

# An Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism in Scotland: 2015 Update



CRIME AND JUSTICE

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# AN EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE ON SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND: 2015 UPDATE

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper provides an update to the summary of evidence on sectarianism that was published by the Scottish Government in 2013. It summarises some of the evidence that has been collected since then, including information about public attitudes to sectarianism in Scotland, qualitative research in communities where sectarianism was perceived to exist either currently or in the past, research to understand the impact of public processions on communities, and further analysis of the 2011 census, the *Scottish Household Survey*, and the *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey*.

The paper begins by providing an overview of religious affiliation in Scotland before examining data on perceptions and experiences of sectarianism. In exploring the extent to which sectarianism actually presents itself in Scotland, it draws on national data on sectarian-related crime and evidence about expressions of sectarianism in different locations and situations. Given the limited research on the experience of sectarianism, the paper also explores, the question of whether there is any evidence of structural disadvantage for Catholics in Scotland.

## Religion in Scotland

The 2011 census provides evidence of further secularisation of Scottish society since 2001, with a substantial increase in the proportion of people who say they have no religion (from 28% in 2001 to 37% in 2011). Between 2001 and 2011 there was a further decline in the proportion of people identifying as 'Church of Scotland' from 42 to 32 per cent of the population, whereas the proportion who identified as Roman Catholic stayed the same (at 16 per cent).

## Perceptions of sectarianism

- Perceptions of sectarianism in Scotland are still strong. The vast majority (88%) of people in Scotland believe that sectarianism is a problem, although 69% of people think it is a problem only in parts of the country and only 19% people think that it is a problem throughout Scotland.
- It is more commonly perceived as a problem in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.
- There is evidence of perceived improvement in relationships: almost half of people in Scotland think that relationships between Catholics and Protestants have improved over the last ten years.

- There are some perceptions of job discrimination against Catholics and Protestants – 24% of survey respondents think this happens ‘some’ or ‘a lot’ of the time to Catholics, and 17% to Protestants.
- When asked about Scotland as a whole, most survey respondents didn’t think that it was likely that either Catholics or Protestants would be harassed or threatened because of their religious identity, but 35% thought it very or quite likely that Catholics would experience such treatment, while 28% thought the same for Protestants. However, when asked about harassment in their own area, lower proportions said this was a problem (9% for Catholics and 8% for Protestants). Thus for many, sectarianism is viewed as a problem that happens elsewhere in Scotland.
- People living in the most deprived areas of Scotland are more likely than those living in more affluent areas to think that harassment of both Protestants and Catholics is very or quite likely in their area.
- Football is the most commonly mentioned factor people believe contributes to sectarianism in Scotland (88% mentioned it, and 55% thought it was the main factor). The next most commonly mentioned contributory factors were Loyalist (including Orange Order) marches (79% mentioned it, and 13% thought it the main factor) and Irish Republican marches (70% mentioned it, and 3% thought it the main factor).
- The qualitative research found gender to be an important factor both in terms of sectarian behaviour, and sectarian victimisation. The examples of sectarian behaviour that were raised in the study were usually about male proponents - in pubs and drinking settings, as well as within family life.
- The qualitative research also found that perceptions of sectarianism were sometimes inherited from older generations, and from earlier eras, which were sometimes perceived as the source of the more bitter examples of sectarian feelings. The research also found examples of historical sectarian prejudice that lived long in the memory.

### **Experiences of sectarianism**

- In contrast to the strong perceptions of sectarianism in Scotland, there is evidence to show that personal experiences of it are relatively uncommon in terms of harassment, discrimination and criminal victimisation.
- The *Scottish Household Survey* (2013) reported very low levels of self-reported sectarian discrimination and harassment in the last 3 years. Overall, 7% of the sample reported that they had experienced any kind of discrimination – and 6% of adults reported experience of any kind of harassment. However, only 0.3% of the sample reported sectarian-related discrimination and 0.2% reported sectarian-related harassment.
- The *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey* (SSA) survey found a higher prevalence of discrimination than the *Scottish Household Survey* (SHS), with Catholics much more likely to have ever been the (self-reported) victims of employment discrimination. Fourteen percent of Catholics said they had been refused a job or promotion (compared to 1-5% for other groups) and had also

experienced more harassment or threats because of their religious beliefs (15% compared to 2-10% for other groups). The higher reported prevalence in the attitudes survey is likely to be due to the fact that this is based on a longer time frame and may include historical experiences as well as recent experiences.

- Relatively few people are worried about being personally insulted, pestered or intimidated for any reason. Just 3% of respondents in the *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SHS)* said they were worried about being personally victimised for 'ethnicity/race' or 'sectarianism' reasons. The level of worry appears to decrease with age. Young people were more worried about being harassed for sectarianism reasons (5% of those aged 16-24) than older people (1% of those aged 60 and over), although this may be connected with the higher perceived risk of general victimisation among younger people.
- Over recent years the SCJS has reported relatively low levels of sectarian crime. In 2008/09 1% of crimes were thought to be motivated by sectarianism, falling to 0.5% in 2009/10. In 2010/11 it was 1% while in 2012/13 (the most recently available figure) it was again 1%.
- Religious hate-crime accounted for around 10% of all hate crime charges in Scotland in 2013-14 (racial hate-crime accounted for 69%), and is at its lowest level since 2009-10.
- Roman Catholicism has been the religion most commonly cited in reported 'religiously aggravated' charges in the last four years since these statistics have been presented. In 2013-14, 63% of charges included reference to behaviour that was derogatory towards Catholicism – although this represents a year-on-year reduction in 'Catholicism' related charges since 2010-11, and a 5% decrease in 2013-14 from the previous year.
- In 48% of cases the religious prejudice was directed towards a police officer, in 26% of cases it was directed towards the general community, in 27% of cases towards a member of the public and in 11% of cases to someone else working in their official capacity. The fact that so many incidents were directed towards the police or someone acting in their official capacity suggests that, in many cases, the accused was unlikely to have known the religion of the victim and that the religious abuse may have been arbitrary in nature.

### **Indicators of structural disadvantage**

- This section considers whether there is any evidence of structural disadvantage (or the inequality in opportunity one would expect to arise if there were systemic discrimination) due to sectarianism. It does this by conducting 3 main tasks. Firstly, it uses the latest census information (2011) to look at the demographic differences between Catholic and Protestant (defined as Church of Scotland) populations in Scotland. Secondly, it looks at data from a range of sources (2011 census, *Scottish Household Survey*, *Labour Force Survey*, and *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey*) to compare outcomes across a range of key variables including income, health and employment status. Lastly, it reports on a statistical analysis of the data (logistic regression) which allows the assessment of the relative impact of

religion (or more specifically 'Catholicism') compared with other key demographic and socio-economic variables in terms of 'predicting' economic outcomes. The combination of these three tasks allows for an initial assessment of structural disadvantage.

- Consideration of the demographics of Catholic and Protestant populations from the latest census, found that there are some marked differences in the make-up of these two populations. Catholics had a younger age profile than those affiliated the Church of Scotland, indeed this has become slightly more marked between the 2001 and 2011 censuses. Catholics also had a more diverse ethnic identity and were more likely to have been born outside of the UK than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland. Catholics were also more likely than Church of Scotland affiliates to have dependent children and to be lone parents. Some of these differences are likely to be related (i.e. younger people are more likely to have dependent children), however it is important to note these differences between the 2 populations as they are likely to provide an explanation for other measures (i.e. younger people may be expected to be more likely to have better health).
- Analysis of Census and other national survey data was conducted to investigate evidence of disadvantage for either Catholics or those who belong to the Church of Scotland. This showed that there is little difference in terms of income, occupational class or educational attainment<sup>1</sup>, and some indication (when comparing the 2001 and 2011 census results) of an improving picture. In terms of health, this seems to be the case, with tentative indications that, although Catholics were historically more like to suffer poor health, these differences may be disappearing. Examination of economic activity data showed that although unemployment rates were higher among Catholics than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland, they were in line with the Scottish average, with Muslims most likely of all groups to be unemployed. In 2011, as in 2001, Catholics were more likely than those of the Church of Scotland to rent their homes, be the victims of crime and experience imprisonment, although these differences may (at least partly) be attributed to the higher proportion of Catholics living in the most deprived areas.
- Evidence shows that differences are more apparent amongst older generations than younger generations. This suggests that the socio-economic position of Catholics has improved over time, with recent census data providing tentative support for this contention (in terms of education and health). However, further sweeps of the census will shed light on whether this is indeed the case and the apparent trend continues, or whether, there is an 'age effect' and disadvantage only becomes apparent as people get older.
- Consideration was also given to how far religion (or more specifically Catholicism) was an 'explanatory' factor in terms of predicting outcomes in terms of "education or employment"<sup>2</sup>. Results of a logistic regression analysis

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<sup>1</sup> In terms of educational attainment there was little difference for the under 35s but older Catholics had higher proportions with no qualifications than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> This was classified as being a full time student or currently employed. Retired status was also included within this category. Part-time students would not be officially counted as a student, so

which explored this found that 'individual' variables (gender, lone parent, ethnicity, health, qualifications) had the biggest impact on economic outcomes. These did not change greatly when 'Catholicism' was controlled for, and only changed slightly when regional effects were accounted for. However, there does appear to be a slight generational difference, with Catholicism found to have a positive, but marginal effect on economic outcomes for young people aged 16-24, but a negative (again marginal) effect for older people aged 50-64. This does not mean that the younger Catholic population is 'more successful' or indeed 'less successful', than the non-Catholic population. It simply shows that 'individual' effects, and not 'Catholicism', have a stronger association with economic outcomes. While it is recognised that there are a number of limitations to the regression analysis (including the dichotomous categories of 'Catholic' and 'non-Catholic'), based on the models as specified, evidence suggests that 'individual' factors (i.e. gender, lone parent, ethnicity, health and qualifications) have a greater effect than religion in shaping economic outcomes, with no evidence found to suggest persistent anti-Catholic discrimination.

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would need to be working or otherwise economically active in order to be classified within the outcome variable.



# AN EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE ON SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND: 2015 UPDATE

## INTRODUCTION

In 2013 the Scottish Government published a review of administrative and social science evidence on the subject of sectarianism in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2013). It drew on data from the criminal justice system, the 2001 census and other surveys to provide insight for on-going debates on the subject. It also noted some important gaps in the evidence base and suggested a number of pieces of further research to improve the evidence base.

Since the 2013 paper was published, the Scottish Government and the independent Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland have commissioned further analysis including quantitative and qualitative research projects, to fill some of the evidence gaps.

This paper therefore provides an update to the 2013 paper, and summarises some of the new evidence that has been collected, including a nationally representative survey of public attitudes to sectarianism in Scotland, qualitative research in communities where sectarianism was perceived to exist either currently or historically, research to understand the impact of public processions (including Loyalist and 'and Irish Republican marches) on communities, as well as further analysis of the 2011 census, the *Scottish Household Survey (SHS)*, and the *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS)*.

The subject of sectarianism can be read across a range of disciplines and so the review makes no claim to having identified all evidence and sources which might be relevant to discussions of sectarianism. However a broad corpus of literature has been identified, and accessed through web-based search engines, including academic and government library searches and government policy and research sites<sup>2</sup>. While there is a great deal of literature in which academic commentators debate the existence and extent of sectarianism in Scotland<sup>3</sup>, this paper does not seek to rehearse these arguments but instead focuses the discussion on the empirical evidence.

The paper begins by providing an overview of religious affiliation in Scotland before examining data on perceptions and experiences of sectarianism. In exploring the extent to which sectarianism actually presents itself in Scotland, the paper draws on national data on sectarian-related crime and evidence about expressions of sectarianism in different locations and situations. Given the limited research on the experience of sectarianism, the paper also explores, as some academic

commentators have, whether there is any evidence of structural disadvantage for Catholics in Scotland.

## SECTION 1: RELIGION IN SCOTLAND AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE EXTENT OF SECTARIANISM

### Summary

- The 2011 census provides evidence of further secularisation of Scottish society since 2001, with a substantial increase in the proportion of people who say they have no religion (from 28% in 2001 to 37% in 2011). Between 2001 and 2011 there was a further decline in the proportion of people identifying as 'Church of Scotland' from 42 to 32 per cent of the population, whereas the proportion who identified as Roman Catholic stayed the same (at 16 per cent).
- Perceptions of sectarianism in Scotland are still strong. The vast majority (88%) of people in Scotland believe that sectarianism is a problem, although 69% of people think it is a problem only in parts of the country and only 19% people think that it is a problem throughout Scotland.
- It is more commonly perceived as a problem in Glasgow and the west of Scotland.
- There is evidence of perceived improvement in relationships and almost half of people in Scotland think that relationships between Catholics and Protestants have improved over the last ten years.
- There are some perceptions of job discrimination against Catholics and Protestants – 24% of survey respondents think this happens 'some' or 'a lot' of the time to Catholics, and 17% to Protestants.
- When asked about Scotland as a whole, most survey respondents didn't think that it was likely that either Catholics or Protestants would be harassed or threatened because of their religious identity, but 35% thought it very or quite likely that Catholics would experience such treatment, while 28% thought the same for Protestants. However, when asked about harassment in their own area, lower proportions said this was a problem (9% for Catholics and 8% for Protestants). Thus for many, sectarianism is viewed as a problem that happens elsewhere in Scotland
- People living in the most deprived areas of Scotland are more likely than those living in more affluent areas to think that harassment of both Protestants and Catholics is very or quite likely in their area.
- Football is the most commonly mentioned factor people believe contributes to sectarianism in Scotland (88% mentioned it, and 55% thought it was the main factor). The next most commonly mentioned contributory factors were Loyalist (including Orange Order) marches (79% mentioned it, and 13% thought it the main factor) and Irish Republican marches (70% mentioned it, and 3% thought it the main factor).
- The qualitative research found gender to be an important factor both in terms of sectarian behaviour, and sectarian victimisation. The examples of sectarian

behaviour that were raised in the study were usually about male proponents - in pubs and drinking settings, as well as within family life.

- The research found that perceptions of sectarianism were sometimes inherited from older generations, and from earlier eras, and were sometimes perceived as the source of the more bitter examples of sectarian feelings. The research also found examples of historical sectarian prejudice that lived long in the memory.

## Introduction

This section first of all sets out evidence on religious affiliation in Scotland before considering evidence about what people in Scotland think sectarianism is: the form it takes and its prevalence, causes and what might be done to reduce it.

## Religion in Scotland

The 2011 census data on religious affiliation (see table 1 below) shows that there has been a further secularisation of Scottish society since 2001, with a substantial increase in the proportion of people who say they have no religion (from 28% in 2001 to 37% in 2011). Between 2001 and 2011 there was a further decline in the proportion of people identifying as ‘Church of Scotland’ from 42 to 32 per cent of the population, whereas the proportion who identified as Roman Catholic stayed the same (at 16 per cent).

**Table 1: Religion in Scotland, 2001 and 2011**

	2001	2011	Change in number 2001 to 2011
No religion	28%	37%	532,000
Church of Scotland	42%	32%	-428,000
Roman Catholic	16%	16%	37,000
Religion not stated	5%	7%	89,000
Other Christian	7%	5%	-56,000
Muslim	0.8%	1.4%	34,000
Hindu	0.1%	0.3%	11,000
Other religion	0.2%	0.3%	7,000
Buddhist	0.1%	0.2%	6,000
Sikh	0.1%	0.2%	2,000
Jewish	0.1%	0.1%	-1,000

Source: 2001 and 2011 census<sup>3 4</sup>

However, in consideration of these figures it is important to reiterate caveats cited in the 2013 review of the evidence on sectarianism highlighted by Clegg and Rosie

<sup>3</sup> 2001 census: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2005/02/20757/53568>

<sup>4</sup> 2011 census: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/10/8378/0>

regarding survey data on religion: that levels of religious affiliation and the proportions of people who say they have 'no religion' tend to vary across surveys<sup>5</sup>. This is largely dependent on the context and the way in which the question is phrased. For example a higher proportion of people tend to say they have 'no religion' in response to the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey question 'Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion' (44% in 2014<sup>6</sup>) when compared with the 2011 Scottish Census question (which arguably contains more of an assumption of religious belonging): 'What religion, religious denomination or body do you belong to?' (37% in 2011). Higher proportions also said they considered themselves as belonging to the Church of Scotland or were Roman Catholic in the census compared with the attitudes survey (although it is worth noting that the proportions who say they belong to the Catholic church tend to be similar regardless of the survey in question i.e. 14% according to the 2014 attitudes survey compared with 16% in the 2011 Census). A further caveat which should be borne in mind is that religious affiliation does not necessarily equate to religious behaviour, practice or beliefs and may be based on people's perception of their cultural belonging or religious upbringing.

### **Perceptions of sectarianism**

Turning now to perceptions of sectarianism, until recently, one of the most useful sources of evidence on this subject was a study commissioned by Glasgow City Council<sup>7</sup> and published in 2003. This was a survey of a representative sample of 1,000 adults in Glasgow and interviews with key stakeholders and interest groups.

Apart from evidence of reported experiences of sectarianism, this study found evidence of common *perceptions* of sectarian discrimination. A high proportion of those surveyed (approximately two thirds) believed that sectarian discrimination was alive and well in Scotland.

This discrimination was perceived to exist in jokes, abuse, vandalism, violence, threats, intimidation and harassment. Although institutional sectarianism was perceived to be less common, a quarter of respondents felt that it was very or quite common for people not to get jobs or promotion because of their religion and a fifth felt that it was very or quite common for the police to treat people differently due to their religion. These perceptions were reportedly connected to behaviour, and 1 in 20 people said that they excluded themselves from particular areas of Glasgow because of their religion, and a similar proportion because of football allegiance.

