



## Internal migration, sport and the Scottish diaspora in England

Journal:	<i>Leisure Studies</i>
Manuscript ID:	RLST-2013-0182.R1
Manuscript Type:	Original Paper
Keywords:	sport, Scotland, Scottish diaspora, England, internal migration, national identity

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## Abstract

Sport has been argued to play an important role for members of diasporic groups of various origins and in various locations (Burdsey, 2006; Carrington, 2010; Darby and Hassan, 2008; Kaufman, 2005). However, little attention has been paid to the role sport plays for ‘internal migrants’ who migrate to contrasting locations *within* a nation-state, despite the potential for significant contrasts in the prevailing sporting cultures found in different regions of the same nation-state. This article therefore aims to make a contribution towards understanding this relationship by reflecting upon the role sport plays for members of the Scottish diaspora living in England, drawing upon interviews and personal reflections from a number of Scottish ‘internal migrants’ located within the United Kingdom. In particular, discussion attempts to draw attention to the central role sport plays for these individuals in order to maintain a cultural attachment with their Scottish birthplace, given the relative lack of other cultural practices or associations which could be used to achieve this goal. Comparisons are also drawn with studies of the Scottish diaspora in more distant geographic contexts, as well as similar diasporic groups in the English context such as the Irish diaspora. These comparisons allow for a consideration of the impact of geographic proximity and cultural proximity on the relative importance of sport and other cultural practices for Scots living in England, **identifying a number of important issues for those studying the role played by sport in the maintenance of a cultural attachment with ‘home’ for various diasporic groups.**

**Keywords:** sport, Scotland, Scottish diaspora, England, internal migration, national identity

## Introduction

Sport has been argued to play an important role for members of diasporic groups of various origins and in various locations (Burdsey, 2006; Carrington, 2010; Darby and Hassan, 2008; Kaufman, 2005). Such studies have frequently identified the potential benefits derived from

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3 engagement with sport for migrants with regards to maintaining cultural  
4 links with 'home', whether through sports media consumption (whether  
5 individually or collectively), the opportunity sport can provide to  
6 socialise with fellow members of a particular diaspora, or the possibility  
7 to import and recreate 'authentic' sporting **and non-sporting** cultures  
8 from one's original homeland in their new 'host' setting (Darby and  
9 Hassan, 2008; **Giulianotti, 2005; Giulianotti and Robertson, 2006,**  
10 **2007;** Kaufman, 2005). **Furthermore, sport can act as a site for**  
11 **challenging the dominant political, cultural and social attitudes in**  
12 **both the 'host' and 'home' nations (Darby and Hassan, 2008;**  
13 **Kaufman, 2005).** Sport can therefore act as one barometer for gauging  
14 the extent to which a migrant or migrant group is culturally integrated,  
15 assimilated, accommodated or segregated in their host country.  
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34 The majority of research into the relationship between sport and  
35 migration has understandably deployed the 'nation-state' as the frame of  
36 reference for their identification of diasporic groups, therefore focusing  
37 on migrants who have moved from their 'home' nation-state to an  
38 alternative 'host' nation. This approach aligns with the original  
39 definitions and conceptualisations of the term 'diaspora' in academic  
40 writing in the field (Braziel and Mannur, 2003; Cohen, 2008; **Safran,**  
41 **1991**), and has been undeniably fruitful in exploring the multifarious  
42 roles sport can (and cannot) play for members of diasporic groups.  
43 **However, interventions in the definitional debate regarding the term**  
44 **'diaspora' such as those by Brubaker (2005) have illustrated the**  
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3 “dispersion of the meanings of the term in semantic, conceptual and  
4 disciplinary space” (ibid: 1). This dispersion has therefore been  
5 argued to have facilitated a consideration of diasporic groups who  
6 have migrated to locations within the same nation-state (Brubaker,  
7 2005). Nonetheless, less attention has been paid to the role sport plays  
8 for ‘internal migrants’ who migrate to contrasting locations *within* a  
9 nation-state, despite the potential for significant contrasts in the sporting  
10 culture between different regions of the same nation-state. The contrasts  
11 in sporting culture within a nation-state can be caused by numerous  
12 geographic factors (e.g. urban or rural surroundings; proximity to  
13 coastlines, lakes and rivers for watersports; proximity to mountainous  
14 areas for winter sports and adventurous activities), socioeconomic factors  
15 (e.g. relative regional levels of disposable income; class-based sporting  
16 preferences) and sociocultural factors (e.g. local and regional sporting  
17 identities; cultural, religious and ethnic diversity of location). Given the  
18 potential contextual variability within a nation-state, further consideration  
19 of the role of sport for 'internal migrants' who relocate to settings within  
20 their 'home' nation-state offers the possibility to provide a more nuanced  
21 understanding of the relationship between sport and migration.  
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48 This article therefore aims to make a contribution towards  
49 understanding this relationship by reflecting upon the role sport plays for  
50 members of the Scottish diaspora living in England. Approximately  
51 800,000 individuals born in Scotland reside in England, representing two-  
52 thirds of the estimated 1.25 million Scots-born migrants who reside  
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3 outside of Scotland (Ancien, Boyle and Kitchin, 2009; Sim, 2011a).  
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5 Given that the United Kingdom as a nation-state is constituted of  
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7 England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, Scots living in England  
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9 can be viewed as 'internal migrants' within the United Kingdom nation-  
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11 state (Fielding, 2012; Finney and Simpson, 2008). This article will  
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13 therefore explore the experiences of Scots living in England in relation to  
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15 their sporting and wider cultural habits, drawing upon interviews and  
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17 personal reflections from a variety of participants. Before turning  
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19 attention to the role sport plays for these individuals, however,  
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21 consideration will firstly be given to past studies of the Scottish diaspora  
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23 in various geographic locations, before honing in on literature discussing  
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25 the specific context of England and, finally, the importance of sport to the  
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27 Scottish diaspora.  
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### 34 **The Scottish Diaspora**

