Psychosocial Dimensions of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora.

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Doctor in Philosophy

by

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that the work contained herein is my own.

Eve Binks

Psychosocial Dimensions of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora

Abstract

This thesis provides a quantitative examination of the psychosocial dimensions of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England, providing an exploratory assessment of factors affecting the experiences, attitudes, and beliefs of these diasporic groups. The research examines the social, national, and political identities of these groups; religious beliefs, practices, and orientations; dissociative experiences; and direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events. Based on literature reviewed in this thesis, a number of hypotheses were suggested and data were collected using an extensive questionnaire from representatives of the Northern Irish, the Republic of Ireland, the Northern Irish Catholic and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora in England, and from an English Control Group.

Data analysis determined that: i) there is a significant difference between the social, national, and political identities of members of the Northern and Republic of Ireland diasporic groups; ii) there is a significant difference between the social, national, and political identities of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups; iii) there is a significant difference between the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, Northern Irish Diaspora, and the English control group in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy; iv) there is no significant difference between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy; v) there is a significant difference between the Northern Irish Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the English control group in terms of dissociation; vi) there is a significant difference between the levels of dissociation exhibited by the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora, and the English control group; vii) for the Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland Diaspora, levels of dissociation were not significantly predicted by either direct or indirect exposure to traumatic events; viii) there was no significant relationship between levels of dissociation and religious orientations; ix) for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora, levels of dissociation were significantly predicted by social, national, and political identities; x) there are significant differences between levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Irish Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the English control group; xi) there are significant differences in levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora, and the English control group; xii) there is a significant positive correlation between extrinsic religious orientations and indirect exposure to traumatic events for members of the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora; xiii) for the English control group there are significant negative correlations between intrinsic religious orientation and indirect and overall exposure to traumatic events; xiv) for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora, levels of exposure to traumatic events are not significantly predicted by social, national, and political identities.

These findings are discussed with reference to recent and relevant research, and the implications of these findings are addressed. Limitations of the research and suggestions for future research endeavours are also considered.

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Synopsis

This thesis examines the psychosocial dimensions of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England. The current study is an exploratory assessment of factors affecting the experiences, attitudes, and beliefs of this diasporic group and, as such, examines a number of areas. The thesis begins with a review of relevant literature in the areas of: i) migration and Diaspora theory; ii) social identity theory; iii) the psychology of religion and, iv) dissociative experiences.

Chapter one provides a review of migration and Diaspora theory from a multi-theoretical standpoint. In terms of migration theory, the chapter will focus specifically on Ireland's unique position in terms of outward migration (Ryan, 1990), and will consider the reasons for emigration and the impact of this emigration on Ireland and Northern Ireland (Garavan, Doherty & Moran, 1994; Mulchahy & Fitzgibbon, 1982). In terms of Diaspora theory, the review will consider the impact that the host nation has on the diasporic group, in addition to the impact that the diasporic group has on the host nation (Brah, 1996), and will consider the Irish and Northern Irish in Britain and the challenges faced by these communities in terms of assimilating into British society (Hickman & Walter, 1995), developing a stable sense of identity (Harding & Balarajan, 1996a), and coping with poor physical and mental health (Greenslade, 1997).

Chapter two will begin with a comparison of theories of identity (e.g. Stryker, 1968; Tajfel, 1972a) and will then review theoretical developments in Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1972a), and the related Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1985).

The review will consider the importance of developing a secure and positive sense of identity in terms of self-esteem and positive self-evaluations (Hogg & Abrams, 1988), and will evaluate the effectiveness of in-group / out-group comparisons in this process (Schaller & Maass, 1989). The chapter will consider Brewer's (1999) theory of Optimal Distinctiveness in relation to in-group / out-group comparisons and theories of identity change (e.g. Ellemers, Wilke, & von Knippenberg, 1993). This chapter will apply these theories of social identity to individuals in Northern Ireland, and to members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora, and will conclude with an assessment of identity conflict in the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England (e.g. Gray, 2000; Hickman, 2000).

Chapter three will provide a scientific review of the psychology of religion and will begin by addressing the recent neglect of this area of research and the possible reasons for this neglect (e.g. Fontana, 2003). The chapter will progress to consider psychological explanations for the development of religious beliefs (e.g. Freud, 1927; McDougall, 1950) and the function that religion serves (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). This chapter will explore the relationship between religion and identity, and will consider the suggestion that religion is important in terms of the development of a secure identity (e.g. Seul, 1999). The chapter will move on to address the suggested relationship between religious beliefs and physical, and mental, health (e.g. Schumaker, 1995), and will then consider religion in Diaspora, providing an appraisal of religion in Ireland and Northern Ireland (e.g. Demerath, 2000) and will conclude with an assessment of the research which focuses specifically on diasporic religion in terms of the Irish and Northern Irish in England (e.g. Vertovec. 2000).

Chapter four will provide a detailed review of scientific and psychological research on dissociation and dissociative experiences. The review will begin with a consideration of the lack of scientific attention this area has received in previous years (Ross, 1996) and will consider the problems that have arisen in terms of developing a comprehensive definition of dissociation (e.g. Cardena & Spiegel, 1993). This chapter will then consider the functions of both pathological and non-pathological dissociation (e.g. Ross, Joshi, & Currie, 1991), including the suggestion that dissociation acts as a defence mechanism (Putnam, 1995), and the relationship between dissociation and experience of traumatic stressors (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). The chapter will then go on to discuss the suggested relationship between religion and non-pathological dissociation (Price & Snow, 1998) and will conclude with a review of the literature detailing the relationship between religion, trauma, and non-pathological dissociation in Northern Ireland (e.g. Dorahy, Lewis, Millar & Gee 2003).

The thesis will then clearly identify the research hypotheses for the current study and will provide a detailed and thorough consideration of the quantitative methodology employed during this study. Full details of the sampling methods employed, the population targeted, the number of participants achieved, and the survey instrument will be provided, in addition to a comprehensive account of the procedure that was followed in the current study.

The results of the current study will be broken down into five main sections: i) descriptive analysis of the emigration experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic groups; ii) analysis of the social, national, and political identities of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora; iii) analysis of the religious beliefs and orientations of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in comparison to each other and to the English control group; iv) analysis of the dissociative experiences of the Irish Diaspora, Northern Irish Diaspora, and the English control group; v) analysis of levels of exposure to traumatic events for all groups involved in the study.

The thesis will then provide a thorough discussion of the research findings, in relation to the specified hypotheses, and will explain these findings in terms of the theories suggested in the literature reviews. The discussion will also consider implications of the current findings and will examine the ramifications of these findings. The discussion section will go on to review the limitations of the current research and will make suggestions for future research endeavours.

This thesis will conclude with a review of the study, and summary of the current findings.

Chapter 1

Migration and Diaspora Theory

1.1 Introduction

The following literature review will consider various aspects of migration and diaspora theory and will discuss a number of areas. It will begin by addressing theories of migration and international mobility and will consider various suggestions made by researchers and scholars in this area, including Brettell and Hollifield's (2000) assertion of the need for research in the area to focus on a shared paradigm encompassing anthropology, sociology, history, and the social sciences. The review will go on to discuss recent migration, i.e. that taking place in the last 150 years, and will focus specifically on Ireland as a unique entity in terms of outward migration.

In terms of emigration from Ireland, the review will address the reasons for this migration, including issues such as the potato famine (e.g. Mulcahy & Fitzgibbon, 1982), economic and political circumstances, further education, and the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland (e.g. Garavan, Doherty, & Moran, 1994), and will consider the impact that each of these areas has had in terms of increasing the number of people leaving Ireland and Northern Ireland each year.

The review will go on to discuss the use of the term 'diaspora' and the implication of using this word to describe communities that are, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, displaced form their homeland. The theoretical significance of the term 'diaspora' will be considered, along with the epistemological, political, and identitarian importance of the term (e.g. Braziel & Mannur, 2003). This discussion of the term 'diaspora' will be succeeded by a focus on diasporic identities and will consider not only the effect that the host nation has on the migrant (both at an individual and community level) but also the impact that the migrant community has on the host nation (Brah, 1996).

The review will then focus on the presence of the Irish Diaspora in Britain (Akenson, 1993; Ullah, 1987) and will address the reasons for Irish and Northern Irish migration to England in particular. Here, issues such as the use of Great Britain as a launching platform for migrants who ultimately continued their journey to more distant places (e.g. United States of America), and the function of Great Britain as a permanent destination of émigrés will be considered.

Although the primary focus of this review will be on diasporic communities, it is important that the nation of origin and its attitudes toward its diasporic community not be overlooked. It is for that reason that the review will consider the recent focus on diaspora by Ireland, and the comments made in support of the Irish Diaspora by both Presidents Mary Robinson (1990-1997) and Mary McAleese (1997-). This focus on the Irish diaspora by these Presidents has lead to a redress of the rights, both political and in terms of identity selection, of Irish people everywhere.

Although much of the literature available maintains that the Irish in England have generally assimilated well in to society (Garavan et al., 1994), more recent research (e.g.

Hickman, 2000; Hickman & Walter, 1995) has suggested that satisfactory assimilation has been marred by the apparent invisibility of the Irish in England, and by the 'myth of cultural homogeneity'. This review will address these claims and will consider the response made by the Commission for Racial Equality (1997) in terms of acknowledging the inequality and prejudice felt by the Irish in England.

In addition to considering the identity conflict faced by the Irish in England, and the reported problems in maintaining a positive sense of identity that have been promoted by the suggested lack of support by the Catholic Church (Hickman, 1995) and the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland as an additional burden (Harding & Balarajan, 1996a), the review will also focus upon the often ailing physical and psychological well-being of the Irish in England, and will pay particular attention to the reasons for higher mortality rates among the Irish Diaspora, and the possible connection that has been made between poor health and a negative sense of identity, and between poor health and political, social, and historical factors (Greensalde, 1997).

The review will conclude with an assessment of Hickman's (2000) theory regarding the history of inadequate Irish-British relations in Britain, and the British resistance to collecting meaningful data on the numbers of Irish people immigrating to England. In addition to this, however, there will also be an appraisal of the recent willingness of the British Government to acknowledging the Irish identity in Britain, via the inclusion of an Irish ethnic identity option on the 2001 Census, and a focus on the recent enthusiasm toward researching the Irish experience in England (Akenson, 1993).

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Migration Theory: Research and Perspectives

Although there are several factors distinguishing current international migration patterns from those of subsequent eras, migration has characterised the behaviour of populations for millennia. Although in the Greek city-states some distinction was made between citizens and foreigners as early as the 4th century BC, the majority of countries have tolerated, often widely encouraged, migration as a means of securing additional settlers and workers (Kirtz & Keeley, 1981). Throughout the past four decades, public and research perceptions of international migration have modified from a view that largescale international migrations have ceased, to a recognition that migration flows in many regions are large in volume and growing (Davis, 1974).

International migration can be viewed as a subcomponent of international mobility – "the movement of persons from their country of birth or residence to another country for work, touristic, educational or business purposes" (Kirtz & Keeley, 1981, p. xiv). This movement includes the relocation of permanent settlers, temporary workers, refugees, and illegal aliens.

Social scientific interest in international migration has developed a tendency to "ebb and flow" with various waves of emigration and immigration (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000). As Brettell and Hollifield attest, in the United States alone the immigrant population stands at an historic high of 26.3 million (representing 9.8% of the total population). Similarly, Western Europe has experienced an influx of migrants. In 1988, Irish people entering Britain constitutes 70% of the total number of émigrés, although by 2001 this number had decreased to 27%, with 21% going to the rest of the EU, 12% to the USA, and 41% to the 'Rest of the World" (Walter, 2004, p.371). By the late 1990's, immigrants accounted for 8.2% of the population of Germany, 6.4% of the population of France, 16.3% of the Swiss population, and 5.6% of the Swedish population. In Australia, 40% of the population growth post World War II has been as a direct result of immigration (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000).

In spite of the volume of research interest in a variety of academic fields, social scientists do not, according to Massey (1994), approach the study of migration from a shared paradigm. Rather, social scientists approach it from a "variety of competing theoretical view points fragmented across disciplines, regions and ideologies" (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000, p. 2). Lucassen and Lucassen (1997) continue that social scientists can be separated into those who take a top-down "macro" approach, centring on immigration policy or market forces, and those who favour a bottom-up approach, emphasising the experiences of the individual of the migrant family.

Further, Brettell and Hollifield (2000) maintain that it is rare in the field of migration studies to find multidisciplinary hypotheses which simultaneously draw upon insights and concepts from several disciplines. Rather, they suggest, each field has preferred questions, variables, and hypotheses ranging from the anthropological "how does migration effect cultural change and affect ethnic identity", through the historical "how do we understand the migrant experience", to the sociological "what explains immigrant incorporation". With this in mind, Castles (1993) suggested the study of migration as a social science in its own right, which should be highly multidisciplinary in its methodology and theory.

If migration is to be studied from a multidisciplinary standpoint, it is important to acknowledge the disciplines involved and the corresponding views on migration and migration studies. The entire issue of migration, the place of migrants in society and migrant identity is, within a multitude of disciplines, a global consideration, incorporating issues of multiculturalism, hybridity, and multi-ethnicity. As a direct result of this, the notion of place based ethnicity is being questioned (Mac Einri, 2000).

Brettell and Hollifield (2000) continue that historians, who currently bridge the gap between humanities and the social sciences, have their central research question concerned with specific places and times. Although migration historians have questions similar to those of other social scientists, there is a tendency to circumvent hypothesis testing and theory. Brettell and Hollifield (2000) continue that in history, the movement and settlement of various groups and how their communities and identities have been constructed and shaped have taken precedence over the analysis of the process of migration. Historians, Brettell and Hollifield (2000) suggest, are concerned more with single groups and individuals than with group comparisons.

However, anthropologists have a greater tendency to be context specific in their quest. Unlike the historians, their ultimate objective is to "engage in cross-cultural comparisons that make possible generalisations across space and time and hence nomothetic theory building" (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000, p.4). Hastrup (1992) has further indicated that the knowledge generated by anthropologists "transcends the empirical" in its endeavour to better understand the human condition (p.128).

The common theoretical framework of anthropologists is shared by sociologists, who emphasise social relations in order to understand the process of migration and immigration corporation. However, as Brettell and Hollifield (2000) attest, while anthropologists involve themselves in the society of origin and the host society, sociologists tend to be almost exclusively concerned with the latter.

If anthropologists have highlighted the cultural construction and symbolic markers of ethnic identity, and sociologists have identified the institutional manifestations of ethnic difference, there is also a wealth of interchange between these two disciplines (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000). This has perhaps occurred most notably in the field of psychology. While psychologists are keen to embrace the anthropological suggestions regarding social and cultural changes which occur as a result of migration, they are also eager to welcome the sociological and historical suggestions of social relations, community, and identity construction in order to assess the importance of social networks as both a causal and sustaining factor in the migration process.

Although migration studies are still in their relative infancy, the focus thus far has been largely concentrated upon immigration. Mac Einri (2000) suggests that, considering the immigrant is a real, tangible presence in the host society, this is hardly surprising and continues that American scholarship is dominant in migration studies – which again is not surprising when the ideology of openness towards the immigrant, which is characteristic of the United States, is considered.

Conversely, until relatively recently, the role of migration in European society has been underestimated. Although the post World War II period saw an escalation in mass migratory movements, most notably characterised by South-North flows, migrants were seen, due to the impact of decolonisation, as economic units rather than full and legitimate members of society. Contrary to events in the United States, the European nation-state, for the most part, remained an "ethno-national entity" (Mac Einri, 2000, p.1).

1.2.2 Irish Global Migration

The past 150 years have witnessed the greatest mass migration in world history. However, by the late 20th century this process had come to an end in most Western nations. In Ireland alone does it persist with a 19th century intensity and in Ireland alone, in 1988, did the number of people leaving the state come close to the number being born. While mass migration of the 19th century from Ireland was mainly to America, that of the 20th century was largely to Britain (Walter, 2004).

Although Irish migration has always occurred in high numbers, the motivation for migration varied significantly depending upon the era involved. Garavan, Doherty and Moran (1994) identify the earliest Irish emigrants as missionaries involved in voluntary exile; the mass movement of the 19th century was largely forced by economic and political circumstances. This was characterised by the mass exodus of the 1845-1855 famine decade, which witnessed the largest recorded mass emigration by the people of Ireland. Indeed, even now Ireland has one of the highest migration rates in the European Union (Ryan, 1990).

According to Garavan et al. (1994), a keen interest in contemporary Irish affairs has been retained by Irish people abroad and O'David (1993) estimates that there are a possible 60 million people of Irish descent living outside Ireland, although it is likely that the actual number is higher considering Lee's (1984) approximation of in excess of 40 million people of Irish descent living in the North USA alone.

Although migration began in earnest with the onset of the 1845 potato famine, before this time the population of Ireland had seen a steady increase from approximately 5 million to 8 million in the 45 years preceding the famine (Mulcahy & Fitzgibbon, 1982). However, throughout the famine years Ireland lost 2.5 million citizens – 1.5 million to migration and 1 million to starvation. Indeed, between 1820 and 1910, the population of Ireland was almost halved, with 5 million people leaving for the USA, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Swift, 1982).

Unfortunately for Ireland, the end of the famine years did not see the end of migration, with an estimated 4.7 million people migrating between the late 1840s and 1921 (Kelly & Nic Giolla Choille, 1990) and these numbers have not subsided. The 1980s saw 5% of Ireland's population departing – although this estimate does not include the number of illegal Irish immigrants which countries, the USA in particular, receive each year. However, although the number of Irish migrants leaving Ireland has seen little change, the chosen destinations have altered. Germany and Holland have become increasingly popular, likely as a result of Ireland's membership in the European Union in the late 1970s (Garavan et al. 1994).

Akenson (1993) and Foster (1988) suggest that given the number of Irish people living outside of Ireland, the failure by cross-cultural psychologists to examine the "Irish mind abroad" is surprising, although Garavan et al. (1994) suggest two possible reasons for this. Firstly, they suggest that it is the relative success of the Irish Diaspora, comparatively free of adjustment issues, which has lead to its neglect. Secondly, they suggest that the failure is a result of the ambivalent way in which emigration is perceived in Ireland – with Irish officials maintaining that they are proud of their diaspora, yet offering them no official voice.

1.2.3 Diaspora: Culture, History, and Theoretical Significance

Derived from the Greek term *diasperien*, dia- "across" and –spieren "to sow or scatter seeds", diaspora may be seen as a naming of those displaced communities who have been dislocated from their homeland either through a process of migration, immigration, or exile. Further, ‘diaspora’ suggests a dislocation from the “nation-state or geographical location of origin and a relocation in one or more nation-states, territories, or countries” (Braziel & Mannur, 2003, p.1). Diasporas, in terms of distinctive historical experiences, are often composite configurations comprised of many journeys to differing global parts, each with its own history. Diasporas are not, though, synonymous with informal, temporary travel. Neither is diaspora a metaphor for individual exile. Rather, diasporas emerge from collective migrations and are places of long term, if not permanent, community formations (Brah, 1996). Although originally used to indicate the “catastrophic origin, the forcible dispersal, and the estrangement of diasporic people in their places of settlement” (Cohen, 1997, p.177), the term diaspora is, according to Clifford (1994) now more commonly used to describe the life conditions of these displaced people, and forces attention to be paid to the dual attachments that diasporic populations have in terms of their national identities (Lavie & Swedenburg, 1996).

In academic journals, the debate over the cultural, historical, and theoretical significance of the term diaspora has flourished. More common use in fields such as literature, film studies, queer theory, and area studies, in addition to its use in sociology, anthropology, and history, often makes understanding the deployment of the term difficult in critical scholarship. Often, the term diaspora is employed as an all-encompassing term to describe all movements and all dislocations, even those which are symbolic rather than physical (Braziel & Mannur, 2003). In the second half of the 20th century, however, diaspora attained new epistemological, political, and identitarian importance and the term is now increasingly used by cultural critics, anthropologists, and literary theorists to describe the mass migrations and dislocations of the past 50 years (Braziel & Mannur, 2003).

More recently, theorisations of diaspora have been indicated by ambiguities regarding the term itself. Diaspora is a term which literally indicates communities of people displaced from their homeland through migration, immigration or exile but which etymologically implies "the fertility of dispersion, dissemination, and the scattering of seeds" (Braziel & Mannur, 2003, p. 4). Recent uses of the term have seen a move away from essentialist notions of homeland, geographical location, national or ethnic identity and a move towards utilizations of diaspora which are conceptualised in terms of hybridity and heterogeneity.

Diasporic subjects are characterised by this hybridity and heterogeneity and are defined by a "traversal of the boundaries demarcating nation and diaspora". Diasporic subjects therefore experience multiple identities where hybrid national identities are located alongside other identity categories (Braziel & Mannur, 2003, p. 5). Diasporic identities are, according to Brah (1996), simultaneously local and global, constituting networks of transnational identifications which encompass imagined and encountered communities.

With demographic flows of people now becoming more the norm than the exception, it is, according to Radhakrishnan (2003), counterproductive to maintain that one can only understand or identify with a place when one is in it. The security of identities which are simultaneously defined and limited by national boundaries are challenged by transnational and subversive diasporic identities. Migrants challenge and change host societies, largely because the integration process has ceased to be viewed as a "one-way path in which the migrant becomes a member of an unchanged host society through the suppression of his/her own cultural values" (Mac Einri, 2000, p. 2).

Recent migrations are creating new displacements and therefore new diasporas. However, despite a propagation of new boarder crossings, relatively few attempts have been made to theorise these terms. Possibly, as Clifford (1994) suggests, this is because it often proves difficult to escape the 'slippage' between diaspora as a theoretical concept, diasporic discourses, and the distinct historical experiences of diaspora.

Entrenched in this concept of diaspora is the notion of border. Brah (1996) defines boarders as "arbitrary dividing lines that are simultaneously social, cultural and psychic; territories to be patrolled… forms of demarcation… places where claims to ownership are staked out" (p. 198). In unison, these concepts of diaspora and border indicate a politics of location which warrants attention because the strong relationship between notions of diaspora and displacement or dislocation denotes that the experience of location can easily "dissolve out of focus" (Brah, 1996, p. 204).

1.2.4 The Irish Diaspora: Movement, Settlement, and Return

According to Davis (2000), the British experience remains unique within the Irish diaspora for two reasons. Firstly, because of its geographical proximity, Britain induced a sense of temporary presence among Irish migrants – with the ease of an anticipated return to Ireland. Secondly, with an annual influx of thousands of seasonal workers, Britain facilitated the departure of many Irish migrants to Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. As Akenson (1993) attests, Britain represents a large and special case because it was involved in Irish migration throughout the English-speaking world.

Irish migration dates to the 12th Century (Ullah, 1987), with Irish people currently constituting Britain's oldest and largest migrant ethnic group (Leavy, Rozmovits, Ryan & King, 2007). Great Britain is second only to the United States in terms of the number of Irish immigrants it has received and although since World War I Britain has been the first choice for Irish migrants, and "has the largest recent diasporic Irish population" (Walter, 2004), it is the place for which there is the least and lowest quality of information (Akenson, 1993). With regard to the ultimate travel destinations of Irish migrants to Britain, these fell into 3 categories: 1) those who used Great Britain as a launching platform – staying for weeks or months (sometimes years) before continuing their journey to North America or Australia, for example; 2) transient labourers who had their permanent home in Ireland but who worked in Britain for some months each year, and 3) permanent emigrants who remained in Britain for the rest of their lives. Although details of Irish migration to Britain are complex, the basic reason lies in the fact that as one of Europe's poorest nations, Ireland was close to one of the richest (Akenson, 1993).

During the 1800s, a climate which fostered emigration was in place in Ireland and mass movement spread from the North East and South East to affect Catholics and Protestants of all classes. In conjunction with this, greater dispersal of appropriate knowledge from shipping agents and cheaper steam navigation facilitated travel to Britain (Davis, 2000). While the middle decades of the 20th century witnessed the majority of mass migration to Britain, the presence of 2nd and 3rd generation born children of Irish immigrants meant that the full number of Irish immigrants to Britain would stand at over 1 million by the end of the century (Davis, 2000). The most numerically significant constituent of Irish migrants in Britain were, for a long time, the Irish in Scotland (Mac Einri, 2000).

Emigration from Ireland to Britain in the 1980s centred on cities such as London and similar locations in the south-east of England. During this time, approximately 70% of all Irish migrants chose Britain as their destination (Davis, 2000). As Halpin (2000) continues, the 1996 Labour Force Survey estimated that there are some 550,000 people native to the Republic of Ireland living in Britain. This approximates to 1% of the British population but 15% of the Irish population. However, when 2nd and 3rd generation Irish are considered, this number rises significantly.

According to Boyce and O'Day (1996), the study of Irish migration has been characterised by a strong emphasis on American sources. However, Boyce and O'Day also note that despite this American dominance, "recent work on Australia, Britain, and Canada suggests that this pre-eminence is under threat" (Mac Einri, 2000, p.3). Partly as a result of these changes, the study of the Irish Diaspora, in conjunction with migration studies in general, has blossomed in recent years (Mac Einri, 2000). The 150th anniversary of the Great Famine lead to renewed interest in 19th century migration and connections were made between 19th century Irish famine, forced migration, and the experience of other populations in other parts of the world (Mac Einri, 2000).

Ireland has always denied its migrant population the right to vote. However, the 1980's and 1990s witnessed a new emphasis upon the ties between the Irish in Ireland and those around the world. This was partly cultural and partly political. President Mary Robinson paid close attention to the global Irish Diaspora and facilitated the use of the word diaspora in public discourse (Mac Einri, 2000).

Robinson's presidential years (1990-1997) emphasised new interest on the broader Irish world community. Robinson's successor, Mary McAleese (1997-) has continued in the same vein and there has consequently been an "increasingly if initially grudging acceptance" that the Irish identity of the diaspora may be more than a shadow of bona fide Irish identity in Ireland. This Irish Diaspora has increasingly and determinedly claimed its place and revoked claims that its culture was or is inferior (Mac Einri, 2000, p.7). The 1998 Good Friday Agreement provided a "new context in which to view the phenomenon of Irish emigration and present an opportunity to put in place a new approach to meeting the needs to Irish emigrants" (Task Force Report, 2002, p.1). Many former migrants have returned to Ireland although the country is also now experiencing an influx of non-Irish migrants – many forced to new countries from European Union countries or other troubled destinations (Mac Einri, 2000).

Doyle (1999) suggests that the much-matured knowledge of the Irish Diaspora is used by Ireland for two distinct focuses – cohesion and diversity. There is a chasm, however, between the work conducted on the Irish Diaspora by American scholars and British scholars. Where, according to Doyle (1999), the Irish American work is indicative of a crowded, albeit sophisticated, continent seeking definitive versions of its many vitalities, the British studies of the diaspora are categorised by the remembered dissonance of recent times. The most significant scholars of Irish migration to Britain, Canada, and Australia have adeptly demonstrated that while the Irish populations of these countries witnessed significant increases post-1945, this influx of Irish migrants has not reshaped Irish communities and subcultures to even approximately the same degree as in the USA (Doyle, 1999).

1.2.5 The Irish in England: Assimilation, Identity, and Issues of Racism

However, although this is the case, over forty years work by the American Committee for Irish Studies (ACIS) and in excess of twenty years by the British Association for Irish Studies (BAIS) has still to recognise a solid hold on Irish backgrounds by overseas diaspora historians (Doyle, 1999). This gulf between the studies of the Irish in Britain and America becomes increasingly apparent when considering how America afforded a risen class to remain 'Irish' where Britain saw this mobility, such as it was, occurring at the expense of absorption and visibility (Doyle, 1999). In addition to this, Doyle (1999) asserts that the newly fashionable secularism in Irish historical realms results in overseas scholars falling "prey to simplistic constructs like national identity and devotional revolution" (p.432).

In the past decade, the blossoming interest in Irish migration has lead to some research in previously under valued areas such as the Irish religious diaspora. Several academic associations have encouraged, indeed promoted, the resurgence of interest in the area of Irish studies, most notably ACIS, BAIS, the Canadian Association for Irish Studies (CAIS), the European Federation of Associations and Centres for Irish Studies (EFACIS), the Societé Francais d'Etudes Irlandaises (SOFEIR) and the International Association for the Study of Irish Literatures (IASIL) (Mac Einri, 2000). However, Irish migration is often underscored by its complexity and while the stereotypical image of poorly educated migrants still exists, there is a range of more accurate alternatives. Irish migrants in Argentina, for example, are reported as being one of the most "financially successful groups of Irish migrants in the world... and most certainly the most successful ethnic group, by a wide margin, in Argentina" (Mac Einri, 2000, p.7).

However, in parallel with Irish society, Irish migration was not homogenous and in terms of influencing the Irish migrant experience in Britain, where in Ireland the migrants came from was of great significance, as was where they chose to settle (Mac Einri, 2000). Irish migrants to Britain tended to come from more advanced areas of Ireland, from the industrialised north-east in particular. This would indicate a tendency to discredit the distinction often made between the emigrants of despair to Britain and emigrants of hope to the United States. This, often incorrect, distinction becomes even less credible when considering that many emigrants who entered Britain on a short-term basis often stayed indefinitely (Mac Einri, 2000).

According to Davis (2000), an area of focus which has often received less attention than it warrants is the absence of serious conflict and disorder in places of Irish settlement. Much of the Irish disorder that has occurred can be explained in terms of cultural and religious differences between Irish migrants and natives in their chosen settlement area. However, although patterns of violence have been observed in Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, and Wolverhampton, there is the contradictory more peaceful existence of the Irish in Bristol, Hull, and Dundee, for example (Davis, 2000). While religious bigotry was one of the causes of hostility towards the Irish Catholics in Britain, the sectarianism and conflict between the Catholics and Protestants served to reinforce the reputation for disorderly behaviour earned by the Irish migrants. Where the 1852 Stockport Riots, which coincided with the famine in Ireland and consequently with a mass influx of Irish migrants, were explained in terms of a threat to the indigenous working population, the experience in Liverpool "represented an extreme case where sectarian violence was encouraged by militant Protestants for political ends" (Davis, 2000, p.29). The Edinburgh situation involved few instances of sectarian conflict although this was less than in other Scottish cities, e.g. Glasgow (Gallagher, 1981).

Davis (2000) suggests that the religious allegiance which was once intense in Ireland was eroded by migration, claiming that, as the Catholic priests had feared, the Irish migrant population became non-practising. However, data from recent studies highlights that this is not necessarily the case (Roe, Lenius, & Bennett 2002; Binks & Ferguson, 2002). Although it may be true that members of the Irish Diaspora attend church on a more infrequent basis than their native Irish counterparts, it is not strictly the case that they are non-practising (Roe, et al., 2002)-

Many employment opportunities arose from the reconstruction of post war Britain and succeeding the 1950's influx of commonwealth immigrants, the Irish, Britain's largest ethnic minority, became involved in the politics of race relations and, while anti-Irish racism was discredited by miscarriages of justice and discrimination against a number of the Irish in Britain, others shared in the growth of the "affluent society" (Davis, 2000, p.3).

While anti-black racism had long since been acknowledged as a feature of British society, the 1980's saw the first acknowledgement of anti-Irish racism (Gray, 2000). According to Hickman and Walter (1995), anti-Irish racism involves the depiction of the Irish as alien and inferior. They further suggest that Great Britain constructed the issue of racism and immigrants as being applicable only to those post-war black immigrants, ignoring internal heterogeneity in Great Britain and the long term presence of Irish immigrants (Gray, 2000).

Gray (2000) continues that a further tool of surveillance and discrimination for Irish migrants to Britain came in the form of the 1974 Prevention of Terrorism Act which was widely used in order to collect data on the Irish in Britain and is, according to Gray, "operated in such a way as to make the Irish, especially when moving between Britain and Ireland, a 'suspect community'" (p.72). By the 1990's, however, anti-Irish racism had become a recognised discourse within Britain and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE, 1997) investigation into discrimination against Irish people in Britain helped legitimise it in English politics (Gray, 2000).

However, a change has begun in Irish Diaspora communities whereby they have "started to emerge from the socio-psychological ghettos into which British racism forced them" and they have begun the process of challenging and eliminating the institutionalised racism and injustice which they once faced (Greenslade, 1997, p. 57).

The CRE (1997) identifies that although Britain has, for many, been a place of welcome opportunity, for other members of the Irish in Britain there is evidence of inequality, discrimination, and prejudice, and many Irish people have objected to "being made the butt of humour and remarks which they find offensive" (p.2). As the CRE pinpoints, although Irish people in Britain are not seen as being sufficiently different for the racism they experience to be acknowledged, they are constantly reminded that they are not entitled to an equal place in British society.

Contrary to Hickman's (2000) assertion concerning the prevalence of anti-Irish racism, Garavan et al. (1994) determined that although some respondents have encountered some prejudice, the overall picture painted by Irish émigrés would appear to be a positive one, with many respondents indicating that they believe the prejudice they experienced to be anti-foreigner rather than anti-Irish. That said, the most anti-Irish feelings are experienced in England or from the English in other countries.

In Britain, although Irish immigrants were not recognised as a distinct ethnic group, there is evidence to suggest that in common with other ethnic and religious minorities, they continue to be disadvantaged in terms of socio-economic position and health (Abbotts, Williams & Ford, 2001).

MacLaughlin (1997) suggests that Irish immigration is an intrinsically geographical phenomenon, which is connected to a process of core-formation and peripheralisation on both national and international scales. As a result, there have been geographical causes and consequences such as the construction of lived in environments which extended global economy frontiers – in North America and Australia in particular – which in turn contributed to the transformation of lived environments and social space within Ireland.

Greenslade (1997) notes that Irish migrants make up Britain's largest ethnic minority group, with 1st generation Irish migrants accounting for 1.6% of the total population of Britain. As a result of the anomalies in the recording of ethnicity by the British census authorities, it is not possible to be completely accurate about the size of the Irish ethnic group in Britain, although some 845,000 identified themselves as Irish at the 1991 census (O'Donnell, 2000). This number, however, is contestable as the Irish ethnicity category made its first appearance on the British census in 2001. Therefore, numbers before this date may be more inaccurate than first thought. In addition to this, census surveys before 2001 did not account for the 2nd, 3rd and subsequent Irish generations, many of whom claim Irish ethnicity. Indeed, the 1988 General Household Survey (GHS) estimated that with 1st and 2nd generation included, the number of Irish migrants in Britain reached approximately 3 million (7% of the population) and in 1993, a survey conducted for MORI determined that if 1st, 2nd and 3rd generation Irish people were included, the number of Irish migrants in Britain rose to just over 6 million (14% of the population) (Greenslade, 1997).

In terms of the reasons for emigration, Irish people abroad identify a number of factors. Garavan et al. (1994) found further education to be the most common reason, with career advancement, leisure travel, and current job improvement all gaining credit as reasons for departure. Garavan et al. (1994) also identify issues such as dissatisfaction with the political, social, or cultural situation, and the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland as reasons for emigration[1].

However, despite the magnitude of this group, for generations the Irish in Britain have constituted an 'invisible minority' and, as Greenslade (1997) attests, until recently there had been a distinct lack of research into their circumstances and conditions in Britain. In light of this absence of 'systematic research' relating to Irish immigrants, the causes of "relative deprivation and economic disadvantage among the Irish in contemporary Britain are still subject to speculation" (Greenslade, 1997, p.39).

In order to understand the apparent 'invisibility' of the Irish in Britain, it is necessary to closely examine the 1950s and 1960s response to Irish immigrants, when discussions centring around the problems and challenges faced by immigrants excluded the Irish

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[1] A brief history of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland can be found in appendix 1.

(Hickman, 2000). Indeed, Hickman continues that 1950s Cabinet papers reveal that "the Irish continued to be seen as different from the English / British... for reasons of expedience – those of labour supply and the constitutional and practical ramifications for Northern Ireland of placing immigration controls on the movement of Irish people – they were included in the same 'race'" (2000, p.54). What Hickman suggests, therefore, is that the current invisibility of Irish migrants in Britain is a consequence of the 'myth of cultural homogeneity' which stemmed from the 1950s response to immigration.

This 'myth of homogeneity' contributed heavily to the perception of the only visibly different people belonging to ethnic minority groups (Hickman, 2000). For this reason, the introduction in the 2001 census of England and Wales of 'British' and 'Irish' categories to replace the traditional 'white' option is highly significant. In order that a positively multi-ethnic Britain is created and maintained, the complexities of the experiences of the Irish in Britain must be recognised, not merely in political and social institution terms, but in terms of every day encounters (Hickman, 2000). However, with the advent of an Irish ethnicity category appearing in the 2001 census (which indicated that there are some 195,000 Irish born people living in London alone (Leavy et al., 2007), as advocated by the CRE report (1997), it would appear that Britain is showing a new willingness to accept, indeed encourage, the open expression of Irish ethnicity and identity.

1.2.6 The Physical and Mental Health of the Irish in England

Suggestions have been made to indicate that Irish migrants in England and Wales differ from other migrant groups. The main suggestion here is that non-Irish migrants tend to be fitter and drawn from more privileged groups within their country of origin (Greenslade, 1997). Due to the "low entry barrier" on movement between Ireland and Britain, it has been suggested that Irish people "suffer an 'inverse selection effect' leading the less privileged and the more unhealthy to emigrate to Britain" (p.42).

Scottish migrants to England and Wales lend support to this conjecture, as they also would appear to exhibit patterns of excess mortality which are not dissimilar to those of the Irish (Greenslade, 1997). That said, there are a number of factors which discredit this hypothesis. For example, the life expectancy of male Scottish migrants actually improves upon migration to England and Wales, unlike that of their Irish counterparts. In addition, emigration effects Irish male and female counterparts differently with men experiencing a distinct disimprovement in their health upon migration and women illustrating little or no change (Greenslade, 1997). Finally, as Raferty, Jones and Rosato (1990) note, there is a persistence of Standard Mortality Rates (SMRs) throughout generations of Irish migrants to England and Wales.

The transference of Irish migrants from rural settings in Ireland to urban locations in Britain is also a factor which is used to explain the comparatively poor health of Irish migrants in England and Wales. This theory maintains that because rural life is healthier than life in an urban setting, the health of Irish migrants suffers as a result of this shift in living environments (Greenslade, Pearson & Madden, 1991). Indeed, the majority of 1950s and 1960s Irish migrants originated in rural Ireland and settled in urban areas of Britain. In addition to this, the originating counties of Ireland – mainly located on the western seaboard – had comparatively low SMRs when compared to those in urban areas of Ireland (Bell, 1986). However, as Greenslade (1997) notes, the move from an underdeveloped rural economy to one of urban industrialisation, where primary healthcare is not only free but considerably better, would tend to support an interesting counter-hypothesis which suggests that a shift from Ireland to Britain would have an advantageous effect on life expectancy.

However, when the cause-specific mortality among Irish migrants in Britain is examined, the evidence suggests that they die of similar causes to the indigenous population of England and Wales. They simply do so at younger ages and in proportionately higher numbers (Greenslade, 1997). Further, studies of mortality amongst the migrants to Britain throughout the 1970s and 1980s determined that Irish migrants have a considerably poorer health profile than the majority of other migrant groups (Greenslade, 1997).

A host of studies examining migrant health have shown that patterns of morbidity and mortality in migrants begin to adjust over time to emulate those of the host population (Syme, 1975). This would appear to indicate that the longest resident Irish migrants and the children of Irish migrants would show similar mortality ratios to those of the population of England and Wales as a whole. However, what Raferty at al. (1990) found was that long term residence in England and Wales actually had the opposite effect upon the Irish migrant population, determining that the SMRs for the Irish in Britain are high regardless of the area of origin in Ireland or length of time in Britain.

Leavy et al. (2007) have also suggested that over several decades, increased rates of depression, suicidal tendencies and other psychological problems have been found among Irish migrants in England (e.g. Balarajan, 1995; Leavy, 1999; Neeleman, Mak & Wessely, 1997).

However, while the information and data relating to physical health makes far from encouraging reading, the prognosis for the Irish in Britain is not improved by the information available concerning their psychiatric well-being. Cochrane and Bal (1989) determined that during the 1970s and 1980s, Irish migrants in Britain were approximately three times more likely to be hospitalised for some kind of psychiatric disorder than their English-born counterparts. While migrants from the Republic of Ireland had the highest rate of admissions to psychiatric hospital, migrants from Northern Ireland had the 2nd highest and Irish men and women had the highest cause specific rates of entry in every diagnostic category, with the exception of schizophrenia.

Although there is evidence of these high admission rates to psychiatric hospitals and high suicide rates, research in this area has not been abundant. Although there has been an increase in recent years (e.g. Walsh & McGrath, 2000), there is still a paucity of research explaining these rates of admission and suicide and very few have addressed the issue of suicide and ethnicity in contemporary Britain (e.g. Bhardwaj, 2001).

However, although the data available regarding the mental well-being of Irish migrants in Britain is far from encouraging, Cochrane (1977) determined that these Irish migrants exhibited better psychological adjustment on a number of measures than matched populations of both Irish people in Ireland and British people in Britain.

Ryan et al. (2006) have suggested that geographical proximity in terms of migration may be a contributing factor to depressive illness in Irish people. Ryan et al. concluded that there is an association between unplanned migration and depressive symptoms after migration. Further, Ryan et al. determined that outward migration from Ireland post 1960 was less likely to be planned, therefore indicating that post 1960 rates of diasporic depression may be due, in part, to unplanned migration and associated stress. Ryan et al. continue, however, that this association was, in their study, found only in men, and suggest that protective factors in women may counter against this depression.

Greenslade (1997) attempts to explain the long-standing, poor mental and physical health of the Irish in Britain in terms of a set of historical, social, and political factors. The health of Irish people in Britain, Greenslade continues, is more than a simple matter of medical and/or psychiatric concern. Rather, it requires the consideration of the "fundamental construction of Irish identities and Irish culture as social and historical facts" (p.49).

That said, it is also important to discuss, as Greenslade (1997) notes, the effects of migrating from Ireland to Britain upon the physical and mental health of the migrants.

Although the mass migration from Ireland of the past 150 years, which was primarily for economic reasons, has had profound effects upon the political and economic landscape of Ireland, it has also had a profound effect upon the cultural, geographic, and psychological dimensions. People left Ireland primarily because the economy was unable to support them. A principle legacy of this fact has been that Irish people have emigrated as workers. Therefore, many Irish migrants to Britain undergo a reconstruction of identity, which is located centrally around their objective capacity to work. Consequently, for many Irish migrants to Britain, their social legitimacy is constrained along the lines of British racism. Irish migrants have often found themselves in a society where they are stereotypes rather then real people and, historically, where they are required for their labour power and relatively little else (Greenslade, 1997). As a result of this, the most socially validated identity for the Irish migrant in Britain is that of the worker. For the non-immigrant, there is not the same necessity to focus upon work because labour does not inexorably link personal with collective identity. Irish immigrants in Britain, therefore, have an additional encumbrance (Greenslade, 1997). In order to maintain their sense of self, their identity, and their self-esteem, they have to work. However, as Greenslade attests, because work has been made central to their being it "remains in many senses a physically and emotionally impoverishing aspect of their existence. One result of this is that when they do get sick they tend not to do anything about it until... those symptoms become actually disabling and prevent them from working" (p.53).

Walter (2004) suggests, however, that there are substantial differences between men and women in terms of their work-based identities. Walter suggests that the types of employment sought by Irish migrant women have a tendency to help them develop closer links with English society than their make counterparts. Walter continues that where Irish men in England routinely find themselves employed in manual positions (e.g. the building trade, etc.), Irish women have a greater tendency to seek professional occupations (e.g. nursing) which place them in regular contact with similar English people and professionals of other diasporic groups.

1.2.7 Issues of Identity in the Irish Diaspora

However, given the number of Irish migrants and people claiming Irish identity in Britain, there remains a problem for the group in maintaining a positive ethnic identity. Hickman (1995) has contested that the Catholic institutions (such as the Catholic church and Catholic schools) have not been supportive of the promotion of a positive Irish identity while Harding and Balarajan (1996a) and Ullah (1985) indicate the ongoing 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland as an "additional burden in developing and promoting a positive sense of Irishness" (Walsh & McGrath, 2000, p. 469).

Many Irish immigrants hold feelings of inferiority when compared with host nationals, partly due to their history of colonisation (Greenslade, 1994). Kellerher and Hillier (1996) continue that for the Irish in Britain, settling in the home of the coloniser and oppressor heightens this sense of inferiority which causes the immigrants feelings of vulnerability and ambivalence and, according to Antonovsky (1979), leaves their identity lacking in authenticity.

In addition to this, Leavy et al, (2007) have also suggested that there are "personal, communal, structural and cultural factors which assist or impair healthy settlement" (p.232), such as educational and language skills, employment and social relationships.

A major challenge faced by the Irish in Britain is that regular holidays and visits to Ireland and Northern Ireland effectively evoke feelings of being neither completely native nor completely foreign. As a result of this, Kellerher and Hillier (1996) attest that integration by Irish immigrants is often stable at an individual level although there is a failure to form a secure collective identity.

The role of identity as an explanatory factor in the poorer health of Irish immigrants has been indicated and its place in the main acculturation theoretical model is well established (Berry, 1990, 1992, 1997; Berry & Kim, 1988; Berry & Sam, 1996). The model of acculturation proposed by Berry includes factors which are hypothesised to affect the acculturating individuals' adaptation. These include issues related to the economic and political stability of the society of origin and the ethnic attitudes and social support likely to prevail in the host society. These factors are suggested as influencing the acculturation of the immigrant group as it is against these factors that a person's acculturation experience unfolds. In addition to these factors, Walsh and McGrath (2000) indicate a number of individual variables which exist prior to and during acculturation (for example, age, gender, personality, social support, coping style, and acculturation strategy). According to Berry's theoretical model of acculturation, the role of identity is incorporated with age – for example, the process of acculturation is usually trouble free when it occurs before primary school age (Beiser et al, 1988) whereas adolescents experience greater problems as a result of the interaction between ethnic identity and developmental identity (Berry, 1997). However, older people experience the greatest acculturation difficulties (Beiser et al., 1998; Ebrahim, 1992).

This could be explained in terms of Hostager, Al-Khatib, Dwyer and Close's (1995) suggestion of national identity as a subset of social identity, where national identity is a sense of self which is derived from an affiliation with a country and social identity as being a sense of self which is gained from membership in various social groups (e.g. age, vocation, religion). It would therefore stand to reason that the older generations would find it more difficult to acculturate due to the implicit changes necessary in social and national identity.

Identity-based suggestions have also been put forward to explain the poor health of Irish migrants in Britain (Hickman, 1995; Kellerher & Hillier, 1996). These accounts maintain that poor health could be attributed to the difficulties in developing and sustaining a positive Irish identity in England. Although this account may be attractive for identity theorists, it is unsupported by empirical research (Walsh & McGrath, 2000). The more traditional account of the poor health of the Irish immigrants in Britain is based on genetics (Harding & Balarajan, 1996a). However, Balarajan and Yuen (1986) challenge this account and are more in favour of a behavioural based explanation, blaming heavy smoking and drinking, which has been linked to the stress of migration (Adelsten, Maramont, Dean & Bradshaw, 1986).

Where Hickman and Walter (1997) have asserted that there is a strong resistance to recognising the distinctiveness of the Irish experience in Britain and an "almost completely unquestioned acceptance of anti-Irish racism" (Walsh & McGrath, 2000, p. 479), Ullah (1990) attests that the broad network of Irish community organisations, cultural clubs, and centres provide opportunities which encourage a positive sense of Irish identity.

In contrast, Hickman (2000) asserts that there has been little discussion relating to how the British constitution might change or how we might transform aspects of the British political culture in order that Irish citizens and citizens of Irish descent might be able to legitimately express their Irishness in a variety of public spheres. Although this problem is being addressed in Northern Ireland, there is little being done to rectify the situation in the rest of the UK. Hickman continues that whereas the Irish-American identity claimed by many in the USA is seen as totally acceptable, there has never been a way to be Irish-British or British-Irish in the same acceptable way. As a result of this, Hickman (2000) continues, the history of Irish-British relations has been unsatisfactory. Although Irish identities have remained salient for large numbers of Irish people in Britain, in the majority of cases the integration of Irishness and Britishness has been complex and controversial (Hickman, 2000).

1.2.8 Emigration from Ireland, Immigration to Britain: Issues of Data Collection

According to Greenslade (1997), economic conditions in Ireland are such that emigration will remain the only viable option for many people in the coming years. As a result of this, it is important to acknowledge the realities of emigration and the implications for the migrant: rather than interpreting migration in terms of the mobility of international labour, it is more accurate to interpret it as the "short-term survival strategy with long-term counter-survival implications for both the individual and the economy" (p.57).

Perhaps one of the largest problems with the knowledge of the Irish in Britain is the absence of accurate annual figures regarding the out-migration of Irish people to Britain. According to Akenson (1993), in 1852 the UK government began keeping statistics (albeit questionable in terms of accuracy) regarding emigrants to most countries, although they kept no record of migrants to Britain. Between 1876-1920, record keeping took place but ceased upon the Partition of Ireland. According to this record keeping, during this 44 year period, migration totalled 236,508 although net migration calculations for the same time period place the figure at least 300,000 (Akenson, 1993).

Although there have been numerous attempts at overcoming the southern and northern governments refusal to collect data on the permanent out-migration, it remains the case that actual migration flow to Britain remains unknown. The most accurate way of assessing numbers is to observe the data collected at the 10 yearly census intervals which, from 1841, have monitored the number of Irish immigrants. However, while this will provide a very approximate indication of migrant flow from Ireland to Britain, it does not indicate the number of 2nd, 3rd and subsequent generation Irish who lay claim to Irish identity and ethnicity (Akenson, 1993).

Although there is limited information regarding the number of Irish immigrants to Britain, there is also a distinct lack of research examining where those Irish migrants are located on the Catholic – Protestant divide (Akenson, 1993). Akenson goes on to suggest that as the majority of Irish in Britain come from the "Catholic South" then it could be suggested that the Irish population in Britain had a higher proportion of Catholics. In fact, as Akenson (1993) continues, this is not necessarily the case. Fitzpatrick (1989) suggests that even in the late 1850s up to a fifth of the Irish admitted to Liverpool were Protestant, although in the absence of reliable census data, Protestant ex-patriots have been widely ignored.

However, what Fitzpatrick's work does not acknowledge is the possibility that Protestant migrants from the Catholic South may have been over-represented (Akenson, 1993). Conversely, as Glynn (1981) asserts, "from 1911-1926 the Protestant proportion of the 26 counties fell by a third while the Catholic population dropped by little more than 27%" (Akenson, 1993, p.208). Akenson continues that Protestants were more likely to migrate out of the twenty-six counties than the Catholics because few Protestants saw a future in an overwhelmingly Catholic nation state, while a further cause of Irish Protestant migration was the perceived job discrimination and cultural intolerance. However, what this theory fails to note is that although the number of Protestants migrating from the Catholic south may have been higher in terms of the percentage, it is likely that, with the overwhelming Catholic majority, the actual number of Catholics leaving the twenty six counties was still higher in real terms.

Never, until the 2001 census, had British authorities collected systematic data regarding ethnicity in a way that would assist in establishing the number of British residents that are of Irish background. Further, as Ryan (1990) asserts, "Irish assimilation into British society is among the fastest that occurs among immigrant groups anywhere in the world" (pp. 59-60). Given this fact, it is hard to understand why more literature in the area does not exist. In part, the reason that so little research on the Irish has been focussed upon Britain is that the official and systematic data sources are so weak, partly due to Britain's awareness of itself as a multicultural society only developing in the last twenty years. As Akenson (1993) attests, "the old colonial mindset… meant that one simply did not study the lesser breeds among the old quality, especially if they happened to be next door" (p.214). In addition, Akenson further asserts that Irish migration to Britain has been a source of embarrassment to the Irish establishment in terms of the thousands of Irelands most intelligent and enthusiastic people leaving the country annually. In recent times, however, Irish migration and Irish ethnicity in Great Britain have begun to be researched in earnest (Akenson, 1993).

Given the information that is available regarding migrant groups, and the comparative lack of that which is available for members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England, the aim of the current research, in relation to migration and diaspora, is to provide detailed and comprehensive information for the Irish and Northern Irish in

England. In order to do this effectively, a number of areas will be addressed and the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic groups will be assessed for each of these areas.

1.3 Conclusion

This literature review has addressed migration and diaspora theory and has focused on the important areas in terms of the Irish Diaspora in England. The review has detailed varying approaches to both migration and international mobility and has considered both of these areas from a shared perspective; considering the contributions made by sociology, anthropology, history, and the social sciences. From these approaches, the historians focus on single groups and individuals, the anthropological focus on cross cultural comparisons, and the sociologists focus on social relations have all be considered. As a result of this consideration, the psychological approach, which welcomes input from all three of the above areas, has emerged.

This review has explored the practical and theoretical questions raised by migration and by the significance of using the word 'diaspora' to describe communities of migrants throughout the world. Drawing upon the work of Braziel and Mannur (2003), the political and identitarian importance of this term has been assessed and the problems associated with diasporic identities have been discussed (e.g. Brah, 1996). The Irish Diaspora and the Irish in England have been particular focuses of attention, and reasons for immigration to England (Ullah, 1987), immigration experiences (Garavan et al., 1994), and assimilation into British society (Berry, 1990; 1992; 1997) have all been addressed.

Throughout this review, issues such as anti-Irish racism and the impact that this has on the identity salience of the Irish in England (e.g. Hickman, 2000), have been discussed. In addition to this, problems facing the national and social identifications of the Irish in England have been addressed (e.g. Hostager, Al-Khatib, Dwyer, & Close, 1995), as have Hickman's (2000) concerns regarding the unsatisfactory nature of Irish-British relations.

Finally, the review has discussed the change in British attitudes toward their Irish Diaspora in recent years, and has acknowledged the inclusion of the Irish ethnicity item on the 2001 Census, and the renewed enthusiasm by researchers in terms of investigating the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of the Irish in England.

Chapter 2

Social Identity Theory and its Application

2.1 Introduction

The following literature review addresses Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1972a, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and related theoretical explanations of identity and identity development, e.g. Identity Theory (Stryker, 1968) and Self Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1985). After briefly considering the early social psychological focus on groups and collective phenomenon by researchers such as Wundt (1916) and McDougall (1921), the review will focus upon the re-emergence of collective social psychology in the 1960s and will consider the development of both Identity Theory (Stryker, 1968) and the later development of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1972a).

In terms of Identity Theory (Stryker, 1968) the following literature review will discuss the emergence of this theory out of research conducted by symbolic interactionists such as Mead (1934) and Cooley (1902) and will discuss the suggestions made by Stryker (1968) that identities are structured hierarchically within the individual, implying that the same identity may hold different levels of significance for each person. In addition to this, the concepts of both interactional and affective role identity commitment (Stryker, 1980) will be discussed, where it is suggested that interactional commitment is concerned with how the extent of the commitment, and affective commitment focuses on the intensity of the commitment. The suggestion (Stryker, 1980) that there is a positive correlation between identity salience and interactional and affective commitment will also be discussed.

The review will then move on to discuss the development of Tajfel's (1972a) Social Identity Theory and the key theoretical suggestion that social category memberships are represented in the individual as social identities (Tajfel, 1972a; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The review will go on to address the assertion that identity salience leads directly to stereotypical in-group behaviour and out-group discrimination (Tajfel, 1972a; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and that social identities are underpinned by two socio-cognitive processes known as categorisation and self-enhancement, both of which are inherently linked to a positive sense of identity and increased levels of self-esteem (Tajfel, 1972a).

The review will then discuss the development of Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1985), which assesses intragroup similarities and intergroup differences, and suggests that during the process of categorising the self and others into in-group and out-group members, individual members of the group experience a process of depersonalisation whereby they act not as individuals but rather as representatives of the appropriate in-group. The suggestion made by Schaller and Maass (1989) that categorisation is the foundation for discrimination will also be discussed, in line with the relevance of the situational context for both Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory, and the importance of identity labels (e.g. Fu, Lee, Chiu & Hong, 1999).