In 2014, the Scottish Government commissioned the Scottish Centre for Social Research (ScotCen) to update and broaden the evidence on the perceptions of

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<sup>5</sup> An examination of the evidence on Sectarianism in Scotland  
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0042/00424891.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> Although it is notable that this is considerably lower than the proportion who said they had no religion in response to the same question in the 2013 attitudes survey: 54%. It is therefore suggested that when a question about religious belonging is preceded by other questions on religion 'some people are stimulated into reporting a largely latent religious affiliation that they would not otherwise have acknowledged' p.7

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=9735&p=0>

sectarianism in Scotland through a module of questions in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014 (the report on these findings was published as *Public Attitudes to Sectarianism in Scotland* (Scottish Government, 2015). For the purpose of this report these findings are referred to as Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014.

The *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014* involved 1,501 interviews with a representative sample of the Scottish population (a response rate of 54%). Interviews were conducted face-to-face in people's homes, with the more sensitive questions completed anonymously by respondents. The survey was weighted to ensure that it reflected the sex and age profile of the Scottish population.

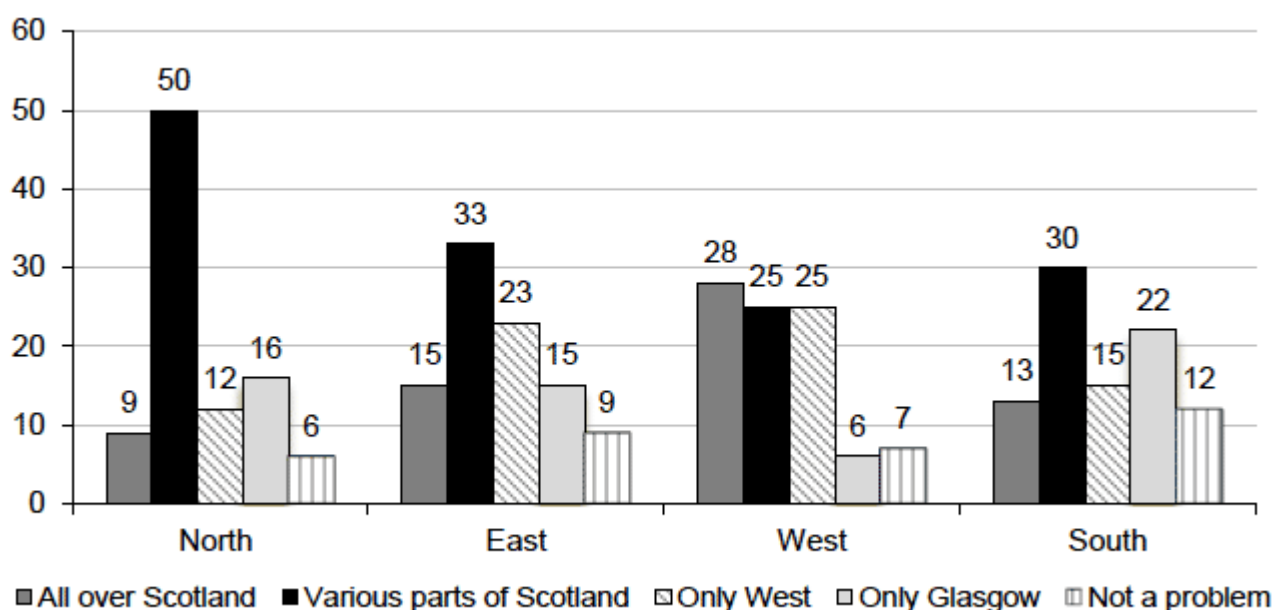
The study explored attitudes and beliefs in relation to a number of issues including: religion and football ties; general perceptions of sectarian prejudice and discrimination in Scotland; perceptions of responsibility for sectarianism (and who is best placed to tackle it); overt and subtle expressions of difference; Loyalist and Irish Republican marches; denominational schools; jokes about religious groups and sectarian language; faith family and friends and personal experiences of religious discrimination or exclusion.

Echoing the findings from the previous research in Glasgow (NFO, 2003) - the 2014 survey found that perceptions of sectarianism in Scotland are still strong<sup>8</sup>. The vast majority (88%) of people in Scotland believe that sectarianism is a problem, although 69% of people think it is a problem only in parts of the country and only 19% people think that it is a problem throughout Scotland. Across the sample, it was most commonly perceived as a problem in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, however people who lived in those locations were more likely to see it as a problem for the whole of the country.

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<sup>8</sup> In order to examine perceptions of sectarianism as a problem more directly, SSA 2014 introduced the following definition of sectarianism: *'As you may know, sectarianism is a term used to describe division, bigotry and discrimination rooted in religion. For the purposes of this survey, I would like you to think only about divisions between followers of different Christian traditions, such as Protestants and Catholics.'*

**Figure 1: Where sectarianism is seen as a problem, by region**



(Sample size: North =355; East=498; West= 466; South=170 )

The survey found common perceptions that both Catholics and Protestants experience prejudice in Scotland, although there was a stronger perception of anti-Catholic prejudice than anti-Protestant. Over a fifth of people (21%) think that there is ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ of prejudice against Catholics, and just over a tenth (12%) think there is ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ of prejudice against Protestants.

However, people were less likely to believe that this prejudice manifested itself in job discrimination or direct harassment (this is discussed in detail in the following section).

#### *Perceived changes in perceptions of the problem*

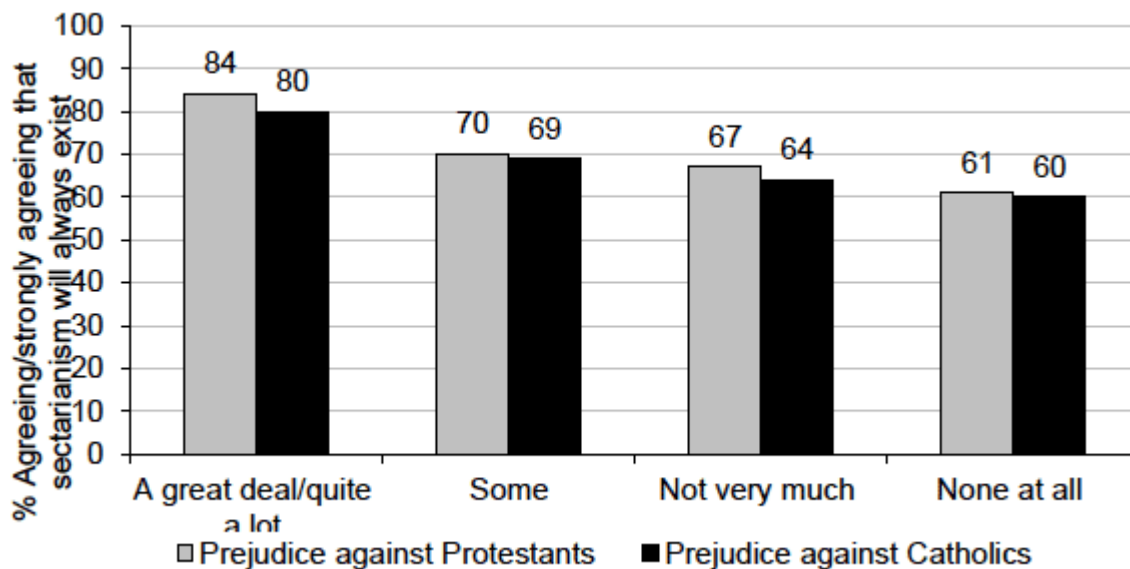
Evidence from the Scottish Election Survey and in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey from the late 1970s through to 2000 suggested that between 1979 and 2000 around a third to a half of the Scottish population believed that ‘conflict’ between Protestants and Catholics was ‘very’ or ‘fairly serious’. While it is recognised that the question wording was somewhat leading, and the use of the term ‘conflict’ assumed serious discord between the two groups, it does nonetheless provide recent historical attitudinal data<sup>9 10</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted, though, that the precise wording of the question was ‘Turning now to Protestants and Catholics in Scotland. Using a phrase from this card, how serious would you say conflict between them is?’ It therefore contains an implicit suggestion that conflict of some sort does exist and so, in that sense, the question could be considered to be leading. Nevertheless, what is interesting in the data is that there was a sharp increase in the proportion of respondents who stated that the conflict was fairly or very serious in 1999. However, as Rosie notes (Rosie, Michael (2004) *The Sectarian Myth in Scotland: Of bitter memory and Bigotry*. Palgrave Macmillan. P.41), the 1999 survey was conducted against ‘a media background in which football-related violence, bigotry and prejudice were prominent’. This is also the year in which Scottish composer James MacMillan gave a lecture at the Edinburgh International Festival on ‘Scotland’s Shame’,

The 2014 survey however shows some evidence of perceptions of improvement in relationships. Nearly half of people (47%) think that relationships between Catholics and Protestants have improved over the last ten years and 40% of people think that they have stayed the same. Only a very small minority (3%) felt that relationships had worsened.

There is however some scepticism about whether sectarianism may ever completely be eradicated from Scotland. Sixty-six per cent of people agreed with the statement that 'sectarianism will always exist in Scotland'. As Figure 2 shows, this sense of the continuing problem of sectarianism was prevalent even among (over half of) those people who think that there is little or no prejudice against Catholics or Protestants – suggesting that they may conceive of sectarianism as something other than this type of prejudice, and (a clear majority – 66% of) those people who think that relationships have improved in the last ten years.

Figure 2: Whether sectarianism will always exist in Scotland by people's views on the current levels of prejudice against Protestants and Catholics



Sample sizes:

Prejudice against Catholics: A great deal/quite a lot= 298; Some = 509; Not very much =486; None at all= 94

Prejudice against Protestants: A great deal/quite a lot= 165; Some = 423, Not very much =628; None at all= 176

## Perceptions of the nature of sectarian discrimination and prejudice

### *Employment discrimination*

reigniting the debate about the prevalence of sectarianism in contemporary Scottish society. As Rose notes, perceptions of the extent of sectarian conflict will have been susceptible to media reporting.

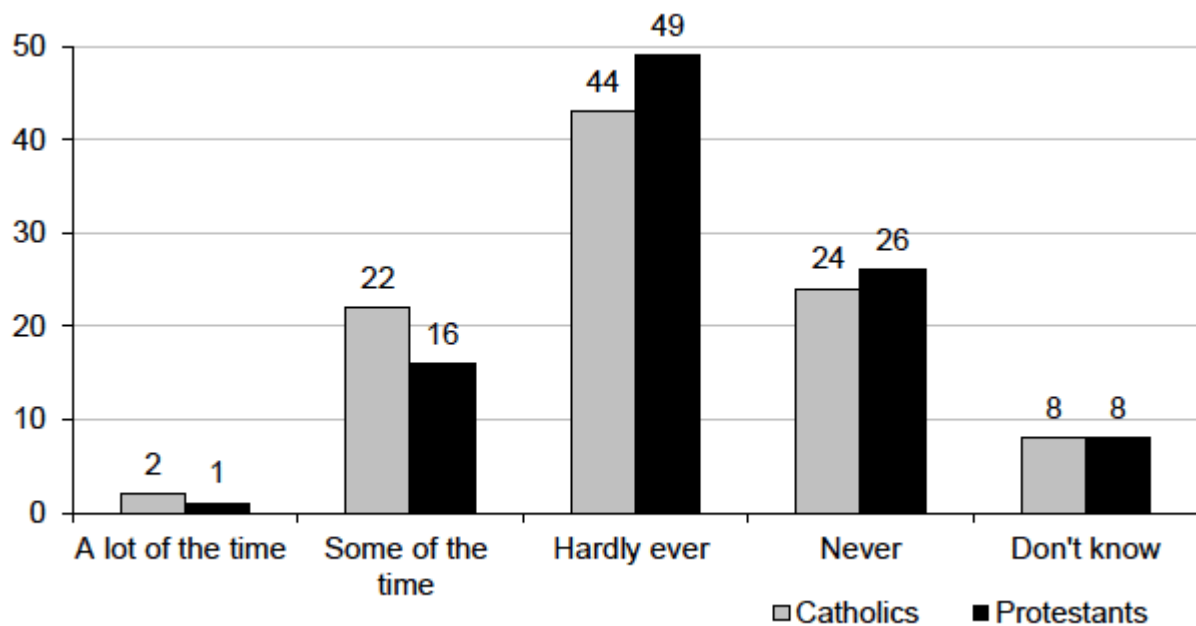
<sup>10</sup> The proportions who believed it was very or fairly serious were: 1979: 36%, 1992: 34%, 1997: 39%, 1999:51%, 2000: 38%



A majority of survey respondents thought that being a Catholic or Protestant ‘hardly ever’ or ‘never’ stops someone from getting a job they deserve (67% for Catholics and 75% for Protestants). There were however stronger perceptions of job discrimination against Catholics than for Protestants. Twenty-four percent of survey respondents thought that this happened ‘some’ or ‘a lot’ of the time to Catholics, and 17% to Protestants. While not directly comparable this finding echoes previous findings from the 2003 Glasgow study, suggesting that this is a continuing concern for a substantial minority. Catholics were more likely to think that employment discrimination against Catholics happened at least some of the time (38% compared with 12-25% of those with other identities).

As with attitudes to sectarian prejudice more generally, people in the West of Scotland were more likely than those in other areas to think that anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant employment discrimination happened at least some of the time. Thirty percent of those in the West (compared with 19-22% of those in other areas of Scotland) thought being Catholic might stop someone getting a job or promotion. The equivalent figures for Protestants were 22% (West) and 10-15% (other regions).

Figure 3: Perceptions of the frequency of job discrimination against Catholics and Protestants



Sample: All respondents (n = 1,501)

### *Perceptions of harassment and threatening behaviour*

Most survey respondents didn't think that it was likely that either Catholics or Protestants would be harassed or threatened because of their religious identity but 35% thought it very or quite likely that Catholics would experience such treatment, while 28% thought the same for Protestants. Again, Catholics were more likely than Protestants to think that both themselves and Protestants were likely to be harassed or threatened in their local area.

There was little regional variation in the perceived likelihood of someone being harassed or threatened for being Catholic or Protestant in Scotland as a whole, but there were some differences when people were asked about their own local area. Fifteen percent of people in the West of Scotland thought it very or quite likely that people in their area could be harassed or threatened for being Catholic, while 12% thought it likely Protestants could experience the same. Those living in other parts of Scotland thought it much less likely that this would happen where they live (2-8% for Catholics, 2-7% for Protestants).

### *Perceptions of the Geography of sectarianism*

A lot of the problems of sectarianism were perceived to exist at a national rather than local level, in a similar way to the perceptions of anti-social behaviour that have been described in the past (e.g. Ormston and Anderson (2010)<sup>11</sup> found that while 87% of people thought anti-social behaviour was a 'very' or 'quite' a big problem for Scotland as a whole, just 27% said it was a problem for their local area.)

Similarly, sectarianism was perceived as more problematic at a national level, rather than a local one – people think that it exists but, not necessarily near them. When asked about their own local area, the proportion who thought Catholics or Protestants were likely to experience harassment or threatening behaviour dropped considerably (9% for Catholics and 8% for Protestants). Also, at a local level, survey respondents were no more likely to think that anti-Catholic harassment or threatening behaviour was more common than anti-Protestant.

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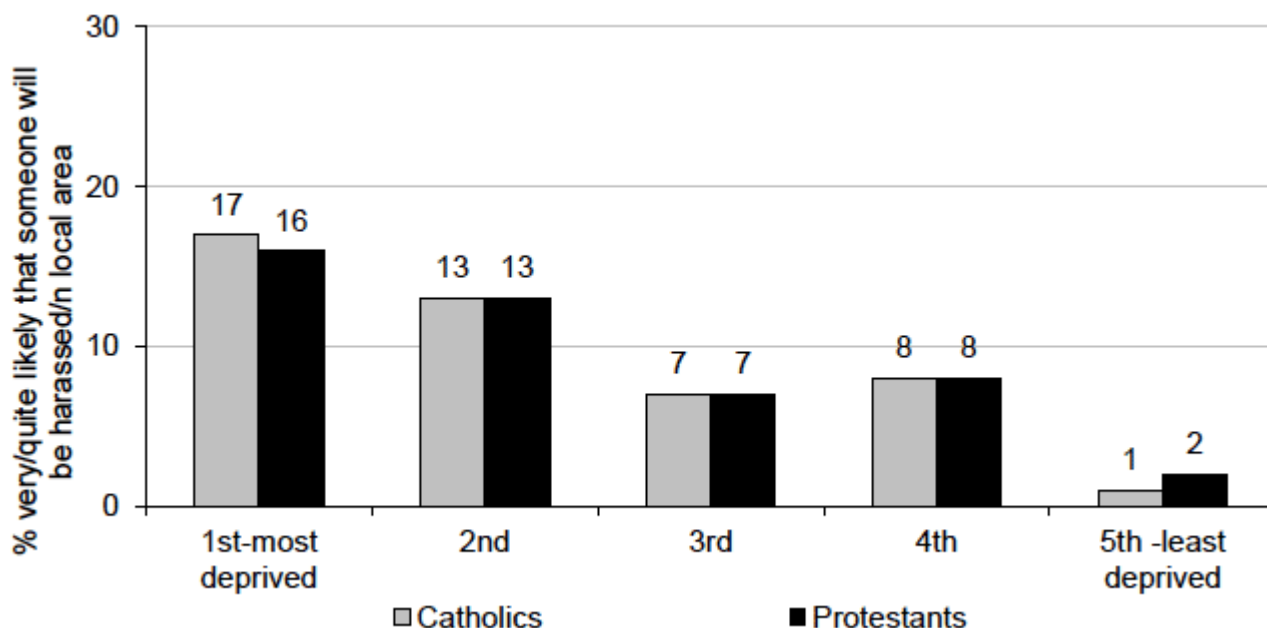
<sup>11</sup> See: Ormston, R and Anderson, S (2010) *Scottish Social Attitudes survey 2009: Local issues, national concerns: Public attitudes to anti-social behavior in Scotland*. Scottish Government Social Research.

