whiteness' (Nayak, 2003a: 320). It is also a way of constructing the 'internal boundaries of whiteness' so that some (such as Irish Catholics or Polish people living in Scotland) are 'banished to the intermediate zone' between white Protestantism - which Linda places at the top - and people of colour from non-Christian faiths who she essentialises into one homogenous group and places at the bottom of this 'contingent hierarchy' (Garner, 2006).

The fact that Inverclyde is one of the whitest, most Christian and least diverse of all council areas in Scotland - with only 124 individuals from non-Christian faiths (see above) - means that it is a geographical area of 'white racial insulation.' In such areas, feelings of 'white fragility' are more salient due to the

inability of the white majorities to tolerate what DiAngelo refers to as 'racial stress'. This racial stress occurs when there is an interruption to what is 'racially familiar.' (p.55) This can include things such as the multicultural education that Linda describes in nurseries and information about other racial, ethnic or religious minority groups where they are asserting their rights to cultural and religious expression in everyday life; as seen in Linda's reference to 'managing' Ramadan. These 'triggers' of 'racial stress' are 'challenges' to the centrality of whiteness (p.57). Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' DiAngelo argues that white socialised subjectivities, in areas with few visible 'others', have not 'had to build the cognitive or affective skills to allow for constructive engagement across racial divides' (ibid). Linda and Angela's lack of meaningful social relationships with people of 'difference' means that even the smallest 'confrontation' with religious 'others' is perceived as a threat or something to fear. Angela, for instance, interprets the presence of one Muslim boy in her son's school as a threat to its Catholic identity and later even to his safety. Their narratives suggested they felt they *should* have positive emotions towards what they perceived as multiculturalism in Inverclyde, that they *should* see this new diversity as 'good', 'enlightening' and 'fantastic' and that children *should* learn about other cultures and religions in school. However, 'the deep story' of what they *appeared* to feel, as the interviews progressed, was a mixture of fragility, fear, threat and disinterest. Angela later admits she is '*absolutely petrified (...) with an absolute fear for my child and a fear for my life*' at the presence of what appears to be just one Muslim family at the school gates. She also finds it 'strange to say hello' to them and worries about the fragility of the school's Christian identity being under threat at the presence of 'so many different [religious] backgrounds'. Similarly, Linda wants to share her intention to teach her son multicultural values by not showing off his Christmas presents. However, the *deep story* of what she *appears* to feel is displayed through a dismissive, ill-informed and lack of interest towards diverse religious collectivities, which she essentialises into homogenous groupings. Linda and Angela's reactions are evidence of racial prejudice. Prejudice is not just about hate but it can also be emotions of fear, mistrust, disgust, discomfort or even

a lack of interest in learning about the diversity of other religious collectivities as seen in these participants' narratives (Allport, 1979; DiAngelo, 2012: 30–36; Thompson, 2003).

Moreover, the fact that Inverclyde is 'racially insulated' - as one of the least diverse council areas in Scotland - means that their prejudiced feelings towards what they perceive as 'so many different [religious] backgrounds' (Angela) is disproportional to the actual number of minority ethnic and religious people in the community. Therefore, their racist feelings and reactions are more reflective of the wider societal moral panic about immigration; 'a microcosm of a widespread problem' in attitudes towards Muslims in particular (Kundnani, 2015: 235). Linda's dismissive references to diverse ethnic and religious groups coupled with her comment about Christmas certainly fits with this broader contemporary political landscape (see literature review).

10.3 Muslim 'terrorists', pork and schools

The deep story of participants prejudiced feelings towards 'new others' extended beyond these examples of discomfort, a sense of cultural fragility and lack of interest in 'outsiders'. The most striking emotional reactions to religious difference, particularly in relation to Muslims living in the local community, were extreme feelings of sheer panic, anxiety and fear. This was discussed in relation to three interlocking issues which demonstrate the mainstreaming of a *culturalist discourse* of Islamophobia; perceptions of a terrorist threat, strong reactions to dietary preferences relating to Pork and fear of Catholic school being taken over by Muslims (see Kundnani, 2015).

10.3.1 I'm terrified! I'm absolutely petrified!

Clare, an evangelical Protestant, referred to 'the fear factor' about 'the Muslim thing' stressing her view that,

*There's only a section of them that are militant, you know, out to get...
But the average person is probably just trying to live their everyday life
as best they can (laughs gently) with the faith that they have.*

Similarly, in a later discussion with Angela, she lets go of her initial attempts to appear comfortable with multiculturalism as a normative 'good' and admits deeper feelings of fear, mistrust and anxiety about Muslims living nearby.

It's like [the news] is teaching me to fear... Whereas, I'm going to school every morning and I'm seeing this lovely [Muslim] man and this lovely [Muslim] woman who are just taking their child to school, and it's a total chalk and cheese from what I see in the media. (...) And well, I think that now with everything, again its media, but the whole thing with the ISIS and ... I mean, I'll be honest with you here, see the whole kind of Muslim community ... (pauses) Well, I don't know, personally, any Muslims or different religions as such, so I guess I don't know a lot about it, but all I know is this ... I'm terrified! I'm absolutely petrified! And it's terrible to say this, but I'm watching my son go into school and I'm going... should I take him out of this school in case somebody decides they want to go in and blow that school up because it happens to be a Catholic Christian school? So, I do think, probably in my mind, but I'm having to teach myself every day. And it's no really an opinion of mine ... (pauses) it's just that I've got an absolute fear for my child and a fear for my life. (...) I mean, I'm like, I just can't even watch this, and my son is watching this on the TV. Of course, I want him to know about things that are happening in the world. But I can't allow him to watch the news, cos I don't want him to then go into school and meet a child who is maybe a Muslim and think that that's connected up.

Angela connects Muslims, 'the ISIS', terrorism, and the fear of her son's Catholic school being blown up at the mere presence of one Muslim family at the gates. In many ways Clare's articulation of 'the Muslim thing' is in line with what Kundnani (2015) describes as the *reformist discourse*. Clare states that 'only a section of them (...) are militant' and that 'the average [moderate Muslim] person is probably just trying to live their everyday life as best they can.' Whereas, for Angela, even the mere presence of one Muslim family at the school gates is enough to trigger feelings of being 'absolutely petrified' and with 'an absolute fear for [her] child and a fear for [her] life'. Angela's narrative is, therefore, more in line with the far-Right and Conservative *culturalist discourses* which vilify Islam as an inherently violent and backward religion, rather than being a feature of an extremist minority who can be 'reformed' towards a more 'moderate' apolitical stance (see literature review).

Similar evidence from a small but growing number of qualitative studies in Scotland also illustrate how the everyday infiltration of these 'culturalist'

racialised discourses of fear and suspicion are being adopted by certain members of mainstream society (Goldie, 2018; Hopkins, 2004; Hopkins et al., 2015, 2017; Scottish Government, 2015b; Siraj, 2011). Signifiers such as wearing the hijab or buying halal food have become symbols of a Muslim identity that cannot be trusted due to the public's suspicion of Muslim allegiance to terrorist causes (Kundnani, 2015: 108). The 'need' for constant and everyday surveillance of Muslims is no longer solely in the hands of officials but is something which even ordinary people feel compelled to perform in their everyday social interactions with the Muslim 'other'. That Muslims in Scotland are *'just trying to live their everyday life as best they can'*, as Clare puts it, therefore becomes not just something that a small minority of Muslims suspected of terrorism must prove to security officials; but something which all Muslims must prove to their Scottish neighbours, like Angela, in everyday life.

That the Muslim parents of the child in her son's school seem *'lovely'* and *'a total chalk and cheese'* from what Angela sees in the media does not seem to be sufficient in calming her fears of fragility and her anxieties over the terrorist threat she believes they represent; she has to try and *'teach herself everyday'* that they are *'just taking their child to school'*. She appears to have an automatic suspicion towards Muslims and is on the alert for signs of their 'allegiance' to terrorist causes. These feelings of extreme fear, generated through repeated exposure to these discourses in media over several years, seem to be more powerful in fuelling her emotional reactions despite evidence to the contrary gleaned through pleasant interactions at the school gate with the 'Muslim other' in her everyday life. This has terrible implications for the spread of far-right views, policies and discourses opposing multiculturalism and enforcing assimilation. In a related example, another participant positions herself in support of a policy introduced by a series of mayors from the far-Right *National Front* party in France.

10.3.2 Don't come here dictating what we can and can't do!

Anna recalls a story picked up by the UK media, from France, on the decision taken by several municipal mayors to reverse the pork-free lunch option for

children taking school dinners in their district's state schools. (The Guardian, 2015; The Dailymail, 2015; The Express, 2015)

I think this sums up my perspective on [Muslims coming here]. So, there were Muslims and they were asking for a change in the schooling system I think it was, now I'm not sure if this is the right story or not, if this was the UK or if it was Canada. [It was France] But, anyway, something about Pork being removed from the school diet and is it the Senator or something over there, turned around and said, 'no the idea is that you come to our country and adapt to our customs not the other way round!' You don't come over here and start dictating to us what we can and can't do. And I'm very much of that opinion. Yes, come in, but this is how we live, and this is what you have to accept. This is how we live. I've no objection to any of them. Flood us if you have to, but this is the way we live don't try and change it. We will progress as we progress but don't force it upon us.

Recalling this story, Anna is clearly hazy about the details of the country or context in which this happened; which is particularly disturbing given the passion with which she aligns herself to their cause. *Le Front National* (FN) is notorious for its racist neo-Nazi rhetoric. Its campaigns have frequently portrayed Arab Muslims, in particular, as unassimilable terrorists who refuse to accept the enforced laicity of France's secular republic (Meer, 2010: 190–194; Modood, 2005: 17; Stockemer, 2017: 27–41). The example she shares is about removing the choice of a pork free lunch option in schools, in France, for no other reason than to make a deliberately antagonistic political statement about who has the right to fully belong to the nation state. It's deliberately racist and sets out to target Muslim (and Jewish people).

Although Anna opens by sharing her knowledge of this example in France, by the end she is clearly drawing parallels with her own experience, 'perspective' and 'opinion' in the British/ Scottish context. She violently repeats 'this is how we live' on three occasions to drive home her point. The aggression with which she shares her opinions - particularly her defiant use of the phrase '*flood us if you have to, but this is the way we live don't try and change it*' - echoes a similar choice of language by multiple extreme right politicians throughout history (BBC Radio 4, 2018; Bourne, 2013; Granada World in Action, 1978; The Observer, 2008). In fact, on 16th June 2016, just six days before this

interview with Anna took place, former UKIP leader Nigel Farage's anti-migrant poster, used in the Brexit Leave Campaign, hit the news for inciting racial hatred and was compared to similar imagery used in Nazi propaganda footage. He stated that the migrant crisis would be used by Muslims to '*flood* the continent with their jihadi terrorists' (my emphasis) (The Guardian, 2016; The Telegraph, 2015). Given the political climate in the run up to the Brexit Referendum, and the proximity between Farage's comment and Anna's interview, it seems likely that her choice of the word 'flood' was influenced by this discourse. This is another example of how charismatic leaders are tapping into people's fear for their own political gain, while simultaneously mainstreaming their far-right xenophobic rhetoric. Similar to Angela's awareness 'that the media is teaching me to fear' Muslims as terrorists; Anna's passionate defence of the ideology of the FN also points to a similar conclusion. The media can shape public emotions in powerful and dangerous ways that can spread racist, extreme right politics and contribute to their mainstream acceptance.

Anna's repetition of this violent extreme-right rhetoric must also be situated within the context of broader academic (and political) debates over assimilation and integration. Ultimately, the position she takes is one that favours a more forceful approach to assimilation that places the onus solely on the minority group to 'adapt to *our* customs'. For Anna, this is just something that *they 'have to accept'* (my italics). The irony is that she fails to notice the double standards being articulated here. The minority has to accept and adapt, lose their own identity, traditions and culture; but the majority will not allow *them* 'dictating' 'what *we* can and can't do'; '*we*' have the right to *our* way of life and no one is allowed to 'try and change it'; progress will not be tolerated, especially if it is '*forced* upon us' (my emphasis). Anna clearly feels that her culture is an integral part of who she is, yet she would deny that same right of expression to another.

Anna clearly does not conceive of Muslims as citizens with an equal right to belong to the nation and any token of social acceptance is contingent on completely erasing their culture and identity. Ironically, she also thinks we

might 'progress as we progress' but that, unlike the Muslim outsider, it must not be 'forced on us'. Aside from this double standard her statement also raises the question of how progress would ever occur if not through minorities advocating for change and majorities like Anna also working to adapt and change in the process?

This gets to the heart of the issue. Anna's racist and forceful assimilationist ideals seek to eradicate human diversity while a 'disproportionate burden of change is placed upon the minority' (Meer, 2010: 47). Cultural pluralists, by contrast, see 'full integration' not as a one-way process requiring new-comers to fit into the dominant culture, but as a two-way process of adapting which requires both the newcomers *and* the members of the existing society to engage in a mutual process of adapting their respective values, norms and behaviours (Castles et al., 2002: 17–18).