Following on from a detailed assessment of Social Identity Theory, and the related Self-Categorisation Theory, the following review will also focus on Brewer's (1991) Optimal Distinctiveness Model, which suggests that the in-groups and out-groups that develop as a consequence of individuals social identities meet two basic human social needs: the need for affiliation and the need for differentiation. This model also makes suggestions relating to the maintenance of positive identities and these will be discussed in reference to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) suggestion that negative social identities are tackled using one of three strategies: social mobility, social creativity, or social change. Further research into these three strategies have suggested that when group boundaries are permeable, individual strategies will be used, (e.g. social mobility), while if group boundaries are impermeable, collective strategies will be employed (e.g. social creativity or social change) in order to maintain, or re-gain, a positive sense of social identity (e.g. Ellemers, Wilke & von Knippenberg, 1993).

In terms of group cohesion, van Vugt and Hart (2004) suggest that groups persist because individuals are willing to make investments in them. Stern (1995) offers support to this theory and further suggests that Rational Choice Theory helps explain why individuals benefit from supporting the group, even when it involves a personal sacrifice to do so. This suggestion, along with Stern's (1995) further assertion that the presence of threat increases identity salience and willingness to contribute to the group cause, will be addressed in the literature review that follows.

Waddell and Cairns (1986) have suggested that one of the key benefits of Social Identity Theory is that it encompasses multidisciplinary theoretical contributions in its analysis of social problems. This, Waddell and Cairns continue, makes Social Identity Theory an important contribution in terms of understanding Northern Irish society.

The following review will apply Social Identity Theory to Northern Ireland and its situation of societal and political unrest, and will consider both the complexities of Catholic and Protestant identities (Cairns, 1987; Moxon-Browne, 1991; Waddell & Cairns, 1986), and the relevance of context specific identities in Northern Ireland (Gallagher, 1993; Shanks, 1990; Trew, 1994) from a Social Identity Theory perspective.

Finally the following literature review will focus on applying Social Identity Theory to Irish and Northern Irish diasporic social identities (e.g. Hickman, Morgan & Walter, 2001) and will consider Hickman's (2000) assertion that a positive sense of Irish identity is lacking in British society (see also Harding & Balarajan, 1996a) and Kelleher and Hillier's (1996) suggestion that Irish migrants do not assimilate well into UK society. The review will conclude with an assessment of McDowell's (2003) suggestion that migrant identity is dependent upon a local sense of belonging as well as maintained attachments to place, and Gray's (2000) assertions that because of this, hybrid identities often exist in migrant populations.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Identity Theory vs. Social Identity Theory

It is Wundt (1916) who is identified as the forebear of psychology as an experimental science and his work on social psychology addressed issues which he felt could not be adequately explained in terms of individual psychology, e.g. religion and language. Durkheim (1898) agreed with Wundt's conjecture that it was not sensible to attempt to explain collectivist phenomena with individual psychology, while McDougall (1921) suggested that as a result of interaction between individuals, there arises a 'group mind' which is qualitatively dissimilar from the solitary individuals that contribute to the group.

After this early social psychological focus upon collectives and collective phenomena, the early 1920s saw the emergence of a mainstream social psychology with a fixed focus upon individual behaviour. Although this was problematic in terms of assessing the social psychological groups, the 1960s witnessed the re-emergence of collectivist social psychology, in part due to the culture of confrontations that was emerging (e.g. the Cuban missile crisis, the Israel terrorist attacks, tensions in North and South Korea, and the onset of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland) and consequently collectivist social psychology once again came to the fore, bringing with it the later emergence of Identity Theory (Stryker, 1968) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1972a).

Identity Theory (IT) and Social Identity Theory (SIT) are two perspectives concerned with the social motivation for self-concept. Both theories address the social self as it is represented in society and advocate the idea that self and society are not autonomous entities. In addition to this, both IT and SIT explain the self in terms of a number of distinct identities. However, although both theories are concerned with the groups within the individual, rather then the individual within the group, the theories are distinct and do not, as a matter of course, overlap (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995).

Identity Theory (Stryker, 1968, 1980, 1987; Stryker & Serpe, 1982) is best explained as a microsociological theory which seeks to explain social behaviour as a series of complimentary interactions between the individual and society. Although IT has its roots in Mead's (1934) Symbolic Interactionist view that social behaviour is heavily affected by society, it refuses the symbolic interactionist observation that society functions as a coordinated entity. Instead, according to Stryker and Serpe (1982), IT argues that although society is an organised entity, it is highly complex. According to Hogg et al. (1995), it is this "vision of society [that] forms the basis for the central proposition on which identity theory is predicated: that as a reflection of society, the self should be regarded as a multifaceted and organised construct" (p.256).

Identity Theory merges two central ideas related to the individual in society: first, that the individual self results from social interaction: people know who they are as a direct result of their interaction with others (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). Second, that because individuals interact in groups, they will have as many distinct identities as they have groups to which they belong (James, 1950). From the merging of these two ideas came Stryker's assertion that individuals will have distinct components of themselves (named by Stryker as role identities) for each of the roles that they occupy in society. Lindesmith and Strauss (1956) continued that these role identities distinguish not only the self, but also the role of relevant others: Others in society will respond to a person in terms of their role and this aids the development of self-definition.

Unlike SIT, however, IT does not focus on the different social attributes that individuals can assign to themselves. IT is instead concerned with the self-defining roles that people have in society, and views these roles as being associated with certain beneficial outcomes (Hogg et al., 1995). IT similarly asserts that individuals will have some roles in society that are more important than others, and organises role identities hierarchically, where the more self-defining identities are placed at the top of the hierarchy and those role identities that are less likely to be summoned are placed nearer the bottom (Stryker, 1968). The result of this hierarchically structured sense of self is that those role identities which are located nearer the top of the hierarchy are stronger in terms of identity salience and are therefore more closely related to behaviour (Hogg et al., 1995). As Thoits (1991) continues, this would suggest that individuals that posses the same role identity have the potential to behave differently in any given situation because of those hierarchical differences in identity salience.

This idea of identity salience in IT led Hogg et al. (1995) to suggest that the salience of any given identity is likely to be associated "with positive evaluations of others who occupy the same role" (p.258). However, what IT suggests is that identity salience is determined by the level of the individual's commitment to a particular role, where role commitment will be high if that role identity is important in maintaining valued social networks. This idea of role identity commitment was further researched by Stryker (1980), who determined that there are two kinds of commitment: interactional and affective. Interactional commitment is concerned with how extensive the commitment is, i.e. the number of roles that are related to a particular identity. Affective commitment focuses on how intense the commitment is, i.e. the importance of the relationships associated with that commitment. Stryker continues that there is a positive correlation between identity salience and interactional and affective commitment and further suggested that identity salience is dependent upon social relationships: an individuals important social relationships are based on that individual holding a particular identity and if there are a greater number of people involved in those important social relationships then identity salience will be much higher.

Although IT has much to say about individual role identities and makes some reasonable assertions about identity salience, its downfall is that it fails to address the effect that these role identities have on relationships with others. Further, IT does not investigate the impact of these identities on society as a whole.

Following the sociological-based theories proposed by Stryker and colleagues, the late 1970s and early 1980s saw the development of Tajfel's Social Identity Theory. Developed initially by Tajfel (1972) and then refined and redeveloped by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and Turner (1982), SIT suggests that any social category to which an individual belongs will provide that individual with a definition of themselves based on the defining characteristics of their chosen category. Each individual holds membership to a varying number of these social categories and membership to each group corresponds to a social identity within the individual. This social identity has the ability to describe and prescribe the individuals characteristics as a member of that category or group (Hogg, 1996). For example, a social identity can dictate how the individual should think, feel, and behave for any given identity. The result of this is that when a particular social identity becomes salient, all members behave in a way that becomes stereotypical of that in-group (the group to which one belongs) and perceptions of the out-group (the rival group, or the group to which one does not belong) also become stereotypical. The result of this in- and out-group stereotyping is that interactions between the groups develop competitive and discriminatory qualities (e.g. Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel & Turner; 1979). Otten and Moskowitz (2000) determined support for a positive in-group stereotype but also determined that there was no negative stereotype that related to the out-group. In addition, they determined that while there was, in their study, support for in-group favouritism, there was little evidence in support of out-group denigration.

In addition to social identities being descriptive and prescriptive, Tajfel (1972a) suggests that they are also evaluative. What Tajfel asserts here is that social identities promote the evaluation of the social group and of the members of that group and result in comparisons between that group and its members and other groups and their members. This evaluation leads to group members developing techniques that will help them achieve (and then maintain) in-group and out-group comparisons that favour the in-group. This, in turn, serves to enhance both group and individual self-esteem, which promotes a positive sense of identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Tajfel (1972a) explained SIT in terms of two fundamental socio-cognitive processes: categorisation and self-enhancement. Categorisation defines group boundaries and produces stereotypical and normative perceptions of the group. Self-enhancement theory ensures that the stereotypes produced in the categorisation favour the in-group in order that the basic human need of seeing oneself from a favourable viewpoint when compared with relevant others is fulfilled. This evaluatively positive self-concept is achieved by comparing the in- and out-groups on dimension characteristics that favour the in-group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

These processes of categorisation and self-enhancement and their impact on behaviour are explained in terms of subjective belief structures (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Doise, 1986). These structures relate to individuals beliefs regarding the stability of group status and the possibilities of social mobility or social change. These subjective belief structures result in behaviours that assist the group in achieving self-enhancement (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). For example, disengagement and seeking psychological membership to another group may be seen in individuals who believe their groups low status position to be legitimate. Conversely, direct intergroup competition is most likely to be seen in individuals who a) believe that their groups low status position is illegitimate and b) cannot gain psychological entry into another group (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995).

As a result of Tajfel (1972a) and Tajfel and Turner's (1979) identification of the categorisation process that takes place during the development of social identity, Turner (1985) established Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT). This theory expands and enhances this process of categorisation and highlights the apparent similarities between intra-category stimuli and the apparent differences between inter-category stimuli.

The categorisation of the self and others into in-groups and out-groups serves to define individuals' social identities and draws attention to the similarities between the defining characteristics of the in-group and the defining characteristics that others assign to the out-group. In this way, individual members of the group experience a process of depersonalisation whereby they act not as individuals but rather as representatives of the appropriate in-group archetype. However, while depersonalisation is the "basic process underlying group phenomena", it avoids the negative connotations that are associated with deindividuation or dehumanisation. Rather, depersonalisation implies a contextual change from individual identity to group identity: from unique to shared (Hogg et al., 1995, p.261).

The cognitive representation of social groups in terms of prototypes was also suggested by Turner (1985) as part of SCT. Turner described these prototypes as the "subjective representations of the defining attributes of a social category (behaviour, attitudes, beliefs)" (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 261). These prototypes serve to define groups as discrete entities and are designed in order to increase inter-category differences and reduce intra-category differences. As a result of this, prototypes are heavily affected by which out-group is salient at any given time and are therefore subject to change if he relevant out-group changes. What this illustrates is the dynamic nature of both SIT and SCT: both are highly responsive to the existing social context (Hogg et al., 1995).

Some researchers (e.g. Rosch, 1978) suggest that categorisation is useful in helping individuals to make their perceptual environment less complex; others (Turner et al., 1987) argue that it is a strategy which helps individuals assign meaning to their social environment. What Schaller and Maass (1989) maintain, however, is that whether the function of categorisation is to help individuals simplify their perceptual environment, or whether it serves to help individuals assign meaning to that environment, categorisation is a key prerequisite for prejudice and discrimination: by categorising people into 'them' and 'us' the foundations are laid for discrimination.

Although there is an important place for both IT and SIT (and the associated SCT), it is important to recognise that while both address the internalisation of identities and consider the notion of self that is socially constructed, only one of these theories, SIT, seeks to explain the behaviour of any given group in terms of both psychological and societal processes, and only SIT acknowledges the importance of society over the individual (Hogg et al., 1995). While IT may focus on how one labels oneself in society, it does nothing to address the psychological and cognitive processes that result in individuals conforming to group norms. SIT, conversely, specifically links identity with behaviour, depersonalisation, and conformity. While IT does little to recognise the importance of the immediate social context in identity maintenance and change, SIT is highly dynamic and associates the immediate social context with identity salience and self-esteem (Hogg et al., 1995).

Perhaps more important in terms of the current research is that while IT focuses almost exclusively on role identities, SIT is concerned with group behaviour and intergroup relations. Where SIT acknowledges out-groups, and discusses in-group and out-group interactions, IT is concerned with counter-roles, which are qualitatively and quantitatively different. Although IT does do more to explain why certain identities may become 'chronically' salient under certain conditions (e.g. conditions which promote high levels of interactional and affective commitment), SIT is a more considered theory and, as such, does more to explain the formation, maintenance, and change of identities (Hogg et al., 1995). Although it is true to say that while IT is rooted in sociological theory and SIT in psychological theory and therefore clearly the aims of the two theories differ, it remains the case that it is SIT which does more to address the impact of society on the individual, it is SIT that explores in greater depth the social outcomes of identity, and it is SIT which does more to investigate and explain the impact that identity and identity groups have not only on the individual but also on society (Hogg et al., 1995). It is for this reason that the dominant theory of identity in the current research is Social Identity Theory.

2.2.2 Social Identity Theory and Related Theories: Self-Categorisation, Optimal Distinctiveness, Social Mobility, Social Creativity, and Social Change

In more recent years, SIT has been subject to further developments. Researchers (e.g. Doise, 1986) have attempted to explain group phenomena by examining not only intergroup processes but also the cognitive processes that occur at an individual level. SIT draws a vivid distinction between social identity and personal identity. SIT predicts that group / inter-group behaviour will only occur when social identity is the principle motivation for the conceptualisation of the self. In this way, and in specific circumstances, group identity becomes more important than individual identity and group behaviour ensues (Hogg & Williams, 2000).

SIT defines the self as "the totality of self descriptions and self evaluations subjectively available to the individual" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p.24). Hunter, Platow, Howard and Stringer (1996) further suggest that the concept of self can be divided into two major constituents: personal and social identity. Personal identity describes those identifications which come from interpersonal relationships (e.g. daughter, friend, etc.), while social identity describes those identifications which grow out of membership in social groups, and include identities such as those associated with religion, nationality, and politics. What SIT suggests is that under certain, specific circumstances social identity can become more important than personal identity and individuals will evaluate themselves in terms of the characteristics of the group rather than the individual (e.g. Hunter et al., 1996; Turner, Oakes, Haslam & McGarty, 1994).

SIT combines social categorisation, group membership, social influence, group motivation, collective self-conception and intergroup relations (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and is effective in distinguishing group phenomenon from personal and interpersonal phenomena. SIT further postulates that group phenomena can be explained in terms of a process of socially categorising the self and others, which then become the predominant grounds for perception, cognition, and behaviour (Hogg, Fielding, Johnson, Masser, Russell, & Svensson, 2006). SIT has played an important part in advancing social psychological research on group processes (e.g. Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Hogg, 2001c, 2003; Turner, 1999).

Self-categorisation and intergroup perception rely heavily upon identity labels which often have multiple meanings (Fu, Lee, Chiu & Hong, 1999). Central to self-categorisation theory is the assumption that when there is a change in the immediate social context, individuals may either i) change their social identity, or ii) maintain their sense of social identity but alter the meaning of the identity label (Fu et al., 1999). This idea of contextual self-concept derives from Turner et al.'s (1987) theory of metacontrast. Turner et al. suggested metacontrast as the comparison that is made between both intragroup and intergroup differences, where intragroup difference is measured in terms of the inconsistency between group members on aspects suitable for social comparison, while intergroup difference is measured in terms of inconsistencies on the same dimensions between members of different groups. As intragroup differences increase and intergroup differences decrease, group members begin to "perceive memberships of the relevant groups as interchangeable. Thus, self-categorisation depends heavily on both the comparisons between the self and ones in-group members as well as between in-group and out-group members on relevant dimensions" (Fu et al., 1999, p.201).

Further to SIT, Brewer (1991) suggested the Optimal Distinctiveness Model. Here, what Brewer suggests is that social identifications fulfil two basic social requirements: i) the need for acceptance, and ii) the need for differentiation. Brewer suggests that individuals fulfil their need for acceptance by noting the similarities between themselves and other in-group members while the need for differentiation or distinctiveness is fulfilled by noting the differences between the self and out-group members. Brewer continues that where social identity salience is subject to changes in context, so is distinctiveness: what she suggests is that an individual's frame of reference for social comparison will change in line with the social context. In addition to this, Brewer (1999) further asserts that in order to achieve and maintain an optimum level of inclusiveness, individuals may ascribe alternative meanings to their social identities when the importance of the notions of inclusiveness and distinctiveness vary in line with the social context. What Brewer concludes is that, ultimately, social identities should be understood in terms of the social structures that motivate the individual.

According to SIT, if an individual is a member of a negatively distinct in-group, they will use one of three strategies in order to achieve a positive social identity. These three strategies were named by Tajfel and Turner (1979) as social mobility, social creativity, and social change. Strategies relating to social mobility – the only individual strategy – can be explained by the individual attempting to leave the negatively distinct in-group and become a member of another, more favourable group (Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish & Hodge, 1996). Jackson et al. (1996) continue that the objective of social mobility is to improve the identity of the individual without altering the status of the group as a whole, and this individual strategy involves actual and psychological attempts at disassociating oneself from the group. If acceptance into another group is possible then the individual may actually leave the group. If this is not possible then the individual may employ a number of psychological techniques in order to remove themselves from the negatively distinct in-group: the individual may decrease their identification with the in-group, or their perceived similarity to this group. Alternatively, they may increase either their identification with a higher status out-group or their perceived similarity to this group (Jackson et al., 1996). Although research (Wright, Taylor & Moghaddom, 1990) has suggested that individual and collective strategies can be used simultaneously, Tajfel and Turner (1979) indicated that individual strategies such as social mobility are the dominant strategies for achieving a positive sense of social identity. Taylor and McKirnan

(1984) continue that collective strategies will be employed only if social mobility is impossible or unsuccessful.

Social creativity strategies involve some attempt by an individual to change certain aspects of the comparative situation in order to achieve increased favourable in-group comparisons, whereas social change involves individuals becoming involved in direct competitions with the out-group in order to achieve real changes in the relative status of the groups (Jackson et al., 1996). Social creativity and social change were identified by Tajfel and Turner (1979) as collective strategies where the aim is to improve the status of the entire in-group. By concentrating on the status of the in-group as a whole, the social identities of the individual in-group members are enhanced as a result. In common with individual strategies, collective strategies also include actual and psychological attempts at enhancing social identities and enhancing group status. In terms of social creativity, strategies may include altering the importance of the dimension on which the in-group compares negatively, enhancing the perception of the in-group on other dimensions, and engaging in downward social comparisons in order to enhance the status of the in-group. Social change strategies focus on producing actual changes in the relative status of the in- and out-group. It is via a process of social change that direct competition between the in- and out-group members is often promoted (Jackson et al., 1996).

Further research on social mobility and social creativity by Ellemers, Wilke, & von Knippenberg (1993) and Ellemers, von Knippenberg, de Vries and Wilke (1988) has addressed the issue of permeability of group boundaries and has determined that this permeability is the key to whether individual or collective strategies are used. What

Ellemers et al. (1988; 1993) suggest is that in addition to the expected finding that individual strategies will be preferred when boundaries are permeable and collective strategies preferred when boundaries are impermeable, there are further complexities in determining which strategy will be used in relation to boundary permeability. Ellemers et al. conclude that group status, individual status within the group, and group legitimacy and stability were all affected by boundary permeability. Ellemers and colleagues determined that the effects of the permeability of boundaries were limited to high ability individuals, i.e. those individuals for whom movement to a higher status group was a real possibility. Ellemers also determined that permeability interacts with the legitimacy and stability of group status. These findings suggest support for earlier research (e.g. Hogg & Abrams, 1988) on subjective belief structures, where relative group status, the stability of status relations, and the permeability of group boundaries interact to determine whether an individual will remain as a group member or defect to another group.

Further research on SIT concentrated on the idea of identity threat in relation to in-group identification and out-group discrimination. Research such as that by Branscombe and Wann (1994) has determined that social identity threat can result in low self-esteem and lead to discrimination against out-groups, and is also responsible for increased levels of identification within the in-group (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). Identity threat has a tendency to arise when in-groups are not seen as positively distinctive from out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and it would therefore appear likely that identity threat would be most common in low status groups (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). Indeed, research in this area (Branscombe & Wann, 1994) has suggested that when a positive distinction of the in-group fails to occur, there is evidence of a decrease in the level of group based self-esteem and social mobility and social change are often employed as coping strategies (Ellemers, 1993). Despite the suggestions regarding the use of individual and collective strategies, however, research by Jackson et al. (1996) determined that social mobility and social creativity strategies were used to combat membership in a negatively distinct in-group. Jackson et al. (1996) also determined that boundary permeability had no effect on perceived similarity, i.e. permeable boundaries did not result in individuals perceiving themselves as being less similar to a negatively distinct in-group. Further investigation by Jackson et al. determined that when boundaries were permeable, members of a negatively distinct in-group actually report themselves as being more similar to the in-group. This is explained by the suggestion that permeable group boundaries result in individuals being "less motivated to distance themselves from a negatively distinct in-group because temporary group membership is less threatening to social identity than permanent group membership" (Jackson et al., 1996, p.249).

2.2.3 Social Identity and Self-Esteem

Of significant importance to social identity theory is the idea of mere categorisation (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This theory suggests that simply categorising people into groups, even arbitrarily, can result in discriminatory behaviour even when there is no evidence of a conflict of interests between the groups, or a history of intergroup conflict. However, Schiffman and Wicklund (1992) suggested that individuals will not internalise group membership and defend their sense of self-esteem if their identity and group membership is arbitrarily assigned to them. Research has supported this mere categorisation effect, and Tajfel, Billig, Bundy and Flament (1971) have suggested the Minimal Group Paradigm (MGP), which proposes that individuals significantly favour in-group members rather than out-group members. However, Hertel and Kerr (2001) suggest that although this MGP is widely accepted, the evidence for its existence is not as conclusive as first thought. A number of investigations (e.g. Kerr, 2000) have failed to replicate the assumed in-group favouritism effect in the MPG.

In addition to this, Hertel and Kerr (2001) suggest that the assumption made by SIT that maintaining a positive sense of self-esteem is responsible for in-group favouritism has received only mixed support. Instead, what they suggest is a "normative explanation", where social norms are responsible for individuals favouring the in-group (Hertel & Kerr, 2001, p.317). Here, individuals show loyalty and favouritism to their group because it is expected and socially acceptable. Hertel and Kerr further suggest that these normative behaviours could be learned during occurrences where group loyalty is rewarded. Hertel and Kerr (2001) continue that group loyalty is only one possible social norm or script that may be activated by the MGP. Another, they suggest, is equality, whereby there would be a fair distribution of resources between the groups. This script, too, has clear social acceptability benefits.

Hertel and Kerr (2001) conclude that the positive sense of self-esteem that SIT suggests individuals achieve from in-group favouritism may actually result from individuals fulfilling normative standards and taking the actions that they are expected to take. Contrary to these suggestions made by Hertel and Kerr (2001), however, Hunter et al. (1996) maintain that self-esteem remains important but acknowledge that other psychological, sociostructural, and contextual factors are involved in the development of intergroup conflict, and assert that processes of self-evaluation and social identity are necessary if a "thorough and comprehensive analysis of the psychological factors involved in intergroup relations" is to take place (p.644).

2.2.4 Distinction and Differentiation in Social Identity

Although Brewer (1991) suggested that individuals have a basic need for distinction and differentiation, many other researchers have theorised on this requirement. Sumner (1906) suggested that the key in terms of differentiation is the categorisation of people into 'us' versus 'them', while Jetten, Spears and Postmes (2004) continue that although SIT and SCT would suggest that this differentiation serves to promote a positive sense of identity and therefore boost self-esteem, differentiation also justifies the existence of the group and determines the nature of intergroup contact. Jetten et al. (2004) continue that although few differences between groups may be seen to indicate that the groups have greater common ground and may result in increased cooperation between the groups, it can often result in hostile intergroup interactions.

This notion of intergroup similarity resulting in intergroup conflict was first proposed as a facet of SIT (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), where is was suggested that because individuals have a basic social need for distinctiveness, when this is lacking individuals will strive to create it by attempting to restore the intergroup differences. Spears, Jetten and Scheepers (2002) suggest that this striving for differentiation and distinctiveness as the Reactive Distinctiveness Hypothesis, where the desire for distinctiveness is a reaction to threatened group differentiation. Counter to this Reactive Distinctiveness Hypothesis, Spears et al. (2002) suggest the Reflective Distinctiveness Hypothesis, where it is theorised that the more dissimilar groups are, the more likely they are to continue to seek differentiation as failing to do so would cause group distinctiveness to decrease.

Turner et al.'s (1987) SCT also makes important suggestions relating to distinctiveness and differentiation. What SCT suggests is that high levels of distinctiveness help give the group clearer boundaries and promote metacontrast which in turn increases group salience. This, however, has a cyclic effect, where increased group salience then further defines the group boundaries and this leads to an increased desire for differentiation and distinctiveness (Oakes, 1987).

In terms of differentiation, and with reference to group identification and the nature of the group, Tajfel and Turner (1979) suggest three variables that are important: i) group identification and the nature of the group, ii) the relevance of the dimension of comparison, and iii) the relevance of the out-group. Tajfel and Turner (1979) further suggest that the social context is also important in determining a disposition to expressing distinctiveness, and that distinctiveness must be in line with the content of the identity and with intergroup relations. Tajfel and Turner (1979, p.41) continue that in terms of the relevance of the dimension of comparison, "the social situation must be such as to allow for intergroup comparisons that enable the selection and evaluation of relevant relational attributes". Finally, in terms of the relevance of the out-group, Tajfel and Turner (1979) suggest that there are three factors that are important when determining the relevance of the out-group: i) the extent of the similarity between groups, ii) the distance between groups, and iii) the situational salience of the group, and continue that individuals are increasingly likely to engage in in-group favoritism when this in-group identity is important in terms of their self-definition, and comparison with the out-group are meaningful or the outcome of such a comparison is ambiguous.

2.2.5 Maintaining Social Groups

In terms of social groups and the maintenance of these groups, van Vugt and Hart (2004) consider why social groups remain cohesive. Van Vugt and Hart ask questions relating to the stability of group cohesion and suggest that social groups persist because individual members are willing to make investments in these groups. SIT and SCT suggest that once individuals identify with a group, their sense of wellbeing becomes intrinsically linked with the group sense of wellbeing and therefore individual group members participate in activities that promote the welfare and wellbeing of the group, even, van Vugt and Hart suggest, if those activities involve making some personal sacrifice for the benefit of the group. Van Vugt and Hart (2004) continue that one of the key psychological and behavioural contributory factors in terms of promoting group stability is group loyalty, and further assert that the concept of loyalty to the group may be broken down into three subsections: emotive, cognitive, and behavioural. Van Vugt an Hart (2004) suggest that, emotively, loyalty may manifest itself in terms of the emotions related to group membership, cognitively, it may be represented as trust in other group members and an optimistic feeling toward the future, while behaviourally loyalty may be viewed in terms of the sacrifices that individual members are willing to make for the benefit of the group. Levine and Moreland (2002) suggest that these behavioural sacrifices include remaining a member of the group even when it is potentially personally harmful.

Van Vugt and Hart (2004, p.587) suggest that despite evidence suggesting that social identity acts as a "social glue" at times when the group is under threat, there is little evidence to suggest that this will remain the case when the individual is presented with an option to exit the group. Van Vugt and Hart (2004) further suggest that although some research has indicated that while increased levels of identification increase commitment, there is little evidence to suggest that this act of remaining a group member would involve any kind of personal sacrifice. They continue that although individuals may remain as group members it is possible that they do this because they fear rejection from the other group – or from the individual group members - rather than because of genuine feelings of loyalty to the group (van Vugt & Hart, 2004).

2.2.6 Anchoring Social Identity and Coping with Identity Threat

According to SIT, individuals organise their social identities around a set of key categories, namely religion, gender, ethnicity, and nationality (Burris & Jackson, 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In terms of religion, work by Batson, Schoenrade and Ventis (1993) has suggested that prosocial behaviour, mental health, and prejudice are all affected by religious beliefs. In addition to this, Deconchy (1980, 1984) suggests that religion can help to explain some of the ramifications of jeopardised self-stereotypes that occur amongst religious individuals. Burris and Jackson (2000) continue that religion functions as an important social category (see also Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

In terms of identity being bound together with nationality, Stern (1995) suggests that identification with ones nation is inevitable because individuals have "primordial attachments to their nations, cemented in ties such as ethnicity, language, race, culture, religion, community, and kinship" (p.217). Stern continues that given the ways in which individuals are bound to their nations, it should not be considered surprising that individuals make sacrifices for that nation because national identifications are among the strongest identities that individuals possess. Stern (1995) goes on to suggest that Rational Choice Theory offers explanations as to why individuals sacrifice for their nations. Firstly, he suggests, there may be an overall benefit from supporting the group on every occasion that it requests support. Secondly, it may be of more benefit to individuals to support the group – even when this involves a sacrifice at the individual level – rather than "calculating self interest on each occasion and always paying the costs of doing the calculation (e.g. Simon, 1990)" (Stern, 1995, p.220).

Also of relevance to Rational Choice Theory is the hypothesis that threat will increase identification and willingness to contribute to the group (Stern, 1995). Here, if a group is under threat, individuals will increase their willingness to contribute to the group cause because if the group is defeated they will experience some sense of personal, individual, loss. Conversely, if the group defend successfully against the threat then the individual will benefit along with the group (Stern, 1995).

What Stern goes on to suggest is that when the group under threat is the nation-state, then the nation is likely to witness increased support for the regime in power. However, when the group under threat is not the dominant national group, Stern suggests that the minority ethnic identity can become strengthened – particularly if the discrimination is carried out by the dominant national identity group – and in extreme circumstances a new national identity may result. Rational Choice Theory indicates that discrimination can lead to the mobilisation of oppressed groups, thereby explaining that "identities that are not voluntaristic in the sense of arising from processes within the set of potential group members" (Stern, 1995, p.221).

Rational Choice Theory would also suggest that identification and willingness to contribute will increase with opportunity, i.e. as Stern suggests, when the opportunity arises for a subordinate national group to increase its power via collective action, increased identification and mobilisation will occur. What Stern also highlights, however, is that rational choice theory does not completely explain the choices that individuals make in terms of group membership. For example, Stern persists that rational choice theory fails to explain why individuals refuse to change their identity – especially their national identity – even when they would benefit from the change. Stern suggests that it is possible that some individuals maintain their sense of identity even when they experience severe discrimination as a result of threat (and therefore the subsequent increase in levels of identification).

However, what Stern fails to concede is that, by his own admission, if people's national identities are "cemented in ties such as ethnicity, language, race, religion, community, and kinship" (Stern, 1995, p.217), changing national identities – even if this would result in some benefit – may not be an option. Individuals may view these boundaries as relatively impermeable and instead engage in behaviours that will boost their sense of identity rather than change it. This suggestion offers support to research by Ellemers et al. (1988, 1993), which asserts that individuals are more likely to engage in collective social creativity strategies if group boundaries are impermeable. Stern (1995) also suggests that Rational Choice Theory does not explain why nationality has the greatest influence even though the benefits of contributing to the nation are sometimes uncertain. Stern further claims that the biggest paradox is that during times of conflict, nationalist appeals are highly successful even though it is at these times that personal sacrifice will be greatest. This can be explained, however, in a number of ways. Firstly, in terms of SIT, it may be that the existence of threat during times of conflict will increase individual loyalty to the group. In this way, individual members are more likely to engage in behaviours that are consistent with protecting the group and this, in turn, will increase levels of self-esteem. Conversely, this behaviour may be explained in terms of Hertel and Kerr's (2001) assertion that individuals sometimes show loyalty to their group because it is expected and is socially acceptable, especially when, as Hertel and Kerr (2001) continue, individuals achieve a positive sense of self-esteem from fulfilling normative standards and taking actions which they believe they are expected to take.

2.2.7 Social Identity Theory and its Application to Northern Ireland

According to Waddell and Cairns (1986), one of the main benefits of SIT is that it encompasses multi-disciplinary theoretical contributions in its analysis of social problems. Waddell and Cairns continue that in the case of Northern Ireland, SIT is intrinsically valuable in terms of understanding the conflict and Northern Irish society in general. Earlier work in this area by Cairns (1982) has suggested that social identity and categorisation are highly important features in Northern Irish society, where society is divided along a series of identities: Irish Catholics and British Protestants.

Especially salient in Northern Ireland is the idea suggested by SIT and SCT of situational context. Here, it is suggested (Turner, 1982) that individuals hold many social identities, any of which may become salient at any given time depending upon the situation. Waddell and Cairns (1986) suggest that this assertion is especially important in Northern Ireland because, for such a prolonged period, the province experienced intergroup conflict and also because given the assertions made by SIT, it would be expected that this culture of conflict would result in strong senses of social identity within the province. Waddell and Cairns continue that interactions are frequently determined by the social identities of the individuals involved. In Northern Ireland there are “two competing ethnopolitical social identities, Irish and British, which are underpinned, to a large extent, by Catholic and Protestant religions respectively” (Waddell & Cairns, 1986, p.25-6).

Although the roots of the Northern Irish problem are grounded in over eight centuries of discord, contemporary explanations of the unrest lie in politics, with two mutually exclusive political aspirations: Unionist desire to remain a part of the UK and Nationalist desire for a unified Ireland (Moxon-Browne, 1991)

Waddell and Cairns (1986) aimed to determine to what extent national identities in Northern Ireland depend upon religious identities. In line with this, they suggested that although the Irish and British identity categories are often seen as being mutually exclusive, there is the possibility that individuals could feel more Irish or more British depending upon the situation.

Waddell and Cairns required that their respondents indicated their social / national identity position on a scale ranging from 'very British' to 'very Irish'. This scale served to assess the situational identity of respondents, as respondents were asked about their identity in a number of given situations (e.g. how the Irish government's attitude to Northern Ireland made them feel in terms of their identity). Respondents then indicated their answer on a scale ranging from 1 (very British) to 5 (very Irish). Waddell and Cairns also included a final item asking respondents to indicate how they felt in terms of their identity overall.

Although the method employed by Waddell and Cairns makes a thorough consideration of the situational context and the impact that this has on identity in Northern Ireland, it does not allow for the other complexities which may be present in the Northern Irish population. For example, it is well documented (e.g. Trew, 1994) that Northern Irish individual identities cannot always be broken down into the Irish / British dichotomy. A growing number of Northern Irish individuals are selecting identities such as Northern Irish, and Ulsterman / woman in order to indicate that their identities transcend this Irish / British dichotomy. Further, although Waddell and Cairns' study highlights the relationship that exists between Irishness and Catholicism and between Britishness and Protestantism, it does not explore the relationship between social, political, and religious identities. The current study aims to take Trew's suggestion into account and will question respondents on a number of identity items, and will question respondents on social, national and political identities.

As a result of their investigation, however, Waddell and Cairns (1986) concluded that although the Protestant group did, at times, feel Irish, the Catholic group only ever felt more or less Irish, never British. What they conclude from this is that the two groups in Northern Ireland remain divided on every occasion and that while there may be evidence of minor fluctuations in terms of identity strength, "the importance of social identity in Northern Ireland will mitigate any overall or large scale tendency to cross the ethnic divide" (Waddell & Cairns, 1986, p.29).

However, what Stringer and Cairns (1983) have suggested is that despite the fact that the division in Northern Irish perseveres, both Catholics and Protestants appear to hold positive social identities. The suggestion by Stringer and Cairns (1983) is counter to that by made Jackson (1971), who suggested a Double Minority Model of identity, where he suggested that because Catholics are the minority in Northern Ireland and Protestants are the minority on the island of Ireland, both groups should identify themselves as the threatened minority group and should therefore hold negative social identities. More recently, however, Cairns (1982) has suggested that Northern Ireland is witness to a Double Majority Model, where Catholics view themselves as the majority on the island of Ireland and Protestants view themselves as the majority in Northern Ireland, therefore resulting in both groups holding positive social identities.

Further research into Catholic and Protestant identities in Northern Ireland has led to a number of conclusions. Waddell and Cairns (1986) suggested that rather than always identifying themselves as British, Protestants in Northern Ireland do, on occasion, feel Irish which lead to their suggestion that Northern Irish Protestants have a more complex social identity than their Catholic counterparts. Waddell and Cairns (1986) have further noted that national identity, for Protestants at least, is rooted in practicalities whereby the situational context is highly important in determining their identity. Waddell and Cairns (1986) continue that Protestants reported feeling most Irish when watching Ireland compete at rugby. Waddell and Cairns (1986) also suggest that Catholics in Northern Ireland displayed greater solidarity in terms of ethnopolitical attitudes, which they explain in terms of the Catholics' minority status. Thus, from Waddell and Cairns' research it would appear that, for Protestants at least, situational specific social identities are possible. Further, Cairns (1987) determined that Protestants in Northern Ireland held a very definite positive sense of identity while Catholics were positive in a less explicit way. Moxon-Browne (1991) further suggests that although, in 1991, the Catholic / Protestant polarisation remained as strong as ever, the Protestant identity was a relatively negative one. Moxon-Browne indicates that Protestants, at the time, were more certain of what they were not then of what they were.

Cairns, Lewis, Mumcu and Waddell (1998) further determined that identity strength in Northern Ireland was related to knowledge of the 'Troubles'. Cairns et al. (1998) concluded that, for Catholics, those who had greater knowledge of the 'Troubles' appeared to have less variability in terms of situation-dependent identity strength, although this was not the case for Protestants. Cairns et al. also determined that although watching Unionist events did not cause Catholics to feel British, it did cause them to feel less Irish, which lends support to Waddell and Cairns' (1986) theories on situational identity.

One possible explanation for this relative fluency of Protestant social identities is proposed by Ferguson (1990), who suggested that although Protestants in Northern Ireland would once have identified themselves as Irish, Republican violence has forced Protestants into a position where they are fearful of identifying themselves as Irish. Ferguson (1990) continues that this reaction against Republican violence, coupled with a desire to illustrate allegiance to Britain, has lead to an increase in British identifications and a decline not only in Irish but also in Ulster identifications. This reluctance to identify with Ulster may also be due, in part, to the similarly violent actions of Loyalist paramilitary organisations such as the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force (Moxon-Browne, 1983). Other research has indicated that Northern Irish has been a useful identity label in Northern Ireland, where Catholics can interpret this as referring to the whole of the North of Ireland, while the Protestants may interpret this as deriving from 'Northern Ireland'; a component of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Trew, 1994).

Further studies by Waddell and Cairns (1991) indicate that the Irish identity had become unacceptable to Protestants in Northern Ireland, although the British, Ulster, and Northern Irish identity labels were equally acceptable, with these identity labels being used synonymously by Protestants depending on the context. Catholic respondents, conversely, continued to accept only Irish and Northern Irish identity labels.

In addition to this, Waddell and Cairns suggest that previous studies of identity in Northern Ireland have not allowed explicitly for a thorough comparison of the various identities that are available to individuals in the province. The current study aims to rectify this and offer the respondents the opportunity to respond to the whole range of identities that are available to people from Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Shanks (1990) further investigated this notion of context specific identity in Ireland and determined that individuals would consider themselves British whilst in Northern Ireland, but Irish when in Britain. Trew (1994) continues that because people in Northern Ireland live in an area which is at once British and Irish, it is possible that identities may change as their situational context changes and individuals from Northern Ireland may identify themselves as "Irish (e.g. when visiting Britain), British (e.g. when visiting France), Northern Irish (e.g. when in Dublin), and European (e.g. when in America)" (p.296). As Gallagher (1989) noted, however, although a label may give name to an identity, "it does nothing to indicate the significance of that identity or the meaning that is assigned to that label and there continues to be a deep cleavage in Northern Irish society, centred around religion. This division has its impact on social, political, and national identities" (Gallagher, 1993, p.47).

Trew (1994) suggests that Northern Irish identity has the possibility of overriding the societal divisions in Northern Ireland and becoming an identity label with which Catholics and Protestants both feel comfortable. Trew (1994, p.297) suggests that the divisions in Northern Irish society are exacerbated by identity labels such as Irish and British and by terms such as Irishness and Britishness as they suggest "diverse and incompatible aspirations". Moxon-Browne (1991) continues that the Northern Irish identity label is highly attractive as it is less divisive and is open to positive interpretation by both Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Further, Trew suggests that the European identity may be appealing to these individuals in Ireland who are seeking a new encompassing identity as it has the ability to accommodate British Protestant and Irish Catholic requirements. However, despite these claims by Trew (1994), Catholic and Protestant individuals in Ireland and Northern Ireland continue to the select more divisive identity labels of Irish and British rather than support Trew's claim and identify themselves, collectively, as European. Brewer's (1991) Optimal Distinctiveness Model may be useful when attempting to understand these identity selections, as the Irish and British identity labels fulfil the human need for differentiation, in addition to these labels being of paramount importance in terms of the social structures which motivate individuals in Northern Ireland.

Crisp, Hewstone, and Cairns (2001) have suggested that because identities in Northern Ireland are much more complicated than the Catholic-Protestant dichotomy would suggest, it is possible that individuals in Northern Ireland may hold more than one salient identity at the same time. Various researchers (e.g. Brewer, Dull & Lui, 1981; Turner et al., 1987) have offered support to this theory by suggesting that individuals have both superordinate and subordinate identities and therefore it would be possible for an individual to have simultaneously salient super- and subordinate identities e.g. an individual may identify themselves simultaneously as British (superordinate) and as a teacher (subordinate) without these identities conflicting. This research by Crisp et al. (2001) found evidence to support the suggestion that, in Northern Ireland, intergroup affiliations are considerably more complex than the

Catholic-Protestant dichotomy allows but that religion is the presiding basis for social categorisation in Northern Ireland (see also Ferguson & Gordon, 2007).

Moxon-Browne (1991) suggests that in Northern Ireland, national identity affects an importance that is not apparent in other areas of the UK. He continues that national identity is both the core of the political conflict in the province and the key factor underpinning other social and attitude divisions.

The situation in Northern Ireland is such that there are few, if any, loyalties that are able to transcend the divisions in society. Moxon-Browne (1991) continues that although these divisions in Northern Irish society are interpreted as religious divisions, religion is more accurately viewed as a visible manifestation of deeper and more abstract connections to national attachments.

Although it is often assumed that religion and national identity in Northern Ireland are practically interchangeable, with Catholic and Nationalist and Protestant and Unionist being used synonymously, there is other evidence to indicate that this rule is not as stable as may be assumed. In 1971, Rose determined that 20% of Catholics felt British while the same proportion of Protestants felt Irish. Even after the onset of the 'Troubles', and the particularly violent period of 1970-1978, 20% of Catholics maintained this feeling of British identity, although by this time only 8% of Protestants indicated that they felt Irish (Moxon-Browne, 1978). It was in 1986, after the elimination of Special Category Status for paramilitary prisoners and the Sunningdale Agreement that these proportions changed significantly, with only 6% of

Catholics indicating that they felt British and only 3% of Protestants indicating that they felt Irish. These figures were maintained in 1989 (Whyte, 1990).

A number of researchers have found that although social class has its place in Northern Ireland society, its importance has a tendency to be overshadowed by religion, where Protestants have a tendency to place themselves in the middle or upper classes, while Catholics had a tendency to label themselves as working class (Moxon-Browne, 1991).

Rose (1971) found that in Northern Ireland, people felt they had more in common with people of the same social class irrespective of religion, leading him to conclude that because of this strong community spirit in Northern Ireland, religion did not play a major role in every day interactions and only became salient when attention was turned to politics. Rose (1971) also concluded that religion had a much greater effect on political attitudes than social class.

Moxon-Browne (1991) found that in terms of identity labels in Northern Ireland, Ulster identity is attractive mostly to those Protestants who identified themselves as working class, a finding first suggested by Moxon-Browne in 1983. Moxon-Browne (1991) also determined, however, that the Northern Irish identity label, when made available, was also attractive to Protestants in Northern Ireland. What Moxon-Browne (1991) suggested was that the Northern Irish identity appears to be favourable to lower / working class Protestants while those who consider themselves to be middle class preferred the British identity label. In terms of the Catholics in Northern Ireland, Moxon-Browne suggested that those who identify themselves as middle class prefer the Northern Irish label, although the few who identified themselves as British were also middle class (Moxon-Browne, 1991).

Cassidy and Trew (1998; 2001) and Trew and Benson (1996) have suggested that identities that are associated either with family or with work usually take precedence over socio-political identities and religious identities. Although Cassidy and Trew (2004) indicated support for the idea that national identities were accorded low levels of salience relative to other identities, however, their findings also indicated an increase in the salience of religious identities over time.

Bruce (1986) and Gallagher (1989) have suggested that Protestants in Northern Ireland may experience a more negative social identity than their Catholic counterparts because of a lack of identity security. What both Bruce and Gallagher have suggested is that Protestant national identity is dependent upon support from mainland Britain and this support is not always forthcoming. What Cassidy and Trew suggest as a result of this is that while Protestants in Northern Ireland may experience a secure religious identity, the salience of their national identity may, at times, be lacking.

Whyte (1990) suggests that there is a tendency in Northern Ireland for the Protestant community to be perceived as a collection of individuals while the Catholic community is perceived as a single entity, and Cassidy (1998) determined that, in Northern Ireland, Catholics displayed higher levels of affective and interactional commitment in relation to their national identity when compared with their Protestant counterparts. "The research on Northern Ireland provides empirical evidence for the need to introduce both concepts of salience and centrality into our models of identity" (Cassidy, 1998), where centrality is the indicator of the comparative importance that individuals place on the identity in defining themselves.

Although it has been established (e.g. Waddell & Cairns, 1986) that both the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland hold a positive sense of identity, research concerning the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic sense of identity has been less forthcoming.

2.2.8 Social Identity Theory and the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora

Hickman, Morgan and Walter (2001) estimate that there are some 1.7 million people of Irish descent currently living in Britain. According to Gilzean and McAuley (2003), commemorative practices such as parades are important in ensuring that members of the Irish Diaspora develop a positive sense of identity in migrant communities. Other researchers (Billig, 1995; Halbwachs, 1980) have also indicated that these events help in developing a collective memory, with forgotten symbols (e.g. national flags) often playing a large part in those events and serving to reinforce and maintain a sense of national identity. Cronin and Adair (2002) indicate that the commemorative celebrations that occur on St. Patrick's Day, for example, offer opportunities for interaction and foster group cohesion amongst members of the Irish community.

However, Hickman (2000) has suggested, that a sense of positive Irish identity in Britain is lacking, in part due to insufficient support from institutions such as the Catholic Church. Harding and Balarajan (1996a) have supported Hickman's statement by suggesting that the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland have made it difficult for Irish people to develop a positive sense of identity in Britain. Ryan (1990) and Greenslade (1994) indicate, however, that the lack of a positive sense of Irish identity is due to Ireland's history of colonisation and the emotional conflict which comes with settling in the land of the coloniser.

Kelleher and Hillier (1996) have continued by suggesting that although in the USA, Irish migrants may assimilate easily into society and, by and large, develop a new Irish-American identity with comparative ease, in the UK it is quite a different story. In mainland Britain, Irish and Northern Irish migrants are often reluctant to identify themselves as Irish (Kelleher & Hillier, 1996). Hickman and Walter (1997) have further suggested that anti-Irish racism has labelled Irish people as inferior and this discrimination of the Irish by the British has made it almost impossible for the Irish and the British to harmoniously coexist, and for the Irish to develop a positive sense of identity. Kelleher and Hillier (1996) continue that although, at an individual level, Irish migrants tend to assimilate well in England, they often fail to develop a secure sense of identity.

Although research by Ullah (1990) has indicated that a positive sense of identity for the Irish in England is fostered by the large number of cultural clubs and community organisations, Lloyd (1995) and Hickman and Walter (1997) maintain that it is this sense of identity, promoted by these clubs, that has lead to such widespread ridicule of the Irish in England.

Greenslade (1997) has indicated that there is an invisibility of the Irish community in host nations, both in terms of diasporic research and in terms of social policy and social welfare. Greenslade has further suggested that many Irish migrants arrive in England in order to work and therefore many Irish migrants in England "undergo a reconstruction of their sense of self around their objective capacity to work" (p.51). Greenslade goes on to suggest that the Irish in England often experience a representation of themselves as stereotypes and where the sense of identity that is validated by the host society is that of the Irishman as the worker. Greenslade continues that because work is central in terms of the sense of identity of the Irish, a situation now exists whereby the Irish have to work in order to maintain their sense of identity and self-esteem.

In terms of diasporic groups, there is a dilemma faced by the groups between adaptation to a new society and, often, a new culture, and the desired preservation of the original and established identity (Boekestijn, 1988). Boekestijn (1988) suggests that this dilemma will intensify depending upon the difference between the culture of origin and the host culture, with the dilemma becoming more intense as the difference between the cultures expands. Boekestijn (1988) continues that the desire faced by diasporic groups to be accepted and to assimilate into the host culture is counteracted by their parallel desire to maintain their sense of identity and to maintain the established links with their homeland.

Taft and Cahill (1978) have also discussed this dilemma and concluded that it is not only 1st generation migrants that experience this sense of dissonance. This dilemma, Taft and Cahill (1978) suggest, is also evident in 2nd generation migrants.

Interestingly, what Boekestijn suggests here is that the assimilation into the host society that is experienced by 2nd generation migrants is perceived as a threat to the identity of the 1st generation migrant community whereby this assimilation is viewed as a weakening of tradition.

In terms of the development of the personal identity of migrant groups, Chimbos (1980) has suggested that members of those groups show a tendency to develop friendships within their own ethnic group and demonstrate high levels of endogamy, both of which work to preserve identity and maintain identity strength.

Further research by Boekestijn (1988) has concluded that although for diasporic populations ethnic identity was important, it was identities based around religion which were far more salient. This may be because in times of situational change or geographical uncertainty, religion remains a stable and secure notion around which to base ones identity (e.g. Mol, 1976; Seul, 1999).

Although much research has indicated that Irish and Northern Irish people in England maintain a positive sense of Irish / Northern Irish identity, this would appear to be in contrast to the intention of migration policy which, as Berry (1984) suggests, has a tendency to violate the right that migrants have in terms of maintaining their sense of identity. In addition to this, while migrant groups, the Irish in England being no exception, are encouraged to maintain their cultural links and often their cultural traditions, there is an often unspoken acceptance of the fact that this preservation and celebration takes place within the confines of the host society (Boekestijn, 1988).

Recent research has begun to pay close attention to the politics of identity in terms of migrants and diasporic populations (e.g. McClintock, Muft & Shohat, 1997). In addition to this, qualitative researchers such as Maya and Hames-Garcia (2000) have begun to address the complex and fluid nature of migrants' sense of self in different places, under differing circumstances, and at different times.

Research on transnational and diasporic identities has determined that identities are dependent upon local senses of belonging as well as upon maintained attachments with place (McDowell, 2003). This focus upon local identities results in a reconsideration of attachments by both the indigenous and migrant populations. As a consequence, although diasporic communities are transformed by their host societies, so too are the host societies changed and challenged by the diaspora (McDowell, 2003; Brah, 1996). As a result of this, Massey (1991) suggests the conception of a global sense of local place.

In terms of the Irish in Britain, these immigrants represent a unique and often misunderstood diasporic group. As a result of Ireland's close proximity to Britain, and as a result of the similar culture, Irish migrants to Britain were not perceived as sufficiently different to warrant affording them the status of 'foreign', although because of subtle differences in language and tradition, neither were they allowed to be considered British subjects (McDowell, 2003). The Irish in Britain have, by turns, been represented as stupid, unreliable, and feckless, or as emotional romantics (e.g. Walter, 2001) and as Paul (1997, p.xiii) suggests, although the Irish in England "passed an unwritten test of racial acceptability", this did not preclude the negative stereotyping of ethnic characteristics.

Lavie and Swedenburg (1996) have suggested that the use of the term 'diaspora' implies that there is an established and permanent association between identities and specific places, and although Nonini and Ong (1997) conclude that most research into diasporic identities focus on either cultural, ethnic, or national identities, Yeoh and Huang (2000) insist that these groups are forced to redefine their social identities "under the conditions of Diaspora" (p.413).

The concept of Irish diasporic identity was first introduced into the public sphere by Mary Robinson during her presidential speeches, where she encouraged the people of Ireland to appreciate those Irish expatriates around the globe who lay claim to Irish identity (Gray, 2000).

The affiliation that the Irish Diaspora have with both Ireland / Northern Ireland and their country of settlement, in the case of the current research, England, opens up the possibility of hybrid identities, when members may identify themselves as British Irish or in even more specific terms, London Irish for example, as their situation allows (Gray, 2000). Mishra (1996) however, continues that this hybridism in terms of identity may result in the "problematic situating of the self as simultaneously belonging "here" and "there"' (p.433). Nevertheless, Robinson's suggestion of a global Irish identity indicates a "portable Irishness that does not need to be authenticated by location within a territorialized nation-state" (Gray, 2000, p.171).

Binks and Ferguson (2002) assessed the social and national identities of the Irish in England and asked respondents to respond to these identities in terms of the degree to which they thought of themselves as holding that identity, e.g. I think of myself as

Irish. Participants responded to these items on a 7-point Likert Scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Although this method allowed participants to indicate the strength of their agreement with each identity, quantifying identities using this method is more difficult and doesn't freely allow for the complexities of the Irish / Northern Irish Diaspora members to be appreciated. The current study seeks to enhance this method of assessment and to build upon the work by Binks and Ferguson in order that the complexities of the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic identities can be more thoroughly considered and understood.

In terms of social identity, the current study aims to assess the social, nation, and political identities of the Irish and Northern Irish in England, and to provide an understanding of these identities in a diasporic setting.

2.3 Conclusion

This literature review has addressed Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1972a) and associated theories. It has focused on early theories of identity (e.g. Stryker's (1968) Identity Theory) and on the development of more recent social psychological theories. The review has considered social category membership and the suggestion (Tajfel, 1972a; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) that these memberships are represented in individuals as social identities. It has also focused on the suggestion that identity salience leads to stereotypical in-group behaviour and stereotypical out-group discrimination (Tajfel, 1972a; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and on the assertion that Social Identity Theory is underpinned by two socio-cognitive processes: categorisation and self-enhancement, which serve to maintain a positive sense of identity and increase levels of self-esteem in individuals (Tajfel, 1972a).

The review also considered Turner's (1985) Self-Categorisation Theory, developed out of Social Identity Theory, which focuses on intragroup similarities and intergroup differences. The importance of this process of categorisation has been considered, in line with the suggestion that categorisation is the basis for discrimination (Schaller & Maass, 1989).

Brewer's (1991) Optimal Distinctiveness Model has been reviewed, whereby it has been suggested that the development of in-groups and out-groups fulfil two human social requirements: the need for affiliation and the need for differentiation. These requirements of affiliation and differentiation have been considered in terms of the development and maintenance of a positive sense of social identity. Here, it has been suggested that a lack of a positive social identity is tackled using one of three strategies: social mobility, social creativity, or social change (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Further, Ellemers et al. (1993) have suggested that the strategy selected to improve social identity status is dependent upon the permeability of group boundaries, with social mobility (an individual strategy) being selected if boundaries are permeable, and social creativity or social change (collective strategies) being selected if boundaries are impermeable.

The review has considered the suggestions made by van Vugt and Hart (2004) and Stern (1995) that group cohesion is maintained and groups persist only because individuals are willing to make investments in, and sacrifices for, those groups. Stern's (1995) further suggestion that Rational Choice Theory explains why individuals benefit from supporting the group, even when it involves some personal sacrifice, has also been considered, in line with the suggestion that the presence of threat increases identity salience and willingness to contribute to the group cause (Stern, 1995).