**Table 2: Perceptions of likelihood of harassment for being Catholic / Protestant in respondent's local area, by region**

	Harassed for being Catholic				Harassed for being Protestant			
	North	East	West	South	North	East	West	South
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Very likely</b>	*	2	3	3	*	2	2	1
<b>Quite likely</b>	2	6	12	1	1	5	10	2
<b>Quite unlikely</b>	20	31	37	27	19	28	35	25
<b>Very unlikely</b>	74	57	44	66	76	61	48	69
<b>Don't know</b>	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	2
<b>Refused</b>	-	1	*	-	-	1	*	-
<b>Sample size</b>	355	498	466	170	355	498	466	170

However, people living in the most deprived areas of Scotland were more likely than those living in more affluent areas to think that harassment of both Protestants and Catholics is very or quite likely in their area.

**Figure 4: Perceptions of likelihood of harassment and threats in respondent's local area by area deprivation**



*Perceptions of what contributes to sectarianism*

The 2014 survey asked questions about what factors people think contribute to sectarianism in Scotland, and what factors contribute *most*. It found evidence that people in Scotland believe that football is the main contributor to sectarianism in Scotland – 88% of respondents think that football contributes to sectarianism and 55% of respondents think that is it the main contributor - overwhelmingly the most commonly perceived direct-contributing factor. There is also evidence that this perception may be based more directly on personal experience, as football supporters were even more likely than non-football supporters to perceive football as a contributing factor to sectarianism (92% of supporters of any Scottish football club perceived football as a contributing factor, compared with 84% of those who did not support one). There was however no significant difference between supporters of the Old Firm and other clubs.

Other factors were also perceived to contribute to sectarianism including Orange Order marches (perceived as a contributing factor by 79% of the sample, and perceived as the *main* contributing factor by 13%), Irish Republican marches (perceived as a contributing factor by 70% of the sample, and perceived as the *main* contributing factor by 3%), and ‘events in Ireland’ (perceived as a contributing factor by 51% of the sample, and perceived as the *main* contributing factor by 4%).

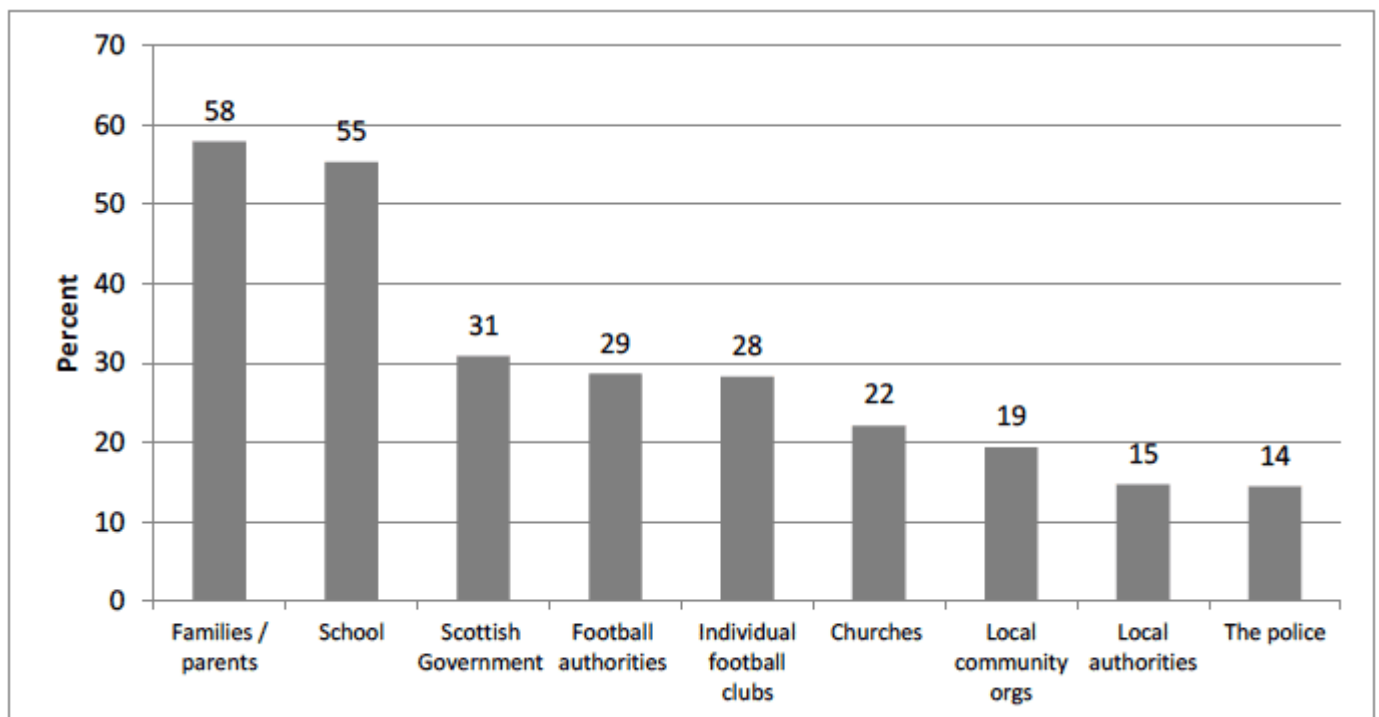
Of the other options presented to respondents (see Table 4.1), just over a third mentioned each of denominational schools; the internet and social media; and newspapers, television or radio as contributing to sectarianism. Just over a quarter mentioned churches. Relatively few people (5% or less in each case) considered each of these to be the factor that contributed most to sectarianism in Scotland.

Personal experience of denominational schooling appears to make people less inclined to view such schools as contributing to sectarianism in Scotland - 25% of those who attended a denominational school thought they contributed, compared with 40% of those who did not.

### Perceptions of who is best placed to tackle sectarian attitudes

The survey asked which 3 organisations are best placed to tackle sectarianism in Scotland. The most common responses were family/parents (58%) and schools (55%). The Scottish Government, football authorities and football clubs were also mentioned in around 30% of cases.

**Figure 5: Perceptions of who is best placed to tackle sectarian attitudes**



Sample size: 1,501 (all respondents)

Some of the perceived ideas about who is best placed to tackle sectarianism varied within different sections of the sample. People who thought football contributed to sectarianism were more likely to think that football authorities and clubs were best placed to tackle sectarianism. The people who mentioned schools as part of the problem were more likely to mention schools as part of the solution. Older people (65 and over) were less likely to mention schools and more likely to mention churches as organisations best placed to tackle sectarianism. Younger people (aged 18-24) were more likely to mention the police and less likely to mention families and parents.

## Public attitudes towards difference

As well as asking about sectarianism, the *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014* sought to explore public views about religious difference in relation to support for marches and parades, denominational schools and also jokes and language about religious groups.

### *Orange Order and Irish Republican Marches*

The survey found low levels of support for the right of loyalist (14%) and republican (11%) organisations' to march on public streets in Scotland. More than half of the sample opposed these marches. This opposition was also expressed in qualitative research conducted at the same time as the survey (with different respondents), where a great deal of animosity was expressed towards marches and parades – particularly the higher profile events that were perceived as 'flash points' for conflict.

### *Denominational schools*

Overall, 43% of people in Scotland oppose denominational schools, while 25% support them. Opposition has fallen in recent years, from 50% in 2007. Catholics were much more likely to support denominational schools than other groups. 62% of Catholics supported denominational schools, while 18% opposed them."

### *Jokes and language*

While only 5% thought that jokes about Catholics or Protestants were always acceptable, a further 34% thought they were acceptable if they did not offend anyone who heard them. Catholics and Protestants themselves were *more* likely to think such jokes acceptable, as were older people.

Most people found sectarian language unacceptable, and the majority of those who did so reported that they would say something about it if someone used these terms. Only 8-9% thought that the terms 'Hun' and 'Fenian' were acceptable.

### *Inter-Christian marriage, family and friendships*

The survey also investigated whether there was any evidence of a 'separation' or 'divide' in terms of attitudes towards relationships and social ties along sectarian terms. The research revealed that in terms of marriage, very few respondents (1-2%) said they would be unhappy if a Catholic or a Protestant married into their family. Previous surveys found that people are much more likely to feel unhappy about the prospect of people from other religious groups, including Muslims and Hindus joining their family.

This attitudinal data on intermarriage is supported by behavioural evidence based on analysis of the 2001 census by Holligan and Raab<sup>12</sup>. The study entailed

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<sup>12</sup> Cited in Scottish Government: 'An Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism in Scotland' 2013: Holligan, C and Raab, G (2010), Inter-sectarian couples in the 2001 Census. Scottish Longitudinal Study Research Working Paper 7. <http://calls.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/WP7-Holligan-Raab.pdf>

examination of census data for approximately 10% of couples enumerated in 2001 who were male/female aged 16-75 and both born in Scotland<sup>13</sup>. It revealed a steep decline in the percentages of same religion couples among younger couples for all Christian groups, with the most marked decline among women aged 50-59 in 2001 (the majority of whom formed partnerships in the 1970s). This pattern was evident across Scotland, but with a higher proportion in the West (due to the higher proportion of Roman Catholics and subsequent inter-faith relationships there). The authors highlight the fact that because many within inter-faith couples continue to practice their faith, families and extended families will commonly include practicing Roman Catholics, with an attendant decline in divisions along sectarian lines in Scotland<sup>14</sup>. The attitudes survey 2014 found that just under a fifth (18%) of Protestants have a close family member (that is a partner, parent, child or sibling) who is Catholic, though a higher proportion (30%) of Catholics have a close family member who is protestant. However, this is likely to reflect the fact that there are more Protestants than Catholics overall in Scotland.

In terms of friendship ties, a clear majority of Catholics in the SSA 2014 said they had one or more friends they know fairly well who is Protestant (81%), compared with 76% of Protestants who reported having a close Catholic friend. The authors therefore suggest that friendship is the most important source of integration between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland. Regarding general attitudes to wider social relationships Christians, be they Protestant or Catholic or neither, were less likely to say they feel more comfortable around people of similar religious beliefs (or none) than were people of no religion or non-Christian religions. Thirty-four per cent of those with no religious beliefs and 45% of those of non-Christian religions compared with 15% of Protestants, 16% of Catholics and 22% of other Christians agreed that they felt more comfortable with people of similar beliefs to themselves.

However, men, those living in the West of Scotland, people who said that their religion (or lack of it) was an important part of their identity, and people who attended religious services regularly were all more likely to say they felt more comfortable around those of similar beliefs to themselves, than those of different beliefs.

### **Community perceptions of sectarianism – qualitative research findings**

To understand and provide context to these national survey findings, the Scottish Government also commissioned qualitative research in tandem, to provide an in-depth understanding of sectarianism at community level in locations where sectarianism was perceived to exist - either currently or historically<sup>15</sup>. This research

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<sup>13</sup> Analysis was also restricted to couples for whom complete data on the religion in which they were raised. It excluded the small number of Scottish born couples where one or more member was raised in a non-Christian religion. The total sample was therefore 111,627.

<sup>14</sup> Raab, G and Holligan, C. (2011) 'Sectarianism: myth or social reality? Inter-sectarian partnerships in Scotland, evidence from the Scottish Longitudinal Study' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2011 Volume 34, Part 9. P17.

<sup>15</sup> See: 'Community Experiences of Sectarianism'. <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/9920>

explored personal experiences of sectarianism, changes over time, family and friendships, employment and education and other settings for sectarianism.

To this end, a total of 35 in-depth interviews and 8 focus groups were conducted with people in five locations where distinct Catholic and Protestant communities live, either separately or side-by-side between June and December 2015. The case study areas selected were Glasgow (city), North Lanarkshire (town), Edinburgh (city), Dundee (city), Eilean Siar/Western Isles (islands).

### *Meanings and understandings of sectarianism*

The research team found that the people they met in all locations were not used to talking about sectarianism, and were less fluent in discussing it than they were compared with other forms of prejudice and discrimination – a finding the authors described as a ‘discursive deficit’. Although the reasons for this are not confirmed by the study, the researchers suggested a number of possible reasons that seemed plausible to them through the course of their study.

These include the possibility that there is comparatively little sectarianism in Scotland today, and people are simply unfamiliar with it, or unable to think of examples of it in their community. Alternatively, it may be so familiar that people have stopped noticing it, or people may be less used to discussing it specifically or separately from other types of prejudice. The researchers also suggested the possibility that there is social pressure to avoid talking about it and it was more of a reluctance to discuss it than a lack of familiarity. Other possibilities for the lack of discussion may be that people ignore the signs of sectarianism, or don’t want it to be associated with their community, and the declining public and private visibility of religion in Scotland. Finally, the researchers suggest that a possible reason is that sectarianism is so poorly understood in Scotland that people do not have an adequate conceptual classification for it, and therefore are unable to talk about it.

It is possible that these different theories may provide varying explanations for different people in different places. Indeed, the qualitative research revealed wide-ranging experiences of sectarianism – from none, through low to serious, and some that were in the past, to some whose experiences were very present. All of these explanations may therefore be plausible, depending on individuals’ own attitudes and experiences within the context of particular communities.

### *Where sectarianism happens*

Like the quantitative findings, the qualitative research found perceptions of sectarianism to be more intense in different locations and situations, for example, although it found experiences of sectarianism in all of its study locations it found stronger perceptions of sectarianism in the West of Scotland. It also found perceived links with football and football matches – research participants noted the days of football matches as particularly significant – and described how they would change their behaviour to avoid certain pubs and public transport on certain days. Alcohol was also mentioned as an aggravating factor.



Participants in the research also noted concerns about possible expressions of sectarian prejudice in employment, recruitment and promotion situations (although this was not something that had been commonly experienced personally among research participants).

### *Loyalist and Irish Republican Processions*

Other research commissioned by the Scottish Government and undertaken by the University of Stirling<sup>16</sup> considered the impact of different types of public processions, with a particular focus on Loyalist and Irish Republican marches, on the communities in which they take place (Scottish Government, 2015). This research described a strong continuing culture of marching by Loyalist and Irish Republican organisations in Scotland (including 773 'procession notifications' by loyal orders, and 41 notifications by Irish republican organisations in Scotland in 2012.)

The research revealed a gulf in understanding in terms of the meaning and purpose of these events between event participants and the general public. Loyalist and Irish Republican organisations tended to perceive themselves as variously: expressing their cultural heritage, affirming identity and upholding traditions, or campaigning around issues of social justice. However, survey respondents in communities which 'hosted' these processions often associated them with broader community and social problems and sectarianism. For example, respondents to a post-procession survey (based on a postal sample of 192 people in Coatbridge, Govan, Parkhead and Bridgeton) found that respondents associated both Loyalist and Irish Republican processions with a range of social problems. Approximately three-quarters of respondents agreed that a recent procession had led to anti-social behaviour (76%) or caused tension in the community (73%). In contrast, those respondents surveyed on the street, on the day of processions expressed less negative attitudes, whilst those who were there specifically to support a procession held generally positive attitudes.

A common concern associated with Loyalist and Irish Republican processions related to the behaviour of procession supporters or other bystanders or 'hangers on' who were seen as causing trouble and nuisance around processions, rather than the participants themselves (Scottish Government, 2015).

### *Gender*

The '*Community Experiences of Sectarianism*' research<sup>17</sup> found gender to be an important factor both in terms of sectarian behaviour, and sectarian victimisation. The examples of sectarian behaviour that were raised in the study were usually about male proponents - in pubs and drinking settings, as well as within family life. Certain cultures associated with sectarianism were also perceived as more

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<sup>16</sup> See: 'Community Impact of Public Processions'.  
<http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/3769/0>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/9920>

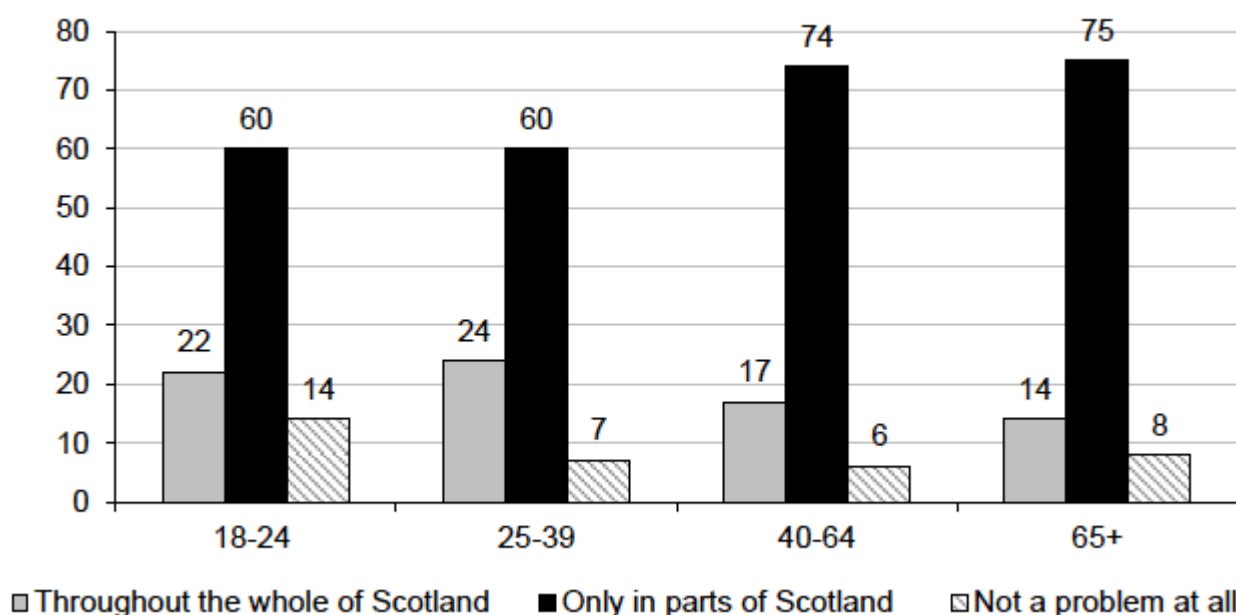
masculine by research participants – e.g. football, marching, music and parades – creating aggressive and intimidating environments and affecting the communities surrounding them. There were examples of women taking evasive action to avoid risks to their own, and their families safety, within public and private spaces, but women were not perceived to be entirely passive or neutral. They were perceived also to sometimes transmit prejudice and participate in controversial activities (such as through participation in Loyalist or Irish Republican marches). On the whole however, sectarianism was typically perceived as a problem caused by men. These findings may provide some explanation for the finding from the attitudes survey (2014) that men were more likely to be reticent than women about revealing their religion, or their lack of religious beliefs (17% of men said they had ‘thought twice’ about revealing their religion/religious beliefs compared with 11% of women).

