

## **CHALLENGING SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND: THE PRISM OF RACISM**

*Elinor Kelly*

### **INTRODUCTION**

This article is an essay in change in attitudes to sectarian prejudice, drawing on the **Herald** and other Scottish newspapers in order to identify key developments in the three years between 1999 and 2002. In June 1999, Cara Henderson's published a passionate letter of protest against sectarian hatred in football, in August James Macmillan gave his renowned lecture about anti-Catholic bigotry<sup>1</sup>. In November 2002, Jack McConnell, First Minister, called in the giant football clubs – the Old Firm of Celtic and Rangers – to demand that they take concerted action against the violence of their supporters, and threw his weight behind proposals to make 'religious prejudice' an aggravating factor in crime. It was inevitable that the new Scottish authorities would, at some time, face challenge about sectarianism, the component in Scotland's political culture that is more sensitive than any other. It was also inevitable that they would have to deal, at some time, with the scale of violence that surrounds Celtic and Rangers, the giant football clubs in Glasgow, each with their distinctively sectarian affiliations (Finn 2000). However, what is interesting about these three years is the development of centripetal pull. Politicians who stood aside in 1999 were pulled towards the centre of a momentum that was gathering pace.

---

*Dr Elinor Kelly is Research Fellow in Race and Ethnic Issues in the Faculty of Education at Glasgow University.*

<sup>1</sup> *For the sake of clarity, I distinguish between 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' with reference to church members and institutions and 'catholic' and 'protestant' with reference to secular tradition.*

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

Macmillan's hope was that he would stimulate change in the culture of sectarian bigotry that had prevailed through three generations of his family. What he could not know was the precise means by which that change could be brought about. In the aftermath of his lecture, a volume of essays, **Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland**, edited by Scotland's leading historian, Tom Devine, was published. Churchmen and academics responded to Macmillan's challenge. Some contributors published details of research they have undertaken in a field that is characterized more by public denial and private opinion than by considered data. Many of the essays display the strains that the writers were feeling, unused to open debate, struggling because, as Devine states: 'Pandora's box had been opened in spectacular fashion. An issue that had long been swept under the carpet became an obsessive talking-point' (2000, p.8). **Scotland's Shame?** was published at great speed so that it could provide a mirror of a remarkable time (see the further debate between Dudley Edwards 2000 and Gallagher 2001). The present article is intended to supplement the book – looking at the forms of political and judicial debate that have ensued since it was published.

In 2002, political and judicial measures are underway that would have been unthinkable before devolution. They would also have been unthinkable in 2000 when the new Executive was badly shaken by the 'Keep the Clause' campaign led by Cardinal Winning, Archbishop of Glasgow, against the proposal to repeal the controversial Clause 28/2A that prohibited teaching about homosexuality in local authority schools (Evans 2002, pp.288-292). Such is the sensitivity of Scotland's politics to issues of religion and morality that the bruising impact of the Keep the Clause debacle is remembered more vividly than the fact that the vote for repeal was decisive, and that the clause that still stands in England and Wales is not to be found in Scotland. Scottish politicians may well have hoped for some breathing space before they had to face questions of religion again. This they were not to be allowed.

In the aftermath of the September 11th terrorist attacks in the United States of America, the Westminster Parliament decided to implement legal measures against 'religious aggravation' and 'religious harassment' in crime. The Scottish authorities had to decide whether to implement these clauses. But, by then, a remarkable coalescence had developed. The Scottish press had swung behind Cara Henderson and her campaign 'Nil by Mouth'; Glasgow city council had joined Nil By Mouth, Celtic, Rangers, the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in the partnership of Sense over Sectarianism; the Church of Scotland had repented

### *Scottish Affairs*

the part played by leading churchmen in campaigns against the Catholic Church and Irish immigration; local authorities in the sectarian heartlands of Glasgow and Lanarkshire had decided to use longstanding licensing powers to move against public display of sectarian flags, banners and memorabilia. It seems as if the change that Macmillan sought could be underway.

### **RACISM AND REPENTANCE – THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND**

I think the position of the Church of Scotland in the 1920s and what it said about Irish Catholic immigrants is something about which we must at least express regret and approach with an attitude of repentance. ...  
Sectarianism is a running sore within Scottish society whose insidious influence on our attitudes is so deep and damaging. We hope the voice of the church will be raised more strongly against sectarianism.  
(Norman Shanks, **Herald** 23.05.01)

An essential component in culture change is the capacity of key players to open the past and address their ancestry. David Sinclair, writing in Devine's book as Secretary of the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland, analyses the period after the First World War, when his Church was seized by enthusiasm for ideas of racial superiority. The focal point for this enthusiasm was the committee he now leads, created in 1919, 'to deal with matters affecting the Church and the National Life as they may from time to time arise', instructed to address 'the decade lying immediately ahead' and 'backward races in our own Dominions' – phrases that indicate the culture of the time:

ideas planted and cultivated by an imperial history, not only of societal and technological development but also of human possibility and natural place. This combination was to prove conducive to an acceptance of ideas which were soon to flow around Europe of racial superiority and inferiority'.  
(Sinclair 2000, pp.177-178).

The time immediately after the First World War is of particular interest because the Church of Scotland was not only coping with social, spiritual and moral crisis in the aftermath of the war, but, led by the evangelical John White, indefatigable preacher and scholar in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, was also negotiating towards reunification with the United Free Church,

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

achieved in 1929 after years of complex manoeuvres and legislation (Brown 1991 and Reid 2002) The committee became the vehicle through which White pursued one campaign after another, achieving enormous influence until his death in 1951. Even today, his committee remains one of the most important within the Church of Scotland, and so it provides a fascinating insight into ecclesiastical conscience and consciousness – the heyday of imperialism, colonialism and indigenous racism alongside responses to mass Irish immigration, the creation of the Irish Free State and lobbying the government in Westminster to contain the newly resurgent Roman Catholic church.

There is no doubt that White was a towering figure in the Church of Scotland for many years – a great churchman whose many speeches, letters and reports represent an extraordinary achievement:

He revived the nineteenth-century evangelical emphasis which had been attacked before the war by the Christian socialists. Social criticism was abandoned and instead the nation's ills were blamed once again on individual failings which could be cured only by controlling laziness, intemperance, gambling and sexual licence. Puritanism was reborn' (Devine 1999, p.383; see also Reid 2002).