Waddell and Cairns' (1986) suggestion that Social Identity Theory is especially valuable in terms of understanding the Northern Ireland situation has been considered in this literature review, and Social Identity Theory has been applied to Northern Irish society in an attempt to better understand the political and societal unrest by which the province has long been characterised. Social Identity Theory has also been used in this review in order to explain the complexities of Catholic and Protestant social identities (Cairns, 1987; Moxon-Browne, 1991; Waddell & Cairns, 1986) and to clarify Crisp et al.'s (2001) assertion that identities in Northern Ireland are more complicated that the Catholic-Protestant dichotomy allows.

This literature review concluded with an assessment of migrant and diasporic identities, and considered the suggestions that a positive sense of Irish identity is lacking in British society (Hickman, 2000; Harding & Balarajan, 1996a; Ryan, 1990), and that Irish migrants do not tend to assimilate well into UK society (Kelleher & Hillier, 1996). Finally, the hybrid identities of the Irish in England were considered, along side Gray's (2000) conclusion that, in the case of the Irish, there exists a global sense of identity.

Chapter 3

The Psychology of Religion, Religious Beliefs and Religious Orientations

3.1 Introduction

The following literature review will address various aspects of the psychology of religion and will assess religion from a variety of scientific viewpoints. This review will begin by addressing the current neglect of the scientific study of religion and will suggest possible reasons for this neglect. For example, Fontana (2003) suggests that the recent move away from studying the psychology of religion may be due either to the methodological difficulties facing researchers who choose to assess the area, or to the depth and variety of knowledge that researchers must possess in order to draw salient and accurate conclusions from their research. The problems with defining religion, as suggested by researchers such as Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi (1975), will also be addressed as will the issues encountered when aiming for a single definition of religion which must be equally relevant to both theistic and non-theistic religions.

The review will then move on consider the reasons for the development of religious beliefs and will evaluate the claims made by researchers such as Piaget (1967) that religion provides us, in the first instance, with attractive answers to questions relating to causality and rationale in the world. The review will also consider the viewpoint of researchers such as McDougall (1950) who suggest that the answers offered by religion to these questions are attractive to us because they appeal to our key emotions.

This literature review will consider the approaches to the psychology of religion of psychodynamic theorists such as Freud and Jung. Where Freud (1927, 1930, 1959) considered religion as a form of wish fulfilment or a possible regression to an earlier stage of ego development, and as a property which may be utilised in order to combat feelings of helplessness associated with mortality, Jung's view of religion encompassed the theory that religion is a conscious manifestation of previously unconscious ideas and beliefs, and, consequently, a natural expression of human instinct. More recent research in this area will also be considered, such as Feifel's (1974) suggestion that religion acts as an ego defence mechanism which enables us to cope effectively with life stressors, and Gershuny and Thayer's (1999) suggestion that religion serves to protect the psyche from feeling of loss of control during and after traumatic events.

After a thorough consideration of the literature in the above areas, the review will then progress and consider the association between religion and social identity and will address the suggestions of researchers such as Hogg and Abrams (1988), Mol (1976) and Seul (1999) who describe religion, respectively, as a key category for social identity, an entity which helps fulfil the need to develop a secure identity, and a stabilising factor in terms of both individual and group identity.

In terms of the psychology of religion, early research (Allport, 1950) concluded that religious orientations could be divided into two categories: mature and immature. Later research (Allport, 1959) renamed these orientations Intrinsic and Extrinsic, respectively, and Buris and Jackson (2000) have concluded that the development of the theory addressing intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations is one of the most important and influential in the psychology of religion. The development, refining, and application of this theory of intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations will be explored in this literature review, as will the later development (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991) of the Quest Religious Orientation.

More recent research on the psychology of religion has begun to address the association between religion and mental and physical health and wellbeing, and this area receives attention in the following literature review. While Gardner and Lyon's (1977) suggestion that the positive association between religious beliefs and physical well-being is mediated by lifestyle choices will be assessed, so too will the suggestion by researchers such as Maltby and Day (2003) and Oman and Reed (1998) who maintain that there is a positive relationship between these variables even after lifestyle choices are accounted for. Further research (Pargament, 1997), which suggests that religious beliefs may result in a modification of the stress appraisal process, whereby religion may be seen to serve as a protective buffer against the psychological and physiological impact of stress, will also be addressed.

The literature review will progress to consider research which suggests an association between heightened religious beliefs and improved mental health (Schumaker, 1995), and the suggestions made by Dorahy, Lewis, and Schumaker (1998) that increased emotional experiences during worship and heightened psychological conditions that encourage the development of religious beliefs are aided by non-pathological dissociative experiences. The review will also consider the suggestion made by Simpson (1996) that orthodox or intrinsically religious individuals are increasingly susceptible to religiously motivated dissociation.

The review will then consider Demerath's (2000) model of European cultural religion, where Northern Ireland is identified as the European country with the highest overall levels of religious involvement, and as the country with the highest levels of 'cultural religion', where religions legacies are communicated via family, community, and neighbourhood networks. In addition to this, Demerath's suggestion that the societal divisions in Northern Ireland have their roots in theological disunities will be discussed.

The review will consider diasporic religious practices (Vertovec, 2000) and will examine the suggestion that migration affords a challenging of religious institutions and a reduction in religious involvement (Warner, 1998). In addition to this, Warner's further claim that religious identities are more important post-migration will be addressed, as will Levitt's (2003) suggestion that religion serves as a way of living transnational lives, where connections between home and host communities are maintained via religious belief and practice.

Finally, the literature review will examine the religious beliefs and practices of the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic community in England and will consider Vertovec's (2000) suggestion that migrants to England have a heightened awareness of their religious identity because England, essentially, is an irreligious society. In addition, research assessing the Irish Catholic and Protestant Diaspora, and their religious ideals, practices, and commitments will be addressed, as will research which suggests that the Catholic Church promotes connections between home and host societies, while the Protestant church makes fewer and less successful attempts at this (Levitt, 2003). The review will conclude with a consideration of the suggestion made by

Levitt (2003) that current research needs to address the daily religious practices of migrants in order to develop a thorough awareness of religion in diaspora.

3.2 Literature Review

3.2.1 Researching and Defining Religion

Although the area of religion has been present in psychology since before the early work of Freud (1927), it is only since the mid 1950s that there has been an empirical approach to the psychology of religion (Hood, Spilka, Hunsberger & Gorsuch, 1996). Researchers such as Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle (1997), Maltby and Day (2003), Smart (1996), and Wulff (1997) have all made attempts at furthering knowledge and understanding of the area. Although it is still true to say that there is a wealth of research into the area of the psychology of religion, attention paid to this area by contemporary psychologists has been lacking.

Fontana (2003) suggests that there are four main reasons for what he terms the 'current neglect' of the psychology of religion. Firstly, Fontana suggests that the materialist-reductionist philosophy, which emerged from the scientific enlightenment of the 17th century, has rather dominated the sciences. Since the psychology of religion is contrary to science, attention to the area has dwindled. Secondly, he indicates that in addition to the psychology of religion being contrary to the teachings of science, it has occasionally "actively opposed the progress of scientific thinking" in the Western world (2003, p.4). Thirdly, Fontana suggests that psychologists who choose to study and research the area of religion need not only to posses a knowledge and understanding of psychological theory and practice but also be knowledgeable about the appropriate areas of the creative arts, history, theology and philosophy and ultimately, Fontana suggests, the current paucity of psychological research into the area of religion is due to the massive methodological issues that face its researchers.

According to Hutchinson, Patock-Peckham, Cheong and Nagoshi (1998), the study of constructs related to religion has often proved difficult, largely due to the complexities of religious groups. Fontana (2003) maintains, however, that although the behaviour and attitudes of religious groups and individuals can be monitored and investigated by social psychologists, religion in and of itself constitutes more than simply a social behaviour; it consists largely of inner experiences. Respondents necessarily need to be introspective, truthful, and eloquent and because so much of researching this area is dependent upon the respondent rather than the researcher, many psychologists have been reluctant to enter into research within the realms of the psychology of religion.

The word 'religion' originates from the Latin *religio,* which is most commonly translated as meaning an obligation or bond. Although the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definition (the human recognition of superhuman controlling power, and especially of a personal God or gods entitled to obedience and worship) may be highly relevant for followers of religions such as Christianity and Judaism, it is less appropriate for those who choose to follow non-dual religions such as Buddhism, which maintains that all creation "is ultimately one, and that the individual is in its essence identical to the essence of all other minds" (Fontana, 2003, p.6). A more applicable definition is offered by Argyle and Beit-Hallahni (1975) who suggest religion as an organization of beliefs in godly or superhuman power whereby practices of worship and or other rituals are directed toward this deity or power. However, although this definition may be more appropriate, it may, as Fontana maintains, remain too focussed upon a deity for members of the non-theistic religions.

Given the obvious problems with providing a definition of religion, many religious studies specialists would argue that a single definition is, in fact, impossible. Nielsen, Hein, Reynolds, Miller, Karff, Cowan, McLean and Erdel (1988) attest that the isolation, analysis, and defining of religion is a Western phenomenon which has its roots in the Western culture separating the sacred from the secular, where nature and the material are regarded as autonomous spheres with religion confined solely to the spiritual. According to Nielsen et al. (1988), this inclination is due, in part, to Western theism whereby God is separated from His / Her creations. However, it is also influenced by Western science whereby the majority of Western scientists maintain a desire to draw a clear divide between religion and nature. As a result of this, Nielsen et al. continue that to the scientist, religion is no more than a matter of conscientious observation and scientific narrative. As they continue with their recommendations regarding the defining of religion, Nielsen et al. further indicate that any definition of religion that is to be deemed appropriate to all religious persons, irrespective of faith, must necessarily be extensive and highly complex. They identify twelve characteristics, which separate the religious from the secular and these include a division between the sacrosanct and the sacrilegious, or between ultimate and apparent reality, a determination to achieve levels of consciousness superior to typical human experience, reference to sacred texts and engaging in prayer, chanting, hymns, etc., as a method of manipulating divine will, a belief in the afterlife either in other dimensions or via rebirth in this world, and an aspiration to become proselytised.

Although Nielsen at al. (1988) indicate that these twelve characteristics work to identify the religious from the secular they maintain that they are not necessarily all inclusive. It may be the case, however, that they are inherently valuable in terms of supporting a distinction between the inner and outer approaches to the psychology of religion (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975; Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997).

It has been identified (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975; Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997) that there are two main approaches to the psychology of religion. The first of these is known as the outer or social approach. Here, religion is viewed as a collection of beliefs and practices that are important in influencing behaviours (individual, group and cultural) and is often associated with such psychological variables as social conformity and group pressure. The second approach is known as the inner or introspective approach and exists to investigate the nature of religious experience in addition to the thoughts and feelings of the individual, which allow this experience and upholds the associated beliefs.

The outer approach to the psychology of religion, according to Aryle and Beit-Hallahmi (1975), is concerned with what has been termed the exoteric aspect of religion: the effect that religious practice has on the individual, group and community. This exoteric approach is concerned with scientific theory and practice; it highlights objectivity and employs rigorous measurement and data analysis techniques. Conversely, it is suggested that the inner approach to the psychology of religion is concerned with the esoteric: the effect that religious belief and practice has upon the individual, on the meaning of their church attendance, for example. While the exoteric approach maintains a degree of ambivalence in terms of the existence of a spiritual dimension, the esoteric approach accepts that such a dimension might exist.

3.2.2 The Origins of Religious Belief

In terms of the origins of religious belief, Fontana (2003) suggests that historical evidence as well as cultural evidence indicates that humans have an 'innate' need to look for some higher meaning in life which can explain the nature and meaning of human existence, answer the question regarding free will, and what will happen when death occurs. Although it is true to say that the work on early cognitive development carried out by Piaget (1967) has received a steady flow of criticism in recent years, there is little debate surrounding his conjectures that young children characteristically illustrate a need to understand not only their individual personal experiences but also the world around them and ask questions relating to causality and rationale. Religion, Fontana (2003) suggests, is one of the ways in which individuals satisfy this requirement.

According to McDougal (1950), the main reason that individuals are satisfied by the answers which religion provides is that these answers appeal to what he considered to be the three key emotions: admiration, reverence, and awe. McDougal further suggested that the motivation to seek meaning from and to find satisfaction in religion stems from a fusion of fear, poor self-feeling, and wonder. When searching for meaning, McDougal continues, fear is among the first of these emotions to reveal itself. McDougal proceeds that familiar and constructive natural processes, such as rain, are accepted by human society but events which are considered irregular, even arbitrary, such as famine and death, serve to cause fear in the population and subsequently arouse a need to determine the reasons for such events.

McDougal's (1950) approach also included the suggestion that once there exists a belief in some higher power, it functions as a commanding form of social discipline whereby any violation of the traditions which are correlated with this social discipline is seen as an action which places the entire community at risk. However, while the immediate focus is of the group striving to prevent any breach of these customs, over time, religion comes to serve other purposes. A belief in some higher power will work to satisfy an individual's higher emotions (McDougal, 1950).

As the belief develops further, according to McDougal (1950), there follows not only a confidence in hellfire and divine retribution but also the ideology that religious teachings should benefit individuals as well as the community. McDougal continues that actions carried out in private – even an individual's thoughts – are known to their God and consequently all of an individual's thoughts and actions, public and private, will be used as the basis on which to judge that individual after their death. This development of belief to the level of even one's private thoughts being used as a basis on which to judge them was seen by McDougal as the very foundation of ethical and moral behaviour.

In support of this, work by such researchers as Gallup and Proctor (1983) and the Princeton Religion Research Centre (1996) has provided evidence to indicate that religion is not confined solely to those individuals who attend church but also to non-attending individuals, which might suggest a faith which is based upon an intrinsic belief rather than upon extrinsic ideologies (Allport, 1950). McDougal's theory of religious belief, however, is not the only one that has been suggested. Research by psychodynamic psychologists such as Freud (1930, 1959) and Jung (1934, 1955) has also made a number of suggestions pertaining to the origins of religious belief.

According to Durkheim (1897 / 1951) religion is a basic system employed to maintain social order and collective values and beliefs among individuals. Durkheim termed this theory the theory of social control. According to Benda and Toombs (2000), it is social pressure coupled with a "desire to avoid eternal damnation" that is responsible for many incidences of church attendance, and they liken church attendance to attendance in a classroom where they indicate that "attendance in either setting is a superficial indicator of performance" (p.485). Although Benda and Toombs acknowledge that church attendance serves to support and even reinforce religiosity, they maintain that it is religiosity, not church attendance, which has significant effects upon behaviour (violence, in their study). Nonnemaker, McNeely and Blum (2003) found that although public religiosity was correlated with lower levels of distress, this was not the case for private religiosity, although they did determine that both private and public religiosity were protective for violence.

Freud (1927) suggested that religious beliefs were somewhat detrimental and argued that all forms of religious belief are no more than an extravagant form of wish-fulfilment, generated in order to overcome the feelings of helplessness by which humans are characterised. Freud continued that emotions based in religion are, at best, nothing more than a regression to earlier phases of ego development and went on to draw similarities between religious individuals and those with obsessional neuroticism. He further indicated that this connection should allow a regarding of obsessional neuroses as a pathological element in the formation of religious belief.

Further, he asserts that the neurosis can be described as an individual religion and that religions should be characterised as obsessional neuroses (Freud, 1907).

However, more recent research has begun to present a more critical assessment of Freud's theories, and Lewis (2004) suggests that although this is a positive relationship between religious attitudes and measures of obsessional personality traits, those more positive religious attitudes appear not to be related to obsessive symptoms. Other research in this area by Maltby (1999) has suggested that although there is some limited support for Freud's assertions (e.g. Lewis & Joseph, 1994), these significant findings are "weal, accounting for no more than 9% of the variance" in these relationships (p.119).

Although Freud, and Freudian psychologists, maintain that people turning to God in search of the meaning of life (and death) is an example of their striving to locate the wisdom of a father-figure to help them cope with misgivings, Freud and his disciples have been unable to provide any detail with regard to the reasons that people frequently do find the answers they are seeking in religion. Freudians provide no detail explaining why these answers, when located, are fulfilling and, for the individuals and communities involved, convincing.

Contrary to Freud's influence of the father, Winnicot (1953) emphasised the role of the mother in influencing religious beliefs. Winnicot's object-relation theory suggested that a mother who is devoted to her child will present that child with a number of items which are aimed at satisfying needs. When the infant becomes aware of their own existence as being separate from the mother, they begin to imagine those need-satisfying items and consequently when the items appear the child interprets them as being of their own creation. As the infant continues to develop, those need-satisfying items are replaced by a number of substitutes (comfort blankets, for example), known as transitional objects, and Winnicot suggests that in time and with adequate development, God becomes one of these objects. Winnicot further suggests that this belief in God is only ever outgrown if the individual is willing and able to recognise the existence of a world that is beyond their control.

The association between religion and relationships has been expanded upon by object-relation theorists such as Guntrip (1969; 1971) who suggested that it is an innate human tendency to need to connect in a positive way to an environment that is beneficial to us. According to Guntrip, poor human relationships, especially those which occur in infancy, can lead to the individual denying this need for a positive, mutually beneficial relationship with the environment or to the individual feeling guilty and blaming themselves for the failure of these relationships (known respectively as schizoid denial and depressive reaction). Guntrip also maintains, however, that the presence of both the schizoid and depressive personalities can result in a distortion of religion. When this occurs, the schizoid personality can reject religion completely or accept it only as a profound ideology of life rather than as a doctrine to which they become devoted. The depressive personality, however, may interpret religion in terms of their own personal sins and become devoured by the need for salvation. Galle-More, Wilson and Rhoads (1969) provided support for Guntrip's supposition and determined that depression leads to a decline in levels of religiosity.

Although theories of the origins of religious belief are often convincing and come with much empirical support, it is imperative that knowledge of Western religions, cultures and other traditions are not generalised to other cultures and Eastern religions and customs. For example, as Fontana (2003) asserts, in India and the Far East the relationships that Hindu and Buddhist parents have with their children are very different from the relationships by which Western society is characterised. As a consequence, caution needs to be exercised when applying theories such as those of Freud and object-relation theorists such as Guntrip, as the conjectures and claims may be applicable only in Western society.

Freud (1923) continued to explore the possible origins of religious belief and suggested that it serves as a defence mechanism which helps individuals cope with psychological conflict. Freud continued that if individuals did not have religion to utilise as a defence mechanism then there would be an otherwise inevitable development of neuroses. Freud coupled this defence mechanism concept with a fear of death, suggesting that one of the biggest psychological conflicts faced by individuals is that which arises between the survival instinct and the knowledge that death is a certainty.

However, there has been much debate concerning the reliability of Freud's theory of ego defence mechanisms. While researchers (e.g. Fisher & Greenberg, 1985) are at pains to point out that ego defence mechanisms are a part of the human psyche, they are also keen to suggest that their nature, as suggested by Freud, may be inaccurate.

However, although fear of death would seem a rational, even likely, starting point for many religious individuals, there remains some doubt about the extent to which fear of death is responsible for religious beliefs. A number of studies, particularly in the USA (e.g. Nelson & Cantrell, 1980), indicate that society as a whole communicates very little fear of death for the majority of their lives but instead realise that death is inevitable and consequently not something by which they should be terrified. Instead, fear of death, according to Nelson and Cantrell, usually comes when death is immanent. Hardy (1979), Bockmeuhl (1990) and Deere (1993; 1996) indicate that belief in the afterlife may arise from spiritual insights rather than from a fear of death. However, Gershuny and Thayer (1999) attest that a fear concerning loss of control may occur in individuals who experience trauma and that these individuals, because of their lack or loss of control peritrauma, may be fearful of losing control in future. This fear would not be apparent only at the time of the event, but also at varying degrees after the event and consequently a rationalisation of their mortality would be occurring at times other than when death is immanent. As a consequence, for these individuals religion may be an effective defence mechanism for dealing with the fear of loss of control and death.

Although these studies suggest that individuals, on the whole, experience little death anxiety, it is important that this idea is not dismissed completely. A number of studies (e.g. Williams & Cole, 1968; Feifel, 1974) have indicated that individuals do have a significant level of unconscious death anxiety whereby an ego defence mechanism may aid coping.

While Freud's work indicated religion as a regression to an earlier stage of ego development, Jung (1938) has suggested religion and religious belief as a manifestation of aspects of an individuals consciousness which have been changed via the experience of the numinosum (described by Jung as an invisible presence signifying unconscious, prototypical matter) emerging from the unconscious. Consequently, rather than indicating a regression in ego development, Jung saw religion as a natural expression of human instinct. Jung continued that all individuals are born with the capability to experience numinosum and a failure to achieve this leads to a failure to achieve individuation and thus self-actualisation. Jung did specify, however, that religious beliefs should be progressive in that they should advance from being a submissive belief which maintains the individual's infantile mental state to involving a level of mature understanding and moral independence (Jung, 1952a).

In his theories on religion, Freud drew upon his Oedipal theory (1924) and viewed God as a father figure who was a source of guilt and fear but also who was necessary in terms of protection. Freud also viewed religion as being associated with mental illness, concluding in 1907 that religion was one of man's obsessional neuroses. Jung (1952) suggested that religion was a factor associated with positive psychological value and concluded in 1933 that religion was an essential aspect of human life and that the ultimate influence over psychological well-being was the development of a religious attitude. Although Freud and Jung have been highly influential in the understanding of human attitudes toward religion and in terms of understanding religiosity and the origins of religious belief, others have also made key suggestions.

James (1902) determined that there are essentially two forms of religious experience. The first of these, James identified as the religion of those with a healthy mind: these individuals were "congenitally happy, minimised the evils of existence, and whose religious experiences originated from a sense of gratitude to God" (Hills, Franics, Argyle & Jackson, 2004, p.62). The second form of religious experience identified by James was described as the religion of those with a sick soul: these individuals were "morbidly inclined, deeply conscious of worldly evil and [are individuals] for whom suffering has an immortal religious significance" (Hills et al., 2003, p.62).

Those individuals whom James identified as having a sick soul were also identified as having religious beliefs that were rooted in guilt or fear and had a faith which often developed as a response to some kind of psychological crisis. Which of these two extremes (that of the sick soul or that of the healthy mind) were experienced by individuals, James suggested, depended upon their temperamental predisposition. The major problem with James' theory, as Hills et al. (2003) identify, is that the two kinds of religious experience highlighted are extreme and the religious experience of the majority of individuals lies somewhere between the two.

Pratt (1920) developed James' (1902) theory further and indicated that there are more temperate forms of religious experience which are neither extreme nor ecstatic but which are characteristic of 'ordinary' religious people. The problem with these more mild religious experiences, according to Pratt, is that they are often equivocal and are not easily articulated.

The theories offered with regard to religious individuals are, at best, contradictory. Where Freud suggested that religious individuals were characterised by an obsessional neurosis, James suggested that religion was either a response to some form of psychological distress or a source of intense psychological well-being. Pratt considered that what he termed as mild religious experiences were a cause of happiness, although he also acknowledged that powerful religious experiences may be construed as indicators of a pathological psychology.

According to more recent research, detailed investigations of the vast areas of the cerebral cortex have lead to suggestions being made about a so-called spiritual dimension. Ramachandran and Blakeslee (1998) determined that there are increased levels of electrical activity in the temporal lobe area of the brain (tantamount to that evidenced during epileptic seizures) when an individual is exposed to highly religious or highly spiritual words or theories. In addition, Ramachandran and Blakeslee also demonstrated that 'mystical-type' experiences are induced when areas of the temporal lobe are stimulated with magnetic field activity. This area of the temporal lobe has been labelled the 'God Spot' (Ramachandran & Blakeslee, 1998; Persinger, 1996; Cook & Persinger, 1985).

According to Persinger (1987), the 'God Spot' is representative of an adaptive mechanism whose compensatory capacity anticipates future damaging stimuli, such as death. However, according to Zohar and Marshall (2000), the 'God Spot' is associated with spiritual intelligence which includes the ability to be creative, the ability to allow the mind to create and consider any number of possibilities and the ability to seek a higher meaning in life. From this description of the 'God Spot', Zohar and Marshall would appear to be implying that the spot, if indeed it exists, is concerned more with an individual's quality of life than with survival.

3.2.3 Religion and Identity

According to Seul (1999), religion, religious belief, and religious affiliation fulfil a basic human need: to develop a secure identity. According to Mol (1976), the key function of religion is to stabilise both individual and group identity. Mol continues that this is possible because religious traditions are resistant to change and therefore individuals who are members of these traditions develop a more secure basis for self-reference. Although, as Seul (1999) continues, religion has a tendency to promote this stabilisation of identity at both the individual and group levels, they also enable the integration of new identity factors and offer individuals "a basis for reconstructing their identities within a stable or very strong changing universe of shared meaning" (p.558). Seul continues that religions help individuals maintain psychological stability via the sense of continuity that they provide. In addition, it has been suggested that while religion may focus more intently upon individual identity and the private self, this does not indicate that group identity is any less important.

In addition to nationality, ethnicity, and gender, religion is recognised as one of the key social categories around which one's social identity is constructed (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In terms of social identity theory, an individual's sense of self and the content and evaluation of that sense of self are at least partly dependent upon the social categories of which one is a member (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Kelman (1998) suggests that religion helps individuals maintain their sense of identity via compliance, identification, and internalisation. According to Kelman, these processes of social influence are evident in the rituals, prayers, and actions in which religious individuals are involved.

According to Greeley (1963), the norms and ideals for social identities and interactions of religious individuals are provided by the religious groups to which they belong, although Beit-Hallahmi (1991) also suggests that belonging to a religious group provides individuals with a social identity label. Greeley and Rossi (1972) suggest that it is membership of this group, and not necessarily the corresponding religious belief, which is most important to some of the individual members. Hutchinson, Patock-Peckham, Cheong and Nagoshi (1998) suggest that religious affiliation alone does very little to indicate the level of an individual's ego-involvement to the religious ideals of the group and Beit-Hallahmi continues that this is because only a small number of individuals identify strongly with the personal and social values commensurate with their chosen religion.

Greeley (1963) has also suggested that religious groups serve as communication networks and as a consequence different religions will encourage different religious ideals in their members. However, although this may be the case, Greeley also suggests that the norms and ideals presented by these communication networks may not necessarily be truly in accordance with the original theology of the given religion. In addition, Goldman (1986) continued that, in his research, in excess of 75% of Catholic individuals indicated that in certain circumstances it was possible to disagree with the Pope and that the Catholic individuals who were highly intrinsically orientated were not necessarily those Catholics who followed and adhered to the true

Catholic faith. Goldman continues, however, that these intrinsically religious Catholics, even though they may not follow the true faith, are individuals who are highly committed to *their perception* of the Catholic faith.

In line with Greeley's (1963) suggestion that different religious groups will instil different religious ideals in their members, it has been suggested that there are marked differences between Catholics and Protestants. Demaria and Kassinove (1988) suggested that Catholics have more guilt related to failures in self-control than individuals who describe themselves as non-religious. Niler and Beck (1989) indicate that this discovery is particularly important because this kind of guilt is related to increased incidences of intrusive thoughts and impulses. Stack (1983) has further indicated that the traditional practices and formal creed by which the Catholic Church is characterised, in addition to the rigid hierarchy that is also present, may serve as an explanation for Catholic individuals being more likely to have these feelings of guilt and subsequent thoughts and impulses intruding upon their psyche. In addition, Stark and Glock (1968) indicated that the Catholic Church emphasises loving thy neighbour and doing good for others (actions referred to as ethicalism) more so than their Protestant counterparts. Therefore, Hutchinson et al. (1998) suggest that Catholic individuals may be identified more readily as being intrinsically religious and may therefore be more susceptible to obsessive related behaviours and thoughts than Protestant individuals. Indeed, studies by Ross (1990) and by MacDonald and Luckett (1983) indicate that Protestant respondents report lower levels of psychological distress than their Catholic counterparts. In addition, Rassin and Koster (2003) found that it was Protestants not Catholics who reported higher levels of religiosity and that Protestants were more strongly engaged in religious practices than Catholics.

According to Smith (1986) the divide between Roman Catholicism and Protestant Christianity was caused by a number of complex factors although it is generally accepted that the movement for reform began in the 1517 when the 95 theses attacking papal authority were presented by Martin Luther. It was these attacks, or protests, that lead to the dawn of Protestant Christianity.

Protestant Christianity is characterised by two discrete features: the belief in justification by faith, i.e. the belief that faith is an individual response and the one which causes a God to become 'My God', and the belief that God speaks directly to the individual through the bible and in turn they are free to speak directly to God without the mediation of a pastor, the church, or saints (Braden, 1954; Smith, 1986).

Although is has been well documented that Protestant Christianity has many denominations (e.g. Anglican, Methodist, Pentecostal, Unitarian, etc.) this does not necessarily make for a diverse faith. The vast majority accept and believe in the Holy Trinity (God as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit), immortality of the soul, and the bible as being highly important as a source of spiritual guidance. Most denominations also have only a general statement of beliefs rather than a formal creed.

Although there have been suggestions (Hutchinson, et al., 1998), that religious individuals gain emotional and social support from the religious communities to which they are affiliated (e.g. it is often said that these individuals cope better with loss and have improved levels of well-being) it is possible, as Hutchinson et al. (1998) further suggest, that non-religious individuals can find this support from other places, organisations and groups. Hutchinson et al. (1998) also assert that even those Protestants who are highly intrinsically motivated tend not to view their faith as being as punitive or demanding as their Catholic counterparts.

Hayes (1995) suggests that an individual's religious identity is an important and decisive factor in determining political attitudes and as a result the inclusion of a religious identity variable is necessary when investigating the determinants of political attitudes. In addition, Hayes suggests that unlike many other determinants of attitudes, religious identity is stable and remains constant over time and across communities and although there have been increases in the number of individuals changing their religious affiliation in more recent years, stability, not change, remains the norm (see also Hadaway & Marler, 1993).

Religion is one of the more crucial elements of society (Sood & Nasu, 1995) and is also, according to Terpstra and David (1991), a key part of the socialisation process where children are conditioned by their parents to adapt to the cultural model prescribed by their society. Sood and Nasu (1995) suggest religious groups act as communication networks which indicate behavioural norms to their members. However, it is also apparent that not all of the behavioural norms indicated by religious groups are based on appropriate religious faith; some are based on prior cultural experiences of the group. Consequently, it is likely that an individual's behaviour is determined by their ethnic background as well as by their religion (Sood & Nasu, 1995).

Deconchy (1980; 1984) suggested that a priori of beliefs are preserved by groups that score highly on religious orthodoxy and that this ideology serves as a form of social control for members of this group. Deconchy further suggested that this ideology and social control are thus complimentary: social control may be intensified if certain beliefs are called into question. Consequently, Deconchy suggests the orthodox individual as one who "accepts, or even requests, that [their] thoughts, [their] language and [their] behaviour be regulated by the ideological group to which he belongs, and particularly so by the power apparatus of that group" (1984, p.429-430).

3.2.4 Religious Orientations: Intrinsic vs. Extrinsic

Allport (1959) suggested that it was possible for individuals to be religious in different ways and suggested two forms of religion that ran parallel with differences that had been identified between true and false religion. Of the two types of religion suggested by Allport, one was instrumental in providing comfort and social status, viewed as being strictly utilitarian and useful for endorsing a chosen way of life, and the other was a personally experienced belief that flooded the whole being with meaning and motivation and which resulted in the individual leading their life according to their beliefs. In 1950, Allport termed these two types of religion immature and mature, but in 1959 adapted the terms to become extrinsic and intrinsic (respectively) and further identified that while extrinsics use their religion, intrinsics live it. Hovemyr (1996) has identified intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations as the most enduring concepts employed by the psychology of religion.

The distinction that served for the intrinsic – extrinsic scale of religiosity was first developed by Feagin (1964) and expanded upon by Allport and Ross (1967). Feagin and Allport and Ross developed the foundations for a scale of religiosity which, according to Chau, Johnson, Bowers, Darvill and Danko (1990), resolved questions relating to the association between religiosity, authoritarianism, and race prejudice. Donahue (1985) attests that extrinsic religious orientation is allied with such negatively associated characteristics as prejudice, utilitarianism, immaturity, self-interest and dependency, while intrinsic religious orientation is associated with characteristics such as meaning, tolerance and maturity. Gorsuch (1988) continued that those individuals who attend church more frequently are more extrinsic in their orientation than they are intrinsic and further, extrinsic individuals have a propensity to be more conventional, authoritarian, rigid and racist than those individuals who score highly on intrinsic orientation. According to further investigation by Allport and Ross (1967), those individuals who score highly on both intrinsic and extrinsic scales of religiosity are most prejudiced. However, while Gorsuch (1988) indicates that intrinsic religiosity levels are influenced by an internal individual motivation, Batson, Schoenrade and Pych (1985) suggest that these levels are heavily influenced by social desirability factors.

The distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations identified by Allport and Ross (1967) describes an intrinsic orientation as a depth of faith which culminates in the belief that God is involved in all things. An intrinsically religious individual is one who may be described as a person who lives their life according to their religious beliefs, as an individual who finds major motivation in their religion and as one who internalises their beliefs to the extent that these beliefs become central to their existence. With regard to extrinsic religious orientation, Fulton, Gorsuch and Maynard (1999), Gorsuch and McPherson (1989) and Socha (1999) have identified extrinsic social (Es) orientation and extrinsic personal (Ep) orientation. Those individuals with an extrinsic social orientation are thought to have a strictly utilitarian attitude toward their religion, using it entirely for their own ends or to gain access into some favourable group. Their religion is related to fulfilling an individual's social requirements such as meeting friends at church. Conversely, those individuals with an extrinsic personal orientation are said to use religion to gain comfort and protection in times of sorrow (e.g. Allport & Ross, 1967; Genia, 1996; Genia & Shaw, 1991). An Ep orientation serves to meet an individual's personal needs, such as individuals gaining feelings of comfort whilst engaged in prayer. In theological terms, according to Allport and Ross (1967), while the intrinsic orientates himself toward God and away from the self, the extrinsic individual turns to God but always remains orientated toward the self.

In terms of the intrinsic / extrinsic polarisation in religious orientation, certain suggestions have been made by various researchers. Kahoe (1974) suggests that there is a weak positive correlation between extrinsic orientation and authoritarianism, prejudice and acquiescence. Glock and Stark (1966) also provide evidence to suggest that orthodox individuals also have increased levels of prejudice while Allport and Ross (1967) indicate that regular churchgoers are more prejudiced. Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle (1997) suggest that there are similar relationships between extrinsic orientation and dogmatism although Bergin, Masters and Richards (1987) indicate that extrinsic individuals illustrate lower levels of social responsibility and social interest, while Batson, Schoenrade and Ventis (1993) determined that extrinsic individuals have a greater fear of death and have greater anxiety levels in general.

Intrinsically orientated individuals display traits that are, as one might expect, opposite from those for the extrinsically orientated individual. Intrinsic individuals do not show high levels of authoritarianism (Kahoe, 1974), or dogmatism (Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997), they also have a lesser fear of death and comparatively low anxiety levels in general (Bergin et al., 1987), although they do have higher levels of guilt (Watson, Morris & Hood, 1987), which Watson, Hood, Foster and Morris (1988) suggest are related to the ideas of sin and grace in accordance with Christianity where the majority of the churches preach sin and salvation. However, Watson et al. (1988) also noted that although levels of guilt were higher, there was less depression and more self-acceptance in intrinsically orientated individuals. In addition to this, Kahoe (1977) determined that intrinsically orientated individuals displayed an internal locus of control while extrinsic individuals have an external locus of control. This construct of the locus of control ranges on a continuum from internal to external (Lefcourt, 1982) and is used to describe an individual's belief concerning the extent to which they assume that their life outcomes are a result of their own behaviours (internal) or whether they are the result of either luck or the actions of others (external).

Allport (1950) indicated many of the positive effects of religion, asserting that an intrinsic or mature religious orientation is resultant in consistently moral behaviour whereas an extrinsic, immature religious orientation resulted in the raising of "moral storms" (p.74). Further, Allport and Ross (1967) determined that those individuals with an intrinsic motivation are less ethnically prejudiced than their extrinsic counterparts. This suggestion remained largely unchallenged until Batson, Naifeh and Pate (1978) attested that such conclusions may be the result of socially desirable responding by those identified as intrinsically religious; "rather than genuine impetus toward increased tolerance, reduced prejudice and increased concern for others, this dimension seems to be associated with a self-serving concern to *appear* tolerant, unprejudiced and compassionate" (p.375).

The distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity has become one of the most influential theories in the empirical psychology of religion (Burris and Jackson, 2000). According to Burris and Jackson, those individuals identified as being intrinsically religious are those who are most likely to engage in self-stereotyping. Further, Batson et al. (1993) determined that an intrinsic religious orientation is associated with a desire to preserve a positive appearance of oneself in order to show "others, self, and God that he or she is the good, kind, caring, even heroic, person that his or her religion celebrates" (p.333).

The distinctions which are available in religious orientations allow researchers to distinguish between orthodox religious beliefs and practices and those which are less orthodox. As Maltby, Houran, Lange, Ashe and McCutcheon (2002) identify, there are three key religious orientations into which six total orientations are incorporated. These are a) intrinsic, b) extrinsic (comprising of Es and Ep), and c) quest (comprising of complexity, doubt, and tentativeness).

Quest orientated individuals, according to Batson et al., are engaged in a progressive investigation for some kind of transcendent reality. This, Hill et al. (2003) continue, is particularly notable in Buddhist writings. Batson et al. formally identified quest orientation as "the degree to which an individual's religion involves an open-ended, responsive dialogue with existential questions raised by the contradictions and tragedies of life" (1993, p.169). One of the main features of quest-orientated individuals is that they do acknowledge the religious doubts that they have and see these doubts as being central to their belief (Batson et al., 1993).

Although not widely used in research on religion, quest orientation was described by Batson and colleagues as a term to identify those individuals who view religion as a never ending process of questioning, which has its origins in ongoing tensions, contradictions, and tragedies and which categorise not only their personal lives but also the world in general. Batson and Schoenrade (1991a; 1991b) and Batson et al. (1993) were quick to point out that quest orientated individuals value these doubts and uncertainties which are central to their religious beliefs and actually view the questions as being more crucial than the answers which are subsequently provided. Such individuals accept that their beliefs are open to change and this orientation, according to Edwards (2001) is considered a form of religious liberalism.

A quest religious orientation, however, is slightly more complicated than either an intrinsic or extrinsic religious orientation. Described by Batson et al. (1993) as an unrestricted and responsive discourse, whereby the inconsistencies and misfortunes of life raise existential questions, a quest orientation consists of three key religious factors: Firstly, the ability to address questions of religion while maintaining their complexity; secondly, a willingness to accept that some religious beliefs may be subject to change and thirdly the ability to view religious doubt and self-criticism as a positive thing.

However, although quest orientation is measured in conjunction with intrinsic and extrinsic orientations in the Religious Life Inventory (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991), there remains a significant level of doubt surrounding whether it is appropriate to identify quest orientation as a dimension of religion. Donahue (1985) suggested that quest orientation is better interpreted as an agnosticism measure whereas Acklin (1985) and Hood and Morris (1985) indicate that a quest orientation characterises an ephemeral phase experienced by younger individuals who have yet to reach religious maturity. In addition to the research that has been conducted in identifying individuals as either intrinsically or extrinsically orientated (e.g. Batson & Schoenrade, 1991), research has been conducted to explore beliefs and orientations and physical and mental health variables.

3.2.5 Religion, Physical and Mental Health

Researchers whose work is rooted in materialism (e.g. Fraser, Beeson & Phillips, 1991, Gardner & Lyon, 1977) may reject any apparent value in religion itself and maintain that the lifestyle choices are responsible for the improved levels of health. Researchers such as Strawbridge, Cohen, Shema and Kaplan (1997), however, would argue that although lifestyle choices are responsible in part, they are not solely responsible for the health gains that benefit religious individuals. Strawbridge et al. suggest that religious individuals hold a belief that God gives them the strength required to fulfil the responsibilities which religion bestows upon them. Further, Strawbridge et al. maintain that religious believers trust that God recognises their self-discipline and rewards them with inner peace and spiritual growth.

After allowing for lifestyle variables, many researchers (e.g. Koenig et al., 1999; Oman & Reed, 1998) have indicated that there is a positive relationship between physical health and religion for both males and females.

Hummer, Rogers, Nam and Ellison (1999) reported that the age of death for high church attendees (more than once a week) was higher than that of frequent church attendees (once a week) while non-attendees had the youngest age of death (82.9years, 81.9years and 75.3years respectively). Further, Oxman, Freeman and Manheimer (1995) determined that the risk of death either during or after cardiac surgery was 14 times greater for those without social and religious support networks than for those with this support.

Further research by Johnson and Splika (1991) determined that for 85% of the women with breast cancer that took part in their investigation, religion helped them cope with their illness in a positive way. Johnson and Spilka, however, advanced their study to a new level and investigated not only whether there was a difference between believers and non-believers but also whether there was a difference in the coping behaviour exhibited by those individuals who were extrinsically oriented in their religious beliefs and those who were intrinsically orientated. Johnson and Spilka concluded that coping benefits were identified exclusively in those individuals whose orientation was intrinsic.

Although a number of studies have found a negative correlation between an intrinsic orientation and depression, anxiety, and self-esteem (collectively representing the three constructs dominating the literature on religion and well-being) a number have also determined that there is a positive relationship between extrinsic religious orientation, depression, anxiety and self-esteem (e.g. Maltby & Day, 2000; Maltby, Lewis & Day, 1999; Watson, Morris & Hood, 1989). However, although Genia (1996) reported a positive relationship between quest religious orientation and depression and also a negative association between quest orientation and self-esteem, Maltby, Lewis and Day (1999) and Ryan, Rigby and King (1993) have reported no such correlations.

Maltby and Day (2002) determined that the use of threat appraisals are negatively correlated to intrinsic religious orientations, providing support for the suggestion that an intrinsic religious orientation is associated with better psychological well-being. Although according to Burris and Tarpley (1998), it is possible for non-judgemental awareness and acceptance of (potentially) threatening individuals and experiences to be repressed by religion. Maltby and Day (2002) continue, however, that those individuals with an extrinsic religious orientation – especially those with a high extrinsic social orientation – and low intrinsic and quest orientations had a propensity to view stressful events as threatening, which in turn leads to poor psychological well-being.

In their study, Maltby and Day (2002) identify the Age Universal Intrinsic-Extrinsic Religious Orientations Scale (Grosuch & Venables, 1983) as a revised and amended measure of the Religious Orientation Scale (Allport & Ross, 1967), which is suitable for use with adolescents and adults alike, Maltby and Day continue that these amendments and revisions to the Religious Orientations Scale have been seen to "improve psychometric confidence in the measure" (p.1212) and have lead to improvements in both the response structure and scoring procedures.

One possible criticism, however, is that although the Age Universal I-E Scale provides a through method of assessing religious orientations, it assumes, as Maltby and Day assert, that intrinsic orientation is a constant feature, which extrinsic orientation may take two forms (social / personal). However, given that some respondents score highly on the extrinsic items and lowly on the intrinsic items, the constant presence of intrinsic orientation requires attention. It may be that some of the individuals who indicate that they have religious beliefs are purely extrinsically motivated and the scale does not wholly allow for this; it assumes instead that all individuals are somehow intrinsically motivated, simply to a greater or lesser extent.

That said, however, the Age Universal I-E Scale is the most widely used and accepted method for measuring religious orientations and in order to ensure parity with studies such as that by Maltby and Day (see also Binks & Ferguson, 2002), the scale will be used in the current study.

As a result of conducting their research, Maltby and Day (2002) go on to suggest that those individuals who use positive religious coping are able to interpret the stressful events which they experience as "opportunities for positive growth and development" which positively effects their psychological well-being (p.14). Hill et al. (2003) suggested that individuals with an extrinsic or quest orientation would be more likely to suffer doubts and anxieties related to neuroticism and also would be predisposed to low self-esteem, while those intrinsically orientated individuals – who attend church more regularly and spend time in private thought and prayer – are significantly happier.

Similar to the findings of Johnson and Spilka (1991), Roberts, Brown, Elkins and Larson (1997) indicated that in their sample of respondents, all suffering with gynaecological cancer, almost half (49%) reported that their levels of religiosity had increased since the commencement of their illness and none reported that they had become less religious. As Fontana (2003) comments, it may be tempting to attribute this finding to the likelihood of individuals seeking solace in religion when faced with the possible threat of death, but it would be expected, if this were the case, that at least a small number of individuals would report some feelings of anger and turn away from a belief in a God that ultimately offered them no protection from such a condition. Fontana continues that the fact that this did not occur would appear to provide evidence to support the conjecture that religious belief provides real benefits in times of crisis.

Despite the noted benefits of religious belief, it has been documented that some religious affiliations and practices result in a negative effect upon physical health. King, Speck and Thomas (1999) found that individuals who identified themselves as religious and or spiritual had worse health outcomes on selected variables. However, it should also be acknowledged that King et al.'s study utilised a range of spiritual belief definitions, rather than activities that would commonly be associated with traditionally religious individuals. In addition, King et al.'s definitions were so varied that, in fact, there were no recorded associations between the definitions they used and other measures of traditional religious involvement, which would also appear to cast doubt on their findings.

However, although such evidence has been presented and then largely dismissed, there remain some negative associations between religion and physical health indicators. While this may be the case, it is important to remember that a number of religious groups hold beliefs so fundamental that they reject important, life-saving medical interventions, e.g. childhood vaccinations, blood transfusions. It is possible that the communities with these beliefs reject medical assistance in favour of a reliance upon their religious faith (Greenawalt, 2006).

It is not just physical health that is thought to benefit from religious beliefs, however. Koenig, McCullough and Larson (2001) have identified 100 studies, which presented statistical data on the relationship between psychological well-being and religious involvement. Of these, 79 indicated at least one positive correlation between the two variables and only one of the 100 reported any negative association.

While Call and Heaton (1997) indicated that individuals with religious beliefs have significantly more stable marriages, Willits and Crider (1988) determined that church attendance and well-being (happiness, optimism, life satisfaction, hope, and positive effect) are positively correlated and Francis and Robbins (2000) identified a significant positive correlation between attitudes toward Christianity and scores on the Oxford Happiness Index (Argyle, Martin & Crossland, 1989).

The relationship between religion and mental health has been the focus of much research in recent years (e.g. Levin & Chatters, 1998; Maltby & Lewis, 1997; Maltby, Lewis & Day, 1999) with much of the research suggesting a positive correlation between religiosity and psychological well-being. McCullough, Hoyt, Larson, Koenig and Thoresen (2000) have further suggested that there is a relationship between mortality and religiosity, with those individuals who demonstrate little religious involvement being more likely to have a shorter lifespan than those who demonstrated high levels of religious involvement. That said, researchers such as Batson et al. (1993) and O'Connor, Cobb and O'Connor (2003) conducted similar research and concluded that there is no such relationship between religious involvement and mortality.

However, as Francis et al. (2004) respond, the research evidence is "more strongly weighted in favour of finding a positive relationship between religiosity and health than in finding either a negative relationship or the absence of a significant relationship" (p.486). In addition to this, Francis et al. continue that there are over 250 published studies (see Levin & Schiller, 1987) which demonstrate the positive association between religiosity and health, including studies which report religiosity as a protector against cancer (e.g. Berkel & deWaard, 1983) and "all cause mortality (e.g. Comstack & Partridge, 1972; Strawbridge, Cohen, Shema & Kaplan, 1997" (p.486).

Pargament (1997) reasons that religion and religious involvement may protect psychological and physiological health against the impact of stress, indicating that religion may cause a modification of the processes involved in stress appraisal. Thus Pargament suggests that religiosity may be interpreted as a coping process.

However, in addition to the evidence to suggest that religion has beneficial effects on physical health, O'Connor et al. (2003) found no evidence in their study to support this claim. Further, O'Connor et al. failed to provide evidence in support of the suggestion that religiosity acts as a buffer against the impact of stress upon psychological and physiological health. As Maltby et al. (1999) suggest, however, it is the frequency of personal religious practice and not a measure of religious orientation that is dominant in explaining variances in psychological well-being. In this case, as O'Connor et al. indicate, it may be the sensitive nature of the measure of religiosity that was employed in the study that is responsible for the lack of association between levels of psychological distress and religiosity.

As Francis et al. (2004) attest, however, these findings by O'Connor et al. (2003) are surprising, as the number of studies documenting such positive links between religion and physical and mental health are vast. Francis et al. continue that "in general, there appears to be an associative role that religion plays in the protection or the reduction of mental or emotional disorders" (p.486), including anxiety and depression (see Bergin, Masters & Richards (1987) and Koenig & Fritterman (1995) respectively).

Pargament (1997) suggests that religiosity is not a simple dimension and should not be considered and measured as such. Instead, Pargament suggests that church attendance and personal prayer, for example, should be considered when measuring religiosity in order that it is acknowledged that religion can pervade all areas of life.

In addition, Koenig et al. (1997) suggest that when religiosity is treated as a single construct, it correlates with physical health but not with depression. Yet when religiosity is broken down into sub-components (such as frequency of church attendance) associations with both physical health and psychological well-being are possible. Consequently, it is apparent that all aspects of religiosity should be explored (O'Connor et al., 2003).

Although O'Connor et al. (2003) report no significant relationship between religiosity and health, Francis et al. (2004) indicate that this finding is deserving of clear scrutiny because it was the first time that the Francis Attitude Toward Christianity Scale was used alongside the General Health Questionnaire. Francis et al. then similarly tested these two scales and determined, contrary to the findings of O'Connor et al., that a more positive attitude toward Christianity is associated with high levels of self-reported general well-being. Francis et al. continue that research assessing religiosity and mental health provide similar findings and conclude that there appears to be a connective function played by religiosity in terms of protection and or the reduction of psychological disorders.

Research by Ross (1990) indicated that lower levels of psychological distress are experienced by individuals with strong religious beliefs. In addition, Ellison, Boardman, Williams and Jackson (2001) and Williams, Yan, Jackson and Anderson (1997) indicate that more frequent church attendance was beneficial in terms of reducing distress. Similarly, Koenig, McCullough and Larson (2001) assert that more than two thirds of over 850 articles available indicate that those individuals who are religiously active have better mental health than those who are not, while Gartner, Larson and Allen (1991) argue that there is evidence to suggest that religion acts as a preventative measure against ill health.

Francis et al. (2004) continue that there are few studies that provide evidence of negative associations between religiosity and mental health. Neeleman and Lewis (1994), however, did provide such evidence and suggested that religiosity is positively correlated with psychotic illness. Neeleman and Lewis found that the highest religiosity levels were reported by psychotic respondents, followed by depressed and para-suicidal respondents. Francis et al. (2004) determined from their study that in terms of general health, differences in religious behaviour are less important than differences in religious attitudes and conclude that the attitudinal component of religiosity is possibly a more elementary predictor of health than religious behaviour. Francis et al. continue that, at least at a theoretical level, this conclusion may explain why individuals with increased levels of religiosity report higher levels of general health: because this is related to an individual's religious attitudinal predilection, i.e. those individuals who are happy in their relationship with God – as would be indicated by high scores on a religious attitude scale such as the Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity (Francis, Lewis, Philipchalk, Brown & Lester, 1995) – would be likely to feel more positive about their own health.

Schumaker (1995) further suggests that in order for good mental health to be sustained it is necessary to manipulate reality in a bid to ensure that external events correlate with personal frameworks. Schumaker continues that religious beliefs act as this regulation of reality whereby improved mental health is associated with increased religious attitudes and beliefs (e.g. Batson & Ventis, 1992; Donahue, 1985). Further, if an individual's religious convictions are to be increased, religious worship and religious suggestion can help induce a dissociative state during which these principles and teachings can be strengthened (Dorahy, under review).

Dorahy, Schumaker and Lewis (1997) and Dorahy, Lewis and Schumaker (1998) provided evidence to suggest a positive correlation between strength of Christian beliefs and dissociation. In a religious setting, dissociation helps individuals form cohesive groups and provides them with a sense of attachment with fellow worshipers. During religious ceremonies, dissociation serves to increase the emotional experience of worship whilst heightening the psychological conditions which encourage the strengthening of religious beliefs (Dorahy, under review). According to Price and Snow (1998) "dissociative states make it possible to enter more fully into the experience of faith and continue that experience so that faith is nurtured" (p.259).

Price and Snow (1998) further suggest that entering into a dissociative state is fundamental in fully experiencing faith, while Dorahy and Lewis (2001) continue that dissociative states are important in religious celebrations as they encourage the individual to be more susceptible to religious suggestion. Kilbourne (1983) and Simpson (1996) concluded that because practice effects influence dissociation, those individuals who are more receptive to dissociative experiences are likely to be those who have a rigid belief system – and are therefore those who are more likely to be orthodox or intrinsically religious.

3.2.6 Religion in Northern Ireland

In terms of European religion, it is, according to Demerath (2000), pertinent to observe and explore the phenomenon of cultural religion which is in place and which “affords a sense of personal identity and continuity with the past even after participation in ritual and belief have elapsed” (p.127).

According to Demerath, religion has always had a position alongside ethnicity, nationality, and social class as a prominent indicator of personhood. He further suggests that along with intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest orientations, cultural religion may be identified as a modern religious orientation even though it remains ambiguous. Demerath claims that this ambiguity stems from the fact that although the label of cultural religion may be self-applied, it is not “self-affirmed”, that is, it remains a way of being religiously attached without having to be religiously active and although it serves as a form of recognition of a religious community, the commitment to the religious practices which once served as the centre of the community have long since lapsed (Demerath, 2000, p.136). According to Demerath (2000), cultural religion “may represent the penultimate stage of religious secularisation – that last loose bond of religious attachment before the ties are let go altogether” (p. 136-137). Demerath concentrates his attention on Northern Ireland and suggests that within Europe, Northern Ireland is the country with the highest overall level of religious participation even though over the last 25 years the number of Northern Irish individuals identifying themselves as non-religious has risen from 1% to 12%. Demerath continues that in Northern Ireland, although rates of church attendance have fallen, both the Catholic and Protestant communities remain entangled in the religious legacies which are transferred from generation to generation via familial, neighbourhood, and community connections.

One element that Northern Irish religion (be it Catholic or Protestant) has in common with other European societies is that its religion is retrospective rather than prospective (Demerath, 2000). Consequently, according to Demerath, individuals are judged more by what happened in their past than by what they are accomplishing now or by what they might accomplish in their future. The religion of Northern Irish individuals' parents and grandparents, as well as other ethnic origins, educational achievement, and occupation are all important aspects of an individual identity and once this "identity package" is determined it is very difficult to disown (Demerath, 2000, p.131).

Demerath continues, however, that it is not just in the realms of religion and identity that individuals in Northern Ireland are haunted by the past, but in every area of life. Demerath continues that it is far less common to address what might or could happen than it is to address what already has.

While Northern Ireland might be divided at an individual level by what is termed cultural religion, it is also fair to observe that it is divided at a societal level by civil religions. A nation should have one dominant civil religion but Northern Ireland has two and as a consequence is engaged in a disagreement of "competing principles" (Demerath, 2000, p.132). Each community in Northern Ireland has their own versions of the past, and of the future, has their own sacred events and religious symbols, and rather than having the usual effect of uniting a nation, the competing civil religions in

Northern Ireland have been a source of constant division with the result that religion in Northern Ireland has become more important on a societal level than on a theological one (Demerath, 2000).

3.2.7 Diasporic Religious Beliefs and Practices

In terms of diasporic religious practices and beliefs, there has, as Vertovec (2000) concedes, been comparatively little research in this area. Researchers such as Smart (1999) have indicated the importance of investigating this area, however, and have suggested that research into the area of diaspora and religion is important because: it affords an awareness of religious transformation; it allows an understanding of the affect that migrant religious practices have on those taking place in the homeland; and it helps in the development of theories of multiethnicity which are now so important.

As a result of the research that has taken place, many researchers (e.g. Finke & Stark, 1992; Warner, 1998) have suggested that migration often has the effect of challenging religious institutions and reducing religious involvement. However, research has also suggested that religion is salient for immigrants (Warner, 1998) and that entering a host society does not lead to an abandoning of previous religious beliefs (Herberg, 1960). Rather, it causes the immigrant to feel more religious because religion is a key indicator of identity which promotes self-awareness and group cohesion amongst the migrant population (Williams, 1988), and because migrants utilize religion in order to create affiliation and promote acceptance (Levitt, 2003). Williams (1998) continues that this maintenance, even strengthening, of religious identity is tolerated in the host society because "religious affiliation and identity is one of the strategies that allows the immigrant to maintain self-identity while simultaneously acquiring community acceptance" (1988, p.29).