There is no doubt that Anna is articulating racist views that are firmly situated on the plane of culture rather than phenotypical race; this is cultural racism in action (Modood, 2005:14-18). Modood, for instance, points out how the FN explicitly campaign on the proposition that Arab Muslims are unassimilable 'not because it has given up racist ideology but because it is able to racialise without appeals to biological immutability' (p.17). However, pressure to assimilate using the "take it or leave it" extreme-Right rhetoric that Anna regurgitates is an attempt to erase diversity while ignoring the related problems of exclusion, alienation and fragmentation (p.207). In short,

'Assimilation is something immigrants or minorities must do or have done to them, whereas integration is interactive, a two-way process; both parties are an active ingredient and so something new is created. For the plural state, then, multiculturalism means re-forming national identity and citizenship' (p.141).

However, for this to work it also requires a willingness on the part of the majority; something which Anna seems far from ready to accept. The extreme right ideology behind the discourse which Anna (and others) seem to be reproducing, once again, highlights the dangers of 'successful' tactics of the far-right in appealing to an increasingly wider audience; preying on the fears

of the majority over terrorism and Brexit by masking the racist ideology underpinning their true cause (The Independent, 2019).

10.3.3 The Catholic schools are now Muslim...that is scary!

In a related narrative, Grace also appears to have been persuaded by this far-right rhetoric. She appears to link her own feelings of cultural fragility with recent rhetoric on the so-called Islamification of schools.

Well it's upsetting isn't it? It's a shame when something that meant so much to your families just dies out. I suppose it's just there are a lot of problems as it is without adding to them. If you are bringing other religions into it. It's just for the tradition cos it's just that I think if [Catholicism] completely dies out people won't bother anymore and it's a shame. It's a shame when something that meant so much to your families just dies out. But then I think you've got to move with the times. But then... I don't know (tails off). I know that a lot of the Catholic Schools in Glasgow that have shut down are now like ... (whispers) 'Muslim schools' (pauses)... So, I know that is something that is quite (pauses) ... scary! So, I suppose, you know, you've got to keep your own traditions going as well, don't you? (Grace)

Grace appears to conceive of Muslims as a threat to her own Catholic religious identity and traditions. She has heard that Catholic schools have shut down and that they are now Muslim schools. However, there are very few Muslim schools in Glasgow and there is a lack of evidence to substantiate her claim that those that do exist were previously Catholic. Of the few Muslim schools that do exist, there is *Al Falaah Primary School* (Primary 1 only) launched in 2017 (Al Falaah Primary, 2017), which grew from an affiliated Islamic nursery called *Little Wonders*, opened in 2015 in Govanhill (Little Wonders, 2015). Previous attempts to establish Muslim schools in Scotland were unsuccessful; both the *Iqra Academy* in Glasgow and the *Imam Muhammad Zakariya* school for girls, in Dundee, closed after receiving negative inspector reports (Evening Times, 2015). However, one private Muslim Secondary school (S1 and S2 only), *Al Khalil College*, founded in 2014 (Al Khalil College, 2017), received a good inspection report in 2017 (Education Scotland, 2017). It is located in Abbotsford House (the site of former State run *Abbotsford Primary* which closed in 1996) in the Gorbals; an area historically and locally known as being heavily Catholic (Herald Scotland, 2012, 2013; The Express, 2013). The same

Muslim community group made a bid to take over *Holmlea Primary* in Cathcart, again another primary in an area with a high number of Catholic residents but one that was not specifically a Catholic school.

Grace has apparently distorted these facts about the presence of Muslim schools to explain her feelings of Christian cultural diminution or fragility. Once again, this is likely influenced by her repeated exposure to right-wing media and politicians who tapped into fears of white cultural fragility to garner support for Brexit. It is also evidence of the power of rumours about Muslim schools being socially constructed to fit a narrative that is surprisingly consistent with far-right ideology. However, while the rumours may be fabricated, these feelings of cultural diminution amongst Christians (whether Catholic or Protestant) would appear to be sincerely held and deeply felt. As such, this is perhaps better conceived of as evidence of white Christian fragility in an increasingly secular mainstream culture rather than the more extreme 'white genocide' framing; 'the belief that whites are in imminent danger of cultural, political, economic and even physical annihilation by some combination of Jews, immigrants, African Americans, white liberals, feminists and communists' (Atkinson, 2018: 310).

For instance, another Catholic participant, Alice emphasises how she faces discrimination and prejudice, less on account of being Catholic and more simply since people generally 'didn't understand the point of religion at all'. As a mature student who still practices her Catholic faith on occasion, she expresses her feeling of marginalisation as a Christian in academia.

If I had to say that I'd experienced any sort of discrimination it would be more so for having a religious association at all. (...) There is a kind of viewpoint that people that are practising their religion are not maybe as enlightened or not as intelligent or not as logical and balanced as people that are atheist. (...) I think there is an intolerance to people that practice any religious viewpoint at all. (...) And that's a thing that I'm experiencing newly in my life in terms of religion and the place of religion in academia. The lecturers are all atheists but don't have any idea about my religious view, but they are always making the assumption that everybody in the class has the same view and would be shocked if anybody had a religious viewpoint (Alice).

Sewell (2002) supports this view claiming that outright anti-Catholicism in Britain has subsided and has been replaced by a form of 'secular incomprehension' towards Christians more generally (p.174). For Weigel (2010) criticisms of Christianity are now seen as mainstream and acceptable but criticisms of other religions (such as Islam) are seen as indications of bigotry. This is not to excuse the symbolic violence of participants' racist attitudes towards Muslims, but to highlight their own sincere and deeply felt cultural fragility that co-exists with these offensive attitudes; perhaps as a result of broader secular incomprehension towards practising Christians in Scotland and England.

Having said that, the way that Grace links her sense of Christian fragility with the alleged take-over of Catholic schools by Muslims suggests that her genuine feelings of cultural diminution, marginalisation or fragility are becoming intertwined with a convenient scapegoat; the racialised Muslim outsider.

There is a need for urgent action that reappraises the approach to legitimate feelings of Christian cultural fragility and diminution. The evidence above demonstrates how these feelings can be manipulated by charismatic leaders on the extreme right through media channels that slowly infiltrate their racist rhetoric into mainstream thinking. The danger with dismissing these genuine feelings of cultural and religious marginalisation, on all sides, is that they can be converted by the extreme right into the more dangerous racist and white supremacist rhetoric associated with the ideology of genocidist claims of cultural annihilation. Ultimately, there is no way of determining how Grace has come to connect her feelings of cultural diminution with a false (and racist) perception that Muslims are allegedly taking over Catholic schools. However, it is worth briefly exploring the similarities with the discourse employed in one particularly high-profile example.

The so-called Birmingham 'Trojan Horse' scandal in 2013 occurred after the Council received an anonymous tip-off, in the form of a letter, outlining a five-stage plot to take over local schools and run them in accordance with strict

Islamic principles (The Guardian, 2017). Although the letter was found to be fake, it sparked an immediate Government-led enquiry into the schools mentioned in the letter (DfE, 2014; Arthur, 2015; Holmwood & O'Toole, 2017). The media quickly spun the whole affair into another opportunity for scare-mongering and expanding support for the far-Right's obsession with spreading their racist ideology on the so-called 'Islamification' of Britain (Birmingham Mail, 2014; The Dailymail, 2017). Worryingly, the government investigation also agreed that there was a 'sustained and coordinated agenda' to 'Islamise the provision of educational services' (DfE, 2014: 48). Former Education Secretary, Michael Gove (2006) also condoned this view in his controversial book in which an entire chapter was dedicated to discussing the 'Islamic threat to Europe' as represented in the Trojan Horse Affair. As Holmwood and O'Toole (2017) argue the biggest injustice, aside from the damage done to the teachers, pupils and local communities involved, was how the affair was used to criticise multiculturalism and justify the expansion of a broad and intrusive counter-extremism agenda by government.

'For many, the story has come to symbolise the failures of multiculturalism and the threat that hard-line Islamic ideology poses to the future of the country. It was mentioned in the 2017 UKIP manifesto, and it is rare for a month to go by without some reference to the scandal in the right-wing press' (The Guardian, 2017).

Worryingly, the media and government handling of the Trojan Horse Affair provides evidence of mainstream support for an ideology that appears, whether wittingly or unwittingly, to share some common ground with racist far-Right rhetoric. In the hearings to investigate the staff accused of plotting to 'Islamise' British schools, it was concluded that there had been 'undue' promotion of Islam which was 'undermining fundamental British values' (ibid). While I would not go so far as to argue that Grace, or any of the other participants, harbour strictly white genocidist views; I would suggest that their genuine and deeply felt sense of cultural diminution and fragility risks being steadily and unwittingly converted to a more extreme right-wing ideological position, by those who seek to spread their racist views onto an unsuspecting white British (or Scottish) public.

10.4 The Myth of Scottish Exceptionalism

10.4.1 *We are just the same as everywhere else!*

While these previous examples have looked at issues of the allegedly incompatible 'culture' and 'values' of Muslim residents in Scotland through the lens of Kundnani's critique of media-fuelled culturalist discourse towards Muslims; the final section below explores material disputes over access to welfare.

Most of the Muslims who are here are quite wealthy business owners. They have nice houses in nice areas, and they keep themselves to themselves and it doesn't really matter as much. (...) But the [new] ones coming in [from Syria and Afghanistan as part of the Refugee Resettlement Scheme] are starting to challenge your thought processes. Even just in conversations with people in the community about these new people coming in. They say they are getting everything, and you are thinking, some of the areas they are getting put into are not the best areas! Would you want to live there? And then they say but aye they'll be getting a big three bedroom flat! And you say but yeah there is seven of them! (Laughs) They are really not getting it. It's been interesting listening to what I would call the Daily Mail or Sun conversations coming out of people who I would have thought, up until that point, would have been quite socialist, quite left wing, and quite open to other people ... but no. You think oh my God! (Mock shock) (...) People obviously take much more off the TV and off the news than we realise. People say they don't watch it, but they obviously do cos they are absorbing it all. (..) Britain First and all that ... it is not ideal. You know, older people, solid Labour area, solid values, ex shipyard, trade union, everything else ... And some of the stuff coming out of their mouth, really deeply offensive to me and you're thinking (...) I really was very uncomfortable going around those doors [during my political activities]. A lot of people were voting Tory cos they were tighter on immigration and they didn't want these people in and were moving their vote to Tory. I'm thinking woaah, you'll go and do that! People openly telling me, I've voted Labour all my life, and now I'm 82, but I'm now voting Tory this year cos they will keep these people away (Shocked gasp).

Here Sylvia identifies several issues relating to the resettlement of asylum seekers in Inverclyde. Her observations point towards class-based racism over issues of migrant rights to welfare support, the influence of the media in fuelling racist prejudices towards new migrants, and the ideological shift of previously

solid Labour voters to a tougher right-wing stance on immigration as a result. While previous data in this chapter has looked at issues of the allegedly incompatible ‘culture’ and ‘values’ of Muslims resident in Scotland; this example is more clearly located on the plane of material disputes over access to welfare. As Goldie (2018) points out, at the same time as these new migrants were arriving there was,

‘...a backdrop whereby the media and certain UK politicians were stigmatising them as scroungers [and] claims that asylum seekers were receiving preferential treatment in terms of access to housing and social services. Therefore, many communities earmarked as dispersal sites[for refugees and asylum seekers] felt that their social class position was on a precarious footing’ (Goldie, 2018: 96).

Sylvia’s observation that members of the community were angry at asylum seekers getting ‘a big three bedroom flat’ and wanting to vote Tory now to ‘keep these people away’, demonstrate that there is nothing exceptional about Scotland’s national character. This is further evidence to suggest that some members of the local community in Inverclyde share the same ‘deep story’ as large swathes of the Leave voters in England, the rising support for extreme-right views amongst the European population and the Trump supporters in the United States; namely, that welfare exists primarily to benefit immigrants, that asylum seekers are ‘cutting the line’ and that they are viewed, by an excessively tolerant and politically-correct left-wing elite, as more deserving of assistance than the ‘native’ white majority population (Davies, 2017; Hochschild, 2016). That ‘those ‘line-cutters’ are minorities struggling against centuries of systemic oppression or people fleeing something far worse than poverty’ does not appear to be sufficient in curtailing the racist emotional reactions of certain members of the Scottish working-class (Davies, 2017: 417). It would appear that Scotland is as susceptible to these same racist attitudes as anywhere else.

Or in the words of one participant,

There are lots of different cultures. And up until very, very recently, we’ve been so sheltered that we haven’t experienced that. But I think there is a change. There’s a change in the air. And some of the people

commenting on it would shock you. It's interesting cos I would have long said we were different here, that we were much more socially aware, socially minded, decent people. But no, we are just the same as everywhere else! (Sylvia)

The change which Sylvia refers to here relates, once again, to the Refugee Resettlement Scheme in Scotland. Since 1998, Scotland's commitment to the scheme has seen various housing estates in working class areas accept significant numbers of asylum seekers at a time when the anti-migrant rhetoric of Brexit's Leave campaign has also heightened existing prejudices towards Muslims across Britain and led to a surge in racist hate crime. This is as true in Scotland as in England: examples such as the murders of Surit Singh Chhokar in 1998, Firsat Yildiz in 2001, Simon San in 2010, the death of Sheku Bayoh in police custody in 2015, and the more recent stabbing of Syrian-born Shabaz Ali in Edinburgh in 2018, all demonstrate that racially-motivated attacks *do* also take place North of the border (BBC, 2016; Herald Scotland, 2018; The Guardian, 2011, 2016; The Independent, 2001).