The inexorable logic of his stance led to the report that was to become the focal point of a xenophobic and racist campaign. In 1923 his Synod drafted a report on 'Irish Immigration and the Education (Scotland) Act 1918'. The linking of the two issues was deliberate. White was determined to overturn the way in which the 1919 Education Committee had welcomed the Act, referring to it as 'an Act full of educational promise ... some see in it a children's charter, for one of its main objects is to take the heavy hand of industry off the child-life of the country' (Church of Scotland, Education Committee 1919, p.39). White's report was accepted by the General Assembly and published as **The Menace of the Irish Race to our Scottish Nationality**. The report was not directed towards ecclesiastical dispute with the Catholic Church, but towards the dangerously contaminating effects of the Irish as a degenerate people (Sinclair 2000, pp.178-9; Reid 2002).

White was so dominant that he swept his co-religionists into a vociferous campaign against its provision of state support for catholic schools. His campaign against Irish immigration was enthusiastically pursued throughout the 1920s and '30's by 'a small but vocal minority of ministers who had a

### *Scottish Affairs*

larger element of the faithful behind them' (Gallagher 1987, p.140) accusing the Irish of criminality, intemperance, driving down wages, taking employment from Scots and being a major charge on the public purse. Scotland's most dangerous years of sectarian conflict ensued, but were interrupted by the Second World War, and by the post-war switch in focus of the churches towards the ecumenical and liberation issues that now dominate international affairs, plus the welfare issues that are a priority at home. The Church and Nation report of 1952 shows that the Church of Scotland had become an outspoken member of the British and World Councils of Churches and gave its support to the policy 'to oppose racial discrimination wherever it is found, at home or overseas; in particular to support and apply the principle of partnership in all relationships, official and personal, with other members of the multi-racial Commonwealth to which we belong' (1952, p.315; see also Lynch 1998, about similar developments in the Catholic church).

Yet, still, there was attack on the Roman Catholic church in Scotland for displacing

the native Scots Protestant population from the industrial areas of the west [and] the aggressive attitude of that Church in the social and political life of the community. In Scotland the Roman Catholic Church forms a compact community largely of alien origin with interests of its own ... the belief that the Roman Church is coming to exercise an undue influence over public life is widespread and is undoubtedly causing uneasiness even to many who shrink from giving public expression to it ... Above all, those who cherish the Protestant heritage of our country should realize that it is being definitely menaced.  
(1952, pp.328-330)

The language may have moderated, and there was debate within the report about 'religious toleration' and the 'right of a minority to organize itself politically'. Nonetheless, the unease displayed is not just ecclesiastical, but also racist, with its cross-reference to the 'menace' of the 1923 report, and also to 'alien origin' when referring to people who had been long-settled in Scotland. Such overt racism against the Irish diminished in later years, and the Church and Nation committee became increasingly radical in its social critique, ensuring that it restricted itself to ecclesiastical dispute with the Roman Catholic church (particularly over Vatican rules on marriage). Nonetheless, the 1923 and 1952 reports remain part of the atavism of Scotland (Hickman and Walter 1997, pp.132-142).

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

In subsequent years, there were historic moments that indicated a Church more at ease with itself and better able to adjust in its relations with the Roman Catholic Church. In 1975, Archbishop Winning addressed the General Assembly; in 1982, the Moderator was formally presented, under the statue of Kohn Knox, to Pope John Paul during his visit to Scotland. In 1986, the Church and Nation committee, convened by Norman Shanks, led the General Assembly into withdrawal of the clauses in the Westminster Confession of 1647 describing the Pope as anti-Christ. In 1995, Archbishop Winning, by now a Cardinal, attended the General Assemblies of both the Kirk and the Free Kirk. In August 2000, Andrew McLellan, during his Moderatorial year, preached in Edinburgh's Roman Catholic Cathedral, in December he joined in celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the RC Scots College in Rome, and in June 2001 he was present at the unveiling of the Carfin memorial to those who died in the Irish famines of the 19th century.

In May 2001, Norman Shanks called for a new study into the corrosive effects of sectarianism. It should address the General Assembly's own ignoble attacks of 80 years ago, look at national culture and institutions, the tribalism of football supporters, the influence that the existence of Catholic schools has on people's consciousness and attitudes, the way local government operates and the existence and activities of bodies like the Orange Order. 'I would hope a positive, creative and constructive message can come out of this which shows quite clearly that sectarianism has nothing to do with God's reconciling purpose for the world' (**Herald** 23.05.01). This radical proposal was approved. Writing in the **Sunday Herald's** July 2001 review of Sectarianism in Scotland, Andrew McLellan made clear that he now recognized three different communities with whom he must work:

mainstream, liberal, Scottish Protestantism [who] think that anti-Catholicism is less serious than it is said to be, and sectarianism is limited to a tiny element of society in certain well-defined geographical areas. The Scottish, loyalist, Orange, fervently Protestant community ... we need to learn to understand this community: we will never be able to rid Scotland of sectarianism until we understand what it is that drives the loyalist community. ... There is a very important lesson about the Catholic community to be learned ... how deep the wounds have gone .. how important to them is any sign that Protestant attitudes now are not what they once were.  
(**Sunday Herald** 08.07.01)

### *Scottish Affairs*

In May 2002, the General Assembly was ready to repudiate its racist past, and invited Bishop Devine of Motherwell to attend their debate and make a short address after they had voted. The wording was carefully drafted by the Church and Nation committee so as to avoid the spectre of John White:

Sectarianism is not someone else's problem. In the years around the Great Depression of the early thirties of last century, the Church and Nation Committee campaigned intemperately against Irish immigration into Scotland. From a current perspective it is a matter of regret that the Committee and the Church should have taken such a position ... we have to recognize that a demon in our society has been acknowledged and brought into the open. ... we are aware that the Orange Order is widely perceived to be a sectarian organisation ... We believe that those within the Church who associate themselves with the Order should reflect upon this and take this to heart.

(Church and Nation Committee Report 2002)

This repentance is deeply felt. The Church of Scotland has openly lobbied for change in Scotland's public culture and, drawing on the analogy of what had been achieved in the field of legislation against racism, has thrown its weight behind legislative proposals that were drafted by Donald Gorrie, an elder of the presbytery where Andrew McLallen served as Minister. In March 2001, Gorrie, MSP for Central Scotland, submitted his member's bill – **Protection from Sectarianism and Religious Hatred** – and launched his campaign for speedy implementation. Gorrie experienced weighty party political and parliamentary procedural barriers to progress; he also shared the experience of other campaigners against sectarianism – being mocked as naïve in the Scottish press. He needed the support of his Church. He was given it. The debate in which the General Assembly repented the racism in its past was a defining moment in the cultural history of Scotland.