### *History, memory and generational difference*

The research found that perceptions of sectarianism were sometimes inherited from older generations, and from earlier eras, which were sometimes perceived as the source of the more bitter examples of sectarian feelings. The research also found examples of historical sectarian prejudice that lived long in the memory - although incidents and experience may have happened many years ago, they remained powerful and still sometimes had conscious and subconscious negative impact on victims.

This finding is possibly supported by evidence in the *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014* (Scottish Government, 2015) that found that, although all age groups think that sectarianism is a problem in parts of Scotland, those in the older age groups were most likely to respond in this way (74-75% of those aged 40+ compared with 60% of those aged 18-39 ).

Figure 6: Whether sectarianism is a problem throughout the whole of Scotland, in parts, or not at all, by age



Sample sizes: 18-24=100; 25-39=302; 40-64=661; 65+=423

This survey also found that younger people tended to be slightly more optimistic about the prospects for eradicating sectarianism from Scotland: 22% of those aged 18-24 *disagreed* that sectarianism will always exist compared with 12% of those aged 65 and over.

Some of these findings were echoed in work undertaken by the Conforti Institute in Scotland that involved focus group discussions within 57 Roman Catholic parishes in Scotland<sup>18</sup>, that noted (among a number of other findings) continuing concern about Orange Walks and their effects, the constitutional settlement that prevents Catholics from becoming monarchs, and experiences of anti-Catholicism in Scotland.

Apart from the qualitative survey in 2014, other qualitative research has been undertaken, considering the impact of sectarianism on young people in Scotland. Deuchar and Holligan, published findings of their research in 2008 that explored how young people aged 16-18 in Glasgow viewed their city and provided them with an opportunity to comment on sectarianism.

One of the main findings was the recognition of territoriality related to gang activity. Although not necessarily sectarian, gang activity was associated with particular flashpoints, which the authors described as a vehicle for expressing aggression, particularly around alcohol and after 'Old Firm' matches. Indeed, most respondents indicated that they were very much influenced by football culture and its characteristic rivalry. Respondents intimated that the source of learning about football related sectarianism lay within the family, especially older male family members, and there was a clear link to learning about and conforming to particular expressions of masculinity. The young people often viewed sectarianism as harmless banter and football bigotry appeared to be a taken for granted aspect of Glasgow life. The authors claim that, "the use of sectarian language and humour may have become so deeply assimilated into these young people's social identity that it has become normalised" The research also revealed self-exclusionary practices amongst young people - that there were areas that they would avoid ('hidden territories') when wearing particular football colours. The authors argue that this can affect life chances, by restricting networking and employment opportunities.

In 2011, data on young people's views on sectarianism were collected in an opinion poll conducted by Action for Children. The poll was conducted during the introduction of the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) bill. The survey polled a small sample of 114 young people aged between 14 and 20 who had used its services, and reported that half claimed to have witnessed sectarian incidents on a regular basis. Although the detail of these incidents may have provided some useful insights, these were not recorded. Other findings include that around two thirds thought that schools should do more to tackle bigotry, almost half thought that the tougher sentences proposed in the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland)

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.confortiinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Conforti-Anti-Sectarian-Project-Report-April-2014.pdf>

bill would not be enough to tackle sectarianism and that 44% believed that sectarian views come from households rather than just religion.

### *Football*

Echoing the quantitative study, the qualitative research also found that football was strongly perceived to be the main contributing factor and the Celtic and Rangers rivalry was the issue most associated with sectarianism among participants. This rivalry was perceived as a method of understanding a person's cultural, religious, and political background, especially in west-central Scotland.

Research participants also noted the fact the Catholicism and Protestantism as faiths in Scotland, appeared to play a more muted role in Scottish life than might be supposed from the rivalry of the two teams.

## SECTION 2: EXPERIENCES OF SECTARIANISM

### Summary

- In contrast to the strong perceptions of sectarianism in Scotland, there is evidence to show that personal experiences of it are relatively uncommon in terms of harassment, discrimination and criminal victimisation.
- The *Scottish Household Survey* (2013) reported very low levels of self-reported sectarian discrimination and harassment in the last 3 years. Overall, 7% of the sample reported that they had experienced any kind of discrimination – and 6% of adults reported experience of any kind of harassment. However, only 0.3% of the sample reported sectarian-related discrimination and 0.2% reported sectarian-related harassment.
- The *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey* found a higher prevalence of discrimination than the *Scottish Household Survey*, with Catholics much more likely to have ever been the (self-reported) victims of employment discrimination. Fourteen percent of Catholics said they had been refused a job or promotion (compared to 1-5% for other groups) and had also experienced more harassment or threats because of their religious beliefs (15% compared to 2-10% for other groups). The higher reported prevalence in the attitudes survey is likely to be due to the fact that this is based on a longer time frame and may include historical experiences as well as recent experiences.
- Relatively few people are worried about being personally insulted, pestered or intimidated for any reason. Just 3% of respondents in the *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey* (SCJS) said they were worried about being personally victimised for ‘ethnicity/race’ or ‘sectarianism’ reasons. The level of worry appears to decrease with age. Young people were more worried about being harassed for sectarianism reasons (5% of those aged 16-24) than older people (1% of those aged 60 and over), although this may be connected with the higher perceived risk of general victimisation among younger people.
- Over recent years the SCJS has reported relatively low levels of sectarian crime. In 2008/09 1% of crimes were thought to be motivated by sectarianism, falling to 0.5% in 2009/10. In 2010/11 it was 1% while in 2012/13 (the most recently available figure) it was again 1%.
- Religious hate-crime accounted for around 10% of all hate crime charges in Scotland in 2013-14 (racial hate-crime accounted for 69%), and is at its lowest level since 2009-10.
- Roman Catholicism has been the religion most commonly cited in reported ‘religiously aggravated’ charges in the last four years since these statistics have been presented. In 2013-14, 63% of charges included reference to behaviour that was derogatory towards Catholicism – although this represents

a year-on-year reduction in 'Catholicism' related charges since 2010-11, and a 5% decrease in 2013-14 from the previous year.

- In 48% of cases the religious prejudice was directed towards a police officer, in 26% of cases it was directed towards the general community, in 27% of cases towards a member of the public and in 11% of cases to someone else working in their official capacity. The fact that so many incidents were directed towards the police or someone acting in their official capacity suggests that, in many cases, the accused was unlikely to have known the religion of the victim and that the religious abuse may have been arbitrary in nature.

## Introduction

This section considers evidence about personal experiences of sectarianism in Scotland, including information about the people and groups who are most likely to have experienced it, and in what situations.

### *Proportion of people experiencing religious discrimination or exclusion*

In contrast to the strong perceptions of sectarianism in Scotland, there is evidence to show that personal experiences of it are relatively rare. The *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014*, showed that 14% of people have experienced a form of religious discrimination or exclusion in their lives. This finding is based on a question which asked whether any of the following situations had ever happened because of people's attitudes towards their religious beliefs or background: being excluded from a social event, being refused a job or promotion, or being harassed or threatened. However, the long time frame asked about in this survey – i.e. if this had 'ever' happened to them - may have identified historic experiences reflective of times when sectarianism was more present and prevalent, as well as more recent experiences.

The *Scottish Household Survey (SHS)* (2013) however contained questions which explored peoples' experiences of discrimination and harassment (based on age, gender ethnic group, religion, disability, sexual orientation or sectarian or other reasons) limited to a more recent period of time – the last 3 years. This showed very low levels of self-reported sectarian discrimination and harassment. Overall, 7% of adults reported that they had experienced any kind of discrimination – a similar proportion reported by men and women. Similarly 6% of adults reported experience of any kind of harassment (experienced equally by both genders)<sup>19</sup>. In terms of perceived reasons, of the 664 people who reported having experienced discrimination, sectarian reasons were cited by 4% (around 0.3% of all adults), while religion was cited by 8% (0.5% of all adults) (see table 3 below). Levels of discrimination based on 'sectarian' or 'religious' reasons were much lower than 'ethnic group', which was the most commonly cited reason, with just under a third saying this (31%).<sup>20</sup> In terms of perceived reasons for harassment, of the 554

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<sup>19</sup> Analysis by age showed that there was little variation (although older people were less likely to report having experienced discrimination or harassment compared to all adults).

<sup>20</sup> Age was the next most commonly cited reason 13% of respondents, followed by gender, 8%. Sexual orientation was cited as a reason by 4%. Almost a third (30%) suggested that there were 'other' reasons for the discrimination.

people who said they had experienced this, the proportion who said ‘sectarian’ reasons was again low, 4% (around 0.2% of the whole sample), while a similar proportion (5%) believed it was due to their religion (around 0.3% of the whole sample). Echoing the findings on discrimination, a much higher proportion said they had been harassed because of their ethnic group (18%)<sup>21</sup>.

**Table 3: Perceived reasons for discrimination and harassment, (Note, percentages are only for the sub-sample in the survey of people who said they were victims of harassment or discrimination in the last 3 years, not the whole sample) SHS 2013**

	Discriminated against	Harassed
Age	13%	7%
Disability	7%	4%
Gender	8%	7%
Ethnic Group	31%	18%
Religion	8%	5%
Sexual orientation	4%	4%
Sectarian	4%	4%
Other	30%	50%
Don't know	2%	6%
Base	664	554

Further breakdown of these figures by religion<sup>22</sup> shows that 133 of those who said they had been discriminated against i.e. not the whole sample, were Roman Catholic and that of this sub-sample just over a fifth (n = 29 or 22%) said they had been discriminated against due to their religion (note, this is not 22% of Roman Catholics, but 22% of the 133 people who said they had been discriminated against).

<sup>21</sup> The highest proportion, 50% said they had been harassed for ‘other’ reasons, with disability and gender cited by 7% respectively. A further 4% (for each) said they had been harassed because of their sexual orientation or disability.

<sup>22</sup> Due to small sample sizes analysis was conducted by the following categories: no religion, Church of Scotland, Roman Catholic, Other Christian and Another Religion.

Relatively few (8% (n=11)) Roman Catholics, who said they had been discriminated against, said they had been discriminated against due to 'sectarian' reasons, compared with 5% (n=6) for Protestants<sup>23</sup>. The most commonly cited specific<sup>24</sup> reason for discrimination given by just over a quarter of Roman Catholics however was related to their ethnic group (n=35 or 26%), while just under a fifth of protestants said this was on the basis of age (n=20 or 18%).

A similar pattern was evident in relation to the figures for harassment broken down by religion. Of the 100 Roman Catholics who reported having been harassed, 16% said this was due to their religion, higher than the 2% of (108) Protestants. A further 9% of Roman Catholics, who reported having been harassed, said they had been harassed for sectarian reasons, again slightly higher than the 5% proportion of Protestants who said the same. While these numbers are too small to draw firm conclusions upon, they do highlight that while the incidence of discrimination or harassment on the basis of religion or sectarian reasons was relatively low, Roman Catholic and Protestant groups were most likely to report discrimination on this basis.

The *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey* also 2012/13 also contained a series of questions exploring respondents experiences of harassment over the last 12 months (whether they had been insulted, pestered or intimidated). A total of 9% (n=524) said they had been harassed in some way. However, this varied with age and a lower proportion of older people said they had been harassed compared with younger people (16% of those aged 16-24 compared with 3% of those aged 60 or over).

Of those who had been harassed, the vast majority, 81% of adults said this took the form of verbal abuse directed against them whereas around a third (34%) said this involved threats of violence. In terms of the perceived reasons for harassment, while most commonly people were unable to say the reason (76%), religion was cited as a reason by 3% (2% of males and 4% of females said this). Sectarianism was given as a reason by 3% (4% of Males and only 1% of females). Harassment on the perceived basis of religion or sectarianism was less commonly cited than ethnicity/race (8%), age or gender/gender identity (5%). Of the 9% who had been harassed, 3% said they were members of ('belonged to') Church of Scotland and 5% who said they were members of Roman Catholic churches.

### **Differences among religious groups**

Discrimination reported in the SHS may be motivated by many factors, and we do not have information about the cause of the discrimination, or if this was related to an individual's self-reported religion. However, Catholics were much more likely to

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<sup>23</sup> This compared with 3% of those with no religion, 1% for 'other Christian' and 1% for 'other religion'.

<sup>24</sup> Discrimination due to 'other' reasons was most commonly cited by Protestant and Catholic respondents alike (34% and 27% respectively).



have been the (self-reported) victims of employment discrimination in both the *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey* and the *Scottish Household Survey*. Fourteen percent said they had been refused a job or promotion (compared to 1-5% for other groups) and had also experienced more harassment or threats because of their religious beliefs (15% compared to 2-10% for other groups)<sup>25</sup>.

The relative strength of religious feeling also appeared to be a relevant factor. The *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey* found that nearly 1 in 5 Catholics who say they are 'very' or 'fairly' religious said they had experienced job discrimination at some point in their lives, compared with 7% of those Catholics who said they were 'not very' or 'not at all' religious. More religious Catholics were also more likely to say that they had not been invited to or attended social events because of their religion (10% compared with 5% for less religious Catholics). However, people's strength of religious feeling did not make a difference to their reported experience of harassment or threatening behaviour - both more religious and less religious Catholics were equally likely to say they had been threatened or harassed at some point in their lives (14-15%).

In the *Scottish Household Survey* respondents who were Roman Catholic were more likely to report experiencing discrimination than those of the Church of Scotland (10% and 4% respectively, and those belonging to 'another religion' (i.e. any religion apart from Church of Scotland or Roman Catholicism) were much more likely to report experiencing discrimination than either group (21%)<sup>26</sup>.

In 2011 the *Scottish Household Survey* asked about experiences of any kind of harassment, bullying or violence in the last two years. Eight per cent of people said they had experienced this (n=922). Of this group 8% believed it was because of their religion. Analysis of this figure showed that of the 71 people who said they had been harassed, bullied or subjected to violence because of their religion, 28 were Catholics and 4 were affiliated with the Church of Scotland<sup>27</sup>.

In recognition of the perceived relevance of football culture and religion in Scotland, the *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey* also analysed the results of personal experiences of sectarianism by the football teams supported. Supporters of Celtic (a football club with historical associations with Catholicism) were much more likely than fans of other clubs to say that they had experienced sectarianism. 16% of Celtic fans have experienced job discrimination, compared with only 2% of Rangers fans and 3% of those who support other Scottish clubs. Celtic fans were also more likely to say they had been excluded from social events because of their religious beliefs than were fans of Rangers (8% compared with 3%). 22% of Celtic

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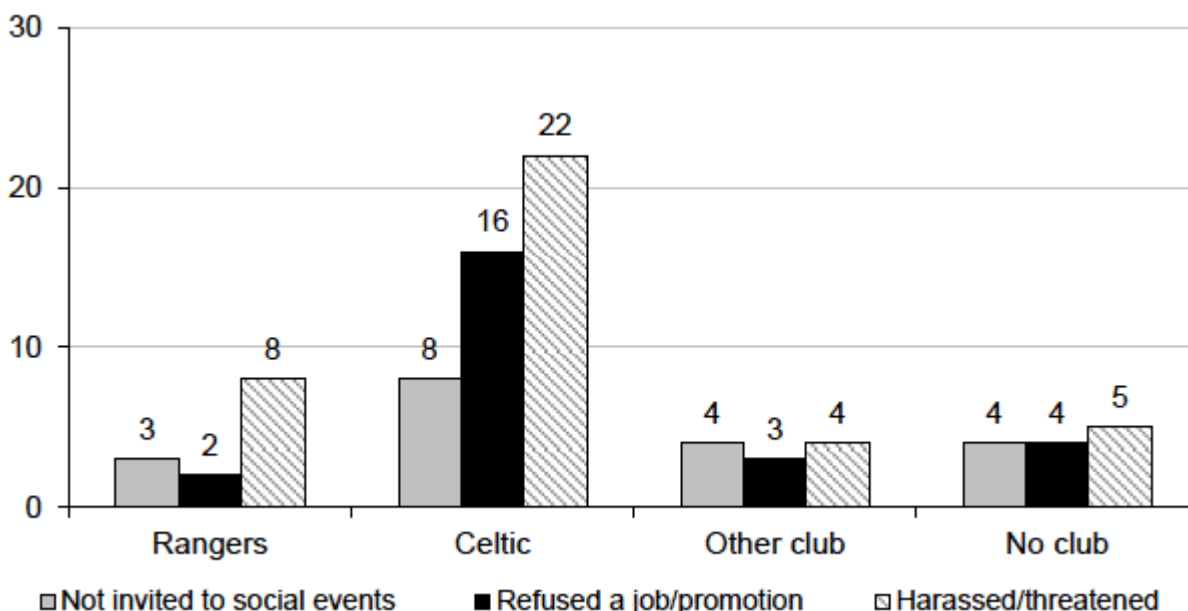
<sup>25</sup> The higher reported prevalence in the attitudes survey as compared with the Scottish Household Survey is likely to be due to the fact that this is based on a longer time frame and may include historical experiences as well as recent experiences.

