

‘An outsider in our midst’
Narratives of Neil Lennon, soccer & ethno-religious bigotry
in the Scottish press[1]

Introduction

Over the past three decades social scientists have studied soccer as a site for expressing social identities. Some of this research has examined the discourses of nationhood and ethnic identity that surround the game. This work has partly exposed sentiments of prejudice that sustain ideologies of otherness and marginalize individuals and groups within nations. This paper offers a critique of certain media narratives concerning soccer and those of ‘difference’ in contemporary Scotland, in particular those who have Irishness as their different identity. In Scotland, in both historical and contemporary contexts, the dominant discourse of otherness is manifest as ethno-religious prejudices directed against the Irish Catholic diaspora, the community that is ‘the other’ within Scotland.

These discourses of otherness are manifest in relation to a range of social and cultural practices and institutions that are most closely associated with this diaspora community. Soccer, in particular Celtic FC, is one such institution; on occasion certain individuals associated with the club have also been targets for this prejudice.[2] The ethno-religious prejudices directed at Celtic FC and those of Irish descent associated with the club are illustrative of the ideology of bigotry that has sectarianised Scottish society since at least the mid-nineteenth century. This bigotry, a particular form of racism, has been denied by many but is identified by others as ‘Scotland’s shame’.[3]

Scotland, like all national communities, has its own national myth:[4] the narrative or story that helps us to define ourselves to ourselves, and to others. It

functions as part of a collective national consciousness or identity. Part of the central element of the 'Scottish myth' is our 'inherent egalitarianism'. [5] Moreover this myth assumes Scots are 'egalitarian by dint of racial characteristics, of deep social values'. [6] The discourse of otherness directed against the Irish Catholic diaspora community exposes the problems associated with this collective national self-image.

The focus here is soccer player Neil Lennon of Celtic FC. Lennon has been depicted as the antagonistic hard-man of Scottish soccer, an image that has been reproduced in relation to alleged incidents in his private life. But his personal biography marks Lennon as an outsider in Scotland; the man whose presence evokes in some, the values and sentiments Scotland denies. This article principally examines some strands of the public discourse surrounding Neil Lennon during one period in his Celtic career, autumn of 2005. During this period he was the subject of a pejorative commentary that integrated his status as outsider. The critique illustrates how the presence of ideologies of otherness in public discourses exposes the myth of Scotland's self-image as an egalitarian and inclusive society.

Media narratives of public sports figures

A number of scholars have explored representations of sports stars – predominantly men - in the popular media. Much of the research has concentrated on a constellation of ideologies concerning masculinities, moralities, sporting ethics and nationhood but representations of racism, celebrity and consumption have also featured. [7] Three points arising from these studies are relevant here. First, the popular media (television, newspapers, magazines, biographies) narrativize the achievements of individual sports figures and specific events in their lives, often in ways that cast them in the role of villain, fool or hero. Second, most of what the public 'knows' about such individuals is learned through the selective lens of media constructed stories.

These are often constructed to ‘prioritize, personalize and sensationalize characters’ in order to maximize audience attention.[8] Third, the narrativization of sports figures is embedded in the dominant ideologies and discourses of a particular society.

Consequently popular media narratives

are one of the means by which a society can provide structured maps of meaning to its past, its traditions, its image of itself, and the nature of social relations within it.[9]

These comments are important. The media narratives that concentrate on Lennon are part of the maps of meaning reveal important issues about Scotland’s self-image and social relations within the community.

At this juncture it is also worth highlighting one characteristic of mediated communications in Scotland *vis-à-vis* the limited scale of ‘the communicative space of the Scottish public sphere’.[10] In this limited but competitive market stories concerning Celtic and their Glasgow rivals Rangers FC are crucial in securing an audience. One consequence is a strong interconnectedness of personnel working across Scotland’s national (sports) media organisations, who seek to secure contacts with both clubs. This close environment and the pressure on newspapers to secure ‘headline-grabbing’ material have contributed to sensationalized and personalized narratives that have been associated with Neil Lennon during his Celtic career.

The negative and sensationalized commentary surrounding Neil Lennon during autumn 2005 was not a sudden development in the Scottish press. Rather it amplified narratives that have suffused some newspapers’ commentaries about him since he signed for Celtic in December 2000. This is illustrated through a profile of the player in relation to this established discourse.

Neil Lennon: soccer villain, urban rogue?

In contemporary soccer Neil Lennon is arguably the antithesis of the global icons that dominate newspaper headlines. Players like Beckham, Ronaldinho or Zidane are celebrated as creative players and prolific goal-scorers who have graced some of world soccer's most engaging clubs and national sides. In contrast Lennon is a less glamorous figure who does not rank amongst the 'the soccerati'[11] of this global sport. Lennon is reported to have secured wealth and a comfortable lifestyle from his career in professional soccer, but his path to the top has been gradual, not meteoric. More importantly it was crafted at some of English soccer's unfashionable clubs (Manchester City, Crewe Alexandra and Leicester City) and with one of international soccer's less successful sides (Northern Ireland). Celtic FC, Lennon's current club, perhaps carries greater allure in the global game.

In soccer parlance Lennon is a holding midfield player and ball winner, a role he carries out with proficiency, technique and consistency, though he has a low goal-scoring record. His current manager says it is an unattractive, but essential role;[12] it is therefore a compliment to describe Lennon as 'a specialist in negativity'[13] whose reading of the game 'renders an [opposing team's] attack innocuous.[14]

Some aspects of Lennon's on-field persona embody the components of hegemonic masculinity associated with traditional men's sports. He has a muscular though short and stocky frame, a reputation for strong but fair tackling and an aura of tough self-reliance that is acknowledged by his managers and team-mates. Lennon plays with disciplined aggression and, on occasion, the raw emotions that are celebrated in a man's game. He is a passionate competitor who admits: 'I'm paid to win football matches by hook or by crook' adding 'if it meant having to stand on my granny on a football pitch, then I would.'[15]

Neil Lennon signed for Celtic FC on 7 December 2000. Amidst the conjecture about his potential contribution to Celtic two facts – neither related to his proficiency as a player - were prominent in the media: (i) Lennon had joined the club he supported since childhood; (ii) that he was a Catholic from Northern Ireland.[16] In combination these two facts have had an impact on Neil Lennon, as a footballer and as a private citizen with a public profile. Since joining Celtic he has featured in a variety of stories in the Scottish press, many of which had little to do with his accomplishments as a player.

The litany of headlines concerning Neil Lennon encompasses incidents associated with soccer and his private life. Within three months of joining Celtic Lennon was booed by a section of Northern Ireland supporters during international matches in Belfast. Former Celtic and Northern Ireland player Anton Rogan received similar treatment, but Lennon and his family were subjected to more serious abuse. In August 2002 he retired from international soccer, aged 31, after receiving a death threat (alleged to have come from loyalist paramilitary sources) prior to a friendly match in Belfast. Lennon is emphatic such incidents ‘never’ occurred during his international career as a Crewe or Leicester player; they started he says ‘because of the choice of club [Celtic], they saw me as a symbol of something that they detested.[17] Death threats against him were painted on walls near his parents’ home County Armagh but also on supporters’ websites of other clubs in Scotland.