Inverclyde has also received its share of asylum seekers under this Resettlement scheme, with twelve Afghan families and six Syrian families arriving in 2016 (Inverclyde Council, 2016b). In a statement by Inverclyde Council leader, Councillor Stephen McCabe, said that the resettlement had been a 'success'; that local government had 'responded with clear heads and warm hearts' and that 'the communities have been extremely welcoming' (Inverclyde Council, 2016a). However, despite this positive spin, evidence in this chapter runs counter to those claims. Moreover, a report by the Scottish Government (2003), highlighting the impact of dispersal from the perspective of a range of service providers, stated that asylum seekers faced issues such as racism, racial harassment and social isolation.

Yet, it is still often assumed that Scotland does not have a problem with racism; that all its citizens 'take pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity' (Reicher et al., 2010; Scottish Government, 2011a). However, this elite-led re-imagining of Scotland, while welcome, overlooks the underside of Scottish history and distorts the contemporary manifestations of racism, such as those

evidenced in this thesis. Recently, Scotland's vote to remain in the European Union also seems to have given this myth of an exceptional egalitarian and inclusive national character a 'new lease of life' (Bussey, 2018). As Davidson and Virdee (2018) argue, in a recently published collection of essays entitled *No Problem Here*, 'it is crucial to remain alive to the disjuncture between elite discourse on migration and the lived reality of racialised minorities in Scotland' (p.8).

This idea of Scottish exceptionalism is often upheld by drawing comparisons with England; with claims being made that Scotland is relatively more progressive because it is founded on a 'civic' rather than an 'ethnic' nationalism (McCrone, 1992; 1998; 2015). For instance, Hussain and Miller's (2006) focus on how the Scottish are less Islamophobic than the English distorts the fact that, irrespective of the truth behind these claims, Scotland still *does* have its own problems with racism. Pakistanis, Scotland's largest Muslim minority, are the ethnic group most likely to be attacked, Muslim's allegedly 'extremist values', culture and traditions are seen to be 'incompatible' with Scottishness, and ignorant 'racist readings' of the appearance of Sikh's and Hindu's lead to their frequent misrecognition as 'essentially' 'Muslim' (Goldie, 2018; Hopkins et al., 2015, 2017; Kyriakides et al., 2009; Meer, 2014b; Miles, 1996; Scottish Government, 2001a, 2015b; Virdee, 2017).

Delving behind these claims of Scottish exceptionalism, Bechhofer and McCrone, prove there are actually many similarities between England and Scotland in decisions to accept or reject claims of national belonging (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2010; McCrone, 2015; Bechhofer & Mccrone, 2014). Counter-intuitively, there is also a slightly greater tendency for Scots to reject claims of belonging from people of colour (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2010: 939). In addition, research by Kiely et al. (2005) found that the views of Scottish people were at odds with the ideals of political elites; who downplay birthplace as a marker of Scottish identity and highlight the possibility of belonging for the 'new Scots' through residence and a 'commitment' to Scotland. However, Kiely et al. found that participants 'could not even comprehend that anyone would *want* to claim a nationality other than one based on their birthplace'; although some

believed that second generation, children of migrants, could *potentially* belong if they made an 'active choice to commit to Scotland' (p.166). However, even those who saw themselves as Scottish could still have their claims rejected if it was judged that certain cultural features contradicted or undermined their claim to belong to the nation (p.167). This has particular relevance in light of recent research into attitudes towards Muslims in Scotland, whose cultural and religious traditions are indeed seen by some as an 'active choice' which demonstrates their 'lack of commitment' to Scotland (Goldie, 2018: pp.100-104; Hopkins, 2004; Siraj, 2011). My own research tells a similar story with working-class participants such as Anna believing that Muslim insistence on not eating pork could be interpreted as a lack of commitment to Scottishness. While more 'liberal' middle-class participants, such as Sylvia and Pauline, cited backward gender relations in Muslim culture as the more salient feature on which their 'choice' not to participate could be constructed (see Chapter 11 which follows).

The views encountered here by Sylvia, during her political activities in local working-class communities in Inverclyde, certainly call the claim of Scottish exceptionalism into question. The data explored above also highlights that the feelings of fragility and disinterest, sheer panic, anxiety and fear, are remarkably similar to the rhetoric of the far right on the 'Muslim terrorist' and its stance on enforced assimilation. Perhaps, most worryingly is that, on occasion, these feelings of fear and cultural fragility seemed to draw on xenophobic rhetoric inspired by right-wing media and charismatic politicians on the far Right.

While previous sections outlined evidence of cultural racism, this section has highlighted classed racism over attitudes towards migrant rights to welfare support. However, both types of racialisation, whether framed as cultural or material concerns, appeared to be heavily influenced by the media, with evidence of an ideological shift - even among the so-called '*socially minded*', '*decent people*' in what has historically been '*a solid labour area*'. This would suggest a mainstreaming of far-right views on immigration; a broader social trend from which Scotland would, unfortunately, not appear to be exempt.

10.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored participants' attitudes towards cultural and material processes which served to construct Muslims as racialised outsiders to the Scottish nation. It has revealed their emotional reactions to this 'new' religious difference in Inverclyde. Their feelings were characterised by a wide range of emotions, from moderate expressions of discomfort, ignorance and lack of interest towards diversity; to the more extreme articulations of fear, anxiety and sheer panic. These racist feelings and articulations related to participants' own emotional reactions, and to the reactions they observed in others living in the local community. Manifestations of these racist feelings and articulations included; the perception of an increased terrorist threat due to the presence of a small number of Muslims in the local community; a discursively violent reaction to the removal of pork from school meals, a fallacious belief that Christian schools were being taken over by Muslims, and discriminatory attitudes towards Muslim refugees and asylum seekers who were seen to be getting preferential treatment in access to social welfare.

In the final empirical chapter, which follows, findings are presented which reveal additional ways in which Muslims were constructed as racialised outsiders with a particular focus on the intersection of gender, race and class.

Chapter 11 Gendered Islamophobia

The previous chapter looked at participants' racialised constructions of Muslims, fuelled by xenophobic culturalist discourses which have been particularly prevalent in the media in the run up to Brexit. These discourses appeared to focus either on concerns about the fragility of 'our' culture or perceptions about the unequal distribution of material resources. The majority of these examples were from working-class women. However, in the data that follows, middle-class participants' attitudes towards Muslim 'outsiders' are also explored.

These women also engaged in processes of constructing Muslim women as racialised outsiders to the nation in ways that were more clearly differentiated by intersectional hierarchies of belonging that were raced, gendered and classed. The data reveals their tendency to describe Muslim women in essentialised ways that engaged in more subtle discourses of victim blaming and creating a racial equivalence between historical issues relating to sectarianism and contemporary issues of Islamophobia. These problematic diminutions of racism also appeared to operate in conjunction with a dichotomous framing that contrasted 'our' liberal values of gender equality in the West with the allegedly unassimilable and illiberal gendered religious and cultural norms of Islam. This moved the terrain of racialised articulations from the *cultural* and *material* concerns of working-class women, at the level of nation, to the broader plain of *values*, on a more global level which claimed to defend liberal constructions of 'modernity' and gender equality in the West.

11.1 Racialised intersectional hierarchies of social class

Sylvia, a professional from a middle-class Catholic background, evaluates white Scottish feminist attitudes towards the recently arrived Afghan women in Inverclyde. She focuses on her observation that they are not allowed in public spaces without a male chaperone.

It IS bizarre to watch women walking along behind men and for their men to always take the control. That is, for us, in Scottish society, quite

difficult to watch. (...) (Suddenly quieter) The [Afghan women] are not even allowed on a bus in case they happen to bang into a man who'd also be on the bus with them. It's just the way it is. Mad! Yeah for us we are like, what the...! (...) They are not allowed to go to the shops unless their husbands are with them. They don't even go to the shops! (Laughs) But I was saying just yesterday, who says they are wrong, and we are right? Their women don't go to Tesco's, sure we have to go to Tesco's! (Both laugh) They are not necessarily in the wrong. But you know it challenges your thought processes. Cos they can't even talk to the head teachers of their children because they are males. It's really quite pervasive in how that can really limit the dialogue between people and the kind of control the men have, if that's what it is... It's certainly interesting to learn about it. We've got a lot of feminists [at work] which is an interesting one, cos that all comes out and you think, woah, how are we going to do this without projecting our own [values]. I mean you want to say to the women – just get a grip, why the hell are you letting him do that! But you can't, cos that's their values, their traditions, their beliefs, their religion. It's a challenge for everybody and even for those who I wouldn't have thought would have been particularly interested or worried, they are now getting really quite ... [heated] ... about it all!

Here Sylvia discusses examples she has seen of Afghan women in the local community walking behind men, not being allowed to travel on the bus alone, do their shopping or speak to their child's male head teacher without being accompanied by a male family member. Her framing of Muslim's gendered religious and cultural norms clearly articulates her view that this is incompatible with liberal and feminist values in 'Scottish society'.

Similarly, Brook also comments on Muslim girls' choice to not participate in social dancing classes at school. This was seen as an essential skill to enable participation at a Scottish Ceilidh.

We had girls who wouldn't join in [at school]. We had to do social dancing as part of our PE and that was so we could all, um, dance. So, you could dance at a Ceilidh, you know? And then we would do social dancing at our Christmas and things like that too. And some of the, eh, Muslim girls would join in (voice goes up). And some they'd get letters from their parents and things saying that they weren't allowed to dance because they weren't allowed to dance with boys. And, to be fair, I don't know how much of that was really the case (voice goes up). Cos some of them would and some of them wouldn't. And I think that doing things like that, it sets people apart. It is what (pauses) can create the problem.

By essentialising all Muslims into one homogenous collectivity Brook overlooks the possibility that, for some, the gendered cultural and religious norms within their family might permit them to participate in social dancing while, for others, it might not. She uses this as evidence to judge Muslim girls who do not participate; evaluating it as an active 'choice' reflective of their lack of commitment to Scottish culture. By extension, she then concludes by attributing blame to those girls who do not participate for 'creating the problem'.

11.2 Challenging Victim-Blaming

Brook has an exclusionary view of Muslim women that defines them solely in terms of their religious background in a way that essentialises them into one collectivity and assigns them an 'outsider' status. This allows her to conclude that Muslim women are to blame for their own exclusion in Scotland; rather than seeing Scottishness as something that must also expand to include them. Meer (2010) draws on Young (1990) to critique the idea that full and unimpaired civic status relies on total rejection of one's own particularity 'in a process of cultural assimilation to the dominant norms, values and customs of that society' (p.47). This comes from a position of white cultural superiority that also places a disproportionate burden of change on the minority and, crucially, overlooks what 'we' might learn from *'them'*. In Brook's example, for instance, meaningful dialogue and relationships with the Muslim girls, who could not participate in her social dance class, might have revealed a potential solution whereby a smaller group of Muslim and some Scottish girls could have practised together in an adjoining room, separate from the boys, to still learn about ceilidh and social dancing. This would have allowed for both to learn about the others' traditions while still respecting the culture of those Muslim girls who have different values about gender relations in public spaces.

Contrastingly, unlike Brook and most other participants, Sylvia shows her willingness to reflect on and change aspects of Scottish culture, when she briefly questions '*who says they are wrong, and we are right?*' We both laughed at her off-the-cuff comment that in Scottish 'culture' women still tended to take on the burden of food shopping for the family, without the support of male

partners, and that maybe the requirement to have a male chaperone in Tesco's wasn't so bad after all! Both examples highlight the value of a model of integration that rejects enforced assimilation, which seeks to erase difference, and instead promotes the 'two-way process' of re-forming the boundaries of belonging to the nation by encouraging both majority and minority groups to actively engage in adapting and expanding together.

11.3 Anti-essentialism

Another theme that emerged was the pathologising of Muslim women in ways that presented a series of general assumptions, essentialising any variation within the collectivity (Meer, 2010: 191). Brook, for instance, did not distinguish between the different Muslim girls in her social dance class. She assumes they all have the same values and that those who are not participating must, by her reckoning, be actively choosing to reject Scottishness.

As Meer (2010) points out there is a tendency towards this 'malign exaggeration of religious and cultural customs' which is far from the reality and diversity of different Muslim (women's) experiences of their culture and religion (p.192). Siraj (2011), for instance, shows how some Muslim women in Glasgow differ in their attitudes towards wearing the hijab, using a range of different cultural approaches to honour the same religious commitment to modesty. Prickett (2015) explains that this is because,

'The enactment of religious identity is an intersectional process requiring women to negotiate multiple, competing identities' (p.55).

Khurshid (2015), for instance, also demonstrates how the social class positioning of different Muslim women in Pakistan affords them a middle-class status which they use as 'embedded agents' within, rather than against, the institutions of family, community and Islam. She describes how they mobilise education as an 'Islamic right and responsibility' to justify their struggles regarding issues such as employment, greater independent public mobility and participation in decision-making processes within their local communities; because of their more respected status as educated, middle-class women

(p.104). This highlights how educational background and class intersect with gendered religious identities in ways which serve to simultaneously present new economic and social opportunities, while at the same time retaining certain aspects of gendered restrictions. In other words, there are different cultural approaches to religion which are shaped by cross-cutting, intersectional configurations of religion, gender and class (p.118). Equally, this may also account for the differences between the culture and values of the different Muslim girls in Brook's social dance class at school; perhaps those who are permitted to participate come from more middle-class Muslim families where women's education has a different cultural significance within the context of their religion.

In contrast, Sylvia does distinguish between Syrian and Afghan women on account of their different class backgrounds.