<sup>26</sup> Higher also than those belonging to other Christian religions (10%), and those who identified as having no religion (6%). In terms of other equality characteristics, gay, lesbian or bisexual experienced higher levels of discrimination (28%), compared to those who identified as being heterosexual (7%) and those from a minority ethnic group were more likely to report experiences of discrimination (24%), compared to those from a white ethnic background (6%). Overall reported experiences of harassment were similar across these respondent characteristics.

<sup>27</sup> 23 were those who had no religion.

supporters compared with 4-8% for supporters of other teams said they had experienced harassment or threats at some point in their lives because of their religious beliefs or background.

**Figure 7: Religious discrimination by football support**



This may mean that some of the general perception that Catholics are more usually the victims of sectarianism is true, however because this question also includes experiences that may have happened a long time ago, there is no evidence about how recent these are.

### Worry about victimisation

A small proportion of people in the *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey* were worried about being personally insulted, pestered or intimidated for any reason. Just 3% of respondents said they were worried about being personally victimised for ‘ethnicity/race’ or ‘sectarianism’ reasons. A further 2% said they were worried about harassment on the basis of religion, disability/condition or age, while only 1% said they worried about being harassed due to gender/gender identity or sexual orientation.

The level of worry appears to decrease with age. Young people were more worried about being harassed for sectarianism reasons (5% of those aged 16-24) than older people (1% of those aged 60 and over), although this may be connected with the higher perceived risk of general victimisation among younger people.

### Self-reported exclusionary behaviour

Some of the more subtle impacts of sectarianism might include self-imposed exclusionary behaviour, self-censorship. The *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014* addressed this question by asking people if they ever ‘think twice’ about telling someone that they were a Catholic/Protestant/other religious affiliate.

Very few people reported ever doing this – only 3% said they had ever done it and 11% said they had occasionally done it. Catholics *and* those with no religious beliefs were however significantly more likely to think twice about sharing their religious views with others (27% of Catholics and 15% of those with no religion compared with 6% for Protestants).

## **Crime and criminal victimisation**

The report has so far discussed evidence about perceptions of the prevalence of sectarianism, and also self-reported experiences of sectarian victimisation. This section now talks about sectarian-related crime and criminal victimisation.

The *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey* (SCJS) provides data on the proportion of crimes perceived as related to sectarianism. This is a national survey, and representative of the Scottish population, and which aims to provide a more accurate estimation of the real levels of crime than may be provided from the police crime statistics – which only include incidents that have been reported to them.

Over recent years the SCJS has reported relatively low levels of sectarian crime. In 2008/09 1% of crimes were thought to be motivated by sectarianism, falling to 0.5% in 2009/10. In 2010/11 it was 1% while in 2012/13 (the most recently available figure) it was again 1%.

Despite the well-documented limitations of using police crime data to provide a full account of the extent of crime, official statistics may provide some useful information about the scale and nature of religiously aggravated hate crime that is typically reported to prosecutors by the police.<sup>28</sup>

This information is captured within an annual official statistics publication: *'Hate Crime in Scotland'*, published by the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service (COPFS). The most recent figures available are for 2013-14. As in previous years, the most commonly reported type of hate crime was on the basis of race (with more than double the number of charges than the other four categories combined). In 2013-14 race crimes accounted for 69% of the total, 4,148 charges overall. Ten per cent involved a religious aggravation<sup>29</sup>, 15% fewer than in 2012-13 and the lowest number of charges since 2004-5<sup>30</sup>. When religious charges included under the Offensive Behaviour at Football legislation, religiously aggravated charges are at their lowest since 2009-10.

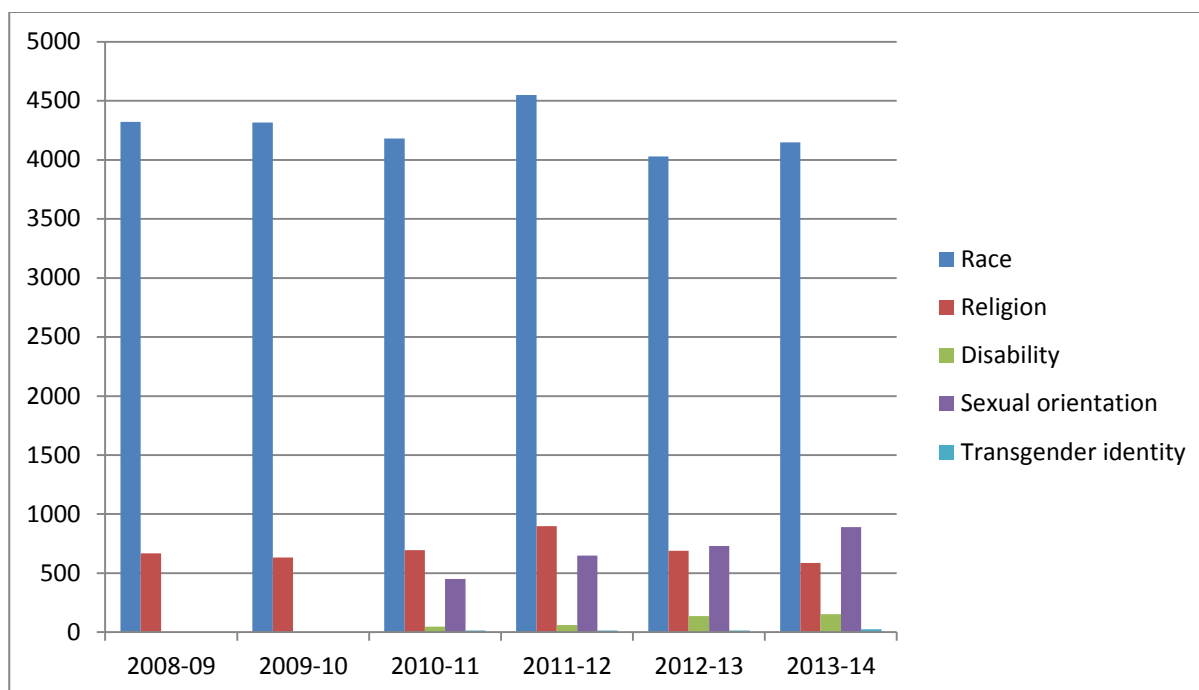
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<sup>28</sup> According to the Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009, hate crime refers to any offence where there is evidence that it was motivated by religious, racial, sexual or other social prejudice including transgender status or disability. It involves violence as well as verbal abuse or threats.

<sup>29</sup> Religiously aggravated offences are defined as charges that include an aggravation of religiously motivated behaviour in terms of Section 74 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003.

<sup>30</sup> Shortly after the legislation was introduced, when 479 charges were reported.

**Figure 8: Hate crime in Scotland, 2008-2014**



Note: legislation for disability, sexual orientation and transgender hate crime came into force in 2010 so data is available from 2010-11 onwards

A more in-depth analysis of religiously aggravated offences is provided within the Scottish Government 'Religiously aggravated offending in Scotland 2013-14' report<sup>31</sup>. This provides further insight into the nature of religious offending by providing a breakdown of the religiously aggravated charges reported in the hate crime publication including information on the nature of the religious belief that formed the offensive conduct<sup>32</sup>.

A number of points should be noted about the data. First, the analysis does not provide a comprehensive picture of the prevalence of religiously offensive conduct in Scotland. Not all incidents of religiously aggravated offending come to the attention of the police, or in circumstances where they are able to charge offenders with a religiously aggravated offence (for example on occasions where there are large groups of people singing religiously offensive songs). Second, the research relied on information provided in police reports submitted to the COPFS. These reports are designed to provide prosecutors with sufficient evidence to prosecute an accused person and did not always provide information which, although relevant to research, may not have been relevant to prove a charge. Third, this study may not have provided a complete account of charges aggravated by 'sectarian' prejudice because some of these types of incidents may have been reported to COPFS as racial aggravations rather than religious aggravations. This might be the case if the incident was directed at, for example, an Irish Catholic. Finally, the report was not based on analysis of the religious beliefs or affiliations of the people

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/06/1659>

<sup>32</sup> Previous analysis was carried out by the Scottish Government and Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal service (COPFS) and published for the years 2006, 2010-11, 2011-12 and 2012-13.

who were the reported victims of the offensive conduct. Legislation defines a religiously aggravated offence as an incident where the offender evinces towards the victim "malice and ill-will based on the victim's membership (or perceived membership) of a religious group or a social or cultural group with a perceived religious affiliation" and so the actual religious affiliation of the victim is not relevant to securing a Section 74 conviction. In fact, there is no separate section within police reports for the police to state which religious belief was targeted. An assessment, of the religion that was the focus of the charge was therefore made by the researchers involved in the research, based on a description of the incident and the details about what was said or done by the accused.<sup>20</sup>

As Table 4 shows, Roman Catholicism has been the religion mentioned in most reported 'religiously aggravated' charges in the last four years since these statistics have been presented. In 2013-14, 63% of charges included reference to behaviour that was derogatory towards Catholicism – although this represents a year-on-year reduction in 'Catholicism' related charges since 2010-11, and a 5% decrease in 2013-14 from the previous year.

Protestantism was the next most commonly cited religion in religiously aggravated offending, with 29% of charges including reference to behaviour that derogatory towards Protestantism. Although the overall proportion has remained the same between 2012-13 and 2013-14, the number of charges has decreased by 15%.

**Table 4: Religions that was the focus of religiously aggravated charges from 2010-11 to 2013-14:**

Religion targeted	2010-11		2011-12		2012-13		2013-14	
	No. of charges	% of total charges	No. of charges	% of total charges	No. of charges	% of total charges	No. of charges	% of total charges
Roman Catholicism	400	58	509	58	388	57	367	63
Protestantism	253	37	353	40	199	29	169	29
Islam	15	2	19	2	80	12	48	8
Judaism	16	2	14	1	27	4	9	2
Christianity (general)	4	1	3	0.3	5	1	4	1
Unknown	8	1	2	0.2	4	1	5	1
Other	0	0	0	0	3	0.4	2	0.3

Note: Charges do not add up to the total number reported as some charges relate to conduct that targeted more than one religion.

The research team also looked at who the religiously aggravated offending was directed at in the view of the police who reported the incidents. In 48% of cases the religious prejudice was directed towards a police officer, in 26% of cases it was directed towards the general community, in 27% of cases towards a member of the

public and in 11% of cases to someone else working in their official capacity. The fact that so many incidents were directed towards the police or someone acting in their official capacity suggest that, in many cases, the accused was unlikely to have known the religion of the victim and that the religious abuse may have been arbitrary in nature.

Most charges took place in the west of Scotland, (35% in Glasgow) and the most frequent places where charges took place included police cars/stations, town/city main streets, and residential areas. Only 16% of charges related directly to football. Religious aggravations were most commonly added to 'threatening and abusive behaviour' charges (this was the main charge for 71% of aggravations) and 12% of aggravations involved a charge of breach of the peace. Only 6% of aggravations involved an assault charge. The vast majority of the behaviour that involved a religious aggravation may therefore be better categorised as 'anti-social', rather than violent. Of the accused, 90% were male and 47% were aged between 16 and 30. Alcohol was a factor in the offending, and 59% of all charges with a religious aggravation were reported as being alcohol-related.

As already mentioned, crimes aggravated by 'sectarian' prejudice may be reported to COPFS as racial aggravations rather than religious aggravations. To explore whether there has been any increase in incidents directed towards Irish victims, data on racist incidents were examined. Figures on the number of racist incidents recorded by the police are published annually by the Scottish Government and contain some information about the ethnicity of the victim<sup>21</sup>. Racist incidents are defined as "any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person". (It should be noted that not all of these incidents will result in a charge.) The most recent figures are for 2012-13. Over 5,000 racist incidents were recorded - 10% higher than in recorded in 2010-11. One percent (75 of 5132 incidents) of the victims of racist incidents recorded by the police were defined as 'White Irish'. This proportion has remained fairly stable since 2006-07.

Another recent source of information about sectarian crime and harassment is the analysis of charges under Section 1 of the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012<sup>23</sup>. The Act criminalises hateful, threatening or otherwise offensive behaviour that is likely to incite disorder and is associated with a regulated football match. The analysis reveals that of the 203 charges in 2013-14, 60 (36%) included an element of religious hate crime and, of those, 46 (77%) were derogatory towards Catholicism and 11 (18%) towards Protestantism. This represents a decrease in the real number of charges from 2012-13 when there were 106 religious charges, 88 (83%) derogatory towards Catholicism, and 16 (15%) derogatory towards Protestantism.

## SECTION 3: EXAMINATION OF INDICATORS OF STRUCTURAL DISADVANTAGE

### Summary

- This section considers whether there is any evidence of structural disadvantage (or the inequality in opportunity one would expect to arise if there were systemic discrimination) due to sectarianism. It does this by conducting 3 main tasks. Firstly, it uses the latest Census information (2011) to look at the demographic differences between Catholic and Protestant (defined as Church of Scotland) populations in Scotland. Secondly, it looks at data from a range of sources (2011 census, *Scottish Household Survey*, *Labour Force Survey*, and *Scottish Crime and Justice Survey*) to compare outcomes across a range of key variables including income, health and employment status. Lastly, it reports on a statistical analysis of the data (logistic regression) which allows the assessment of the relative impact of religion (or more specifically 'Catholicism') compared with other key demographic and socio-economic variables in terms of 'predicting' economic outcomes. The combination of these three tasks allows for an initial assessment of structural disadvantage.
- Consideration of the demographics of Catholic and Protestant populations from the latest census, found that there are some marked differences in the make-up of these two populations. Catholics had a younger age profile than those affiliated the Church of Scotland, indeed this has become slightly more marked between the 2001 and 2011 censuses. Catholics also had a more diverse ethnic identity and were more likely to have been born outside of the UK than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland. Catholics were also more likely than Church of Scotland affiliates to have dependent children and to be lone parents. Some of these differences are likely to be related (i.e. younger people are more likely to have dependent children), however it is important to note these differences between the 2 populations as they are likely to provide an explanation for other measures (i.e. younger people may be expected to be more likely to have better health).
- Analysis of Census and other national survey data was conducted to investigate evidence of disadvantage for either Catholics or those who belong to the Church of Scotland. This showed that there is little difference in terms of income, occupational class or educational attainment<sup>33</sup>, and some indication (when comparing the 2001 and 2011 census results) of an improving picture. In terms of health, this seems to be the case, with tentative indications that, although Catholics were historically more like to suffer poor health, these differences may be disappearing. Examination of economic activity data showed that although unemployment rates were higher among

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<sup>33</sup> In terms of educational attainment there was little difference for the under 35s but older Catholics had higher proportions with no qualifications than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland.

Catholics than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland, they were in line with the Scottish average, with Muslims most likely of all groups to be unemployed. In 2011, as in 2001, Catholics were more likely than those of the Church of Scotland to rent their homes, be the victims of crime and experience imprisonment, although these differences may (at least partly) be attributed to the higher proportion of Catholics living in the most deprived areas.

- Evidence shows that differences are more apparent amongst older generations than younger generations. This suggests that the socio-economic position of Catholics has improved over time, with recent census data providing tentative support for this contention (in terms of education and health). However, further sweeps of the census will shed light on whether this is indeed the case and the apparent trend continues, or whether, there is an 'age effect' and disadvantage only becomes apparent as people get older.
- Consideration was also given to how far religion (or more specifically Catholicism) was an 'explanatory' factor in terms of predicting outcomes in terms of "education or employment"<sup>34</sup>. Results of a logistic regression analysis which explored this found that 'individual' variables (gender, lone parent, ethnicity, health, qualifications) had the biggest impact on economic outcomes. These did not change greatly when 'Catholicism' was controlled for, and only changed slightly when regional effects were accounted for. However, there does appear to be a slight generational difference, with Catholicism found to have a positive, but marginal effect on economic outcomes for young people aged 16-24, but a negative (again marginal) effect for older people aged 50-64. This does not mean that the younger Catholic population is 'more successful' or indeed 'less successful', than the non-Catholic population. It simply shows that 'individual' effects, and not 'Catholicism', have a stronger association with economic outcomes. While it is recognised that there are a number of limitations to the regression analysis (including the dichotomous categories of 'Catholic' and 'non-Catholic'), based on the models as specified, evidence suggests that 'individual' factors (i.e. gender, lone parent, ethnicity, health and qualifications) have a greater effect than religion in shaping economic outcomes, with no evidence found to suggest persistent anti-Catholic discrimination.

## Introduction

This section updates previous evidence which explored whether there is evidence to suggest that sectarianism manifests itself in structural disadvantage (or the inequality in opportunity one would expect to arise if there were systematic discrimination). It does this by firstly comparing Roman Catholic and Church of

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<sup>34</sup> This was classified as being a full time student or currently employed. Retired status was also included within this category. Part-time students would not be officially counted as a student, so would need to be working or otherwise economically active in order to be classified within the outcome variable.



Scotland populations<sup>35</sup> in terms of key demographic factors that should be borne in mind in consideration of any differences, then examines a number of salient outcomes such as health, education, employment and housing, and finally, it examines the relative impact of religion and other key factors on economic outcomes via exploratory logistic regression analysis.