A feature of Lennon’s Celtic career is the barracking directed towards him by opposing fans. It is not unusual for particular players to be unpopular; in Lennon’s case it may contribute to an atmosphere in which he thrives. Most claim he is targeted because they perceive him to be an arrogant, ill-tempered, undisciplined hard-man; others claim his physique, an odd gait (the result of a back injury and operation that

suspended his early career for 12 months) and lack of speed are behind their derision. Such notions draw partly on his on-field persona. Lennon 'is no innocent on a football park'; nor, in certain circumstances, has he been 'some kind of Kofi Annan emissary for peace and harmony'.^[18] Nonetheless popular media commentaries may misrepresent the player or exaggerate incidents in which he has been involved. Such narratives fuel an inaccurate perception that Lennon is one of soccer's villains.

There is another dimension to the barracking directed at Lennon around Scottish soccer stadiums. Martin O'Neill – the manager who signed Lennon for Leicester City and Celtic – was in no doubt that this abuse is inflected with the visceral language of ethno-religious bigotry.^[19] O'Neill – like Lennon and Rogan a Catholic from Northern Ireland - was criticised for his comments however, and the extent of the problem denied by many associated with the game. These denials and the relative silence of some media commentators imply that this bigotry is treated with a degree of tolerance within Scottish soccer, and perhaps wider society.^[20]

In Scotland Lennon's private life has featured in media headlines. He has been portrayed as an urban rogue, allegedly carousing in Glasgow's pubs and clubs. By his own admission Lennon is 'no angel', but claims many reports about his private life have been 'unbalanced' and fuelled by 'insinuation, innuendo and half-truths'.^[21] Even press reports that probe beyond a one-dimensional caricature of Lennon-as-villain contribute to the wider discourse by framing their columns with headlines that suggest controversy.^[22] Some tabloid newspapers have made more serious allegations depicting him as a street-fighter or thug who courts trouble away from soccer.^[23] Following reports of this nature in December 2002 Lennon raised a successful libel action for defamation of character against one Scottish tabloid newspaper. A more detailed critique of these commentaries might explore whether

they marginalized facts that confirmed Lennon as the victim, not the instigator, of trouble started by others.

In Scotland Lennon's private life has been punctuated with incidents infused with bigotry. Those reported in the press include an assault by two University students in Glasgow's West End (May 2003); sectarian graffiti painted on the road near his Glasgow home (May 2004); an incident on a motorway in which a 35-year old businessman directed verbal abuse and offensive gestures at Lennon whose daughter was with him in his car (February 2004). Newspaper coverage of these incidents condemned the abuse and the perpetrators. Nonetheless some reports have suggested Lennon would have been wiser to live and socialise away from Glasgow, or adopt a less public lifestyle in the city, given his personal biography and current employer. These propositions diminish the real issue that ethno-religious bigotry is still evident in Scottish society.

The characterisation of Neil Lennon as soccer villain and urban rogue has dominated the public discourse surrounding him during his Celtic career. However few questions have been raised about the role of the media in constructing an image that characterises him as an *object* of controversy. Moreover the soccer media has overlooked its own narratives that sustain Lennon's symbolic significance as an outsider in Scotland.

On 20 August 2005 Neil Lennon was involved in an on-field incident that gave the media more ammunition to work into its discourse. The incident ignited extensive pejorative commentary of the player in the print media over the next week. This commentary re-surfaced when the Scottish Football Association's (SFA) Disciplinary Committee considered the incident on 20 September; at this hearing the player was suspended for three games with immediate effect.[24] When Lennon

resumed playing in mid-October, comments attributed to him in an interview with one broadsheet newspaper provided ammunition for some journalists to resurrect their pejorative commentary. These three periods are the focus of the media narratives examined in the remainder of this paper.

Lennon's 'McEnroe moment'[25]

The first match between Celtic and Glasgow rivals Rangers in the Scottish Premier League (SPL) in season 2005/06 took place at Rangers' Ibrox Stadium on Saturday 20th August. Rangers won 3-1; five players were booked during the match and Celtic's Alan Thompson dismissed from the field. After the final whistle as players and officials conducted post-match courtesies Celtic captain Neil Lennon spoke to the match referee Stuart Dougal. As Lennon walked away the referee showed him a red card. It was later reported that Lennon had used 'offensive, insulting or abusive language and/gestures'.[26] Lennon reacted to this post-match sending off, and confronted the official.

The televised images and subsequent press photographs captured an angry scene: Lennon appeared incensed; his body language was physical in so far as whatever he was saying was punctuated with wild arm and hand gestures; his posture and stance in relation to the referee were aggressive; his face revealed his rage. The visual evidence showed that Lennon made some contact with the referee and with the linesman who intervened, although the nature of this contact was varyingly described in subsequent media coverage. The confrontation ended when the player was pulled away from the officials by two of his team-mates.[27]

Neil Lennon was not the first high-profile sports person to challenge match officials, and he won't be the last – in soccer or any other sport. That does not condone his behaviour, or defend those who verbally and/or physically abuse others

on the sports field or elsewhere. Lennon was angry and lost his temper; he confronted match officials aggressively. Clearly he should not have done so, but he did. The player apparently recognised this and apologized for his behaviour.

I spoke to the referee about his performance and he then showed me a red card while I was shaking hands with the Rangers players. Clearly, although I felt the red card – my first in the SPL – was totally unjustified, I understand that my reaction was wrong. I apologise for my reaction towards the referee and his assistant and I also apologise to Celtic and our supporters.[28]

The statement, issued through the website of Celtic FC, was reported in newspapers the next day. Comment from the press corps was critical of the statement and the medium through which it was issued. In particular journalists reflected on what they perceived as a lack of genuine regret or contrition from Lennon, and included these assessments in their broader narrative that vilified the player.[29]

The tenor of some accounts of Lennon's McEnroe moment, the post-match analysis and reflections on the subsequent disciplinary implications was incorporated into a broader discourse that vilified the player. The nature of these media discourses do not lie simply in the language selected, but rather, in the way it developed into a concerted campaign against an individual and his character. In short, the media demonised Neil Lennon and, in many ways more significantly, what he represented to them to many football fans in Scotland.