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38 Braziel and Mannur (2003) argue that the sociological study of  
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40 diasporic groups is of analytical interest as their migration and  
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42 assimilation to an alternative culture results in the production of hybrid  
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44 identities and multiple belongings which undermine traditional  
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46 conceptualisations of identity. Following the establishment of the  
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48 devolved Scottish Parliament in 1999, there has been an increase in the  
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50 number of academic studies concentrating on the Scottish diaspora  
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52 following the development of a number of diaspora engagement policies  
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54 supported by the devolved Scottish Executive (Sim, 2012). Support for  
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3 diaspora engagement has been further boosted since the rebranding of the  
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5 'Scottish Executive' to the 'Scottish Government' following the rise to  
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7 power of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in 2007 as a minority  
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9 government and in 2011 as a majority government, with the SNP  
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11 embracing the opportunity to support the Scottish tourism industry by  
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13 encouraging members of the Scottish diaspora across the world to visit  
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15 Scotland, whilst simultaneously boosting Scottish exports (Mycock,  
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17 2012; Sim, 2012).  
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23 However, given the lack of sovereign statehood for the Scottish  
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25 'nation', the case of the Scottish diaspora generates some analytical  
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27 difficulties in relation to the application of key concepts and typologies  
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29 derived from the academic study of other diasporic groups (Devine,  
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31 2011). **For example, Cohen's (2008) typology of classic diasporas**  
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33 **identifies categories such as 'victim' (e.g. Jews, Africans), 'labour'**  
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35 **(e.g. indentured Indians), 'imperial' (e.g. British), 'trade' (e.g.**  
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37 **Lebanese, Chinese) and 'deterritorialised' (e.g. Caribbean peoples,**  
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39 **Parsis) diasporas. Whilst certain elements of this typology can be**  
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41 **applied to Scottish emigrants and diasporic groups with regards to**  
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43 **labour as a motivating force for emigration, it is difficult to draw**  
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45 **clear analogies along these categorical lines in the way that it is**  
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47 **possible with other diasporas. In contrast, Brubaker's (2005)**  
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49 **alternative criterion of 'dispersion', 'homeland orientation', and**  
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51 **'boundary-maintenance' as signifiers of a diasporic group prove**  
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53 **more analogous with the case of the Scottish diaspora. However, his**  
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3 claims regarding conceptualising membership of a diasporic group as  
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5 “an idiom, a stance, a claim” (ibid: 12) equally emphasises the  
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7 importance of self-identification by each individual in to consider  
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9 themselves a member of a given diaspora, thus avoiding reification of  
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11 a diasporic group which does not exist in the perceptions of its  
12  
13 supposed members. Nonetheless, the widespread acceptance of the  
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15 existence of a ‘Scottish’ national identity in the perceptions of  
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17 individuals living within and outwith Scotland underlines the  
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19 possibility of identifying a distinctly ‘Scottish’ diaspora, even if the  
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21 pursuit of a homogenous ‘Scottish identity’ is a futile one given the  
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23 regional, ethnic, religious, socio-economic and political divisions  
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25 which exist within Scotland as a nation (Bairner, 2001; McCrone,  
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27 1992; Pittock, 2008).  
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34 The majority of extensive studies of the Scottish diaspora have  
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36 focused particularly on Scottish emigrants in distant geographical  
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38 locations throughout the world, such as North America, Australasia, the  
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40 Caribbean and the Asian sub-continent (Devine, 1992, 2011; McCarthy,  
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42 2007a; Sim, 2011a). These works have highlighted the significant role  
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44 Scots played in the expansion and maintenance of the British Empire  
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46 during the Victorian era, with Scotland thriving as junior, but important,  
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48 partners within the Empire (Devine, 1999; Harvie, 1998; Maclean, 2000;  
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50 Mitchison, 1970). This status afforded Scots opportunities for self-  
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52 advancement both at home and overseas. In contrast, other studies of the  
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54 Scottish diaspora have also highlighted that certain Scots were impelled  
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3 to migrate due to developments such as the 'Highland Clearances' of the  
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5 18<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in a number of Scottish 'crofters' from rural  
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7 areas being forced to seek employment in the rapidly urbanising Scottish  
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9 cities or to settle in overseas locations such as North America (Jarvie,  
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11 1991; Devine, 2011). Regardless of the nature of the motivations for the  
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13 Scottish diaspora to leave their home, both of these developments  
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15 resulted in a significant increase in the number of Scots migrating to  
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17 locations throughout the world, and thus the opportunity to spread  
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19 Scottish cultural practices to other international settings. This resulted in  
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21 the establishment of a number of Scottish cultural associations in areas  
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23 with significant Scottish migrant populations, with a number of Scottish  
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25 and Highland societies, Burns clubs and Masonic lodges founded in  
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27 overseas locations during this period (Devine, 2011; McCarthy, 2007a).  
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29 This institutionalised form of cultural association with their homeland  
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31 therefore indicates that historically the Scottish diaspora in overseas  
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33 locations adopted similar strategies to other diasporic groups in similar  
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35 situations (Darby, 2009; Devine, 2011). **However, it is important to**  
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37 **note that the contrasting historical periods of Scottish emigration, the**  
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39 **varying geographic locations and differing motivations for emigrants**  
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41 **leaving Scotland ensured that this was not necessarily a uniform**  
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43 **practice for all members of the Scottish diaspora (Devine, 2011;**  
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45 **Jarvie, 1991, 2000, 2005).**  
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### **Sport, Scottish Identity and the Scottish Diaspora**



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In order to turn our attention to the importance of sport for the Scottish diaspora, it is important to firstly outline the relationship between sport and Scottish identity. For Scots, the existence of international sporting fixtures or events involving independent Scottish teams or individuals offers Scots the opportunity to maintain a sense of allegiance with their contemporaries, whilst also distinguishing themselves from other nationalities both within and outwith the UK (Bairner, 1994, 2001; Jarvie and Walker, 1994; Duke and Crolley, 1996; Moorhouse, 1987). Such arguments often invoke Anderson's (1991) conceptualisation of the nation as an 'imagined community', with Bairner (2001) arguing that sport offers the opportunity to give both physical form and voice to an otherwise abstract notion of a national identity, thus bringing the 'imagined community' of a given nation to life. Despite their geographical displacement, the Scottish diaspora can therefore participate in this 'imagined community' simultaneously with their contemporaries in Scotland. This can be achieved by viewing televised coverage of sporting events either individually or collectively with fellow Scots migrants, or through the consumption of mediated information on Scottish sport to maintain an active interest in Scottish sporting culture.

**However, it is again important to acknowledge that any notion that a singular Scottish identity is expressed through engagement with Scottish sporting culture is undermined by the same sociocultural and religious divides highlighted in the previous section; indeed, many have argued that sport acts as a major source of division with**