However, as was previously highlighted in the 2013 review, evidence of differing outcomes for those who belong to the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholics does not provide concrete proof that discrimination based on sectarianism exists. Instead this section allows us to document some of the differences between Catholic and Protestant populations in Scotland, and explore whether sectarian prejudices, attitudes and behaviour of the kind discussed in the previous section, (and also more subtle, indirect and long-term expressions of prejudice), *may* have contributed to disadvantage for any one particular group.

It is worth reiterating the recent finding from the (2014) *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey* which showed that although people perceived prejudice against Catholics and Protestants in Scotland to be fairly widespread, they were less likely to believe that this took the form of employment discrimination or in other overt forms of harassment. In relation to whether being a Protestant or Catholic stops someone from getting a job or promotion they deserve, a majority think this ‘hardly ever or never’ happens in Scotland today: although people were more likely to say this about Protestants (75%) than Catholics (67%). However, of those who thought this was a problem, people tended to be more likely to think that Catholics are the subject of such discrimination than said the same of Protestants. This is in line with overall perceptions that Catholics are more likely to experience discrimination than Protestants<sup>36</sup>.

This attitudinal data suggests therefore, that while there is a perception that certain types of sectarian behaviour is directed towards both groups, people tend to believe that religious discrimination is more commonly directed against Catholics in Scotland. A further caveat to bear in mind is that the level of incidence of such discrimination may not necessarily manifest itself in indicators of disadvantage (unless *overwhelmingly* targeted at one group). In addition, where there are observed differences between religious groups, it is not possible to attribute these to discrimination/or the legacy effects of discrimination with certainty – i.e. although there may be differences of outcomes between groups within society – this isn’t to say that any disadvantage is necessarily *caused* by discrimination, and it may be driven by other factors. Indeed, as is also explored within this section, there are a number of demographic factors which may drive differing socio-economic outcomes, such as the age composition of different religious groups, and the

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<sup>35</sup> Religious membership is based on self-reporting in the 2011 census. Christian denominations are presented in the census as “Roman Catholic”, “Church of Scotland” and “other Christian”. For the purpose of this report only “Church of Scotland” membership has been attributed as “Protestant” because “other Christian” may include a mixture of Protestant and non-Protestant denominations. Although the Church of Scotland has been by far the largest Protestant denomination in Scotland, there may be differences with other Protestant churches.

<sup>36</sup> Because the question did not specify a time-frame regarding experiences of harassment or discrimination, it is not possible to say whether or not these are historical or recent.

proportions of people living in urban/rural and deprived areas. In order to investigate the relative impact of these differences on outcomes (as recommended in the 2013 review), we also conducted some exploratory analysis using logistic regression to look specifically at the area of economic activity.

## Religion and key demographic factors

The following key demographic factors provide important context in understanding the evidence on possible structural disadvantage and should be borne in mind when understanding the possible reasons for the different socio-economic outcomes presented thereafter.

### Age

The increasing secularisation of Protestant communities was previously highlighted as a factor in their older age profile (and possibly their greater affluence)<sup>37</sup>. Between 2001 and 2011 there was a further decline in the proportion of people identifying as 'Church of Scotland'<sup>38</sup> from 42 to 32 per cent of the population, whereas the proportion who identified as Roman Catholic stayed the same (at 16 per cent). In 2011 those affiliated with the Church of Scotland had the oldest age profile overall, with over two thirds of people (69%) aged 40 or over<sup>39</sup>. In contrast just over half of Roman Catholics (51%) were aged 40 or over, in line with Scotland as a whole (52%). A majority (63%) of those who identified as having no religion were aged under 40, as were a number of other religions (including Buddhist, Sikh, Muslim and Hindu).

In terms of the proportion of people in the older age groups, the 2001 census data showed that over a quarter (27%) of those affiliated to the Church of Scotland were of pensionable age or above<sup>40</sup>. Between 2001 and 2011 there was a slight increase (to 29%) in the proportion of those affiliated with the Church of Scotland in the older age groups (or 65+). This contrasted with the age profile of the Roman Catholic population, which showed a slight decline in the proportion of those who were pensionable age/65+ respectively: from 17% in 2001 to 15% in 2011. Some caution should be attached to these figures however, as they are not *directly* comparable in terms of age bands: in 2001 pensionable age was defined as 60 for women and 65 for men, but for the 2011 analysis, standard age bands are used for both genders (i.e. 65+). Nonetheless, there does appear to be a slight widening of the age gap in terms of the profile of the two groups, which may be attributed to

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<sup>37</sup> Scottish Government (2013) 'An examination of the evidence on Sectarianism in Scotland' Justice Analytical Services. <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0042/00424891.pdf>

<sup>38</sup> As noted earlier, religious membership is based on self-reporting in the 2011 census. Christian denominations are presented in the census as "Roman Catholic", "Church of Scotland" and "other Christian". For the purpose of this report only "Church of Scotland" membership has been attributed as "Protestant" because "other Christian" may include a mixture of Protestant and non-Protestant denominations. Although the Church of Scotland has been by far the largest Protestant denomination in Scotland, there may be differences with other Protestant churches.

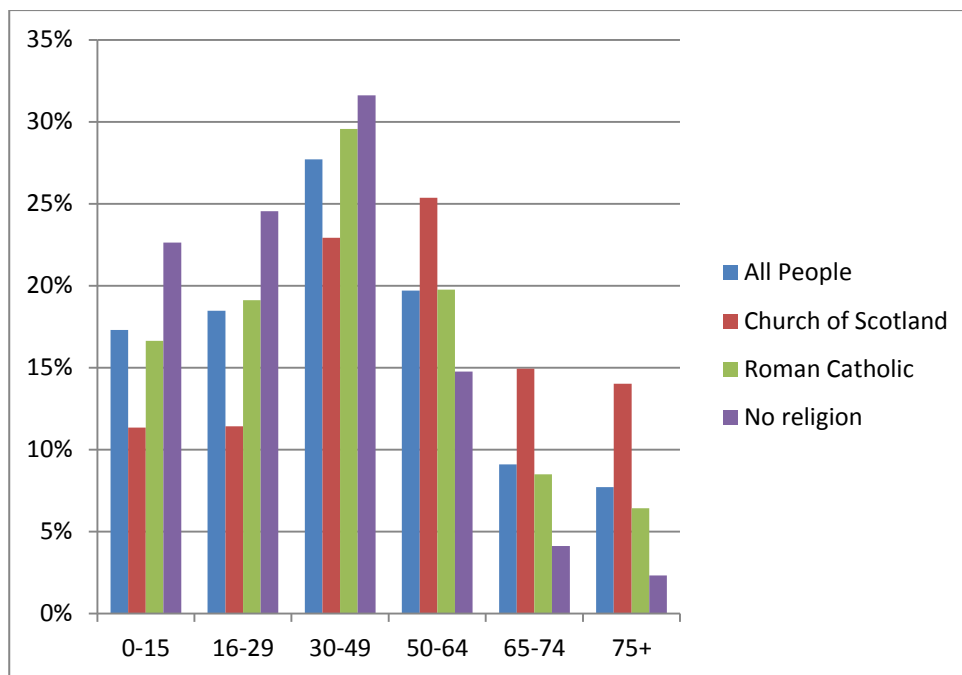
<sup>39</sup> Scottish Government (2014) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census: Part 1 (population and households, ethnicity, identity, language, religion and health) Chart 3.6 Religion by Age, Scotland 2011 <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/10/8378/5>

<sup>40</sup> Scottish Executive (2005) 'Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census – Summary Report'. Office of the Chief Statistician. Chart 1.2. <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2005/02/20757/53568>

increasing secularisation (particularly amongst the Protestant community), as well as an increase in the proportion of Catholic immigrants, who tend to be younger<sup>41</sup>.

As in 2001, the 2011 census data showed that a much higher proportion of Catholics were under the age of 30 than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland<sup>42</sup>. This is illustrated in figure 9 below. As was previously suggested in the 2013 review, this could go some way to explaining differences in, for example, housing tenure, employment rates, criminal victimisation and imprisonment rates (updated discussion of these indicators based on the 2011 census are discussed later).

**Figure 9: Age profile of all people by current religion**



Source: 2011 Census, National Records of Scotland (NRS)

### **Ethnic identity and length of residence in Scotland**

Analysis of religion by ethnic group in the 2011 census showed that while the majority of those who identified as ‘Church of Scotland’ were ‘White: Scottish’ (96%) and most of the remainder were ‘White: Other British’ those who identified as

<sup>41</sup> Roman Catholics were more likely to have been born outside of the UK than those who identified with Church of Scotland (12% compared with 1%). In addition, the majority of Roman Catholic migrants were aged 16-34 when they arrived

<sup>42</sup> For example 11% of those affiliated with the Church of Scotland were aged 0-15 compared with 17% of Roman Catholics. It is also notable that the age profile of Roman Catholic is similar to that of the (average) ‘all people’ figure for Scotland whereas there are much higher proportions of those who identify themselves as having ‘no religion’ in the younger age groups 0-49, and comparatively fewer proportions aged 50+.

Roman Catholic had a more diverse ethnic composition<sup>43</sup>. While 81% of Roman Catholics were 'white: Scottish', a further 6% were 'White Polish', 4% were 'White Irish' and 4% were 'White British' respectively. Given the more diverse ethnic identity among Roman Catholics in Scotland, it is perhaps unsurprising that while the majority of people on census day were born in Scotland (83%), the 'Church of Scotland' group contained the highest proportion born in Scotland (94%)<sup>44</sup>. In contrast, 82% of Roman Catholics were born in Scotland with a further 9% born in Europe (non-UK) and 5% who were born in England.

Roman Catholics were also more likely to have been born outside of the UK than those who identified with Church of Scotland (12% compared with 1%). In addition, the majority of Roman Catholic migrants were aged 16-34 when they arrived. Length of residence was previously identified as a factor which may account for socio-economic differences between those identifying as Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic, and 2011 data shows that the 1% of those who identified with the Church of Scotland and were born outside of the UK, had lived in Scotland for ten years or more, in comparison with 12% of Roman Catholics born outside of the UK, 9% of whom had been resident in the UK for less than 10 years<sup>45</sup>, compared with 3% who had been resident for 10 years or more. Overall then, a significant proportion of the Roman Catholic population has been resident for a shorter period in Scotland.

Shorter residence in Scotland for certain groups is likely to have implications for a range of outcomes. This is best illustrated in terms of what we know about the 6% (61,000 people) who identified as 'White: polish'<sup>46</sup>. Over three quarters (77 per cent) of this group were Roman Catholic and had a very different age profile to the general population, with 42 per cent in the 25-34 age band. Census data also showed that this group had different characteristics from the population as a whole. They were the most economically active, the most likely to be in low level jobs and the least likely to be students. They had low levels of home ownership and tended to private rent rather than social rent. They were also more likely to live in flats, urban areas and in deprived areas<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> Scottish Government (2014) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census': Part 1 (population and households, ethnicity, identity, language, religion and health) Chapter 3.2: Ethnicity, Identity and Language <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/10/8378/5>

<sup>44</sup> Most of the remainder were born in England.

<sup>45</sup> 4% of whom had been resident for 2 years or more, but less than 5 years in Scotland, 2% less than 2 years, 3% - 5 years or more and less than 10 years, and 3% ten years or more).

<sup>46</sup> Information on Polish ethnicity was not collected in the 2001 census. However we expect that the group was very small as we know that in 2001 only 3,000 people in Scotland were born in Poland compared to 55,000 in 2001. Poland became a member of the European Union on 1 May 2004.

<sup>47</sup> See Scottish Government reports 'Overview of Equality Results from the 2011 Census Release 2' (2014), 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census': part 1 (2014) and Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census Part 2 (2015).

## Gender composition

SHS data from 2011 showed that a slightly higher proportion of Roman Catholics were female than those who belonged to the Church of Scotland (41% and 38% respectively), a factor which was previously highlighted as possibly behind differing outcomes (i.e. in terms of employment) between the two groups. However, the 2011 census data shows that Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland religions both had higher proportions of women than men 54% as compared with 46% respectively (same figures for both)<sup>48</sup>. This was in contrast to 'no religion' which had a higher proportion of men: 52% as compared with 48%).

## Marital Status

Previous analysis of the 2001 census data showed that a smaller proportion of Catholics were married than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (47% compared with 55%). This was also the case in 2011, although with lower proportions for both groups (43% of Catholics compared with 53% for Church of Scotland). However, the 2011 data on marriage broken down by age shows that Roman Catholics in the younger age groups were more likely to be married than their Church of Scotland Counterparts (11% of those aged 25-34 compared with 5%, and 34% of those aged 35-49 compared with 25%). This trend was reversed among those aged 50+ though, and was more pronounced among the older age groups (i.e. 14% of Roman Catholics aged 65-74 were married compared with 21% of Church of Scotland and 12% of those aged 75+ were married compared with 6% of Roman Catholics).<sup>49</sup>

## Dependent Children

While 42% of people in Scotland lived in a household with dependent children, this compared with a slightly higher proportion of Roman Catholic households (44%), and a much lower proportion (32%) of those who identified as Church of Scotland<sup>50</sup>. However, the younger age profile of Roman Catholic people (as compared with those who identified with Church of Scotland) should be borne in mind in consideration of this difference<sup>51</sup>. It is also worth noting that the proportion with dependent children has fallen for both groups since 2001 (from 47% of Roman Catholics and 36% of Church of Scotland).

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<sup>48</sup> Scottish Government (2014) 'Analysis of equality results from the 2011 census': part 1: Chapter 3.1: Demographics: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2014/10/8378/5>

<sup>49</sup> Scottish Government (2014) 'Analysis of equality results from the 2011 census': part 1: Chapter 3.3: Households: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2014/10/8378/5>

<sup>50</sup> Scottish Government (2014) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census': Part 1: Chapter 3.1: demographics <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/10/8378/5#chapter3.1>

<sup>51</sup> This difference in households with dependent children between Roman Catholics and Church of Scotland was also apparent in the 2001 census.

## Lone Parents

The 2001 census showed that Roman Catholic families were more likely to be lone parent, than those who were Church of Scotland. This was again the case in 2011, with 24% of Roman Catholics living in lone parent households, compared with 18% of Church of Scotland<sup>52</sup>. Although this was in line with the figure for 'all people' in Scotland (24%) and slightly lower than those with no religion (26%).

### Comparison of key variables by religion

This section updates previous analysis (contained within the 2013 evidence review), mainly using the 2011 census to find out how far there are differences between the groups in terms of key variables such as education, employment and housing. Where possible, it also provides comparison with 2001 data to find out if there has been change over time. This section draws upon recent Scottish Government analysis of the 2011 census data<sup>53</sup> as well as earlier analysis of the 2001 census data<sup>54</sup> for comparative purposes. As the Census data are the most robust and comprehensive source of information<sup>55</sup>, the review is focussed mainly on the 2011 data, supplemented by 2013 Scottish Household Survey (SHS) data on income (as there is no question on this in the census), as well as Labour Force Survey data on economic activity for 2013 (as the range of questions contained makes it the most accurate source of data on levels of employment).

### Area Deprivation

Looking first at area deprivation, the Scottish Government report 'Overview of Equality results from the 2011 census' explored whether any particular groups were over-represented in Scotland's most deprived areas. Figure 10 below shows the proportion of each religious group who lived in Scotland's most deprived areas in 2011 (with figures based on the 15% most deprived data zones)<sup>56</sup>. Within the 'Christian' group, people who recorded as 'Church of Scotland' (12 per cent) were much less likely to live in deprived areas than those who identified as 'Roman Catholic' (23 per cent). In fact, Catholics had the highest proportion (of all groups) living in the most deprived areas. Those with no religion had a similar proportion living in deprived areas to the Scotland average, although there was substantial variation across different religious groups, with Jewish people least likely to live in a

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<sup>52</sup> Scottish Government (2014) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census': Part 1: Chapter 3.1: demographics <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/10/8378/5#chapter3.1>

<sup>53</sup> Including published reports, as well as additional data requested from the National Records of Scotland (NRS) broken down by specific age ranges etc.