### **THE OLD FIRM: CELTIC AND RANGERS**

Just another Old Firm game. Just 40 or so arrests. Just passions running high. The clichés trotted out after every Celtic-Rangers game to excuse inexcusable behaviour would sicken a parrot. Despite hard work over generations to remove prejudice on religious grounds from employment and social provision, it continues to infect football in the west of

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

Scotland.

(**Herald** Leader Comment 08.10.02)

Celtic and Rangers, the football clubs that comprise 'the Old Firm', have dwarfed all others in the Scottish Premier League and stand alone as clubs of international stature in Scotland. Business enterprises in which there has been investment on an impressive scale, they have to find bigger leagues in which to play. As their enterprises have developed, they have drawn deep on their passionate followers – Celtic as a 'catholic' club attracts Irish Republican following; Rangers being 'protestant' draws Unionist and Loyalist. Living within the same city and close to the sea ports that bring contingents of their fans across the Irish Sea from Dublin, Belfast and Londonderry, they have always had an uneasy, iconic, relationship with sectarianism – tempted by the financial rewards of sustaining ethnic loyalties, embarrassed when the display of loyalties in song, flags and banners becomes overpowering, especially if they are accused of condoning the violence that surrounds them.

In October 1995, a Celtic fan, Mark Scott, was murdered on his way home from a Celtic-Partick Thistle match. He was killed outside a Rangers pub in Bridgeton, the most notorious of Glasgow's Loyalist enclaves, by Jason Campbell, the son and nephew of men who were responsible for the bombing of two Glasgow bars in 1979 (Bruce 2002) The way in which Campbell killed Mark, a boy of 16, was shockingly public and brutal, there was widespread relief when Campbell was convicted and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Campbell's trial was due to slip into history. But, eighteen months after he was sentenced, some extraordinary developments took place. As part of the 'peace process' in Northern Ireland, there was discussion about transfer of republican and loyalist prisoners from the mainland of Britain. Jason Campbell's name was included in the loyalist list, on the pretext that he would be closer to his uncle. The then Northern Ireland Secretary, Mo Mowlam, and Scottish ministers, including Henry McLeish, then minister for prisons (later First Minister), indicated that they were considering his transfer. Mark Scott's family and friends were horrified; the Scottish media generated uproar, the politicians retreated. Such was the scale of opposition to granting Campbell any form of political status, that there was even an apology from David Ervine of the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force, who had initiated the request for the transfer!

This episode troubled and disturbed many – highlighting connections between Scotland and the deeply, intransigently, sectarian province of

### *Scottish Affairs*

Northern Ireland. It revealed that women and men in high places are so accustomed to tolerating Scotland's sectarianism that they do not react swiftly. Scotland's sectarianism is not just about football, it is not just a vestigial remnant. It is influential in everyday life and in the corridors of power. On the streets, in football crowds, and within communities, Campbell's status was enhanced, because he came close to achieving the status he sought – loyalist icon within Scotland.

Inflamed by the controversy and the excited debates that were raging, Campbell's close friend, Thomas Longstaff, mimicked his crime. In November 1996, on the same street in Bridgeton, he attacked Sean O'Connor, a student supporter of Celtic. Fortunately, Sean survived and was able to give evidence in the subsequent trial that was closely observed as 'the copy cat crime'. Longstaff was defended by Donald Findlay, the lawyer who had led Campbell's defence. Unease about the conduct of the Campbell trial now resurfaced. Donald Findlay was renowned for his flamboyant and noisy support of Rangers, taking great pride in his position as Vice-Chair of the club board. Effective, controversial, even notorious, Findlay has an impressive capacity for leading the court in directions most favourable to his clients – demolishing the prosecution case, winning reduced charges for his clients. Especially, he has a formidable ability to ensure that the context of the crime, and any aggravation that might add to its seriousness, racist or sectarian, is put aside. He succeeded in leading the court away from the most severe sentence that Campbell could receive. In the Longstaff trial, he adopted the same tactics and led the court into focusing on 'mindlessness' rather than the sectarian context.

As Macmillan's lecture indicated, the unease about these murderous attacks was not allayed by the court outcomes. In court, Findlay could not be challenged for the triumphalism that typified his conduct. But, in May 1999, he finally overstepped the mark. He was filmed during noisy club celebrations of a Rangers defeat of Celtic in the Scottish Cup Final. Findlay mocked the idea of sectarianism and lustily led the singing of some of the most inflammatory songs of loyalist militarism and triumphalism. A video recording of his performance was passed to the press and journalists seized their moment of opportunity. At the very time he was leading the singing, two Celtic fans were attacked - Thomas MacFadden was stabbed and Karl McGroarty was hit in the chest by a bolt from a crossbow.

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

Findlay came under enormous pressure. He resigned his position as Vice-Chair of the board of Rangers Football Club. He was disciplined for his intemperate behaviour by the Faculty of Advocates. The honorary degree he was due to receive from St Andrews University where he had served as Rector was withdrawn. There is no doubt that he suffered a deep shock, and, in the course of time he was to retract. In October 2001, he gave a newspaper interview in which he stated 'we have now reached the stage where we have to say "yes, you are entitled to adhere to your Protestant or Catholic tradition. But the way you express that has to change"'. He also said that he believed if Rangers and Celtic were to undertake robust disciplinary action, they could rid the Old Firm of bigots (**Evening Times** 23.10.01).

The Findlay episode was too much for Cara Henderson, a close friend of Mark Scott and now a university student. She wrote a long letter of protest to the **Herald** 'Singing a history of hatred':

It seemed ... that sectarianism was a spent force. Unfortunately the '90s has seen sectarianism surface in a new and more gratuitously violent form. Its centuries-old tribal roots remain intact, nourished each week by the sectarian chants and post-pub banter that are so infused in both the working and middle-class west of Scotland. But what in this arena seems like a controlled means of satisfying man's tribal instincts to belong – identified as they are by who they are not – seems, on the other hand, to trigger, or at least to provide some form of sanction for, the violent actions of a sub-working-class section of society. Perhaps these murderous attacks would have taken on another form, had there not been the pretext for violence in the songs that record a history of hatred. (**Herald** 04.06.99).