Warner (1998) has developed this idea of religious identity in migrant communities and has suggested that in a host society, migrants become less complacent of their religious affiliation and practice, and religious traditions become increasingly important, even if these religious ideas were not accepted as being of paramount importance in the country of origin. Warner continues that for some immigrants, it may be possible to 'convert' to the religion of the host society but in a way that involves an immigrant congregation. In this way, Warner concludes, the migrant is able to maintain their "corporate identity while accommodating to the new conditions" (Warner, 1998, p.129). As Warner (1998) continues, religious identities can be more important to individuals after migration than before, because these identities are forced to evolve and modify themselves in line with the host society.

Beyer (2001) and Levitt (2003) suggest religion as a "global societal system" which is utilised by migrants as a way of successfully living their "transnational lives" (Levitt, 2003, p.848). Conversely, Levitt goes on to suggest that focus on religion by migrants, and the acknowledgement that diasporic religion is challenged by host societies, and vice versa, has a tendency to result in migrant and non-migrant religious practices and beliefs, being considered as distinct and separate rather than as interconnected entities. Early research by Smith (1978) supports the notion that religion is changed by the host nation. As he suggests, "the place to which one belongs was the central religious category… to the new immigrant in the diaspora, nostalgia for homeplace and cultic substitutes for the old, sacred centre were central religious values" (p.xiv). Levit (2003) continues that religious organisations set themselves apart from other migrant groups in that they view themselves as "embodying universal and timeless truths" (p.865)

For migrants to England, Vertovec (2000) suggests that "many adults reported that they had become more aware of this religion in Britain as a result of belonging to a minority group in a predominantly irreligious society" (p.16). Levitt (2003) continues that in countries such as Ireland, emigrants often find it difficult to separate their sense of Irishness from their sense of Catholic-ness, for example, as the concepts of national and religious identity are bound together in a way that reinforces each of them.

In terms of the Irish and Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant Diasporas, various suggestions have been made. Casanova (1994) reports that the Catholic Church was active in disseminating religious orders and campaigns, which served to bond the transnational Irish Catholic Diaspora. In addition to this, Levitt (2003) has determined that the Irish Catholic Diaspora often engage in parallel religious activities which strengthen ties between the home and host communities. In contrast to the Catholic Church's efforts at promoting a sense of connection between home and host Irish Catholic communities, the Irish Protestant Diaspora witness their Church making less structured efforts at establishing and promoting relations between home and host communities (Levitt, 2003).

Although the methods used to maintain these ties between the home and host communities differ between the Catholic and Protestant Church, both communities have seen global relations prosper. However, where the Catholic Church has negotiated these ties with the presence of an administrative hierarchy, the Protestant church has done it in the absence of one. This, Levitt (2003) claims, has lead to the Protestant community establishing less stable and more diluted partnerships than their Catholic counterparts.

While Irish Catholic migrants have witnessed the international expansion of their religion, and the formation of many strong and influential Catholic networks, they have also seen the bond between home and host communities strengthen and develop into powerful relationships (Levitt, 2003). While the Catholic migrant community are granted access to a church which bears a global responsibility for its members, and one which has seen the repeated interaction of religion and politics, the Protestant community, although aiming to be similarly active, delivers to its members a service which is comparatively weak and characterised by less powerful organisational connections (Levitt, 2003).

As a result of this consideration of religion and transnational migration, Levitt (2003) suggests that research in this area should strive to examine the daily practices of migrant communities in order to determine the real effect of host communities on religious ideas and religious life. In line with this, the current study aims to assess the daily religious orientations of the Catholic and Protestant Irish and Northern Irish in England.

3.3 Conclusion

This literature review has addressed past and current research on the psychology and scientific study of religion. It has addressed the recent neglect of the area by researchers and has examined some of the possible reasons for this (Fontana, 2003). It has considered the various definitions of religion that have been offered and has acknowledged the problems with developing an encompassing, globally relevant definition (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975).

The review has focused on the motivations for developing religious beliefs and has considered the suggestions offered by researchers such as Feifel (1974), Freud (1927, 1930, 1959), Gershuny and Thayer (1999), Jung (1934, 1955), and McDougall (1950). The function of religious beliefs has been addressed, and, as such, suggestions relating to the association between religion and social identity have been considered (e.g. Hogg & Abrams, 1976; Mol, 1976; Seul, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), along with theories relating to the social and emotional benefits associated with religious beliefs (Hutchinson et al., 1999).

Intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations have been examined (Allport, 1959), as have the motivational and practical differences between the two (Allport & Ross, 1967). In relation to intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations, the review has considered the correlations between religion and mental and physical well-being and has considered such factors as lifestyle choices (Gardner & Lyon, 1977), religion as a protective barrier against stress (Pargament, 1997), and religion as a coping mechanism (Schumaker, 1995). The relationships between high levels of religious involvement and non-pathological dissociation have also been considered (Dorahy, Lewis & Schumaker, 1998).

The review concluded with an examination of the theory of cultural religion (Demerath, 2000), and focused specifically upon Northern Ireland when considering what Demerath describes as the theologically based societal divisions. Finally the review assessed the religious motivations, practices, and beliefs of the migrants in England (Vertovec, 2000), considered the effect that a host society can have on religious identities (Levitt, 2003; Vertovec, 2000), and considered the role of the Irish Catholic and Protestant Churches in developing and maintaining diasporic religious identities (Levitt, 2003). The review concluded with an acknowledgement of Levitt's (2003) suggestion that current research in the area of the psychology of religion must address the daily religious beliefs and practices of migrants in order to gain a comprehensive awareness of religion in diaspora.

Chapter 4

Dissociation and Dissociative Experiences

4.1 Introduction

The following literature review will assess psychological and scientific research on dissociation and dissociative experiences. The review will begin by addressing the early scientific focus on dissociation (e.g. Janet, 1889), the following decline in research in this area, and suggested reasons for this decline. The review will then go on to discuss the re-emergence of dissociation research in the 1970s, and the suggested reasons for this renewed interest, e.g. the presence of dissociation in Vietnam veterans and the inclusion of dissociation in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – III (American Psychological Association, 1980; Ross, 1996).

The literature review will go on to discuss the difficulties involved in defining dissociation (Cardena, 1994) and the suggested areas for inclusion in any comprehensive definition. For example, the review will discuss the suggestion that a definition of dissociation should make reference to automatic behaviours (Hilgard, 1986), hypnosis and psychotherapy (Spiegel & Cardena, 1991), alterations in memory (Kihlstrom, 1982), cognitive responses to trauma (Cardena & Spiegel, 1993), and neurological syndromes (Farthing, 1992). The review will examine the definitions of dissociation that have been offered by various researchers, such as Fishbain, Cutler, Rosomoff and Steele-Rosomoff's (2001) suggestion of dissociation as a disruption in the integrated functions of consciousness, memory, identity, and perception, and Kwapil, Wrobel and Pope's (2002) suggestion that definitions should include reference to alterations in memory and consciousness and errant perceptions of time and the environment. The review will also assess the problems with operationalising and measuring dissociation (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986).

The review will then move on to assess the various descriptions of dissociation, and will consider pathological and non-pathological dissociation, and the descriptions of pathological dissociation as an inaccessibility of mental systems, often, but not always characterised by amnesia, depersonalisation, and or derealisation, and non-pathological dissociation as helpful in terms of serving the adaptive functions of daily life and being characterised by imaginative and absorptive experiences (APA, 1994; Ross, Joshi & Currie, 1991).

The suggestion of dissociation as a continuum ranging from pathological to non-pathological (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986; Braun, 1986; Ross, 1985) will be considered, as will the more contemporary suggestion that non-pathological dissociation ranges on a continuum while pathological dissociation is better understood as a discrete set of experiences (Waller, Putnam & Carlson, 1996).

In addition to this, Rowan's (1990) support of dissociation as a continuum will be addressed, along with his suggestion that dissociation may be seen as a transient state, and one which signifies only the relative normalcy of plural selves or subpersonalities.

The review will go on to assess the suggestion of dissociation as a defence mechanism (Putnam, 1995), and will consider research which suggests that dissociation is most clearly understood as a mechanism for coping with exposure to traumatic stressors (Muris & Merckelback, 1997). Further research has assessed the aetiological antecedents of dissociation, with specific reference to traumatic events (e.g. Gershuny & Thayer, 1999), and has determined that there is a direct positive correlation between direct experience of traumatic events and dissociation (Candel, Merckelback & Kuijpers, 2003; Ray & Faith, 1995; van Ijzendoor & Schuengel, 1996). The review will then consider research that has focused on the potential risks of employing dissociation as a long-term coping strategy (e.g. Foa & Hearst-Ikeda, 1996) and at the link between dissociation and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) if dissociation becomes the primary method of dealing with exposure to traumatic stressors (Bolstad & Zinborg, 1997). The following literature review will also examine research which suggests that dissociation in linked to a fear of loss of control during a traumatic event, fear of death, and death anxiety (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999; Kastenbaum, 1992) and will focus on the suggestion that dissociation as a response to lack of control peri-trauma can lead to the development of PTSD (Bolstad & Zinborg, 1997).

The review will then concentrate on the suggested relationship between dissociation and religion (e.g. Dorahy & Lewis, 2001; Price & Snow, 1998; Schumaker, 1995) and will consider the suggestions that there is a connection between dissociation and heightened levels of religious suggestibility (Schumaker, 1992). The review will also reflect on the suggestions that the appropriate context (e.g. religious worship) together with the appropriate stimuli (e.g. religious suggestion) results in a dissociative state which serves to strengthen religious principles (Dorahy, Lewis & Schumaker, 1998; Dorahy, Schumaker & Lewis, 1997).

The review will conclude with an assessment of the suggestion that because Northern Ireland is one of the most religious countries in the western world (Rose, 1971), and given the social and political unrest by which Northern Ireland has been characterised in recent times, the province provides a natural environment for the assessment of responses to trauma (Cairns & Darby, 1998). As such, the review will consider research which assesses the relationship between religion, trauma, and dissociation in Northern Ireland (e.g. Cairns & Darby, 1998; Rose, 1971) and will evaluate the suggestion that in Northern Ireland, higher non-pathological dissociation scored are correlated with direct exposure to political violence (Dorahy, Lewis, Millar & Gee, 2003). Finally, the review will explore the suggestion that in Northern Ireland, the perception of events as traumatic is important in terms of developing a non-pathological dissociative defensive style (Dorahy et al., 2003).

4.2 Literature Review

4.2.1 The Decline and Re-emergence of Dissociation Research

Since the early 1990s, the scientific study of dissociative phenomena has found a place of importance both as a result of its potential value in aiding the understanding of normal states of cognitive, emotional, and motor processing as well as the role played by dissociation in psychopathology (Ray, June, Turaj & Lundy, 1992).

The beginning of the 1900s saw dissociation as a clinical and theoretical topic of great importance, where the psychological term dissociation was developed by Janet (1889) and was interpreted by him as the result of stress with some individuals being more susceptible than others. Janet studied unusual cases of memory disorder, personality changes and discontinuities in consciousness and awareness that were attributed to the mechanisms of dissociation (Nemiah, 1985; 1991).

However, after the late 1800s and early to mid 1900s there was a decline in research into dissociation and Ross (1996) suggests that the reasons for this are manifold. The fields of psychology and psychiatry saw a shift in priorities to other areas of interest. Firstly, and possibly most notable, was Freud's shift from a dissociation to a repression model of psychotherapy. Second came the introduction, by Bleuler (1924), of the term schizophrenia which consequently saw the transfer of many dissociative identity disorder (DID) patients from a dissociation model to a biomedical organic brain model (Ross, 1996). The third factor was the emergence of behaviourism. As the field of behaviourism expanded, the amount of time available for the study of dissociation decreased (Hilgard, 1997) and in addition to this, behaviourism did not allow or encourage the "consideration of internal states of consciousness, divided consciousness or symptoms that evolve from causes twenty or thirty years in the patients past" (Ross, 1996, p.6). Ross goes on to suggest that no other disorder has been excluded in this way from mainstream psychological study.

However, during the 1970s and 1980s there became a renewed interest in the field of dissociation, which occurred for a number of reasons. Possibly the most important factor in bringing dissociation to the fore once again was the women's movement, which highlighted childhood physical and sexual abuse. Another factor was the onset and conclusion of the Vietnam War, which forced upon society the notion that serious, long-term psychopathological consequences could result from severe trauma. The acceptance of this conjecture highlighted the possibility that childhood trauma and abuse (physical, sexual and other forms) may also have serious consequences which could last into adulthood. A third factor was the publication of the books "The Three Faces of Eve" (Thigpen & Cleckley, 1957) and "Sybil" (Scheiber, 1973) which brought dissociation into the mainstream, and finally came the appearance of dissociative disorders in their own separate section of the DSM-III (American Psychiatric Association (APA), 1980) where operationalised diagnostic criteria for multiple personality disorder were presented for the first time (Ross, 1996).

The scientific study of dissociation is again emerging and reclaiming its place of importance, both in terms of psychopathology, and the role played here by dissociation, and in terms of its value in aiding the understanding of normal cognitive – emotional – motoric processing and the relationship with underlying brain states (Ray, 1996). With a move toward examining less active behavioural and psychological states (Hilgard, 1986; Ludwig, 1983), the focus upon dissociation is no longer limited to the psychiatric post-traumatic model originally proposed and an interest has developed in researching dissociative experiences at the adaptive level and upon the role it plays in common psychological functioning (Dorahy & Lewis, 2001).

4.2.2 The Challenge of Defining Dissociation

Dissociation is a difficult construct to define, largely because of the inconsistencies in its conceptualisation (Cardena, 1994; Ross, 1989; Singer & Sincoff, 1990). In order to help with a basic understanding of the construct of dissociation it is necessary to consider various theories.

According to Cardena (1994) the concept of dissociation does not have one single, coherent conceptualisation that is accepted by all researchers in the field although it is generally accepted that there is a 'domain of dissociation', which involves a method of assessing dissociation and the phenomena to which it is related. This domain has a set of boundaries which define what is and is not included in the term 'dissociation' (Cardena, 1994). As Cardena (1994) continues, although there is no consistency of agreement amongst theorists regarding a precise definition of dissociation, there is evidence of much research which aids in the understanding of the differing uses of the term dissociation and some of the suppositions that are made about the term.

In its widest and most encompassing sense dissociation means that two or more mental processes or contents, which should be synthesised in conscious awareness, memory or identity, are not integrated or associated (are dissociated). This definition, however, can be problematic as, accordingly, the term dissociation is used to describe automatic behaviours, e.g. changing gears whilst driving (Cardena, 1994). Dissociation has, as a result of its semantically open nature, been employed to describe and explain phenomena such as automatic behaviours (Hilgard, 1986), hypnosis, perception without awareness, some forms of psychopathology (APA, 1987; Spiegel & Cardena, 1991) and as a way of distinguishing between differing types of memory (Kihlstrom, 1982). In addition to this, dissociation has been used to explain a number of cognitive responses to trauma (Cardena & Spiegel, 1993), some neurological syndromes (Farthing, 1992) and as a way of accounting for divergent performance on word comprehension tasks (Goodglass & Budin, 1988).

In 1990, Spiegel suggested dissociation as a divided or parallel access to awareness where two or more mental processes are lacking integration or association (Cardena, 1994; Classen, Koopman & Spiegal, 1993). In addition, Foa and Hearst-Ikeda (1996) suggested that this dissociation also involves a diminished awareness or avoidance of emotions or thoughts, while van der Kolk, van der Hart and Marmar (1996) implied a compartmentalised experience and therefore dissociation has been identified as an altered or fragmented state of consciousness (Marmar, Weiss, Melzler & Dielucchi, 1996; Steinberg, 1995). In addition, Fishbain, Cutler, Rosomoff & Steele-Rosomoff (2001) have identified dissociative disorders as a group of conditions characterised by a disruption of the integrated functions of consciousness, memory, identity, or perception.

According to Kwapil, Wrobel and Pope (2002), dissociation involves not only disruptions and alterations in memory and consciousness, but also errant perceptions of time and the environment (APA, 1994). In addition, Ray et al. (1992) indicate that dissociative experiences include an "inability to recall important life events, the experience of walking to an unfamiliar place or situation, feeling disconnected from reality, feeling completely absorbed in an activity and a sense of detachment from ones self and others" (Kwapil et al. 2002, p. 432).

Although the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (Revised 3rd Edition) (APA, 1987) identifies dissociation as a "disturbance or alteration in the normally integrative functions of identity, memory or consciousness", the inclusion of specific diagnosis categories, e.g. multiple personality, has occurred in the presence of critical discussion (Piper, 1994). Although there are many factors present in dissociation, there have been only limited attempts at exploring these. Braun's (1988) BASK model of dissociation identifies the disconnection of behaviour, affect, sensation and or knowledge from mainstream consciousness although the APA (1987) suggest memory consciousness and identity as the areas of disunification. Further, Sanders (1986) indicates somatic and behavioural control aspects of dissociative processes, although Ray and Faith (1997) suggest that this assertion is more in keeping with the clinical observations and theory of the early 1900s than it is with the current mode of thinking. Consequently, Ray and Faith (1997) continue, the current taxonomy may not truly reflect the natural structural gulfs of dissociative experience.

Although definitions of dissociation have been plagued by uncertainty, the majority of contemporary descriptions of dissociation include an acknowledgement of a disturbance of self-cohesion (Tillman, Nash and Lerner, 1994). It has been suggested that dissociation is resultant in a self-fragmentation or loss of self (Spiegel, 1988) and that the overriding feature characteristic of all dissociative disorders is this disturbance in the individual's sense of self (Putnam, 1989). While there are many characteristics of dissociation, it is commonly described and understood as an alteration in consciousness where there is a disruption of the integration of psychological and sensory information (Dorahy & Lewis, 2001).

Within the realms of clinical and personality psychology, dissociation has long been viewed as a theoretical construct in an attempt to explain why particular mental contents are not part of an individuals consciousness. In addition to this, within these realms dissociation has been used to explain the process which omits these contents from memory and as a description of the contents existing in 'consciousness' (Cardena, 1994). Although in the area of cognitive psychology the term dissociation is often used to describe performance in tasks which are moderated by mental processes (Goodglass & Budin, 1988) and to explain free recall performance (Denny & Hunt, 1992) in the fields of clinical and personality psychology, dissociation may be described in a number of distinct and independent ways.

Firstly, dissociation is used to describe consciously inaccessible or disintegrated mental systems, which are characterised by semi-independence. Secondly, dissociation is accepted as a representation of an altered state of consciousness where the dissociated individual experiences disengagement of or disconnection from their environment. Finally, dissociation is viewed as a defence mechanism, often employed to avert physical or emotional pain although other alterations of consciousness are also included here, such as lack of personality integration, e.g. DID (APA, 1994).

As suggested by Hilgard (1986), dissociation in a non-clinical sense is thought to be a capacity which helps the adaptive functions of daily life although there is evidence to suggest that a biological predisposition coupled with exposure to specific conditions can trigger maladaptive dissociative experiences (e.g. Zweig-Frank & Livesley, 1998). These maladaptive dissociations manifest themselves in disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and DID (e.g. APA, 1994; Putnam, 1997). Consequently it is evident that experiences of dissociation can either be defined as normative processes or as pathological processes (Dorahy, UR).

Non-pathological dissociative experiences often manifest themselves in the form of daydreams and absorptive experiences (e.g. becoming lost in a book) and are identified as innate human tendencies (Ludwig, 1983; Schumaker, 1995) which are represented by imaginative involvement and absorption (Ross, Joshi & Currie, 1991). Pathological dissociative episodes have amnesic, depersonalisation, and derealisation symptoms and consequently lead to an adaptive psychological functioning breakdown (APA, 1994). It has been determined that it is common in adult everyday life to experience some kind of dissociation (e.g. Ross, Joshi & Currie, 1991; Vanderlinden, 1993).

Cardena (1994) proposed the existence of dissociation as non-conscious or non-integrated mental systems within which she suggested there should be three categories. The first of these is dissociation as the absence of conscious awareness of impinging stimuli or ongoing behaviours. This suggestion of dissociation indicates it as being quite indistinguishable from terms such as subconscious, preconscious and unconscious such that any form of peripheral awareness, automatic attention, implicit perception, etc, involves an over extension of the word dissociation where it comes to include most or all of the "conscious mental executive and monitoring functions" (p.18). However, as Cardena (1994) attests, this interpretation of dissociation does not consider the ability of the individual to bring behaviour into conscious awareness. As Myers (1903/1961) continues, "the memorability of an act is, in fact, a better proof of consciousness than its complexity" (p.37) and Nemiah (1991) adds that dissociation indicates an "exclusion from consciousness and the inaccessibility of voluntary recall of mental events" (p.250). What Cardena (1994) concluded from this is that the employment of the phrase dissociation as an umbrella term to describe all kinds of non-conscious processes or alternate mental states is an insecure one.

Secondly, Cardena (1994) suggests dissociation as the coexistence of separate mental systems that should be integrated in the person's consciousness, memory, or identity. Here, dissociation refers to mental processes (e.g. thoughts, emotions, memories) which ordinarily would be integrated into consciousness. It is this interpretation / description of dissociation which currently underpins the notion of dissociative disorders. However, this conceptualisation of dissociation differs from Cardena's (1994) first definition in that it fails to make the assumption that lack of full awareness of psychological systems is necessarily indicative of dissociation. Included in this second conceptualisation is the idea that material which is learned or experienced when we are in a particular state of consciousness may not be as accessible in other conscious states. This suggestion came to be known as "state dissociation" (Cardena, 1994). However, as Cardena continues, viewing state dependent memory as an example of dissociation is contentious as in the normal population there is little reason to suppose that the unretrieved information should be united with the waiting state of consciousness of the individual. However, what is less contentious is the argument that patients with DID experience such lapses as a result of a change in consciousness and that these experiences should be regarded as dissociative.

Cardena's (1994) final definition is of dissociation as an ongoing behaviour or perception inconsistent with a person's 'introspective verbal report'. This definition is more specific than the last and identifies dissociation as "the contradiction between ongoing behaviour and perceptions and the individuals introspective experiential reports about such events" (p.21). However, this suggestion does not make reference to the notion that individuals are able to access the cause of their behaviour or perceptions (e.g. Nesbett & Wilson, 1997). Rather, as Cardena (1994) suggests, this definition conceptualises dissociation as an inconsistency between what individuals report experiencing and what their behaviour and physiology suggest they should be experiencing.

In addition to these definitions, Cardena (1994) has identified dissociation as an alteration in consciousness where individuals experience disengagement from the self or from the environment. However, to over use the term (dissociation) in order that it applies to anything less than full engagement with ones surroundings results in it losing its descriptive value. Cardena (1994) continues that in order for the term to be useful it should not be applied to ordinary circumstances of partial engagement with ones surroundings. Rather, it should "pertain to qualitative departures from ones ordinary modes of experiencing, wherein unusual disconnection or disengagement from the self and or the surroundings occur as a central aspect of the experience" (Cardena 1994, p.23).

However, although dissociation is commonly viewed as an indicator of a disintegration of mental systems or processes – whether at the pathological or non-pathological level – it is important that other theories of dissociation are not dismissed. Rowan (1990), for example, suggests that dissociation may be a relatively normal state, and although he agrees that there is a dissociation continuum, he suggests that these dissociative states are often indicated by mood fluctuations. Further, Rowan suggests that these dissociative states may be indicated as subpersonalities which are specific to different situational states and activities, whereby people assume different aspects of their personality depending upon their situational context. In this way, what Rowan is suggesting is that these states of dissociation are relatively normal, even useful.

Rapaport (1952) has identified distinctions between differing states of consciousness and ways in which they are experienced and has suggested that consciousness exists along a continuum of waking through to sleep. Klein (1970) applied Rapaport's theory to his 4-factor model of memory and determined that the context for memory is provided by the state of consciousness while the experiential mode of consciousness determines how memories are registered, stored, organised, and retrieved. When considered in this way, what is usually interpreted as a loss of memory, forgetting or a retrieval failure is instead viewed as a distortion in the mode of experiencing (Tillman et al., 1994) Klein's (1970) paradigm provides a framework through which a more developed understanding of the internal processes that contribute to a dissociative event can be sought (Tillman et al., 1994).

However, although memory is helpful in aiding the understanding of dissociative experiences when coupled with research on consciousness, it is also important in contributing to ones sense of identity (Tillman et al., 1994). Memory is central in terms of being a prerequisite to maintaining a sense of identity over time, thus providing continuity and stability (Hilgard, 1977) although it has also been suggested that personal identity is actually a component of memory (Rapaport & Gill, 1942/1967). Rapaport & Gill continue that without a sense of identity, memories become "either logically deductible knowledge or else unavailable for recall" (Tillman et al., 1994, p.399). Rapaport and Gill further argue that the entrance of a memory into consciousness is determined by personal identity, which provides the necessary context. Consequently, when a memory is conflicting with personal identity it is subsequently excluded from consciousness. Tillman et al. (1994) continue that a loss of personal identity is implicit in the memory loss phenomena and this loss of identity may be experienced as "a fragmentation or as moments of discontinuity in the experience of time, self and place" (p.399).

It was Ross (1985) and Braun (1986) who first proposed that dissociative disorders lie on a continuum of increasing severity, complexity, and chronicity. At one end of the continuum lies normal dissociation, often represented by daydreaming, absorption or imaginative childhood play. More pathological forms of dissociation and trance-state phenomena follow these normal dissociative tendencies. These are succeeded by simple dissociative disorders such as dissociative amnesia disorder and these are followed by complex chronic forms of dissociative disorders not otherwise specified (DDNOS) and the spectrum concludes with dissociative identity disorder (Ross, 1996).

This continuum (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986) is characteristic of a multidimensional or multifactor phenomena (Cardena, 1994). Steinberg (1995) identified dissociation as a global construct which consists of interdependent but discrete factors. Most researchers agree, however, that the dissociative continuum is made up of some form of amnesia, depersonalisation and derealisation (American Psychiatric Association, 1994; Bernstein & Putnam, 1986; Briere & Runtz, 1993; Ray & Faith, 1995; Saunders & Green, 1994; Spiegel, Koopman, Cardena & Classen, 1996; Steinberg, 1995). Although these factors have been identified, various researchers have proposed other symptoms as also being a part of the dissociative spectrum. These include: identity confusion and alteration (Steinberg, 1995); absorption (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986; Ray & Faith, 1995; Waller & Ross, 1997; Waller, Putnam & Carlson, 1996); emotional numbing (American Psychiatric Association, 1994; Briere & Runtz, 1993; Foa & Hearst-Ikeda, 1996; Litz, 1992), which Gershuny and Thayer (1999) suggest is similar to depersonalisation / derealisation, and disengagement (Brier & Runtz, 1993).

4.2.3 Pathological and Non-Pathological Dissociation in the Clinical and Non-Clinical Population

There has been a recent shift in the qualitative and quantitative understanding of pathological and non-pathological dissociation. Following the original conceptualisation of dissociation (Spiegel, 1963; Bernstein & Putnam, 1986), it has been suggested that non-pathological dissociation operates along a continuum where pathological dissociation is best understood in terms of a taxon or discrete set of experiences (Waller, Putnam & Carlson, 1996). Putnam, Carlson, Ross, Anderson, Clark, Torem, Bauman, Coons, Chu, Dill, Lowewenstein and Braun (1996) and Waller et al. (1996) agree that once the extent of the dissociation continuum has been reached, the continuum then becomes a taxon (discrete group) which differs both quantitatively and qualitatively from other dissociative forms.

Dorahy, Lewis, Millar and Gee (2003) have concluded that consequently the continuum of experiences which defines non-pathological experiences and the taxon describing maladaptive pathological dissociation do not necessarily operate in mutual exclusivity. In their study, Dorahy et al. assess only predictors of non-pathological dissociation in the Northern Irish population and focus specifically on the effects of trauma and exposure to political violence. In order to do this, Dorahy et al. focus exclusively on the 12 non-pathological DES items and their relationship with trauma and exposure to political violence. In order to allow comparability with the research by Dorahy et al., the current study will also utilise the 12 non-pathological DES items.

Although depersonalisation / derealisation aspects of dissociation are usually experienced as part of maladaptive dissociation (APA, 1994), it is not uncommon for these aspects to be experienced by non-clinical samples (Ray & Faith, 1995). Further, it has been suggested that absorption – a common indicator of non-pathological dissociation – is a significant characteristic in pathological dissociation development (Waller & Ross, 1997).

Dorahy, et al. (2003) have identified other factors which are of benefit when differentiating continuum from taxonic dissociation. These were identified as developmental, cognitive, and affective correlates of both continuum and taxonic dissociative types. Further, these types have been divided according to clinical status, e.g. clinical (e.g. female inpatients, Chu & Dill, 1990), non-clinical (e.g. university students, Bauer & Power, 1995) and diagnostic profile (e.g. PTSD, schizophrenia, Putnam et al, 1996).

Although much dissociation research has been conducted using non-clinical samples, Waller and Ross (1997) have suggested that approximately 3.3% of the non-clinical population actually experience forms of dissociation belonging to the clinical dissociation taxon and that, consequently, non-clinical general samples are likely to include a very small number of individuals who experience episodes of pathological dissociation and, although this fact has only a minimal effect upon overall research findings, it is possible that empirical research findings will be affected.

It has further been acknowledged that these states can exist and often do occur as a normal part of ones everyday life and can manifest themselves as forgetfulness or absentmindedness, although other more complex dissociative states are relatively rare and occur as indicators of a pathological state, e.g. fugue states, extreme depersonalisation, DID (Ray, 1996).

According to Ross (1989), contemporary psychological research is guilty of underestimating the pervasiveness of dissociation in the non-clinical population. Ray and Faith (1997) continue that there is growing evidence in support of viewing frequent dissociative experiences as a characteristic of the normal, non-clinical population. Basar and Bullock (1989) continue that this presence of dissociation in the non-clinical population is in line with new cognitive and brain models which "emphasise separation of underlying processes... and parallel processing (Rumelhart & McClelland, 1986) brought together through a binding process (Crick & Koch, 1990; Grey & Singer, 1989)" (Ray & Faith, 1997, p.228).

Research by Schumaker (1995) and Spiegel (1986) has suggested that in non-clinical populations, dissociative experiences can manifest themselves as both adaptive and maladaptive processes. However, as Irwin (1998) continues, "developmental variables such as moderate to severe acute or chronic stress appear to disrupt adaptive functioning to the point where dissociation becomes an automatic maladaptive response to mild stressors" (Dorahy & Schumaker, 1997, p.967).

Many researchers (e.g. Atchison & McFarlane, 1994; Chu & Dill, 1990; Ray, 1996) have indicated that the majority of individuals (80%-90%) from both clinical and non-clinical populations report experiences of some type of dissociative experience at some point. The most frequently recorded experiences in non-clinical samples relate to imagination / absorption (Ray, 1996; Ross, 1996; Ross et al., 1990). Depression, anxiety, and depersonalisation are the three most common symptoms amongst clinical samples (Cattell & Cattell, 1974; Steinberg, 1995). However, if little is known about the structure of pathological dissociation even less is known with regard to "the structure of normative dissociative processes and the extent to which structural elements co-vary in different populations. It is unknown whether dissociative processes differ in structure, extent or both between the disordered and the norm and whether both are reflected on an identical association – dissociation continuum (Spiegel, 1963)" (Ray & Faith, 1997, p.224).

4.2.4 Dissociation as a Defence Mechanism

Lerner (1992) has suggested that the concept of dissociation is poorly understood and as a term has a tendency to be more descriptive than explanatory. Lerner's work on dissociation proposes four perspectives – defence, memory, consciousness and self – and stems from psychoanalytic ego psychology. By fusing these four domains, Lerner's definition of dissociation identifies a defensive process whereby experiences are separated and kept isolated via alterations in memory and consciousness. The result of this is self-impairment.

Tillman et al. (1994) suggest that dissociation impairs two functions of the self: the function of immediately experiencing something and the function of self observation. For example, when a traumatic event is experienced as happening to another version of the self, the traumatised self appears separate and estranged (isolated) from the observing self. While the functions of the self usually operate in harmony, in dissociation the two selves are operating in isolation (Tillman et al., 1994). The functions of memory, consciousness and the self are all integrated in the experience of dissociation, where disturbances occur in different functions and sub-functions (Tillman et al., 1994).

In response to Lerner's suggestions of dissociation having a defensive function, there has been further evidence presented to suggest that dissociation is used as a defence mechanism. Defence mechanisms are defined as the theoretical constructs that refer to the intentional disavowing of information that would cause anxiety and pain (Freud, 1936/1984). The conceptualisation of dissociation as a defence mechanism can be used to explain phenomena such as dissociation as an alteration in consciousness and dissociation as non-conscious or non-integrated mental systems (Cardena, 1994). When an individual is confronted with a continual threat or danger a dissociative mechanism is triggered in order to protect the psychological integrity of the individual. However, although the initiation of these dissociative mechanisms is purposeful, it still may not be conscious and can be triggered either by disasters as in isolated instances, or they may become a "characterological disposition" such as may be found in DID patients (Cardena, 1994).

According to Putnam (1995), dissociation has four main defence styles or strategies. Firstly, Putnam suggests automisation: a redirection of conscious awareness away from an event where the individual experiences no control over their actions. Secondly, compartmentalisation: the partitioning of areas of conscious experiences. Thirdly, identity alteration, e.g. depersonalisation, which could be employed in order to segregate ruinous experiences, and finally protection from unbearable pain, e.g. analgesia, of which reports are common during traumatic events.

According to the DSM-IV (APA, 1994), suppression, repression, and dissociation signify attempts made by individuals to cope with either emotional conflict or internal (or external) stressors. However, although this is the case there are a number of ways in which suppression, repression, and dissociation differ. As Muris and Merckelback (1997) assert, in the first instance the context of suppression and dissociation are clearly distinct. Where suppression is defined as an avoidance of thinking about disturbing issues, dissociation is a breakdown in the functions of consciousness, perception of self, memory and or the environment (APA, 1994). Secondly, where dissociation is regarded as an automatic process where the individual does not know that (s)he is dissociating, suppression is a conscious mechanism where avoidance by the individual is intentional. Next, while dissociation, although ranging on a continuum from normal to pathological, is usually viewed as a pathogenic defence mechanism (APA, 1994), suppression is considerably more adaptive. Finally, where suppression is a clearly defined concept which, according to Wegner (1989) "lends itself to experimental manipulation" (Muris & Merckelback, 1997, p.523), descriptions of dissociative disorders are less well defined (for further information see Frankel, 1990).

As a defence mechanism, dissociation has similarities with as well differences from other defences such as repression, denial, and splitting (Tillman et al., 1994). Where splitting and dissociation both involve actively maintaining distance between mental contents, both are used as a defence against and both contribute to identity or self-disturbance, neither splitting nor dissociation involve separating the conscious from the unconscious. Kernberg's(1975) theory of splitting suggested that objects, images and self representations are divided into 'good' and 'bad' and are then kept separate. Conversely, dissociation is not necessarily typified by this good/bad polarisation and instead involves a broader process with a variety of divisions (Tillman, et al., 1994).

However, despite the purposeful and functional approach to dissociation as a defence mechanism, Janet (1889) suggested that dissociation occurs when "vehement" emotions are experienced which may disrupt the normally integrated functions of consciousness. Although, as Cardena (1994) attests, there may have been conceptualisations of dissociation as purposeful and non-purposeful mental process, the most accurate definition likely includes both of these so that dissociation may occur simultaneously (e.g. when encountering a traumatic event or even a benign stimulus that is associated with a traumatic event) or purposefully (e.g. using hypnotic-like techniques). However, as Cardena (1994) continues, although dissociative techniques can be and often are used to distance oneself from pain, this does not mean that they inevitably serve a defensive function at all times.

Although defence mechanisms are described as a method of combating anxiety and pain, Ludwig (1983) suggested that there is another, evolution-based explanation. Here, Ludwig suggests that although it may be the case that dissociation induces a disengagement from pain caused by physical or psychological events, this happens because humans have species survival values which may be linked to the death reflex in small, slow animals. In addition, Ludwig suggests that along with this survival instinct, dissociation might also serve as a form of catharsis. Ironside (1980) continued that the dissociative experiences encountered by some humans in the aftermath of a catastrophe may be a biological conservation response utilised to preserve physical and psychological resources when encountering inescapable trauma.

4.2.5 Dissociation and Traumatic Events

Recently, researchers such as Gershuny and Thayer (1999) and Merckelback and Muris (2001) have begun to explore the etiological antecedents of dissociative episodes, with particular reference to traumatic events and experiences. In their study, Gershuny and Thayer suggest that the DES is the most widely used measure of dissociation, and one which has excellent convergent and predictive validity (van Ijzendoorn & Schuengel, 1996), although they also acknowledge that other scales have been developed (e.g. Dissociation Questionnaire by Vanderlinden, van Dyck, Vandereyeken & Vertommen, 1991).

According to this recent work, dissociative experiences act as a psychological coping mechanism whereby the impact of the traumatic event is reduced (Candel et al., 2001). However, although it has been asserted that, at the moment of the traumatic event, dissociation is highly adaptive and serves to protect our psyche from pain, feelings of helplessness and humiliation (Apitzsch, 1996) it is also claimed that those individuals who cope with trauma by dissociating are vulnerable to using this method to cope with future minor stressors (Candel et al., 2003). As a result of this, Candel et al. (2003) continue, emotional experiences tend not to integrate into a "coherent narrative" and are therefore difficult in terms of retrieval (p.720).

Although interest in the area of trauma and dissociation originally began in the early 1900's, there has been a recent resurgence in this area which has seen a growth of research examining relations between the constructs of trauma and dissociation (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999).

Research by Pierre Janet (1889) focused on dissociative processes as a response to traumatic experience. Janet originally suggested the term 'psychological dissociation' when he studied dissociation and identified that it is a primary psychological process when an individual is reacting to traumatic events. Janet continued that dissociation constitutes the initial stages of responding to trauma and that it is a critical factor in determining eventual adaptation to traumatic experience (van der Kolk & van der Hart, 1989; van der Hart & Horst, 1989). Janet conceptualised dissociation as a method of coping with trauma but suggested that individuals that continue to dissociate over a prolonged period of time could become emotionally truncated and consequently develop various forms of psychopathology (van der Kolk et al. 1996).

However, while it may be the case that dissociative experiences are the result of exposure to trauma, it is important to consider in more detail the idea of trauma and why experience of it is resultant in dissociative experiences.

The DSM-III-R (APA, 1987) defined trauma as an event "outside the range of usual human experience" which "evokes significant levels of distress in most people" (p.250). However, this definition was criticised by many, including Herman (1997) who suggested that the phrase "outside the range of usual human experience" was particularly problematic because "traumatic events are extraordinary, not because they occur rarely but rather because they overwhelm the ordinary human adaptations to life" (p.33).

It is very much the case that definitions of trauma are far from satisfactory. Events which are generally viewed by the public as awful, brutal or of a distressing nature are accepted as being traumatic while events that are not considered as such are not viewed as traumatic (APA, 1987). It is clear from this that errors may be made both in terms of defining an event as traumatic when it is not and of not defining an event as traumatic when it is. This is because account is not taken of the individual interpretation of the event or of the social / environmental context in which the event occurs (Tillman et al., 1994).

With the fourth edition of the DSM (APA, 1994) came a new conceptualisation of 'trauma'. Here, trauma was defined as an event where a person "experienced, witnessed or was confronted with an event or events that involve actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others...[and] the person's response involved fear, helplessness or horror" (pp.427-8). This, researchers suggested, was a more comprehensive definition as it is more detailed and inclusive and less restricted by the previous idea of uniqueness (Classen et al. 1993; Herman, 1997; Kilpatrick & Resnick, 1993; Mach, 1993; Spiegel & Cardena, 1991). What is also important about the DSM-IV definition is that it indicates the importance of the reaction of the individual. Gershuny and Thayer (1999) suggest that this is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, they suggest that a traumatic event is a highly subjective experience and although two or more people may experience the same event, their interpretation of it may be entirely different. Consequently, what is a traumatic event for one individual may not be for another. Therefore, the inclusion of the individual in the conceptualisation of trauma allows the subjectivity of the experience to be considered and, potentially, allows events to be defined as traumatic even if to most people they are not distressing (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999).

When assessing trauma and its related effects upon the individual it is important to consider the traumatic experience not only in terms of the type of stressor but also from the perspective of the victims own reality. Furthermore, the impact made by the traumatic stressor or stimuli will depend heavily upon the way in which the victim interprets the experience and the subsequent way in which they react to it (Maldonaldo & Spiegel, 1994). However, although firm links have been established between trauma and dissociative sympomatology, it is not yet clear whether trauma actually causes dissociative pathology.

Putnam (1991) suggested that dissociation is often considered a psychological defence mechanism, particularly for victims of traumatic events, e.g. natural disaster, sexual assault or combat. Spiegel (1991) further suggested that dissociation allows these victims a method of compartmentalising their memories and perceptions and consequently allows them to detach from the full impact of the trauma. However, Spiegel continues that the risk here is that dissociation may delay the "necessary working through of the traumatic experiences" (van Ijzendoorn & Schuengel, 1996, p.365). Ross (1997), suggests that "high levels of dissociative avoidance strategies would characterise dissociative disorders (e.g. DID, fugues) that are thought to have a traumatic aetiology" (Merckelback et al. 1999, p.962). Krystal, Bennett, Bremner, Southwick and Charney (1996) indicate that there is an increasing recognition by researchers that dissociation is a fundamental part of the human traumatic stress response.

In the general population, many people experience some variety of trauma at some time in their lives. This experience of trauma has potentially pernicious, acute and long term psychological effects (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). Although dissociative experiences are also not uncommon in members of the general population, this is particularly the case in members of the population that have experienced trauma (Kihlstrom et al. 1994; Ray & Faith, 1995, Ross et al. 1990). Further, in terms of posttraumatic stress, dissociative experiences may be identified as one of the principal features (Foa & Riggs, 1995; Foa, Riggs & Gershuny, 1995; Herman, 1997).

According to a number of researchers (e.g. Breslau, Davis, Andreski & Peterson, 1991; Elliot, 1997), traumatic events are not an uncommon occurrence in people's lives, indeed, experience of traumatic events range from affecting approx. 40% to 72% of the general population (Breslau et al., 1991; Elliott, 1997; Kessler et al, 1995; Norris, 1992; Resnick, Kilpatrick, Dansky, Saunders & Best, 1993). Classen et al. (1993) suggest that exposure to any traumatic event may result in various forms of psychological distress and although some individuals will appear seemingly psychologically unharmed from a traumatic event, others may experience psychological pain which can manifest itself in various forms of emotional distress e.g. anger, fears, phobias, and depression (Classen et al. 1993; Elliot, 1997). While dissociation may occur after the traumatic event (Bremner et al., 1993; Chu & Dill, 1990; van der Kolk et al. 1996) it may also occur at the time of the traumatic event – referred to as peritraumatic dissociation (Bremner et al., 1992; Classen et al., 1993, Marmar et al., 1994; Tichenor, Marmar, Weiss, Metzler & Ronfeldt, 1996). However, although researchers have studied peritraumatic and post-traumatic dissociation with regard to traumatic events, trait researchers argue that it is an element of individual character prior to experiencing trauma which "further impacts psychological symptoms in the survivor" (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999 p.639).

According to the trauma – dissociation view, dissociation acts as a coping mechanism which serves to reduce the impact of the traumatic event (Candel, Merckelback & Kuijpers, 2003). Apitzsch (1996) continues, "dissociation at the moment of trauma is highly adaptive. It serves to defend self-consciousness from being contaminated by overwhelming pain, humiliation and feelings of helplessness" (p.334). However, it has also been argued that those individuals that cope with trauma by dissociating leave themselves vulnerable to allowing the pattern to continue as a response to minor stressors. Consequently, "emotional experiences would not integrate into a coherent narrative and would be difficult to retrieve" (Candel et al., 2003, p.720).

Although it has been determined that dissociation serves as a response to witnessing or being involved in a traumatic event, it is important to consider the function of dissociation in relation to trauma. It has been suggested that in times of trauma or overwhelming stress, dissociation acts as a psychological escape when actual physical escape is impossible (e.g. Herman, 1997; Ludwig, 1983; Kihlstrom, 1990). Herman (1997) further suggests that the fight or flight response that is typical of threatening situations often occurs but in some instances neither fighting nor fleeing may be possible. When this situation occurs, the individual flees cognitively and emotionally via an alteration of consciousness. According to Herman, this alteration may be the key to dissociative phenomena such as detachment and emotional numbing.

While these suggestions are important in helping the understanding of the function of dissociation it is also important to consider why dissociation appears to have a binding connection to trauma in particular. Kihlstrom (1990) suggests that dissociation may act as a way of denying introspective access to specific mental contents (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999), consequently protecting the individual from conscious awareness of the full impact of the event and its ramifications (Van der

Kolk, 1996). In this way, Litz (1992) suggests that painful affects and memories of the trauma are avoided – at least temporarily.

There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that dissociation occurs during traumatisation, particularly in those individuals that go on to develop PTSD (Bremner et al., 1992; Bremner, Steinberg, Southwick, Johnson, Cahrney, 1993; Janet, 1889; Spiegel & Cardena, 1991) where individuals experiencing dissociation may encounter confusion, emotional dulling, and even catatonia (Krystal, 1968). The convergence of dissociative states, traumatic memories, and hyper-arousal is indicated by the most distinctive PTSD symptom: flashbacks (Krystal et al. 1996).

Although dissociation offers a valuable means of escape for the traumatised individual, use of dissociative techniques over a prolonged period may be troublesome for the individual as an interference with everyday functioning occurs. Van der Kolk (1996) and van der Kolk, van der Hart and Marmar (1996) suggest that long term dissociation may result in an almost comprehensive disconnection from others. Foa and Hearst-Ikeda (1996) continue that long term dissociation may impede the information and emotional processing of the traumatic event responsible for triggering the dissociative state and this in time can encourage and sustain post-traumatic stress. In order for post-traumatic emotional healing to occur, it is essential that the "symptom structures" are activated. Dissociative episodes can prevent this activation and consequently exacerbate (rather than assuage) the symptoms of trauma (Foa & Kozak, 1986). Therefore, the continued presence of dissociation in the long term can hinder adaptive functioning (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). Although dissociation is an effective means of psychological escape when emotional anguish is acute, it is necessary for some traumatised individuals to take extra measures to achieve complete dissociation. Gershuny and Thayer (1999) suggest that bingeing and purging whereby emotional numbness is achieved directly after eating / purging is an example of these 'extra measures' that are sometimes taken.

Although in some cases long term dissociation does occur with potentially deleterious effects, the majority of individuals that experience trauma do not experience distress in the long term (e.g., developing PTSD) and therefore factors other than the actual trauma must be considered when examining the relationship between trauma and distress. Merckelback, Dekkers, Wessel and Roefs (2003) argue that traumatic memories can also cause dissociative episodes in individuals. Porter and Birt (2001) and Shobe and Kihlstrom (1997) suggest that it is not merely the emotional content of traumatic memories and memories of non-traumatic events that differ, but also the way in which these events are organised. Van der Kolk (1996) and van der Kolk and Fisler (1995) suggested that because the two types of memories are organised in qualitatively different ways, there is a certain uniqueness of traumatic memories causing trauma survivors to experience autobiographical memory disturbances (psychogenic or dissociative amnesia, for example) and intrusions (e.g. flashbacks and or nightmares). These experiences have strong sensory and photographic qualities (Merckelback et al., 2003) and this disharmony between weak narrative memory and intrusions is referred to as dissociative fragmentation, which van der Kolk (1996) suggests is the "vehicle behind trauma related psychopathology" (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999, p.352).

Irwin (1998) further suggests that these high scores of dissociation are positively correlated with other indicators of trauma, e.g. unresolved affective states. Further, members of the non-clinical population that demonstrate these tendencies are identified as having a dissociative defensive style (Spiegel, 1986) or a dissociative coping style (Irwin, 1998). It is suggested that these coping / defensive styles are induced by severe, moderate, and mild negative affects and, as a consequence, dissociation becomes a method of regulating both threatening and non-threatening aversive affects (Dorahy & Schumaker, 1997).

Although there are established links between direct personal traumatic experiences, it has been suggested that indirect experiences (e.g. witnessing violence rather than being a victim of it) are similarly responsible for dissociative experiences as direct experiences are (e.g. Singer, Anglin, Song & Lunghofer, 1995). Although is has been observed that experiencing trauma is resultant in dissociative states, it is also suggested that witnessing traumatic events is a precursor to experiencing dissociation. Freinkel, Koopman and Spiegel (1994) determined that symptoms of emotional numbing, cognitive avoidance and derealisation were more prevalent than symptoms of anxiety immediately after witnessing a traumatic event (in this case the execution of another person). In addition, Freinkel et al. (1994) observed that the frequency of these symptoms were as high as those reported by natural disaster survivors although they did not persist over the same length of time. Freinkel et al. (1994) concluded that "dissociative experiences during and immediately after a trauma are frequent and are strongly associated with persistent post-trauma reactions" (Foa & Hearst-Ikeda, 1996, p.216).

In addition to this positive relationship between trauma and dissociation, Irwin (1998) has identified that there is a positive relationship between guilt and dissociation in the non-clinical population. Further, a number of researchers (e.g. Bagley, 1995; Price, 1990) have suggested that high levels of guilt can be linked with more frequent dissociative episodes (e.g. Irwin, 1994; Sanders & Giolas, 1991). As Kubany (1994), Langa (1986) and Piorkowski (1983) assert, severe guilt is experienced often because individuals direct the cause of the traumatic event toward themselves and consequently the victim experiences feelings of guilt that should be encountered by the perpetrator (Prince, 1990).

However, despite these assertions by Kubany (1994) and Prince (1990), Dorahy and Schumaker (1997) attest that there is no intrinsic relationship between dissociation and guilt. They suggest that a third variable is likely to be responsible for the relationship between guilt and dissociation. For example, traumatic experiences have been found to produce acute feelings of guilt (Bagley, 1995; Prince, 1990) and increased levels of dissociation. Therefore, Dorahy and Schumaker (1997) suggest that traumatic experiences are likely to be the mediating factor which causes the relationship between guilt and dissociation.

This assertion that guilt is not independently associated with dissociation is supported by the work of Baumeister, Stillvell & Heatherton (1994) who suggest that guilt is an interpersonal emotion which is necessary for social well-being. Further, Baumeister et al. (1994) suggest that feelings of guilt are caused by lapses in personal relationships and Lewis (1993) continues that the guilt which follows these lapses causes us to take action to redress the balance. Dorahy and Schumaker (1997) suggest that if the function of dissociation is to protect the conscious mind from feelings of guilt, the steps that are taken to redress the balance after these lapses occur would be less likely. As a result of this, Dorahy and Schumaker (1997) continue, "dissociation as a defence mechanism against mild guilt is inconsistent with the interpersonal theory of guilt" (p.970).

Gershuny and Thayer (1999) suggest that dissociation in response to traumatic events or experiences may relate to very basic fears – especially fears relating to death and loss / lack of control. In all traumatic experiences, Gershuny and Thayer (1999) suggest, the possibility of losing or lacking control and or the possibility of dying is present. As Herman (1997) concludes, "the common denominator of psychological trauma is a feeling of intense fear, helplessness, loss of control and threat of annihilation" (p.33). Gershuny and Thayer (1999) further speculate that a fear about control may have occurred in individuals who experience trauma and that these people have been fearful of losing control: these people were not in control at the time of the event and consequently fear losing control in the future. Gershuny and Thayer (1999) conclude that it is possible that at a "fundamental level, dissociation relates to a fear of losing control or not being in control and that this connection in part accounts for relations among trauma, dissociation and trauma related distress" (p.649). Gershuny and Thayer continue that not all traumatised individuals who hold greater fears about losing control during or not being in control after a traumatic event are the same individuals who experience greater levels of distress and dissociation.

However, fear of losing control is not the only factor which may occur either during or after a traumatic experience. Fear of death is also a factor that has been suggested

(Herman, 1997; Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). An encounter with death arouses intense fear and discomfort (Kastenbaum, 1992; Soloman, Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1992) and when an individual experiences a traumatic event in which the possibility of death is real, fears about death or death anxiety can enter conscious awareness. Death anxiety is therefore at its most accessible when faced with the possibility of dying (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999).

According to Lifton and Olson (1999), one way of protecting oneself from death anxiety is via a process known as psychic numbing – in itself a dissociative phenomenon. Here, as with fears about losing control, death anxiety may be present both during and after the traumatic event and, in addition, it is possible that death anxiety is increased by the uncontrollable nature of death – the possible view that death would indicate the ultimate in loss of control (Feifel, 1990). As a result of these assertions, Gershuny and Thayer (1999) indicate that an "interaction between fears about loss / lack of control and fears about death may be powerful predictors of the development of dissociation and trauma-related distress" (p.649). They further assert that dissociation may be resultant because sufficient amelioration of such fears (e.g. of death) is not cognitively or physically possible. As a consequence, higher levels of trauma related distress might occur as a result of the development and maintenance of dissociative phenomena (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999).

Research by Bolstad and Zinborg (1997) has determined that the development of PTSD can be predicted by a perceived lack of controllability, and further research (e.g. Rothbaum, Foa, Riggs, Murdock & Walsh, 1992) has asserted that dissociation and PTSD are related to death salience both during and after the traumatic event.

However, as Gershuny and Thayer (1999) attest, research in this area has not focused upon the relationship between death control fears and trauma-related distress and they further suggest that it is likely that this relationship would exist: "death salience and perceptions of not having control would likely not be meaningfully related to distress or dissociation if there was not something upsetting about such salience and perceptions" (p.650).

It has been proposed (Lang, 1977; 1979) that fear is represented as a memory structure that includes information regarding feared stimuli, psychological and motor responses, and interpretative information about their meaning. Further, Lang suggested that if a structure of fear involves a schema for an escape from danger then it necessarily must involve some information indicating that the trauma-related stimuli and or the responses are a danger. It is the meaning of this information that marks a fear structure as different from other cognitive structures (Foa & Kozak, 1986).

Most people experience fear in normal everyday circumstances and this 'normal' fear occurs when an individual perceives a threat which declines when the danger is removed (Foa & Hearst-Ikeda, 1996). Foa and Kozak (1986) continue that a fear becomes pathological when "it is extremely intense and when it persists, despite information that it is unrealistic" (p.217). In addition to this, Foa and Hearst-Ikeda (1996) suggest that pathological fear structures include unrealistic elements which suggest that stimulus-stimulus associations do not represent the world accurately and also that erroneous associations between non-dangerous stimuli and escape responses are indicative of pathological fear structures. Further, in addition to these mistaken associations, victims with pathological fear also make erroneous evaluations. They have a tendency to believe that anxiety will persist until the fearful situation is evaded and that physical or psychological harm will be caused by the feared stimuli and that the consequences which they fear will have a highly negative effect (Foa & Hearst-Ikeda, 1996).

Although it is generally agreed that most forms of trauma have the potential to result in dissociative experiences, the area which has been most widely researched in terms of causation of dissociative experiences is childhood abuse (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). Many researchers (e.g. Kroll, Fiszdon & Crosby, 1996; Waldinger, Swett, Frank & Miller, 1994) have identified physical and sexual childhood abuse as strong correlates of dissociation with incestuous abuse correlating especially highly (Lipshchitz, Kaplan, Sorkenn, Chorney & Asnis, 1996). In addition to these findings, Zlotnik, Shea, Zaleriski, Costello, Begin, Pearlstein and Simpson (1995) suggest that higher numbers of perpetrators cause higher levels of dissociation, as does greater severity of sexual abuse (Carson et al., 1998; Kirby, Chu & Dill, 1993) and more frequent abuse (Kirby et al., 1993). Terr (1991) provided support for the proposal that trauma is aetiologically linked to dissociation from observing children who experience extreme stress such as sexual, physical or psychological abuse.