The Syrian families coming in are really Westernised and the women all want to know where they can get their make-up from (Laughs)! They just want the language to go and buy the good stuff, you know, they are a different type of incomer. They are very confident and very articulate, very professional backgrounds. (...) They are over here, and they want the best for their families, and they will play the game a wee bit as well. They are probably getting less hassle cos they can blend in a bit. There is still a wee bit of animosity there that they are getting houses that other people should have been getting but (...) the Syrian families don't tend to get the backlash that the Afghan women, and it is the women, who get it for being aloof and not speaking to neighbours. Walking past and not saying hello. But they are not able to, it's a cultural thing.

Here Sylvia pulls out the intersectional hierarchies of belonging. She believes that Syrian women are afforded a more westernised status on account of their middle-class habitus. She thinks that this might enable them to avoid the 'backlash' experienced by the Afghan women who are thought to be more 'aloof'. This clearly demonstrates the contingent hierarchy of belonging which places white, middle-class, culturally Christian women above working-class women of colour from non-Christian backgrounds. Syrian women who can pass for middle-class can be positioned in the intermediate zone and, perhaps on occasions, be granted a certain degree of belonging.

This is supported by Archer's (2012) research on parents', pupils' and young professionals' negotiations of minority ethnic middle-class identity in England. She found that minority ethnic groups who had entered the middle class through education and/ or a professional career were caught between 'authenticity and pretension [in a] profoundly conflictual and precarious space, negotiated through a matrix of relational classed and racialised positionings' (p.129). She concludes that, 'authentic' middle-classness remains the preserve of white society due to racial inequalities and the dominance of whiteness as the popularly legitimated marker of middle classness' (ibid). So, while middle-class Muslim women may experience less 'backlash' than their working-class counterparts; the intermediate positionings in which they find themselves still prevents them from full inclusion within the imagined boundaries of belonging to the nation. They are caught between the racialised identity they are ascribed, on account of their Muslim religion, and an inability to claim an 'authentic' middle-class identity that is conceived of as white and culturally Christian.

Nevertheless, both examples demonstrate the need to counter pathological framings of Muslim women that essentialise their diverse lived experiences of religion, through an intersectional lens that recognises the complexities of the overlapping characteristics of gender, religion and class. Once again, the solution is meaningful relationships and engagement with different Muslim women to better understand the range of cultural ways they negotiate their belief system. To better understand the 'interconnection of all forms of subordination' it must be recognised that gender is not the only characteristic that matters (Matsuda, 1991: 1189; Davis, 2008). The social class status of different Muslim women also shapes the degree to which they experience an outsider status in Scotland. Moreover, both gender and class, in turn, shape their lived experiences of religion from both within and outwith that collectivity. In other words, not all Muslim women will automatically conceive of their position as determinately unequal to men in all situations and circumstances and, therefore, neither should we.

11.4 Feminist 'liberal' values, modernity and the West

These patterns of essentialising and victim-blaming also extended to discussions of feminism and gender relations, and to participants' conceptualisations of liberal values and modernity in the West. In the example above, for instance, Sylvia refers to the fact that 'we' in 'Scottish society' find gender relations between Muslim men and women 'bizarre', 'difficult to watch', 'pervasive' and limiting. She implies that many of her Scottish colleagues are now suddenly committed feminists because this framing legitimises the expression of their opinions about Muslims more broadly (See Narkowicz & Pędziwiatr, 2017). Similarly, she notes how even those who had always seen themselves as feminists appeared to have problematic opinions about Muslim women that 'all come out' in ways that 'project their own values' - of white, middle-class liberal feminism - onto Islamic culture. The possibility of being both a Muslim and a feminist is, therefore, overlooked because of the essentialist framing that this is against 'their values, their traditions, their beliefs, their religion'. Despite briefly reflecting on where 'we' might be going wrong and what 'we' might learn from 'them'; overall, Sylvia still perceives that Muslims' apparent lack of commitment to gender equality is antithetical to her white Scottish, middle-class, liberal-feminist ideals.

This inferiorising and essentialising of all Muslims as unmodern and illiberal is a type of universalist racism that plays into discourses of European cultural imperialism, which equate modernisation with westernisation (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 49). Sylvia's observation that Syrian women are also more 'westernised' and 'professional', because they wear make-up - while the Afghan women get 'backlash' for being unmodern, alien and 'aloof' - also highlights the way that modernity and equality are believed to be synonymous with the West. The assumption here is that by passing for middle-class, 'progressive' Westerners that Muslim women can assimilate. Once again, the onus is on the minority to change and the assumption is that 'our' values and culture are ultimately superior and the standard against which outsiders should be judged.

In a similar narrative Pauline also equates white women's professional, middle-class status with modernity and the West.

I think the days have probably changed where the man was the head of the household, to a great extent, and a woman had to do what she was told. There are so many women out there now who are the main breadwinners. (...) So, I would think that, that will change how religion does things as well. (...) Generally speaking, I can't imagine very many modern women accepting the fact that they are second class to men not in the culture that there is here now. Obviously, coming back to certain religions though [those women] might [accept a second-class role to men]. (...) I think there is an issue with some people (pauses)... Perhaps with Muslims, you know, people who are VERY religious.¹ (Pauline)

Here Pauline conceives of excessively religious people, using the example of Muslims, to equate this level of commitment to a belief system with being a premodern and illiberal culture or society. She then links Scotland's progress towards greater gender equality with the move towards a less religious culture (and later to a decline in sectarianism). This implies that she believes Muslims also have an obligation to become less religious in order to assimilate into a Western society, again symbolised by the position of women. These assumptions also suggest that Pauline, and others, have an underlying attitude of 'we changed why can't you'; a problematic diminution of racist assumptions of cultural superiority and enforced assimilation.

It is recognised that women are often used as symbols of entire ethnic and religious collectivities; representing either progressive change and greater gender equality or outdated ideas and 'carriers' of backward traditions.

'Because the position of women has been so central to the colonial gaze in defining indigenous cultures, it is there that symbolic declarations of cultural change have taken place. It has been one of the important mechanisms in which ethnic and national projects signified – inwardly and outwardly – their move towards modernisation' (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 60).

¹ This quote has been separated into two different themes for ease of analysis. See the section below on challenging equivalence.

The way that participants' essentialise Scottish values and culture as universally progressive and liberal across all sections of society - while characterising all Muslims and Islam '*as anti-modern and antipathetic to democratic and human rights*' (Meer, 2010: 194) - sets up a false dichotomy that allows several problematic racist attitudes to be sustained. As Meer (2010) points out Islamic sexism is juxtaposed with the modern, non-sexist, egalitarian West; the implication being that the West is culturally superior, and that Islam needs the 'civilizing hand' of the West. This is just a short step away from blaming the victim for cultural separateness, pushing for forced assimilation that erases difference, and ignoring the need for an on-going contestation and revision of the imagined boundaries of belonging to the nation; something that needs to be as much supported by the majority as the minority (ibid).

Returning to Kundnani's (2015) culturalist and reformist discourses, it is argued by culturalists that there is 'an underlying conflict between Islam's regressive cultural identity and Western values' (p.61). In other words, this is seen as an essentialised property of being Muslim. In contrast, reformists believe that it is only an extremist minority who are dogmatic about their culture, religion and politics and that they can be persuaded to assimilate into 'superior', western, liberal values. In other words, for reformists, it is 'an ideological battle to defend liberal values' against those Muslims perceived to be too dogmatic or extreme (p.79).

Elements of both the culturalist and reformist discourses can be seen across all participants' narratives. At times, Sylvia portrayed illiberal values of gender inequality as an inherent property of all Muslim's culture to imply that they were too different to integrate. While Pauline used elements of the reformist discourse that suggested a need for more extreme Muslims to adopt a 'western' culture and value system. Irrespective of which discourse participants adopted, they both served to racialise and exclude Muslims from full belonging to the nation, expressing a commitment to one-way assimilationist strategies that failed to conceive of any role for the majority Scottish culture to change.

However, as Kundnani (2015) argues, ‘the rules of the liberal political game [are] a poor basis for true equality.’ He asks, ‘what if citizens do not want to just be accepted in the existing system but seek to change it’ in ways that include legitimate expressions of their own diverse cultural, religious and political beliefs.

‘The solution for liberals is to allow difference so long as it does not make a difference. (...) In times of political conflict, (...) liberals tend to abandon their principles and reach for coercive methods to defend the status quo’ (p.88).

Pauline and Sylvia’s commitment to liberal values seem to have been abandoned when it comes to Muslims’ rights to individual choice, equality and inclusion when living in the West. Interestingly, it appeared to be middle-class women whose racialised articulations focused more heavily on the allegedly illiberal gender relations of Muslims. Kundnani (2015) points out how this type of racism can often be overlooked because it ‘differs from familiar patterns of racialisation associated with skin colour’ and attempts to ‘associate itself with the defence of a liberal way of life and appear post-racial’ (p.112).

‘What is striking here is the way that some reformists, former liberals and leftists of the 1968 generation who were shaped by their earlier experiences of campaigning on issues of gender, sexuality, religious authority and censorship, turned the values they once fought for into icons of Western identity. What was once a call to fight for freedom in Western societies degenerated into a call to defend a liberal way of life from foreign enemies’ (ibid.)

The fact that they are white Scottish, middle-class, female participants who are racialising Muslim women in this way can also be linked to competing political branches of feminism. It is argued that white, middle-class, liberal-feminists have dominated debates about gender equality using particularistic forms of feminism. This has been heavily criticised by black and minority ethnic feminists for ignoring the inter-locking systems of oppression faced by poor white women and women from ethnic and religious minorities (Anthias, 2013;

Cho et al., 2013; Chun et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1991; Emejulu, 2011; Yuval-Davis, 2006). As Emejulu (2011) points out,

'An important preoccupation within recent feminist political theory is how to construct 'women' in such a way that recognises differences, avoids essentialism and builds solidarity and common purpose across conflicting and competing interests and experiences of different kinds of women' (p.381).

Pauline and Sylvia are older white, middle-class Scottish women with a commitment to liberal feminist values. However, their conceptualisation of feminism fails to recognise the intersectional nature of oppression and the differential positioning and experiences of different Muslim women living in the West, as they are shaped not just by gender and religion but also by social class. A commitment to feminism must be expanded to recognise that not all Muslim women are oppressed by patriarchal gender relations in their culture or religion, to the same extent, and that class is also one of the key characteristics that shapes their experiences. A more complex intersectional commitment to feminism would recognise women's different positions and the different choices that are open to them (or not); thus, necessitating an expansion of the boundaries of belonging to include all Muslim women (and men) irrespective of how they 'choose' to present themselves or live their lives. By critiquing these ill-defined and exclusive liberal-feminist values of gender equality - and separating notions of universal progress and modernity from constructions of 'the West' - the notion of individual choice and equality can move past serving only white, middle-class experiences of social life. The question we need to ask is, if we are so committed to the liberal values of individual choice and equality then why is that choice and equality universally denied to Muslim women living in the West?

11.5 Sectarianism and Islamophobia: the prism of racism in Scotland

In this final section, participants' parallel framing of sectarianism and Islamophobia will be challenged through a critique of 'racial equivalence' in the

distinctive experiences of Catholic and Muslim women in Scotland (Song, 2014). A theoretical framing will be proposed which conceives of sectarianism and Islamophobia as fundamentally different 'modalities of racism' which, nevertheless, can operate in similar ways within a 'prism of racism' in Scotland (Brewer, 1992; Kelly, 2003; Miles, 1989). Balancing this tension between recognising similarities and differences is essential to countering the intersectional discrimination Catholic and Muslim women both face, in ways that are differentially raced, gendered and classed. By way of conclusion, it will be argued that Catholic women in Scotland, particularly those of Irish descent, need to rediscover their own histories of oppression and marginalisation to enable them to create solidarity across difference, with Muslim women, in ways that they might both unite around common causes.

11.5.1 Challenging Racial Equivalence

As interviews progressed, participants started to draw parallels between Catholic and Muslim women's experiences of living in Scotland. At times, their framing of sectarianism and Islamophobia operated as a sort of 'racial equivalence'; suggesting direct parallels between these disparate and multiple forms of racialised interactions and practices (Song, 2014: 108). This manner of framing distinctive processes of racialisation, and fundamentally different modalities of racism, is problematic for several reasons. It distorts the intersectional power dynamics that position different Muslim women in inferior social locations. For instance, in comparison, white, Catholic women (some of whom are from Irish descent) would appear to claim Scottish identity without the same level of contradiction or challenge to their claims of belonging (Bechhofer and McCrone, 2014; Kiely et al., 2005; McCrone, 2015; McCrone and Bechhofer, 2008, 2010).

Similarly, later generation white ethnics, such as those of Irish Catholic descent, have greater freedom over how and when they identify as 'ethnic' due to their relative 'invisibility' compared to Muslims who are more readily identifiable in "racial" terms and face greater social constraints to accept the identity assigned to them by majorities (Waters, 1990: 18). Or as Flint puts it,

'One key difference between the two groups is the continuing visibility of Muslims as an identifiable minority, arising from skin colour, language, clothing and religious practices. This is no longer the case for Irish Catholics in Scotland, where choice of school and certain family names are the only demarcation of (White Christian) individuals' religious and ethnic background' (Flint, 2007: 253).