Her letter had more provocative effect than she could have dared to hope. The Scottish press encouraged readers to debate the issues, and supported her as she developed the campaign Nil By Mouth – to raise awareness of the extent of the problem of sectarianism in Scotland, to challenge the culture of complacency that allows sectarianism to fester in all levels of Scottish society, to encourage existing organisations to effectively challenge and reduce sectarianism. From then on, Nil by Mouth and the Scottish media started to log murders and attacks where there was evidence of sectarian motivation or context (Kelly and Graham 2001). Most, but not all, of the murders are 'football related', that is they occur on the streets in the aftermath of matches played by Scotland's football titans, Celtic and Rangers. The rate

### *Scottish Affairs*

of incident is kept down by huge expenditure on policing the Parkhead and Ibrox stadiums and the city centre of Glasgow; even so, hospital emergency and accident services are on standby for an influx of casualties. The attackers identify their victims because they wear the wrong colour, sing the wrong songs, shout the wrong insults. However, it is argued, the victims are not innocent. On the contrary, they are partisan, they may even 'invite attack' by displaying their loyalty to a football team that is seen as 'the enemy'.

This bizarre logic is not a parody. It has been applied by advocates, sheriffs and judges in one court trial after another when men accused of murderous attack are not held to account for the 'sectarian hatred' that motivates their actions. The fact that thousands of others wear the same colours, sing the same songs and shout the same abuse is viewed as exoneration, rather than as a pathological context that needs to be challenged. The scale and intensity of the Old Firm rivalry is viewed as 'tribal' by the courts, admired and celebrated by football commentators, the source of frequent jokes about 'blue', 'orange' and 'green'. Indeed, the glorification of 'Scotland's greatest sporting spectacle' has overwhelmed any protest about the ways in which the clubs are run. For instance, this season, Rangers allowed slippage in the songs broadcast in the stadium: 'Forward, Forward' was played again; Rangers also chose Orange as the colour of the team's away strip. Their choice was a commercial success; more fans than ever before bought their expensive shirts. As Graham Spiers, leading sports writer in the **Herald**, despairingly wrote: 'can't even the fripperies of bigotry be abandoned prior to the real task being attempted?' (**Herald** 08.10.02).

As the display of sectarian loyalties around the Old Firm became increasingly outrageous, it was inevitable that someone, somewhere would cause severe embarrassment. In 2002, several developments took place that finally shocked the Scottish Executive into action. Neil Lennon, a member of Celtic's team, was due to captain his national side – Northern Ireland – in a friendly match against Cyprus. Lennon has been subjected to crowd abuse on many occasions, and has also received death threats over which he feels vulnerable as a catholic with family, including his daughter, in Lurgan, Northern Ireland. He decided he must take this threat seriously: he withdrew from the team and announced that he would not play again for his national side. Two months later, in October, there were three serious incidents. When Celtic played Rangers, there were 40 arrests in the crowd and a scuffle between players in the tunnel – all shown on television across Britain. When Celtic played Motherwell, the minute's silence in memory of the victims of the September

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

11th terrorist attacks in USA was interrupted by Celtic supporters singing IRA songs. When Celtic played Heart of Midlothian, there were running street battles in Edinburgh after a game in which paramilitary songs were sung and Unionists and Irish flags were removed by police officers.

In this sequence of events, there is nothing remarkable or new. Lennon had received death threats in the past, and when he played for his national side against Norway in 2001, he was booed so persistently every time he touched the ball that he had to be withdrawn from the field. Neither he nor the national club management contemplated cancelling the Cyprus match in which he could no longer play. Glasgow and other cities have lived for years with the level of violence generated when Celtic or Rangers play. What was different at this time was that club management, journalists and politicians had had enough. Extremist fans were bringing the clubs, their city, and their country into international disrepute, especially at the time when Scotland and Ireland were bidding jointly to host the 2008 European Football Championships.

On 18th September 2002, Ian McLeod, the Celtic chief executive, wrote to all 50,000 season ticket holders asking them to stop chanting IRA slogans. On 7th October, the First Minister and the Justice Minister issued a joint statement in support of legislation to tackle sectarianism, supported the next day in an open letter released to the press by the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. On 15th October, Celtic chief executive and the Rangers chairman were called to talks with the First Minister. On 31st October, the Rangers fanzine, **Follow Follow**, was banned from the stadium. On 8th November the Chairman of Rangers reported that 100 fans had been banned from Ibrox and warnings had been issued to another 900 fans. On 7th December, Glasgow city council licensing committee announced that it would meet with street traders to decide how to prevent the display and sale of merchandise with sectarian overtones outside football grounds.

The crowds at the Old Firm fixture on December 7th were very muted and there was little of the trouble that Glasgow has come to expect on these occasions. Nonetheless, there were skirmishes in Belfast and serious trouble in Londonderry, Northern Ireland, because the fixture coincided with the march of 2,000 Loyalist Apprentice Boys. A senior police officer in Northern Ireland has now written to Celtic, Rangers and the Scottish Premier League to reschedule games 'in the interest of public order' (**Scotsman** 13.12.02).

### *Scottish Affairs*

The contrast is great between the political moves that are now underway and the debacle surrounding Campbell in 1997. The First Minister, Jack McConnell, and the Justice Minister, Jim Wallace, have moved to assert their authority in a field where there has been a political vacuum. For years, opponents of sectarianism have been asking for the Scottish football authorities to assert themselves in relation to the violence that surrounds the Old Firm. After all, if the football authorities in Italy could move with punitive sanctions against racist chanting in Lazio, then why was this not done in the Old Firm? Unable to distance themselves from the massive bulk of Celtic and Rangers, the Scottish Premier League and the Scottish Football Association have failed to hold the clubs to account. The Old Firm is an issue on which the authorities in the new polity are held to account internationally; the Old Firm needs a political steer.

### **CHANGING POLITICAL CULTURE: THE CHALLENGE OF LANARKSHIRE**

Lanarkshire Labour has been something of a law unto itself ... Scottish politics is riven with personal grudges and enmities, but nowhere more poisonous than in the Lanarkshire badlands.  
(Ian MacWhirter, **Sunday Herald** 13.10.02)

It is a curious and revealing fact that the politicians who have had sudden impact on the culture of sectarianism have constituencies in Lanarkshire. Donald Gorrie, formerly councillor in Edinburgh, became Liberal Democrat Member of the Scottish Parliament for Central Scotland and found himself in a heartland of sectarianism unlike anything he had previously experienced. Jack McConnell, MSP for Motherwell and Wishaw and now First Minister, was shocked to find himself the target of sectarian graffiti when he moved into his constituency. Helen Liddell, Member of Parliament for Airdie and Shotts, now Secretary of State for Scotland, was first elected in 1994 after the byelection that resulted from the sudden death of John Smith (Labour party leader in opposition). Her campaign was besmirched by allegations of sectarian corruption in the District Council. There is something distinctive and compelling about Lanarkshire's place in Scotland's sectarianism, best exemplified by the fact that it is home both to one of Scotland's most Catholic sites and to a thriving County Lodge of the Orange Order of Scotland.