A number of researchers (e.g. Anderson, Yasenik & Ross, 1993; Dancu, Riggs, Hearst-Ikeda, Shayer & Foa, 1996) have suggested that dissociative experiences in adulthood appear to be highly related to childhood abuse. However, in these non-clinical samples it was determined that the effect of childhood abuse on adult dissociation was removed when considering family pathology as a covariate (Nash, Hulsey, Sexton, Harralson & Lambert, 1993). This would suggest that family pathology is an important factor in the relationship between dissociation and childhood abuse (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999).

Ross (1996) has suggested that dissociative amnesia occurs most commonly in those who have experienced severe childhood trauma but who do not experience other, more complex dissociative disorders. It has been suggested (Ross, 1996) that this dissociative amnesia may occur for all life events from a certain age right back to birth or there may be complete amnesia for a period of several years with intact memories both before and after.

In addition to the prevalence of dissociation following repeated exposure to traumatic events during childhood, a number of studies (e.g. Solomon & Mikulincer, 1992) have identified the use of dissociation during combat and that these dissociations are related to post-traumatic reactions. However, what Solomon and Mikulincer (1992) did determine was that intrusion and avoidance symptoms of dissociation decreased over time and the peritraumatic dissociative symptoms that were reported (i.e. during combat) were associated with chronic post-traumatic reactions.

However, according to Tillman et al. (1994) there are evidential and methodological considerations that mitigate against construing trauma as an external efficient cause. In terms of methodology, the first problem is of defining trauma in the available literature. For example, Tillman et al. (1994) suggest that "many theorists have assumed that childhood sexual abuse is by definition traumatic. Yet a more recent review questions whether all cases of sexual abuse necessarily involve overwhelming affect, fear for safety and helplessness (Kendall-Tackett et al. 1993)" (Tillman et al., 1994, p.404).

Secondly, there is a problem with defining and operationalising dissociation. With satisfactory split half and test re-test reliability, the Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES) (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986) is widely used in assessing dissociative symptoms. However, although there is reason to believe that patients with and without dissociative disorders score differently on the scale (Frisctiholz, Brown, Sachs & Hopkins, 1990) there is also evidence to suggest that a large part of an individuals DES score can be attributed to gross psychopathology in general rather than specific dissociative pathology and it is possible then that when the scores of the non-traumatised patients are succeeded by those of traumatised patients, the difference has more to do with gross pathology than actual dissociation (Tillman et al., 1994). Furthermore, many of the researchers identifying this causal link between trauma and dissociation fail to consider other factors present in the child's environment. Alexander and Lupfer (1987) indicated that families where abuse occurs are more pathological than those non-abusing families and consequently display higher levels of role / boundary confusion, more rigid behavioural control and less cohesiveness and adaptability. Consequently, differences in levels of psychopathology between abused and non-abused samples may be due to the effects of living in a pathogenic environment and not because of the experience of trauma (Tillman et al., 1994)).

Sackheim (1993) and Schumaker (1995) have suggested that dissociation is the "basis for the uniquely human ability to manipulate reality through such processes as self-deception and automatic acceptance of suggestions" (Dorahy & Lewis, 2001, p. 315).

In accordance with this suggestion, Schumaker (1995) has proposed a unified theory encompassing religion, hypnosis, and psychopathology, suggesting that these three behavioural patterns are all forms of manipulation or distortion of reality. Further, Dorahy and Lewis (2001) suggest that the ability to disconnect and reconnect mental processes underpin these manipulations, and this, Hilgard (1986) maintains, is the ultimate characteristic of dissociation. It has been suggested that 'religiousness' is a counterpart of psychopathology and involves a degree of irrational thinking and emotional disturbance (Ellis, 1980).

4.2.6 Dissociation and Religion

During a state of dissociation, there occurs a disengagement of the higher rational mental processes (Hilgard, 1986; Ludwig, 1983) and it has been shown that practice effects influence dissociation (Kilbourne, 1983; Simpson, 1996). Within a religious context, dissociation is facilitated by religious ritual and Schumaker (1995) concludes that this ritualistic behaviour that occurs during religious worship enables individuals to "enter either an overt or more implicit dissociative mental state" (Dorahy & Lewis, 2001, p.316).

In terms of their research, Dorahy and Lewis (2001) aimed to assess the relationship between dissociation and religiosity and did so utilising the DES. Dorahy and Lewis identify this measure of dissociation as the most frequently used one of its kind and explain the response scale as a percentage point scale which ranges from 0-100, with percentage points indicated at 10% intervals. One issue with this, however, is that respondents are likely, even encouraged, to circle whole numbers, e.g. indicating that an event happens to them 30% of the time, or 70% of the time, and while this may make scoring the scale easier for researchers, it does nothing to allow the respondents to freely express themselves without being limited by imposed intervals on the scale.

According to Price and Snow (1998), healthy dissociation may be observed as a "process in which the individual maintains the integrity of the self while transcending the physical reality of the mundane" (p.260). In terms of the association between dissociation and religion, it has been suggested that religion often provides the triggers for normal, non-pathological dissociative experiences (Dorahy, UR).

Moreover, Price and Snow (1998) argue that all religious services are characterised by dissociation in some way and that religious dissociation is an integral part in experiencing faith. Dorahy and Lewis (2001) continue that dissociative states which are often induced by this ritualistic behaviour often play an important role in religious celebration as less resistance is made to the religious suggestions which strengthen the beliefs. If it is the case that dissociation is indeed induced by such practice effects, it has been suggested that individuals with 'rigid' religious beliefs will experience greater dissociation during their lives than those without these beliefs (Dorahy & Lewis, 2001). Counts (1990) continues that trance-like behaviours which are sometimes witnessed in 'high demand' religious movements also act as a cue for an induced dissociative state and in terms of understanding the phenomena of dissociation in a religious setting it is that shift from a normal state to a dissociative state that is often aided by the presence of some 'trigger stimuli' (Dorahy, UR).

In his work on dissociation, Schumaker (1992) has concluded that heightened levels of suggestibility are commensurate with dissociative states because during this time higher order executive functions are not cognitively occurring whereas under non-dissociative circumstances, irrational or inconsistent information is disregarded by these cognitive processes and therefore information suggested to a non-dissociating individual may be criticised and disregarded whereas the dissociating person may accept these ideas because they are not being subjected to close cognitive scrutiny. Dorahy, Schumaker and Lewis (1997) and Dorahy, Lewis and Schumaker (1998) have supported the theory that the appropriate context (religious worship) coupled with the appropriate stimuli (religious suggestion) results in a dissociative state which operates as a way of strengthening convictions to religious principles (Dorahy, UR).

In terms of dissociation in a religious setting, dissociative cues consist of external stimuli and the psychological state induced by these stimuli which leads to a dissociative state or experience (Dorahy, UR). In addition to this, it is critical to understand that dissociative states in religious settings are induced not only by these external stimuli but also by the presence of a psychological environment which is dissociation accommodating (Dorahy, UR).

If, as Spiegel (1988) suggests, dissociation is responsible for a kind of fragmentation of the self, this could explain Dorahy's (UR) suggestion that group cohesion is aided by dissociation and helps provide individuals with a sense of attachment with others. In terms of dissociation in a religious setting, dissociative states "make it possible to enter more fully into the experience of faith and continue that experience so that faith is nurtured" (Price & Snow, 1998, p.259).

It has been further suggested that to maintain mental health, a manipulation of reality is necessary (Schumaker, 1995) in order to make events fit with existing personal and cultural frameworks and further that, in terms of religion, religious beliefs constitute this adaptive manipulation or reality regulation (Schumaker, 1995). Indeed, increased religious attitudes and belief scores are often associated with improved mental health (e.g. Batson & Ventis, 1992; Donahue, 1985; Dorahy, Lewis, Schumaker, Sibiya, Akuamoah-Boateng & Duke, 1998). In addition, Schumaker (1992b) concluded that non-religious people experience significantly more psychological disturbance than their religious counterparts.

4.2.7 Dissociation in Northern Ireland

In 1987, Rose identified Northern Ireland as one of the most religious countries in the western world and if the suggestions made regarding the links between religion and dissociation are correct (e.g. Price & Snow, 1998; Schumaker, 1995) then there is strong reason to believe that the population of Northern Ireland would dissociate on a greater level than those populations indigenous to other countries. In addition to this, given the social and political unrest by which Northern Ireland has been characterised in recent times, it has often provided a natural environment for assessment of responses to trauma (Cairns & Darby, 1998). However, it is only in recent times that the focus of research has shifted to include dissociation and consequently until recently little was know about direct exposure to political violence. Further, although dissociation research is coming to the fore in Northern Ireland, there remains a paucity of research conducted in this area with members of the Irish Diaspora and thus little is known about their exposure to political violence.

Dorahy et al. (2003) determined that in the Northern Irish population, higher non-pathological dissociation scores were correlated with direct exposure to political violence while age, moral standards and perceived impact of trauma were identified as significant predictors of non-pathological dissociation. In terms of the perceived impact of trauma, Dorahy et al. (2003) suggest that at a non-clinical level, the perception of certain events as traumatic could be an "important cognitive – developmental variable for a dissociative coping or dissociative defence style" (p.18). However, as Irwin (1998) and Spiegel (1986) point out, this traumatic perception possibly works to predispose the individual to maladaptive dissociative tendencies if accompanying conditions are apparent. However, while Dorahy et al. (2003) acknowledge this suggestion they continue that "adherence to strict standards" may actually serve to reduce susceptibility to dissociation at the non-clinical level (p.18).

It has been suggested (Wilson & Cairns, 1992) that as a result of the strong community ties that exist in Northern Ireland, the psychological effects of violence "extend far beyond the immediate relatives of the victims" (p.247). Consequently, it is possible that most, if not all, people in Northern Ireland are affected psychologically by the 'Troubles' and the related societal instability (e.g. Wilson, & Cairns, 1996). In order to deal with this instability and with the political violence present within society, research has identified two mechanisms which are commonly employed within the Northern Irish population: denial and distancing (Dorahy & Lewis, 1998). Cairns and Wilson (1989) have suggested that these strategies have been consistently identified in samples that have been exposed to persistent political violence.

However, although denial and distancing are coping mechanisms which are actively employed by individuals after exposure to trauma (especially political violence and especially in Northern Ireland), dissociation in automatic and involuntary and unlike denial and distancing, dissociation is a psychological response which is elicited both during (peri-) and after (post-) trauma rather than just after the event (Spiegel, 1986). Consequently, dissociation is an immediate and automatic psychological reaction to trauma, which is not dependent upon active cognitive processes (Counts, 1990).

In addition to this, although direct and indirect exposure to political violence can elicit dissociative states, there are other indirect factors which might lead to dissociation in the Northern Ireland population (Dorahy & Lewis, 1998). Irwin (1994a) has suggested that dissociation levels are often increased in individuals who experienced the death or long-term loss of a parent as a child and also that dissociation is enhanced by feelings of unresolved grief (Irwin, 1994b). Northern Ireland has seen a resurgence of political violence since the late 1960s (informally known as the 'Troubles') and with the exception of the ceasefire of August 1994 – February 1996 and the later cessation of armed conflict, paramilitary violence has been a continual source of stress for the people of Northern Ireland (Wilson & Cairns, 1996).

The 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland have been estimated to be directly responsible for in excess of 3,600 deaths and injuries to over 30,000 people (Cairns, Wilson, Gallagher & Trew, 1995; Hewstone et al., 2005; Morrissey & Smyth, 1997; Wilson & Cairns, 1996). In addition, it has been suggested that 10% of the population have had relatives killed as a result of the 'Troubles' while 50% of people know someone who had been killed (Smith, 1987). Wilson and Cairns (1992) indicate that as a result of the strong community ties that exist in Northern Ireland, the psychological effects of the 'Troubles' "extend far beyond the immediate relatives of the victims" (p.247). As a result of this, and the assertion that violence associated with the 'Troubles' has failed to be isolated or predictable (Wilson & Cairns, 1992), researchers have suggested that the majority of people in Northern Ireland are psychologically affected by the political and societal instability in Northern Ireland (Cairns et al., 1995; Wilson & Cairns, 1992; Wilson & Cairns, 1996).

In addition to the external and psychological factors that have been seen to influence levels of dissociation are the religious variables and consequently researchers have begun to "consider religion as a potential covariate in relationships between dissociative tendencies and measures of aversive experience" (Dorahy & Lewis, 1998, pp. 339-340).

Given the information presented here, the aim of the current research, in terms of dissociation, is to assess the non-pathological dissociative experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England, and to determine any relationship these dissociative experiences might have with religious orientations, religious practice, and direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events.

4.3 Conclusion

This literature review has addressed research on the psychological and scientific study of dissociation and dissociative experiences. It has considered the early development of research into dissociation, and the re-emergence of this research in the twentieth century (e.g. Ross, 1996). The review has focused on the difficulties faced by researchers when attempting to define the concept of dissociation (e.g. Cardena, 1994), and has considered suggestions that definitions of dissociation should include reference to a disruption in the integrated functions of conscious awareness, memory, and identity (Fishbain et al., 2001) as well as reference to errant perceptions of time and the environment (Kwapil et al., 2002).

The review then considered the concepts of pathological and non-pathological dissociation, and they way in which these concepts manifest themselves, e.g. pathological dissociation is characterised by amnesia, depersonalisation, and derealisation, while non-pathological dissociation is typified by absorption and imaginative involvement (APA, 1994; Ross et al., 1991).

The suggestion of dissociation ranging on a continuum from non-pathological to pathological (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986; Braun, 1986; Ross, 1985) was assessed, as was the more recent conclusion that while it is possible to view non-pathological dissociation as a continuum, pathological dissociation is more accurately viewed as a taxon of experiences (Waller et al., 1996).

The literature review continued with a critical evaluation of dissociation as a defence mechanism (e.g. Putnam, 1995) and an assessment of the relationship between dissociation and trauma (e.g. Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). The review considered the potential hazards of employing dissociation as a long-term coping strategy (Foa & Hearst-Ikeda, 1996), and examined the suggestion that utilising dissociation as a permanent method of coping with fear of death, loss of control, or death anxiety can lead to the development of PTSD (Bolstad & Zinborg, 1997).

The review went on to consider the relationship between religion and dissociation (e.g. Price & Snow, 1998; Schumaker, 1995) and addressed Dorahy's (UR) suggestion that religious settings are often viewed as dissociation accommodating psychological environments.

The review concluded with a critical examination of the relationship between religion, trauma, and non-pathological dissociation in Northern Ireland, and considered research which suggests that higher non-pathological dissociation scores in Northern Ireland are positively correlated with exposure to political violence, and that the perception of events in Northern Ireland as traumatic is important in terms of developing a non-pathological dissociative defensive style (Dorahy et al., 2003).

Chapter 5

Research Hypotheses

Based on the literature reviewed in the previous chapters, a number of hypotheses were proposed.

Given Stern's (1995) suggestion that social identity is bound together with nationality, and that individuals have attachments to their nation of origin which are rooted in ties such as ethnicity, language, race, culture, religion, community, and kinship, it is hypothesised that:

- **There will be significant differences between the social, national, and political identities of members of the Northern Irish Diaspora and the Diaspora from the Republic of Ireland.**

Research by Waddell and Cairns (1986) suggests that social identity in Northern Ireland is best explained in terms of two competing ethnopolitical identities, Irish and British, which are underscored by the Catholic and Protestant religions, and continued that the two communities in Northern Ireland remain divided, in terms of their social identities, on every occasion. In addition to this, Boekestijn (1988) has suggested that, in diasporic communities, identities based around religion are highly salient, likely because religion remains a stable concept around which to base ones identity (Mol, 1976; Seul 1999). Based on these suggestions, it is hypothesised that:

- **There will be significant differences between the social, national, and political identities of members of the Catholic and Protestant Northern Irish diasporic group.**

Given Vertovec's (2000) suggestion that mainland Britain is a "predominantly irreligious society" (p.16), the suggestion made by Demerath (2000) that, within Europe, Northern Ireland is the country with the highest overall level of religious participation, and Levitt's (2003) suggestion that Irish emigrants find it difficult to separate their sense of Irishness from their sense of Catholic-ness, it is hypothesised that:

- **There will be significant differences between the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, the Northern Irish Diaspora and the English control group in terms of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy.**

A number of authors (e.g. Greeley, 1963; Demaria & Kassinove, 1988) have documented the differences in terms of religious conviction and religious orientations between Catholics and Protestants. Hutchinson, Patock-Peckham, Cheong and Nagoshi (1998) indicate that Catholic respondents are identified as being more intrinsically religious than their Protestant counterparts. In addition to this, research Stack (1983) has suggested that the Catholic Church is characterised by a more rigid hierarchy, and Deconchy (1984) suggests that levels of religious orthodoxy are more likely to be elevated in those individuals whose religion serves as a form of social control. Based on these theories, it is hypothesised that:

- **There will be significant differences between the Catholic and Protestant Northern Irish Diasporic groups in terms of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy.**

Previous research (Dorahy, UR) has suggested that religion often provides the triggers for normal, non-pathological dissociative experiences, and Price and Snow (1998) have argued that all religious services are characterised by dissociation as this is integral in terms of experiencing faith. In addition to this, Rose, (1987) has identified Northern Ireland as one of the most religious countries in the western world and if the suggestions made by Stern (1995) are correct and ones sense of identity is centred around religion, then it is a reasonable assumption that the population of Northern Ireland, even the Diasporic population, will dissociate on a greater level than those populations belonging to seemingly irreligious societies, e.g. mainland Britain (Vertovec, 2000). In addition to this, the social and political unrest by which Northern Ireland has been characterised has often provided a natural environment for assessment of responses to trauma (Cairns & Darby, 1998). Dorahy, Lewis, Millar, and Gee (2003) determined that in the Northern Irish population that direct exposure to political violence was identified as significant predictor of non-pathological dissociation. Based on this information, it was hypothesised that:

- **There will be significant differences in levels of dissociation between the Northern Irish Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora and the English control group, with the Northern Irish Diasporic group exhibiting the highest overall levels of dissociation.**

Based on the suggestion that within a religious context, dissociation is facilitated by religious ritual (Schumaker, 1995), Dorahy's (UR) suggestion that religion often provides the triggers for normal, non-pathological dissociative experiences, Stack's (1983) suggestion that Catholic individuals are more likely to have feelings of guilt and Irwin's (1998) identification that there is a positive relationship between guilt and dissociation in the non-clinical population, it is hypothesised that:

- **There will be a significant difference in levels of dissociation between the Catholic and Protestant Northern Irish Diasporic groups.**

Research has suggested that traumatic experiences have been found to produce increased levels of dissociation (Bagley, 1995; Prince, 1990) and further research has indicated that indirect experiences (e.g. witnessing violence rather than being a victim of it) are as responsible for dissociative experiences as direct experiences (e.g. Singer, Anglin, Song & Lunghofer, 1995). Dorahy and Lewis (1998) have also concluded that direct and indirect exposure to political violence can elicit states of dissociation (Dorahy & Lewis, 1998). Based on these research suggestions, it is hypothesised that:

- **Levels of dissociation will be significantly predicted by levels of direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events, with higher levels of dissociation resulting from greater direct and indirect exposure to these events.**

Research by Dorahy, Schumaker and Lewis (1997) and Dorahy, Lewis and Schumaker (1998) has suggested that there is a positive correlation between strength of Christian beliefs and dissociation and that, in a religious setting, dissociation helps individuals form cohesive groups and provides them with a sense of attachment with fellow worshipers. Simpson (1996) continues that that because practice effects influence dissociation, those individuals who are more receptive to dissociative experiences are likely to be those who have a rigid belief system – and are therefore those who are more likely to be orthodox or intrinsically religious. Based on these suggestions, it is hypothesised that:

- **Levels of dissociation will be significantly predicted by religious orientations, with intrinsic religious orientation predicting significantly greater levels of dissociation.**

Research by Ferguson (1990) has suggested that republican violence has forced Protestants into a position where they are fearful of identifying themselves as Irish, and continues that this reaction against republican violence, coupled with a desire to illustrate allegiance to Britain, has lead to an increase in British identifications and a decline not only in Irish but also in Ulster identifications in Northern Ireland. Moxon-Browne (1983) continues that this reluctance to identify with Ulster may also be due, in part, to the similarly violent actions of loyalist paramilitary organisations such as the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force. Based on this information, the current study will test the hypothesis that:

- **Levels of dissociation will be significantly predicted by social, national, and political identities for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora;**

Given the social and political unrest by which Northern Ireland has been characterised in recent times, the province provides a natural environment for the assessment of responses to trauma (Cairns & Darby, 1998). In addition to this, because England and the Republic of Ireland are not characterised by this violence, it is hypothesised that:

- **There will be significant differences between the levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Irish Diaspora, Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the English control group, with the Northern Irish Diaspora experiencing significantly higher levels of exposure to traumatic events.**

Wilson & Cairns (1992) have suggested that as a result of the strong community ties that exist in Northern Ireland, the psychological effects of violence "extend far beyond the immediate relatives of the victims" (p.247). As a result of this, it is expected that most, if not all, people in Northern Ireland are affected psychologically by the 'Troubles' (e.g. Wilson, & Cairns, 1996). Given the close ties that do exist in Northern Irish society, both among the resident population and among the resident population and their families abroad, Singer et al.'s (1995) suggestion that indirect experiences (e.g. witnessing violence rather than being a victim of it) are as responsible for dissociative experiences as direct experiences, and Dorahy & Lewis' (1998) suggestion that indirect exposure to political violence can elicit dissociative states in a Northern Irish population, it is hypothesised that:

- **There will be significant differences between levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Catholic Northern Irish Diaspora, Protestant Northern Irish Diaspora and the English control group, with both the Catholic and Protestant Diasporic groups experiencing higher levels of exposure to traumatic events than the English control group.**

Research by Pargament (1997) suggests that religion and religious involvement may protect psychological and physiological health against the impact of stress, indicating that religiosity may be interpreted as a coping process. Ross (1990) continues that lower levels of psychological distress are experienced by individuals with strong religious beliefs, while Gershuny & Thayer (1999) indicate that religion may be an effective defence mechanism for dealing with the fear of loss of control and death. Given these suggestions, it is suggested that:

- **There will be significant correlations between exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations.**

Research by Ferguson (1990) and Moxon-Browne (1983) suggests that certain identities in the Northern Irish population are associated with loyalist and republican violence. It is therefore suggested that:

- **Levels of exposure to traumatic events will be significantly predicted by social, national, and political identities for the Northern Irish Diaspora.**

Chapter 6

Methodology

Design

The aim of this investigation was to assess the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England. A between groups design was employed throughout this study, with each group containing several subgroups for analysis. The groups contained in this study were: The Diasporic group, which consisted of a group of people belonging to the Northern Irish Diaspora and a group of people belonging to the Irish Diaspora, and the English control group. Each Diasporic group contained subgroups of Catholic respondents and Protestant respondents.

The dependent variables in this study were multiple. Depending upon the research question that was being answered, the dependent variables were: dissociative experiences, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy. The independent variables were, at differing stages in the analysis, exposure to traumatic events, social, national, and political identity, and religious orientation.

Participants

Participants were sampled using a variety of techniques and strategies.

The Irish and Northern Irish Diasporic Group:

2002 Data Collection:

Postal surveys were conducted in order to sample Irish and Northern Irish students attending university in Liverpool. In 2002, 316 students were targeted using this method of sampling. Of these 316, twenty-nine responses were elicited.

2003 Data Collection:

In 2003, Irish and Northern Irish cultural clubs and community organisations were contacted and links were established with these clubs and organisations. Information regarding the study was given to these groups and as a result, 104 questionnaires were distributed through these networks. Of the 104 opportunity sampled individuals who were sampled via these organisations, 38 responses were elicited.

Following the sample that was obtained from the community organisations and cultural clubs, a snowball method of sampling was employed in order to contact members of the general population that considered themselves members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora. Employing this method of sampling, 103 members of these diasporic groups were contacted. Of these 103, 72 responses were elicited.

Also in 2003, a further 730 Irish and Northern Irish students in Liverpool were sampled using a postal survey. Of these 730, eighty-five responses were gathered.

Finally, an online organisation known as irishdiaspora.net was contacted. The researcher became a member of this organisation, and, after discussions with the website managers, the questionnaire was sent to 800 members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England who used this online service. These 800 individuals were selected using opportunity sampling. Of the 800 questionnaires that were mailed, electronically, to these respondents, 27 were completed and returned.

A total of 2053 members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora were sampled during the course of this study. Of these 2053, 251 returned completed questionnaires that were included in this study as responses from members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora.

The Control Group

In order to develop an English control group, a variety of sampling procedures were again employed.

2002 Data Collection:

In 2002, 342 students were sampled using a postal survey. Of these, 54 responses were elicited and included in the final sample.

2003 Data Collection:

251 students were sampled, again using a postal survey. Of these, 43 responses were elicited and included in the final sample.

An opportunity sample of the general population was taken and 194 questionnaires were distributed. Of these, 47 responses were elicited. As a result of carrying out this opportunity sample, a snowball sample of the general population followed and another 33 responses were obtained.

A total of 820 English individuals were sampled during the course of this study. Of these, 177 completed questionnaires were returned and were included in this study as responses from the English control group.

The total respondent pool for this study was 428 individuals with an age range of 17-62 yrs (M=24.26, SD=8.89). Of these, 130 were male, with an age range of 17-62 yrs (M=23.71, SD = 8.53) and 298 were female with an age range of 17-57 yrs (M=24.52, SD=9.05).

Of these 428, 251 were members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora, age range 17-56 yrs (M=22.36, SD=6.27). Of these 251, 75 were male age range 17-56 yrs (M=22.80, SD=7.26),) 176 were female, age range 17-47yrs (M=22.17, SD=5.81), 185 were members of the Roman Catholic faith (60 male, 125 female), while 51 were members of the Protestant faith (12 male, 39 female). Of the 251 diaspora respondents, 3 individuals indicated that they were members of another religious faith while 12 indicated that they did not hold religious beliefs.

Of the 251 members of the Diasporic group, 179 were members of the Northern Irish Diaspora, age range 18-52 yrs (M=21.85, SD=5.08). Of these, 57 were male, age range 18.52yrs (M=21.79, SD=5.52), and 122 were female with an age range of 18-42yrs (M=21.88, SD=4.88),). Further, 124 were Catholic (43 male and 81 female) and 48 were Protestant (12 male and 36 female).

Of the 251 members of the diaspora, 54 were members of the diaspora from the Republic of Ireland, age range 17-56 yrs (M=23.70, SD=9.13). Of these, 16 were male with an age range of 17-56 yrs (M=26.13, SD=11.34) and 38 were female age range 17-47yrs (M=22.68, SD=7.98), while 48 were Catholic (15 male and 33 female) and 1 respondent was Protestant (female).

Of the 251 members of the diaspora, 60 were 1st generation migrants, while 190 were 2nd (or subsequent generation) migrants. One respondent did not indicate the migrant generation to which they belonged.

The control group consisted of 177 respondents with an age range of 17-62 years (M=26.96, SD=11.12), of which 55 were male with an age range of 17-62 yrs (M=24.95, SD=9.96), and 122 were female with an age range 17-57 yrs (M=27.96, SD=11.55). Of these 177, 114 indicated that they were Christian (33 male and 90 female), 4 were

Muslim (1 male and 3 females), 1 was Jewish (female), 6 specified some other religious affiliation (4 male and 2 female), and 42 respondents indicated no religious affiliation (17 male and 25 female).

Materials

Attitudes, beliefs, and experiences were measured using a questionnaire, which consisted of 6 sections. Minor differences were apparent on the questionnaire administered to the diaspora and that administered to the control group. These differences in phraseology, etc., will be detailed below. The 6 sections on the questionnaire were as follows:

Section I: Demographic and Background Information.

This section contained general questions relating to age, gender, religious practice, church affiliation, and citizenship (e.g. Excluding special occasions (weddings, funerals, etc.) please specify the number of times you have attended your place of worship in the past 12 months. Please specify: Never, 1-3 times, once every month or two, 2-3 times a month, about once a week, more than once a week).

When selecting a current church affiliation, the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic groups were given the choice of selecting Roman Catholic, Protestant, Other (specification was requested), and None. The English control group were given the choice of Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, Other (specification was requested), and None. There categories for the English control group were taken from the 2001 census.

Section II: Emigration Experiences

This section contained questions relating to the emigration experiences of the individual participant and their family. For members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora, these questions focused on the emigration of their family members from Ireland and Northern Ireland (e.g. "What motivated your family to emigrate from Ireland / Northern Ireland?"), the destination of the émigrés (e.g. "To which country(ies) did a current member or past generation of your family emigrate?"), and any current contact that the respondent has with family members that remain in Ireland / Northern Ireland (e.g. "Do persons from Ireland / Northern Ireland visit you in England?').

For the English control group, the section focused on whether any members of their family had emigrated away from England (e.g. "Have any other members or past generations of your family emigrated away from England to another country?"), the destination of the émigrés (e.g. "To which country (countries) did a current member or past generation of your family emigrate?), and whether they would consider emigrating ("Would you consider emigrating from England? If yes, what would be your motivation for emigrating?).

Section III: Social, National, and Political Identity

Respondents were asked to rate themselves on a number of ethnic identity items on a continuum ranging from 0-100. These items built on research on National and Sectarian identities by various researchers (e.g.Cairns, 1989; Gallagher 1989; Moxon-Browne 1983; Rose 1971; Trew 1983; Waddell and Cairns 1986). Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora members responded to items such as, "I think of myself as an Ulsterman /

Woman", while members of the control group responded to items such as, "I think of myself as White British". Again, items for the English control group were taken from the 2001 census.

Section IV: Dissociative Experiences

Dissociative experiences were measured using the Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES) (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986). The DES is a 28-item self-report measure, which includes items ranging from non-pathological to pathological dissociation. Respondents indicate on a continuum ranging from 0-100 the percentage of the time that certain experiences apply to them (e.g. "Some people find that they are sometimes able to ignore pain").

The factor structure of the DES indicates that there are 4 discrete components of dissociation; i) Absorption / derealisation; ii) Depersonalisation; iii) Segment amnesia, and iv) In situ amnesia. Depersonalisation and amnesia are considered to be more related to pathological symptoms, while absorption and derealisation are considered to be general aspects of human functioning, experienced to a greater or lesser extent by everybody (e.g. Schumaker, 1995; Ross, Joshi & Currie, 1990; Vanderlinden, 1993). Research (Ross et al., 1990) suggests that clinical interest should be focused on the average score for the critical pathological items on the DES, and while the DES is a valuable tool for assessing major dissociative psychopathology, this was not the aim of the current research. Therefore, in order to afford the maximum amount of respect and ethical consideration to the respondents, they were assessed only on the 12 absorption / derealisation items (e.g. "Some people have the experience of not being sure whether things that they remember happening really did happen or whether they just dreamed them") as suggested by Dorahy (personal communication, 7th June, 2001).

The DES has a test-retest reliability coefficient of 0.84 and split half coefficients ranging from 0.71 to 0.96 across a variety of diagnostic categories (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986). The 12 absorption / derealisation items on the DES have a Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha of .86 for the current sample.

Section V: Religious Orientations

Religious orientations were measured using the Credal Assent Scale (King, 1967) and the Age Universal Intrinsic-Extrinsic (I-E) Religious Orientation Scale (Gorsuch and Venable, 1983). The Credal Assent Scale is a measure of religious orthodoxy, where respondents were required to respond to such items as, 'I believe that salvation frees me from sin and makes a new life possible'. The Age Universal I-E Religious Orientation Scale is a measure of Allport and Ross' (1967) intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations, at a reading level that is appropriate for adolescents as well as adults, and required participants to respond to such items as, 'It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer' and 'I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing the people I know there' (intrinsic and extrinsic respectively). Responses to items on both the Credal Assent Scale and the Age Universal I-E Scale were measured using a 7-point Likert Scale, which ranged from 1 (strongly disagree), through 4 (neither agree nor disagree), to 7 (strongly agree).

The Credal Assent Scale has a Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha of .95 for the current sample while the Intrinsic and Extrinsic subscales have Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha's of .90 and .76 respectively for the current sample.

Section VI: Exposure to Traumatic Events

Exposure to traumatic events was measured using amended versions of the Irish Social Mobility Survey (1973), the Social Attitudes Survey (1978), the Social Identity Survey (1995) and the Northern Ireland Referendum and Election Survey (1998). Questions in this section asked respondents to indicate whether they had been directly or indirectly exposed to traumatic events.

For members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora, these questions included reference to the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland (e.g. "Do you know of anyone (not family or friends) who was injured due to the 'Troubles'?). For the English control group, questions related to general traumatic events (e.g. "Do you know of anyone (not family or friends) who has been injured due to riots, violent confrontations or other such circumstances?"). Responses were indicated using either a 'yes' or 'no' selection.

Please see appendix 2 for the questionnaire that was distributed to members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora and appendix 3 for the questionnaire that was administered to the English control group.

Procedure

Data collection took place over a 16-month period from September 2002 – December 2003. The postal surveys were the first method of data collection to be employed. For the postal survey, student members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora were identified via university registry records. Once these students had been identified, they then received a copy of the questionnaire (see appendices 2 and 3), a consent form to be signed and returned if they did wish to participate, information explaining the purpose of the study, researcher contact details (see appendices 4a & 4b), and ethical assurances which adhered strictly to the British Psychological Society (BPS) code of conduct (available at http://www.bps.org.uk).

With regard to institutional Ethics approval, a discussion of the ethical issues surrounding the study took place with 2 representatives of the Liverpool Hope University College Ethics Committee and these individuals agreed that there were no ethical concerns. The study was also discussed with the 'Panel Reviewers' at the University of Liverpool and again no concerns were raised with regard to the ethical implications of the study. All scales and measures were assessed and it was acknowledged that the scales to be used in this study were published and validated measures. It was agreed that data collection could commence in September 2002.

The students that were to make up part of the control group were also identified via the registry records and then a selection of these students were contacted using an opportunity method of sampling. Students contacted via post were advised that they had 4 weeks to complete and return their questionnaires.

Once the postal survey was completed, Irish cultural clubs and community organisations were contacted and meetings were arranged with representatives of these clubs. After meeting with the personnel at these organisations, some declined the offer to participate while others indicated that they would distribute the questionnaires to their members. The purpose of the study was fully explained and questionnaires, consent forms, information explaining the purpose of the study, researcher contact information and ethical assurances were given to the relevant personnel for distribution (see appendices 4a & 4b (as above) for information distributed to these organisations). These cultural clubs and community organisations were given a 6-week period to distribute and collect the questionnaires. A 6 week period was agreed as some of the organisations had social events planned for the up coming 6-week period and it was determined that these events may elicit more responses.

Finally, membership of the irishdiaspora.net web service was sought. Once membership of this service was secured, a representative of the web service was consulted and it was agreed that questionnaires could be distributed via the website. An opportunity sample of 800 irishdiaspora.net members were contacted and members that were selected were sent a copy of the questionnaire, a consent form and information explaining the purpose of the study, researcher contact details, and ethical assurances (see appendices as above). Online respondents were given a 4-week period to respond and return the questionnaire.

Chapter 7

Results: Emigration Experiences of the Irish Diaspora

Questions were asked relating to the emigration experiences of the individual participant and their family. Respondents were asked questions such as "of which country do you hold citizenship?" and "which part generation of your family emigrated". Multiple choice answers were provided.

Descriptive statistics relating to the emigration experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic groups are indicated below.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics indicating the number of respondents holding UK citizenship, Republic of Ireland citizenship, and dual citizenship.

	UK Citizenship	ROI Citizenship	Dual Citizenship
Whole Diaspora	137	99	9
Northern Irish Diaspora	119	51	6
Republic of Ireland Diaspora	5	46	3
Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora	81	43	3
Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora	45	4	3

Table 1 indicates that the majority of Northern Irish Diaspora respondents hold UK citizenship, while the majority of Republic of Ireland Diaspora respondents are citizens of the Republic of Ireland. Few respondents indicated that they hold dual citizenship.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics indicating the number of respondents who have had other members of their families emigrate away from Northern Ireland / Republic of Ireland.

	Family members emigrated from Ireland / Northern Ireland	**Family members not emigrated from Ireland / Northern Ireland**
Whole Diaspora	179	40
Northern Irish Diaspora	129	30
Republic of Ireland Diaspora	44	9
Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora	89	23
Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora	40	7

Table 2 indicates that the majority of respondents in the current study have had members of previous generations of their families emigrate from Northern and the Republic of Ireland.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics to indicate the generation of the emigrating family member.

	Great Grandparent	Grandparent	Parent	Other
Whole Diaspora	22	26	31	119
Northern Ireland Diaspora	17	18	24	89
Republic of Ireland Diaspora	4	6	5	28
Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora	16	14	21	60
Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora	4	3	3	29

Table 3 indicates the number of respondents who have seen the parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and other relatives emigrate away from Northern and the Republic of Ireland. These descriptive statistics indicate that the majority of respondents saw other members of their family emigrate from their country of origin.

Table 4: Descriptive statistics to indicate the motivations for emigration from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

	Employment Opportunities	Socio-Economic Conditions	Family	Political Unrest	Other
Whole Diaspora	108	15	20	11	29
Northern Ireland Diaspora	72	11	16	8	17
Republic of Ireland Diaspora	25	3	3	2	11
Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora	60	7	7	6	14
Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora	12	4	9	2	3

Table 4 indicates that the main reason for emigration from Northern and the Republic of Ireland to seek employment opportunities in England. Respondents also indicated family reasons, comparatively poor socio-economic conditions in their country of origin, and, to a lesser extent, the political and societal unrest in Northern Ireland as reasons for emigration. Of the 'other' reasons for emigration, educational opportunities (i.e. university attendance) were the most common reason given.

Summary of Findings

In terms of emigration experiences, results indicate that the majority of the Northern Irish diasporic group hold UK citizenship, while the majority of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora holds Republic of Ireland citizenship. Although higher numbers of Catholics hold Republic of Ireland citizenship than their Protestant counterparts, the majority of both Northern Ireland Catholics and Protestants hold UK citizenship.

With regard to the emigration of family members, the majority of diaspora members from both Northern and the Republic of Ireland have seen relatives emigrate away from Ireland / Northern Ireland, and indicated that while a number of them had seen parents, grandparents, and great grandparents emigrate, they had mainly witnessed 'other' family members leaving Ireland and Northern Ireland. These 'other' family members included aunts, uncles, cousins, and siblings.

In terms of reasons for migration, the majority of diaspora respondents indicated that the main motivation for leaving their country of origin was to seek better employment opportunities, and although socio-economic conditions, family ties, and political unrest were cited as reasons for emigration, the respondents also indicated 'other' reasons for emigration, including healthcare issues, and leaving home to travel and failing to return.

Chapter 8

Results: Social, National, and Political Identities

Respondents rated themselves on a number of ethnic identity items on a continuum ranging from 0-100. Diaspora members rated themselves on items such as “I think of myself as an Ulsterman / woman”, while the control group responded to items such as “I think of myself as white British”.

Descriptive statistics presenting the mean (standard deviation) levels of identification for social, national, and political identities of the various Diasporic samples are illustrated in Table 5. For comparative data from Northern Irish sample, please see appendix 5.

Table 5: Mean (standard deviation) Levels of Identification for Social, National, and Political Identities of the Various Diasporic Samples.

	N	British	English	Irish	Northern Irish	Ulsterman / woman	European	Nationalist	Unionist	Republican	Loyalist
Whole Diaspora	224	25.08 (37.28)	4.86 (16.45)	77.50 (33.57)	51.43 (41.71)	28.24 (37.32)	37.66 (36.72)	44.10 (41.98)	7.72 (23.27)	31.76 (38.42)	5.54 (19.28)
Northern Irish Diaspora	175	30.03 (39.27)	3.00 (12.28)	74.00 (37.18)	63.13 (37.73)	29.56 (36.86)	33.18 (34.89)	44.19 (41.45)	10.51 (26.80)	27.37 (35.06)	7.10 (21.72)
Republic of Ireland Diaspora	47	4.03 (15.65)	1.33 (6.52)	97.68 (9.03)	14.81 (30.03)	28.66 (40.65)	50.06 (40.25)	47.62 (44.43)	.25 (.71)	48.05 (44.50)	1.57 (10.60)
Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora	124	10.78 (25.03)	4.01 (15.43)	90.95 (21.70)	44.85 (41.20)	21.49 (33.21)	41.79 (37.28)	55.35 (40.15)	.83 (4.55)	40.18 (39.19)	1.58 (8.42)
Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora	48	71.31 (33.79)	7.31 (20.15)	31.08 (36.93)	76.26 (33.74)	52.54 (41.42)	21.99 (29.97)	8.61 (22.40)	33.07 (40.87)	5.50 (17.42)	19.94 (35.35)

Figure 1: Mean levels of identification for social, national, and political identities of the Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland Diasporic groups.

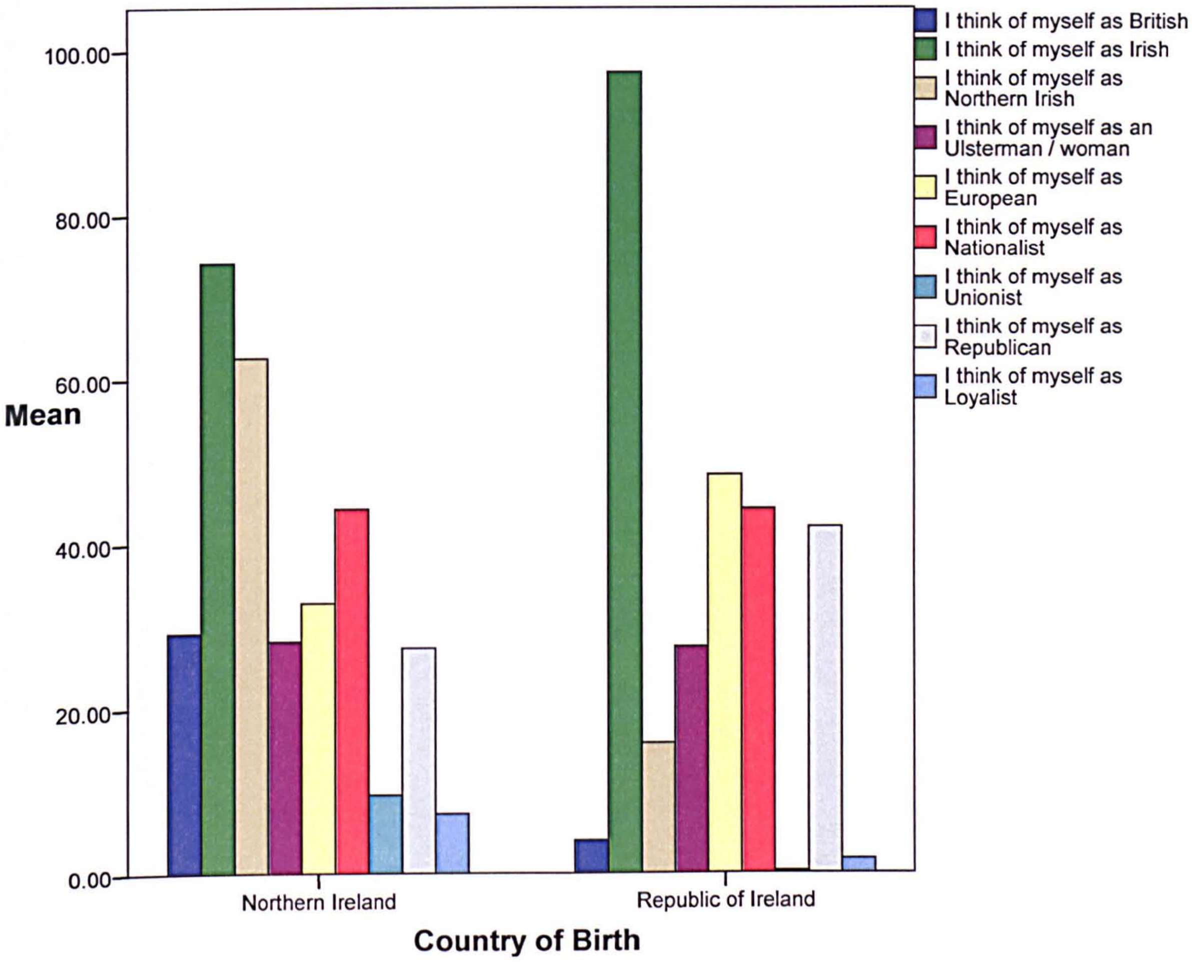
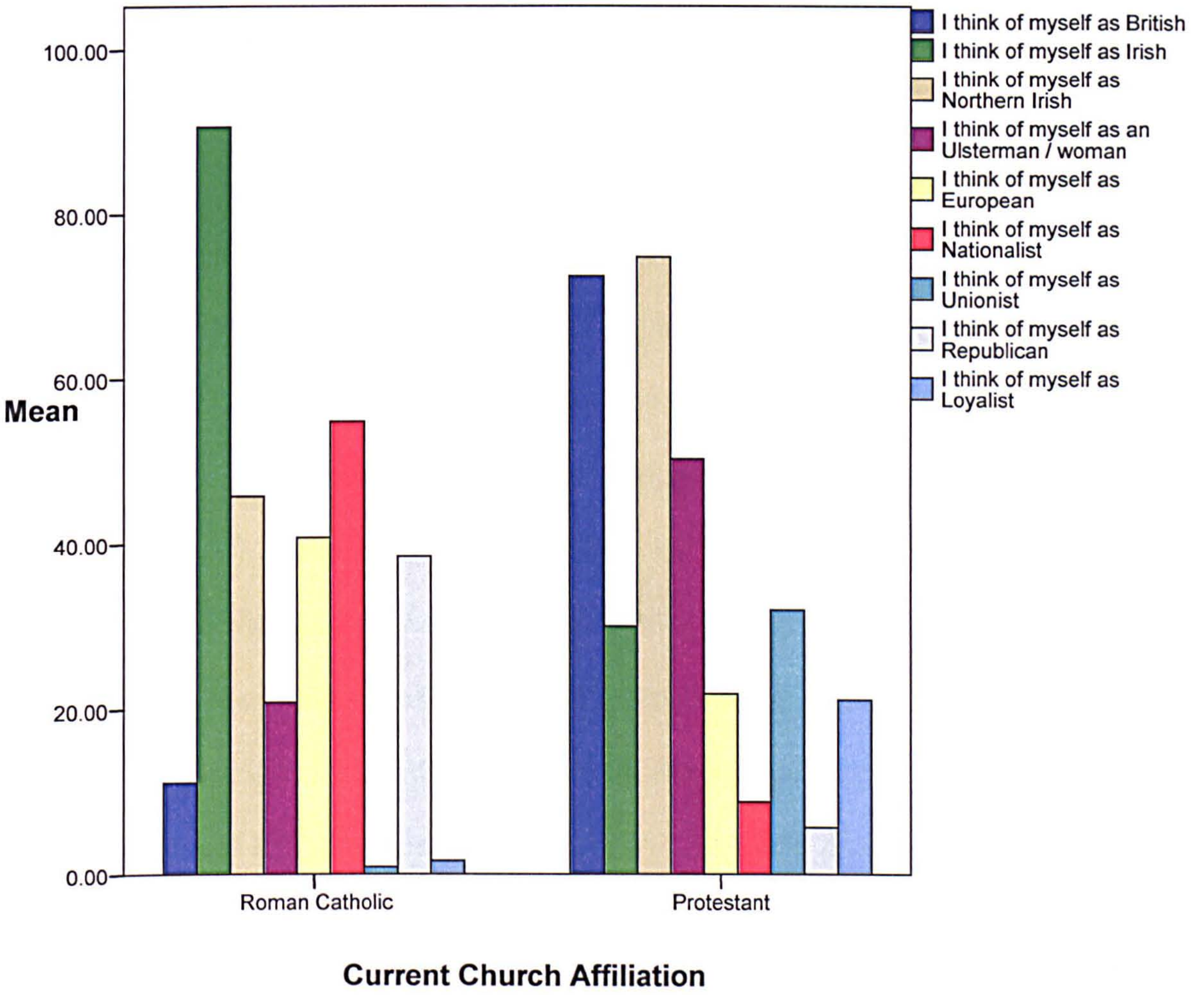


Figure 2: Mean levels of identification for social, national, and political identities of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant Diasporic groups.



The social, national, and political identities of the diasporic groups were initially analysed using a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA)[1]. This analysis indicated that the social, national, and political identity differences between the diasporic groups from Northern and the Republic of Ireland were significant (Wilks' λ .694, F= 9.12, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.306). Further investigation revealed that there are significant between group effects for British identity (F (1, 216) = 18.75, p<0.001, partial η^2 = .080) (Northern Irish Diaspora M=30.03, SD=39.27, Republic of Ireland Diaspora M=4.04, SD=15.65), Irish identity (F (1, 216) = 61.02, p<0.01, partial η^2 = .077) (Northern Irish Diaspora M=74.00, SD=37.18, Republic of Ireland Diaspora M=97.68, SD=9.03,), Northern Irish identity (F (1, 216) = 61.02, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.220) (Northern Irish Diaspora M=63.13, SD=37.73, Republic of Ireland Diaspora M=14.81, SD=30.03), European identity (F (1, 216) = 6.94, p<0.001, partial η^2 = .031) (Northern Ireland Diaspora M=33.18, SD=34.89, Republic of Ireland Diaspora M=50.06, SD=40.25), Unionist identification (F (1, 216) = 6.01, p<0.05, partial η^2 = .027) (Northern Irish Diaspora M=10.51, SD=26.80, Republic of Ireland Diaspora M=.25, SD=.71), and Republican identity (F (1, 216) = 5.79, p<0.05, partial η^2 = .026) (Northern Irish Diaspora M=27.37, SD=35.06, Republic of Ireland Diaspora M=48.05, SD=44.50).

Further analysis indicated that there are significant differences between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant Diasporic groups (Wilks' λ .362, F = 36.99, p<0.01, partial η^2 = .638). More extensive investigation revealed that there are significant between group effects for the following identities: British (F (1, 219) = 188.32,

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[1] Although there were discrepancies in terms of the sizes of the groups being compared, Levene's Tests were non-significant (p>0.05) therefore supporting the use of the parametirc MANOVA analysis.

$p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .462$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=10.78, SD=25.03, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=71.31, SD=33.79), Irish ($F(1, 219) = 205.30$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .484$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=90.95, SD=21.70, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=31.08, SD=39.93), Northern Irish ($F(1, 219) = 19.54$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .082$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=44.85, SD=41.20, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=76.26, SD=33.74), Ulsterman/woman ($F(1, 219) = 26.79$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .109$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=21.49, SD=33.21, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=52.54, SD=41.42), European ($F(1, 219) = 10.53$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .046$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=41.79, SD=37.28, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=21.99, SD=29.97) Nationalist ($F(1, 219) = 57.26$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .207$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=55.35, SD=40.15, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=8.61, SD=22.40), Unionist ($F(1, 219) = 95.19$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .303$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=.83, SD=4.55, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=33.07, SD=40.87), Republican ($F(1, 219) = 32.21$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .128$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=40.18, SD=39.19, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=5.50, SD=17.42), Loyalist ($F(1, 219) = 43.37$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .162$) (Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora M=1.58, SD=8.42, Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora M=19.94, SD=35.35).

Social, National, and Political Identities and Dissociative Experiences.

In addition to the items assessing social, national and political identities, participants responded to 12 non-pathological dissociation items on the Dissociative Experiences Scale (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986). The respondents were asked to indicate the frequency with which the experienced certain situations and responded to these items on a continuum ranging from 0-100, where 0 indicated that they never had the experience and 100 indicated that they had the experience all the time.

In order to assess social, national, and political identities and levels of dissociation, further statistical analysis was performed[2].

For the complete diasporic sample, this multiple regression analysis indicated that there are significant associations between social, national, and political identities and levels of dissociation ($R^2 = .089$, $F(10, 216) = 2.10$, $p<0.05$). The multiple regression model further indicated that levels of dissociation were significantly predicted by the strength of identification with nationalism ($\beta = .195$, $p<0.05$) but not by any other social, national, or political identity ($p>0.05$).

For the Northern Irish diasporic sample, further multiple regression analysis indicated that there are significant associations between social, national, and political identities and levels of dissociation ($R^2 = .157$, $F(10, 155) = 2.89$, $p<0.01$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation is significantly predicted by identification with being British (β =.325, $p<0.05$), Irish (β =.178, $p<0.05$), and by identification with nationalism (β =.332, $p<0.01$) although dissociation was not significantly predicted by any other social, national, or political identities ($p>0.05$).

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[2] Prior to all regression analyses being conducted, multicollinearity diagnostics were performed. In each case, the Tolerance Level and the Variance Inflation Factor were examined and were seen to be acceptable (e.g. Tolerance Levels > 0.1, Variance Inflation Factors < 10).

For the sample from the Republic of Ireland, there were no significant associations between social, national, and political identities and levels of dissociation (R^2=.114, F (10, 35) =.450, $p>0.05$). The multiple regression model for the diasporic sample from the Republic of Ireland indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by any of the social, national, or political identity predictor variables ($p>0.05$).

Summary of Findings

Data analysis concluded that the hypothesis predicting significant differences between the social, national, and political identities of the Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland diasporic groups was supported, and that there are significant differences between the ethnic identity items of these two groups (Wilks' λ =.694, F =9.12, $p<0.001$, partial η =.306). Further analysis concluded that the hypothesis predicting significant differences between the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora was also supported (Wilks' λ .362, F = 36.99, $p<0.01$, partial η^2 = .638). With regard to the relationship between the social, national, and political identities and dissociative experiences, the findings offer support to the hypothesis that levels of dissociation will be significantly predicted by social, national and political identities for the Northern Irish sample (R^2 = .157, F (10, 155) = 2.89, $p<0.01$).

Chapter 9

Results: Religiosity and Religious Orientations

Participants responded to items on the Credal Assent Scale (King, 1967), and the Age Universal I-E Religious Orientation Scale (Gorsuch & Venable, 1983), and answered questions such as 'I believe in eternal life'. Participants responded on a 7-point Likert Scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree), through 4 (neither agree nor disagree), to 7 (strongly agree).

The descriptive analysis presenting the mean Intrinsic Religiosity, Extrinsic Religiosity, and Religious Orthodoxy scores, and standard deviations are illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6: Mean Intrinsic Religiosity, Extrinsic Religiosity, and Religious Orthodoxy scores, and standard deviations, for the various samples.

	N	Intrinsic Religiosity	N	Extrinsic Religiosity	N	Religious Orthodoxy
Whole Sample	316	34.03 (SD 11.67)	308	39.32 (SD 10.00)	339	33.59 (SD 11.53)
Control Group	97	28.14 (SD 11.97)	95	36.63 (SD 11.73)	127	27.30 (SD 11.29)
Whole Diasporic Group	219	36.64 (SD 10.56)	213	40.52 (SD 8.90)	212	37.15 (SD 10.07)
Northern Irish Diaspora	171	36.38 (SD 10.69)	169	40.35 (SD 9.32)	166	36.88 (SD 10.21)
Republic of Ireland Diaspora	45	37.55 (SD 10.41)	44	40.75 (SD 8.16)	46	38.54 (SD 10.18)
Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora	124	36.58 (SD 10.12)	124	40.87 (SD 8.34)	121	37.03 (SD 9.92)
Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora	45	36.91 (SD 12.25)	42	39.09 (SD 10.87)	45	37.64 (SD 10.77)

For comparative data from a Northern Irish sample see appendix 6.

Figure 3: Mean levels of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity and religious orthodoxy for the whole diasporic sample and the control group.