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3 **Scottish society (see Bradley, 1995, 2002, 2006; Dimeo and Finn,**  
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5 **2001; Finn, 1991a, 1991b; Horne, 1995).**  
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10           Although sport has the potential to play an important part in the  
11 lives of the Scottish diaspora in terms of maintaining a cultural  
12 association with Scotland, academic study of this specific topic is  
13 relatively scarce in comparison to other diasporic groups. Nonetheless,  
14 Grant Jarvie's (1991, 2000, 2005) analyses of the historic diffusion of the  
15 Highland Games in North America provides a detailed account of the use  
16 of these events by Scottish migrants as a means of easing their transition  
17 into their new surroundings. For Jarvie, the establishment of the  
18 Highland Societies which organised these Highland Games events  
19 provided an opportunity to maintain a number of customs and cultural  
20 practices from Scotland, with an emphasis placed on Highland culture  
21 due to the prevalence of migrants from these regions due to the 'Highland  
22 Clearances'. He also reflects upon the recent resurgence in the popularity  
23 of the Highland Games in North America for Americans and Canadians  
24 with Scottish heritage, whether recent or distant in their ancestry. Jarvie  
25 (2005) argues that the modern North American Highland Games have  
26 retained a romantic and mythologising view of the 'authentic' traditions  
27 and symbolism of Highland and Scottish culture which is significantly  
28 detached from the reality of contemporary life in Scotland, echoing  
29 debates regarding the 'invented traditions' of Scottish culture which  
30 emanate from modernist perspectives on the nature of nationalist  
31 sentiments (Hobsbawm 1983; McCrone 1992; Trevor-Roper 1983).  
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3 Nonetheless, Jarvie contends that attendance at Highland Games events  
4 and membership of Scottish or Highland societies offers the Scottish  
5 diaspora in North America the opportunity to engage with Scottish  
6 culture and heritage, whether valid or not, generating 'social capital'  
7 through their identification with their Scottish ancestry.  
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11 Extensive work on the role of sport for the Scottish diaspora has  
12 also been conducted by Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson,  
13 focusing again on the context of North America but instead scrutinising  
14 the role of football supporters' clubs for Rangers and Celtic, the two most  
15 popular football clubs in Scotland (Giulianotti, 2005; Giulianotti and  
16 Robertson, 2006, 2007). Giulianotti's initial study in 2005 analysed the  
17 extent to which these supporters' clubs afforded their members the  
18 opportunity to recreate sporting cultures from Scotland, thus maintaining  
19 a sense of Scottish identity in their new setting. He argues that active  
20 participation in these clubs creates opportunities for 'phatic  
21 communication' and 'vernacularisation of voice', whereby members can  
22 recreate 'Scottish' forms of accent, speech, debate and song associated  
23 with Scottish football culture, or, more specifically, 'Old Firm' football  
24 culture with its associated **ethno**-religious divides. Giulianotti and  
25 Robertson's (2006, 2007) collaborative work draws upon data from the  
26 same interviews as the 2005 study, this time deploying the concept of  
27 'glocalisation' to critique the extent to which these supporters' clubs are  
28 able to recreate Scottish sporting culture in the North American context.  
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30 Their studies identify a number of challenges faced by the Scottish  
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3 diaspora in recreating Scottish culture and/or maintaining a Scottish  
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5 identity in their new setting, due to a selective approach to identification  
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7 with Scottish cultural identity by Scottish migrants, the existence of  
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9 'banal relativization' of Scottish culture in comparison to the prevalent  
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11 cultural forms in North America, and the growing availability of  
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13 alternative cultural associations which compete with those relating to  
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15 Scottish culture. These studies therefore identify a number of issues for  
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17 the future maintenance of 'glocal' Scottish identities within later  
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19 generations of the Scottish diaspora, with the impact of mediated  
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21 coverage of North American sports prevailing over Scottish football in  
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23 the eyes of second and third generation members of the diaspora,  
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25 negating the possibility to maintain interest in Scottish football and  
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27 sporting culture in general (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2006, 2007).  
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### 34 **The Scottish Diaspora in England**

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38 Although the majority of studies of the Scottish diaspora have  
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40 focused on locations outside of the UK, a growing number of studies  
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42 have also considered the migration of Scots to England (e.g. McCarthy  
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44 2005, 2007b; Leith and Sim, 2012; Sim, 2011a). It has been argued that  
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46 Scots living in England have often been overlooked as a legitimate form  
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48 of diaspora given that on a nation-state level this can be classified as a  
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50 form of 'internal migration' (McCarthy, 2005, 2007b). The relationship  
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52 between Scotland and England as part of the United Kingdom is complex.  
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56 In his analysis of the realpolitik of island union, Miller (2005) highlights  
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3 imbalances in the size of the nations' relative populations and the  
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5 asymmetric migration patterns which result in a net flow of Scots to  
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7 England as amongst the many causes of tension between two nations.  
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9 The imbalance between Scotland and England is also reflected in the  
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11 political economy of the United Kingdom, with England holding a  
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13 historically dominant position in terms of relative distribution of wealth,  
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15 resources and political control. Miller (2005) argues that this has in turn  
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17 led to the development of asymmetric national identities in line with  
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19 actual and perceived differences between the two nations on a social,  
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21 political and cultural level, **with England often presented as an 'other'**  
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23 **to Scotland** despite abundant evidence to the contrary. However, given  
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25 that many Scots and non-Scots would argue that there a clear notion of a  
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27 Scottish nation exists, even if not on the basis of sovereign statehood, it  
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29 can be argued that Scots moving to England do represent a significant  
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31 form of migration in terms of scale and dislocation, both geographic and  
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33 cultural. Furthermore, the forthcoming referendum on Scottish  
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35 independence in October 2014 may result in the establishment of a  
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37 sovereign Scottish nation-state, potentially removing any doubts that  
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39 Scots in England do indeed constituent a diasporic group.  
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48 In terms of maintaining cultural associations with their Scottish  
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50 homeland, Scots living in England have been argued to adopt a  
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52 contrasting approach in comparison to the Scottish diaspora situated  
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54 outside the UK. Academic discussions of the lifestyles of Scots living in  
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56 England have suggested that these individuals are less likely to engage in  
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3 explicit and institutionalised forms of cultural association such as Scottish  
4 societies and clubs, instead preferring to adopt an implicit, social-mental  
5 Scottish identity (McCarthy, 2005, 2007a, 2007b; Sim, 2011a). A  
6 number of Scottish cultural organisations remain in England, **with the**  
7 **majority of these organisations taking the form of ‘Scottish’ or**  
8 **‘Caledonian’ societies, Scottish country dancing societies, and Burns**  
9 **clubs.** According to the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society  
10 website, there are currently 68 Scottish country dancing societies  
11 located in England ([www.rscds.org](http://www.rscds.org)), whilst lists of Scottish and  
12 Caledonian societies elsewhere identifying 28 active societies in  
13 England ([www.rampantscotland.com](http://www.rampantscotland.com)); these lists also contain  
14 omissions of numerous other Scottish societies in England. However,  
15 the membership levels of these organisations has declined significantly in  
16 comparison to those overseas or from other comparable diasporic groups  
17 in England, such as the Irish (McCarthy, 2007b; Sim, 2011a, 2011b). For  
18 example, on the few occasions where the official websites provided  
19 estimated membership figures, the number of members ranged from  
20 approximations of 50 to 210 members ([www.bedscotsoc.org.uk](http://www.bedscotsoc.org.uk);  
21 [www.chesterfieldcaledonians.moonfruit.com](http://www.chesterfieldcaledonians.moonfruit.com);  
22 [www.exetercaledoniansociety.co.uk](http://www.exetercaledoniansociety.co.uk); [www.harrowscottish.org.uk](http://www.harrowscottish.org.uk);  
23 [www.wdsa.co.uk](http://www.wdsa.co.uk)). Given the estimated figure of 800,000 Scots living  
24 in England (Ancien, Boyle and Kitchin, 2009; Sim, 2011a), it is clear  
25 that membership of such organisations plays a part in the lives of  
26 only a small minority of the Scottish diaspora in England.  
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McCarthy (2005) argues that these contrasting strategies are a result of the cultural similarities between Scotland and England which facilitate the assimilation of Scots into their new surroundings, as well as the contrasting historical eras in which the forms of migration took place. Instead, Scots in England tend to rely on the development of smaller personal networks with fellow Scots in England as well as more frequent trips 'home' to maintain their association with Scotland, whilst the existence and maintenance of a Scottish accent continues to act as a natural demarcation of their Scottish identity (McCarthy, 2005).