In **Scotland's Shame?**, Joseph Devine, Bishop of Motherwell, writes in succinct and scholarly detail about the reasons why Lanarkshire has

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

developed in such distinctive ways. The Irish immigrations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were both protestant and catholic. Recruitment from pre-partition Ulster and Donegal was specialized: most employers recruited only from one community; only a few recruited from both. 'Traditionally, many Catholics were coal miners while those who worked in the better-paid steel industry were almost exclusively Protestant ... they were socially separated as well as religiously divided' (2000, pp.101-2). Devine is thankful that many Catholics have escaped the worst of Lanarkshire's sectarianism, rising in increasing numbers into the higher reaches of Scotland's education system, socially mobile as the doors of the professions opened. But, he sadly reflects, 'even to this day Lanarkshire is not very fertile ground for ecumenical relationships (2000, p.101).

The complexity of Lanarkshire's cultures of sectarianism has many aspects that are beyond the reach of an outsider who cannot, for instance, grasp the meaning of verbal details that indicate 'who is who' and their cultural and political influence. What can be detected are the visual signs. Lanarkshire is strewn with colours indicating one side or other of the sectarian divide – colours of paint chosen by publicans, colours of the flags and banners that are displayed, colours that are painted on kerbstones if the police do not move swiftly enough to catch the perpetrators. During the marching season, the District Lodges of the Orange Order parade through their own neighbourhoods, then join with others in the larger County parades, culminating in an impressively large display of Orange strength the Saturday before July 12th, after which many hundreds travel across to Northern Ireland for their high point of the year. In 2001, the County parade was held in Harthill, an estimated 14,000 Orange women and men, and bandswomen and men, gathered in the driving rain to march along the main street, decorated with what seemed like hundreds of loyalist flags and banners. Red, white and blue was dominant on that day. Founded in 1967, the County Grand Orange Lodge of Central Scotland is one of four County Lodges in Scotland and comprises 14 District Lodges, most with histories dating back to the nineteenth century protestant migrations (for more detail see County Grand Orange Lodge of Central Scotland; Bruce 1985; McFarland 1990). The District Lodges are all located at central points in towns, and their right to parade is vigorously defended. The scale of Orange public activity is a 'fact of life', taken for granted, rarely mentioned by press or politicians. Indeed, in order to develop any understanding of the Orange Order in Scotland, it is essential to track it down through fieldwork (observing parades and listening to speeches in the rallies).

### *Scottish Affairs*

In August 2001, in the Harthill rally, the platform speakers spoke in apocalyptic terms not only against the Pope, the Vatican and the 'threat' posed by moves to abolish the Act of Settlement that bans the monarch from marrying a Catholic, but also against Andrew McLellan for his 'ecumenicism'. In Glasgow, the same weekend, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, spoke about his fears of Scottish nationalism, and how the Orange Order could become a paramilitary force if Scotland moved to sever ties with the union. It is rare for such menacing threat to emerge so blatantly into the public domain, because mostly speeches are in a distinctive rhetorical style and verbal code that cannot be completely understood by the outsider. More usual are the street fights and brawls that break out alongside the marches, among the crowds that gather on the route and in the rallies. Associated with every large march, there are arrests for breaches of the peace, but, because the police do not record these breaches as 'sectarian', there is no record of the scale or seriousness of the incidents. Nonetheless, it is the political content of the rally speeches that is most revealing of the influence that the Orange Order has been able to sustain in Scotland.

The speakers at the large rallies are interconnected – regional and national officers of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland, Scotland and England, members of Parliament from Northern Ireland and from the hardline Unionist wing of the British Conservative Party. In Harthill, the keynote speaker was Andrew Hunter, Conservative MP for Basingstoke, leading member of the Monday Club that Iain Duncan Smith was to target as an embarrassment as soon as he became Conservative Leader. His speech was full of rhetorical flourish, but indicated, nonetheless, a fundamentalist Protestant, unionist, loyalist and authoritarian stance. With little effort, he could have raised tensions and attracted the attention of the 'hangers-on' that follow the parades. Lurking behind the parade and the speeches lies the possibility of public disorder. That is why many Catholics simply leave town during the parades; that is why there is such a massive police presence, especially around Catholic churches, schools, halls and pubs. Sectarian hostility simmers throughout the marches, in the songs that are played and in the symbolic statements of the lambege drums that set the pace for the marchers. The vocabulary of Orange marching is complex and steeped in evocative references to the bitter wars of the past, and defensive struggle of the present.

That is why Aberdeen City Council banned Orange marches for fourteen years until their hand was forced in 2001 by a Sheriff court ruling. In September 2001, 200 members of the Orange Order marched through the city

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

centre, protected by 50 police officers from hostile crowds. The requirement to protect catholic premises and maintain law and order during the marches is, not surprisingly, unpopular with the police, but their hands are tied. If Republican marching were organized with the same frequency and on the same scale as the Orange Order's, then the demand on police resources would increase enormously. In May 2001, immediately after Celtic won the Scottish Cup final, a march through Glasgow city centre in honour of the Irish Republican Army hunger strikers required a massive police operation to keep protestors apart.

In 1994, sectarian tensions flared into public after the death of John Smith, leader of the Labour Party, member of Parliament for Monklands East (Airdrie). The Labour Party selected Helen Liddell, a catholic, in place of the protestant Smith, and so the by-election provided an opportunity for a campaign in which local issues could feature prominently. For some time, it had been claimed that Monklands District Council was favouring Coatbridge, which is reputed to have the largest proportion of catholics of any Scottish town (Gallagher 1987: 251) over Airdie, the largest 'protestant' town in the constituency. Pressure was increased when, in pursuit of electoral advantage, activists highlighted the catholic background of the Labour Party candidate Helen Liddell, who was frequently subjected to catcalls of 'fenian bitch' during election meetings. Until this time, Labour had repeatedly rejected calls for an independent inquiry into what would amount to corruption, but eventually conceded. Nonetheless, Labour's majority was reduced from 16,000 to 1600 in what is normally one of Labour's safest seats. The Accounts Commission, which conducted an inquiry into the conduct of the council, found no basis for the allegations about catholic nepotism. But, where other than Lanarkshire, could politicians become mired in such sectarian mess?