Although Catholic women may still face some limitations to their full acceptance in Scotland, in certain circumstances - as demonstrated in chapter nine *feminised sectarianism* - this pales in comparison to the racialisation of Muslim women and their experiences of Islamophobia in our contemporary socio-political context (Goldie, 2018; Hopkins, 2004; Hopkins et al., 2017; Siraj, 2011). Therefore, to equate these two modalities of racism and conflate the distinctive experiences of Muslim and Catholic women is to *'denude the idea of racism of its historical basis, severity and power, (...) trivialising and homogenising quite different forms of racialised interaction'* (Song, 2014: 107).

This section explores examples of participants' constructions of a racial equivalence between Catholic and Muslim women's experiences, to reassert the need for an intersectional lens that conceives of sectarianism and Islamophobia as fundamentally different 'modalities' of religious racism which, nevertheless, can operate via similar processes of racialisation which are cross-cutting within a broader 'prism of racism' in Scotland (Brewer, 1992; Kelly, 2003; Miles, 1989). This requires a deeper analysis of racial articulations to highlight different motivations, histories, and social experiences to enable their contextualisation within the historical and contemporary structured systems of power and domination within which they are embedded.

In the following extract Pauline is asked specifically about women and sectarianism and her view about the issue of intra-Christian (Protestant and Catholic) mixed marriage. She conflates western notions of 'progress' towards greater gender equality and 'our' experience of declining religiosity to imply that Muslims ought to be less 'dogmatic' in order to assimilate. In doing so she sets up an equivalence in the Catholic and Muslim experience and retains the idea that western liberal values are the standard against which all ethnic and religious cultural norms should be measured.

S – So do you think that sectarianism is something that just affects men or is it something that might also affect women?

P – Well, it has to because if it affects men it has to affect women. (...) There are so many women out there now, who are equal partners with men, and in many ways, it has changed relationships. With all these changes in society it's bound to have had an effect on how people view their role, and within that might come the religious side of it as well. (...) Obviously, coming back to certain religions though they might [accept a second-class role to men]. (...) It's a work in progress, obviously, but it is moving forward. And that, in itself, will have an effect on the [sectarian] religious divide and all sorts of other divisions in life, I think. It's almost like, in some religions, they don't see the benefit of educating girls - cos girls are never going to do anything - which is so alien now to Western culture, isn't it? But there are still these divides and differences. So, I think there are probably pockets where that is still fairly ingrained where the children are not going to be encouraged at home and that is a very difficult thing to overcome.

S – So what about things like intermarriage these days do you think it's still an issue?

P – Not so much because it used to be [an issue] when we first moved here. They frowned upon the main religions - Catholicism and Protestantism - marrying each other. That was still frowned upon. I wouldn't say that it's such an issue now. But I think there is an issue with people ... perhaps with Muslims, Jewish people, you know? People who are VERY religious and who do want them to marry within their faith. I think that's still there. Yes, I would say that is still there. So, it's not an issue for everybody [for 'us' Christians] but there are still areas where it's potentially an issue. The wider problem might be where the [Muslim or Jewish] children are being brought up in a Western society, to a great extent, but then at home they are conforming to their religion and their parents' wishes. I think that would bring up a bit of conflict in them.

Pauline then goes on to discuss the problems of 'ramming religion down your throat' and being 'too dogmatic' about your commitment to religion and politics. Her view is that sectarianism has eroded in Scotland because of greater gender equality, declining religiosity and increasing acceptance of intermarriage between Protestants and Catholics; arguments which certainly have merit and supporting *quantitative* evidence on these specific ways of *measuring* of intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland (Raab and Holligan, 2012). However, her assimilatory model of minority integration is one-sided -

a diminutive form of victim blaming - and, once again, places the onus on minorities to conform to the majority culture by diluting their religious commitment, rather than challenging the inequitable power structures that contribute to their alienation and division in the first instance. Moreover, the equivalence she sets up between the experiences of Catholic and Muslim women severely distorts the historical and contemporary specificity of these fundamentally different processes of racialisation, the different structured systems of power and domination in which they are embedded, and the distinctive modalities of racism to which they relate.

For instance, her discussion of mixed marriages ignores the power dynamics embedded in these micro-familial decisions and the question of whether they reproduce structured systems of domination. Applying Song's (2014) critique; if white Catholic parents of Irish descent living in Inverclyde want their child to marry another white Irish Catholic person in Scotland, this can be said to be ethno-centric but it is not racist. However, if white Scottish Protestant parents were opposed to their child marrying someone of a different ethnic or religious background - because they believed them to be inherently inferior - such a view would be racist because this antipathy toward Catholics, non-Christians and people of colour reproduces ideologies concerning inherent racial differences and racial inferiority which reinforces historical structures of domination. Similarly, if Muslim parents living in Inverclyde objected to a white Scottish son or daughter in law, with a culturally Protestant upbringing, because they saw white Scottish culture as objectionable, this would not necessarily be racist because, again, such a view does not create or reproduce structures of domination in this specific context (p.122).

Pauline believes that 'excessively' religious collectivities - such as the parents of Muslim and Jewish children - are causing an 'issue' for encouraging them to conform to their religion and wishes to marry within their faith. There is nothing racist about minority cultures wishing to preserve their religion or ethnicity, in an environment in which they have historically faced considerable marginalisation and oppression. It is not the minority that is causing 'the issue' or 'tension' that Pauline describes. The solution for greater community

cohesion is two-way integration and cultural pluralism - for majorities to stop being racist - not for minorities to completely erase or dilute their ethnic identities or religious commitments as a prerequisite to their tokenistic acceptance. In other words, the two-way process of integration of ethnic and religious minorities cannot operate on a principle of racial equivalence because there is a historical system of power and domination working against the oppressed group that requires protection and support in order to achieve true equality and parity of esteem. Similarly, that the Irish Catholic experience in Scotland is one of declining religiosity, at least in terms of measures of church attendance, does not mean that the 'solution' for Muslim minorities is equivalent, nor that cultural assimilation is necessarily the desirable end goal.

Rather than announcing the end of [structural] discrimination [against Catholics of Irish descent in Scotland] and rejoicing that our minority and oppressed groups are so indistinguishable from the 'mainstream', should we not be asking 'where are they all? Where are the stories, history and culture of millions of lives? Why are they 'not altogether present in Scotland' (O'Hagan, 2000: 24-25).

Similarly, Pauline's problematic discourse of equivalence also conflates progress towards greater gender equality with the 'western' experience of declining religiosity as the best pathway to 'modernity'. As a result, her solution to the essentialist and erroneous view that all Muslims do not care about the education of girls appears to imply that religious commitment must be diluted or erased in order to progress gender equality. Once again, this is underpinned by a dichotomous and essentialised view of a superior, modern and western society with secular liberal values of equality that are set against a supposedly illiberal and premodern view of Muslim culture. As explored above, the assumption that she makes is one that ignores the intersectional differences within different women's experiences and overlooks the potential of the embedded agency of different women from within rather than against the religious contexts in which they live their lives (See Khurshid, 2015; Prickett, 2015).

At the core of many participants' narratives was this underlying assumption that assimilation - conceived of as erasure of difference - was the solution to

problems of cohesion. The culture of victim-blaming - placing the onus on the minority to change central elements of their identity in order to be accepted by the majority - also manifested as a problematic diminution of racism that presumed the superiority of white majority culture. The idea that Catholics of Irish descent had changed - and that, therefore, this was both desirable and a model which Muslims should follow - was also linked to the underpinning notions of racial equivalence that distorted the historical specificity of unequal power structures and systems of domination. It also relied on reconstructing one's own history in such a way that engaged in selective historical amnesia as explored in more detail below. In this way Catholic participants were able to re-draw the boundaries of belonging in ways that included them in constructions of the nation at the expense of racialising Muslims as the new outsider.

Here Brook can be seen to re-draw the boundaries of belonging in this way.

There are more multi-cultural and coloured people for us to hate now instead. That's what it is. There are different scape goats now. (...) Before it was just Catholics and Protest-tants mostly. So, they are going to fight because there are only the two of you. They are going to fight against each other because there is no one else to fight but now there's hunners. And, now you've been classed as like the same thing because there is loads of different religions. So, you've been classed under the same, so actually you band together against these even scarier foreigners. Like, it's just moved on, it's just moved on to hating someone else.

Brook, a practising Presbyterian, clearly articulates the historical nature of shifting racialised constructions of belonging to the Scottish nation. She explains how Catholics can now conceive of themselves as 'the same' as Protestants in the face of 'scarier foreigners'. However, her claim that things have moved on from sectarianism to other modalities of racism against 'multicultural and coloured people' is similarly underpinned by a model of racial equivalence that distorts the contingent and dynamic hierarchies of the intersectional politics of belonging. Just because there appears to be greater diversity - or as Brook bluntly puts it, different 'people for us to hate now instead' - does not mean that in all circumstances and under all conditions that

intra-Christian sectarianism has ceased to be a problem. Moreover, it also implies that if one modality can be 'resolved' by simply introducing new people that eventually those new people can also be included when the next group arrives.

Although Virdee (2014) highlights the historical, social and political conditions in which Irish Catholics, then Jewish, then Black and Asian minorities were each racialised as outsiders to the nation; he does not suggest that by moving onto the next group this automatically resolves historical racisms targeted at the 'old' minority. At various moments 'old' ethnic and religious minorities can be re-racialised, and historical modalities of racism re-ignited during certain flashpoints as evidenced throughout this thesis.

It is therefore better to conceive of different modalities of racism, not as equivalent or parallel, but as part of a contingent intersectional hierarchy of racialised belonging, so that all forms of racism are part of a prism in which the criss-crossing processes of racialisation have some similarities - from which we can learn to better challenge distinctive racisms in all its forms - but equally some fundamental differences (Miles, 1989; 1996; 1982; Brewer, 1992; Kelly, 2003; Virdee, 2014; 2017; Meer & Nayak, 2015; Meer & Modood, 2012; 2010; Garner, 2004; Walter, 2011; Murji & Solomos, 2005).

Alice and her daughter Lucy both articulated a belief that adding additional layers of 'difference' eroded historical issues of intra-Christian sectarianism. Lucy stated that,

As I go into secondary school now, I'm going to a Catholic school that feels almost non-denominational because it's so multi-cultural. (...) People are a lot more inclusive of, a lot more comfortable being around people of other religions because there is much more diversity, everybody seems to be used to there being lots of religions in the school, there is little to no sectarianism that I've experienced.

While her Mum, Alice, echoes this sentiment stating that her daughter's more multicultural Catholic school environment, which also now included Muslims,

'...has been really interesting in terms of a completely different type of religious difference' which 'definitely ... seems to have diffused any

ideas or interest about sectarianism because there is a much clearer and present religious difference for people to actually navigate their way around.'

These examples of racial equivalence highlight the need to challenge problematic diminutions of racial superiority that engage in victim-blaming, in order to advocate for a more equitable model of religious and cultural pluralism rather than an erasure of difference through assimilation into dominant and majority cultures.

11.5.2 Selective Historical Amnesia

In a related process of selective historical amnesia, Catholic participants of Irish descent also appeared to have repackaged their own histories of marginalisation to redraw the boundaries of national belonging in ways that reaffirmed their own inclusion at the expense of the 'new' Muslim outsider.

For instance, several Catholic participants referred to their knowledge of historical Irish migration to Inverclyde and to their own family connections with Ireland. I distinctly remember the myriad of ways in which I was welcomed by many local people during my fieldwork when they heard my (Northern) Irish accent. Many participants were aware of the connections between Ireland and Scotland and its relationship to their local and familial histories and there was a strong sense that it was a significant element of many people's identity, particularly in areas such as Greenock and Port Glasgow.

For some this story of 'historical immigration' made them think about their own roots and the irony that they too were once the primary racialised outsider.

'We have nae real immigration [in Inverclyde] ... well except for your kind of historical immigration. Obviously, I'm sure from my Irish surname you can tell where my family came from! (Laughs) It's a good few generations from me, you know. I don't have anybody in my lifetime that has been Irish but obviously that's where we've come from. And Inverclyde has got an awful lot of that.' (Tracy)

One of the youngest participants also comments on her family history.

'I remember when I was over living briefly in Ireland, my Mum was getting all sorts of abuse because obviously they heard our Scottish accent. And they were all, like, you people came over here and stole

our jobs! But my family are all from Ireland anyway! They came over to Inverclyde originally during the Potato Famine! (Laughs) So actually that was my family that was getting affected by that as well and that's why they came to Scotland! (Laughs)' (Alison)

Her mother also explains,

I don't know what the figures are but let's say eighty odd per cent of people locally have Irish heritage, that's massive, practically everybody has somebody that came off one of those boats. It's the way we are here. I mean everybody was coming off the boats and straight into shipyards and sugar houses so, aye, it is deeply ingrained in the psyche of people here. (...) And I can't go and talk about anybody coming here as a new immigrant, nowadays, cos not one of our family didn't come off a boat. (Both Laugh) And people will laugh when you remind them of that and they'll be like ... oh right, ok! Sssh! (Sylvia)

It is important to highlight the irony of what Sylvia describes here, because it is something that has characterised many of the comments by Catholic participants throughout this chapter. Their *selective historical amnesia* has meant that they are reproducing similar racialising discourses, to exclude the 'new' Muslim other, as those to which their Irish parents and grandparents were subjected generations before (See, Sato, 2005; Farrar, 2011; Kim, 2008).