### **Sport and the Scottish Diaspora in England**

Given this perception of contrasting strategies used by Scots in England compared to Scots overseas, it is apt to now consider the extent to which this contrast is evident in the sporting domain. Whilst the studies of Jarvie, Giulianotti and Robertson outlined above have made an undoubtedly significant contribution to the understanding of the role of sport for the Scottish diaspora, their shared focus on a North American context highlights the necessity for further research which focuses specifically on the topic of sport in other locations containing a significant number of Scottish migrants. Furthermore, such research can also shed light into the lifestyles of the significant proportion of the Scottish diaspora who have little or no interest in either the Highland Games or the 'Old Firm' football teams. Given that the majority of Scots living outside of Scotland reside in England, it seems appropriate that

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3 research in this specific setting will help to further expand our  
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5 understanding of this topic.  
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10 Some headway has been made in tackling this issue by the studies  
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12 of McCarthy (2005) and Leith and Sim (2012), which both make passing  
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14 reference to the importance of sport in their studies of the Scottish  
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16 diaspora in England. Although McCarthy's study concentrated on ideas  
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18 of national identity and the Scottish diaspora in a wider sense, she  
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20 highlights the role sport can play in distinguishing Scots from the English  
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22 during sporting competitions. In particular, she discusses the contention  
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24 that Scots are unwilling to support the English football team, highlighting  
25  
26 the issues this has raised for participants in her study during their  
27  
28 experiences living in England. Leith and Sim's (2012) study echoes the  
29  
30 arguments of Giulianotti and Robertson (2006, 2007) regarding the  
31  
32 challenges of engaging second and third generation members of the  
33  
34 Scottish diaspora with Scottish sporting culture. Their interviewees  
35  
36 highlighted that the existence of separate Scottish and English teams in  
37  
38 international football led to issues regarding which national teams their  
39  
40 children would support, with the allure of the more successful 'host'  
41  
42 nation of England often attracting second generation members despite  
43  
44 their parents' support for Scotland. Leith and Sim (2012) argue that the  
45  
46 lack of engagement with Scottish culture can be attributed to a lack of a  
47  
48 Scottish 'symbolic ethnicity' for second generation Scots living in  
49  
50 England compared with those situated further afield. **Furthermore,**  
51  
52 **given that England has been frequently argued to act as the**  
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3 predominant sporting rivals for supporters of Scottish international  
4 teams (Bairner, 1994, 2001; Blain and Boyle, 1994; Kelly, 2007;  
5 Moorhouse, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1994, 1995; Whigham, in press), the  
6 potentially divisive nature of sporting competition in the relationship  
7 between the 'host' and 'home' countries found by McCarthy (2005)  
8 and Leith and Sim (2012) is unsurprising).  
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20 Although the findings of these studies have begun to identify  
21 some nuances of the relationship between sport and the Scottish diaspora  
22 in England, the placing of sport as the primary focus of the current  
23 research aims to flesh out the initial arguments made by these authors in  
24 their more broadly-focused analyses. Attention will now turn to outlining  
25 the methods adopted in the current study in its attempts to further  
26 understand the manner in which Scots living in England use sport to link  
27 to their Scottish 'home'.  
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### 39 Methodology

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43 The interviews discussed in this study were conducted in 2011,  
44 with 13 interviewees identified through the use of a theoretical snowball  
45 sampling strategy. In order to participate in the study, interviewees had  
46 to have been born in Scotland and to have current residence in England.  
47 Initial contact was made with 5 personal acquaintances in various  
48 geographic locations in the South East and East Midlands regions who  
49 met these criteria. The 8 additional participants were identified through  
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3 personal networks of the initial participants, with attempts made to  
4 provide an element of age and gender representation across the  
5 interviewee sample. **This sampling strategy contrasts significantly**  
6 **with the approaches adopted by other studies of the Scottish diaspora**  
7 **in England which opted to recruit participants by accessing members**  
8 **of formal Scottish social and cultural organisations in a specific**  
9 **geographic locale (McCarthy, 2005, 2007a, 2007b; Sim, 2011a, 2011b;**  
10 **Leith and Sim, 2012). Such an approach facilitated the opportunity**  
11 **to examine the experiences of members of the Scottish diaspora who**  
12 **do not necessarily actively maintain a cultural attachment with**  
13 **Scotland in an institutionalised form, thus complimenting the**  
14 **findings of the existing literature on the Scottish diaspora in England.**

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32 **However, it is important to acknowledge that this sampling**  
33 **method precludes the opportunity to provide a robust comparison of**  
34 **the contrasting experiences of Scots who do and do not engage with**  
35 **Scottish cultural organisations in England, an area which merits**  
36 **further consideration in the future. Furthermore,** any attempts to  
37 claim 'theoretical saturation' is clearly outwith the capabilities of the  
38 current study given its relatively ideographic nature. The starting point  
39 for the current analysis is that any search for generalisability from this  
40 sample to the wider Scottish diasporic population in England is ultimately  
41 futile given the subjective, unique and shifting nature of an individual's  
42 sense of self, **the contrasting experiences of Scots living in contrasting**  
43 **locations in England, and the obvious lack of homogeneity within a**  
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3 diasporic group in the region of 800,000 people (Ancien, Boyle and  
4  
5 **Kitchin, 2009; Sim, 2011a**). Instead, it is of more analytical interest for  
6  
7 **the current study** to produce rich data which emphasises the nuanced  
8  
9 nature of each respondents' opinions and experiences, thus allowing the  
10  
11 opportunity to explore what is important to the current interviewees and  
12  
13 their personal 'ontological narrative'. **Such a strategy therefore**  
14  
15 **facilitates a more thorough reflection of the experience of each**  
16  
17 **individual in light of the findings of studies of the other diasporic**  
18  
19 **groups in England and elsewhere, allowing the opportunity to reflect**  
20  
21 **upon the similarities and dissimilarities in the experiences of this**  
22  
23 **study's participants in comparison to those in alternative locations**  
24  
25 **and/or diasporic groups.**  
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32  
33 In order to generate the rich data required for this approach, this  
34  
35 study adopted the 'life story' approach advocated by Atkinson (1998)  
36  
37 within its semi-structured interviews, with interviews ranging in length  
38  
39 from 35 to 135 minutes. Similar approaches have been adopted in **other**  
40  
41 studies of the Scottish diaspora (McCarthy, 2005, 2007a; Sim, 2011a,  
42  
43 2011b, 2012), placing emphasis on exploring the development of each  
44  
45 interviewee's sense of self across time and space. This allowed for an  
46  
47 analysis of the contrasting ways in which each individual had experienced  
48  
49 migration to England, as well as facilitating the opportunity to analyse  
50  
51 whether their identification with their Scottish birthplace had shifted over  
52  
53 time. **Such an approach also allowed for a consideration of the**  
54  
55 **impact of each individual's personal circumstances on their lifestyles**  
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3 **and attitudes, given that the discussions were framed in relation to**  
4  
5 **the age, gender, social class, employment, and political beliefs of each**  
6  
7 **participant, all of which have potential implications for the nature of**  
8  
9 **their engagement with their Scottish birthplace.** All 13 interviews  
10 were recorded electronically and transcribed verbatim. The transcripts  
11  
12 were recorded electronically and transcribed verbatim. The transcripts  
13  
14 were then analysed using a thematic narrative analysis strategy, with  
15  
16 emphasis placed on identifying themes which linked to their 'ontological  
17  
18 narratives' of their experiences as a member of the Scottish diaspora, and  
19  
20 the various sources of 'public narratives' which has influenced their  
21  
22 identification (or non-identification) with their Scottish birthplace  
23  
24 (Somers, 1994; Somers and Gibson, 1994). Furthermore, particular  
25  
26 attention was paid to the role of sport as a means of maintaining cultural  
27  
28 and emotional attachment to Scotland. Each interviewee has been given a  
29  
30 pseudonym to protect their anonymity in the forthcoming discussion of  
31  
32 the various themes which emerged as a result of this analysis.  
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### 38 **Discussion**