In 2001, Lanarkshire sensitivities were reopened. In Carfin, close to the cathedral town of Motherwell, there is a unique place of Catholic pilgrimage. Built in 1922 by unemployed miners during the time of economic depression, it is a copy of the internationally renowned shrine in Lourdes. Carfin celebrates the traditions and history of pilgrimage, and organizes an annual national pilgrimage, drawing thousands of visitors each year. Tom Devine quotes Edwin Muir's description of the Carfin Grotto as 'the only palpable assertion of humanity ... in the midst of that blasted region' (Muir 1935, p.170; Devine 1999, p.387). Most Scottish Catholics are of Irish descent, with origins in the destitution of Famine and the early days of immigration. A

### *Scottish Affairs*

memorial to the martyrs of the Irish Famine was proposed. A stone monument was commissioned. By February 2001, it had been completed. The Catholic authorities decided to invite Bertie Aherne, the Taoiseach of Ireland, to take part in the ceremonies in the Grotto, the day after he was due to watch Celtic Football Club play Rangers. Frank Roy, MP for Motherwell and Wishaw and parliamentary private secretary to Helen Liddell, wrote to the Taoiseach to advise against his visit, mentioning both Liddell and John Reid who had just been appointed Secretary of State in Northern Ireland. The letter was leaked, and there was a major political storm in which Labour politicians were, again, wrong-footed. Roy was forced to resign his position with Liddell, the ceremony was rescheduled and took place peacefully in June, without sectarian incident. But much damage was done. Where was the show of steady, firm political authority that demonstrated the capacity of Scottish politicians to escape sectarian traps and snares? It seemed as if the tentacles of Lanarkshire sectarianism were as strangulating as ever. In time-honoured fashion, the Carfin-Aherne debacle should have subsided into Lanarkshire history.

But the Holyrood authorities realised that if they were to succeed in some of their international ambitions, then such displays of sectarian incompetence would be not only embarrassing, but also damaging. In 2002, Scotland and Ireland promoted a joint bid to host the 2008 European Cup Final, which, if it had succeeded would not only have brought impressive income, but would also have cemented more of the ties between the two small nations. Some form of political muscle had to be exerted if McConnell and his Executive were to be seen as leaders, able to handle domestic conflicts and tensions. In November 2002, the two most senior Lanarkshire politicians – Jack McConnell, First Minister and MSP for Motherwell and Wishaw, and Helen Liddell, Secretary of State for Scotland – issued a joint message for St Andrews Day in which they pledged to tackle the culture of violence, sectarianism and racism in too many communities, a national lifestyle that makes Scots the sick men and women of Europe. In previous weeks McConnell had also publicized, for the first time, the shock of his move into Lanarkshire. When elected MSP for Motherwell and Wishaw, McConnell, a protestant from Arran and Stirling, married to a catholic, bought a house in his constituency. They were subjected to graffiti – 'UVF' was daubed on their front door, 'IRA' was painted on the street outside.

Is the culture of Lanarkshire starting to shift? In October 2002, the police received a complaint against the display of material supporting loyalist

### *Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

terrorist groups in Kennedy's pub in Airdrie. The Licensing Board of North Lanarkshire withdrew the licence of the publican. In November, another complaint was received – this time about IRA music and memorabilia in McCormick's bar in Bellshill. Again the licence was suspended. The Police view is that McCormick's bar and Kennedy's in Airdrie had become caught up in a series of tit-for-tat complaints in rival pubs in the area (**Herald** 08.11.02), but, nonetheless, the symbolism of this act is great, especially as the owner of another pub - Tully's bar in Motherwell, popular with Celtic supporters – was ordered to remove an outside mural displaying the Red Hand of Ulster.

#### **RETHINKING SECTARIANISM – THE PRISM OF RACISM**

The uninterrupted years of Conservative rule from 1979 to 1997 were ones in which class, regional and ethnic inequalities were entrenched, and Scotland was subject to the political sway of Secretaries of State whose loyalties were to Westminster, while civil servants administered huge and complex briefs with only occasional accountability. It served the interests of no Westminster politician or Scottish civil servant to challenge the status quo. National political culture was secure, static and oblivious to changing social patterns and trends, or to shifts in the cultural landscape of Scotland. A telling indicator of this stasis was the assumption by the Scottish General Register Office that Scotland's 2001 Census should not include the questions about religion that were being introduced in England and Wales. An equally telling indicator is the fact that devolution means civil servants can no longer roll forward without challenge. It was the Scottish Parliament that decided the matter. The political row about the 2001 Census was both meaningful in its own right (indicating the effectiveness of new forms of lobbying) and symbolic of wider changes that were to unfold, because Scottish politicians are now being held to account for their capacity to deal with the facts of religious diversity among Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and other minorities.

It was a devastating blow that the Scottish Parliament was elected without a single black or minority ethnic member. There is no doubt that progress towards developing a more responsive political culture has been slowed by this fact. In February 1998, a Glasgow schoolboy, Imran Khan died after being stabbed in a fight between white and asian youths in south Glasgow; in November a Wishaw man, Surjit Singh Chhokar, was killed by three men who ambushed him outside his house. The conduct of the Imran Khan trial was highly controversial and there was widespread protest against the refusal

### *Scottish Affairs*

of the trial judge to acknowledge the racist context of the murder. The blatant failings of the first and second trials relating to the murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar became a *cause celebre*, the focal point of an extraordinarily effective campaign for radical reform of Scotland's criminal justice system. The Scottish police had been recording racist incidents since 1988, but cases of serious crime in which there was evidence of racist motivation or racist context were being heard without the racism being addressed by the courts. Led by the young lawyer, Amer Anwar, the Chhokar Family Justice Campaign sought not immediate palliative, but deep and lasting change within the criminal justice system, challenging the arrogance and complacency of a judiciary that was deeply conservative and unused to any form of scrutiny (Kelly 2000).

Politicians and judicial authorities were slow to respond. They failed to recognize that they were now vulnerable to public opinion and political questioning. They underestimated the capacity of the Campaign to mobilize the long pent-up frustrations of black and minority ethnic victims of racism, wearied by the tenacity of the myth that 'there is no racism here', angered by the failure of Scotland to apply the same anti-racist principles that had been won south of the border. When the Labour government came into power in 1997, one of the issues that they had to address was the scandal of how the Metropolitan Police had failed in its response to the murder of a young black Londoner, Stephen Lawrence. Stephen's family had been fighting since 1993 to bring his killers to justice. Backed by a powerful coalition of radical lawyers, trade unions, community groups, and investigative journalists, their cause became the catalyst for a regenerated anti-racist movement that was determined to force the hand of the incoming Labour government.