Demonising the Captain

The discourse that emerged following Neil Lennon's confrontation with match officials was infused with certain common mechanisms of racism. These mechanisms comprise both explicit expressions of prejudice and more subtle and sophisticated

techniques that conceal ideas and sentiments of intolerance. This can include: the use of stereotypes against a named ethnic group or individual associated with such a group; the use of derogatory humour to demean and dehumanise individuals from a specific ethnic community; marking the outsider/otherness status of particular individuals or groups; denying allegations of racism and deflecting such contentions back at those who have raised them.[30]

In its coverage of Lennon's 'McEnroe moment' the popular press utilised these mechanisms to establish and sustain narratives that demonised the player. The press emphasised perceptions that he is an aggressive and ill-tempered player and linked this to subtle racialised stereotypes of Irish people as hot-tempered or fiery. Additionally the press demeaned Lennon's intelligence in ways that resonate with these racialised stereotypes in a Scottish context.[31] The power of these narratives lay not simply in the coverage of this incident, but in the way they confirmed existing discourses that characterised Lennon as the main villain of Scottish soccer, and a symbol of otherness in Scotland.

(i) *'Public Enemy No.1'*[32]

In general broadsheet newspapers offered measured accounts to convey the emotive confrontation with match officials. For example one columnist stated Lennon 'angrily barged into [the] referee'; another that he had '[pushed] his chest into Dougal's'.[33] In keeping with the sensationalist style of the tabloid press journalists were predictably less restrained and used more intemperate language.[34] To construct the stereotype of Lennon as an aggressive and bad tempered player, journalists developed strands of the existing narrative concerning his temperament, personality and style of play. Lennon was described as a 'fiery midfielder'[35] who has a 'hair trigger temper'.[36] References to the player as 'hot-headed' appeared in

headlines as well as within the texts of reports and post-match analyses: this was linked, both by inference and explicitly, to the fact that Lennon has red hair.[37] This combination of red hair and a fiery temperament are common stereotypes attributed to the Irish as a distinctive ethnic group.

The press reinforced its demonising narrative of Lennon by highlighting negative perceptions of his contribution to the match. Journalists, media pundits and former referees opined that during the game Lennon was continually involved in physical and verbal confrontations with opponents and officials.[38] The dominant narrative in the press regarding his contribution to the match is encapsulated in the view that:

The volatile Celtic skipper had been in a foul mood all day, snarling, pushing and shoving his way around Ibrox, spoiling for a fight with someone, ANYONE.[39]

This description may have been true or untrue on the day. This perception does not affect the form of narrative used that is unquestionably, 'pejorative'. More importantly it was bolstered with journalists' assertions that this is *characteristic* of the player. Typically, one tabloid declared 'Lennon's game is to push everyone to the edge'.[40] This was reiterated in another paper with the contention that 'The Hoops skipper always treads a thin line in these games'.[41] This latter point is indicative of the media discourses that typically surround Lennon. It also exposes the fact that the Rangers versus Celtic game in August 2005 cannot be taken in isolation if a more substantial understanding of what Lennon represents in the Scottish media is to be achieved.

(ii) Demeaning his intelligence and criminalizing the Captain

The narrative that cast Lennon as a villain was peppered with analogies and metaphors associated with a badly-behaved child or immature adolescent. These were combined with remarks that ridiculed his intelligence. For instance Lennon was specifically described as petulant,[42] a ‘Bad Bhoy’[43] and a ‘manchild’[44] who gave a ‘toys out the pram performance’.[45] His behaviour was described as ‘half-witted’ and the ‘petted-lipped strop of a playground bully who has realised no one’s scared of him any more.’[46]

Analysis of the newspapers’ representation of Neil Lennon exposes many loaded analogies of teenage aggression and violence. In the context of wider social and political commentary these analogies criminalized the player, and reinforced the narrative that claimed he was out of control. The criminalizing codes were evident in some broadsheet newspapers[47] but were more explicit in the tabloid press. Contributors to fans’ columns said he was ‘no better than a ned’ a ‘yob’[48] and a ‘vicious little thug’.[49] There were references to a ‘physical attack’[50] on the match officials and one journalist suggested Lennon was ‘the most high-profile player to be charged with *assaulting* a match official’ (emphasis added).[51] Lennon was also identified as one of a number of Celtic’s senior players accused of behaving ‘Just Like Cons’.[52]

Through the imagery of the misbehaving child/teenager and criminality newspaper narratives can disempower sportsmen of their adult and good citizen identities. There are parallels here with public discourses constructed round black sports men – and to lesser degree women - in other nations.[53] Such narratives dehumanise individuals. If these narratives are embedded in ‘culturally sanctioned

assumptions, myths and beliefs'[54] about a particular ethnic group within a specific community, then they may contribute to patterns of racism.

Sustaining their monster

The media narrative that demonised Lennon was most vociferous in the week after the match. During this period the tabloid press in particular capitalised on opinion that magnified their representation of Lennon as villain. A variety of techniques were deployed to sustain the monster they had created. This included speculating on the ramifications that his angry confrontation would have for him in terms of a probable period of suspension. Some tabloid press pundits made 'demands' for the player to be punished extra-severely because he was Neil Lennon, a high profile senior professional. Once again the stereotyped characterisation of the aggressive, in-your-face hardman was mobilised in support of calls for a harsh penalty.[55]

The use of expert opinion, as well as named and un-named sources with alleged 'inside information' featured in much of the discourse. Nonetheless, not everyone expressed outright condemnation of the player. The publication of alternative opinion may have suggested an even-handed account, but this was only a veneer of objectivity. Alternative views of the incident were undermined and marginalized to ensure they did not replace the dominant narratives that demonised Lennon. This was illustrated in the days immediately before the SFA Disciplinary Committee met to consider the matter. In particular journalists reacted to comments from Celtic's manager Gordon Strachan who said he expected 'his player to be punished firmly, but fairly' in accordance with the SFA's disciplinary procedures.[56] In addition Strachan also expressed concern about the 'hysteria'[57] that characterised the media coverage of the incident at Ibrox.

These remarks, in part, provoked further negative media discourse around Lennon and his manager. Using the mechanisms of criticism and ridicule the media sustained its dominant narrative of the player as the villain of Scottish soccer.[58] The remarks, in part, provoked further negative media discourse around the player and manager. Broadsheet columnist Ian Bell remarked:

His manager ... can see no fault with the player. The coach has ignored suggestions that Lennon should at least be deprived of his captaincy.

Instead, we have been treated to one of football's less savoury rituals: the boss standing by one of his "lads", even when a 34-year-old has just behaved like a five-year-old.[59]

On the morning of the hearing the tabloid press persisted with the narrative that demonised the player. James Traynor was not the only journalist to contend:

The truth is Lennon is guilty and time shouldn't be wasted trying to fathom an understanding of what was going on inside his mind.