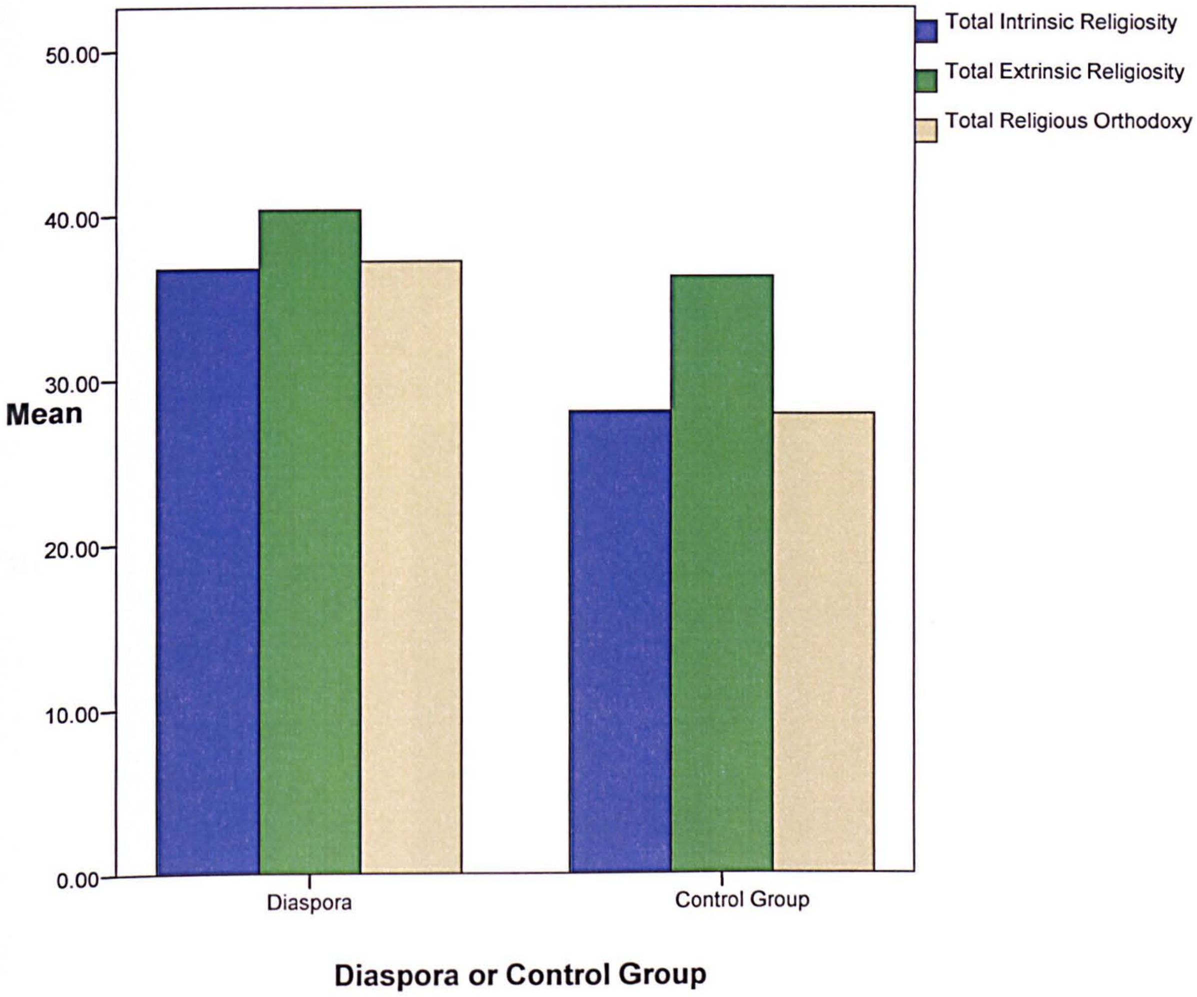


Figure 4: Mean levels of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy for the Northern Ireland Diaspora, Republic of Ireland Diaspora and the English Control Group.

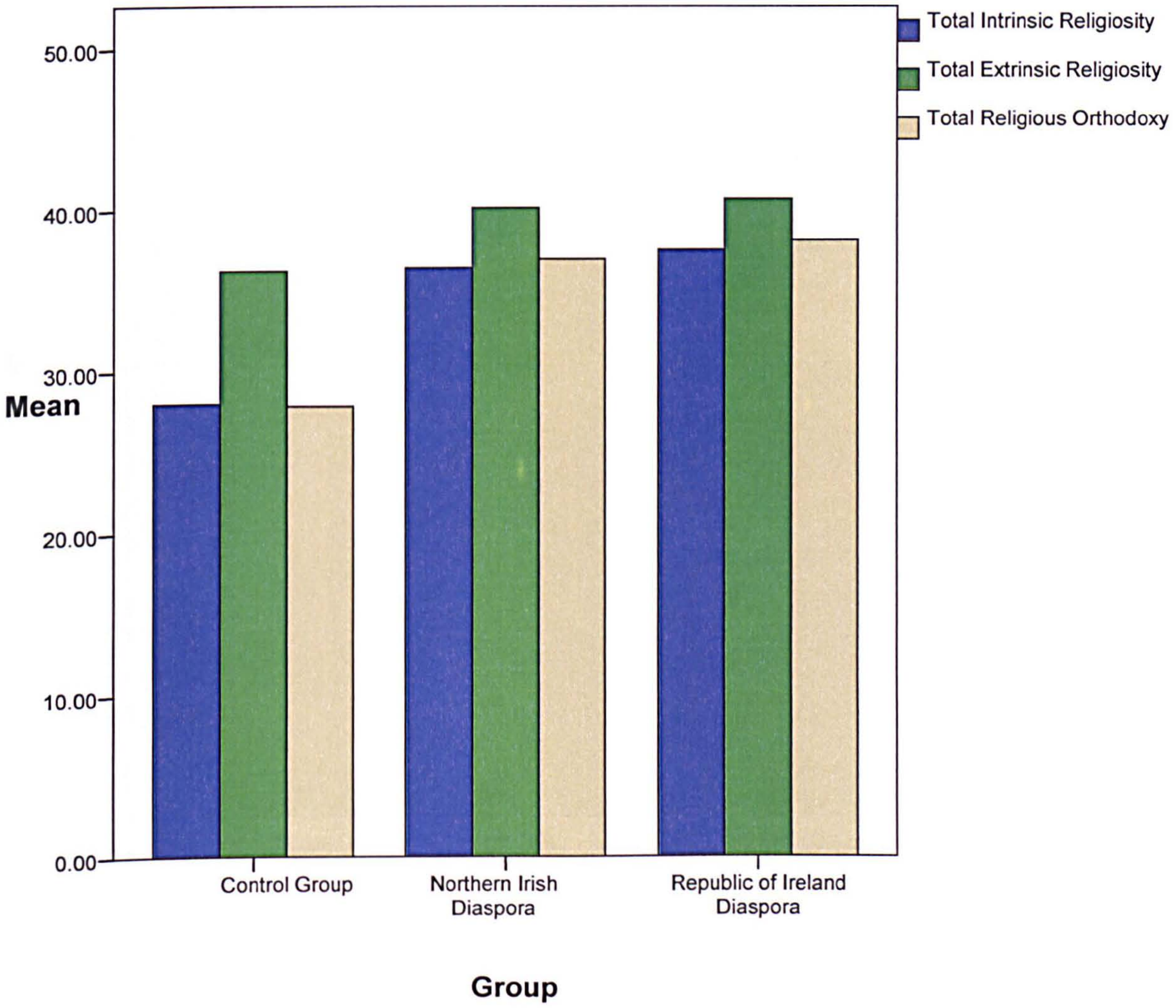
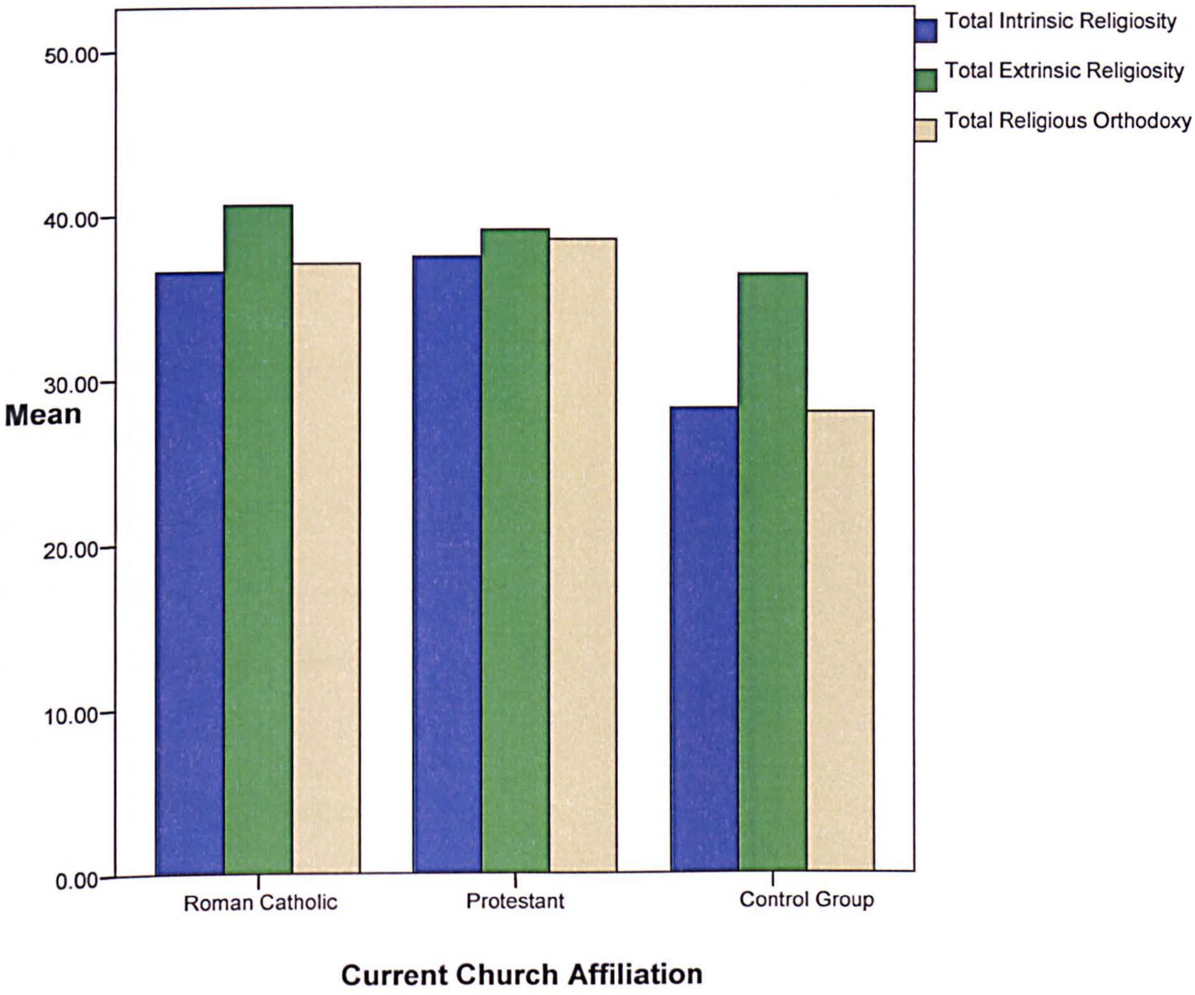


Figure 5: Mean levels of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy for the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant Diaspora and the Control Group.



The religious orientations of the diasporic groups and the English control group were initially analysed using a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). This analysis indicated that the differences between the diasporic group from the Republic of Ireland, the diasporic group from Northern Ireland, and the English control group are significant (Wilks λ =.859, F =7.47, p<0.001, partial η^2, =.057). Further investigation revealed that there are significant between group effects for Intrinsic Religiosity (F (2, 288) =18.30, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.128), Extrinsic Religiosity (F (2, 288) =4.03, p<0.05, partial η^2 =.030), and Religious Orthodoxy (F (2, 288) =23.02, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.156).

Post hoc (Tukey HSD) analysis further concluded that:

i) For Intrinsic Religiosity, the differences were significant between the English Control Group (M=28.14, SD=11.97) and the Northern Irish Diaspora (M=36.38, SD=10.69) (p<0.001), between the English Control Group (M=28.14, SD=11.97) and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora (37.55, SD=10.41) (p>0.001), but not between the Northern Irish (M=36.38, SD=10.69) and Republic of Ireland (M=37.55, SD=10.41) Diasporic groups (p>0.05);

ii) For Extrinsic Religiosity, the differences were significant between the English Control Group (36.63, SD=11.73) and the Northern Irish Diaspora (M=40.35, SD=9.32) (p<0.05), but not between the English Control Group (M=36.63, SD=11.73) and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora (M=40.75, SD=8.16) (p>0.05), or between the Diasporic groups from Northern Ireland (M=40.35, SD=9.32) and the Republic of Ireland (M=40.75, SD=8.16) (p>0.05);

iii) For Religious Orthodoxy, differences were significant between the English Control Group (M=27.30, SD=11.29) and the Diasporic groups from both Northern Ireland (M=36.88, SD=10.21) ($p<0.001$) and the Republic of Ireland (M=38.54, SD=10.18) ($p<0.001$), but not between the Northern Ireland (M=36.88, SD=10.21) and Republic of Ireland Diaspora (M=38.54, SD=10.18) ($p>0.05$).

Analysis also indicated that there were significant differences between the English control group, the Northern Irish Catholic diasporic group and the Northern Irish Protestant diasporic group (Wilks' λ =.846 F (3, 288) =8.29, $p<0.001$, partial η^2 =.080). Further investigation revealed that there are significant between group effects for Intrinsic Religiosity (F (2, 288) =19.92, $p<0.001$, partial η^2 =.122), Extrinsic Religiosity (F (2, 288) =5.97, $p<0.01$, partial η^2 =.040), and Religious Orthodoxy (F (2, 288) =23.09, $p<0.001$, partial η^2 =.142), with post hoc (Tukey HSD) comparisons indicating that:

i) For Intrinsic Religiosity the differences are significant between the English Control Group (M=28.14, SD=11.97) and the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora (M=36.58, SD=10.12) ($p<0.001$), between the English Control Group (M=28.14, SD=11.97) and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora (36.91, SD=12.25) ($p<0.001$), but not between the Northern Irish Catholic (M=36.58, SD=10.12) and Protestant (M=36.91, SD=12.25) diasporic groups ($p>0.05$);

ii) For Extrinsic Religiosity the differences were significant between the English Control Group (M=36.63, SD=11.73) and the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora (M=40.87, SD=8.34) ($p<0.01$), but not between the English Control Group (M=36.63, SD=11.73) and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora

(M=39.09, SD=10.87) ($p>0.05$), or between the Northern Irish Catholic (M=40.87, SD=8.34) and Protestant (M=39.09, SD=10.87) diasporic groups ($p>0.05$);

iii) For Religious Orthodoxy, differences were significant between the English Control Group (M=27.30, SD=11.29) and the Northern Irish Catholic (M=37.03, SD=9.92) diasporic group ($p<0.001$) and the English Control Group (M=27.30, SD=11.29) and the Northern Irish Protestant (M=37.64, SD=10.77) diasporic group ($p<0.001$), but not between the Northern Irish Catholic (M=37.03, MSD=9.92) and Protestant (M=37.64, SD=10.77) Diaspora ($p>0.05$).

Summary of Findings

With regard to the findings related to religiosity and religious orientations, it was determined that the hypothesis was supported and that there are significant differences between the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, the Northern Irish Diaspora, and the English Control Group in terms of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy (*Wilks'* λ =.859, F =7.47, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.057). In addition, the results supported the hypothesis that there are significant differences between the Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups in terms of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy (*Wilks'* λ =.846, F =8.29, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.080).

Chapter 10

Results: Dissociation and Dissociative Experiences

Non-pathological dissociation was measured using the Dissociative Experiences Scale (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986). Participants were asked to indicate the frequency with which they experience certain situations. Participants responded on a continuum ranging from 0-100, where 0 indicated they had never experienced the event, and 100 indicated that they experience the event all the time.

The descriptive analysis presenting the mean dissociative experiences scores (standard deviations) are illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7: Mean Dissociative Experience scores (standard deviations) for the various samples.

	N	Dissociative Experiences Mean	SD
Whole Sample	428	50.18	19.51
Control Group	177	54.46	19.40
Whole Diasporic Group	251	47.46	19.13
Northern Irish Diaspora	171	47.09	18.77
Republic of Ireland Diaspora	49	49.14	20.94
Catholic Diaspora	123	47.32	19.05
Protestant Diaspora	47	47.76	18.42

For details of comparative data from a Northern Irish sample, see appendix 7.

The dissociative experiences of the diasporic groups and the English control group were initially analysed using a Univariate Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). This analysis indicated that the differences between the diasporic group from the Republic of Ireland, the diasporic group from Northern Ireland, and the English Control Group were significant (F (3,404) =4.08, $p<0.01$, partial η^2 =.029). Post hoc (Tukey HSD) analysis further concluded that the differences were significant between the English control group (M=54.46, SD=19.40) and the Northern Irish Diaspora (M=47.09, SD=18.77) ($p<0.01$) but not between the English Control Group (M=54.46, SD=19.40) and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora (M=49.14, SD=20.94) ($p>0.05$), or between the Northern Irish (M=47.09, SD=18.77) and Republic of Ireland (M=49.14, SD=20.94) Diasporic groups ($p>0.05$).

ANOVA analysis also indicated that there were significant differences between the English Control Group, the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora (F (2,344) =6.54, $p<0.01$, partial η^2 =.032), with post hoc (Tukey HSD) comparisons indicating that the English Control Group (M=54.46, SD=19.40) experience significantly higher levels of dissociation than the Catholic Diaspora (M=47.32, SD=19.05) ($p<0.01$). Differences between the Protestant Diaspora (M=47.76, SD=18.42) and the English Control Group (M=54.46, SD=19.40), and between the Catholic (M=47.32, SD=19.05) and Protestant Diasporas (M=47.76, SD=18.42) did not reach significance ($p>0.05$).

Dissociative Experiences and Exposure to Traumatic Events.

In order to assess dissociation and exposure to traumatic events, further statistical analysis was performed.

For the diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between the level of dissociation and exposure to traumatic events (R^2 =.013, F (3, 221) =.976, p>0.05). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of direct exposure to traumatic events (β =.038, p>0.05), indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =.089, p>0.05), or total exposure to both direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =-.104, p>0.05).

For the Northern Irish diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and exposure to traumatic events (R^2 .017, F (3, 169) =.994, p>0.05). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of direct exposure to traumatic events (β =.053, p>0.05), indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =.091, p>0.05), or total exposure to both direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =-.125, p>0.05).

For the diasporic sample from the Republic of Ireland, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and exposure to traumatic events (R^2 =.006, F (3, 47) =.094, p>0.05). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of direct exposure to traumatic events (β =.027, p>0.05), indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =.007, p>0.05), or total exposure to both direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =.056, p>0.05).

For the Northern Irish Catholic diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and exposure to traumatic events (R^2 =.016, F (3, 121) =.945, p>0.05). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of direct exposure to traumatic events (β =.043, p>0.05), indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =.105, p>0.05), or total exposure to both direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =-.094, p>0.05).

For the Northern Ireland Protestant diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and exposure to traumatic events (R^2 =.013, F (3, 44) =.199, p>0.05). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of direct exposure to traumatic events (β =.009, p>0.05), indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =.052, p>0.05), or total exposure to both direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =-.137, p>0.05).

For the Control sample, this analysis indicated that there were significant associations between level of dissociation and exposure to traumatic events (R^2 =.066, F (3, 162) =.3.79, p<0.05). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variable of direct exposure to traumatic events

(β =.069, $p>0.05$), indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =.035, $p>0.05$), or total exposure to both direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events (β =.183, $p>0.05$).

Dissociative Experiences and Religious Orientation.

In order to assess dissociation and religious orientation, further statistical analysis was performed.

For the Diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and religious orientation (R^2 =.005, F (3, 198) =.353, $p>0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of Intrinsic religious orientation (β =-.022, $p>0.05$), Extrinsic religious orientation (β =.034, $p>0.05$), or religious orthodoxy (β =-.072, $p>0.05$).

For the Northern Irish diasporic group, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and religious orientation (R^2 =.002, F (3, 144) =.115, $p>0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of Intrinsic religious orientation (β =.019, $p>0.05$), Extrinsic religious orientation (β =.027, $p>0.05$), or religious orthodoxy (β =.016, $p>0.05$).

For the Republic of Ireland diasporic group, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and religious orientation (R^2 =.051, F (3, 39) =.702, $p>0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of Intrinsic religious orientation (β =-.368, $p>0.05$), Extrinsic religious orientation (β =.017, $p>0.05$), or religious orthodoxy (β =.428, $p>0.05$).

For the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and religious orientation (R^2 =.021, F (3, 121) =1.070, $p>0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of Intrinsic religious orientation (β =.095, $p>0.05$), Extrinsic religious orientation (β =.034, $p>0.05$), or religious orthodoxy (β =.045, $p>0.05$).

For the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between level of dissociation and religious orientation (R^2 =.034, F (3, 36) =.418, $p>0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of Intrinsic religious orientation (β =.058, $p>0.05$), Extrinsic religious orientation (β =.026, $p>0.05$), or religious orthodoxy (β =-.238, $p>0.05$).

For the Control sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between levels of dissociation and religious orientation (R^2 =.010, F (3, 78) =.264, $p>0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by the predictor variables of Intrinsic religious orientation (β =-.020, $p>0.05$), Extrinsic religious orientation (β =.029, $p>0.05$), or religious orthodoxy (β =.100, $p>0.05$).

Dissociative Experiences and Religious Practices.

In order to assess the effect of specific religious practices on levels of dissociation, further statistical analysis was performed.

For the diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between the level of dissociation and specific religious practices (R^2 =.034, F (4, 217) =1.91, $p>0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by spending time in private thought and prayer (β =.186, $p>0.05$), living ones life according to religious beliefs (β =-.177, $p>0.05$), basing ones approach to life on religious beliefs (β .124, $p>0.05$), or by preferred frequency of church attendance (β =-.119, $p>0.05$).

For the Northern Irish diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were significant associations between the level of dissociation and specific religious practices (R^2 =.067, F (4, 157) = 2.81, $p<0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was significantly predicted by spending time in private thought and prayer (β =.327, $p<0.01$), and by living ones life according to religious beliefs (β =-.324, $p<0.01$), but not by basing ones approach to life on religious beliefs (β =.050, $p>0.05$), or by preferred frequency of church attendance (β- =.034, $p>0.05$).

For the diasporic sample form the Republic of Ireland, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between the level of dissociation and specific religious practices ($R^2 = .175$, $F(4, 44) = 2.32$, $p > 0.05$). The multiple regression model did indicate, however, that dissociation was significantly predicted by preferred frequency of church attendance ($\beta = -.510$, $p < 0.01$), but not by spending time in private thought and prayer ($\beta = -.135$, $p > 0.05$), living ones life according to religious beliefs ($\beta = .226$, $p > 0.05$), or by basing ones approach to life on religious beliefs ($\beta = .282$, $p > 0.05$).

For the Northern Irish Catholic diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were significant associations between the level of dissociation and specific religious practices ($R^2 = .059$, $F(4, 120) = 2.56$, $p < 0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was significantly predicted by living ones life according to religious beliefs ($\beta = -.230$, $p < 0.05$), and by basing ones approach to life on religious beliefs ($\beta = .219$, $p < 0.05$), but not by spending time in private thought and prayer ($\beta = .188$, $p > 0.05$), or by preferred frequency of church attendance ($\beta = -.151$, $p > 0.05$).

For the Northern Irish Protestant diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there were no significant associations between the level of dissociation and specific religious practices ($R^2 = .079$, $F(4, 38) = .81$, $p > 0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that dissociation was not significantly predicted by spending time in private thought and prayer ($\beta = .393$, $p > 0.05$), by living ones life according to religious beliefs ($\beta = -.234$, $p > 0.05$), by basing ones approach to life on religious beliefs ($\beta = -.215$, $p > 0.05$), or by preferred frequency of church attendance ($\beta = -.022$, $p > 0.05$).

Summary of Findings

Data analysis did not offer support for the hypothesis that there will be significant differences in levels of dissociation between the Northern Ireland Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the English control group, with the Northern Irish Diaspora exhibiting the highest overall levels of dissociation. Rather, the current analysis suggests that the English control group exhibit significantly higher levels of non-pathological dissociation than their Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland diasporic counterparts (F (2, 344) =6.54, $p<0.01$, partial η^2 =.032). In addition, the current analysis did not support the hypothesis that there would be a significant difference in levels of dissociation between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups ($p>0.05$).

With regard to the relationship between dissociation and exposure to traumatic events, the hypothesis that levels of dissociation will be significantly predicted by levels of direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events, with higher levels of dissociation resulting from greater exposure, was only supported for the English control group. Here, it was determined that for the English control group, there is a significant association between the level of dissociation and exposure to traumatic events (R^2 =.066, F (3, 162) =.3.79, $p<0.05$), although when broken down into direct and indirect exposure items, data analysis did not yield any significant associations. For the diasporic samples this hypothesis was not supported.

Data analysis did not support the hypothesis that levels of dissociation would be significantly predicted by religious orientations, with neither intrinsic religious orientation nor extrinsic religious orientation predicting greater levels of dissociation for any of the current samples (p>0.05).

Chapter 11

Results: Exposure to Traumatic Events

Exposure to traumatic events was measured using amended versions of the Irish Social Mobility Survey (1973), the Social Attitudes Survey (1978), the Social Identity Survey (1995) and the Northern Ireland Referendum and Election Survey (1998). Respondents were asked whether they had ever been directly or indirectly exposed to a number of traumatic events. Responses were indicated using either a 'yes' or 'no' selection. Yes responses were coded as 1; no responses were coded as 0.

The descriptive analysis presenting the mean scores, and standard deviations for exposure to traumatic events are illustrated in Table 8.

Table 8: Mean scores, and standard deviations, for exposure to traumatic events for the various samples. For comparative purposes, data from a Northern Irish sample are provided in appendix 8.

	N	Direct Exposure to Traumatic Events Mean (SD)	Indirect Exposure to Traumatic Events Mean (SD)	Overall Exposure to Traumatic Events Mean (SD)
Whole Sample	409	1.58 (1.22)	2.85 (1.89)	2.32 (1.90)
Control Group	175	1.28 (1.16)	2.33 (1.74)	1.11 (.79)
Whole Diasporic Group	234	1.80 (1.21)	3.24 (1.92)	3.23 (1.99)
Northern Irish Diaspora	172	1.92 (1.18)	3.36 (1.87)	3.38 (2.03)
Republic of Ireland Diaspora	47	1.53 (1.28)	3.00 (2.14)	2.65 (1.79)
Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora	121	1.80 (1.22)	3.36 (1.94)	3.12 (1.92)
Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora	45	1.80 (1.21)	2.80 (1.78)	3.62 (2.19)

Figure 6: Reported levels of direct, indirect, and overall exposure to traumatic events for the Northern Irish Diaspora, Republic of Ireland Diaspora and the English Control Group.

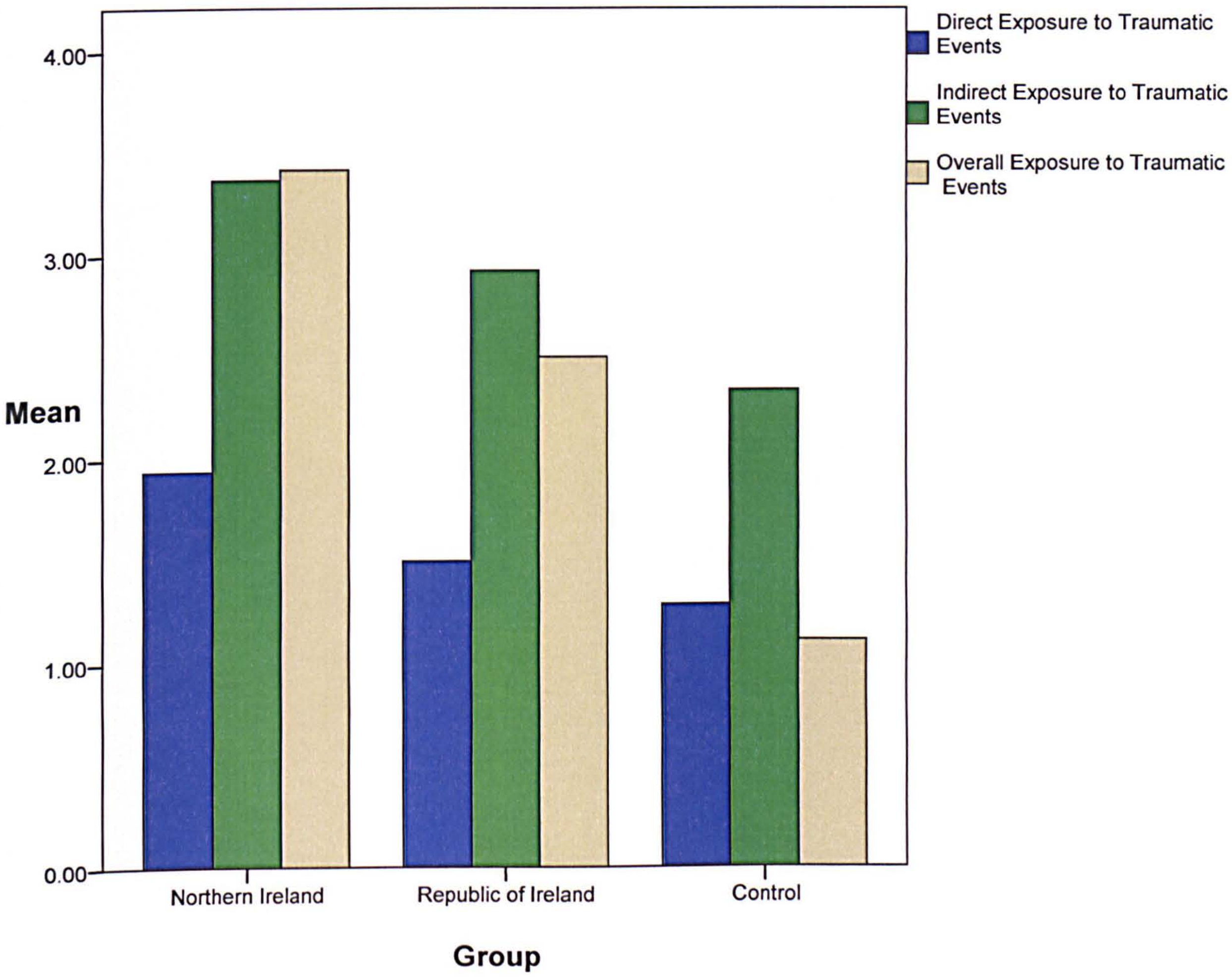
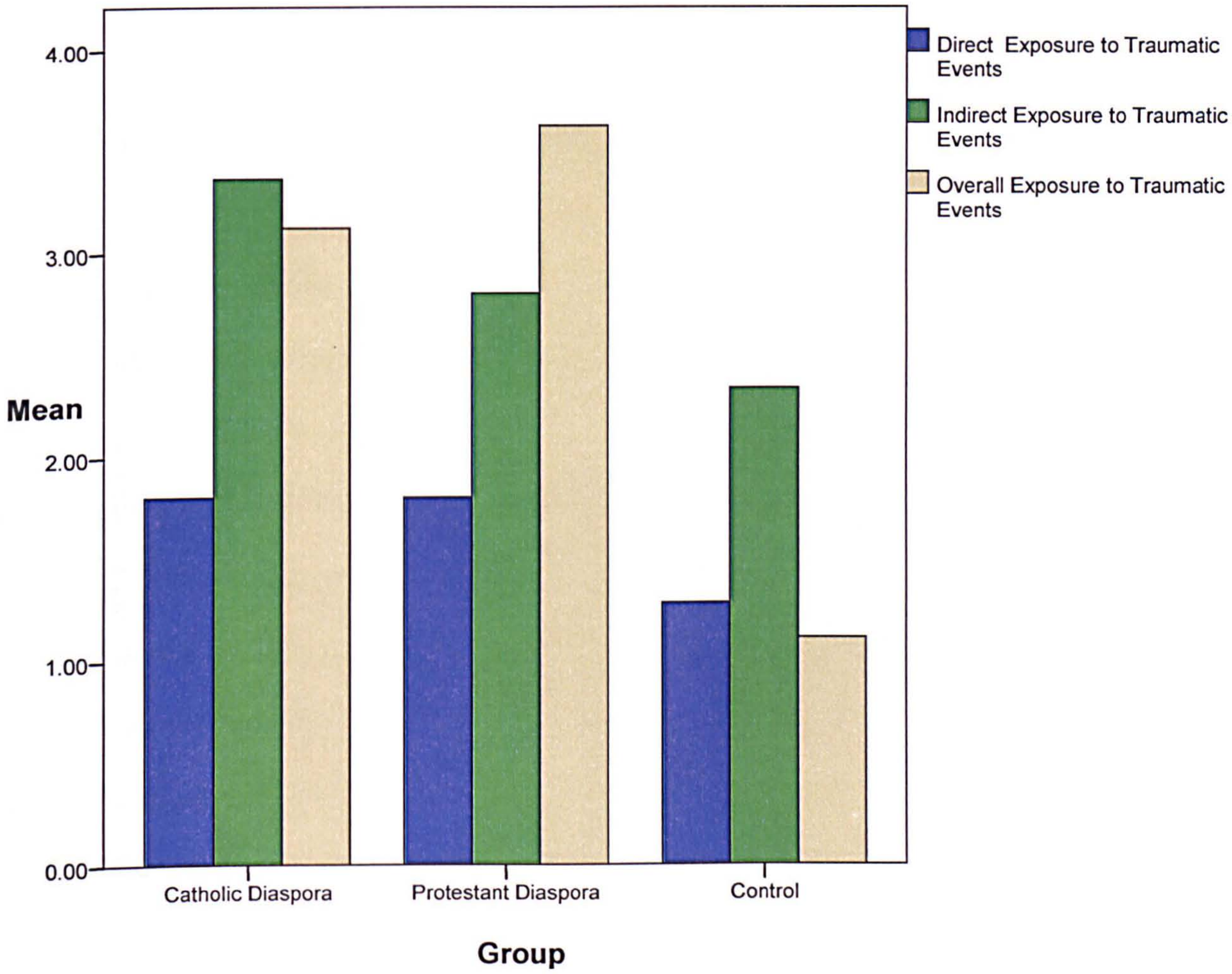


Figure 7: Reported levels of direct, indirect, and overall exposure to traumatic events for the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant Diasporic groups and the English Control Group.



Exposure to traumatic events for the Diaspora and control groups were initially analysed using a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). This analysis indicated that the differences between the Diaspora and control group were significant (*Wilks'* λ =.693, *F* =62.01, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.307). Further investigation revealed that there are significant differences between group effects for direct exposure to traumatic events (*F* (1, 407) =18.50, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.042), indirect exposure to traumatic events (*F* (1, 407) =24.34, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.055), and overall exposure to traumatic events (*F* (1, 407) =173.72, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.292).

Analysis also indicated that there were significant differences between the English control group, the Northern Ireland Diaspora, and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora (*Wilks'* λ =.730, *F* =23.08, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.146). Further investigation revealed that there are significant between groups effects for direct exposure to traumatic events (*F* (2, 408) =14.22, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.065), indirect exposure to traumatic events (*F* (2, 408) =13.65, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.063) and overall exposure to traumatic events (*F* (2, 408) =72.87, p<0.001, partial η^2 =.263). Post hoc (Tukey HSD) comparisons indicate that:

i) For direct exposure to traumatic events, there is a significant difference between the English control group (M=1.28, SD=1.16) and the Northern Irish Diaspora (M=1.92, SD=1.18) (p<0.001), and between the Northern Ireland (M=1.92, SD=1.18) and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora (M=1.53, SD=1.28) (p<0.05), but not between the English control group (M=1.28, SD=1.16) and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora (M=1.53, SD=1.28) (p>0.05);

ii) For indirect exposure to traumatic events, there is a significant difference between the English control group (M=2.33, SD=1.74) and the Northern Irish Diaspora (M=3.36, SD=1.87) (p<0.001), but not between the English control group

(M=2.33, SD=1.74) and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora (M=3.00, SD=2.14) ($p>0.05$), or between the Diasporic groups from Northern Ireland (M=3.36, SD=1.87) and the Republic of Ireland (M=3.00, SD=2.14) ($p>0.05$);

iii) For overall exposure to traumatic events, there is a significant difference between the English control group (M=1.11, SD=.79) and the Northern Irish Diaspora (M=3.38, SD=2.03) ($p<0.001$), between the English control group (M=1.11, SD=.79) and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora (M=2.65, SD=1.79) ($p<0.001$), and between the Diasporic groups from Northern Ireland (M=3.38, SD=2.03) and the Republic of Ireland (M=2.65, SD=1.79) ($p<0.01$).

MANOVA analysis also indicated that there are significant differences between the English control group, the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora (*Wilks' λ* =.657, *F* (4, 342) =31.44, $p<0.001$, partial η^2 =.189) in terms of exposure to traumatic events. Further investigation revealed that there are significant between group effects for direct exposure to traumatic events (*F* (2, 406) =9.34, $p<0.001$, partial η^2 =.044), indirect exposure to traumatic events (*F* (2, 406) =14.02, $p<0.001$, partial η^2 =.065), and for overall exposure to traumatic events (*F* (2, 406) =91.10, $p<0.001$, partial η^2 =.310), with post hoc (Tukey HSD) comparisons indicating that:

i) For direct exposure to traumatic events, the differences are significant between the English control group (M=1.28, SD=1.16) and the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora (M=1.80, SD=1.22) ($p<0.001$), and between the English control group (M=1.28, SD=1.16) and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora (M=1.80, SD=1.21) ($p<0.001$), but not between the Northern Irish Catholic (M=1.80, SD=1.22) and Protestant (M=1.80, SD=1.21) diasporic groups ($p>0.05$);

ii) For indirect exposure to traumatic events, there are significant differences between the English control group (M=2.33, SD=1.74) and the Northern Irish Catholic (M=3.36, SD=1.94) Diaspora ($p<0.001$), but not between the English control group (M=2.36, SD=1.74) and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora (M=2.80, SD=1.78) ($p>0.05$) or between the Northern Irish Catholic (M=3.36, SD=1.94)and Protestant (M=2.80, SD=1.78) diasporic groups ($p>0.05$);

iii) For overall exposure to traumatic events, there are significant differences between the English control group (M=1.11, SD=.79)and the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora (M=3.12, SD=1.92) ($p<0.001$), and between the English control group (M=1.11, SD=.79) and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora (M=3.62, SD=2.19) ($p<0.001$), but not between the Northern Irish Catholic (M=3.12, SD=1.92) and Protestant (M=3.62, SD=2.19) diasporic groups ($p>0.05$).

Exposure to Traumatic Events and Religious Orientations

The relationship between exposure to traumatic events and religious orientation was also assessed. These relationships for the Northern Irish Diaspora, the Diaspora from the Republic of Ireland, the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora, and the English Control Group are illustrated in Tables 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 (respectively) below[1].

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[1] A Bonferroni Correction was applied due to multiple comparisons. As a result, the p-value was multiplied by the number of correlations carried out and then compared against the $p<0.05$.

Table 9: Correlation matrix to illustrate the relationships between direct, indirect, and overall exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations for the Northern Irish Diaspora.

	Direct Exposure to Traumatic Events	**Indirect Exposure to Traumatic Events**	**Overall Exposure to Traumatic Events**
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	.115	.108	.070
Extrinsic Religious Orientation	.067	.017	.076

** Significant at p<0.01
* Significant at p<0.05

Table 9, above, indicates that none of the correlations between type of exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations were significant for the Northern Irish Diaspora.

Table 10: Correlation matrix to illustrate the relationships between direct, indirect, and overall exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations for the Diaspora from the Republic of Ireland

	Direct Exposure to Traumatic Events	**Indirect Exposure to Traumatic Events**	**Overall Exposure to Traumatic Events**
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	.107	.188	-.119
Extrinsic Religious Orientation	.278	.271	.021

** Significant at p<0.01
* Significant at p<0.05

Table 10, above, indicates that none of the correlations between type of exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations were significant for the Republic of Ireland Diaspora.

Table 11: Correlation matrix to illustrate the relationships between direct, indirect, and overall exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations for the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora.

	Direct Exposure to Traumatic Events	**Indirect Exposure to Traumatic Events**	**Overall Exposure to Traumatic Events**
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	.082	.112	.001
Extrinsic Religious Orientation	.081	.162*	.056

** Significant at $p<0.01$
* Significant at $p<0.05$

Table 11, above, indicates that for the Catholic Diaspora there is a significant positive correlation between indirect exposure to traumatic events and extrinsic religious orientation (r .162, $p<0.05$), although all other correlations failed to reach significance ($p>0.05$)

Table 12: Correlation matrix to illustrate the relationships between direct, indirect, and overall exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations for the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora.

	Direct Exposure to Traumatic Events	**Indirect Exposure to Traumatic Events**	**Overall Exposure to Traumatic Events**
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	.165	.216	-101
Extrinsic Religious Orientation	-.033	-.134	.062

** Significant at p<0.01
* Significant at p<0.05

Table 12, above, indicates that none of the correlations between type of exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations were significant for members of the Protestant Diaspora.

Table 13: Correlation matrix to illustrate the relationships between direct, indirect, and overall exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations for the English Control Group.

	Direct Exposure to Traumatic Events	**Indirect Exposure to Traumatic Events**	**Overall Exposure to Traumatic Events**
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	-.159	-.211*	-.207*
Extrinsic Religious Orientation	-.047	-.064	-.009

** Significant at p<0.01
* Significant at p<0.05

Table 13 illustrates that there are significant negative correlations between intrinsic religious orientation and indirect exposure to traumatic events (r -.211, p<0.05), and between intrinsic religious orientations and overall exposure to traumatic events (r -.207, p<0.05) for the English Control Group.

Exposure to Traumatic Events and Specific Religious Practices

The relationships between direct, indirect, and overall exposure to traumatic events and specific religious practices (spending time in private thought and prayer, living life according to religious beliefs, basing one's whole approach to life on religious beliefs, and preferred frequency of church attendance) were investigated for the Northern Irish Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora. It was determined that there is a significant positive correlation between indirect exposure to traumatic events and spending time in private thought and prayer for members of the Republic of Ireland's Diaspora ($r = .364, p < 0.05$), but all other correlations, for all Diasporic groups, failed to reach significance ($p > 0.05$).

For members of the English control group, it was determined that there are significant negative correlations between indirect exposure to traumatic events and time spent in private thought and prayer ($r = -.206, p < 0.05$), between overall exposure to traumatic events and time spent in private thought and prayer ($r = -.231, p < 0.05$), and between overall exposure to traumatic events and basing one's whole approach to life on religion ($r = -.196, p < 0.05$). All other correlations for the English control group failed to reach significance ($p > 0.05$).

Social, National, and Political Identities and Exposure to Traumatic Events

In order to assess social, national, and political identities and exposure to traumatic events (direct and indirect), further statistical analysis was performed.

Northern Irish Diaspora

For the Northern Irish diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there are no significant associations between social, national, and political identities and direct exposure to traumatic events (R^2=.058, F(10, 160) =.983, p>0.05). The multiple regression model indicated that direct exposure to traumatic events is not significantly predicted by any of the social, national, or political identity predictor variables (p>0.05).

Similarly, for the Northern Irish diasporic sample, multiple regression analysis indicated that there are no significant associations between social, national, and political identities and indirect exposure to traumatic events (R^2=.061, F(10, 160) =1.031, p>0.05). The multiple regression model indicated that direct exposure to traumatic events is not significantly predicted by any of the social, national, or political identity predictor variables (p>0.05).

Republic of Ireland Diaspora

For the sample from the Republic of Ireland, there were no significant associations between social, national, and political identities and direct exposure to traumatic events (R^2=.281, F(10, 34) =.1.326, p>0.05). The multiple regression model for the sample from the Republic of Ireland indicated that direct exposure to traumatic events is not significantly predicted by any of the social, national, or political identity predictor variables ($p>0.05$).

For the sample from the Republic of Ireland, multiple regression analysis indicated that there are significant associations between social, national, and political identities and indirect exposure to traumatic events ($R^2=.459$, $F(10, 34)=2.879$, $p<0.05$). The multiple regression model indicated that indirect exposure to traumatic events is significantly predicted by identification with the English identity ($\beta=-.204$, $p<0.01$), loyalist identity ($\beta=2.234$, $p<0.01$) and European identity ($\beta=-.341$, $p<0.05$), but not by any of the other social, national, or political identity predictor variables ($p>0.05$).

Summary of Findings

Data analysis offers support to the hypothesis that there will be significant differences between levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Ireland Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora and the English control group, with the Northern Irish Diaspora experiencing significantly higher levels of exposure to traumatic events (Wilks' $\lambda=.693$, $F=62.01$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2=.307$).

Data analysis also provides partial support for the hypothesis that there will be significant differences between levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups and the English control group, with the diasporic groups experiencing higher levels of exposure to traumatic events than the English control group (Wilks' $\lambda=.657$, $F(4, 342)=31.44$, $p<0.001$, partial $\eta^2=.189$), though this is only true of direct exposure to traumatic events and overall exposure to traumatic events. For indirect exposure to traumatic events, there is no significant difference between the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora and the English control group ($p>0.05$).

In addition, the current analysis provides partial support for the hypothesis that there will be significant associations between exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations. With regard to this, the hypothesis is supported by the relationship between indirect exposure and extrinsic religious orientations for the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora ($r = .162$, $p<0.05$), and by the relationship between indirect exposure to traumatic events and intrinsic religious orientations ($r = -.211$, $p<0.05$) for the English control group.

The current findings did not offer support to the hypothesis that levels of exposure to traumatic events will be significantly predicted by social, national, and political identities for the Northern Irish Diaspora ($p>0.05$).

Chapter 12

Discussion

The aim of the current research was to assess the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England. The results of this investigation and an analysis of the findings in relation to the hypotheses will now be discussed.

12.1 Social, National, and Political Identities

The results of the present study support the hypothesis that there will be a significant difference between the social, national, and political identities of members of the Northern Irish Diaspora and members of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora. This finding lends support to Tajfel's (1972a) Social Identity Theory, and suggests that individuals do construct their social identities around key areas such as nationality. Further, this finding in the current study indicates support for Stern's (1995) suggestion that identity is bound together with nationality, and that continued identification with ones nation is an inevitable result of the "primordial attachments" that individuals have to these nations, which are "cemented in ties such as ethnicity, language, race, culture, religion, community, and kinship" (p.217).

However, this analysis concluded that the effect size for this difference was statistically small, which would appear to indicate that although the two groups display differences in terms of their social, national, and political identities, these differences, although statistically significant, are not great in absolute terms. This may be because both groups are members of the Diaspora in England, they are receiving the same impact upon their identities and both groups are striving to achieve the same sense of distinction from their English counterparts rather than from each other. The largest effect was in terms of Northern Irish identity, which saw the Republic of Ireland Diaspora identifying themselves as Northern Irish 14.1% of the time, and the Northern Irish Diaspora identifying themselves as Northern Irish 63.1% of the time. Given the geographical realities of the sites of emigration, this difference would be expected between these two groups. The members of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora who identified themselves as Northern Irish, it is suggested, likely did so because this identity has the potential to refer to areas of the north of the island of Ireland (Trew, 1994), and therefore incorporates areas such as Donegal which, although geographically in the north, remains a part of the Republic of Ireland.

The results of the present study support the hypothesis that there will be a significant difference between the social, national, and political identities of members of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1972a) suggests that any social category to which an individual belongs provides that individual with a social identity commensurate with that category. In terms of social identities in Northern Ireland, because the religious categories of Catholic and Protestant are underpinned by social, national, and political identities (Waddell & Cairns, 1986), Catholic and Protestant individuals are likely to hold social, national, and political identities commensurate with their Catholic and Protestant religions, which indicate political ideologies in terms of the relative status of Northern Ireland. The current research supports this suggestion and, in line with SIT, has determined that Catholic and Protestant individuals hold specific social, national, and political identities.

This finding lends support to the suggestion made by Waddell and Cairns (1986) that Catholics and Protestants remain divided in terms of their social, national, and political identities on every occasion. Further, it would appear that although this statement by Waddell and Cairns was made in regard to Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, the current study demonstrates a similar importance of social identity in the Northern Irish Diaspora and the importance of social identity in Northern Ireland, with this identity mitigating "any overall or large scale tendency to cross the ethnic divide" (Waddell & Cairns, 1986, p.29). In terms of the diaspora, Catholics identified themselves as predominantly Irish, and identified to a lesser extent with the Northern Irish, European, Nationalist and Republican identity categories, while the Protestants identifies themselves as predominantly Northern Irish and British, with the Ulsterman/woman, Irish, European, and Unionist categories being selected less often as identity choices.

These identity selections lend support to Waddell and Cairns' (1986) suggestion that although Catholics in Northern Ireland never feel British, Protestants do, on occasion, feel Irish, suggesting a more complex sense of social identity for Protestants than for Catholics. Catholic respondents indicated that they felt British only 10% of the time, while their Protestant counterparts indicated that they felt Irish 31% of the time[1]. In the current study, the largest effect sizes were seen for the differences between the British and Irish identities, which would indicate that Waddell and Cairns' (1986) suggestion that Northern Irish society is structured around "two competing ethnopolitical social identities, Irish and British, which are underpinned, to a large extent, by Catholic and Protestant religions respectively" (p.25-6) holds true for members of the diaspora in England.

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[1] In terms of the association between Catholic-ness and Irishness, and Protestant-ness and Britishness, a correlation was carried out. This analysis determined that there is a significant positive correlation between religious and national identities. For details of this analysis, see appendix 9.

When the social identity selections of the Northern Irish Diaspora, as determined in the current study, are compared with those identities selected by members of the population in Northern Ireland (Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey, 2002), it can be seen that members of the diaspora appear to have a more complex identity than their counterparts in Northern Ireland (see appendix 5 for comparisons). Indeed, although levels of identification with Britain and with unionism are lower in members of the diaspora, levels of identification with other identity choices are higher, indicating that the Northern Irish Diaspora members in England are less clear in terms of the identity groups that they belong to. It is possible that this finding lends support to the suggestions made by Hickman (2000) that a positive sense of identity is lacking in this diasporic group in England, and that Kelleher and Hillier's (1996) suggestion that although in other countries (e.g. the USA) these migrants may assimilate into society with ease, this is not the case in the UK. As a result of this, it may be said that the current findings lend support to Kelleher and Hillier's (1996) suggestion that although individuals may assimilate well in England, they often fail to develop a secure sense of identity.

Further, as Protestants in the current study identified themselves as feeling Irish almost one third of the time, it would appear that Ferguson's (1990) suggestion that Protestants in Northern Ireland are fearful of identifying themselves as Irish because of the associations that this identity has with Republican violence does not hold true for members of the diaspora in England. Indeed, Catholic respondents in the current study accepted the Republican identity label and freely acknowledged that they identify themselves as Republican approximately 40% of the time. Protestant respondents similarly accepted the Loyalist identity, albeit to a lesser extent (admitting to identifying with this identity approximately 20% of the time).

In terms of the acceptance of these Loyalist and Republican identities, it may be that as members of the diaspora, rather than as inhabitants of Northern Ireland, the respondents in the current study felt more able to accept these identities without the burden of adhering to the politics of the identity choice. Further, it may be that recent advances in the Northern Ireland Peace Process, the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons, and the paramilitary pledges to pursue a peaceful solution to the problems in Northern Ireland, have made these individuals more open to accepting these identities as legitimate.

When these identity selections by members of the Northern Irish Diaspora are compared with those made by people living in Northern Ireland (see appendix 5), it can be seen that although levels of identification with British identity for Protestants in Northern Ireland, and Protestant members of the Northern Irish Diaspora are similar (75.6% and 71.3% respectively), levels of identification with the Irish identity are different between the Catholic respondents from Northern Ireland and those from the Northern Irish Diaspora (59.7% and 90.9% respectively). It is possible to explain these differences in identity between Catholic members of the Northern Irish Diaspora and Catholics living in Northern Ireland in terms of Social Identity Theory and related theories.

SIT suggests that when an identity is threatened, increased levels of identification within the in-group can arise (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). If the research relating to members of the Irish and Northern Irish in England (Hickman, 2000; Hickman & Walter, 1997; Harding & Balarajan, 1996a; Ryan, 1990; Greenslade, 1994) is correct and members of this diasporic group in England have found it difficult to develop a positive sense of identity because of either insufficient support from the Catholic Church (Hickman, 2000), Ireland's history of colonisation (Ryan, 1990; Greenslade, 1994), anti-Irish racism (Hickman & Walter, 1997) , or the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland (Harding & Balarajan, 1996a) then it is possible that this diasporic community in England have felt their sense of Irishness threatened and have therefore reacted in the way that SIT would suggest, and have increased their willingness to contribute to the group cause, in this case the promotion of a positive identity, and increase their self-esteem as a result of this (Stern, 1995).

In addition to this, Brewer (1991) has suggested that social identity salience is subject to changes in social context. What Brewer suggests here is that the frame of reference for social comparison will change in line with the social context. As a result of this, the meanings that are ascribed to social identities may be subject to change as the social context changes. It is possible to suggest, therefore, that the identity label of 'Irish' may hold a different meaning for the diaspora respondents than it does for those respondents living in Northern Ireland and therefore this may explain the higher identifications from the diasporic group. It is possible that the identity label of Irish does not hold the political connotations in England that it would in Northern Ireland (where Irishness is seen as synonymous with Catholicism and the related political ideology).

In addition to this, Trew (1994) has suggested that identities of the Northern Irish people may change in line with their social context, whereby people from Northern Ireland may identify themselves as Irish when visiting Britain. It is suggested that this is the case in the current study. The explanation offered for this is that if social identities are useful in providing distinctiveness (Brewer 1991), and if Northern Irish Diaspora members hail from a place which is at once British and Irish (Trew, 1994), then whilst in England the need for differentiation will determine that their sense of Irishness comes to the fore in a way that is qualitatively and quantitatively different from in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, although social identities also fulfil a need for acceptance, the high prevalence of Irish cultural clubs and community organisations in England (Ullah 1990), coupled with the commemorative practices such as St. Patrick's Day celebrations, ensure that this need for acceptance is fostered amongst the diaspora members in England (Halbwachs, 1980; Billig, 1995; Cornin & Adair, 2002; Gilzean & McAuley, 2003).

In addition to this, where the Northern Irish identity was more attractive to Protestant Diaspora members (76.2%, in contrast to 44.8% for Catholic Diaspora respondents), for those respondents living in Northern Ireland, it was the Catholic cohort which found the Northern Irish identity more acceptable (25.3%, as opposed to the 12.6% reported by Protestants in Northern Ireland), although it is true to say that Northern Irish Diaspora members, on the whole, found this Northern Irish identity label more appropriate than those individuals living in Northern Ireland. There are a number of possible explanations for this.

Firstly, in terms of diaspora members accepting the Northern Irish identity more readily than those individuals living in Northern Ireland, it is suggested that context specificity is again important. It is possible that diaspora members see this identity as being a geographical reality, rather than a political ideology, as being accurately descriptive of the area of the island of Ireland from which they originate. In this way, it is possible that the diaspora members are using this identity as a way of indicating that they are more than 'just Irish', they are keen to possess an identity which is specifically and explicitly derived from the place they call home.

However, as Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora members accepted this identity label on a significantly greater scale than their Catholic counterparts, it is unlikely that the political connotation of the identity is unnoticed and as a result of this, this identity is more acceptable to the Northern Irish Protestant diasporic community than the Catholic diasporic community. However, it is important not to overlook the fact that Catholic Diaspora members did accept this identity, albeit to a lesser extent, and therefore it is possible that Moxon-Browne (1991) and Trew's (1994) suggestions hold true for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora and that the Northern Irish identity label is attractive to both Catholics and Protestants, whereby Catholics may interpret this identity as referring to the whole of the North of Ireland, while Protestants may interpret it as referring to the province of Northern Ireland: a component of the United Kingdom.