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43 Reflecting upon the central outcomes of the interviewees, it is  
44  
45 possible to organise the emergent themes into **two** sections for the  
46  
47 purposes of this discussion. The first section of this analysis will  
48  
49 concentrate on the cultural similarities and differences between Scotland  
50  
51 and England as perceived by the interviewees, **and the positioning of**  
52  
53 **England as a cultural and political 'other' by the Scottish diaspora.**  
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55  
56 Attention then turns to the strategies adopted by the Scottish diaspora in  
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3 England to maintain links with their Scottish birthplace in the second  
4  
5 section, before specifically considering the importance of sport as a  
6  
7 means of maintaining a cultural attachment to Scotland in the third  
8  
9 section.  
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13  
14 *Scottish and English Culture – Perceptions, Comparisons and*  
15  
16 *Contrasts*  
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20  
21 In order to gain a fuller appreciation of the strategies used by  
22  
23 Scottish migrants in England, consideration of the interviewee's  
24  
25 perceptions of cultural, social and political differences between Scotland  
26  
27 and England acts as an important first stage in contextualising the  
28  
29 experiences of the Scottish diaspora in this particular setting. This is  
30  
31 particularly crucial in this case in order to avoid exaggeration of the  
32  
33 points of difference between the two nations. When prompted to consider  
34  
35 the comparisons and contrasts between Scotland, England, **and their**  
36  
37 **respective populations**, the majority of interviewees emphasised that  
38  
39 they felt that overall there were many similarities and few major  
40  
41 differences:  
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47 I think that Scottish people would kind of a little bit be clumped in with  
48  
49 white people in London. I suppose that's kind of how I think of it myself,  
50  
51 because you have the same sort of cultural values... I would think of Polish  
52  
53 people and Eastern European people as white people, but then they speak  
54  
55 different languages and have a different culture of their own. Whereas with  
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3 Scottish people and English people, you speak English, and there's a very  
4 similar education system and very similar upbringing. (Morag)  
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8 **You couldn't put a fag paper in between what we're like as people,**  
9 **we're very similar. (Paul)**  
10  
11

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13  
14 Only two respondents felt more strongly about the extent of difference  
15 between the two countries, arguing that there are significant contrasts to  
16 be drawn. Nonetheless, it is possible to begin to identify certain areas of  
17 divergence between Scotland and England which were viewed by a  
18 number of interviewees as important factors in understanding the  
19 relationship between the two countries, echoing many of the arguments of  
20 Miller (2005). One such contrast which was cited by the majority of  
21 respondents was the view that England was financially richer than their  
22 neighbours in Scotland:  
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36 I mean, y'know, to me, there strikes me as being a lot... quite a lot of  
37 differences. Um... there's huge financial differences. Prices of property,  
38 stuff like that. I think that the opportunities are not so abundant up there.  
39  
40  
41  
42 (Richard)  
43  
44  
45

46 **I think in Scotland they feel a bit... a lot of people say... well,**  
47 **probably before even you can... well, maybe you're interested in,**  
48 **was in the 1930s when there were people who didnae have any**  
49 **employment, and they couldn't get food, or get money or anything. I**  
50 **think they had it better down in England than they had it up in**  
51 **Scotland. (Alison)**  
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3 This was seen to manifest itself in the belief that this was linked to a  
4 better lifestyle for people living in England, despite some  
5 acknowledgement of the additional cost of living associated with this  
6 higher standard of living.  
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14 The differences in wealth identified between Scotland and England  
15 were also linked with a perceived difference in the prevailing political  
16 and social opinion found in each country, **with England presented as a**  
17 **political ‘other’ by some participants.** With frequent references to the  
18 socialist leanings of Scottish political opinion, this was juxtaposed against  
19 an English political leaning towards more conservative attitudes:  
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30 Em... I do think there is social and political differences. I think Scotland is  
31 much more socialist and left-wing, and I think England tends to be a bit  
32 more conservative and right-wing. Having said that, that's only what I've  
33 kind of experienced of being, like, in southern, south-east England where it's  
34 quite affluent. (Morag) .  
35  
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40 **In that sense, you're thinking this is a more conservative or centrist**  
41 **country than Scotland, but again you've got to be careful that that's not**  
42 **investing qualities in Scotland that you would like Scotland to have, and**  
43 **it goes back to myths about democracy, and so on. And, y'know, it may**  
44 **well be that if Scotland got its independence, it would have a permanent**  
45 **centre-right majority as well for all I know, but I think up to now**  
46 **you've got a sense that there's a little bit more commitment to some**  
47 **kind of egalitarianism. (Bob)**  
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3 The perceived differences in wealth and lifestyle between the two  
4 countries were also deemed to impact upon certain personal  
5 characteristics and traits of the general English persona, such as a sense  
6 of superiority and entitlement. **However, not all participants opted to**  
7 **position English cultural, political and social attitudes in such a**  
8 **generalised manner, and many attempted to outline that ‘England’**  
9 **was not a homogenous entity in their perceptions. For example, a**  
10 common related argument emphasised that there was a significant divide  
11 within England which in fact lead to certain commonalities with Scotland  
12 in relation to notions of a north-south divide within the UK:  
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27 I actually think the traits I would describe to Scottish people would apply to  
28 people like from Newcastle and Sunderland and that. (Bert)  
29  
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31  
32