The new Home Secretary commissioned a public inquiry, led by Sir William Macpherson who, in February 1999, published a devastating critique of the incompetence and racism that had become entrenched within London's police force and compiled a compelling list of recommendations for immediate action. The Stephen Lawrence report was more radical, far-reaching and challenging in its conclusions than any previous public inquiry, and precipitated controversy on an impressive scale. Newly elected, on the basis of a manifesto in which 'social inclusion' and 'racial justice' featured strongly, the Labour government had to respond. They moved swiftly to tighten the definition of 'racist incident' that should be used by all public authorities in recording complaints; they required police and courts to take serious account of 'racist aggravation' and 'racist harassment' in crime. They drafted a Race

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

Relations Act that imposed a new 'duty to promote racial equality' on all public authorities (Commission for Racial Equality 2002).

All these measures apply in Scotland as well as England and Wales, and they have had immediate impact on judicial and political culture. Scottish sheriffs and judges who had made notoriously dismissive remarks about evidence that there was racist motivation in breaches of the peace, assaults and even murder, found themselves required to address the issue of racism. By 2001, Scottish courts had dealt with 1315 cases which included charges of racially aggravated harassment or racial aggravation, and the judge Lord Hardie, was moved to comment 'the courts will not tolerate racially-motivated attacks', a considerable shift from the stance he adopted when the Chhokar case was first drawn to his attention (Kelly 2002).

If more rigorous judicial standards about racism in crime are now established, then it is certain that questions will be asked about whether the same standards should be applied in relation to sectarianism. After all, many of the crimes noted as 'sectarian' by the Scottish press because the victims were visible in their team colours, or because there was an exchange of sectarian abuse, bear an uncanny resemblance to crimes that are now accepted as 'racist'. The new clauses on aggravation and harassment in crime could serve as a template. Realisation of this template sharpened the focus in lobbying and campaigning. Nil by Mouth and Donald Gorrie won considerable support for their proposals that the new clauses should be extended. Then, in the aftermath of the September 11th terrorist attacks, Westminster conceded a legal point that had long been made by Muslims. The terms of the Race Relations Acts, and the new clauses, do not include Muslims as a 'racial group'. Even the most blatantly Islamophobic of the attacks on Asian shopkeepers and places of worship could not be acknowledged as aggravation or harassment. The Anti-Terrorism, Crime And Security Act, rushed through Parliament late in 2001, was chosen as the vehicle for extension of 'racial' aggravation and harassment to include 'religious'. The extended clauses were passed into law in England and Wales.

This is the moment at which Scottish politicians drew back. Instead of adopting the extensions into Scottish law, the Deputy Justice Minister convened a cross-party working group on possible legislation to tackle religious hatred. For months, Donald Gorrie, other MSPs, the Scottish police and the Commission for Racial Equality wrestled with the distinctively Scottish complexities of the issues. Until the very last day of their

### *Scottish Affairs*

deliberations, it was not certain which way they would swing, delaying publication of their report until Thursday 5th December 2002. At last, a compromise was achieved. It is proposed that a 'religious prejudice' amendment should be included in the Scottish Parliament's debate on the Criminal Justice Bill. If approved, 'offences aggravated by religious prejudice' will have to be taken into account by the Scottish courts.

### **CONCLUSIONS**

Sadly, there has also been reversion to the habits of the past. In October, the First Minister published an article about the need to act before sectarianism becomes synonymous with Scotland. He recommended the use of joint facilities shared by denominational and non-denominational schools: 'allowing the good work done by both school traditions will bring children together rather than keep them apart' (**Sunday Herald** 13.10.02). Carefully worded, in line with McLellan's strictures about the need to understand Catholic wounds, his statement was not contentious. However, when Kirsty Wark, prominent broadcaster, urged headteachers to question the separate funding for Catholic schools, bitter controversy flared, spilling, again, into letters written to the **Herald**, especially after Archbishop Conti and the other Catholic Bishops vigorously defended of their schools (11.12.02). The tone and content of the debate is atavistic, based not on reason and facts, but on prejudice. Old habits die hard.

Ever since John White set the terms for debate, there have been repeated displays of visceral distaste for the desire and ability of Catholic families to educate their daughters and sons within a culture of faith. The Catholic response to these displays has been to close ranks, to retreat into defensiveness. The debate is not a form of dialogue; on the contrary it is a combat in which assertion and counter-assertion prevail. The debate reveals the enduring strength of the antagonisms that lie within polite circles, as much as out on the streets. The debate does not allow measured discussion of Scotland's achievement in nurturing its largest minority out of destitution and into full participation in public life.

Providing state support for the education of the Catholic Irish community was an act of enlightenment, an essential move by a Scotland that wished to ensure the new immigrants could integrate (Paterson 2000; Treble 1978 and 1980). Bishop Devine has recorded the rise in the numbers of catholic undergraduates and their dispersal into the professions:

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

over the last 20 to 30 years, Catholics have found employment in all sorts of areas previously denied them or unattainable to them, mostly in the areas of banking, commerce, corporate management and the upper echelons of the legal system.

(Devine 2000, p.103).

This could not have been achieved without state support for the denominational sector. Lindsay Paterson, one of the few to carry out research into the catholic school sector, argues: 'Catholic schools have been consistently more effective than non-denominational schools in enabling their working-class pupils to gain good qualifications' (2000, p.154). His point was amplified when the **Sunday Herald** published its alternative school league tables, showing the link between wealth and exam success. St Roch's Catholic Secondary School in Glasgow was ranked top of the league (01.12.02). St Roch's happens also to be the school where many asylum seeker children are studying (Kelly 2001).

Who can claim that 'sectarianism is no longer an issue' when leading figures in Scotland cannot liberate themselves from the historical impasse and cannot engage in dispassionate review of the role, function and contribution of Catholic schools? On this occasion, it is not football hooligans who are enacting the display of prejudice. On the contrary, it is highly paid, highly educated individuals (such as the Oxford university scientist Richard Dawkins) who have lent weight to Wark's statement. It may be no coincidence that this outbreak of hostilities has coincided with the precise moment when the political authorities have made decisive moves towards legislation and a twelve point plan to eradicate sectarianism (Scottish Executive 2002). Abolishing sectarian display from Scottish sporting arenas, and from the streets of our cities and towns, is an essential step – Glasgow and Lanarkshire have embarked on this process. Acknowledging 'religious prejudice' as an aggravation in crime may bring greater consistency in the conduct of trials. But who is going to lead the way into challenging the other, lower-lying forms of prejudice that only occasionally leap into the open?