However, it is important to acknowledge that although members of the Catholic Diaspora were willing to choose the Northern Irish identity label, the difference between this identity selection for Catholics and Protestants remains significant, albeit with a small effect size, and therefore it is necessary to acknowledge that the Northern Irish identity labels falls someway short of meeting the identity requirements of Catholic Diaspora members. It may be that, as Brewer (1991) suggests, the need for differentiation and distinctiveness, as suggested by the Optimal Distinctiveness Model, overrides the possibility of a common identity and that the Irish and British identity labels serve to maintain the need for distinctiveness in a way that affords both Catholic and Protestant Diaspora members a positive sense of identity. Brewer has further suggested that when distinctiveness is lacking, individuals may strive to increase it by making attempts to restore the intergroup differences. This suggestion by Brewer, along with Spears et al.'s (2002) suggestion of the Relative Distinctiveness Model, whereby as groups become similar they seek distinction and differentiation, may go some way to explaining the lack of support for Northern Irish identity. Indeed, as Self Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1982) maintains, high levels of distinctiveness provide the group with clear boundaries and, in turn, increased levels of group salience.

In terms of European identity, members of the Northern Irish Diaspora saw this identity as being more relevant than the 2002 Northern Irish sample (see appendix 5), with much higher levels of identification with Europe for Catholic Diaspora members than for Catholics in Northern Ireland (41.7% and 0.4% respectively) and higher levels of identification with Europe for Protestant Diaspora members than for Protestants in Northern Ireland (21.9% and 0.3% respectively). In terms of identity acceptance, these differences in identification with Europe are large and it may be that SIT and related theories can, again, offer an explanation for this.

Brewer's (1991) Optimal Distinctiveness Model suggests that social identities fulfil both the need for acceptance and the need for differentiation. In terms of the respondents from Northern Ireland, it could be suggested that, given Brewer's (1991) assertions regarding social identities meeting the need for differentiation, the presence of an encompassing identity, such as European, in Northern Ireland, which has the ability to encompass the British Protestant and Irish Catholic identities, may be perceived as a threat to both groups, whereby the degree of similarity between the two groups that would be indicated by the selection of this identity may lead to both groups feeling that their identities are threatened and therefore making a more concerted effort to identify with the original British / Irish identity.

It is also possible, however, that these large increases in identification with Europe in the diasporic sample can be explained in terms of migration. It is possible that the act of migration, or the reality of being a migrant in England, has led to a more focused realisation of the meaning of being European. These migrants emigrated from another European country and, as such, have likely been exposed to the migration experiences of other non-European migrants. This may have resulted in a heightened awareness of the fact that they were intra-European migrants, and this, in turn, may have strengthened this identity. Indeed, Brettell and Hollifield (2000) suggest that migration effects cultural change and affects ethnic identity, and if this is the case, then it is reasonable to assume that the act of migration may result in an increased identification with the continent that, even after migration, remains their home.
In addition to this, when the identity choices of the diasporic samples are compared with those selections made by the Northern Irish sample (NILT, 2002), it can be seen that the diasporic groups are more likely to accept the Ulster identity than their

indigenous Northern Irish counterparts. Again, it is possible that this Ulster identity represents a geographical reality to the current participants, whereby they are able to indicate in a more specific and descriptive way the area of Ireland from which they originate. It would seem that this identity, in common with the Northern Irish identity, is able to offer diasporic groups a way of indicating that they are more than Irish, more than Northern Irish, they have specific identities which are directly related to the area of Ireland / Northern Ireland from which they or their family emigrated, and that are more relevant to them than the Irish or Northern Irish labels which may be given to them by members of their host society.

In terms of the identities that are accepted by Catholic and Protestant members of the Irish Diaspora, it would appear that the suggestions of Crisp, Hewstone and Cairns (2001), and Ferguson and Gordon (2007), are supported in the current study and that identities are more complex than the Catholic-Protestant dichotomy would suggest. Indeed, the findings of the current research indicate that members of both the Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups hold more than one salient identity at a time. Further, the findings of the current research offer support to Crisp et al.'s suggestion that although identities in Northern Ireland are complex, religion is the presiding basis for social categorisation in Northern Ireland. This would appear to be the case for members of the diaspora, with a definite cleavage between the identity choices for Catholics and Protestants being apparent. In addition to this, it would appear from the social identity selections of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups that these groups actually hold more complex identities than their counterparts in Northern Ireland, possibly, as previously suggested, because some of the political ideologies which correspond with certain identities in Northern Ireland are not strictly relevant in the diasporic setting, and therefore these groups are free to select any identity which resonates with them.

In addition to this, it is suggested that the identity labels which are available to individuals both in Northern Ireland and in the diaspora have different meanings depending upon the group to which the individual belongs. It is suggested here that the meanings behind the identity labels need to be addressed if a thorough understanding of these identities is to be achieved. It is therefore suggested that future research should seek to employ a qualitative methodological approach and examine the meanings behind the identities for members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora when compared to there counterparts in Ireland and Northern Ireland. In this way, the suggestions made in the current study regarding the readiness of the diaspora to select identities which appear unfavourable to those individuals in Northern Ireland may be confirmed, and additional theories offered.

Boekestijn (1988) has suggested that migrant communities often face difficulties in terms of assimilating into a host society whilst simultaneously maintaining links with their homeland. In the case of the current study, Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora members in England appear to have achieved this assimilation while maintaining established links with their home in Ireland / Northern Ireland. There are a number of possible explanations for this: Firstly, many of the respondents who took part in the current research were not the first members of their family to migrate. Many had seen their great grandparents, grandparents, parents, and siblings emigrate from Ireland / Northern Ireland and therefore came to England with links already established in the host society, and experience of how best to maintain a connection with their place of origin. Secondly, many of the respondents (75.6%) were not first generation migrants; rather, they were born in England to Irish / Northern Irish parents and, as such, were able to claim dual identity as British / Irish / Northern Irish as they so wished.

However, the identity differences in the current diasporic sample, with the clear division between Protestants as British and Catholics as Irish, lend support to the suggestion that because the chasm in Northern Irish society is so well established, members of the diaspora in England have a need to maintain this gulf. This could be explained in terms of social identity theory, where it is suggested that because social identities are evaluative, in-group and out-group distinctions need to be maintained in order to develop a positive evaluative bias (Hogg & Abrams, 1988) which favours the in-group and as such, if the in-group / out-group distinction is removed, so too is one of the connections with the homeland that Boekestijn (1988) indicates as being so important in terms of migrant groups.

In terms of the differences between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups in the current study, although it is true to say that the diasporic groups in England are more willing to accept identities which may counter the societal divide (such as Northern Irish and European) than people who live in Northern Ireland (Trew, 1994) the selection of highly polarised identities such as Irish and British by members of the Catholic and Protestant Diaspora requires attention.

Research by Stern (1995) has suggested that social and national identities are likely to increase when there is the presence of threat or conflict. In particular what Stern suggests is that if the group is under threat or involved in a conflict, the willingness of the individual to contribute to and identify with the group will increase and, in turn, self-esteem will be increased. In the case of the current research, although the diasporic groups in England are not under threat, and are not experiencing direct conflict, the history of Northern Ireland dictates that the Catholic and Protestant groups in the province have spent the last thirty-nine years in a situation where threat and conflict was experienced on regular basis and this resulted in strengthened senses of identity in the province (e.g. Waddell & Cairns, 1986). It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that if identities in the homeland are threatened and consequently strengthened as a result of that threat, then identities in the diaspora may mimic those in Northern Ireland and become stronger and more divided as the conflict continued. Indeed, as Lavie and Swedenburg (1996) suggest, the term diaspora indicates an established and permanent association between identities and specific places, and there is no reason to believe that this should fail to be the case for members of the Irish Diaspora, who seemingly remain loyal to their identity groups even upon leaving Northern Ireland.

Another possible reason for this group loyalty in members of the diaspora lends support to the suggestions made by Tajfel and Turner (1979), Ellemers, Wilke, and von Knippenberg (1993) and Ellemers, von Knippenberg, de Vries, and Wilke (1988) who suggest that identity change is determined by the permeability of group boundaries. In terms of the current research findings, if members of the Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups maintain the identities that are present in Northern Ireland, and if, as researchers (e.g. Waddell and Cairns, 1986; Moxon-Browne 1991; Cairns, Lewis, Mumcu & Waddell, 1998) suggest, these identities are underpinned by the Catholic and Protestant religions, then identity change would be almost impossible as it would require a shift in the fundamental religious beliefs of the individuals. Indeed, analysis showed that there are significant associations between Irishness and Catholicism and between Britishness and Protestantism, indicating that for many of the respondents, identifying oneself as Irish was tantamount to identifying themselves as Catholic, and similarly for Protestant respondents, this identity is seen as synonymous with Britishness (see appendix 9).

In addition to this, the research by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and Ellemers et al. (1993) suggests that when group boundaries are impermeable, i.e. direct access to another group is not possible, as is the case with the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant groups, then strategies such as social creativity and social change will be utilised. These strategies involve either altering the comparative dimension of the groups in order that the in-group compares favourably (social creativity) or altering the relative status of the in- and out-group via a process of direct competition (social change). These processes of social creativity and social change are the most common in Northern Ireland and result in a direct increase in group loyalty and self-esteem. It would appear, from the current research findings, that the diasporic groups also employ these strategies, because the underpinning of 'Irish' and 'British' identities by religious affiliations makes identity change similarly impossible.

In terms of the identity selections made by the current respondents, it is important, before moving on, that the large standard deviations related to the mean levels of identification are addressed. While some of the identities have relatively small standard deviations (e.g. Unionist identity for the Republic of Ireland Diaspora), other groups are exhibiting comparatively large standard deviations (e.g. Nationalist identity for the Northern Irish Diaspora) and there are a number of possible reasons for this.

It is possible that the large variances in the identity scores are due to geographical issues and issues of religion. For example, participants that made up the Northern Irish Diaspora group were a mix of both Catholic and Protestant, other, and no religious affiliation and given the strong links between identity and religion that exist in the Northern Ireland diasporic population (see appendix 9), it is possible that for this diasporic subgroup the variance in the scores was affected by religion: with Catholics selecting higher levels of identification with identities such as Irish and European, coupled with Protestants selecting low levels of identification with these identity options, thus resulting in large variations overall.

In addition, with regard to geographical issues, some of the identity selections available would be dependent upon geographical locations of origin of the respondents. For example, certain areas of Northern Ireland are identified as Nationalist areas, others as Unionist areas, as such if a respondent hails from one of these areas then that would impact upon the tendency of the participant to view themselves as 'Irish', 'Northern Irish', etc. Although it may be true that this is also linked to religious affiliations, it is important that the geographical issue not be overlooked.

In terms of the large standard deviations that were achieved for the Republic of Ireland diasporic sample, it is possible that these are linked to geographical and political factors, and to the identities to which other members of their families subscribe. For example, the European identity may have become more appealing in recent years following Ireland's membership in the European Union (EU). As a consequence of this, it is possible that the variance in terms of this identity selection is a reflection of the respondents' agreement / disagreement with this EU membership. It is also possible that younger members of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora were more inclined to identify themselves as European, with older members being less inclined. However, when age was considered against these identity variables for both the Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland diasporic samples, none of the relationships reached significance (see appendix 10). It is therefore suggested that a qualitative approach be taken in future, which may assess these identities with greater regard to the meanings of such identity labels in order that these large variances be better understood.

With regard to the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups and the large variances which accompany their scored on identity selection, although it is true to say that these variances are not as large as those for the whole Northern Irish diasporic sample – thus lending support to the suggestion that religion may explain some of this variance – it is still true to say that the variances are large and this, again, requires attention.

In terms of the variances for these Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups, it is possible that life as a migrant in a host society is affecting identification levels in some participants, thereby causing some of the large variances in levels of identification. For example, is, as Boekestijn (1988) suggests, diasporic groups simultaneously desire assimilation into the host culture coupled with the maintenance of their sense of identity associated with their homeland, then it may be that while some of these individuals have assimilated well into British society and are more freely able to identify with British / English identities, others may be less able to do this and may have a greater tendency to continue identifying themselves in a way which promotes maintained attachments with their place of origin (McDowell, 2003).

With regard to these large variances in scores, age was again considered as a possible explanation, where it was suggested that with the onset of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland, assimilation into British society may have lead to younger migrants being more willing than the older migrants to open up their identity. However, when this analysis was carried out, the only significant association was between age and British identity for the Northern Irish Catholic respondents. This significant weak positive correlation would seem to indicate that as the participants increased in age, they were significantly more likely to identify themselves as British than their younger counterparts. This may be the result of the time of migration (with the possibility of older participants migrating away from Northern Ireland at the height of the 'Troubles') coupled with the possible desire to distance themselves from ay negative connotations of the Irish or Northern Irish identity during this time. Conversely, younger participants have witnessed a relatively successful Peace Process in Northern Ireland, and may therefore by more likely to maintain their links with 'home' by using the selection of the Irish, rather than British identity.

12.2 Religiosity and Religious Orientations

The results of the present study support the hypothesis that there will be significant differences between the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, Northern Ireland Diaspora and the English control group in terms of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy. The results of the present study indicated that the Republic of Ireland Diaspora demonstrated the highest levels of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy. This analysis concluded that the largest effect for these differences was between the English control groups and the Republic of Ireland Diaspora in terms of intrinsic religious orientation and religious orthodoxy.

These findings offer support to the suggestion made by Levitt (2003) that Irish migrants often find it difficult to separate their sense of 'Irishness' from their sense of 'Catholicness', thus resulting in reinforced religious identities. The findings of the current study suggest that members of the diaspora from the Republic of Ireland demonstrate more of a tendency to live their life according to their religious beliefs (intrinsic religious orientation), and to believe that Jesus Christ is alive in spirit (religious orthodoxy) than their Northern Irish and English counterparts. One possible explanation for this is that the majority of members of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora are Catholic, and the Catholic faith is typified by a rigid hierarchy (Stack, 1983) and ethical actions such as loving thy neighbour (Stark & Glock, 1968), which need to take place on a daily basis in order to fulfil the requirements of the religion. It is likely as a result of this that the Republic of Ireland Diaspora have increased levels of religious belief and involvement.

A second possible explanation for this finding lends support to the suggestion made by Burris and Jackson (2000) who suggest that religion is one of the key areas around which identity is developed, and it may be that the higher levels of religious commitment exhibited by the Republic of Ireland Diaspora are the result of a striving to develop and maintain a positive sense of identity. If this is the case, it may be that these respondents are utilising religion in order to help stabilise their identity which may otherwise be challenged in a diasporic society.

The findings of the present study do not support the hypothesis that there will be a significant difference between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups in terms of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy. These research findings fail to support the suggestion made by Hutchinson et al. (1998) that Catholics have an more intrinsic orientation toward their religion than Protestants, and neither do the findings support the conjecture of Rassin and Koster (2003) that Protestants report higher levels of religiosity than their Catholic counterparts. The present findings do, however, offer support to the suggestion made by Demerath (2000) that both Catholic and Protestant communities remain entangled in religious legacies which are transferred from generation to generation. The current findings indicated that although the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups did not differ significantly from each other, there were significant differences for intrinsic religiosity between the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora and the English control group, and between the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora and the English control group, with the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups demonstrating significantly higher levels of intrinsic religiosity than their English counterparts. In addition, the present findings indicate that there were significant differences between the Northern Irish Catholic diasporic group and the English control group for extrinsic religiosity, and between the Northern Irish Catholic diasporic group and the English control group and between the Northern Irish Protestant diasporic group and the English control group in terms of religious orthodoxy. The largest statistical effect here was in terms of religious orthodoxy, indicating that the Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups display higher levels of orthodoxy than their English counterparts. This may be as a result of what Vertovec (2000) describes as England's irreligious society.

These findings indicate that the Northern Irish diasporic groups are significantly more religious than their English counterparts. There are a number of explanations for this finding. Firstly, Williams (1988) has suggested that life in a migrant society can lead individuals to feel more religious, as religion is an identity which can promote cohesion amongst a migrant population. Further, Levitt (2003) has suggested that diasporic groups use religion as a way of creating and promoting affiliation in host societies. This may be why there was no significant difference between the Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups in terms of extrinsic religious orientations. If both communities use religion in order to fulfil the need for acceptance, then both groups would have similar views on the utilisation of religion for selfish gain.

In addition to this, Warner (1998) has suggested that in terms of diasporic religion, living in a host society results in the migrants becoming less complacent of their religion and more inclined to hold religious traditions in high regard. Warner further suggests that this is the case because, as members of a diasporic group, individuals are forced to recognise that their religion may have to change and develop in line with the religion of the host society and therefore a greater emphasis is placed on religion and religious identity. In terms of the current sample, it may be the case that members of the Catholic and Protestant Irish / Northern Irish Diaspora in England have had their religious views and commitments challenged and changed by living in a host society. A direct comparison between the intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations of a Northern Irish group and the current Northern Irish diasporic group (see appendix 6) indicates that the diasporic group are more intrinsic and more extrinsic in terms of their religious orientations than the Northern Irish comparison group (Moeschberger, Dixon, Niens & Cairns, 2005). It may be possible to explain these higher diaspora scores in terms of Vertovec's (2000) suggestion that the Northern Irish Diaspora in England may become more aware of their religion as a result of living in England: a predominantly irreligious society. This theory lends support to the current findings, which indicate that members of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups are more religious than their English counterparts. In addition to this, cross-sectional comparisons would appear to indicate that the Northern Irish in England are more religious than their counterparts in Northern Ireland. However, in order to determine the speed of development of religious attitudes, i.e. whether it is something which happens shortly after arrival in England or whether it is something which develops over time, would require a longitudinal study of migrants from Ireland / Northern Ireland which was beyond the scope of the current research.

Further, these increased levels of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity in members of the Northern Irish diasporic groups when compared to those people living in Northern Ireland may be explained in terms of the development of social identities around religious identities. It has been determined that religion is a stable and secure notion around which to base ones sense of social identity (Seul, 1999), and it has been determined that migrant communities often face difficulties in terms of assimilating into a host society whilst simultaneously maintaining links with their homeland (Boekestijn, 1988). It is possible that members of the Northern Irish Diaspora in England achieved this assimilation and simultaneously maintained links with their home in Northern Ireland via their religious beliefs and practices.

In addition, as has been suggested, it is possible that this diasporic community in England have felt their sense of Irishness threatened and have therefore reacted in the way that SIT would suggest, and have increased their levels of identity salience in order to promote a more positive identity within their in-group. As a result of this, if religion is one of the key areas around which identity is based (Stern, 1995), then it is possible that religious commitment has increased in line with identity salience.

The current study has also determined that for many of the respondents in the current study, identification with the Irish identity was significantly correlated with identification with Catholicism, while the Protestant identity was significantly correlated with the British identity (see appendix 9). The current findings would seem to indicate that a strengthening of one of these identities is resultant in a strengthening of the other.

Further research by Levitt (2003) has indicated that although both the Catholic and Protestant churches have tried to maintain links with their diasporic communities, it is the Catholic Church that has managed this with greater success. Levitt continues that while the Irish Catholic Diaspora often engage in parallel religious activities which strengthen and develop connections between the home and host communities, the Protestant Diaspora, in contrast, have witnessed these successful attempts by the Catholic Church juxtaposed with less successful and less structured attempts by their own Church. It is possible that these observations by members of the Protestant Diaspora have resulted in a lesser desire to maintain religious practices in host communities, although the current research findings do suggest significant differences in terms of both intrinsic religious orientations and religious orthodoxy between the Protestant Diaspora and the English control group. As a result of the findings of the current research, support cannot be offered to Levitt's (2003) suggestion that the Protestant Diaspora will decline in terms of their religious commitment upon moving to the host society. Indeed, direct comparisons (see appendix 6) indicate that the Protestant Diaspora exhibit greater levels of intrinsic religiosity than their counterparts in Northern Ireland. In addition to this, the current research findings do not offer support to Levitt's (2003) conclusion that the Protestant community are characterised by a comparatively weak and less powerful church community than the Catholic Diaspora.

With regard to the levels of intrinsic religious orientation, extrinsic religious orientation and religious orthodoxy exhibited by the current sample, it is again apparent that there are large standard deviations accompanying the mean scores. Further investigation of these variances in scores considered the impact that age may have had, for example, with levels of religious participation declining over the past 25 years (Demerath, 2000) it is possible that the scores at the lower end of this variance belong to the younger participants with the scores at the higher end belonging to the older participants. However, when these suggestions were tested (see appendix 10), the only significant relationship between age and religious attitude was a weak negative correlation between age and religious orthodoxy for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora, indicating, contrary to expectations, that the younger participants were more likely to exhibit higher levels of religious orthodoxy. It is possible that this can be explained in terms of Warner's (1998) suggestion that religion becomes more important to the migrant immediately after migration. As many of the younger participants in this study travelled to England to attend university, it is possible that the sense of religious belonging that they felt in Northern Ireland has declined and they are therefore striving to regain this, which has resulted in an increase in some levels of religiosity. In addition to this, as some of these younger participants were comparatively new migrants, it is possible that their sense of identity is being challenged and changed by the host society (Brah, 1996) and if this is the case, Seul's (1999) suggestion of religion acting as a stable and reliable anchor for social identity is true here and these individuals are strengthening their religious commitments in order to re-establish and reassert their identity.

With regard to the other large variances in the scores which cannot be explained by age related factors, it is possible that issues of identity are again important here. For example, some individuals may be utilising religion as a way of anchoring or stabilising their identity which others may have alternative means of doing this. Future research should seek to examine these relationships between identity and religion in a more thorough manner, and perhaps employ a qualitative approach which would allow the respondents to fully explain these relationships.

When specific religious practices were assessed, it was determined that although rates of church attendance on a weekly basis are lower in the diaspora than when compared to the Northern Irish population (see appendix 6), the majority of the current diasporic sample still attend church on a weekly basis. This would appear to support the suggestion that religion is salient for immigrants (Warner, 1998) and maintain Roe et al.'s (2002) assertion that although members of the diaspora attend church on a less frequent basis than their Northern Irish counterparts, it is not the case that they are non-practicing. Further, Herberg's (1960) suggestion that entering a host society does not lead to an abandoning of religious beliefs is upheld in the current study.

12.3 Dissociation and Dissociative Experiences

The present research findings support the hypothesis that there will be a significant difference between the levels of dissociation experienced by Northern Irish Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the English control group, but does not support the hypothesis that the Northern Irish Diaspora will exhibit the highest overall levels of dissociation. Findings from the current study indicated that the Northern Irish Diaspora had the lowest overall levels of dissociation, with the English control group exhibiting the highest overall levels, although the statistical effect size for these differences was small. There are a number of possible explanations for these findings.

Based on suggestions by a number of researchers (e.g. Schumaker, 1995; Price & Snow, 1998; Dorahy & Lewis, 1998; Putnam, 1991; Wilson & Cairns, 1992), in the current study it was hypothesised that members of the Northern Irish Diaspora would exhibit the greatest levels of non-pathological dissociation. Previous research has suggested that there is a positive correlation between exposure to traumatic events and non-pathological dissociative experiences (Dorahy, Lewis, Millar, & Gee, 2003) and between religious behaviour and non-pathological dissociative experiences (e.g. Schumaker, 1995; Price & Snow, 1998). Further, research by Dorahy and Lewis (1998) has suggested that direct and indirect exposure to political violence in Northern Ireland has been associated with dissociative experience in the Northern Irish population, while Wilson and Cairns (1992) have suggested that the effects of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland extend far beyond the immediate relatives of the victims.

In addition, Rose (1971) has indicated Northern Ireland as one of the most religious countries in the western world, while Dorahy and Lewis (1998) have considered the relationship between religion and dissociation in Northern Ireland. Given this information, it may be expected that members of the Northern Irish Diaspora would exhibit higher levels of non-pathological dissociation than both their Republic of Ireland counterparts and the English control group. However, the current research finding that members of the Northern Irish Diaspora exhibit the lowest levels of dissociation can be explained in a number of ways.

Although it has been suggested (Dorahy & Lewis, 1998) that individuals in Northern Ireland exhibit higher levels of dissociation as a result of direct and or indirect exposure to political violence, a number of studies have suggested that exposure to this political violence in the province may also elicit other coping strategies and defence mechanisms. Cairns and Wilson (1989) have suggested that individuals in Northern Ireland cope with repeated exposure to political violence by using the techniques of denial and distancing. It is possible, therefore, that the current sample does not use dissociation as a defence mechanism to protect against the experience of political violence, rather they may be employing other psychological techniques which have not been measured in the current study.

However, research has shown that dissociation may act as an ego defence mechanism whereby the individual is able to emotionally and psychologically flee a traumatic situation when actual physical flight is impossible (Herman, 1997). In the current study all respondents were members of a diasporic group, indicating that they have achieved actual physical removal of the self from a potentially traumatic environment, i.e. Northern Ireland. Given that the individuals in the current study have achieved this flight, it is possible that any short-term dissociative coping mechanism that was previously employed is no longer in use and the individual therefore does not experience heightened levels of dissociation.

In addition to these theories relating to the lack of relationship in the current sample between dissociation and exposure to traumatic events in Northern Ireland, previous research (e.g. Dorahy, Schumaker & Lewis, 1997) has suggested that religious worship coupled with religious suggestion is resultant in dissociative states. The low levels of dissociation that were apparent in the Northern Irish diasporic sample in the current study would not appear to support this research. However, as Dorahy (UR) determines, this resultant state of dissociation is one that serves to strengthen an individual's conviction to religious principles. As such, it is possible to suggest that this state of dissociation is not one which would be possible to identify on the self-report items on the DES, firstly because these individuals dissociate as an automatic response during times of religious worship and thus may not recall the dissociative experience and secondly, if they do recall the event they may identify it as a spiritual experience rather than as an act of non-pathological dissociation. Thirdly, when completing the DES, individuals are asked to consider whether the items apply to them on a common day in their lives and it may be true to say that although these highly religious individuals try hard to live their lives according to their religious beliefs, they do not engage in the actions are not resident in a dissociation accommodating environment every day of their lives (Dorahy, UR).

In terms of dissociation levels in the diasporic sample from the Republic of Ireland, these individuals displayed higher dissociation levels than their Northern Irish counterparts but lower levels than the English control group. There are a number of possible explanations for this. Firstly, because the Republic of Ireland diasporic group demonstrated higher levels of intrinsic religiosity and religious orthodoxy than the Northern Irish group, with these variables achieving the largest effect sizes in this analysis, there is possible support for the suggestion made by Schumaker (1995), Dorahy and Lewis (1998), and Price and Snow (1998) that there is a direct relationship between religious practice and dissociative experiences. A greater intrinsic religious orientation would indicate greater amounts of time spent engaging in private thought and prayer and religious ritual, and Price and Snow (1998) indicate that this behaviour may result in dissociative states which serve to strengthen religious belief and conviction. Further, in the current study, respondents from the Republic of Ireland diasporic group were more intrinsic than both the Northern Irish diasporic group and the English control group, and Simpson (1996) has suggested that because practice effects influence dissociation, those individuals who are more receptive to dissociative experiences are likely to be those who have a rigid belief system – and are therefore those who are more likely to be intrinsically religious.

However, in the current study, the sample with the highest overall level of dissociation was the English control group. This finding offers support to the suggestions made by Cochrane (1977), that members of the Irish Diaspora often exhibit better psychological adjustment on a number of scales when compared to their English counterparts. Possible explanations for this lie in the research suggestions made by van Dijk, Manchin, van Kesteren, Nevala and Hideg (2005), who indicate England as the country with the highest prevalence victimisation rates for ten common crimes in 1988, 1991, 1995, and 1999, which, when the link between fear of threat and dissociation (Foa & Hearst-Ikeda, 1996) is considered, may be responsible for the higher levels of dissociation that are present in the English control group in the current study.

With regard to this relationship between fear, threat, and dissociation, a number of researchers have made suggestions. Classen et al. (1993) have suggested psychological distress may manifest itself in the form of fears, and Gershuny and Thayer (1999) have continued that dissociation may relate to very basic fears – especially those fears relating to a loss or lack of control. Further, Gurshuny, Cloitre and Otto (2003) have continued that those people who report greater fears of losing control during a traumatic event report higher levels of dissociation.

Further research in this area has determined that fear levels can change depending upon the information received concerning threat and safety (Mol, Baas, Grillon, van

Ooijen & Kenemans, 2007) and that these threats can affect behaviour at a subconscious level (Windmann & Kruger, 1998) whereby a lack of control over these perceived threats can result in dissociation (Goldstein, Drew, Mellers, Mitchell-O'Malley & Oakley, 2000). In addition to this, feelings of anxiety and panic, which are often felt in response to situations of threat or fear, are related to dissociative responses (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999; Sterlini & Bryant, 2002).

With regard to reported levels of dissociation, it is again apparent that there are relatively large variances in the levels reported and again this is deserving of attention. The age range of the participants was 45 years (17-62yrs) and for this reason it was considered that age may have been a factor that impacted on levels of dissociation. This was particularly true of the older participants form Northern Ireland, as it was expected that these individuals were more likely to have witnessed traumatic events in Northern Ireland at the height of the 'Troubles' (either before emigration or during visits home).

However, when this additional analysis was conducted, it was determined that there were no significant associations between age and dissociative experiences for any of the groups in the current study. It is necessary, therefore, to seek alternative explanations for these large variances in the scores. It is possible that levels of perceived threat and victimhood are responsible for these large variations, as well as possible associations with anxiety and fear (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999; Sterlini & Bryant, 2002). However, because none of these variables were measured in the current study, it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty that the large variances are due to these factors. It would, however, seem reasonable to suggest that they may play a role, particularly when considering that the differences are not sue to exposure to traumatic events or to religious orientations (as analysis for both these variables proved non-significant). It is therefore suggested that future research take account of these suggestions and examine the possible links between dissociation, fear, and anxiety.

The findings of the present study support the hypothesis that there will be a significant difference between the levels of dissociation exhibited by the Northern Irish Catholic diasporic group, the Northern Irish Protestant diasporic group, and the English control group. Current research findings indicate that that the English control group exhibited significantly higher levels of dissociation than the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, although differences between the English control group and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora and between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups failed to reach significance, and these differences achieved only a small effect size overall.

In terms of these findings, there are a number of possible issues which arise here. It is possible that these findings can be explained in terms of the role that religion has to play in terms of coping with threat perception. Maltby and Day (2002) have suggested that higher levels of religious involvement are negatively correlated with threat appraisals, whereby negative events and experiences are viewed as an opportunity for growth and development. In addition to this, Pargament (1997) has suggested that religious involvement may protect psychological health against the impact of stress, and may cause a modification in terms of the processes involved in the appraisal of stressful situations.

Alternatively, if, as van Dijk et al. (2005) suggest, England has a history of being the European country with the highest victimisation rate for ten common crimes, and if the relationship between fear, threat perception, and dissociation (Classen et al., 1993; Gershuny & Thayer, 1999) is accepted then it is possible that this explanation is acceptable for the higher levels of dissociation of the English control group when compared to the Northern Irish Catholic diasporic group.

In terms of the non-significant difference between the English control group and the Northern Irish Protestant diasporic group, although this difference failed to reach significance, the difference between this diasporic group and the Northern Irish Catholic group is emerging and if a larger sample size were to be employed it is possible that this difference would reach significance. Future research should seek to rectify this and re-assess this difference.

The findings from the present study provide mixed support for the hypothesis that levels of dissociation will be significantly predicted by levels of direct and indirect exposure to traumatic events. For the Northern Irish, Republic of Ireland, Northern Irish Catholic and Northern Irish Protestant diasporic samples, the analysis did not support the theory that higher levels of dissociation would result from greater direct and indirect exposure to these events. For the English control group, however, the multiple regression model was significant, although indicating that only 6.6% of the variance in dissociation is accounted for by the exposure to traumatic events and that the size of this relationship was statistically small. When this model was analysed further, none of the predictor variables of direct exposure, indirect exposure, or overall exposure were significantly predictive of dissociation levels. However, the multiple regression model did indicate that, for the control group, there are significant associations between levels of dissociation and exposure to traumatic events and this finding requires attention.

A possible explanation is that levels of dissociation in the English control group may be dependent upon crime rates and the associated fear and perceived threat levels rather than exposure to the type of traumatic event that was specified in this study. In the current study, exposure to traumatic events was identified, for example, as involvement in a riot or violent confrontation, or experiencing a hijacking (see questionnaires in appendices 2 & 3 for full list of direct and indirect traumatic experiences) and while these events may be described as traumatic, they are not exhaustive. It is suggested that the events which correlate with levels of dissociation are criminal activities, specifically being a victim of crime, and these experiences were not monitored in the current study. Future research should seek to examine this and should question respondents specifically on perceived threat, fear, and whether they perceive themselves as a victim of crime.

The current findings do not support the hypothesis that levels of dissociation will be significantly predicted by religious orientations, and levels of intrinsic religious orientations did not predict significantly greater levels of dissociation. Although some of the relationships that were elicited were moderate in size, they failed to reach significance. This may be due to the small sample sizes in the current study. Lack of support in the current study for this hypothesis may be explained in terms of Dorahy's (UR) previous suggestion that the dissociative states which occur as a result of engaging in religious ritual is one which may not be possible to identify on the self-report items on the DES, or because the dissociative experience may be identified as a spiritual experience rather than as an act of non-pathological dissociation.

However, although religious orientations were not significantly associated with levels of non-pathological dissociation, when specific religious practices were examined significant associations were determined. For the Northern Irish diasporic sample levels of dissociation were significantly predicted by time spent in private thought and prayer and by living ones life according to ones religious beliefs. However, where the analysis yielded a positive relationship between dissociation and private thought and prayer, indicating that levels of dissociation increase as time spent in private thought and prayer increases, the relationship between levels of dissociation and living ones life according to religious beliefs was a negative one. This would indicate that living ones life according to religious beliefs results in fewer dissociative experiences.

However, although these relationships were significant, they were weak associations overall and this must be considered. Measuring specific religious practices was not the aim of the current study, however, and therefore it is recommended that future research take a more thorough approach to assessing this area and investigate the strength and size of these relationships with a greater sample and a more refined research instrument.

Explanations for these findings are twofold. Firstly, increased levels of dissociation related to increased time spent in private thought and prayer would appear to indicate support for Schumaker's (1995) suggestion that in a religious context, dissociation is facilitated by religious ritual. Further, this finding may be seen to indicate support for the suggestions made by Dorahy (UR) that religion often provides the triggers for normal, non-pathological dissociative experiences.

Further, Dorahy and Lewis (2001) have suggested that dissociative states which are induced by ritualistic behaviour often play an important role in religious celebration as less resistance is made to the religious suggestions which strengthen the beliefs. Dorahy, Schumaker and Lewis (1997) and Dorahy, Lewis and Schumaker (1998) have supported this theory and suggested that the appropriate context (religious worship) coupled with the appropriate stimuli (religious suggestion) results in a dissociative state which operates as a way of strengthening convictions to religious principles (Dorahy, UR).

In terms of the negative relationship between levels of dissociation and living life according to ones religious beliefs in the Northern Irish Diaspora, it is possible that this finding is mediating the relationship between dissociation and trauma. Although in the current study, no significant relationship was determined between exposure to traumatic events and levels of dissociation in the Northern Irish sample, it is possible that that may be explained by the current finding that a stronger propensity to live life according to ones religious beliefs results in lower dissociative experiences. If living ones life according to ones religious beliefs is indicative of stronger religious convictions and a more intrinsic religious orientation, then it is possible that this acts as a protective buffer against the impact of traumatic events and therefore may result in fewer dissociative experiences. It is suggested, therefore, that future research considers the relationship between these three variables and seeks to determine whether religious practices such as living life according to religious beliefs mediates the relationship between dissociation and trauma. Again, however, this negative relationship, although significant, is small and therefore caution should be exercised when considering this result. Previous suggestions for future research apply here and a more thorough investigation is recommended.

In terms of the Republic of Ireland diasporic sample, levels of dissociation were significantly predicted by frequency of church attendance, although this relationship was a moderate negative one, suggesting that higher levels of church attendance are related to lower levels of dissociation. Again, it is possible that religion and religious practices are mediating the relationship between dissociation and trauma, whereby these specific religious practices act as a protective buffer against the traumatic event, and prevent increased levels of dissociation being experienced.

For the Catholic Diaspora from Northern Ireland, levels of dissociation were significantly predicted by living life according to ones religious beliefs and basing ones approach to life on religion. Again, the relationships between these variables require attention. The association between levels of dissociation and basing ones approach to life on religion was positive though small, indicating that as using religion as the basis for ones life increases, so do levels of dissociation. This finding would seem to indicate some support for Schumaker's (1995) suggestion that religion is one of the behavioural patterns which encompasses a distortion of reality, thus leading to dissociation. Further, this finding would seem to indicate support for the suggestion that 'religiousness' is a counterpart of psychopathology and involves a degree of irrational thinking and emotional disturbance (Ellis, 1980) which may, in turn, lead to heightened levels of dissociation.

However, for the Catholic Northern Irish Diaspora, the relationship between dissociation and living ones life according to ones religious beliefs is small but negative, therefore inferring that as the tendency of live life according to religious beliefs increases, levels of dissociation decrease. Again, it is possible that the relationship with trauma is crucial here, and that this specific religious practice serves as a protective buffer against traumatic events, and prevent the experience of increased levels of dissociation. It is again suggested that future research comprehensively examine this relationship between specific religious practices, trauma, and dissociation.

For the Protestant Diaspora from Northern Ireland, levels of dissociation were not significantly predicted by any of the religious practice variables. It is possible that this is due to the sample size of the Protestant respondents from Northern Ireland, as the regression analysis did conclude that 7.9% of the variance between dissociation and the religious practice variables was shared, which was commensurate with that for the Northern Irish Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora. In addition to this, the size of the relationships elicited for specific religious practices and dissociation for the Northern Irish Protestant sample were similar, in some cases larger, than those relationships that were seen to be significant the other Northern Irish samples. Future research should strive to achieve a more representative sample of Protestant Diaspora members from Northern Ireland and re-examine these relationships.

As a result of these findings it is possible to assert that although overall levels of intrinsic religious orientation were not associated with dissociative experiences, when this orientation was deconstructed and the separate aspects were considered, certain religious practices were seen to be predictive of dissociative experiences. This finding lends support to Dorahy's (UR) suggestion that in order to increase an individual's religious conviction, religious worship and religious suggestion can help induce a dissociative state during which these principles and teachings can be strengthened. In addition to this, Dorahy continues that, during religious ceremonies, dissociation increases the emotional experience of worship and heightens the psychological conditions are often resultant in the strengthening of religious beliefs.

Kilbourne (1983) and Simpson (1996) continue that because practice effects influence dissociation, those individuals who are more receptive to dissociative experiences are likely to be those who have a rigid belief system – and are therefore those who are more likely to be orthodox or intrinsically religious. Although this suggestion was not upheld when assessing intrinsic religious orientation as a whole, when the separate aspects regarding religious practice were assessed, support for this suggestion was garnered.

12.4 Social, National, and Political Identities and Dissociative Experiences

The findings of the present study support the hypothesis that levels of dissociation will be significantly predicted by social, national, and political identities for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora. Current findings indicated that levels of dissociation are significantly predicted by identification with British, Irish, and Nationalist identities, and that the relationships between these identities and levels of dissociation are positive, indicating that as levels of identification increase, so too do levels of dissociation. However, although these relationships are significant, the sizes of them can only be interpreted as moderate at best and therefore a cautious interpretation is advised. Nevertheless, there are a number of possible explanations for these findings.

With regard to the positive relationship between dissociation and the British identity, it is possible that levels of dissociation in members of the Northern Irish Diaspora who identify themselves as British may be due to Harding and Balarajan (1996a) and Hickman's (1991) suggestion that the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland have made it difficult for members of the diaspora to develop a positive sense of identity in Britain. In this way, it is possible that dissociation is being utilised by these individuals as a way of dealing with the negative connotations that are sometimes associated with coming from Northern Ireland. In addition to this, although these individuals identify themselves as British it is possible, as Turner's (1985) Self Categorisation Theory suggests, that the categorisation of these individuals by indigenous English people is as Northern Irish, or even Irish. This categorisation of diaspora members by others, and the subsequent possible inaccurate identity labelling of these individuals may be the foundation for discrimination of Northern Irish Diaspora members in England (Schaller and Maass, 1989). This conflict between self-categorisation and categorisation by others may lead to a sense of malaise in these members of the diaspora, and it is possible that dissociation is used to defend against these feelings.

Further support for this suggestion is provided by Kelleher and Hillier (1996), who suggest that although the assimilation of Irish migrants into society is achieved with relative ease in the USA, in the UK these migrants face a situation where discrimination of the Irish by the British has made it almost impossible for the Irish and the British to harmoniously coexist (Hickman and Walter, 1997). If the previous suggestions are correct, and diaspora members who would choose to identify themselves as British are identified by the English as Irish or Northern Irish, then a situation may arise where the diaspora are trying to develop a positive sense of British identity, whilst being unfavourably labelled as Irish by the population of the host society. It is possible that this sense of discontentment may result in non-pathological dissociative techniques being employed in order to protect the psychological well-being of the diaspora members, whereby dissociation acts as a buffer against the challenges to self-esteem caused by social identity complications.

In terms of the positive relationship between dissociation and identification with the Irish identity label, again there are a number of possible explanations for this finding. Firstly, it is possible that Hickman and Walter's (1997) suggestion is correct and the Irish in England fail to develop a secure sense of identity because of an acceptance of anti-Irish racism in England, which has labelled Irish people as inferior. In addition to this, further research by Lloyd (1995) and Hickman and Walter (1997) suggests that it is the sense of identity which is promoted by Irish cultural clubs and community organisations in England, which has lead to such widespread ridicule of the Irish in England. If these suggestions are correct, it is possible that dissociation is being used in order to defend against these feelings of inadequacy, and to protect these individuals from psychological discomfort which may arise as a result of having their sense of identity challenged.

Although formal links between social identity problems and dissociation have not been made, it is reasonable to suggest that they may exist, at least in a diasporic population. Theories of social identity suggest that in-group evaluations lead to group members developing techniques that will help them achieve in-group and out-group comparisons that favour the in-group (Tajfel, 1972a; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). As a result of this, individual self-esteem is enhanced and a positive sense of social identity is promoted (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In addition to this, Tajfel (1972a) determined that social identity is underscored by a process of self-enhancement, whereby stereotypes produced during categorisation favour the in-group in order that the basic human need of seeing oneself from a favourable viewpoint is fulfilled.

In terms of Irish identities in England, Hickman's (2000) suggestion that the lack of a positive sense of Irish identity in Britain is due to inadequate support from the Catholic Church, Harding and Balarajan's (1996a) assertion that the development of a positive sense of Irish identity in Britain has been challenged by the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland, and indications that the lack of a positive sense of Irish identity in Britain (Bruce,1986; Gallagher, 1989) is due, in part, to Ireland's history of colonisation and the conflict which arises when settling in the home of the coloniser (Ryan, 1990; Greenslade, 1994) all indicate that there are fundamental challenges to Irish identity in England. These theories indicate that the basic human need of establishing a positive sense of identity (Tajfel, 1972a) is difficult for those diaspora members who hold an Irish identity, as the host society is, at times, unwilling to accept the positive sense of Irishness that these individuals are trying to promote. As a consequence of this, the function of social identity in terms of providing individuals with improved levels of self-esteem (Tajfel, 1972a) is not fulfilled.

Theories of non-pathological dissociation suggest that dissociation research is no longer limited to the psychiatric, post-traumatic model that was originally proposed. As a result of this, an interest in adaptive dissociation has arisen and researchers have begun to address the role that dissociation plays in everyday psychological functioning (Dorahy & Lewis, 2001). It has been suggested (Irwin, 1998) that variables such as stress appear to have a disruptive effect on adaptive functioning whereby dissociation becomes an automatic maladaptive response to mild stressors (Dorahy & Schumaker, 1997). In addition to this, the dissociative defensive style is induced by negative affects and, consequently, dissociation serves to regulate threatening and non-threatening aversive affects (Dorahy & Schumaker, 1997). Given the suggestions regarding dissociation made by Dorahy and Lewis (2001), Irwin (1998), and Dorahy and Schumaker (1997), and the suggestions made by Tajfel (1972a), Hickman (1991) Harding and Balarajan (1996a), Ryan (1990), and Greenslade (1994) regarding social identity and the Irish identity in England, it is possible that previous research has been remiss in not fully identifying the associations between identity and dissociation in a diasporic population.

The current research findings would appear to suggest that the lack of acceptance of the Irish identity in England, coupled with the negative impact that this may have on levels of self-esteem, may have resulted in increased levels of stress in members of the diaspora in England. As a consequence of this, it is possible that members of the diaspora in England are subject to poorer levels of psychological well-being as a result of their identity conflict. This suggestion is supported by Abbotts, Williams and Ford's (2001) suggestion that the Irish in England are disadvantaged in terms of health. In addition to this, Greenslade (1997) suggests that Irish migrants have a considerably poorer health profile than the majority of other migrant groups and continues that this profile requires a consideration of the "fundamental construction of Irish identities and Irish culture as social and historical facts" (Greenslade, 1997, p.49). Further research has linked poor health in the Irish Diaspora to identity problems, and suggests that Irish migrants to Britain undergo a reconstruction of identity (Greenslade, 1997) and that identity-based suggestions have also been put forward to explain the poor health of Irish migrants in Britain (Kellerher & Hillier, 1996; Hickman, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

If identity complications are resultant in lower levels of psychological well-being and increased stress, and if non-pathological dissociation is employed as a way of dealing with this stressor, then it is suggested that there is a link between poor positive identity development and non-pathological dissociation in Irish-identifying members of the current sample.

In terms of positive relationship between dissociation and a Nationalist identity, it is possible that these individuals are experiencing a feeling of discontent in terms of living on the British mainland. Support for the Nationalist cause in Northern Ireland would traditionally indicate support for the reunification of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, and a lack of support for Northern Ireland remaining part of the UK. It is possible that, as Nationalist supporters, these individuals experience feelings of guilt related to living in the home of the country which colonised Northern Ireland, and benefiting from residing in this country. Further research (Bagley, 1995; Price, 1990) has suggested that high levels of guilt can be linked with more frequent dissociative episodes (e.g. Irwin, 1994; Sanders & Giolas, 1991). It is therefore suggested that these Nationalist-identifying members of the current sample indicate support for the link between identity, guilt, and dissociation. Future research should aim to directly assess this proposed relationship between identity, guilt, and dissociation in the diasporic population.

12.5 Exposure to Traumatic Events, Religion, and Social, National, and Political Identities

The current research findings support the hypothesis that there will be significant differences between levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Irish Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the English control group, with the Northern Irish Diaspora experiencing significantly higher levels of exposure to traumatic events.

In terms of these findings and in light of the conflict by which Northern Ireland has been characterised for over 35 years, it is unsurprising that members of this diasporic group indicated the highest overall levels of exposure to traumatic events. That said, the events that were monitored in the current study were highly specific and were possibly biased toward situations of which the Northern Irish Diaspora may have had more experience. These items were, however, included in order to make the current study comparable with other studies (e.g. Hayes & McAllister, 2000). Given earlier suggestions regarding crime it would have be beneficial for future research studies to examine events related to crime as well as the events that were monitored in the current study.

When levels of exposure to traumatic events experienced by the current diaspora sample are compared with those from a Northern Irish population (Hayes & McAllister, 2001b. See appendix 8) is can be seen that members of the diaspora report considerably higher levels of exposure to these traumatic events than their Northern Irish counterparts. A possible explanation for this lies in differences in terms of the perception of traumatic events. It may be the case that members of the sample taken by Hayes and McAllister in Northern Ireland had become habituated to the violence in Northern Ireland and, as such, the events that occurred there may not have been viewed as traumatic by their respondents.

Support for this habituation theory was suggested by McWhirter (1983) who suggested that individuals in Northern Ireland cope with the violence there via habituation and indicates that, in the Province, the abnormal (i.e. the state of political and societal unrest) has become the norm. This research is supported by that of Curran and Miller (2001) who attest that individuals from Northern Ireland show signs of becoming habituated to the reality of violence. Given this suggestion, it is possible that Hayes and McAllister's Northern Irish sample may not have perceived the same events as traumatic as the diasporic population in the current study. Alternatively, the differences between the two samples may be explained in terms of perceived victimhood. A study by Cairns, Mallett, Lewis and Wilson (2003) determined that 68% of people in Northern Ireland did not perceive themselves to be a victim of the political violence there. Conversely, only 12% of their sample indicated that they felt that they had been a victim of actions related to the 'Troubles' either often or very often. In addition to this, Cairns and Wilson (1989) have suggested as a result of the rapid improvement in traumatic symptoms after a violent event, and successful coping amongst those exposed to violence of the Troubles, these events had a lesser impact on the population of Northern Ireland than they otherwise might. It may be that the comparatively high levels of exposure to these events in the current sample is due to the perception of the event as traumatic, when individuals living in Northern Ireland might not interpret these events in this way, and the possibility that the diasporic sample are more likely to identify themselves as victims of these events if they have a history of lesser levels of actual exposure and, consequently, less successful attempts at coping with these events in the past.

If this is the case, it is possible that this indicates support for Herman's (1997) suggestion that events are perceived as traumatic not because they occur rarely, but because they overwhelm the ordinary human adaptations to life. With regard to this, it is possible that the exposure to political and societal unrest by members of the Northern Irish population has equipped them with the strategies to be able to cope with these stressors, and therefore the events to which they are exposed in Northern Ireland no longer have the same overwhelming impact that they might on individuals who do not experience these events on as regular a basis.

The current research findings support the hypothesis that there will be significant differences in levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora and the English control group, with the diasporic groups experiencing greater exposure to traumatic events than the control group.

Again, these findings may be explained in terms of the type of traumatic events that were measured in the current study, where events that were more likely to be experienced as symptoms of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland were measured rather than events which may be experienced on a typical day in a society not characterised by such unrest.

The findings also indicate that there was no significant difference in exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups, indicating that neither group, in the current study, was more likely to experience traumatic events as a result of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Research by Smyth and Hamilton (2004) indicates that of all deaths occurring in Northern Ireland, 55.7% were carried out by Republican paramilitary organisations, with 27.4% being carried out by Loyalist paramilitary organisations, and 43% of people killed belonging to the Catholic faith, and 30% belonging to the Protestant faith. Given these figures, it would be reasonable to assume that the Catholic population would experience greater levels of exposure to traumatic events; however, this suggestion is not supported in the current study.

The present findings indicate mixed support for the hypothesis that there will be significant correlations between exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations. Although there was a significant weak positive correlation between extrinsic religious orientation and indirect exposure to traumatic events for members of the Northern Irish Catholic diasporic population, for the other diasporic groups this hypothesis was not supported. Although only a small number of these relationships were significant, it is important to remember that some of the non-significant relationships were as big, if not bigger, than those which reached significance. This is again possibly due to the sample size, as some groups (e.g. Republic of Ireland Diaspora) contained only a small number of respondents (e.g. 54) and this may have impacted unfavourably on the significance of some of the associations. However, the significant relationship between religion and traumatic events for members of the Catholic Diaspora would seem to indicate that this group are increasing their extrinsic religious behaviour as their indirect exposure to traumatic events increases.

This would seem to indicate some support for the suggestions made by Feifel (1974), which indicate that religion can act as a mechanism to help individuals cope with life stressors. However, the non-significant relationships that were elicited for the remaining diasporic groups may be interpreted as contradicting Feifel's (1974) suggestion that religion acts as an ego defence mechanism which enables us to cope effectively with life stressors, and Gershuny and Thayer's (1999) suggestion that religion serves to protect the psyche from feeling of loss of control during and after traumatic events, and as suggesting that the diasporic groups are not using religion in this utilitarian way.

It is likely that this lack of relationship between trauma and religious orientations for the Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland diasporic groups is related to their attitudes towards religion, where it is suggested that these groups, because they both scored highly in terms of religious orientations, are experiencing a 'ceiling effect' in terms of their levels of religiosity whereby their levels of religious belief and involvement are already so great that they are unable to increase these further and benefit from the protective effect of religion against traumatic events.

With regard to the English control group, however, this hypothesis was supported and there was a significant weak negative correlation between indirect exposure to traumatic events and intrinsic religious orientation, and a weak negative correlation between overall exposure to traumatic events and intrinsic religious orientation. These findings would seem to indicate that, for the control group in the current sample, religion is being utilised as a coping mechanism. This finding would indicate that the members of the control group in the current study appear to have a more utilitarian attitude toward their religion, whereby their attitude appears to be that religion is useful in terms of fulfilling requirements such as gaining comfort and protection in times of sorrow (e.g. Allport & Ross, 1967; Genia, 1996; Genia & Shaw, 1991).

In addition to this, when specific religious practices were examined, there were no significant relationships between exposure to traumatic events and specific religious practices for the Northern Irish diasporic groups, although it was determined that there was a weak/moderate positive relationship between indirect exposure to traumatic events and spending time in private thought and prayer for members of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, indicating that a greater exposure to traumatic events was related to greater time being spent in private thought and prayer. This relationship in the Republic of Ireland sample may be related to guilt. Demaria and Kassinove (1988) have suggested that Catholic individuals are more likely to experience guilt, and as almost all of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora respondents were Catholic, it is possible that, as Prince (1990), Piokowski (1983), Langa (1986), and Kubany's (1994) suggestions that these individuals are experiencing greater levels of guilt because they direct the cause of the traumatic event toward themselves is supported. As a result of this, it is possible that these individuals are engaging in more private thought and prayer after the traumatic events in order to seek forgiveness and salvation. Future research should seek to examine this relationship between trauma, guilt, and religious practices, and determine whether the suggestions made in the current study are correct.

Conversely, however, for the English control group there was a weak negative relationship between indirect exposure to traumatic events and time spent in private thought and prayer, a weak negative relationship between overall exposure to traumatic events and time spent in private thought and prayer, and a weak negative relationship between overall exposure to traumatic events and basing one's whole approach to life on religion. These results indicate that the less religious the respondents are, the more traumatic events they feel they are experiencing. It is possible to suggest that religion does have a protective effect for this group. It would appear that the English control group are benefiting from increasing their religious belief and practices after experiencing a traumatic event, whereby these beliefs have the effect of acting as a protective buffer against the impact of the event (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999).

The present study does not provide support for the hypothesis that levels of exposure to traumatic events will be significantly predicted by social, national, and political identities for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora. Given the figures suggested by Smyth and Hamilton (2004) it was anticipated that, for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora, those individuals who identified themselves as Republican and Loyalist would have greater levels of exposure to traumatic events than individuals who did not recognize these identities as relevant to them. However, current findings do not support this theory, and members of the Northern Irish Diaspora who identified themselves as Republican or Loyalist were not significantly more likely to experience traumatic events than other diaspora members. It is possible, however, that this lack of exposure may be due to two main factors: first, the mean age of the sample was young and it is possible, therefore, that these respondents had moved to England without experiencing any of the trauma items listed before they emigrated from Northern Ireland. Second, as the majority of the respondents were 2nd and subsequent generation migrants, many of the respondents had never lived in Northern Ireland and were therefore removed from any violent incidents which took place there. It is also possible, however, that the identity labels of Republican and Loyalist do not hold the same meaning for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora as they do for members of the population residing in Northern Ireland, and therefore it is possible that they would not be more likely to have a greater experience of these events. Previous suggestions are relevant here and it is suggested that future research seek to employ a qualitative methodology in order to examine the meanings behind the identity labels and develop a meaningful theory regarding identity labels in the diaspora when compared to those in Northern Ireland.

When analysing this data for the Republic of Ireland Diaspora it was determined that there was a significant positive relationship between the Loyalist identity and exposure to traumatic events. It is possible to explain this finding in terms of the politicisation of the Loyalist identity in the Republic of Ireland Diaspora. It may be suggested that members of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora who hold this identity may have more experience of events related to the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland. However, as the size of the relationship is small it is important that previous suggestions are adhered to here, and further research should seek to examine the meaning behind the Loyalist identity label for members of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, as this identity may have different connotations from those which it has to people in Northern Ireland[2].