33 **I grew up in Carlisle, in the north of England, and I think the people in**  
34 **the north of England have a lot more in common with the people of**  
35 **Scotland than they have with people in the south of England, bizarrely,**  
36 **although would cheer for England when it comes to sport. But growing**  
37 **up in Carlisle, and I’ve got lots of friends from places like Burnley and**  
38 **Hull and y’know, those people have a lot more in common with most**  
39 **Scots than they would with people from the Home Counties down here,**  
40 **or people in Oxford. (Scott)**  
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50 Another interesting difference identified by a selection of  
51 participants was the opinion that Scots were more likely to engage with  
52 predominant notions of Scottish identity. The reasons behind this  
53 contrast were argued to lie in the view that Scottish nationality and  
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3 identity were more fully developed, and based upon more tangible and  
4  
5 coherent foundations in comparison to English or British national  
6  
7 identification:  
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10  
11 **I think Scottish people are more patriotic for their country, I think.**  
12  
13 **Whereas English people think we're united... UK or Great Britain,**  
14  
15 **whereas Scottish people, we're just Scottish. (Mark)**  
16  
17

18  
19 The thing I like about Scottishness, y'know, is being able to identify myself  
20  
21 with Scotland... it gives me a sort of coherent, a stronger coherent identity  
22  
23 with a specific place. If I was a... I dunno... from Cheshire, or some  
24  
25 anonymous county... and aye, if you live in Derbyshire, maybe you feel...  
26  
27 you might not have a strong affinity to a particular locality, but maybe you  
28  
29 would. I dunno. But I feel that a Scottish identity gives you a more  
30  
31 coherent identity than you could have, if, y'know, than if you were English,  
32  
33 y'know. (Harry)  
34  
35

36  
37 Discussion of the differences in lifestyle and culture also resulted  
38  
39 in the identification of less positive evaluations of Scotland in relation to  
40  
41 England. Again, drawing upon the discussion of characteristics of  
42  
43 Scottish identity, particular differences were found in relation to poor diet  
44  
45 and higher alcohol consumption in Scotland. Discussion of the social  
46  
47 environments in which drinking took place found less consensus, with  
48  
49 some respondents arguing that there is a stronger pub culture in England  
50  
51 whereas others argued the same for Scotland. Other cultural differences  
52  
53 were proposed in relation to an increased market culture in England,  
54  
55 differences in traditional forms of music and art, and the increased  
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3 engagement with hobbies and pastimes by individuals living in England.  
4  
5 These arguments lead nicely onto a consideration of the differences found  
6  
7 in relation to the cultural interest which will be of specific focus in the  
8  
9 discussion which ensues regarding the role of sport for the Scottish  
10  
11 diaspora in England.  
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### 13 14 15 16 ***Scottish Culture, Sport and Internal Migration*** 17

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20 Having summarised the predominant perceived cultural, social  
21  
22 and political differences between Scotland and England, attention now  
23  
24 turns to gaining an appreciation of the manner in which the Scottish  
25  
26 diaspora in England may maintain a cultural attachment with Scotland.  
27  
28 In this regard, a notable phenomenon cited by a number of respondents  
29  
30 was as increased interest in Scottish affairs and culture after leaving  
31  
32 Scotland, with consumption of Scottish print and online media content  
33  
34 identified by a number of interviewees as a common means of  
35  
36 maintaining a cultural attachment with home:  
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42  
43 I read the Scottish news on the BBC after the headlines. So I never look at  
44  
45 the Oxford local news on the BBC website even though I have it, but I  
46  
47 would... I look at the Scottish news almost every single day. And I think it  
48  
49 does... I don't know if that's to do with being Scottish or... and it's not to  
50  
51 do with homesickness because I've lived here for 11 years. But I am  
52  
53 interested in what's going on in Scotland. (Michael)  
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3 Particular reference was also made to reading books about Scotland and  
4  
5 its history:  
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9 I'm sure its homesickness in the first instance. I mean, you're away from  
10 home. How do you get contact with it... em... of a really personal nature?  
11  
12 For me, it was reading about it. And increasingly in Belfast, whenever I  
13 went home I was buying cassettes of Scottish folk music... I wouldn't say  
14  
15 it's all exiles, it's different. I mean if you're doing a PhD and you're  
16 spending a lot of time in a university library or a bookshop, you've got  
17 access to that kind of thing. I mean, other people though it might be reading  
18  
19 The Scotsman or The Herald or The Dundee Courier on a daily basis, which  
20  
21 I tend not to do. (Bob)  
22  
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28 This was argued to be fairly typical behaviour for ex-pats and exiles of all  
29 countries, and was frequently explained in relation to personal feelings of  
30  
31 dislocation and detachment from Scotland:  
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37 There's undoubtedly been, from a very young age, a desire to be part of  
38 something Scottish. And following the football team and the rugby team is a  
39  
40 big part of that. Reading stuff and reading books has always been a part of it  
41  
42 as well. And I guess it's typical of ex-pats, wherever they are, you have that  
43  
44 sense of something missing that you go into it in a way that you might not  
45  
46 have otherwise. Em... but yeah, I'm absolutely sure that I've been  
47  
48 dislocated from it from the moment I moved south in 1972. (Scott)  
49  
50

51  
52 As outlined above, the cultural practices adopted by my  
53  
54 interviewees tended to be individual in their nature, with **no participants**  
55  
56 **stating that they actively participated** in communal social and cultural  
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3 organisations to maintain a bond with their Scottish birthplace. However,  
4  
5 sport was argued to be the one domain in which such behaviour was more  
6  
7 widespread:  
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10  
11 **We used to go and watch the games... there's a couple of pubs in London,**  
12 **there's the William Wallace and the Rob Roy. So we used to go through on**  
13 **the bus because it was the only place where you could actually see the games**  
14 **live at the time, before Sky started showing all the Scotland games... I**  
15 **mean, there really was no other option to see the game if you couldn't go up**  
16 **to Scotland to see the game or if it was an away fixture. (Scott)**  
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25 In terms of maintaining links to Scotland, the participants  
26 expressed an interest in team sports such as football and rugby  
27 predominantly, followed by athletics, tennis and golf. One aspect of the  
28 relationship between sport and Scottish identity discussed was the  
29 emphasis on the importance of separate Scottish representative teams in  
30 international sporting competition for distinguishing Scotland as an  
31 independent entity, as argued by Bairner (1994; 2001). Given that the  
32 opportunities to identify Scotland as a distinct nation on the global stage  
33 are limited due to its status as a 'submerged nation', the presence of  
34 Scottish teams in specific sporting contexts offers the change to promote  
35 an element of independence for the Scottish nation:  
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52 I guess more that there is a very independent... you know, a Scotland team  
53 rather than a British team that puts it very much at the forefront... it is I  
54 think one of the only relatively few times when Scotland is independent  
55 from the rest of the country and the UK. (Sandra)  
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5 I mean... it would have been a shame I guess like growing up if the  
6 Scottish football team didn't exist. Y'know, with this whole Olympic  
7 sort of debate now, if it had been Team Britain. Because I remember  
8 watching Britain actually winning a hockey gold medal, and I thought  
9 that was quite cool. But it's just not the same. (Bert)

10  
11  
12 Therefore, the ability of sport to generate distinctive ideas of the Scottish-  
13 England divide undermined the common bonds between the two  
14 countries, even for those who argued that regional and class-based  
15 similarities exist:

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28 So... so, I think it's interesting how in lots of ways growing I felt that the  
29 north of England has a lot more in common with Scotland. I think obviously  
30 when it comes to sport that identity splits completely. (Scott)