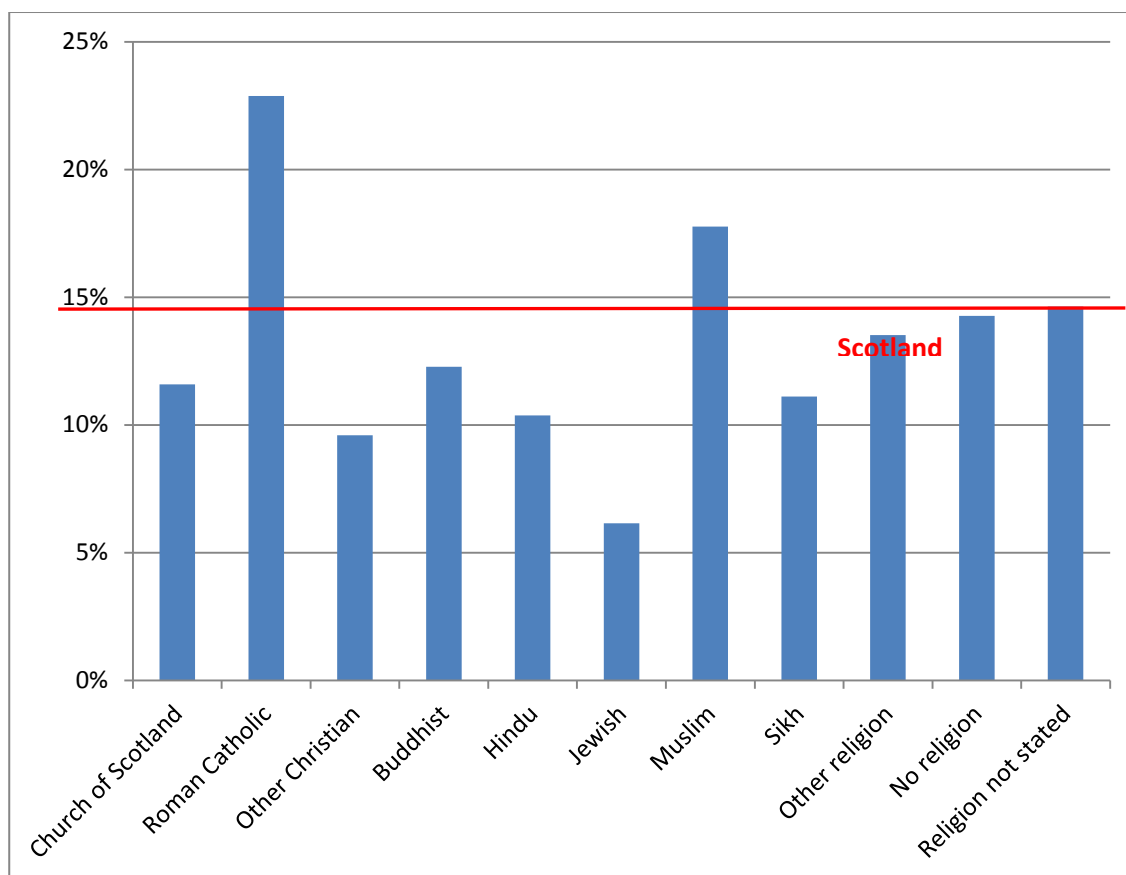
<sup>54</sup> Particularly the Scottish Executive (2005) 'Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census: Summary Report'. Office of the Chief Statistician <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2005/02/20757/53568>

<sup>55</sup> The Census statistics provide estimates, of the usually resident population of Scotland on Census Day. It achieved an overall response rate of 94% in 2011, with the population estimated with 95% confidence to be accurate to within +/- 23,000 (0.44%). It therefore allows inferences to be made about the Scottish population as a whole.

<sup>56</sup> These figures refer to the 15% most deprived data zones in the SIMD 2012. There are 6,505 data zones in Scotland and those ranked 1-976 in the SIMD 2012 make up the 15% most deprived. Comparable figures for 2001 data were not readily available.

deprived area (6 per cent). Muslims were most likely, after Roman Catholics, to live in the most deprived areas (18 per cent).

**Figure 10: Percentage of each religious group in most deprived areas in Scotland, 2011**



Source: Scottish Government (2014) – ‘Overview of Equality results from the 2011 Census: Release ’. Chart 2.8

The Census also provides data on the proportion of each religious group living in the most and the least deprived deciles, with comparable data available for 2001 to explore any change over time<sup>57</sup>. In 2011 the proportion of Roman Catholics living in the most deprived decile was double that of those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (16% compared with 8% see table 5). This pattern was also apparent in 2001. However, there was a slight fall, by 3 percentage points in the proportion of Roman Catholics living in the most deprived decile between 2001 and 2011 (from 19% to 16%). The proportion of people affiliated with the Church of Scotland living in the most deprived decile remained the same between 2001 and 2011, at 8%. In 2011 (as in 2001), there were also relatively high proportions of Muslims living in the most deprived area (13% in 2011). The proportion of people affiliated with the

<sup>57</sup> Scottish Government (2014) ‘Overview of Equality Results from the 2011 Census Release 2’ <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/03/7340/21> and Scottish Executive (2005) ‘Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census: Summary Report’. Office of the Chief Statistician <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2005/02/20757/53568>

Church of Scotland/Roman Catholics living in the least deprived decile remained relatively stable between 2001 and 2011 however<sup>58</sup>.

**Table 5: Proportion of each religious group living in each SIMD decile, 2011**

	Decile 1 Most Deprived	Decile 10 Least Deprived
Church of Scotland	8	10
Roman Catholic	16	7
Other Christian	6	13
Buddhist	9	13
Hindu	7	15
Jewish	4	37
Muslim	13	11
Sikh	8	14
Another	9	8
No religion	9	10
Not answered	10	10

Source: Scottish Government (2014) 'Overview of Equality Results from the 2011 Census Release 2' - concise summary of chart 2.9

The 'Social focus on deprived areas' (Scottish Executive 2005) study suggested that the reasons why those from Roman Catholic and Muslim religions are over-represented in the most deprived areas are complex and attributable to a range of reasons, including educational attainment, health and labour market outcomes. It also highlighted the fact that these groups tend to live in more urban areas (which generally have higher levels of deprivation). Indeed, 2011 census data showed that majorities of Roman Catholics and Muslims lived in 'large urban areas' (54% and 79% respectively), compared to under a third of those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (31%), and less than four in ten of 'all people' (39%) and those who had no religion (38%)<sup>59</sup>.

## Housing Tenure

The 2011 census includes information on housing tenure. Examination of this data showed that a majority of Catholic and Church of Scotland households are home owning, but that Catholics are less likely to own their own homes compared with those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (62% compared with 74%)<sup>60</sup>.

Consideration of 2001 census data suggests a slight widening of the gap in terms of home ownership between these two groups from 2001 to 2011<sup>61</sup> and an increase in the proportion of Church of Scotland home owners (by 4%). This may partly be

<sup>58</sup> 11% of people affiliated with the Church of Scotland lived in the least deprived decile in 2001 compared with 10% in 2011. The proportion of Roman Catholics in the least deprived decile remained the same at 7%.

<sup>59</sup> Scottish Government (2014) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census': Part 1: Chapter 3.1: demographics <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/10/8378/5#chapter3.1>

<sup>60</sup> Scottish Government (2015) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census: Part 2': Chapter 3.3 Housing <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0047/00473938.pdf>

<sup>61</sup> In 2001 62% of Roman Catholic owned their own home compared with 70% of Church of Scotland



attributed to the older age profile of the Church of Scotland group, the increase in the 'white Polish' population and the higher proportion of Roman Catholics living in areas of deprivation. However, it is also worth noting that although the proportion who owned their own home was lower for Roman Catholics than that of the 'All people' average figure for Scotland (67%), it was the same as 'No religion' and higher than Muslim, Buddhist, Other Religion and Hindu (groups who had the lowest rates of ownership overall).

**Table 6: Home ownership by religion – people in households aged 16+ 2001 and 2011**

	2001	2011
Roman Catholic	62%	62%
No Religion	66%	62%
All	67%	67%
Church of Scotland	70%	74%

Source: Scottish Government (2015) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census: Part 2': Chart 3.14 (concise summary)

The 2011 data also showed that, of all religious groups, Roman Catholics were most likely to live in social rented accommodation: 25%. This was higher than the average figure for Scotland (21%), higher than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (19%), and those who had no religion (22%)<sup>62</sup>.

The census also allows exploration of the proportions of people living in overcrowded or under-occupied accommodation, based on occupancy rating. While almost a tenth (9%) of households in Scotland were overcrowded, there was substantial variation across different religious groups. In 2011 the proportion of Roman Catholics living in overcrowded accommodation was double that of Church of Scotland households (12% compared with 6%). The overcrowding rate for Roman Catholics was slightly higher than those with no religion (10%) and the average Scotland figure (9%). However, comparison with 2001 census data shows that there has been a fall in the proportion of people in Catholic and Church of Scotland households which are overcrowded (by 4% for each group). In 2001 16% of Catholic households were overcrowded compared with 10% of Church of Scotland. However, Muslim households were consistently the group most likely to live in over-crowded accommodation (27% in 2011 and 33% in 2001).

<sup>62</sup> Scottish Government (2015) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census: Part 2' Chart 3.13: Religion by tenure, people in households aged 16+. Directly comparable data for 2001 was not readily available.

## Educational Attainment

Exploration of levels of educational attainment by religion shows that Roman Catholics were slightly more likely to have achieved the highest level of qualifications (level 4 qualifications: degree, postgraduate qualifications, Masters, PhD, SVQ Level 5 or equivalent or professional qualifications<sup>63</sup>), than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (24% compared with 22%)<sup>64</sup>. Both Roman Catholics and people affiliated with the Church of Scotland had lower proportions in the most highly qualified group than the Scottish average (26%), although those who were affiliated with the Church of Scotland had the lowest proportion of all groups qualified to the highest level<sup>65</sup>. At the opposite end of the scale, those affiliated with the Church of Scotland were the group most likely to have no qualifications (35%). While a lower proportion of Roman Catholics had no qualifications (30%), it is worth noting that both groups had higher proportions with no qualifications than the Scottish average (at 27%). Analysis of census data from 2001 showed little difference in educational attainment between Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic groups, while the most recent 2011 data shows a slight widening of the gap between the two with Roman Catholics faring slightly better<sup>66</sup>.

**Table 7: Religion by Highest Qualification – all people aged 16+**

Religion	No Qualifications	Level 1 <sup>67</sup>	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Church of Scotland	35%	22%	13%	9%	22%
Roman Catholic	30%	23%	13%	10%	24%
All people	27%	23%	14%	10%	26%
No religion	19%	25%	17%	11%	28%

Source: Scottish Government (2015) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census: Part 2': Chart 3.12: (concise summary)

<sup>63</sup> for example, teaching, nursing, accountancy. Other Higher Education qualifications not already mentioned (including foreign qualifications).

<sup>64</sup> Scottish Government (2015) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census: Part 2': Chapter 3.2 education: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0047/00473938.pdf>

<sup>65</sup> Hindus were the most likely to be highly qualified with (74 per cent having 'Level 4 and above' qualifications). They were also least likely to have no qualifications, with only 5% falling into this category.

<sup>66</sup> Although some caution should be attached to direct comparison because the 2001 data referred to ages 16-74, while the 2011 data is based on all people aged 16+.

<sup>67</sup> **Level 1** = 'O Grade, Standard Grade, Access 3 Cluster, Intermediate 1 or 2, GCSE, CSE, Senior Certificate or Equivalent; GSVQ Foundation or Intermediate, SVQ Level 1 or 2, SCOTVEC Module, City and Guilds Craft or equivalent; Other school qualifications not already mentioned (including foreign qualifications)' **Level 2** = 'SCE Higher Grade, Higher, Advanced Higher, CSYS, A Level, AS Level, Advanced Senior Certificate or equivalent; GSVQ Advanced, SVQ Level 3, ONC, OND, SCOTVEC National Diploma, City and Guilds Advanced Craft or equivalent' **Level 3** = 'HNC, HND, SVQ **Level 4** or equivalent, Other post-school but pre-Higher Education qualifications not already mentioned (including foreign qualifications)'

However, when 2011 data is broken down by age, differences between the Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland groups becomes apparent. Comparison of the proportions who have no qualifications (or non-standard qualifications – see table 8) shows that there was little difference between Catholic and Church of Scotland adherents aged 16-24 and 25-34 (9% and 8% for both age groups respectively). However, for those aged 35-49, 50-64 and 65-74 there were higher proportions of Roman Catholics with no qualifications than those of the Church of Scotland (higher also than the Scottish average and those who had no religion). Those with no religion aged 35+, tended to be less likely to have no qualifications than the Scottish average, and for each of the two comparative groups.

**Table 8: Proportion of people with no qualifications by current religion 2011**

No Qualifications (or non-standard qualifications)	16-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65-74
Church of Scotland	8	8	16	35	56
Roman Catholic	9	9	21	40	64
No religion	8	8	16	30	50
All people	8	8	17	33	55

Source: 2011 census, NRS

Comparison with 2001 data (see table 9) again showed little difference for those aged 16-24 but with differences becoming apparent earlier, for those aged 25+, with Catholics consistently more likely to have no qualifications than their Church of Scotland Counterparts. However, there has been a substantial fall in the proportions of people who have no qualifications between 2001 and 2011 overall, and a narrowing of the gap between the proportion of Catholics and those affiliated with the Church of Scotland who have no qualifications.

**Table 9: Proportion of people with no qualifications by current religion 2001<sup>68</sup>**

No Qualifications (or non-standard qualifications)	16-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65-74
Church of Scotland	12	15	28	54	66
Roman Catholic	13	19	35	61	76
No religion	11	15	25	44	63

Source: 2001 census, NRS

### Employment Rates

The Census records economic activity, thus allowing the economic activity, employment and unemployment rates to be calculated and compared across religions (see table 10 below). Consistent with the ILO definition, economic activity refers to the proportion of the working age population who are working, or not working but looking for work (and able to start within 2 weeks)<sup>69</sup>. While comparison is made between 2001 and 2011, it should be noted that the 2001 rates are based on those 16 - pensionable age (defined then as 60 for women and 65 for men), whereas for the 2011 analysis, as pensionable age has been equalising in recent years for men and women, analysis has been done by standard age bands (i.e. 16-64) for both genders.

The 2011 data shows that 77% of those affiliated with the Church of Scotland were economically active, the same proportion as the average 'all Scotland' rate and a similar proportion to Roman Catholics at 76%. In 2001 those who were 'Church of Scotland' had a higher economic activity rate than those who were Roman Catholic, (76% and 71% respectively). The 2011 data showed that those who had 'no

<sup>68</sup> Previous analysis of the 2001 data was done according to the age breakdowns 16-29, 30-49, 50-Pensionable age and pensionable age -76. However, there was no analysis by 'pensionable age' in the 2011 census and standard age bands 65+ were used for both sexes. Therefore the standard NRS age breakdown (for 2011) was requested for the 2001 data to allow comparability between the 2001 and 2011 censuses. There was also no available 'all people' figure for the 2001 data and so 'No religion' only is provided for comparative purposes.

<sup>69</sup> Including full time students. Unemployment rates are calculated by dividing the number of unemployed by the economically active population. The employment rate = the number of people employed divided by the population. The economic activity rate = the number of employed + unemployed divided by the population.

religion' were most likely to be economically active (79%), and Muslims were least likely (59%). A pattern which was also apparent in 2001.

Employment rates were highest among those affiliated with the Church of Scotland and those with no religion (72% and 71% respectively) and lower among Roman Catholics (69%). However, it is worth noting that the employment rate for Roman Catholics was only one percentage point lower than the average figure for Scotland (70%) and higher than all other religious groups (with Muslims having the lowest employment rate at 50%). Consideration of earlier census data shows that the gap between those affiliated with the Church of Scotland and Catholics has narrowed (in 2001 the employment rates for Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic were 72% and 65% respectively).

In terms of unemployment rates, Catholics had a higher rate in 2011 than those who were 'Church of Scotland' (8% and 6% respectively - similar to the 2001 figures – although the figures are not directly comparable<sup>70</sup>). However the unemployment rate for Catholics was the same as for those of 'no religion' and close to the 'all people' average figure at 7%. It was also considerably lower than Muslims (who had the highest unemployment rate of all at 12%)<sup>71</sup>.

**Table 10: Economic Activity by Current Religion<sup>72</sup>**

Religion	Economic Activity Rate	Employment Rate	Unemployment Rate
Church of Scotland	77%	72%	6%
Roman Catholic	76%	69%	8%
All People	77%	70%	7%
No Religion	79%	71%	8%

SOURCE: 2011 Census, NRS

The most robust source of recent data on employment outcomes is the Annual Population Survey, which collates the quarterly data included in the Labour Force Survey. The range of questions contained in the survey on economic activity and employment makes it the most accurate source of data on levels of employment. The most up to date statistics<sup>73</sup> are set out in the table below.

<sup>70</sup> The unemployment rate for Church of Scotland was 6% and 8% for Roman Catholics. Unemployment rates for 2001 were based on all economically active people aged 16-pensionable age. However, 2011 figures are based on the 16+ population, in line with the labour force survey data on unemployment rates and the standard ILO definition. The 2001 and 2011 figures are therefore not directly comparable.

<sup>71</sup> A 2011 Scottish Government study: 'Experiences of Muslims living in Scotland' found that Muslims experienced particular challenges in the labour market, with Muslim women highlighted as being particularly underrepresented. There was found to be limited evidence on the causes on this in Scotland however. <http://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/344206/0114485.pdf>

<sup>72</sup> Economic Activity and employment rates are based on all people aged 16-64 whereas the unemployment rate is based on the population aged 16+.

<sup>73</sup> At the time of writing the 2014 figures were not yet available with planned release at the end of May/June 2015.

**Table 11: Economic status by religion for Scotland 2013<sup>74</sup>**

Religion	Economic activity rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
All	79%	71%	8%
Church of Scotland	85%	72%	5%
Roman Catholic	79%	70%	8%
No religion	76%	72%	8%

Source: APS – Jan-Dec 2013, ONS

Economic activity rates were lower for Roman Catholics than for those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (79% compared with 85%). However, the rates for Roman Catholic were in line with the average Scotland figure (79%) and slightly higher than those who recorded no religion (76%). There was little change between 2012 and 2013 in the economic activity rates for Roman Catholic and Protestant (78% and 84% respectively).

The employment rate was also slightly lower for Catholics than for those affiliated with the Church of Scotland at 70% and 72% respectively, as well as compared with those of no religion (72%) and the average Scotland figure (71%). In 2012 employment rates were slightly lower for both groups, with a similar gap between the two, 68% for Catholics and 71% for Church of Scotland.

In 2013 the unemployment rate among Roman Catholics was the same as the average figure for Scotland and for those with no religion (at 8%). However, Roman Catholics had a higher unemployment rate than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (5%). This has declined for both groups since 2012 (with a similar gap: 9% and 6% respectively).