Some Catholics of Irish descent may actively choose to ignore these historical memories of oppression. Sylvia, for instance, described times when she has tried to remind fellow Catholics of the fact, they are descendants of people who also '*came off one of those boats*'; just like the newly arrived Muslim migrants who *they* are now constructing as the most recent group of racialised outsiders to the nation. However, according to Sylvia, some people just do not seem to want to be reminded of that. They appear to have selectively repackaged their histories, stemming from their own religious affiliation and immigrant origin, in order to construct alternative narratives that adapt to the changing political situation of Brexit Britain, whilst ensuring they continue to enjoy the security of their own more established position within Scottish society.

This choice to racialise and exclude 'new outsiders' is something that Virdee (2014) has documented throughout the history of British nation building. Some Irish Catholics embraced racism against newer migrant groups as a passport

to upward social mobility as 'white' members of the racialised nationalist construction in Britain (p.143).

'As the boundary of the nation was expanded to include ever-increasing members of the [white] working class, it was simultaneously racialised, forcing the most recently arrived migrant group to serve as the exclusionary foil to enhance [their own] working class inclusion' (ibid: 163, see also: Ignatiev, 1995).

However, history can also offer hope for challenging these discourses. As discussed in the theoretical framework on racialisation; there are examples of contradictory processes among a small number of the white Scottish working-classes who, at various points throughout history, have sought to create solidarity across ethnic and religious lines to actively challenge disparate forms of racist and classist discrimination (See theory framework pp.72-74).

In other words, the selective historical amnesia demonstrated here in Catholic participants' narratives of racialisation, can be challenged with the rediscovery of their own histories of oppression and marginalisation. This would enable them to create solidarity across difference with Muslim women, in ways that they might both unite around common causes; whether that be their shared experiences of gender inequality as 'embedded agents' within their respective religious contexts, of broader 'secular incomprehension' from the majority Scottish public towards their distinctive 'religious sensibilities', or of the similar struggles they each face in asserting their rights to legitimacy and recognition with regard to issues such as faith schools (Bruce, 2003; Conroy, 2001, 2003; Flint, 2007; Khurshid, 2015; Prickett, 2015; Sewell, 2002; The Irish Times, n.d.). As women who have descended from a racialised religious minority group themselves; Catholic women of Irish descent have a unique perspective on Scottish society. An urgent and decisive choice must be made to collectively suppress and actively reject these increasingly mainstream expressions of Islamophobic racism.

11.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, four related processes of racialisation can be identified across participants' constructions of Muslim 'outsiders'. Firstly, participants appeared to engage in *victim-blaming* which placed a disproportionate burden of change on Muslim minorities to assimilate and denied any role for the white 'Christian' majority to adapt. Secondly, they employed discourses of *racial equivalence* which distorted the historical and contemporary, social and political specificities of different intersectional systems and structures of power and domination, as they are shaped not just by gender and religion but also social class. This led to participants drawing unhelpful parallels between sectarianism and Islamophobia that implied Muslim women should assimilate by losing their religious identities and integrating in the same way as previous generations of (Irish) Catholics. Thirdly, they *essentialised and pathologised* Muslim women as belonging to an inherently backward and homogenous collectivity in ways that assumed a position of Western cultural superiority. It was implied that there was a need to reform the 'premodern' and 'illiberal' values of Islam, offering flawed solutions to problems of cohesion that were founded on particularistic forms of feminism, or simply rejecting the possibility of their full belonging on account of their 'unassimilable' gender relations. And finally, some participants also appeared to have *selective historical amnesia* that conveniently ignored their own immigrant origins and the historical religious devotion of their (Irish) Catholic ancestry.

Therefore, it was suggested that a model of integration founded on cultural pluralism could offer a two-way process of reforming the boundaries of the nation that would enable diverse ethnic and religious minorities to express their right to belong to Scotland, to have those claims accepted, and to still retain elements of their own identity. This would also require the majority to actively engage in an on-going negotiation of the boundaries of what it means to belong in contemporary Scotland, not just as an elite-led process but as part of a grass-roots reimagining of the nation from below.

In addition, it was argued that racial equivalence needs to be challenged so that Islamophobia and intra-Christian sectarianism are conceived of as possessing some similarities in the way they operate to construct racialised outsiders to the nation, but that, equally, they are still recognised as being fundamentally different modalities of religious racism due to the distinctive social, political and historical conditions in which they are embedded in different intersectional systems and structures of power and domination. This requires conceptualising different modalities of (religious) racism as criss-crossing processes on a contingent intersectional hierarchy contained within a prism of racism in Scotland. They are not parallel or linear processes; so that the appearance that one modality of racism has 'moved on' to focus on the (re)-construction of a 'new' racialised outsider, does not mean that the problem of racism towards the 'old' group has been resolved, it's not a parallel or linear process of equivalence.

And finally, intersectional feminism has much to offer in terms of countering the particularistic liberal-feminist claims made by these middle-class Scottish women. Community development has a role to play in fostering meaningful relationships between different ethnic and religious collectivities, in ways that seek to create solidarity across difference. Rediscovery of their own histories of marginalisation and oppression would create a sense of shared outsider status and allow different women to unite around common causes to enable a more inclusive struggle for gender equality for all women.

Chapter 12 Conclusion

Initially this research set out to challenge mainstream definitions of intra-Christian sectarianism in Scotland, by re-problematizing the issue from the standpoints of different women. This was framed as a broader question of religious difference and grounded in the everyday lives of women and girls from different denominational backgrounds, social classes and age groups in Inverclyde. The goal was to highlight different women's perceptions and experiences of religious difference through asking the following questions: what are the boundaries of ethnic and religious belonging in Scotland? How are these boundaries transmitted? How do women think, act and feel about religious difference? And are there negative judgements of the 'other' or a ranking of one's own gendered cultural and religious norms and values as superior?

Overall, it was argued that the continual expression and validation of the boundaries of belonging to the nation operates across three connected levels. Rhetorically, at the level of ideas, drawing selectively on historical scripts and contemporary discourses to reproduce identity narratives in everyday life on which ethnic and religious differences can be continually (re)built; overtly, through mobilising visible signs and signals such as the institutional markers of separate denominational schools or the Orange Order, to provide legitimacy for these historical ideas about religious difference; and covertly, through invoking subjective beliefs about basic value orientations such as perceived differences in gendered cultural and religious norms that were also used to (re)produce, create and maintain ethnic and religious boundaries in more subtle ways. Focusing on these different levels at which the boundary appears to be maintained has meant that the emphasis is on the more subjective discursive, ideational and attitudinal processes that reproduce religious differences not on the sum of overt markers of difference. In other words, it sheds light on how groups categorise themselves - on how issues such as sectarianism are reproduced inter-generationally - by shifting the focus to the various social processes of inclusion and exclusion that appear to enable

discrete ethnic and religious categories and dichotomies to be maintained over time.

12.1 Historical Scripts and Identity Narratives

Chapter five examined how boundaries between Catholics and Protestants appeared to be maintained through (re)producing identity narratives that drew selectively on historical scripts of unequal power relationships. These scripts were called upon when discussing ideas about sectarianism and appeared to form the foundations on which dichotomisation was built, providing a framework for understanding inter-ethnic relations. This included narratives suggesting that Protestants possessed greater decision-making power in the community, that Catholicism was an othered and threatened identity in comparison with what was perceived as the culturally normative nature of Presbyterianism, and narratives about Catholic disadvantage in employment practices. One of the most interesting findings was how contradictions of the original historical script were accommodated with, for instance, a *victory narrative* that reinterpreted the upward social mobility of Catholics as a story of succeeding against the odds. It seemed that these memories of discrimination and disadvantage still lingered, informing how present-day experiences of 'success' were understood.

It was argued that the act of repeating these identity narratives served to reproduce the dichotomisation of the two ethno-Christian religious groups through the continued expression and validation of boundaries in everyday social interactions. In other words, these ideas have power because they can provide a framework against which participants might perceive and experience social interactions in ways that are retrospectively understood as being imbued with sectarian meaning. This has implications for the way that *experiences* of sectarianism are researched because historical ideas can inform how people still think and talk about relations between 'Protestants' and 'Catholics' in the present day. This might account for the so-called gap between perceptions of sectarianism and evidence of its experience. If people believe that these unequal power relations and divisions still exist, they can interpret and

experience inter-ethnic encounters in the context of that frame of reference. The actual practice of reproducing the narratives, in turn, also plays an active role in re-creating and maintaining the idea of a boundary from one generation to the next using these discourses in everyday life. That is not to say that the boundaries cannot be transformed, or that the historical scripts cannot be challenged, or that everyone will interpret their experiences of inter-ethnic relations in this way, but that people have a degree of choice in how they think and talk about present day relationships between Protestants and Catholics. Therefore, there is a role for community educators and related practitioners to work with local people to challenge historical scripts considering contemporary knowledge on the progress that has been made towards greater equality between those from different Christian denominations in Scotland.

While chapter five explored how boundaries are maintained rhetorically, at the level of ideas, chapters six to eight examined how internal and external boundaries are maintained and legitimised through mobilising the more overt signs and signals of institutional affiliations such as denominational schools and the Orange Order.

12.2 The School Marker: internal fragmentation

Chapter six presented Catholic participants' contradictory feelings of difference, community and belonging to highlight the *ethnicisation* of boundaries; the processes by which a Catholic identity seemed to be (re)produced, created and maintained despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence. This included analysis of the positive elements of internal belonging in narratives of 'helping' and 'sticking' to 'your own', and negative narratives of 'trauma' and 'dislocation' experienced by 'outsiders inside' the Catholic community who were differentially positioned on account of the 'raced' and classed identities they were assigned. Those who were seen to exceed the conditions for membership, or fail to uphold standards and expectations, appeared in an on-going process of 'unbecoming Catholic'; attempting to negotiate their way out of the boundaries of belonging. Chapter seven, in contrast highlighted *external* processes of differentiation that, under certain

conditions, appeared to mobilise the same school marker as a resource for stimulating conflict between young people.

The boundaries of 'being Catholic' were examined through an analysis of internal processes of ethnicisation that categorised people according to the overt Catholic school marker and its associated church and family functions. On the one hand, this revealed the *positive* expressions of difference that Catholic school can engender - through narratives of 'helping yer ain' and 'sticking to yer ain' - which appeared to promote the sense of a close-knit and supportive community. The idea that people would 'help their ain' was used to suggest that you could expect preferential treatment from members of your own ethnic group, for instance, in accomplishing life goals such as passing a driving test. While the idea that you should 'stick to your ain' suggested that there was a preference for friendships and intimate relationships being primarily with members of one's own ethnic group. However, while there was some evidence to suggest that the majority of close platonic relationships tended to be from intra-ethnic childhood friendships, established due to the structuring of separate schools; several participants had developed romantic relationships with non-Catholics. This demonstrated the opportunities for inter-ethnic romantic relationships to form through choices of association in more autonomous spaces, such as through young people's part-time jobs in the local community. This revealed a simultaneous continuity and blurring of intra-Christian ethnic boundaries whereby it was argued that the 'church-school-family triangle' is not fully self-reproducing and that having separate denominational schools does not operate as a system of full social closure. There may be expectations, or at the very least a preference, that you 'stick to your own' when it comes to choosing a romantic partner, but this appeared, at least on the surface, to largely depend on the 'choices' of the individual. Nevertheless, these narratives of boundary setting, and maintenance occurred despite seemingly contradictory evidence of inter-ethnic contact which, in turn, also testified to the malleability of these ethnic boundaries.

On the other hand, analysis of 'outsiders within' the Catholic community also revealed *negative* accounts of positionality whereby those wishing to 'fit in'

were seen to suppress their 'true' ethnic roots, passing over opportunities to correct those who mis-labelled them as Catholic. This demonstrated how 'whiteness' appeared to operate as a *privileged signifier*. It could offer a pathway to acceptance even as a 'Presbyterian' *outsider within* the Catholic community, for those who had familial affiliations with a Catholic school irrespective of their own preferred identifications. In contrast, those who were differentially positioned as 'less white', at the boundaries of multiple axes of identification, found that school could be a contingent and insufficient marker for full acceptance as 'being Catholic.' For instance, one participant's Hispanic parentage made her visibly different causing others to 'race' her positioning in relation to the boundary of belonging, her single-parent all-female family broke the traditional family form, and her mother's middle-class emphasis on choosing education and a career over settling down, staying put and having a family also challenged the classed and gendered value orientations of the collectivity. This revealed that there are other things that matter in addition to the school marker to satisfy conditions of belonging that are gendered, raced and classed; none of which are reducible to 'choice'.

Therefore, it was argued the intra-Christian religious difference is not simply a single axis issue of a Protestant and Catholic dichotomy, with school used as a straight-forward marker to assign or ascribe a Catholic identity. Location and positionality are complex, contingent and multi-faceted and intersect with race, gender, class, religion and place (amongst other things) so that ethnicised boundaries are as much internally fragmented as they are externally differentiated in opposition to the 'other'. Where someone is judged to be 'less white' on account of their 'race', gender and/or social class, claims of belonging would appear to be subject to closer scrutiny. Race appeared to have the greatest social importance when it came to making a claim of 'being Catholic'; 'whiteness' as it intersects with gendered and classed values and expectations, is the 'privileged signifier' for belonging and acceptance even before markers of religion are invoked.