He added

I've always suspected the space under that ginger top might not be a good place to linger too long.[60]

These examples provide further evidence that some prominent media figures persist with a particular narrative that demeans a man who is simultaneously recognised by others as eloquent and intelligent.[61]

Challenging the baying mobs of tabloid hacks

It is instructive at this juncture to highlight some of the more considered reflections on the narratives that demonised Neil Lennon in August and September 2005. These appeared in broadsheet newspapers after the SFA Disciplinary Committee had suspended the player for three matches on 20 September 2005. The

tabloid press – unsurprisingly – launched a narrative that claimed the player was let off lightly.⁶² In contrast some broadsheet columnists shifted their attention towards how the tabloids had demonised the player. In *The Scotsman* Glenn Gibbons suggested some newspapers had skirted close to the legal boundaries of justice,

motivated by preconceptions – or, in today’s fashionable term, an agenda – which rather body-swerve the legal concept in hot pursuit of personal satisfaction.[63]

The Herald’s chief sportswriter Graham Spiers was also critical. His more whimsical tone – intended perhaps to poke fun at tabloid pundits - was underscored with the jocular suggestion that the player brings this sort of frenzy on himself:

The Celtic captain has this amazing capacity to have baying mobs and berserk tabloid columnists sounding off barmily about him. It really is a remarkable gift.[64]

Indicatively, it was a columnist in *The Times*, Phil Gordon, who provided the most powerful critical comment on the Scottish tabloid press’ treatment of Neil Lennon. Gordon reflected that some of the content bordered on contempt. He also suggested that it verged on a litigious personal attack on Lennon.[65] However Gordon inferred that where soccer is concerned artistic licence knows no bounds - at least for the tabloid press. Like Glenn Gibbons in *The Scotsman*, Phil Gordon suggested an agenda was at work amongst the Scottish tabloid press in its treatment of Lennon. Gordon added, ‘Selling more newspapers might be one justification, but there appears to be a darker motivation.’[66]

There is an element of responsibility on soccer players to conduct themselves in a manner that is consistent with the laws of the game. They must also recognise that the sports field is not a world separate from the society in which it exists and they

are bound to behave in a manner appropriate in a civilised society – irrespective of the passions that are aroused. However, it is also incumbent upon those who report and interpret sport to do so in a ‘responsible’ manner. In the aftermath of the Ibrox match in August 2005 this did not happen. The tone and substance of much of the press narrative was constructed to manipulate (or perhaps reinforce) opinion of Lennon as Scottish soccer’s demon. Phil Gordon observed:

Helping to create such a public enemy ... is irresponsible when merely kept to the confines of a football ground, but when being demonised changes the way you walk down the street it is time to think again.[67]

It is to this broader issue that attention now turns.

The outsider in our midst

The narratives concerning Neil Lennon during autumn 2005 sustained the Scottish media’s dominant characterisation of him as a controversial figure. Elements of this discourse have some resonance with narratives of flawed masculinity identified in previous research, but it is indicative of a different malaise in Scottish society. The narratives situate Lennon within the context of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic bigotry in Scotland. These narratives are therefore part the broader discourses of otherness directed towards the social practices and cultural institutions associated with that community, including Celtic FC.[68] Strands of the media discourse surrounding Neil Lennon expose the persistence of these unpalatable yet deeply embedded values in Scotland.

These sentiments are not uniform throughout Scotland, but they are derived from a complex constellation of historical circumstances. This includes the establishment of the Presbyterian strand of Protestantism as a marker of Scottishness since the reformation in the sixteenth century; the subsequent presence of a significant

anti-Catholic culture; Scotland's role in the British colonisation of the north of Ireland; and during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the migration of Irish Catholic immigrants to Scotland. Contemporary Scotland is a more secular society than it once was, but Protestantism is still the hegemonic (although more subtle) ethno-religious marker of Scottishness.

In Scotland the Irish Catholic diaspora community's experience of bigotry has only recently been 'partly' acknowledged – although this acknowledgment may be viewed as lacking in substance. However a number of commentators assert that these sentiments and values that were once universal throughout Scottish society have in fact disappeared.[69] Critics of this approach argue that although some of the most blatant structural forms of this ethno-religious bigotry have diminished, it persists in modern Scotland.[70] It persists, as racism does in other countries, in banal, re-cycled and sophisticated forms as well as in those that are explicit and malign. Meredith Levine has argued cogently that in the case of Canada racist discourses operate 'subtly, covertly and insidiously'.[71] The same is also the case with ethno-religious racism in Scotland.

The media discourse examined here may be related to one individual, but the mechanisms of racism assembled in reports about Neil Lennon contribute to broader circumstances that sectarianise the Irish Catholic descended diaspora in Scotland. This community has long been established as Scotland's 'other'. In a related fashion, the media discourse critiqued here represents Neil Lennon as the embodiment of Scotland national 'other'. In the words of one journalist Lennon is 'the outsider in Scotland'.[72] Two further mechanisms of racism, one banal the other more sophisticated, can be considered to illustrate how the media has incorporated Lennon's outsider status.

(i) Constructing the 'Other': contentious markers of national identity status

His personal biography is testimony to the fact that Neil Lennon is 'not Scottish', and therefore inhabits and possesses 'otherness'. He was born and grew up in Lurgan, County Armagh in the north of Ireland. These biographical facts are arguably common knowledge to most followers of soccer in Scotland, but the media regularly reinforces them. In the global soccer market Scotland, like other countries in Europe, has its share of sports labour migrants. They too are 'marked' in relation to their non-Scottish national identity status (e.g. Celtic's Stilian Petrov as Bulgarian; Rangers' Dado Prso as Croatian; Hearts' Rudi Skacel as Czech). However, the representation of Lennon's national identity status in the press is not straightforward, and is certainly not similar to that of Petrov, Prso or Skacel. It is socially constructed and reproduced in ways that affirm the complexity of history of British-Irish relations and the socio-political identities of the community from which he comes, the one that he has (perhaps temporarily) made his home and more importantly, what that is seen to represent in Scotland.

The press attributes one of three national identity markers to Lennon; Northern Irish/Northern Ireland; Irish/Ireland; and Ulsterman/Ulster. All three labels may be legitimate markers of Neil Lennon's national identity status, but they are each problematic, at least in Scotland. Each label is imbued with a combination of national, ethno-religious and political meanings, that in turn are contested identities in relation to the socio-political division within Ireland and between Britain and the island of Ireland. The schisms that divide Ireland also have both historical and contemporary resonance in Scotland are not restricted to soccer.

It is the use of 'Ulsterman' to mark Lennon's 'otherness' in Scotland that is the most contentious. Within the north of Ireland the term is almost always used only

by those who proclaim their identity as Ulster Scots, as Protestants and as Loyalists/Unionists and, in contemporary socio-political and ethno-religious contexts. The term is associated with strands of colonial British communities (mainly Scottish) that were planted to the north of Ireland. It would not be a term used by Catholics in the north of Ireland, at least not to define their national identity in ethno-religious or political terms, though it can be used ‘internally’ by Catholics when referring to their nine county Ulster identity as opposed to the six county British-Northern Ireland one, as well as within an all-Ireland context (for example in gaelic sports terms).