31  
32  
33  
34  
35 Although the majority of interviewees discussed their interest in Scottish  
36 international and club sport as a marker of their cultural attachment with  
37 Scotland, there was no evidence of any interviewees participating in more  
38 formalised sporting or social organisations which offered the opportunity  
39 to specifically engage with other Scots in England. Some interviewees  
40 demonstrated an awareness of the existence of such organisations or  
41 made alternative attempts to congregate with fellow Scots to watch  
42 Scottish sport at pubs or at home **as noted above**; however, membership  
43 in Scottish sporting, cultural and social organisations **did not play a part**  
44 **in the lifestyles of this study's participants**. This contrasts directly with  
45 the findings of Giulianotti (2005), Giulianotti and Robertson (2006,  
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3 2007), McCarthy (2005; 2007a), and Leith and Sim (2012); however,  
4  
5 given that their research used formal organisations such as these as a  
6  
7 means of recruiting participants for their analyses, this is unsurprising.  
8  
9

10  
11  
12 Another contrast with the findings of previous studies of this  
13  
14 group lies in the omission of the Highland Games in discussion when  
15  
16 considering the role of sport for the Scottish diaspora in England, given  
17  
18 the emphasis placed upon such events in Jarvie's (1991, 2000, 2005)  
19  
20 work on the spread of the Games in North America. Indeed only one  
21  
22 participant mentioned the Highland Games in passing:  
23  
24

25  
26  
27 **Highland Games to me are, like, Scottish sports. Football is just a national**  
28  
29 **sport, it's worldwide, isn't it? Y'know, there's no really any Scottish**  
30  
31 **sports that shine out, within the country or anything like that. I mean, you**  
32  
33 **never get to see it unless you're up in the north of Scotland somewhere.**  
34  
35 **(Brian)**  
36  
37

38  
39 The lack of reference to the Highland Games appeared to be  
40  
41 symptomatic of a relative disinterest in such events as a mark of Scottish  
42  
43 heritage for Scots in England compared to those in North America. This  
44  
45 difference could potentially be explained by the fact that the sample of  
46  
47 interviewees was skewed towards those from the Central Belt who may  
48  
49 not have had as much direct involvement and exposure to Highland  
50  
51 Games events. Furthermore, in a more general, it could also be argued  
52  
53 that Scots living in England who retain a strong interest in Highland  
54  
55 Games events could attend such events with much more ease than their  
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3 counterparts in more distant locations. The relative unpopularity of  
4  
5 sports with distinct Scottish origins for members of the Scottish diaspora  
6  
7 in England lies in direct contrast with migrants from Ireland, for whom  
8  
9 sports such as hurling and Gaelic football have continued to act as an  
10  
11 important leisure activity in their new setting (Darby, 2009; Darby and  
12  
13 Hassan, 2008). The failure to establish a strong attachment with Scottish  
14  
15 sports such as the Highland Games and shinty has been attributed to the  
16  
17 lack of a Scottish equivalent to the Gaelic Athletic Association which has  
18  
19 promoted participation in Irish sports effectively (Bradley, 1998). The  
20  
21 only exception to this pattern is golf, although the extent to which golf is  
22  
23 an indigenous Scottish sport is highly debatable (Gillmeister, 2002). The  
24  
25 establishment of sports clubs with Scottish links is evident in certain  
26  
27 places, with London possessing a number of amateur football teams  
28  
29 participating in local leagues, as well as the example of London Scottish  
30  
31 Football Club who compete in the second tier of the English rugby union  
32  
33 league system. However, the number of Scottish sporting organisations  
34  
35 in England is negligible in comparison with the Irish diaspora (Darby and  
36  
37 Hassan, 2008), despite possessing a similar number of migrants in  
38  
39 England to their Irish counterparts.  
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48 An additional explanation provided by the interviewees for their  
49  
50 lack of interest in participating in Scottish sporting organisations in  
51  
52 England was the ease of access to mediated coverage of Scottish  
53  
54 international and club sport, thus negating the requirement for collective  
55  
56 organisations which provide such access in alternative settings for the  
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3 Scottish diaspora. It is now possible for Scots in England to follow  
4  
5 Scottish international teams, club teams and individual athletes from the  
6  
7 comfort and privacy of their own home at a relatively low cost, given that  
8  
9 their status as 'internal migrants' within the UK allows them access to the  
10  
11 same broadcasters as their compatriots in Scotland, such as the BBC,  
12  
13  
14 ITV, Sky, ESPN and BT Sport:

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17  
18 I wouldn't say I'm more interested in Scottish football because I don't get to  
19  
20 see enough of it, but I got Sky TV a few years ago and I was... eh, 18  
21  
22 months ago. And it's fantastic because you can watch Sportscene or  
23  
24 whatever on BBC One, and sometimes they've got live games on BBC Alba.  
25  
26 (Michael)

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29  
30 **It was mostly the Hearts website, and then you listened to the radio.**  
31  
32 **You could listen to the radio, y'know, streamed through the website. So**  
33  
34 **that would be... I listen to a lot of games live online. The cup final as**  
35  
36 **well, I listened to that online. (Mark)**

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39 Scots living in England are therefore able to participate as members of the  
40  
41 Scottish sporting 'imagined community' (Bairner, 2001) from the comfort  
42  
43 of their armchair if they choose. This contrasts significantly with the  
44  
45 contexts of Scots living in more distant geographic locations where access  
46  
47 to mediated sports coverage is more limited, and is often dependent upon  
48  
49 more costly subscriptions to specialised satellite providers given the  
50  
51 marginalised status of Scottish sport within the global sports media  
52  
53 market. Accessing coverage of Scottish sport therefore often necessitates  
54  
55 attendance at public venues such as sports bars and clubs, or joining the  
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3 formal sporting organisations discussed by Giulianotti and Robertson  
4  
5 (2006, 2007). This means that Scots in more distant locations may be  
6  
7 more likely to meet with fellow Scots communally in order to access  
8  
9 Scottish sport, thus developing new personal and social contacts with  
10  
11 fellow Scots through a shared interest in Scottish sport:  
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15  
16 In Australia, you bumped into people when you went to watch the football.  
17  
18 You always bumped into, y'know, someone who supported their team. Or  
19  
20 when you were in Australia, you could watch Hearts on telly, for example,  
21  
22 and you'd bump into people from Edinburgh and you'd keep in touch with  
23  
24 them. So it was just sort of randomly meeting people, and then you'd keep  
25  
26 in touch with them, eh? (Mark)  
27  
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29  
30 However, the impact of recent developments in live internet-based  
31  
32 streaming technology for sports fixtures and events may yet reduce the  
33  
34 necessity for Scots in overseas settings to congregate in this manner.  
35  
36 These findings regarding the impact of developments in media and  
37  
38 electronic communication chime with the arguments of Finch, Latorre and  
39  
40 Andrew (2010), who argue that the British diaspora are increasingly  
41  
42 relying upon social networking websites and electronic media  
43  
44 consumption as a means of maintaining personal, social and cultural  
45  
46 attachments with their home.  
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51 This dependency upon everyday individual activities to maintain a  
52  
53 bond with their Scottish home can be viewed as partially echoing some of  
54  
55 the arguments in Billig's (1995) 'banal nationalism' thesis. In particular,  
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3 Billig emphasises the routine flagging of the nation in society through the  
4  
5 production and consumption practices of the mass media. He argues this  
6  
7 is particularly pronounced in the case of sport, highlighting the emphasis  
8  
9 given to national teams and individuals and the feeling of shared  
10  
11 experience fostered through media consumption. Although Scots living in  
12  
13 England retain access to the same print and broadcasting media forms as  
14  
15 their counterparts in Scotland, the existence of bespoke Scottish editions  
16  
17 of the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers and the regional variations in  
18  
19 the content of BBC Scotland and STV programming results in a  
20  
21 significant contrast between the Scottish and English context. Scots  
22  
23 living in England therefore need to actively pursue coverage of Scottish  
24  
25 sport in print and electronic media by drawing upon Scottish media  
26  
27 sources, as there is only limited coverage offered to Scottish sport in the  
28  
29 mainstream media sources in England. This existence of such behaviour  
30  
31 for Scots living in England therefore adds credence to the arguments of  
32  
33 Giulianotti and Robertson (2006, 2007) regarding the prevalence of 'banal  
34  
35 relativization' in relation to sport's role for members of the Scottish  
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37 diaspora.  
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#### 45 **Conclusions – Geographic Proximity, Cultural Proximity and** 46 47 **Internal Migration** 48