Moreover, where these multi-locational and 'raced' individuals then also exceeded expectations for membership, through aspirations of moving away

for educational or career opportunities, it was argued that they were interpellated by competing school, church and family ideologies which then forced them to make choices about their subject positionings in the longer term. This revealed that internal ethnicisation was also about 'unbecoming Catholic'. It was argued that one participant was making an implicit claim for a broader, secular, 'white', Scottish, middle-class subjectivity by distancing herself from 'being Catholic' through the ethnicisation of class, religion and gender by 'othering' women from 'her own' ethno-religious group. In a related example another participant's 'dislocated' subjectivity also led her to negotiate the process of 'unbecoming Catholic'. However, in this case, her dislocation was on account of having 'failed' to uphold classed norms of gendered 'appropriateness' after falling pregnant as a teenager while in a Catholic secondary school. Therefore, it was argued that inclusion and exclusion, 'being' and 'unbecoming' were as much about exceeding expectations as to 'failing' to uphold those same expectations for membership. Interestingly, this participant also appeared to respond to her internal rejection by, in turn, invoking social class to distance herself from the identity through portraying a more superior status that also othered 'other' Catholic girls who, like her, had fallen pregnant in Secondary school. Once again, she also seemed to be making an implicit claim for a broader secular, white Scottish, middle-class subjectivity by distancing herself from 'being Catholic' on account of her superior education and professional career. These examples illustrated the intersectional nature of 'being' and 'unbecoming' Catholic so that boundaries of belonging were about both internal fragmentation and external differentiation that were simultaneously raced, gendered and classed.

Although, this chapter focused on the internal boundaries of 'being Catholic', as claimed and assigned through association with the Catholic school marker, it also pointed towards the boundaries of belonging to the nation more broadly. It was suggested that the cross-cutting axes of inclusion and exclusion from within the Catholic community were based on a contingent intersectional hierarchy of belonging which placed a white, middle-class Catholic subjectivity at the pinnacle so that individuals could experience varying degrees of

incorporation within the collectivity depending on their race, gender and class. As the thesis developed, this theory on the boundaries of belonging was extended to analyse processes of inclusion and exclusion more broadly, at the level of nation. The chapters on feminised sectarianism, gendered Islamophobia and the 'new' racialised Muslim outsider suggested that a broader boundary of belonging to the nation operated on the same contingent intersectional hierarchy that instead used a masculine, Protestant, middle-class subjectivity as the standard against which all other identities are judged; so that individuals can experience differential degrees of inclusion and exclusion depending on the inter-locking characteristics of their identities. Thus, future research in this field with, for instance, Muslim and Protestant individuals is needed to further investigate this theory of belonging from a wider range of standpoints and positions within the hierarchy.

12.3 The School Marker: external differentiation

Chapter seven, highlighted *external* processes of differentiation that, under certain conditions, appeared to mobilise the same school marker as a resource for stimulating conflict between young people from Catholic and non-denominational schools. One example of gendered sectarian violence of a sexual nature stood in stark contrast to the experiences of younger generations of women who often felt that the conflict between pupils of different schools was not 'purely' about religion. It appeared that religion, ascribed through the school marker, was used as a 'resource' for stimulating conflict during the 'flashpoints' of break time, lunch time and home time. During the bus journey home from school, in mixed neighbourhoods where children from different schools were friends, and when in other autonomous spaces; young people appeared to subvert the traditional boundaries of intra-Christian religious difference. Therefore, it was argued that it did not seem to be the case that an exclusively 'sectarian habitus' lay behind young people's reports of conflict. Moreover, youth subcultures also appeared to hold the potential to transcend boundaries suggesting that the youngest generation had opportunities to choose individual identities that were, at times, 'dis-embedded'

from the traditional roles and structures of religion and class. However, despite this promising revelation, it was argued that young people were as likely to be as much constrained by the structures of gender, class and religion, in certain spaces, as they were able to subvert them in others. There is likely both continuity and change in young people's identifications as they relate to sectarianism and the boundaries of intra-Christian belonging.

Crucially, this chapter illuminated how existing research on sectarianism in Scotland neglects the distinctive ways in which women and girls may interact during feminised 'flashpoints' which may also draw on sectarian insults as a 'resource' for emotional or physiological violence through the performance of hegemonic femininities and equally narrow views of *female* sexuality. This is something that was further developed in the chapter on feminised sectarianism which proposed a new gendered definition of sectarianism in Scotland around which it is hoped that future research can be developed to better understand the distinctive experiences of women and girls.

12.4 The Orange Order

Chapter eight, explored narratives about the Orange Order and its associated marches and parades. This was the last of the overt, visible institutional markers that surfaced in participants' constructions of identity boundaries in narratives relating to intra-Christian sectarianism. This chapter provided insight into the ways in which this institution can also function as a marker of belonging, to (re)produce, create and maintain ethnic boundaries, in one of the more marginal ways to 'be Protestant'. As such, it was argued that 'being Protestant' was characterised by its more fragmented nature partly due to its relative lack of explicit 'institutional backbone' in comparison to 'being Catholic' with the structure provided for this by Catholic schools in Scotland. Nevertheless, during certain flashpoints, it too seemed to serve as another institutional marker of belonging or a way of 'making' difference.

Sectarianism appeared to be experienced in relation to the Orange Order and its associated marches and parades in inter-subjective ways. These

experiences were theorised as micro-aggressions that appeared to manifest as subconscious feelings of aversion, transferred from grand-mother to grand-daughter in 'silent' and embodied ways. The idea that these instinctive and tribal reactions to difference could co-exist as subconscious dual attitudes, alongside sincerely held egalitarian values, revealed the potentially pernicious influence of sectarianism in the ever-shrinking spaces in which it still survives. It was argued that this can instil instinctive reactions to difference in the form of an implicit or dissociative bias that is hidden, sometimes even from oneself. This chapter, in particular, revealed the complexity of affective responses to ethno-religious difference that highlighted the need to re-frame what constitutes 'real' 'evidence' of experiences of sectarianism in Scotland; to challenge the emphasis on 'perpetrator perspectives' and better recognise the subtle, covert, subconscious - and perhaps even unintentional - forms of sectarian prejudice and bigotry that continue to exist.

As such, it was argued, once again, that the central epistemological debate that divides scholarly analysis in the field between 'perception' versus 'evidence' is a matter of concern for researchers given the largely subconscious, embodied and subjective ways in which sectarian micro-aggressions appeared to be experienced and enacted. It is recommended that further research with additional collectivities could test the extent to which tribal and subconscious dual attitudes might exist in broader samples; given the limitations in recruiting Protestant participants in this sample. It was also suggested that renewed efforts should be encouraged to develop effective techniques to combat these contemporary forms of aversive bias that engage with people on a deeper and more reflective level to challenge prejudices that are more ingrained and instinctive.

12.5 Feminised Sectarianism

Chapter nine moved the analysis from overt institutional signs and signals to covert value orientations; the standards against which the morality of members is judged with implications for rights to belong to the collectivity. This new avenue of research highlighted the female-led politics of policing the choices,

actions and behaviours of Catholic women and girls. This was based on the belief that Catholic and Protestant women and their families had different standards of morality in relation to gendered cultural and religious norms of 'appropriate' female sexuality.

Firstly, it was identified that the boundaries of belonging seemed to operate through prejudiced discourses of *demonised sexualities* that constructed racialised Catholic outsiders by discriminating against their '*failed femininity*'. Secondly, it was argued that this also appeared to operate as prejudiced discourses racialising Catholic (and Muslim) outsiders as *baby factories* that discriminated at the micro-familial and institutional levels; undermining their *contraceptive agency and competence*. Catholic women and girls were accused of being both too 'pure' and too 'wild' and their sexual activity, contraceptive or reproductive choices appeared to be held to higher standards of scrutiny from both within and outwith their church communities. Failed femininity was judged against a white, middle-class Protestant femininity which was portrayed as superior, more respectable and making the 'right' choices over fertility. Thus, it was argued that, feminised sectarianism is about mobilising these gendered and classed respectability politics to racialise Catholic women and girls as outsiders to the nation by undermining their contraceptive agency and competence in everyday private and institutional spaces.

This female-led everyday politics of racialisation is not merely about reproducing softer ethnic boundaries of cultural and religious difference but about the inherently racialised intersectional dynamic of hierarchical power relations that seeks to determine who can be included as rightful members of 'the nation'. This is because the uni-directional value judgements being made were inferiorising Catholic women and girls in ways that ranked a white Protestant middle-class sexuality as superior.

Moreover, these prejudiced and popularised stereotypes about Catholic women and girl's sexuality and fecundity, coupled with the corresponding discriminatory actions and behaviours towards their reproductive choices, are

well known systems of discrimination that have the potential to influence health inequalities for Catholic women in terms of their family planning care. Although this is beyond the scope of this study, these findings highlighted an important avenue for future research into the provision of maternal health and family planning services to Catholic (and Muslim) women and girls that seeks to investigate the links between popular prejudices and stereotypes and the potential impact this may have on unequal health outcomes.

This has led towards a new *theory of feminised sectarianism in Scotland* and a new *gendered definition of sectarianism* which are proposed with a view to expanding existing research and practice to tackle this issue in ways that are better attuned to the experiences of different women and girls. Feminised sectarianism operates as a myriad of female-led intersectional processes of racialisation which use religion as the main marker of difference. It is a modality of religious racism that appears to coalesce around a gendered and classed respectability politics. Personal choices such as the number of children that Catholic women have, their relationships with men and their sexuality more broadly, can be politicised by others in ways that racialise on account of the overlapping characteristics of social class, gender and perceived religious identity. Gendered and classed respectability politics can thus be mobilised against Catholic women and girls in ways that sectarianise the boundaries of belonging to the nation and, under certain conditions, re-construct them once again as racialised outsiders.

Ultimately, these processes of racialising Catholic women and girls are part of a broader historical exclusionary politics that serves to construct differentially positioned 'racialised outsiders' to the nation. It is about who is granted status and respect and who is not; it is about vying for position on a contingent intersectional hierarchy that is rooted in shifting historical constructions of national belonging. This was of particular interest because the same feminised patterns of inferiorising the religious other, in attitudes towards Catholic women and girls, appeared to be mirrored in the prejudiced attitudes towards Muslim women who were being constructed as the 'new' and more visible outsiders to the nation.

12.6 Gendered Islamophobia

One of the most surprising findings from the fieldwork was how participants spoke about their perceptions and experiences of religious difference in relation to Muslims. This is likely because a conscious decision was made to use the broader language of 'religious difference', rather than sectarianism during the fieldwork. This was also coupled with the fact that the interviews took place in the run up to the EU Referendum. This also enabled an analysis of the two different modalities of religious racism – intra-Christian sectarianism and Islamophobia – to contrast the intersectional similarities and differences between these differentially positioned racialised outsiders.

Chapter ten emphasised these shifting historical constructions of racialised belonging. It appeared that the focus had moved from racialised Catholic outsiders to the 'new' Muslim outsider. Participants' use of culturalist (and reformist) discourses of Islamophobia revealed their feelings of discomfort, ignorance and lack of interest towards diversity and their articulations of fear, anxiety and panic. Manifestations of these racist feelings and articulations included; the perception of an increased terrorist threat due to the presence of a small number of Muslims in the local community; a discursively violent reaction to the removal of pork from school meals, a fallacious belief that Christian schools were being taken over by Muslims, and discriminatory attitudes towards Muslim refugees and asylum seekers who were seen to be getting preferential treatment in access to social welfare.

Chapter eleven, moved the terrain of racialised articulations from these *cultural* and *material* concerns of mostly working-class women, at the level of nation, to the broader plain of *values*, on a more global level. This was articulated primarily by middle-class and well-educated women who claimed to defend liberal constructions of 'modernity' and gender equality in the West to justify their constructions of a racialised female Muslim outsider to the nation.

In this chapter, four related processes of racialisation were identified. Firstly, participants appeared to engage in *victim-blaming* which placed a disproportionate burden of change on Muslim minorities to assimilate and

denied any role for the white 'Christian' majority to adapt. Secondly, they employed discourses of *racial equivalence* which distorted the historical and contemporary, social and political specificities of different intersectional systems and structures of power and domination, as they are shaped not just by gender and religion but also social class. This led to participants drawing unhelpful parallels between sectarianism and Islamophobia that implied Muslim women should assimilate by losing their religious identities and integrating in the same way as previous generations of (Irish) Catholics. Thirdly, they *essentialised and pathologised* Muslim women as belonging to an inherently backward and homogenous collectivity in ways that assumed a position of Western cultural superiority. It was implied that there was a need to reform the 'premodern' and 'illiberal' values of Islam, offering flawed solutions to problems of cohesion that were founded on particularistic forms of feminism, or simply rejecting the possibility of their full belonging on account of their 'unassimilable' gender relations. And finally, some participants also appeared to have *selective historical amnesia* that conveniently ignored their own immigrant origins and the historical religious devotion of their (Irish) Catholic ancestry.

Therefore, it was suggested that a model of integration founded on cultural pluralism could offer a two-way process of reforming the boundaries of the nation that would enable diverse ethnic and religious minorities to express their right to belong to Scotland, to have those claims accepted, and to still retain elements of their own identity. This would also require the majority to actively engage in an on-going negotiation of the boundaries of what it means to belong in contemporary Scotland, not just as an elite-led process but as part of a grass-roots reimagining of the nation from below.