These socio-political delineations are important. The use of ‘Ulsterman’ in reference to someone with Neil Lennon’s personal biography is highly contentious, especially when his community in Ireland does not use it. There are a few occasions when this term appears in newspaper narratives about Lennon. Its appearance in August 2005 in the media’s racialised discourse is significant. In one instance he is ‘the eloquent Ulsterman’[73], in another ‘The fiery Ulsterman’[74]; but in the context of at least one depiction the use of this national identity marker is explicitly potent and racist:

Acting like a demented animal, this snarling, snorting, supposed icon of a great club showed all the ugly actions of a back-street thug in a game that was being transmitted live on TV throughout the world....Lennon was like a sewer emptying....His face was contorted, arms waving wildly – this was the wee hardman you wouldn’t want to meet in a dark close....Great Celtic skippers like Billy McNeill must have squirmed at how easily *this unacceptable Ulsterman* (emphasis added) demeaned the Hoops jersey.[75]

Space here does not permit an analysis of the socio-demographic and political identities of the readership of these newspapers in Scotland. In summary, both titles would probably be recognised as British and unionist in their editorial line, although one (*Daily Star*) falls more specifically within the cadre of ‘red-tops’ that is most attractive to a socio-economic ‘working-class’; the other (*Scottish Daily Express*) is perhaps more ‘conservative’. In both contexts, readers who renounce the presence of Catholics in (British) ‘Ulster’, and, Irish Catholics in Scotland, would understand this particular reference that described Lennon as an ‘unacceptable Ulsterman’.

(ii) Deflecting the accuser to deny racism in Scotland

The final mechanism of racism examined here is a sophisticated process. It combines denial of prejudice with deflecting racist allegations back to the accuser using a range of rhetorical devices. This includes, dismissing such accusations as absurd and suggesting that the accusation is irrational or evidence of paranoia. Deflecting the allegations in this way undermines legitimate accusations and the complainant (whether an individual or a group) is blamed for being prejudice. This process is successful and becomes the dominant mode of thinking precisely because ‘substantial numbers accept and share the same system of beliefs about another group’.[76]

Of course this mechanism of racism is not utilised uniquely to reject allegations of prejudice in Scotland. This technique operates in many other societies where racism is denied. In Scotland, as in other countries, the dual process of denial and deflection is partly dependent upon a national myth that society is built upon a national myth of egalitarianism and social inclusion.[77] This myth is ‘perceived to be, and treated as unchallengeable forms of knowledge’.[78]

There is considerable evidence of this process of denial and deflection occurring in Scotland, particularly in the press in relation to the diaspora community

of Irish descent in Scotland, Celtic FC and its supporters. The case study of print media representations of Neil Lennon in autumn 2005 provides further evidence of this process. This included, for example, rejections of supporters' views that the referee had been harsh and/or biased as evidence of paranoia and absurd conspiracy theories. The most compelling example in this case study concerns Neil Lennon himself.

Towards the end of the period of Lennon's absence from first team football some of his own views on the media's representations of the incident, his suspension and his character, began to emerge. On the official website of Celtic FC he thanked the club, and supporters, for their backing 'throughout the media witch-hunt'.^[79] He stated that he believed he had received 'a fair hearing' at the disciplinary meeting which had taken the case 'on its merits and punished me accordingly'.^[80]

In October 2005 *The Scotsman* published edited extracts of an interview with Neil Lennon conducted by Glenn Gibbons.^[81] Gibbons also offered his interpretation of the views expressed. This article coincided with Lennon's return to first-team soccer after his three-match suspension. The headline, 'I get an unfair press up here, it's totally personal', indicated the flavour of some of the content: in particular, Lennon's view on how he has been represented 'in certain quarters of the [Scottish] media'^[82], and, not only in relation to the incident at Ibrox two months earlier. Given the analysis presented so far it is instructive to quote at length the player's views as they appeared:

Whether it's my form, my body shape, the way I run, things that have happened off the field, they've always tried to pick holes in my game. There's no doubt what I did at Ibrox was totally wrong, but it was so out of character for me ...

... sometimes I read things about myself and I think, 'Are they watching the same player? ...It's totally personal, I'm certain of it. I don't know these guys personally, I don't socialise with them, so they certainly don't know anything about me...There's got to be another reason – an agenda – why they write these things. And I think it's an easy get-out for these guys, or lazy journalism, just to say that I wind the crowd up. Basically they're hiding behind that kind of nonsense because none of them has the guts to come out and say what the real reason is for their hostility.[83]

The reference to an agenda is resonant of the point that journalists Gordon and Gibbons made the previous month in their assessments of the tabloid hysteria surrounding the player. Introducing the report, Gibbons was more explicit:

the Celtic midfielder expressed his conviction that he has been the object of a media-driven, concerted campaign of harassment motivated by prejudice and bigotry against a Northern Ireland Catholic playing for the Parkhead club in a predominantly Protestant environment.[84]

As with all newspaper reports this article is part of, and cannot be separated from, the discourses that surround Neil Lennon. They are also integral to the public discourses that envelop Celtic FC, the Irish diaspora in Scotland and typify the containment and management of anti-Irish Catholicism in Scotland.

This was not the first time Neil Lennon had referred in press interviews to the hostility directed at him in Scotland.[85] As noted previously in this discussion other people have been publicly criticised for commenting on the treatment he has received at soccer grounds throughout Scotland. For present purposes let us concentrate on the reaction to Lennon's comments in October 2005. Once again certain newspapers

mobilised the mechanisms of denial, and the accusation of prejudice was deflected back to the accuser. The absence of subtle language and a tone that conveyed feigned indignation was consistent with the tabloid press. For example Bill Leckie's report on the match that marked Lennon's return was full of these devices:

HANDS up if you are sick and tired of all this We Love Lenny bilge coming out of Parkhead? In fact, let's make that cards up. Big red ones. Arranged right down the length of London Road to spell the message: ENOUGH'S ENOUGH....The rest of the country has had a bellyful of this fake rallying round a man whose last meaningful action brought nothing but shame on the game. We're weary of the fantasies of a "campaign of hysteria" to get Neil Lennon drummed out of football. We're bored of the nonsensical accusations of anti Irish, anti-Catholics bigotry just because the guy was criticised for behaving like a ned in an Old Firm game. Oh, and before the emails start flying about who "we" are? We are anyone who can see beyond "whit ye ur" and know that the reaction to Lennon's rantings on August 20 were nothing to do with nationality, religion or football allegiance. It was about decency.[86]

Leckie is, in small part, correct. There was justifiable concern over the way the player confronted the officials. It has been argued in this critique however that the tone and language used by some sections of the press, subsequent press coverage, and the techniques used to frame such criticisms, were constructed as a racist discourse. Rather than assuage some Celtic supporters and perhaps the broader community in Scotland that is descended from Irish immigrants, Leckie's comments above may have persuaded them of the press' prejudice that they perceive as real. Leckie's

pronouncements can also in fact be seen as part of a pattern that he has long contributed to along with various other Scottish football pundits.