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52 In order to begin drawing some initial conclusions regarding the  
53  
54 distinctive manner in which Scots living in England, a brief comparison  
55  
56 between this diasporic group with their Scottish counterparts in more  
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3 distant locations (such as North America and Australasia) or with similar  
4 diasporic groups in England (such as the Irish diaspora) can begin to coax  
5 out some of the central points of difference in the role of sport as a means  
6 of cultural attachment with a migrant's birthplace.  
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14 The first such point of difference relates to the *geographic*  
15 *proximity* of Scotland to England. Given the close proximity of England  
16 to Scotland, it remains the most common destination for Scots migrants  
17 who are pursuing career advancement or relocation. Although Scottish  
18 'internal migrants' in England face significant challenges in maintaining a  
19 'Scottish' cultural identity as do Scots in locations further afield, the  
20 geographic proximity of Scotland to England facilitates more frequent  
21 returns to Scotland and an increased possibility of maintaining strong  
22 links with the family and social networks which are often intertwined  
23 with attachments to Scottish sport. For Scots in England, maintenance of  
24 an identification with their Scottish homeland often required alternative  
25 and conscious means compared to those still in Scotland. However, the  
26 means by which Scots in England maintain a cultural attachment with  
27 Scotland differs from those in settings with less geographic proximity to  
28 Scotland. Echoing the findings of McCarthy (2005), the current research  
29 found no evidence of engagement with Scottish cultural organisations  
30 which promoted engagement with Scottish sport or wider culture,  
31 contrasting with the findings of Jarvie (1991, 2000, 2005), Giulianotti  
32 (2005), and Giulianotti and Robertson (2006, 2007). However this is an  
33 issue which merits further study given the relatively ideographic nature of  
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3 this study, **and its contrasting sampling strategy when compared to**  
4  
5 **past studies of the Scottish diaspora in England which have explicitly**  
6  
7 **studied the members of these organisations (McCarthy, 2005, 2007a,**  
8  
9 **2007b; Sim, 2011a, 2011b; Leith and Sim, 2012). Future studies in**  
10  
11 **this area are therefore required to consider the impact of geographic**  
12  
13 **location as well as the comparative demographics of Scottish**  
14  
15 **migrants who do and do not participate in such organisations.**  
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21 A second point of difference in the role of sport for Scottish  
22 migrants relates to the *cultural proximity* of an English context vis-a-vis  
23 the common cultural forms and practices found in Scotland, with the  
24 comparisons drawn between the practices of Scottish and Irish diasporic  
25 groups in England proving instructive here. As we have seen, the  
26 interviewees perceived only minor cultural differences between Scotland  
27 and England in both a sporting and wider cultural sense, as would be  
28 expected for 'internal migrants' moving to new locations within a nation-  
29 state. Furthermore, near-identical access to mediated coverage of  
30 Scottish sport within the UK broadcasting system negated the need to go  
31 to great lengths to engage with Scottish sport. It can therefore be argued  
32 that a strong cultural proximity exists in the contexts of Scotland and  
33 England. However, for Irish migrants it can be argued that the cultural  
34 proximity of their new setting in England is lower than that of Scottish  
35 migrants, given the differences in predominant religious and sporting  
36 practices in comparison to their Irish birthplace (Darby, 2009; Darby and  
37 Hassan, 2008), further pronounced for the minority of Irish migrants for  
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3 whom Irish Gaelic is their first language. The more widespread  
4 emergence of Irish cultural and sporting organisations in the English  
5 context can therefore be argued to be the result of a more explicit attempt  
6 to recreate the cultural practices of their Irish birthplace. In contrast, such  
7 overt attempts are less frequent for Scots migrants due to the cultural  
8 similarities between England and Scotland.  
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20 With its specific focus on this specific group of Scottish 'internal  
21 migrants', this article has been able to explore the role of Scottish sport  
22 and culture in the everyday lives of Scots in this particular context in  
23 greater depth than previous studies (McCarthy, 2005; Leith and Sim,  
24 2012). However, it would be remiss in a study of Scottish 'internal  
25 migrants' in England to fail to discuss the possible implications of the  
26 forthcoming Scottish independence referendum in September 2014 within  
27 these final thoughts. **The political 'othering' of England evident in the  
28 current study has potential ramifications for the constitutional future  
29 of Scotland and the United Kingdom, as campaigners on opposite of  
30 the debate attempt to either emphasise or de-emphasise the political  
31 contrasts between the two countries in order to advance the case for  
32 Scottish independence or continued political union.** The consequences  
33 of a 'Yes' vote will ensure that Scotland will make a transition from a  
34 'submerged nation' to a fully-fledged 'nation-state', significantly altering  
35 the status of the Scottish diaspora in England. The theoretical shift from  
36 the status of an 'internal migrant' to the same status of other migrant  
37 groups in England is likely to have little impact upon the daily practices  
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3 of Scots in England due to the continued high levels of geographic and  
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5 cultural proximity between the two countries. However, the manner in  
6  
7 which such Scots maintain a cultural and political attachment with their  
8  
9 birthplace is more likely to be altered given that the vast majority will be  
10  
11 unable to personally vote on the constitutional future of Scotland, despite  
12  
13 the implications this may have for their own citizenship. The possibility  
14  
15 of the Scottish electorate opting for independence highlights that the  
16  
17 political, economic, cultural and social dynamics within the British Isles  
18  
19 could potentially be reformulated; perhaps future academic analysis of  
20  
21 the Scottish diaspora living in within the British Isles will also require  
22  
23 such a reconsideration.  
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