In addition, it was argued that racial equivalence needs to be challenged so that Islamophobia and intra-Christian sectarianism are conceived of as possessing some similarities in the way they operate to construct racialised outsiders to the nation, but that, equally, they are still recognised as being fundamentally different modalities of religious racism due to the distinctive social, political and historical conditions in which they are embedded in

different intersectional systems and structures of power and domination. This requires conceptualising different modalities of (religious) racism as criss-crossing processes on a contingent intersectional hierarchy contained within a prism of racism in Scotland. They are not parallel or linear processes; so that the appearance that one modality of racism has 'moved on' to focus on the (re)-construction of a 'new' racialised outsider, does not mean that the problem of racism towards the 'old' group has been resolved, it's not a parallel or linear process of equivalence.

Intersectional feminism has much to offer in terms of countering the particularistic liberal-feminist claims made by these middle-class Scottish women. Grass-roots organisations and community educators also have a role to play in fostering meaningful relationships between different ethnic and religious collectivities in ways that seek to create solidarity across difference. Rediscovery of one's own history of marginalisation and oppression could help to create a sense of shared outsider status and allow different women to unite around common causes to enable a more inclusive struggle for gender equality for all women.

Chapter 13 References

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Chapter 14 Appendices

14.1 Table of Participants

	Class*	Religion Upbringing**	Nationality	Pseudonym	Age***	Area****
1 MCC	MC	C	Scottish	Tracy	25-35 (35) T1	Greenock
2 MCC	MC	C	Scottish	Catherine	25-35 (33) T2	Port Glasgow
3 WCC	WC	C	Scottish	Angela	36-45 (38) I1	Greenock
4 WCP	WC	P	Scottish	Brook	25-35 (25) I2	Greenock
5 WCP	WC	P	British	Clare	46-55 I3	Greenock
6 WCP	WC	P/N (Orange Lodge)	British	Faye	25-35 T3	Greenock
7 WCP	WC	P/N (Orange Lodge)	British	Linda	36-45 (36) T3	Port Glasgow
8 MCP	MC	P/C (converted)	Scottish/ British	Pauline	65+ T2	Port Glasgow
9 WCC	WC	C	Scottish	Sheena	65+ T1	Greenock
10 WCC	WC	C	Scottish	Anna	25-35 I4	Greenock
11 MCC	MC	C	Scottish	Sylvia	46-55 T4	Gourock
12 MCC	MC	C	Scottish/Irish	Joan	56-65 T1	Port Glasgow
13 WCC	WC	C	Scottish	Grace	25-35 T5	Port Glasgow
14 MCC	MC	C	Scottish	Alice	25-35 T6	Gourock
15 MCC	MC	C/N	Scottish	Alison	25-35 (25) T4	Gourock
16 WCP	WC	P	Scottish	Molly	56-65 T5	Port Glasgow
17 WCC	WC	C	Scottish	Genevieve	46-55 I5	Port Glasgow
18 MCC	MC	C	Scottish	Lucy	Under 25 T6	Gourock

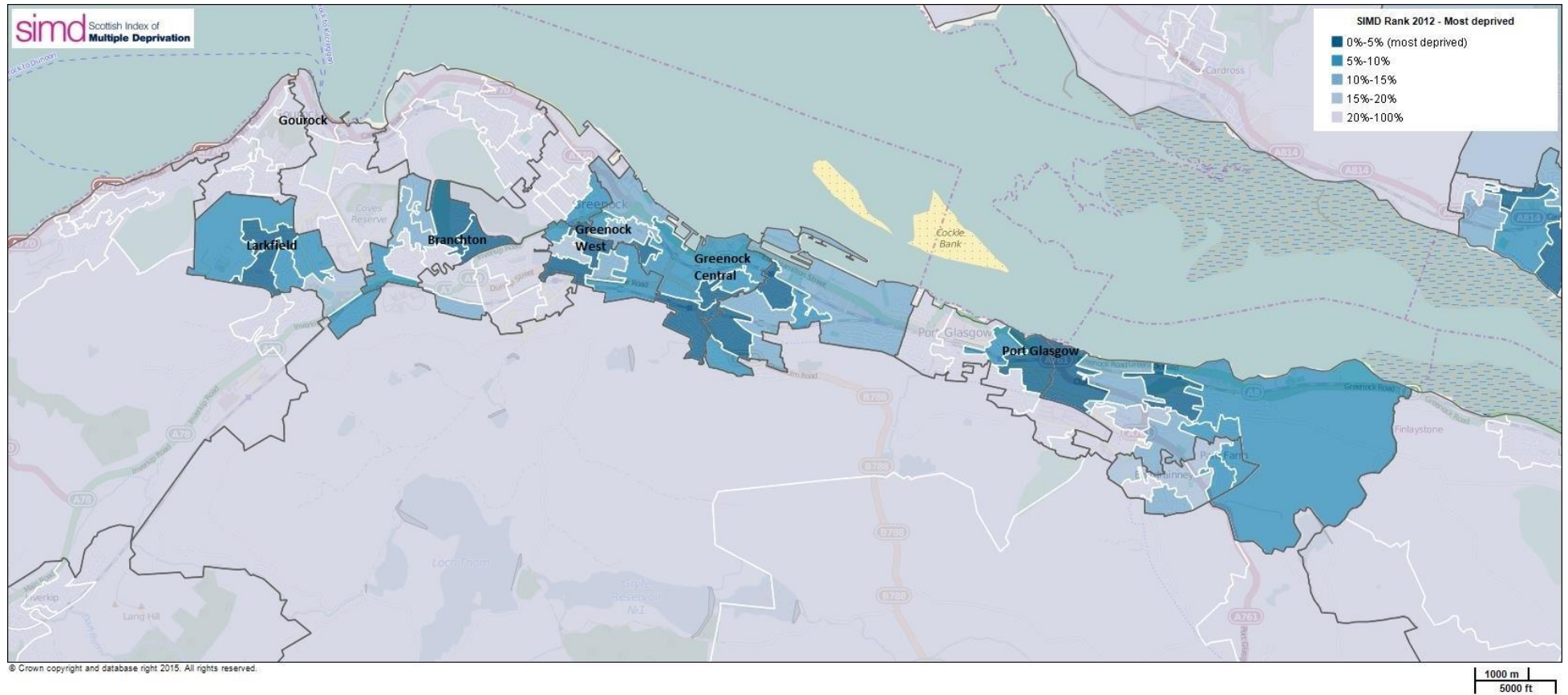
* MC is middle-class, WC is working-class

**C is Catholic, P is Protestant, N is no-religion

***Age ranges were used on the questionnaire; some participants gave exact ages. T refers to a triad family group (although in practice some were duos), I is an individual

**** Exact communities and neighbourhoods are not mentioned to protect anonymity.

14.2 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation: map of Inverclyde



(SMID, 2016)

14.3 Interview Schedule

Introduction

Do Monitoring Form – ensures I have a good mix of women from different backgrounds

Check Consent Form – any questions before we get started?

Outline format – there are two parts to the interview

- 1) life history interview where I have just a few prompt questions and leave it up to you to tell as much or as little as you like without me interrupting
- 2) then in 2nd part I have some specific questions prepared that I'm asking all participants

It should take no more than 90 mins in total (45 mins for each phase)

14.3.1 Life History Interview

Ok - so we will start with the Life History Interview...

As I said feel free to tell your story in any order and share as much or as little as you like.

As you know my research is about women, religious difference and identity. So

So ... maybe using your photographs, if you like, to help you get started:

Can you tell me a bit about your understanding and experience of religion and religious difference throughout your life?

Prompts

What was your earliest memory of religious difference?

What was it like growing up? Were you aware of different religions?

What about as a teenager/ young woman? Did you have any experiences of religious difference?

What about now as an adult, do you have any experiences/ understandings of religious difference?

14.3.2 Semi-Structured Questions

Issue/ Topic	Possible Questions	Possible Follow Up	Prompts
<p>Religious difference /tension/ conflict</p>	<p>What religious differences were you aware of you growing up?</p> <p>Can you tell me about a time when you have ever talked to others about religious differences?</p>	<p>What makes you aware of these differences?</p> <p>What would you call this type of difference?</p> <p>Have you ever felt judged or excluded by people (close to you) because of your identity? By whom? What did you do? (Do you know people who have felt this?)</p> <p>What about now? Have things changed?</p> <p>Who did you talk with?</p> <p>What happened? / How did the conversation go?</p> <p>Would it be a different conversation in another place or with another person?</p>	<p>Why? Why not?</p> <p>When?</p> <p>How?</p> <p>Really?</p> <p>Can you tell me more?</p> <p>Can you think of an example?</p> <p>Why?</p> <p>Why not?</p> <p>Really?</p> <p>Can you tell me more?</p> <p>Can you think of an example?</p>
<p>Identity Narratives/ Boundary Maintenance</p>	<p>How have you come to be aware of your own identity and relationship to religion?</p> <p>How has your identity/ relationship to religion changed over time?</p> <p>Do you tend to associate with other people who you know share similar identities? Who? Why/ why not?</p>	<p>What role has your relationships with other people played in this? Family? Friends?</p> <p>What makes you do this/ avoid this?</p> <p>How are you aware of someone else's identity? /How are they aware of yours?</p> <p>Can you think of an example of a time when this has happened?</p>	<p>How?</p> <p>Why do you think this is?</p> <p>How do you feel about this?</p> <p>Can you tell me more?</p> <p>Why? / Really?</p> <p>Can you tell me more?</p>
<p>Identity Narratives/ Boundary Maintenance</p>	<p>Why do you think these religious differences can sometimes continue to cause bad behaviours/ attitudes / feelings between people over time?</p>	<p>Can you describe an example of a time when this might have happened?</p> <p>What happened? Would other people do the same as you?</p>	<p>Go on...</p> <p>Can you tell me more?</p> <p>Why did you do this/ why not?</p>

	Can you describe a situation in which you have had an opportunity to challenge someone else's attitude/ behaviour towards another person of a different identity?		
Gender and religion	<p>How do you think the fact that you are a woman impacts your experience of religion/ religious difference?</p> <p>How do women/ girls like you behave/ act/ think feel about religious difference? What about women and girls who are different? How do they behave/ act/ think/ feel about those who they think have a different religion?</p>	<p>Is it different for men? What do they do differently?</p> <p>Is it the same for all women?</p> <p>How do you know this? When have you experienced this?</p> <p>Do you feel the same?</p>	<p>How?</p> <p>Why? Why not?</p> <p>Can you tell me more?</p> <p>Do you have an example from your own life?</p>
Family relationships	<p>How does your mother/ sister/ auntie/ grannie/ daughter feel about religious difference?</p> <p>Have you ever felt pressure to conform to family expectations about religion?</p> <p>Have you ever challenged your family about religious differences?</p> <p>What about the girls/ young women in your family? How do they feel about religious difference?</p> <p>What about the grannies and older generations in your family? How do they feel about religious difference?</p>	<p>How did you find this out? How did you react?</p> <p>Can you tell me about it? What happened? How did you feel? Would you do anything differently now?</p> <p>Why do you think they did this/ do not do this?</p> <p>What happened? How did they react?</p>	<p>Why?</p> <p>Why not?</p> <p>Can you tell me more?</p>

<p>Partners/ Marriage (children?)</p>	<p>If you have a partner do, they have the same identity as you? Was this ever an issue for you? Would this ever be an issue? Did/ do you ever feel limited? Do you have any children? Do they have the same identity as you? Was this ever an issue for you? Would this ever be an issue?</p>	<p>How/ Can you explain? How do other people react? Are other people in similar situations? What do other people say? When you became a Mum did it change anything?</p>	<p>Why? Why not?</p>
<p>Friendships</p>	<p>Have you ever been in a group of friends/ people of the same age as you when you knew there were people of different religions? What happened? How did you behave/ feel? Did you or do you have friends of different religion from you? Can you describe this friendship? Would you like a friend of a different religion? What religion? Why?</p>	<p>Would you do the same now? Has it ever caused any problem?</p>	<p>Why? Why not? Really? Go on... Tell me more...</p>
<p>Ending – so to sum up – based on all you shared today -</p>	<p>How much power or influence do you think women like you have to challenge religious tensions?</p>	<p>In what circumstances? Are there limitations? Is it the same for all women?</p>	<p>Why? Why not?</p>



14.4 Questionnaire: socio-demographics

1. What is your relationship status?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Married/ Civil Partnership | <input type="checkbox"/> Dating |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Living together | <input type="checkbox"/> Single/ Divorced/Separated= |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Long term- Boyfriend/ Girlfriend | <input type="checkbox"/> Prefer not to say |

2. Which age group do you fall into?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Under 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> 46-55 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 25-35 | <input type="checkbox"/> 56-65 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 36-45 | <input type="checkbox"/> 65+ |

2. What is your current job?

3. If you are unemployed/ retired/ on leave/ a student what was your last occupation?

4. What jobs did your parents do?

Mother _____ Father _____

5. What is your highest qualification in school or work?

6. What religion (if any) do you most identify with?

7. When you were a child what religion(s) (if any) did your parents identify with?

Mother _____ Father _____

8. How would you describe your ethnic background? (Tick all that apply)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish | <input type="checkbox"/> Irish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> British | <input type="checkbox"/> Northern Irish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Welsh | <input type="checkbox"/> Other White background (please describe) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> English | |

Mixed/Multiple ethnic group, Asian/Asian British groups,
Black/ African/Caribbean/Black British,

Other group. _____