12.6 Limitations of the Current Study and Suggestions for Future Research

There are a number of limitations to the current study which require attention, both in terms of justifying the decisions that were made throughout this study and in terms of implications for future research.

In terms of the methodology, the current study employed a quantitative design which allowed attention to be focused on a number of areas simultaneously. This approach was taken in order that some exploratory comparisons could be made with research that has been previously carried out in Northern Ireland. Although this was not the direct aim of the current study, and this present research was carried out in order to explore, specifically, the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora, it was felt that the ability to compare current findings with that of previous research might afford a more comprehensive understanding of the diasporic groups.

That said, although the current study has established a detailed exploration of the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic groups in England, it would be beneficial for future research to select areas highlighted by the current study and build on these using more in-depth qualitative methods. In this way, a fuller and more detailed understanding of the issues highlighted by the current study may be accomplished.

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[2] Where, in Northern Ireland, to identify oneself as 'Loyalist' would indicate an allegiance to the Crown, i.e. Loyal to Britain, and would indicate support for Northern Ireland remaining a part of the United Kingdom.

In terms of the sample used in the current study, there are a number of issues which need to be addressed. Firstly, although a variety of sampling techniques were employed, and although a large number of participants were contacted, the rate of attrition in the current study was considerable. In total, only 15% of contacted individuals returned completed questionnaires. As a result of the limitations in time and resources, extended data collection was not possible in the current study. That said, data collection did take place over a two-year period and many participants, from various locations, were approached.

It is possible that this lack of response was due to the sensitive nature of the questions being asked and the types of questions that individuals were required to respond to. For example, items focussing on intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity required respondents to disclose information relating to their attitudes towards their religious beliefs and some respondents indicated that they were uncomfortable with this. Further, items from the Dissociative Experiences Scale required respondents to examine their own behaviour and some individuals indicated that they found this task challenging, sometimes confusing, and therefore did not complete the scale. In terms of the items measuring exposure to traumatic events, a number of participants suggested that they found these items emotionally upsetting and chose to exercise their right to not respond to them.

In terms of future studies, it is suggested that researchers make use of greater time and resource allocations and select a sample that is larger than the one in the current study. It is also suggested that interview techniques may allow participants to respond to questions related to religion and traumatic experiences without feeling restricted by the response scales present on the questionnaire in the current study. In addition to this, it is possible that face-to-face interactions with the researcher would allow the participant to fully explain themselves in terms of their religious beliefs and attitudes and they may feel less anxious about disclosing this information.

The age range of the participants needs also to be considered for future studies. Although exploratory analysis determined that age had only two significant impacts: one on a social identity item for the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, and the other in terms of a weak negative relationship between age and religious orthodoxy for the Northern Irish Diaspora, all other exploratory comparisons with age failed to reach significance. This is possibly due, in part, to the low number of respondents achieved in the current study. A more detailed consideration of this issue, with a more representative sample, should be assessed in future research.

In terms of the scales used in the current study, there are a number of issues to be addressed. With regard to the Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES) (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986), this scale is widely used in assessing dissociative symptoms. It has been standardised and has satisfactory split half and test re-test reliability. Research by Dorahy and Lewis (2001), Dorahy et al. (1997), Dorahy et al. (1998) and Dorahy et al. (2003) has employed the DES, often with a Northern Irish population, and its use with both clinical and non-clinical populations is well documented (Ray, 1996;

Ross, 1996; Ross et al., 1990; Dorahy, et al., 2003). In addition to this, Ray and Faith (1997) have suggested that there is mounting evidence to suggest that frequent dissociative experiences should be viewed as normal in the non-clinical population.

When devising the survey instrument for the current study, it was decided that non-pathological dissociative experiences were to be assessed in the current study. This decision was made in light of research that was being carried out at the time in Northern Ireland, which assessed predictors of non-pathological dissociation (Dorahy et al., 2003). In addition to this, it was determined that previous research (e.g. Schumaker, 1997) which refers to dissociation in the religious setting is referring to the non-pathological (absorption / imaginative involvement) dissociation (Dorahy, personal communication, 7th June, 2001). The items included in the current survey instrument were selected with these issues in mind and were those items tapping normative experiences, i.e. absorption / imaginative involvement, as suggested by Dorahy (personal communication, 7th June, 2001).

As a result of using only the 12 non-pathological dissociative experience items, however, several issues have arisen that were not anticipated when the instrument was developed. Results achieved indicate much higher levels of non-pathological dissociation than other studies (e.g. Dorahy et al., 2003). For example, the current research achieved a mean non-pathological dissociative experiences score of 47.09 for the current Northern Irish Diaspora sample, whereby Dorahy, et al. (2003) achieved a mean score of only 13.10 for their sample in Northern Ireland and this difference in terms of levels of dissociation requires attention.

Dorahy et al. (2003) administered the complete DES and then selected the relevant items once the respondents had completed the entire scale, where as the current study used, in effect, a short form version of this scale. It is likely that these differences in scores are due to the differences in the scale that was administered. For example, it is possible that administering only the non-pathological dissociation items to respondents enables them to freely admit that they have these experiences. In this way, it is suggested that when measuring non-pathological dissociation, the presence of the pathological dissociation items on the scale may cause respondents to realise the 'abnormal' nature of some of the items on the scale (for example, pathological items asks respondents to consider whether they experience "not recognizing one's reflection in a mirror", "not remembering important events in one's life", or "hearing voices inside one's head which tell them to do things") and therefore underestimate the frequency with which they report all dissociative experiences for fear of eliciting a deviant level of dissociation.

In order to test this theory, it is suggested that future research should employ a test – re-test methodology, whereby the entire 28-item Dissociative Experiences Scale should be administered to a non-clinical population, followed by the administration of the shortened 12-item absorption and imaginative involvement non-pathological scale to the same respondents at a later date. In addition, this test – re-test method should administer the shortened 12-item absorption and imaginative involvement scale to a non-clinical population, followed by the entire 28-item Dissociative Experiences Scale at a later date. In this way, it would be possible to determine whether the presence of the pathological items on the scale (i.e. those tapping depersonalisation and dissociative amnesia) hinders the ability of non-clinical populations to respond honestly and confidently to the 12 non-pathological items.

In terms of the high dissociation scores elicited in the current study, it is suggested that future research should administer the 12-item non-pathological version of this scale to other populations. For example, it is recommended that this scale be used with a Northern Irish population in order that a meaningful comparison can be made between these respondents and their diasporic counterparts. In addition, as the DES has been translated into Finnish (Lipsanen, 2003), Portuguese (Fiszman, Cabizuca, Lanfredi, & Figueira, 2004), and Swedish (Korlin, Edman, & Nyback, 2007) and it is suggested that future research should take advantage of the comparatively unrestricted timescale and perform test – re-test studies with samples from these countries also.

In terms of measuring religious orientations the current study employed the Age Universal I-E Religious Orientations Scale (Gorsuch & Venable, 1983), which measures intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations, and the Credal Assent Scale (King, 1967), which measures religious orthodoxy. The current study chose not to assess the quest religious orientation (Batson et al., 1993) because of the doubt surrounding this area. Donahue (1985) suggests that it is not appropriate to identify the quest orientation as a dimension of religion; rather that quest orientation is better interpreted as a measure of agnosticism. In addition to this, Acklin (1985) and Hood and Morris (1985) have suggested that a quest orientation typifies the ephemeral phase experienced by younger individuals who have yet to reach religious maturity.

It is suggested that future research assess more closely this quest religious orientation and develop the theories of diasporic religion offered in this study in line with other theories of religion.

In addition to this, future research endeavours should seek to assess a possible relationship between a quest religious orientation, as measured by the Quest Religious Orientation Scale (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a; 1991b), and dissociation. If suggestions made (Williams & Cole, 1968; Feifel, 1974; Johnson & Splika, 1991) about the function of religion as a coping mechanism are to be investigated further, then it would be useful to incorporate this aspect of religion in future research in order to achieve a more complete understanding of the role played by religion in coping.

In terms of the measure of social, national, and political identities that were used in the current study, these measures have been used in comparable studies by Roe et al. (2002), and Binks and Ferguson (2002) and it was important, for purposes of comparison, that this study used similar scales. The scale used in this study drew on research by Cairns (1989), Gallagher (1989), Moxon-Browne (1983), Rose (1971), Trew (1983), and Waddell and Cairns (1986). Although this measure is useful in terms of gauging the salience of specific identities and in terms of assessing the complexities of identities, as required for the current study, research in the area of social identity has indicated that identity labels often have multiple meanings (Fu, Lee, Chiu & Hong, 1999) and individuals may ascribe alternative meanings to their social identities when the importance of the notions of inclusiveness and distinctiveness vary in line with the social context (Brewer, 1999).

Further research by Gallagher (1989; 1993) suggests that although a label may give name to an identity, it does nothing to indicate the significance of that identity or the meaning that is assigned to that label. It is suggested that future research should build on the findings of the current study and take a more qualitative approach to researching the identities of this diasporic group, ideally determining the meanings behind the identity labels for members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora and comparing them against the meanings of the same identities for individuals residing in Ireland / Northern Ireland. In this way, a comprehensive story should unfold regarding diasporic identities and the impact that a host nation has on these identities. Finally, in terms of measuring exposure to traumatic events, the current study used items adapted from the Irish Social Mobility Survey (1973), the Social Attitudes Survey (1978), the Social Identity Survey (1995) and the Northern Ireland Referendum and Election Survey (1998). This was done in order that a comparison could be made with individuals still living in Northern Ireland (e.g. Hayes & McAllister, 2000). However, because these items measured experiences of very specific traumatic events, it is possible that the scale was not wholly suitable for members of the English control group, or members of the diaspora from the Republic of Ireland. As a result of this, it is suggested that future research incorporate items related to more common life stressors which may be interpreted as traumatic events, specifically threat perception, fear of crime, perceived victimhood, as this may result in more generalisable results being obtained.

However, although it is true to say that there are limitations to the current study, and, as such, recommendations have been made for future research endeavours, it is crucial to recognise that this research study has provided important, previously unknown, information pertaining to the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic groups in England. The aim of this research was to provide an exploratory analysis of the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish diasporic groups in England and this has been achieved. The research has drawn upon a number of theories in order to assess these diasporic groups from a variety of psychosocial perspectives, and has drawn valuable conclusions relating to the psychosocial dimensions of these groups.

Chapter 13

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to examine the psychosocial dimensions of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England. As such, a number of areas were selected for investigation these were: i) emigration experiences, ii) social, national, and political identities, iii) religious beliefs and orientations, iv) dissociative experiences and, v) exposure to traumatic events.

This thesis began with a review of relevant literature in the areas of: i) migration and diaspora theory; ii) social identity theory; iii) the psychology of religion and, iv) dissociative experiences.

Chapter one provided a multidisciplinary review of migration and diaspora theory and focused specifically on Ireland's unique position in terms of outward migration (Ryan, 1990). This chapter also considered the reasons for emigration and the impact of this outward flow on Ireland and Northern Ireland (e.g. Garavan, Doherty & Moran, 1994), in addition to considering the impact of the host nation on the diasporic group, and the impact of the diasporic group on the host nation (Brah, 1996). This chapter then considered the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in Britain and the challenges faced by these communities in terms of assimilating into British society (Hickman & Walter, 1995), developing a stable sense of identity (Harding & Balarajan, 1996a), and coping with poor physical and mental health (Greenslade, 1997).

Chapter two began by comparing of theories of identity (e.g. Stryker, 1968; Tajfel, 1972a) and then moved on to review theoretical developments in Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1972a), and the related Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1985). This literature review examined the importance of developing a secure and positive sense of identity in terms of self-esteem and positive self-evaluations (Hogg & Abrams, 1988), and evaluated the effectiveness of in-group / out-group comparisons in this process (Schaller & Maass, 1989). This chapter then considered Brewer's (1999) theory of Optimal Distinctiveness in relation to in-group / out-group comparisons and theories of identity change (e.g. Ellemers, Wilke, & von Knippenberg, 1993). This chapter applied these theories of social identity to individuals in Northern Ireland, and to members of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora, and concluded with an assessment of identity conflict in the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England (e.g. Hickman, 2000; Gray, 2000) and the possible reasons that developing a secure identity as a member of this group is so difficult (e.g. Hickman & Walter, 1997).

Chapter three provided a scientific review of the psychology of religion and began by addressing the recent psychological neglect of this area of research and the possible reasons for this neglect (e.g. Fontana, 2003). The chapter considered psychological explanations for the development of religious beliefs (e.g. Freud, 1927; McDougall, 1950) and the possible functions that religion may serve (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). This chapter explored the relationship between religion and identity, and considered the suggestion that religion is important in terms of the development of a secure identity (e.g. Seul, 1999). The chapter then addressed the suggested relationship between religious beliefs, physical, and mental health (e.g. Schumaker, 1995), and examined religion in diaspora, providing an appraisal of religion in Ireland and Northern Ireland (e.g. Demerath, 2000). This chapter concluded with an assessment of research focused specifically on diasporic religion in terms of the Irish and Northern Irish in England (e.g. Vertovec. 2000).

Chapter four provided a detailed review of scientific and psychological research on dissociation and dissociative experiences. The review began with a consideration of the lack of scientific attention this area has received in previous years (Ross, 1996) and considered the problems that have arisen in terms of developing a comprehensive definition of dissociation (e.g. Cardena & Spiegel, 1993). This chapter went on to consider the functions of both pathological and non-pathological dissociation (e.g. Ross, Joshi, & Currie, 1991), including the suggestion that dissociation acts as a defence mechanism (Putnam, 1995), and the relationship between dissociation and experience of traumatic stressors (Gershuny & Thayer, 1999). The chapter discussed the suggested relationship between religion and non-pathological dissociation (Price & Snow, 1998) and concluded with a review of the literature detailing the relationship between religion, trauma, and non-pathological dissociation in Northern Ireland (e.g. Dorahy, Lewis, Millar & Gee 2003).

Chapter five provided details of the research hypotheses for the current study, including a rational for the development of these hypotheses based on the literature reviewed in the first four chapters.

Chapter six provided a comprehensive account of the methodology employed in the current study, with full details of the sampling methods that were used, an inclusive account of the participants that took part in the study, and a full and detailed description of the survey instrument that was used in this study. The methodology chapter also provided details of the procedure that was followed in this study, in order to ensure ethical rigor and transparency.

Chapters seven, eight, nine, ten, and eleven provided details of the findings of the current research. Chapter seven focused specifically on the emigration experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England, and provided information relating to the reasons for emigration, and which generation of the family migrated away from Ireland or Northern Ireland. Chapter eight provided details of the social, national, and political identities of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora groups, and focused on the differences between the identity selections made by these groups. This results section also focused on the differences in the identity selections of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups. Chapter nine provided the results of the analysis relating to the religious beliefs and orientations of the diasporic groups, and compared these beliefs and orientations with those of the English control groups. Chapter ten focused on the analysis of data relating to dissociative experiences and assessed the levels of dissociation found in the diasporic and control groups, this chapter also analysed these levels of dissociation in relation to exposure to traumatic events and religious involvement. Chapter eleven provided analysis of the data relating to exposure to traumatic events and examined this exposure in relation to religious orientation, dissociative experiences, and social, national, and political identities, As a result of conducting these analyses, and in relation to the proposed research hypotheses for the current study, it was determined that: In terms of social, national, and political identities, there are significant differences between the social, national, and political identities of the Northern Irish Diaspora and the Diaspora from the Republic of Ireland, and there are significant differences between the social, national, and political identities of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups. In term of the differences between the Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland diasporic groups, the effect sizes for these differences were small, with the Northern Irish identity achieving the greatest effect size and therefore the largest actual difference between the two groups. In terms of the differences in the social, national, and political identities of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups, these differences achieved a moderate effect size in the MANOVA model, although each of the identities, when assessed individually, achieved only a small effect size. The British and Irish identities realised the largest effect sizes, and therefore saw the largest differences in terms of the identifications of the Catholics and Protestants from Northern Ireland. However, although the effect sizes were small the fact that the sample was largely 2nd generation must be considered. Given this, the tendency of the respondents to claim these Irish / Northern Irish / Ulster identities at all is indicative of the strength of the ties that this migrant population have with their ancestral homeland.

In terms of religiosity and religious orientations, there is a significant difference between the religious orientations of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, the Northern Irish Diaspora, and the English control group, with the Republic of Ireland diasporic group demonstrating the highest levels of intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and religious orthodoxy. In terms of these differences, the largest effects were for intrinsic religiosity and religious orthodoxy, indicating that this is where the largest differences were located. The difference between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups in terms of religious orientations failed to reach significance, although the effect sizes were similar to those reached for the Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and it is possible that these non-significant differences were due to the sample size.

In terms of dissociation and dissociative experiences, there are significant differences between the levels of dissociation reported by the Northern Irish Diaspora, Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the English control group, with the English control group reporting the highest overall levels of dissociation. In addition to this, the English control group reported significantly higher levels of dissociation than either the Northern Irish Catholic or Northern Irish Protestant diasporic groups. Effect sizes for these differences, however, were small and it is possible that with a larger sample size, these developing trends would become more pronounced.

In relation to the association between exposure to traumatic events and dissociative experiences, there were no significant associations between levels of dissociation and either direct or indirect exposure to traumatic events for any of the diasporic samples. For the English control group, however, this multiple regression model did reach significance, although further investigation revealed that dissociation was not significantly predicted by direct, indirect, or overall exposure to traumatic events.

Further, with regard to the relationship between religious orientations and dissociation, the current study determined that there was a significant association between indirect exposure to traumatic events and extrinsic religiosity in the Nothern Irish Catholic Diaspora, although these associations failed to reach significance for any of the other diasporic groups. However, when specific religious practices were examined, it was determined that for the Northern Irish Diaspora there is a significant positive association between dissociation and time spent in private thought and prayer, and a significant negative association between dissociation and living life according to ones religious beliefs. For the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, there is a significant negative association between dissociation and frequency of church attendance. For the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora, there is a significant negative association between dissociation and living ones life according to religious beliefs, and a significant positive association between dissociation and basing ones approach to life on religion. For the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora, however, none of the associations reached significance.

In terms of the relationship between dissociation and social, national, and political identities, the current research determined that for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora, dissociation was significantly predicted by identification with Britain, Ireland, and nationalism, with these three identities showing positive associations with levels of dissociation.

With regard to exposure to traumatic events, the current study determined that there was a significant difference between the levels of exposure to traumatic events between the Northern Irish Diaspora, the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, and the

English control group, with the Northern Irish Diaspora reporting significantly greater levels of exposure to traumatic events. Although these differences were significant, however, a small effect size was indicated by the MANOVA model, indicating lesser differences between the exposures to traumatic events of these groups than might be expected.

The current research also determined that the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora and the Northern Irish Protestant Diaspora report significantly greater levels of exposure to traumatic events than the English control group, although again indicating a small effect size for these differences. The difference between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant groups failed to reach significance. However, effect sizes for these differences between the Catholic and Protestant diasporic groups were comparable with those achieved by the Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland sample, possibly indicating that the non-significant result may be subject to change if larger and more equal sample sizes were achieved.

In terms of the relationship between exposure to traumatic events and religious orientations, the current research determined that for the English control group there is a significant negative relationship between exposure to traumatic events and intrinsic religious orientation, indicating that as levels of intrinsic religiosity increase, experiences of traumatic events decrease. For the diasporic groups, however, these relationships failed to reach significance.

When specific religious practices were assessed, it was determined that there is a significant positive relationship between indirect exposure to traumatic events and

spending time in private thought and prayer for members of the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, though relationships between exposure to traumatic events and specific religious practices for all other diasporic groups failed to reach significance.
For the English control group, there are significant negative relationships between indirect exposure to traumatic events and time spent in private thought and prayer, between overall exposure to traumatic events and time spent in private thought and prayer, and between overall exposure to traumatic events and basing ones whole approach to life on religion.

Finally, the current research did not find any significant associations between levels of exposure to traumatic events and social, national, and political identities for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora. For the Republic of Ireland Diaspora, however, indirect exposure to traumatic events is negatively associated with English and European identities, but positively associated with Loyalist identity.

The discussion chapter concluded with a review of the limitations of the current research and suggestions for future research investigations.

As a result of conducting this study, the aim of assessing the psychosocial dimensions of the Irish and Northern Irish Diaspora in England has been achieved and this study has provided previously unknown information about these diasporic groups.

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Appendix 1

Literature Review: A History of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland

Historically, the Troubles in Northern Ireland extend back over 8 centuries to the English invasion of Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke (subsequently known as Strongbow) and his Norman knights in 1170. Resistance to British rule in Ireland has been actively opposed since this time, with armed rebellions a constant and prolonged reminder of the dissent (Barton, 1996). Between 1170, when the settlers from Britain arrived, and 1968 there were a number of key events which shaped the period of unrest which became known as 'the Troubles'. The following review, however, will detail events since 1968 and will draw attention to the key events and decisions that were made.

The starting point of the period of political and societal unrest colloquially known as 'the Troubles' was in 1968, and these tensions arose, in part, out of the Northern Irish Catholics campaign for civil rights. The key organisation involved in the civil rights movement from 1968 through to the 1970s was the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). Considered to be the most significant of the pressure groups in Northern Ireland, NICRA developed out of the Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ) which collected and publicised evidence of apparent sectarian discrimination (in housing and unemployment in particular) and unfair electoral practices (Barton, 1996). The CSJ aimed to redress the situation by "bringing individual cases before the Northern Irish courts (without success) and seeking to influence opinion in Britain" (Barton, 1996, p.127).

In 1968, inequalities in housing allocations were uncovered and this led to an increase in the standing and influence of NICRA. NICRA applied considerable pressure to the Government over this issue, and the response to this apparent inequality was a public rights march in October 1968. This march, according to McKittrick and McVea (2001) was to change the face of Northern Ireland politics. The march was originally banned, although this resulted in an increase in the number of people attending. As a result of this, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) reacted to the march with considerable force. The force used that day resulted in seventy-seven casualties and many accounts of the out-break of the 'Troubles' include this event as significant, if not as the actual starting point of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland. This event results in more demonstrations on the streets of Northern Ireland, and considerable societal unrest in the region.

In 1969 British Army Troops were deployed to Northern Ireland to restore order. The deployment of these troops brought mixed feelings to the province. While some Catholics viewed the British troops as their protectors from the Northern Ireland state and from a repressive majority population, some nationalists viewed their presence as the ultimate in republican oppression (Darby, 2003). Darby (2003) continues that as a result of this, the ongoing campaign for the internal reform of Northern Ireland was superseded by the need to remove the British military presence and seek unity with the rest of Ireland. The newly assertive and highly politicised Catholic minority gave birth to a rejuvenated radical republicanism in the form of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA, later IRA. Hereafter known as the IRA). The rising of the IRA elicited violence from the Protestant loyalist militants (Darby, 2003).

By 1970, the IRA's campaign of violence against the British Army was well established and by 1972, after the events of Bloody Sunday, it became clear that the Northern Ireland government was powerless to control the situation (even after the introduction of internment in 1971), and in 1972 the London parliament discontinued the Northern Ireland government and proposed the governing of Northern Ireland taking place from London, and the introduction of a British Secretary of State who would assume responsibility for matters in the province (Darby, 2003).

From this point onward, the pattern of violence in Northern Ireland changed and the instances of intercommunal rioting became less frequent with a "triangular, low intensity conflict" ensuing (Darby, 2003). From the 1970s onward, the main protagonists in the conflict were the British State (consisting of members of the British Armed Forces, forces recruited locally in Northern Ireland, and the military police), republican paramilitaries (largely the IRA, but also the Irish National Liberation Army), and loyalist paramilitary forces (the Ulster Volunteer Force, the Ulster Defence Association, and the Ulster Freedom Fighters) (Darby, 2003).

According to CAIN, the current period of the Troubles broke out when the NICRA attempted to support a march in Derry. The march was prohibited but as those involved attempted to march the advertised route, they were stopped by Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) officers, who used force which has been described as "ill-coordinated", "inept", and "unnecessary" (Cameron Report: Disturbances in Northern Ireland, 1969).

Street protests continued in Northern Ireland until the end of January 1972, when a NICRA civil rights march, organised to protest against the continuation of internment without trial and attended by some 10,000-20,000 people, resulted in members of the British Army Parachute Regiment opening fire causing the death of 13 people and the injury of 13 more (one fatally). The events of this day became known as Bloody Sunday (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). According to McKittrick & McVea (2001), these events were responsible for encouraging more youths and young men to become members of paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland.

The aftermath of Bloody Sunday resulted in increased support for republicanism in Northern Ireland, with particular support increased for the IRA (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). The initial inquiry into the events of Bloody Sunday concluded that the soldiers who fired live rounds on that day were not at fault as evidence suggested that some of the demonstrators who had lost their lives had also been firing weapons (McKittrick & McVea, 2001), although this conclusion was the cause of discontent for the families of the victims and a new inquiry was ordered in 1998 by Prime Minister Tony Blair.[1] The events of Bloody Sunday also angered the unionist community, who argued that a disproportionate amount of time and resources have been dedicated to investigating the events of January 1972.

The years that followed Bloody Sunday have been described as some of the most violent in Northern Ireland's history. In July, the IRA detonated 20 bombs in Belfast which resulted in the deaths of 9 people and the injuring of 130 more. This day became known as Bloody Friday, and ten days later a further 9 people lost their lives when the IRA detonated car bombs in Claudy. After the sympathy that was gained for the republican cause in the wake of Bloody Sunday, some researchers have suggested that Bloody Friday and Claudy resulted in a reversal of political good fortune for the IRA (McKittrick & McVea, 2001), and as a result of these events, British security forces were moved in to Derry to remove IRA 'No Go' areas. Undeterred, the republicans continued with their campaign and by mid 1972 both factions were prepared for conflict (McKittrick & McVea, 2001).

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[1] The outcome of this inquiry (known as the Saville Inquiry), which was due to be completed in 2005, had not been announced at the time of writing.

The years that followed saw both acts of violence and attempts at peace building and reconciliation. After the violence of 1972, 1973 saw the Sunningdale Executive, which acknowledged that Northern Ireland required different political treatment than other areas of the UK and that competing national identities (Irish vs. British) were at the very centre of the problem (Barton, 1996).

For the first time since 1925, discussions about the future of Northern Ireland took place between the British Prime Minister (Edward Heath) and the Taoiseach (Liam Cosgrave) and the Northern Ireland Executive (CAIN, 2007), and representatives of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), and the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI) also attended these discussions. These discussions, according to Barton (1996) came closer to success than any previous attempts. Following these talks, the formation of the Northern Ireland assembly was proposed, which would have legislative and executive powers while the British Government would retain powers of law and order (Barton, 1996). Power sharing positions were also included, which would see an 'Irish Dimension' included in this assembly. As a result, Northern Ireland's first cross-community cabinet was formed. Although not a political success, the success of the Sunningdale Executive lay in its formation with the, albeit limited, co-operation of unionist and nationalist politicians (Barton, 1996).

The Sunningdale Agreement saw the formation of the Council of Ireland and, in direct opposition to this, the Ulster Army Council (UAC). The UAC was to become the umbrella group for the key loyalist paramilitary groups (e.g. the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) (Coogan, 2003). Many unionists were suspicious about the Council of Ireland and about the apparent nationalist enthusiasm for this Council, and 1974 saw the rejection of this council by the Ulster Unionists. Following a debate in Northern Ireland in May 1974, on a motion condemning power sharing and the Council of Ireland (a motion which was defeated), it was announced, by the Ulster Workers Council (UWC), that a general strike was to begin the following day (Bardon, 2007). Although initial response to the strike action was poor, by day 2 the effects were being seen in the engineering and farming sectors of the economy and support for the UWC's protest began to increase (McKittrick & McVea, 2001).

During the course of the 2-week long strike, numerous discussions took place and statements were made by members of the British government assuring the UWC that they would not negotiate with those that acted outside constitutional politics. The strike finally came to an end after 14 days when the Chief Executive of the Northern Ireland Executive resigned – along with many of his unionist colleagues – and the Northern Ireland Executive experienced a collapse (Barton, 1996).

Some of the events that followed the UWC Strike included an IRA truce (February 1975 – January 1976), although this period of time indicated as a truce saw the deaths of some 70 individuals (including Catholics, Protestants, and members of the British security forces in Northern Ireland) who were either directly targeted or else caught in the crossfire between the loyalist and republican paramilitary organisations (McKittrick & McVea, 2001).

1975 saw the organisation of the Constitutional Convention, arranged to foster co-operation between unionists and nationalists. In the wake of the UWC Strike, however, neither party seemed willing to make the necessary concessions and the proposed power sharing and inclusion of an Irish Dimension as originally proposed in the Sunningdale Agreement was rejected in a vote in favour of a restoration of Stormont (Barton 1996).

The outcome of this vote, however, was not to be put into practice, and after the dissolution of the Constitutional Convention in 1976, Unionists called for the Secretary of State to take action against the IRA and implement the Convention Report. The United Unionist Action Council (UUAC), which was led by Ian Paisley, the leader of the DUP, and the leader of the United Ulster Unionist Movement (UUUM) announced that they would implement a strike in May 1977 in order to achieve a greater security response from the British government and a return to a majority rule government at Stormont (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). The strike gained support from the UWC and the UDA – the largest of the loyalist paramilitary organisations. The UUAC strike was plagued by disagreements from within the Unionist camp and was responsible for the deployment of some 1200 soldiers to

Northern Ireland to maintain law and order in the province. In total, the strike lasted some 13 days, during which time people were subjected to intimidation by loyalist paramilitary forces (CAIN, 2007). As a result of the strike, the coalition between the Irish parliament and the UUAC was ended and the UUAC was eventually disbanded in the elections which followed the strike. These elections were the first to see the key unionist parties standing in opposition to each other (CAIN, 2007).

In 1980, an announcement was made that there would be an end to Special Category Status (SCS) for members of paramilitary organisations that were incarcerated. This status had been introduced in 1972 as a way of diffusing a hunger strike and maintaining the possibility of exploring links with the IRA (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). The subsequent announcements in 1976, that the SCS was to be phased out, and in 1980, that SCS would cease to exist from April 1981, caused problems. The initial announcement resulted in the 'Blanket Protest'[2], while the second resulted in a hunger strike which lasted 53 days (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). Following the announcement of the termination of SCS a new hunger strike began on 1st March, 1981, at the Maze Prison with the aim of seeing the reinstatement of SCS for paramilitary prisoners. This strike lasted for 7 months and was responsible for the deaths of ten republican prisoners. This hunger strike at the Maze was responsible for a heightening of political tensions in Northern Ireland and the emergence of Sinn Féin as a major political player in Northern Ireland (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). By 1981, it was clear that the Maze hunger strike was to be one of the turning points of 'the Troubles'. The strike helped raise nationalist support, likewise political support for

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[2] Where a republican prisoner wrapped himself in blankets rather than wear prison issue clothes (SCS prisoners had previously been allowed to wear their own clothes in prison) (McKittrick & McVea, 2001).

Sinn Féin, and was a key factor behind the 1985 signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement (McKittrick & McVea).

In the run up to the signing of this Agreement, the then leader of the SDLP accepted a meeting with the IRA. Hefty criticism was received for this and the following months saw the Irish Government, the SDLP, and the Catholic hierarchy being accused of having a vested interest in IRA atrocities (Barton, 1996). During this time, the Ulster Unionists continued to protest against any up coming Anglo-Irish Agreement, but this Agreement was signed by the Irish Prime Minister (John Major) and the Taoiseach (Garret Fitzgerald) in November 1985 (Bardon, 2007). The main objective of this agreement was to promote peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland and with respect to this, the agreement failed. The communities in Northern Ireland remained as segregated as ever, although co-operation between the British and Irish governments was improved. The agreement also succeeded in its aim of quelling the rise of Sinn Féin and isolating the IRA (McKittrick & McVea, 2001).

As a political impasse in Northern Ireland ensued, a number of negotiations were held in 1991 and 1992 with the hope of bringing this situation to an end. These negotiations were largely a response to the failed aim of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and were focused on dealing with the relations between the parties in Northern Ireland, addressing relations between the North and South, and assessing the relationship between London and Dublin (CAIN, 2007). As a result of inevitable problems, however, the talks which were scheduled to begin in April 1991, actually began in April 1992 and were littered with problems and irreconcilable differences between the parties (UUP, DUP, SDLP, APNI) and were finally halted in November

1992. Although nothing was agreed and these negotiations were, in real terms, unsuccessful, the fact that they had taken place at all was highly significant (CAIN, 2007).

Throughout these talks, the Peace Process was underway. This process was, and remains, an attempt at ending the civil conflict and achieving a political resolution for the differences that divide Northern Ireland. Dates on the beginning of the Peace Process differ depending upon sources: while some commentators on Northern Ireland would indicate that that start of the Peace Process should be identified as the first talks between the leader of the SDLP and the leader of Sinn Féin which occurred in 1988 (e.g. Barton, 1996), others would say that it was the announcement of the IRA's cessation of military action in 1994 which should signal the advent of this Process (e.g. Mac Ginty, 1998).

After 2 years of negotiations which took place despite not all political parties being truly involved, an agreement was reached on Good Friday (April 10th) 1998. This agreement acknowledged, for the first time, the right of the people of Northern Ireland to identify themselves as British, or Irish, or both, and to hold British citizenship, Irish citizenship, or dual citizenship, as they so desired. The agreement addressed information on the sharing of sovereignty and on security issues, as well as a decree that the Irish Government and the Northern Irish Executive were to meet as equals. The agreement was supported in 2 separate referenda, one in Northern Ireland and the other in the Republic of Ireland, in May 1998 (Fraser, 2006).

Following concerns by unionists that paramilitary groups (in particular the IRA) should be made to decommission illegal weapons (McKittrick & McVea, 2001), the IRA announced that they had begun the process of decommissioning, first in 2001 (IRA Statement, 2001), again in 2002 (IRA Statement, 2002) and 2003 (IRA Statement, 2003) and in 2005 it was announced by the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning (IICD, 2005) that the IRA had completed the decommissioning of all its arms. During this time, unionists remained discontent with the progress of decommissioning and threatened to resign from the Northern Ireland Executive. As a result of this, on 4 occasions, orders were signed to suspend the Executive and the institutions of the government in Northern Ireland and re-introduce direct rule from Westminster. These periods of suspension saw various attempts made at reaching an agreement between the political parties. However, despite the IICD's (2005) statement that the IRA had completed decommissioning, mistrust remained and the unionists continued to refuse to join the power-sharing executive. Although the beginning of 2006 saw the devolved institutions still suspended and Northern Ireland continued to be ruled by appointed ministers, 2007 saw the election of a four party Northern Ireland Executive and, subsequently, the restoration of devolution to Northern Ireland on 8th May, 2007 (Northern Ireland Executive, 2007). Although a tentative peace has been brought to the province of Northern Ireland, the task now is to maintain this and work towards sustaining political and non-violent solutions to future disagreements.

Appendix 2

Diaspora Questionnaire

1. Date __________

2. Age in years __________

3. Gender [ ] Male [ ] Female

4. Place and country of birth ____________________

5. City and country of current residence ____________________

6. Of which country do you hold citizenship? __________

7. Current church affiliation
   [ ] Roman Catholic
   [ ] Protestant
   [ ] Other. Please specify _______________
   [ ] None

8. Excluding special occasions (weddings, funerals, etc.) please specify the number of times you have attended church in the past 12 months.
   [ ] Never
   [ ] 1-3 times
   [ ] Once every month or two
   [ ] 2-3 times a month
   [ ] About once a week
   [ ] More than once a week

9. Have any other members or past generations of your family emigrated away from Ireland / Northern Ireland to another country?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

(If you responded yes, please continue with item 10 and complete the questionnaire. If you responded no, please move on to question 13 and complete the questionnaire)

10. From where in Ireland / Northern Ireland did a current member or past generation of your family emigrate? ____________________

11. To which country (countries) did a current member or past generation of your family emigrate?

[ ] United States of America
[ ] Australia
[ ] Canada
[ ] England
[ ] Scotland
[ ] Other. Please specify ____________________

12. Which generation(s) of your family emigrated?

[ ] Great grandparent
[ ] Grandparent
[ ] Parent
[ ] Other. Please specify __________

13. What motivated you or your family to emigrate from Ireland / Northern Ireland?

[ ] Employment
[ ] Socio-economic conditions
[ ] Family
[ ] Political unrest
[ ] Other. Please specify ____________________

14. Would you consider returning to live in Ireland / Northern Ireland?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

If you responded no, please give reasons why you would not consider moving to Ireland / Northern Ireland.

____

____

____

Please mark on the line below each statement the degree to which you agree with the declaration where 0 would indicate no agreement and 100 would indicate complete agreement.

For example:
I think of myself as British
0____________________/______________100

Consider how you think of yourself on a common day where you live.

15. I think of myself as British
0______________________________________100

16. I think of myself as English
0______________________________________100

17. I think of myself as Irish
0______________________________________100

18. I think of myself as Northern Irish
0______________________________________100

19. I think of myself as an Ulsterman or woman
0______________________________________100

20. I think of myself as European
0______________________________________100

21. I think of myself as Catholic
0______________________________________100

22. I think of myself as Protestant
0______________________________________100

23. I think of myself as Nationalist
0______________________________________100

24. I think of myself as Unionist
0______________________________________100

25. I think of myself as Republican
0______________________________________100

26. I think of myself as Loyalist
0______________________________________100

These questions describe experiences that you may have in your daily life. Please mark on the line below each statement the degree to which you agree with having the experience, where 0 would indicate that you never have the experience and 100 would indicate that you have the experience all the time.

For example:
Some people find that they sometimes are able to ignore pain.
0______________________/______________100

Your answer should show how often these experiences happen to you when you ARE NOT under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

27. Some people find that sometimes they are listening to someone talk and they suddenly realise that they did not hear part or all of what was said.
0______________________________________100

28. Some people have the experience of sometimes remembering a past event so vividly that they feel as if they were reliving that event.
0______________________________________100

29. Some people have the experience of not being sure whether things that they remember happening really did happen or whether they just dreamed them.
0______________________________________100

30. Some people have the experience of being in a familiar place but finding it strange and unfamiliar.
0______________________________________100

31. Some people find that when they are watching television or a movie they become so absorbed in the story that they are unaware of other events happening around them.
0______________________________________100

32. Some people find that they become so involved in a fantasy or daydream that it feels as though it were really happening to them.
0______________________________________100

33. Some people find that they sometimes are able to ignore pain.
0______________________________________100

34. Some people find that they sometimes sit staring off into space, thinking of nothing, and are not aware of the passage of time.
0______________________________________100

35. Some people sometimes find that when they are alone they talk out loud to themselves.
0______________________________________100

36. Some people find that in one situation they may act so differently compared with another situation that they fee almost as if they were two different people.
0______________________________________100

37. Some people sometimes find that in certain situations they are able to do things with amazing ease and spontaneity that would usually be difficult for them (for example, sports, work, social situations, etc.).
0______________________________________100

38. Some people sometimes find that they cannot remember whether they have done something or have just thought about doing this (e.g., not knowing whether they have just mailed a letter or have just thought about mailing it).
0______________________________________100

Please tell us how you feel about each of the following statements by choosing rating from the scale below. Place that number on the blank line in front of each statement. If, after considering the statements, you feel that none of them apply to you, please place an 'X' in the box at the bottom of this page.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree

39. _____ I believe in eternal life.
40. _____ I believe in God as a Heavenly Father who watches over me and to whom I am responsible
41. _____ I believe that Jesus Christ is alive in spirit.
42. _____ I know that I need God's continual love and care.
43. _____ I believe that salvation frees me from sin and makes a new life possible.
44. _____ I believe that God revealed himself to us in Jesus Christ.
45. _____ I believe that the word of God is revealed to us through the bible.

46. _____ What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow.
47. _____ I pray mainly to gain relief and protection.
48. _____ It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.
49. _____ I try hard to live my life according to my religious beliefs.

50. _____ My religion is important because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.
51. _____ I go to church mainly to spend time with my friends.
52. _____ Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important in life.
53. _____ Sometimes I have to ignore my religious beliefs because of what people might think of me.
54. _____ I pray mainly because I have been taught to pray.
55. _____ Although I am religious, I don't let it affect my daily life.
56. _____ I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing the people I know there.
57. _____ I go to church because it helps me to make friends.

58. _____ It doesn't much matter what I believe so long as I am good.
59. _____ Prayers I say when I'm alone are as important to me as those I say in church.
60. _____ I would rather join a bible study group than a church social group.
61. _____ I enjoy reading about my religion.

62. _____ Prayer is for peace and happiness.
63. _____ My whole approach to life is based on my religion.
64. _____ I have often had a strong sense of God's presence.
65. _____ I would prefer to go to church:
    - ☐ a few times a year or less
    - ☐ once every month or two
    - ☐ two or three times a month
    - ☐ about once a week
    - ☐ more than once a week

I feel that none of the statements above apply to me ☐

Please indicate your response by checking either the 'yes' or 'no box beneath each question.

66. Have you ever been present, in Northern Ireland, when a riot or confrontation took place?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

67. Have you been intimidated due to the 'Troubles'?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

68. Have you ever witnessed an act of terrorism, for example, a shooting, explosion or a hijacking?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

69. Have you suffered any kind of injury due to the 'Troubles'?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

70. Have any of your friends or family suffered any kind of injury due to the 'Troubles'?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

71. Have any of your friends or family been killed due to the 'Troubles'?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

72. Do you know of anyone (not family or friends) who was injured due to the 'Troubles'?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

73. Do you know of anyone (not family or friends) who has been killed due to the 'Troubles'?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

Appendix 3

Control Group Questionnaire

1. Date __________

2. Age in years __________

3. Gender [ ] Male [ ] Female

4. Place and country of birth ____

5. Religion with which you most identify:

   [ ] Christianity
   [ ] Judaism
   [ ] Buddhism
   [ ] Muslim
   [ ] Hindu
   [ ] Sikh
   [ ] Other. Please specify ____________________
   [ ] None

6. Excluding special occasions (weddings, funerals, etc.) please specify the number of times you have attended your place of worship in the past 12 months.

   [ ] Never
   [ ] 1-3 times
   [ ] Once every month or two
   [ ] 2-3 times a month
   [ ] About once a week
   [ ] More than once a week

9. Have any other members or past generations of your family emigrated away from England to another country?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

(If you responded yes, please continue with item 10 and complete the questionnaire. If you responded no, please move on to question 14 and complete the questionnaire)

10. From where in England did a current member or past generation of your family emigrate? -

____

11. To which country (countries) did a current member or past generation of your family emigrate?
[ ] Ireland
[ ] Northern Ireland
[ ] Scotland
[ ] Wales
[ ] Europe
[ ] United States of America
[ ] Canada
[ ] Australia
[ ] South Africa
[ ] Other. Please specify ____________________

12. Which generation(s) of your family emigrated?
[ ] Great grandparent
[ ] Grandparent
[ ] Parent
[ ] Other. Please specify __________

13. What motivated you or your family to emigrate from England?
[ ] Employment
[ ] Political issues
[ ] Socio-economic conditions
[ ] Family
[ ] Education
[ ] Other. Please specify ____________________

14. Would you consider emigrating from England?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

If you responded yes, please give reasons why you would consider moving.

____
____
____

Please mark on the line below each statement the degree to which you agree with the declaration where 0 would indicate no agreement and 100 would indicate complete agreement.

For example:
I think of myself as White British
0____________________/______________100

Consider how you think of yourself on a common day where you live.

15. I think of myself as White British
0__________________________________100

16. I think of myself as White Irish
0__________________________________100

17. I think of myself as White Other
0__________________________________100

18. I think of myself as Mixed
0__________________________________100

19. I think of myself as Indian
0__________________________________100

20. I think of myself as Pakistani
0__________________________________100

21. I think of myself as Bangladeshi
0__________________________________100

22. I think of myself as Other Asian
0__________________________________100

23. I think of myself as Black Caribbean
0__________________________________100

24. I think of myself as Black African
0__________________________________100

25. I think of myself as Black Other
0__________________________________100

26. I think of myself as Chinese
0__________________________________100

27. I think of myself as a member of another ethnic group
0__________________________________100

Please tell us how you feel about each of the following statements by choosing rating from the scale below. Place that number on the blank line in front of each statement. If, after considering the statements, you feel that none of them apply to you, please place an 'X' in the box at the bottom of this page.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree

28. _____ I believe in eternal life.
29. _____ I believe in God as a Heavenly Father who watches over me and to whom I am responsible
30. _____ I believe that Jesus Christ is alive in spirit.
31. _____ I know that I need God's continual love and care.
32. _____ I believe that salvation frees me from sin and makes a new life possible.
33. _____ I believe that God revealed himself to us in Jesus Christ.
34. _____ I believe that the word of God is revealed to us through the bible.

35. _____ What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow.
36. _____ I pray mainly to gain relief and protection.
37. _____ It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.
38. _____ I try hard to live my life according to my religious beliefs.

39. _____ My religion is important because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.
40. _____ I go to church mainly to spend time with my friends.
41. _____ Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important in life.
42. _____ Sometimes I have to ignore my religious beliefs because of what people might think of me.
43. _____ I pray mainly because I have been taught to pray.
44. _____ Although I am religious, I don't let it affect my daily life.
45. _____ I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing the people I know there.
46. _____ I go to church because it helps me to make friends.

47. _____ It doesn't much matter what I believe so long as I am good.
48. _____ Prayers I say when I'm alone are as important to me as those I say in church.
49. _____ I would rather join a bible study group than a church social group.
50. _____ I enjoy reading about my religion.

51. _____ Prayer is for peace and happiness.
52. _____ My whole approach to life is based on my religion.
53. _____ I have often had a strong sense of God's presence.
54. _____ I would prefer to go to church:
    - ☐ a few times a year or less
    - ☐ once every month or two
    - ☐ two or three times a month
    - ☐ about once a week
    - ☐ more than once a week

I feel that none of the statements above apply to me ☐

These questions describe experiences that you may have in your daily life. Please mark on the line below each statement the degree to which you agree with having the experience, where 0 would indicate that you never have the experience and 100 would indicate that you have the experience all the time.

For example:
Some people find that they sometimes are able to ignore pain.
0____________________/_________________100

Your answer should show how often these experiences happen to you when you ARE NOT under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

55. Some people find that sometimes they are listening to someone talk and they suddenly realise that they did not hear part or all of what was said.
0______________________________________100

56. Some people have the experience of sometimes remembering a past event so vividly that they feel as if they were reliving that event.
0______________________________________100

57. Some people have the experience of not being sure whether things that they remember happening really did happen or whether they just dreamed them.
0______________________________________100

58. Some people have the experience of being in a familiar place but finding it strange and unfamiliar.
0______________________________________100

59. Some people find that when they are watching television or a movie they become so absorbed in the story that they are unaware of other events happening around them.
0______________________________________100

60. Some people find that they become so involved in a fantasy or daydream that it feels as though it were really happening to them.
0______________________________________100

61. Some people find that they sometimes are able to ignore pain.
0______________________________________100

62. Some people find that they sometimes sit staring off into space, thinking of nothing, and are not aware of the passage of time.
0______________________________________100

63. Some people sometimes find that when they are alone they talk out loud to themselves.
0______________________________________100

64. Some people find that in one situation they may act so differently compared with another situation that they feel almost as if they were two different people.
0______________________________________100

65. Some people sometimes find that in certain situations they are able to do things with amazing ease and spontaneity that would usually be difficult for them (for example, sports, work, social situations, etc.).
0______________________________________100

66. Some people sometimes find that they cannot remember whether they have done something or have just thought about doing this (for example, not knowing whether they have just mailed a letter or have just thought about mailing it).
0____100

Please indicate your response by checking either the 'yes' or 'no' box beneath each question.

67. Have you ever been present when a riot or violent confrontation has taken place?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

68. Have you ever witnessed an act of terrorism, for example, a shooting, explosion or a hijacking?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

69. Have you suffered any kind of injury due to riots, violent confrontations or other such circumstances?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

70. Have any of your friends or family suffered any kind of injury due to riots, violent confrontations or other such circumstances?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

71. Have any of your friends or family been killed due to riots, violent confrontations or other such circumstances?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

72. Do you know of anyone (not family or friends) who has been injured due to riots, violent confrontations or other such circumstances?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

73. Do you know of anyone (not family or friends) who has been killed due to riots, violent confrontations or other such circumstances?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

Appendix 4

Cover Sheet and Contact Information for the Diaspora.

The following questionnaire has been designed to measure the attitudes, beliefs and experiences of the Irish and Northern Irish in England.

Some of the questions contained are of a sensitive nature and may require you to consider negative events and experiences or personal attitudes and beliefs.

If at any point during the completion of any question you become uncomfortable or distressed, please move onto the next question or section. If you wish to cease completing the questionnaire, please do so.

All responses on this questionnaire will be anonymous and your responses will be treated with confidentiality.

Individual responses will not be made available to anyone other than the researchers involved in the study.

If you wish to speak to the research about anything concerned with this study, please contact her on the details provided at the bottom of this page.

I have read the information above and agree to take part in this study [] (please tick)

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

If you are returning this questionnaire by post or you wish to contact the researcher, please send to / contact: Eve Binks, Liverpool Hope University College, Hope Park, Liverpool. L16 9JD. Tel: 0151 291 3814. E-Mail: Binkse@hope.ac.uk

Thank you.

Cover Sheet and Contact Information for the Control Group.

The following questionnaire has been designed to measure the attitudes, beliefs and experiences of people living in England.

Some of the questions contained are of a sensitive nature and may require you to consider negative events and experiences or personal attitudes and beliefs.

If at any point during the completion of any question you become uncomfortable or distressed, please move onto the next question or section. If you wish to cease completing the questionnaire, please do so.

All responses on this questionnaire will be anonymous and your responses will be treated with confidentiality.

Individual responses will not be made available to anyone other than the researchers involved in the study.

If you wish to speak to the research about anything concerned with this study, please contact her on the details provided at the bottom of this page.

I have read the information above and agree to take part in this study [] (please tick)

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

If you are returning this questionnaire by post, or would like to contact the researcher, please send to / contact: Eve Binks, Liverpool Hope University College, Hope Park, Liverpool. L16 9JD. Tel: 0151 291 3814. E-Mail: Binkse@hope.ac.uk

Thank you.

Appendix 5

Results: Social, National, and Political Identifications of a Northern Irish Sample

For purposes of comparison, data regarding the social, national, and political identifications from a Northern Irish sample (Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey, 2002) are presented below:

Identity	**Northern Irish Sample**			**Current Northern Irish Diaspora Sample**		
	% Whole Sample Identification	% Catholic Sample Identification	% Protestant Sample Identification	%Whole Diasporic Sample Identification	% Catholic Diasporic Sample Identification	% Protestant Diasporic Sample Identification
British	47.6	10.9	75.6	25	10.7	71.3
Irish	26	59.7	3	77.5	90.95	31
Northern Irish	18.6	25.3	12.6	51.4	44.8	76.2
Ulster	3.9	.9	6.5	28.2	21.4	52.5
European	0.7	.4	.3	37.6	41.7	21.9
Nationalist	26.3	65	1	44.1	55.3	8.6
Unionist	40	1.2	74.7	7.7	0.8	33

Appendix 6

Results: Religiosity and Religious Orientations of a Northern Irish Sample

For purposes of comparison, data regarding the religious practices of a Northern Irish sample (NILT Survey, 2002) are presented below:

Frequency of Church Attendance	**Northern Irish Sample**			**Current Northern Irish Diaspora Sample**		
	% Whole Sample Attendance	% Catholic Sample Attendance	% Protestant Sample Attendance	% Whole Sample Attendance	% Catholic Sample Attendance	% Protestant Sample Attendance
Once a week or more	40.1	58.6	32.4	24.6	28.1	15.6
2-3 times a month	11.2	11.1	13.1	14.3	16.2	1.7
About Once a month	5.6	5.5	7	19.1	21	15.6
Less frequently	14.7	16.8	27.8	22.7	23.7	23.5
Never	18	7.4	18.3	19.5	10.8	33.3

For comparison purposes, data regarding the Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religious Orientations for a Northern Irish Sample (Moeschberger et al. 2005), as measured by the Age Universal I-E Religious Orientation Scale (Gorsuch and Venable, 1983) are presented below:

	Northern Irish Sample	Current Northern Irish Diaspora Sample
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	22.72 (SD = 5.29)	36.38 (SD = 10.69)
Extrinsic Religious Orientation	15.23 (SD = 4.30)	40.35 (SD = 9.32)

Appendix 7

Results: Dissociation and Dissociative Experiences in a Northern Irish Sample

Due to differences in the scale administered in the current study and that administered to a Northern Irish sample, a direct comparison of the mean dissociation scores is not available. For full details and a discussion of this, please refer to the 'Limitations of the Current Study and Suggestions for Future Research' section of the Discussion.

For purposes of comparison, however, comparative results from a Northern Irish sample (Dorahy, Lewis, Millar & Gee, 2003) are presented in order to indicate the differences in levels of dissociation between a Northern Irish sample directly exposed to political violence, and a sample reporting indirect exposure to political violence in the province. According to Dorahy et al. (2003), there is a significant difference between those reporting direct exposure and those reporting indirect exposure to political violence (F (1, 42) = 4.96, $p<.05$), with the directly exposed sample reporting significantly greater levels of dissociation than the indirectly exposed sample.

Appendix 8

Results: Exposure to Traumatic Events in a Northern Irish Sample

For purposes of comparison, data regarding direct and indirect exposure to political violence from a Northern Irish sample (Hayes & McAllistair, 2001b) are presented below:

	Northern Irish Sample			Current Northern Irish Diaspora Sample		
	% Whole Sample	% Catholic Respondents	% Protestant Respondents	% Whole Diasporic Sample	% Catholic Diaspora Sample	% Protestant Diaspora Sample
Direct Exposure						
Intimidated	18	23	12	64	60	70
Victim of violent incident	14	16	13	32	35	20
Indirect Exposure						
Family member / relative killed or injured	21	22	21	49	50	46
Know someone killed or injured	56	59	54	61	67	56

Appendix 9

Further Analysis I

A Pearson's Product Moment Correlation was carried out in order to determine the level of association between religious and social identities for the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant Diasporas. This analysis indicated that there is a significant, moderate positive correlation between identification as British and as a Protestant (*r* .328, $p<0.05$), and a significant, moderate positive correlation between identification as Irish and as a Catholic (*r* .422, $p<0.001$). These findings indicate that although for both diasporic communities their sense of social identity is bound up in their religion, this is more so for the Northern Irish Catholic Diaspora.

Appendix 10

Further Analysis II

Given some of the large standard deviations that were apparent for the respondent groups, further analysis was carried out in order to determine whether age was a possible reason for these large variances in scores.

Age and Social Identity Selection.

A Pearson's Product Moment Correlation was conducted in order to determine whether there was any association between the age of the respondent and their propensity to identify with any of the social, national, or political identities available. Results of this analysis concluded that there were no significant associations between age and any of the social identity variables for Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland Diaspora ($p>0.05$).

In terms of the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant Diasporic groups in the current study, it was determined that there was a significant association between age and British identity for the Northern Irish Catholic respondents ($r=.265$, $p<0.01$), although all other correlations failed to reach significance ($p>0.05$).

Age and Religious Orientations.

A Pearson's Product Moment Correlation was conducted in order to determine whether there was any association between the age of the respondent and levels of religiosity. Results of this analysis concluded that the only significant relationship between age and religious attitude was a weak negative correlation between age and religious orthodoxy for members of the Northern Irish Diaspora (r =.190, $p<0.01$), and all other associations failed to reach significance.

Age and Dissociative Experiences.

A Pearson's Product Moment Correlation was conducted in order to determine whether there was any association between the age of the respondent and dissociative experiences. Results of this analysis concluded that there were no significant associations between age and dissociative experiences for any of the groups in the current study ($p>0.05$).