The same can also be said of the reaction of other tabloid journalists. For example Andy McInnes' commented that as he watched Lennon leaving Celtic Park after the match that marked his return from suspension, 'it struck me that I was looking at a player who obviously considers himself a victim'.^[87] McInnes resurrected some of his own racial stereotypes and contentious markers of Lennon's national identity status to re-affirm the individual's standing as symbolic other/outsider in Scotland. For example commenting on Lennon's (alleged) claim that the media campaign was 'driven by prejudice and bigotry' McInnes opined,

Now you don't get that sort of deep thinking coming from your average footballer – Northern Irish Catholic or Billy boy Protestant.^[88]

He added

Maybe we should simply label Lennon an Ulsterman (no agenda there, just fact) if it helps his cause in this apparent proddy [ie. Protestant] land of journalism,

before concluding: 'Lennon a victim? Only his own head.'

In the *Daily Record* James Traynor provides a final example of this denial and deflection technique. In a tone that feigns dis-interest, Traynor objects:

Lennon, I noticed in a sorry excuse for a broadsheet the other day, was spluttering about his belief that he has been the victim of a media-driven campaign motivated by bigotry and prejudice. For God's sake have people who allow this kind of thing lost all reason and sense of responsibility?^[89]

He added indignantly,

They are adding to the diseased notion that the *majority* (emphasis added) of the people in this country are bigots and that is not the case.

With these views Traynor exemplified the denials of accusations of media prejudice. In addition he lays the blame on Lennon, and the newspaper that published his views, for creating or at least fanning the flames of sentiments that are held by (as Traynor sees it) a minority of people. At this point we have to bear in mind that Catholics in Scotland 'are' a minority and that Celtic supporters 'are' small compared to all other clubs supporters. Although the biggest single ethnic group in Scotland (often itself not recognised in ethnic terms), people of Irish Catholic descent are a minority (approximately 15% of the population) in Scotland. Generally, through the dominant hegemonies of Scottish life, these three categories merge to become one of a sort. Importantly, in such views, there is an implicit suggestion that it is those who subscribe to Lennon's negative view of the tabloid press who demonstrate the real prejudice. In this way the views of the Irish descended Catholic Celtic supporting population of Scotland are marginalized and labelled paranoiac.

Many of the reactions to Lennon's comments use humour – some of it derogatory – to ridicule the player and his comments. The conclusion in the tabloid press was that this had nothing to do with national and ethno-religious prejudices, but is all about the individual, his character, personality and the player he is. In this way the press depicted a serious and legitimate social issue, as an imagined personal 'problem' and, one only fit for humour and for, 'having a laugh'.

Scotland's national demon?

This critique is instructive for social critics and popular commentators of public life in Scotland. The evidence presented is illustrative of specific aspects of the discourse

that practice but simultaneously deny racism - specifically anti-Irish and anti-Catholic bigotry – in Scotland. The material considered contains examples of blatant racial stereotypes as well as more subtle and insidious racist and sectarian narratives. The analysis exposes the culpability of the press in reproducing and sustaining these through mechanisms that reciprocally uphold the underlying ideologies and sentiments that remain deeply embedded, often unchallenged and denied, and even defended, in contemporary Scottish society.

This raises a number of important questions that Scotland (including the press) must face. Two are highlighted here. First to what extent is Neil Lennon a unique example of being marked as ‘outsider’ in Scotland? The answer of course is he is not. The evidence in serious and informed academic studies, some of it cited in this paper, is testament to that. Further evidence, if any were needed, of similar media discourses that demonise particular individuals in this way has already emerged ‘publicly’ in relation to the young Scots-born Irishman, Aiden McGeady, following his decision to play international soccer for the Republic of Ireland rather than Scotland.[90]

Second, and perhaps more importantly for this particular writer, what does this tell ‘Scots’ about ‘themselves’. James Traynor is possibly correct – the majority of people in Scotland are not overt bigots and racist. However, like dominant ethnic groups in other countries we Scots are guilty of solipsism: that is, as individuals and as a national collective, often we know ourselves only from the perspective of our own ‘world’ – the myths, ideas, values and sentiments through which we live our everyday lives.

Scotland is no different to other nations. The demeaning and dehumanising narratives of ‘other’ slip into everyday life signifying, representing and vilifying difference. Over the past one hundred and fifty years, the essential ‘other’ in Scottish

society is the Irish Catholic diaspora, Catholics born in Scotland of Irish descent. During his five-and-half year career (to date) with Celtic FC Neil Lennon has been depicted in media narratives as a symbol of this diaspora community. Lennon has acknowledged his status as ‘an Irish Catholic’ with a ‘very high profile’ in Scotland made him a target for this abuse; adding the impact will stay with him after his career in Scotland is over.[91] The enduring impact of bigotry on one individual is a cause for concern, but as Lennon as observed:

the bigotry thing is not going to go away it’s going to be here a long time after I’m gone.[92]

The issue of bigotry and sectarianism is currently exercising wider debate across some sections of Scotland’s political and civic institutions.[93] Such activity is to be encouraged in ridding the nation of its demon. But if Scotland is to become an egalitarian and tolerant society then the popular media narratives that sustain this form of racism through sport must also be challenged.

[1] The evidence is drawn from Scottish newspapers (i.e. *The Herald* and *Sunday Herald*; *The Scotsman* and *Scotland on Sunday*; *Daily Record* and *Sunday Mail*) and Scottish editions of British papers (e.g. the *Scottish Sun*; *Scottish Daily Express*; *Daily Star*; *The Mirror*; *Daily Mail*; *News of the World*). Some papers have a separate sport supplement on week-ends and Mondays. Evidence cited from supplements is indicated thus: e.g. *The Herald – Sport*.

[2] Bradley, *Celtic Minded: Essays on religion, politics, society, identity ... and football*, 24-36.

[3] Devine (ed), *Scotland’s Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland*.

[4] McCrone, *Understanding Scotland – The Sociology of a Nation*, 91.

[5] *Ibid*, 91.

[6] *Ibid*, 91.

[7] See Cashmore and Parker, ‘One David Beckham? Celebrity, Masculinity, and the Soccerati’, 214-231; Giulianotti and Gerrard, ‘Evil genie or pure genius?: the (im)moral football and public career of Paul “Gazza” Gascoigne’, 124-137; Jackson, ‘A Twist of Race: Ben Johnson and the Canadian Crisis of Racial and National Identity’, 21-40; Kusz., ‘Andre Agassi and Generation X: reading white masculinity in 1990s’ America’, 51-69; Lines, ‘Villains, fools or heroes? Sports stars as role models for young people’, 285-303; Spencer, ‘Sister Act VI: Venus and Serena Williams at Indian Wells: “Sincere Fictions” and white racism’, 115-135; Whannel, ‘Sport stars, narrativization and masculinities’, 249-265; Whannel, *Media Sport Stars: Masculinities and Moralities*.