Since the first Race Relations Acts of the 1960's, the anti-racist movement has been through forty years of stormy, agonizingly slow process of change in political culture before the radicalism of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry was achieved. The anti-racist template is in place, and it has penetrated deeper inside public institutions than ever before. Never before have the criminal justice system and public institutions been subjected to the kind of scrutiny

### *Scottish Affairs*

that we have witnessed since 1998. In earlier times, it would not have been possible for the Chhokar campaign to force the hand of the judicial authorities and achieve three separate inquiries into the failed trial and the mistreatment of the family (Angiolini, Campbell, Jandoo). Moreover, it is clear that the three inquiries have led to a whole raft of new measures towards reform of archaic systems and better treatment of victims of crime. It is essential to look through the prism of racism if effective challenge to sectarian prejudice is to be achieved.

#### **REFERENCES**

- Angiolini, Eilish (2000) **Internal Report to the Lord Advocate: Review of Liaison with the Next of Kin in the Case of Her Majesty's Advocate – v- Coulter**. Crown Office, Edinburgh.
- Boyle, Raymond and Lynch, Peter, eds (1998) **Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland**. John Donald Publishers, Edinburgh
- Bradley, Joseph (1995) **Ethnic and Religious Identity in Modern Scotland: Culture, Politics and Football**. Avebury, Aldershot
- Brown, S (1991) 'Outside the Covenant. The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration 1922-1938', **Innes Review**, 42: 19-45
- Bruce, Steve (2002) 'Hooliganism is the real source of the problem', **The Herald** 06.12.02
- Bruce, Steve (1985) **No Pope of Rome: Anti-Catholicism in Modern Scotland**. Mainstream, Edinburgh
- Campbell, The Rt Hon Sir Anthony (2001) **The Report of an Inquiry into the Crown Decision-Making in the Case of the Murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar**. Scottish Parliament, The Stationery Office.
- Church of Scotland, The Committee on Church and Nation (2002) **Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland** [www.churchofscotland.org.uk](http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk) (see also the reports for 1923 and 1952)
- Church of Scotland, The Education Committee, (1919) **Report to the General Assembly**
- Commission for Racial Equality, Scotland (2002) **The Duty to Promote Race Equality**. [www.cre.gov.uk/duty/scotland/duty\\_scotland.html](http://www.cre.gov.uk/duty/scotland/duty_scotland.html)
- County Grand Orange Lodge of Central Scotland [www.bellshill57.fsnet.co.uk](http://www.bellshill57.fsnet.co.uk)
- Croall, H and Wall, D: eds (2002) **Hate Crime, Criminal Justice Matters, no 48**. The Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, Kings College, London

*Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism*

- Devine, Joseph (2000) 'A Lanarkshire Perspective on Bigotry in Scottish Society', 99-104 in Devine, T, ed, **Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland**. Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh
- Devine, Tom, ed (2000) **Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland**. Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh
- Devine, Tom (1999) **The Scottish Nation 1700-2000**. Allen Lane, Penguin Press, London
- Edwards, Owen Dudley (2000) 'Is the Cardinal Anti-Catholic? A Review Essay', **Scottish Affairs** 33: 1-22
- Evans, David T (2002) 'The "Other" Scotland: Sexual Citizenship and Lesbian and Gay Identities', 285-294 in Hassan and Warhurst eds **Anatomy of the New Scotland. Power, Influence and Change**. Mainstream, Edinburgh
- Finn, Gerry P.T. (2000) 'A Culture of Prejudice: Promoting Pluralism in Education for a Change' in T.M.Devine ed **Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland**. Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh
- Finn, Gerry P.T. (1999) "'Sectarianism" and Scottish Education' in T.G.K.Bryce and W.M.Humes eds **Scottish Education**. Edinburgh University Press
- Gallagher, Tom (1987) **Glasgow, The Uneasy Peace**. Manchester University Press, Manchester
- Gallagher, Tom (2001) 'Comment on Review of Scotland's Shame', **Scottish Affairs** 35: 130-132
- Hassan, Gerry and Warhurst, Chris eds (2002) **Anatomy of the New Scotland. Power, Influence and Change**. Mainstream, Edinburgh
- Hickman, Mary and Walter, Bronwen (1997) **Discrimination and the Irish Community in Britain**, Commission for Racial Equality: London
- Jandoo, Dr Raj (2001) **Report of the Inquiry into the Liaison Arrangements between the Police, Procurator-Fiscal; Service and the Crown Office and the Family of the deceased Surjit Singh Chhokar in Connection with the Murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar and the Related Prosecutions**. Scottish Parliament, The Stationery Office.
- Kelly, Elinor (2002) 'Hate Crime: the struggle for justice in Scotland' **Criminal Justice Matters**, 48:16-17
- Kelly, Elinor (2001) 'Living without fear – racism and sectarianism in Scotland', **Multi Cultural Teaching** 20.2: 18-23
- Kelly, Elinor (2000) 'Racism, Police and Courts in Scotland' **Scottish Affairs** 30: 141-160

*Scottish Affairs*

- Kelly, Elinor with Graham, Gregory (2002) **Protection from Sectarianism and Religious Hatred**. Consultation Document issued by Donald Gorrie MSP. Submission and Research Documents
- Lynch, Peter (1998) 'Catholics, the Catholic Church and Political Action in Scotland', in Boyle and Lynch eds **Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland**. John Donald Publishers, Edinburgh
- Macpherson, W (1999) **The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny**. London: the Stationery Office, Cmnd 4262
- McCrone, David (2001) **Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation**. Routledge, London
- McFarland, Elaine (1990) **Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland**. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh
- Muir, Augustus (1958) **John White**. Hodder and Stoughton, Edinburgh
- Muir, E. (1935), **Scottish Journey**, London: Heinemann.
- Nil by Mouth [www.nilbymouth.org](http://www.nilbymouth.org)
- Paterson, Lindsay (2000) 'Salvation Through Education? The Changing Social Status of Scottish Catholics' in Tom Devine, ed **Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland**. Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh
- Reid, H (2002) **Outside Verdict. An Old Kirk in a New Scotland**. Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh
- Scottish Executive, Justice Department (2002) **Report of the Cross-Party Working Group on Religious Hatred**, [www.scotland.gov.uk](http://www.scotland.gov.uk)
- Sense over Sectarianism [www.glasgow.gov.uk/sos](http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/sos)
- Sinclair, David (2000) 'The Identity of a Nation', 177-186 in Devine, T, ed **Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland**. Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh
- Treble, J.H. (1980) 'The working of the 1918 Education Act in Glasgow archdiocese', **Innes Review**, 31:27-44
- Treble, J.H. (1978) 'The development of Roman Catholic education in Scotland 1878-1978', **Innes Review**, 29: 111-39
- Walker, G and Gallagher, T eds (1990) **Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland**. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

*December 2002*