[8] Lines, *Ibid*, 285.

[9] Whannel, ‘Sport stars, narrativization and masculinities’, 258.

[10] Boyle et al, ‘Doing the business? Newspaper reporting and the business of football’, 165.

[11] Cashmore and Parker, *Ibid*.

[12] *Sunday Herald –Sport* (18 September 2005), 6

[13] Tom Campbell, ‘Institutionalised Bigotry – The Plight of Neil Lennon’, www.keep-the-faith.net/campbell/tom10.htm, downloaded 1 December 2005.

- [14] *The Herald – Weekend Sport*, (19 April 2004), 2.
- [15] *The Herald – Weekend Sport* (17 May 2003), 1,3; *The Herald – Weekend Sport* (8 April 2006), 1.
- [16] See *The Herald* (8 December 2000), 38; *The Scotsman* (8 December 2000), p.21; *Evening Times* (8 December 2000), 76; *Daily Mail* (8 December 2000), 90, 91; *The Mirror* (8 December 2000), 69, 72. *The Herald – Weekend Sport* (9 December 2000), 1; *Daily Mail* (9 December 2000), 92; *Scottish Sun*, (9 December 2000), 67; *News of the World* (10 December 2000), 96
- [17] ‘A Tough Call’, BBC Radio Scotland, broadcast 9 April 2006. Extracts of this interview with journalist Graham Spiers were published in *The Herald – Weekend Sport* (8 April 2006), 1; 4.
- [18] *The Herald* (5 May 2006), 26.
- [19] See *The Times – Sport* (10 November 2001), 18-19; *The Herald – Sport* (17 May 2003), 1; *Scotland on Sunday – Sport* (18 May 2003), 2; *News of the World - Score* (Scotland) (18 May 2003), 4; *Sunday Mail* (30 January 2005), 75; 79; *Sunday Herald – Sport* (13 February 2005), 9; *Sunday Times - Sport* (Scotland) (22 May 2005), 8.
- [20] In March 2006 UEFA announced it was to investigate allegations that supporters of Glasgow Rangers FC were singing bigoted songs during matches in the Champions League matches against Spanish side Villareal (*The Herald*, 10 March 2006, 1, 40). Following the investigation UEFA announced no action would be taken against Rangers FC because in its assessment sectarian chanting is part of Scotland’s ‘social and historical background’, and tolerated in Scottish society. This perception raised concerns from different organisations, political commentators and media commentators. (*Daily Record*, 14 April 2006, 74, 88; *The Mirror* (Scots edition), 14 April 2006, 2, 80; *The Scotsman*, 14 April 2006, 68; *The Times*, 14 April 2006, 105; *Sunday Herald*, 16 April 2006, 9, 32; *Sunday Herald – Sport*, 16 April 2006, 12, 13.
- [21] *Sunday Mail - Features* (12 September 2004), 12,13; *Scotland on Sunday -Sport* (18 May 2003), 2.
- [22] For example, *The Herald*, ‘Showman Lennon has precipitated poison’ (23 August 2002), 42; *The Herald*, ‘Lennon problem will not go away’ (27 August 2002), 32; *The Mirror* (Scots edition), ‘The trouble with a Bhoys called Neil Lennon’ (14 May 2004), 78; *Daily Record*, ‘You’re a disgrace Lennon’ (20 March 2006), 40; *Courier & Advertiser*, ‘Arrogant Celtic captain “out of order”’ (20 March 2006), 20; *The Herald – Weekend Sport*, ‘The trouble with Lennon’ (8 April 2006), 1; *Scottish Sun*, ‘Lennon could be trying to stir it’ (3 May 2006), 56; *Daily Record*, ‘Poor old Neil ... why is he always at centre of any football rummy?’ (3 May 2006), 49.
- [23] For example, *Daily Record* (13 December 2001), 9; *The Mirror* (15 December 2001), 64, 65; *Daily Record*, (19 December 2002), 1; *Scottish Sun* (18 December 2002), 6; *Scottish Sun* (19 December 2002), 17, 64.
- [24] The player had served an automatic one-match the week-end after the match as a consequence of the original red card.
- [25] *Daily Mirror* (Scots Edition) (24 August 2005), 47.
- [26] *The Scotsman – Sport* (22 August 2005), 2.
- [27] The match was broadcast live on satellite television. The incident involving Lennon was re-played later (perhaps in edited form) on terrestrial television news and sports bulletins. A number of still photographs of the incident appeared in newspapers over the following week and again a month later when the SFA Disciplinary Committee met to consider the matter. The SFA Disciplinary Committee dealt with the matter on 20/9/2005; Lennon completed his three-match suspension in mid-October. However, football commentators in newspapers and on football related radio broadcasts referred to the incident for the remainder of season 2005/06.
- [28] ‘Lennon apologises’, celticfc.net/news/ 21 August 2005, downloaded 28 November 2005.
- [29] See *The Scotsman - Sport* (22 August 2005), 2; *The Herald – Sport* (22 August 2005), 1; *Daily Record* (22 August 2005), 24.
- [30] Billig, ‘Humour and hatred: the racist jokes of the Ku Klux Klan’; Dijk, ‘Discourse and the denial of racism’, 87-118; Finn, ‘A Culture of Prejudice: Promoting Pluralism in Education for a Change’, 55-88; Feagin, Hernán & Batur, *White Racism: The Basics*; Jackson, ‘Exorcizing the ghost: Donovan Bailey, Ben Johnson and the politics of Canadian identity’, 121-41; King, ‘Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity, and Miseducation’, 128-32; Spencer, ‘Sister Act VI: Venus and Serena Williams at Indian Wells: “Sincere Fictions” and white racism’, 115-35.
- [31] Bradley, *Ibid*, 21.
- [32] *Daily Mirror* (Scots Edition) (23 August 2005), 62; 63.
- [33] *Sunday Herald – Sport* (21 August 2005), 2; *Sunday Times* (Scotland Sport) (21 August 2005), 1.
- [34] One claimed ‘the linesman got the nippy midfielder’s trademark hand-off’ (*News of the World - Score* (Scotland) 21 August 2005, 4); another that Lennon had ‘lashed out’ at the match officials

(*Sunday Mail*, 21 August 2005, 91; 92). Headlines described him as ‘Captain Scarlet’ (*Sunday Mail*, 21 August 2005, 88); ‘Lunatic; Hothead’ (*Sunday Mail*, 21 August 2005, 91, 92); and exclaimed he had ‘Lost Plot’ (*Sunday Mail*, 21 August 2005, 85).

[35] *Daily Star* (Scottish Edition) (22 August 2005), 51.

[36] *The People* (Eire Edition) (21 August 2005), 2; 3.

[37] For example *Sunday Herald - Sport* (21 August 2005), 1; *News of the World - Score* (Scotland), (21 August 2005), 2 referred to the ‘redhead’s furious response to 10-man Celtic’s defeat’.

[38] For example *Scottish Sun* (22 August 2005), 64; *The Scottish Sun* (22 August 2005), 60; *Sunday Herald - Sport* (21 August 2005), 2.

[39] *News of the World - Score* (Scotland) (21 August 2005), 2.

[40] *Daily Record* (22 August 2005), 38; 39.

[41] *Scottish Sunday Express* (21 August 2005), 111.

[42] *Daily Star* (Scottish Edition) (22 August 2005), 20; *The Herald - Sport* (22 August 2005), 2.

[43] *Scottish Sun* (22 August 2005), 21; also *Daily Mirror* (Scots Edition) (21 September 2005), 54, 55.

[44] *Daily Record* (22 August 2005), 24.

[45] *Scottish Daily Express* (27 August 2005), 96.

[46] *Scottish Sun* (22 August 2005), 62.

[47] One journalist referred to him as ‘an intelligent 34-year old man’ who have behaved ‘like an uneducated delinquent’ (*The Herald - Sport* 22 August 2005), 2.

[48] Attributed quotes *Daily Record* (22 August 2005), 37.

[49] Attributed *Daily Star* (Scottish Edition) (22 August 2005), 8.

[50] *Daily Star* (Scottish edition) 22 August 2005, 51.

51 *Daily Record* (23 August 2005), 5; 52.

[52] *News of the World - Score* (Scotland) (21 August 2005), 4.

[53] Jackson, *Ibid*, 21-40; Jackson, *Ibid*, 121-141; Spencer, *Ibid*, 115-135.

[54] King, ‘Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity, and Miseducation’, 128.

[55] See *Scottish Daily Express* (22 August 2005), 63; *Daily Record* (22 August 2005), 24; *Daily Record* (23 August 2005), 5; 52; *Daily Record* (24 August 2005), 48; *Scottish Sun* (22 August 2005), 62; *Sunday Herald - Sport* (18 September 2005), 6; *Daily Record* (20 September 2005), 54; 55; *Scottish Sun* (20 September 2005), 64.

[56] *Sunday Herald - Sport* (18 September 2005), 6; *The Scotsman - Sport* (17 September 2005), 6

[57] *Sunday Herald - Sport* (18 September 2005), 6.

[58] *Sunday Herald - Sport* (18 September 2005), 6; *Scotland on Sunday - Sport* (18 September 2005), 6; *Scottish Sun* (19 September 2005), 11.

[59] *Sunday Herald (Sport)*, 18 September 2005, 6.

[60] *Daily Record* (20 September 2005), 54; 55.

[61] *The Herald* (23 August 2002), 42; *The Scotsman - Sport* (22 August 2005), 2.

[62] *Daily Record* (21 September 2005), 54, 56; *Daily Mail* (Scots edition) (21 September 2005), 86-88; *Scottish Sun* (21 September 2005), 58, 60; *Scottish Daily Express* (21 September 2005), 71; *The Mirror* (Scots edition) (21 September 2005), 54, 55; *Daily Star* (Scottish edition) (21 September 2005), 55; *Daily Record* (22 September 2005), 66, 67, 68; *Daily Mail* (Scots edition) (22 September 2005), 87, 88.

[63] *The Scotsman* (22 September 2005), 69.

[64] *The Herald* (22 September 2005), 32.

[65] *The Times* (22 September 2005), 92.

[66] *Ibid*.

[67] *Ibid*.

[68] Bradley, ‘Images of Scottishness and Otherness in International Football’, 7-23; Finn, ‘Racism, Religion and Social Prejudice: Irish Catholic Clubs, Soccer and Scottish Society – II Social Identities and Conspiracy Theories’, 370-97; Macdonald, ‘See no evil, speak no evil, hear no evil’, 189-94; Maley, ‘Shut Up and trouble: the nonsense over sectarianism’, 195-201.

[69] Bruce, ‘Out of the Ghetto: the Ironies of Acceptance’, 145-54; Bruce, Glendinning, Paterson & Rosie, *Sectarianism in Scotland*; Bruce et al ‘Religious discrimination in Scotland: Fact or myth’, 151-68.

[70] Gallagher, ‘Holding a Mirror to Scotia’s Face: Religious anxieties and their Capacity to Shake a Post-Unionist Scotland’, 29-40; MacMillan, ‘Scotland’s Shame’, 13-24; Walls and Williams, ‘Sectarianism at work: Accounts of employment discrimination against Irish Catholics in Scotland’, 632-662.

- [71] M. Levine 'Canadians Secretly Relieved at Johnson's Fall, *New Statesman Society*, 1:8, cited Jackson, *Ibid*, 128.
- [72] *The Herald – Weekend Sport* (17 May 2003), 1.
- [73] *Sunday Mail* (21 August 2005), 85.
- [74] *Sunday Mirror* (Scots Edition) (21 August 2005), 79; 80.
- [75] *Scottish Daily Express* (22 August 2005), 8; also *Daily Star* (Scottish edition) (22 August 2005), 20.
- [76] Finn, *Ibid*, 58.
- [77] McCrone, *Ibid*, 90-93.
- [78] Bradley, 'Celtic Minded; Finn, 'A Culture of Prejudice'.
- [79] 'Lennon grateful for support', celticfc.net, www.celticfc.net/newsroom/news (4 October 2005, downloaded 28 November 2005).
- [80] Attributed quotes, *Ibid*. (4 October 2005).
- [81] *The Scotsman – Sport* (15 October 2005), 2.
- [82] Attributed quote *The Scotsman – Sport* (*Ibid*).
- [83] Attributed quote *The Scotsman – Sport* (*Ibid*).
- [84] *The Scotsman – Sport* (*Ibid*).
- [85] See *The Times – Sport* (10 November 2001), 18-19; *The Herald – Sport* (17 May 2003), 1; *Scotland on Sunday – Sport* (18 May 2003), 2; *News of the World - Score* (Scotland) (18 May 2003), 4; *Sunday Mail* (30 January 2005), 75; 79; *Sunday Herald – Sport* (13 February 2005), 9; *Sunday Times - Sport* (Scotland) (22 May 2005), 8.
- [86] *Scottish Sun* (17 October 2005), 61.
- [87] *Daily Star* (Scottish Edition) (17 October 2005), 20.
- [88] *Ibid*.
- [89] *Daily Record* (17 October 2005), 24.
- [90] See *Daily Record*, (2 May 2004), 72-73; *Daily Record* (31 December 2004), 79; *Daily Record* (1 January 2005), 11.
- [91] 'A Tough Call', BBC Radio Scotland, broadcast 9 April 2006.
- [92] *Ibid*.
- [93] The most recent development was the signing of a pact designed to stamp out 'sectarian violence and bigoted abuse' from parades organised by the Orange Lodge and Irish Republican organisations in Scotland (*The Herald*, 2 May 2006, 1; *The Herald*, 3 May 2006, 2,13; *Daily Record*, 3 May 2006, 6, 8).

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