### Occupational Class

Although some commentators contend that, historically, Roman Catholics in Scotland have been predominantly working class<sup>75</sup>, analysis of the census data 2001 showed that in terms of social status (most commonly measured by occupation), there was little difference between Catholics and those affiliated with the Church of Scotland with very similar proportions across the occupational groupings. A similar picture is evident from the 2011 data (with the caveat that the 2001 and 2011 findings are not *directly* comparable<sup>76</sup>). However, figure 11 below shows that a slightly lower proportion of Roman Catholics were in

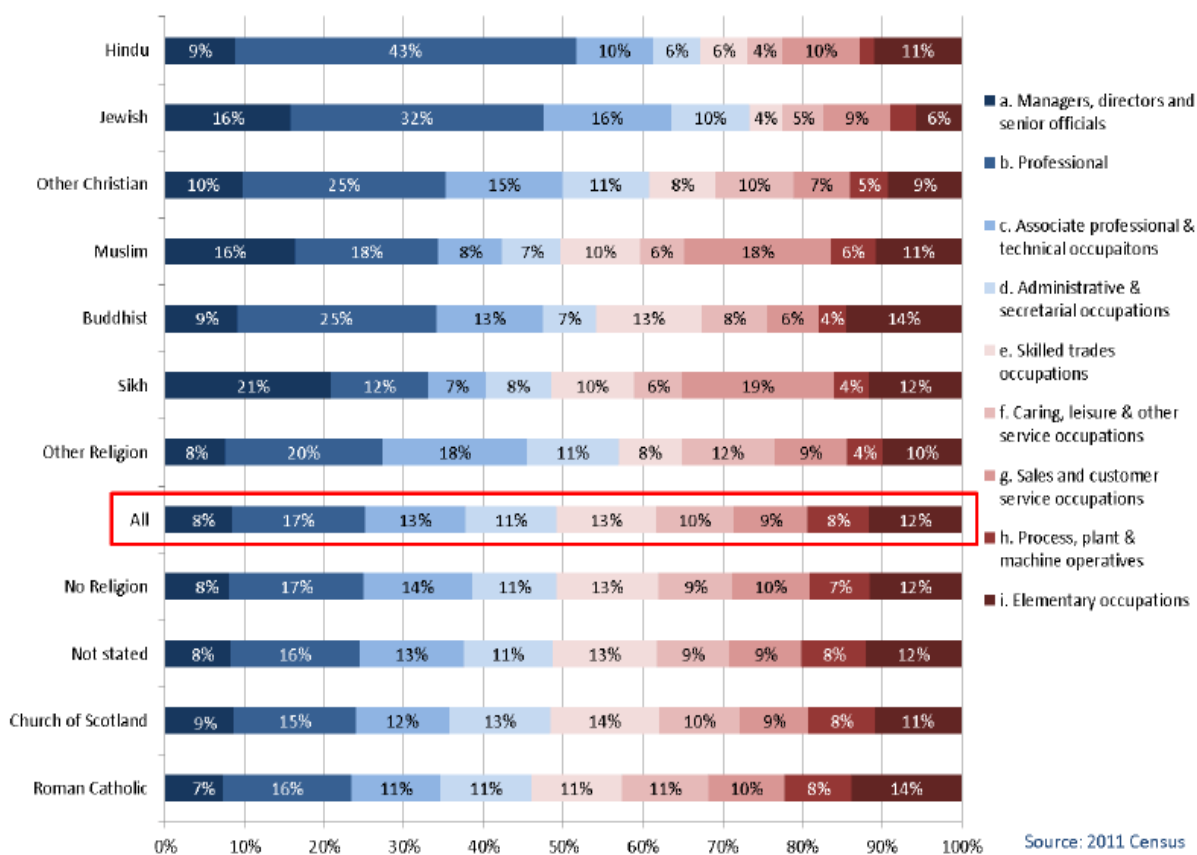
<sup>74</sup> Employment and Economic Activity Rates are based on the population aged 16-64. Unemployment rates are based on the population aged 16 and over

<sup>75</sup> See Paterson, L. (2000) 'The social class of Catholics in Scotland', Journal of the Royal Statistical society, 163, (3): 263-379 cited in Scottish Government (2013) 'An Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism' Justice Analytical Services.  
<http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0042/00424891.pdf>

<sup>76</sup> Although the question in 2001 was the same as 2011, in the 2011 Census the Standard Occupation Classification 2010 (SOC2010) was used to classify responses. In the 2001 Census, SOC2000 was used, meaning direct comparisons between the two sets of census results are not possible without further processing of the data.

managerial/senior roles than those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (7% compared with 9%), although this was in line with the average Scotland, and no religion figure (both 8%). At the opposite end of the scale, Roman Catholics had a slightly higher proportion in elementary positions than those of the Church of Scotland (14% compared with 11%). The proportions in the other occupational groupings were broadly similar between the two groups although those who were Church of Scotland were most likely to be in skilled trades (14% - 3 percentage points higher than Roman Catholic). It is perhaps worth noting that the occupational profile of those associated with the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic religions tended to be in line with the 'Scottish average', with greater divergence among other religions such as Muslim, Hindu, Jewish and others.

**Figure 11: Religion by Occupational Group - all people aged 16-74 in Employment, Scotland 2011**



Source: Scottish Government (2015) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census – Part 2' Chart 3.2.

This data was not available broken down by age group, and as has been suggested previously, may mask some key differences across the different age groups. While earlier work by Paterson<sup>77</sup> based on the 1997 election survey<sup>78</sup>, which explored the

<sup>77</sup> Paterson, L. (2000) 'The social class of Catholics in Scotland', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 163, (3): 263-379 cited in Scottish Government (2013) 'An Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism' Justice Analytical Services. <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0042/00424891.pdf>

<sup>78</sup> Using data generated by the 1997 Scottish Election survey and based on analysis by two categories 'Catholic' and 'non-Catholic' where the latter comprises a large and divergent group of people.

occupational class of Catholics in Scotland found that while there was a social class difference between older Catholics, no difference was apparent for younger groups (for either gender). He also found that although poorer educational attainment could partly explain difference across the older age groups, it could not account for all. It was therefore suggested that employment discrimination could provide some explanation for this pattern, with younger cohorts no longer adversely affected in the way that previous generations were. However, an alternative explanation put forward within the 2013 review is that occupational disadvantage and barriers may only become fully apparent with age. Later work by Paterson and Ianelli using the 2001 SHS also found little difference in social status between younger cohorts<sup>79</sup> of Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland groups and similar levels of social mobility (even across the older cohorts). They concluded that the relationship between educational attainment and social status suggested that there was no divergence in rewards by religion, suggesting that the labour market was operating in a meritocratic way.

## Income

Due to the fact that there is no question on income in the Census, analysis of income data within the Scottish Household Survey (SHS) 2013 was conducted. The survey is designed to provide data on income band, rather than average income or earning, however, information on the income of the highest income householder and their partner can be ascertained. The data shows that (in line with analysis of 2011 SHS data), there is no statistically significant difference between Catholics or Protestants for each of the household income bands and that Catholics are not disadvantaged in terms of income.

**Table 12: Net Annual Household Income - by (Christian) Religion**

Religion	0-£10,000	£10,001-£20,000	£20,001-£30,000	Over £30,000	Base=100%
Church of Scotland	12%	31%	23%	34%	3040
Roman Catholic	9%	34%	23%	35%	1,380
Other Christian	9%	31%	23%	37%	820
Another religion/other	14%	36%	23%	28%	240
None	10%	27%	24%	39%	4140
<b>All adults</b>	10%	30%	23%	37%	9620

Source: Scottish Household Survey, 2013. Random adult dataset.

<sup>79</sup> Those born between 1967 and 1976. Also cited in Scottish Government (2013) 'An Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism' Justice Analytical Services.  
<http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0042/00424891.pdf>



## Health

The census also records data on self-reported general health<sup>80</sup>. The survey asked people to rate their health as being: very good; good; fair; bad or very bad. In 2011 80% of Roman Catholics recorded their health as good or very good, in comparison with a slightly lower proportion - 78% of those of the Church of Scotland. In addition, Roman Catholics were more likely to describe their health as 'very good' than those from the Church of Scotland (52% compared with 46%). The proportion who rated their health as bad/very bad however was the same, at 7% for both groups.

Those who had no religion were more likely than Roman Catholics/ people affiliated to the Church of Scotland to say their health was good/very good (87%) and had lower proportions who rated their health as bad/very bad 4%. They also had higher proportions rating their health as very good/good than the average Scotland 'all people' figure (82%).

**Table 13: Self-Reported General Health by Religion**

	Very good/Good	Fair	Bad/very bad
Roman catholic	80%	13%	7%
Church of Scotland	78%	16%	7%
All	82%	12%	5%
No religion	87%	12%	4%

Source: Scottish Government (2011) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census' Chart 3.30 (concise summary)

The 2011 census data (which are the most comprehensive source of information on the status of religious groups within Scotland), suggests that there is little divergence between the two groups in terms of self-reported health, with Roman Catholics slightly more likely to report 'very good/good' health. However, it is important to recognise that the Roman Catholic population has a younger age profile overall, and that self-reported health is closely correlated with age.

Data on the self-reported health of those of different religions is also available from the Scottish Health Survey (SHeS), although standardised by age – to ensure that comparisons are not confounded by the different age profiles of the key religions. In line with the 2011 census the SHeS asked respondents to rate their health according to one of the following categories: very good, good, fair, bad or very bad. The data from 4 consecutive years (2008-2011) was combined in a topic report on

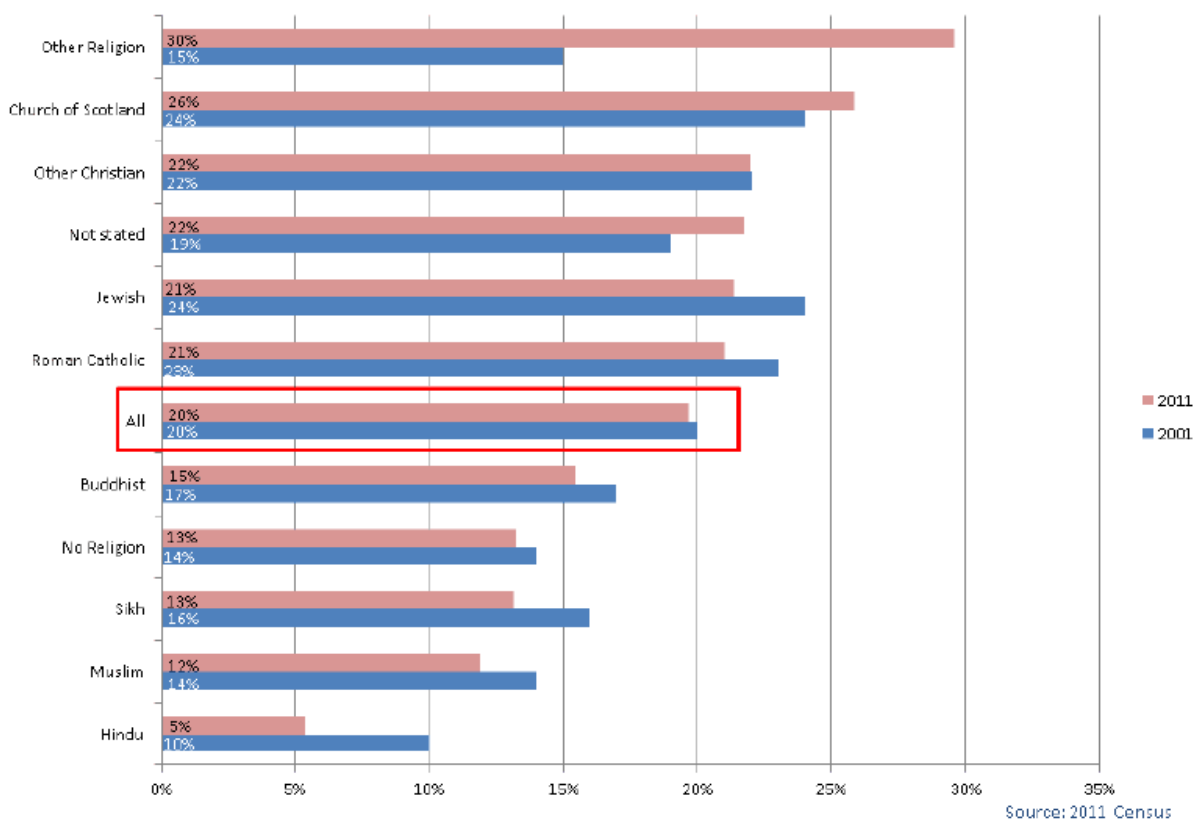
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<sup>80</sup> The 2011 assessment is not based on a person's health based over any specified period of time. In 2001 the question in Scotland had only 3 tick boxes compared to 5 in 2011 (good, fairly good or not good). The 2001 question also referred to the 'last 12 months' unlike the 2011 question that did not refer to time. The data is therefore not directly comparable.

equalities to allow more in depth analysis of sub-populations<sup>81</sup>. Analysis of the data showed a different picture, that respondents whose religion was Church of Scotland were slightly, more likely to rate their health as good or very good (78%) than the Scottish average (76%) and that Roman Catholics were less likely to do so (72%).

The Census also asks about limiting long term health problem or disability which may affect daily activities and have lasted or are expected to last for at least 12 months. Figure 12 below shows that Roman Catholics had a lower proportion with a limiting long term health problem or disability than those who were Church of Scotland in 2011 (21% compared with 26%) and that the gap between the two groups has widened since 2001 (24% for Church of Scotland and 23% for Roman Catholic). Both groups had higher proportions with a limiting long-term health problem or disability than those with no religion and the average figure for Scotland in 2001 and 2011.

**Figure 12: Long-term Limiting Health Problem or Disability by Religion, Scotland, 2001 and 2011**



SOURCE: Scottish Government (2014) 'Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census' Part 1: Chart 3.25:

The higher proportions of Church of Scotland adherents with a limiting long-term health problem or disability is likely to largely reflect the older age profile of its population. It is useful therefore to consider the data broken down by age group and whether patterns have changed over time.

<sup>81</sup> Scottish Government (2012) 'Scottish Health Survey Topic Report: Equality Groups' Table 2.1. <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2012/10/8988> referenced in Scottish Government (2013) 'An examination of the evidence on sectarianism in Scotland'

In 2001 (see table 15 below) Roman Catholics had higher levels of limiting long-term health problems or disability across all age bands, but the differences were slight for those aged 0-29, becoming wider for those aged 30-49, and most marked for those aged 50-pensionable age and pensionable age, where the gap was widest. The gap between women of Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland religions tended to be slightly less marked than that of men (except for pensionable age to 74 where the gap was similar for men/women).

In 2011 (see table 14 below) the differences for those aged 0-29 were negligible, and although Roman Catholics had higher proportions with a limiting long-term health problem or disability across the older age groups, the gap had narrowed slightly across all age ranges, with the difference most noticeable for those aged 65-74 (9% points higher for Roman Catholic men and 10.1% points higher for Roman Catholic women). While there is still an observable generational difference, health differences have become slightly less apparent for the younger age groups (those under 50). Some caution should be attached to comparison between older age groups however, as in 2001 pensionable age was defined as 60 for women and 65 for men, while for the 2011 analysis, the standard age bands are used for both genders<sup>82</sup> (i.e. 50-64).

**Table 14: Long-term limiting health problem or disability by religion 2011**

Religion	Gender	Age 0-29	30-49	50-64	65-74	75+
Church of Scotland	Male	6.4	12.9	24.7	40.4	62.6
	Female	5.1	13.4	25.3	39.1	67.8
Roman Catholic	Male	6.1	13.9	29.8	49.4	68.0
	Female	5.2	14.7	31.0	49.2	73.0
No religion	Male	6.4	11.4	22.6	38.9	61.4
	Female	5.2	13.0	25.4	40.8	67.6
All people	Male	6.3	12.3	24.8	41.3	63.5
	Female	5.1	13.6	26.6	41.4	69.4

Source: 2011 Census, NRS

<sup>82</sup> Due to the fact that pensionable age has been equalising in recent years for men and women

**Table 15: Long-term limiting health problem or disability by religion 2001**

Religion	Gender	Age 0-29	30-49	50-Pensionable Age <sup>83</sup>	Pensionable Age-74	75+
Church of Scotland	Male	5.9 <sup>84</sup>	12.8	30.1	46.1	60.7
	Female	4.9	12.9	25.5	39.5	66.5
Roman Catholic	Male	6.8	16.4	41.3	56.5	67.7
	Female	5.7	16.4	35.5	50.2	72.2
No religion	Male	6.3	11.8	27.4	46.6	61.7
	Female	5.3	12.4	26.1	42.2	65.6
All religions <sup>85</sup>	Male	6.2	13.2	13.1	47.9	62.3
	Female	5.2	13.6	27.6	42.0	67.8

Source: 2001 Census, NRS

Whether Catholics suffer worse health relative to other groups was also investigated within the Twenty-07 Study, with a particular focus on Irish Catholics as opposed to non-Catholics<sup>86</sup>. As summarised in the 2013 'Examination of the evidence on sectarianism', some of the data revealed significant divergence on most aspects of health between Irish Catholics and non-Catholics<sup>87</sup>. Abbots also found that mortality among Irish Catholics exceeded those of other groups for most causes of death, particularly in relation to cardiovascular disease<sup>88</sup>. Further analysis by Abbots et al found that health disadvantages for Irish Catholics were more pronounced with age<sup>89</sup> (with very small differences in the youngest age group aged 18, greater differences in the middle aged group 38 and the largest differences for those aged 58). The previous review stressed that this did not constitute evidence that health differentials between Irish Catholics and non-Catholics have decreased over time. Indeed, it was suggested that because self-

<sup>83</sup> In 2001 pensionable age was defined as 60 for women and 65 for men. For the 2011 analysis, as pensionable age has been equalising in recent years for men and women Community Analytical Services colleagues recommend using actual age bands (i.e. 50-64) as the term 'pensionable age' is no longer appropriate. In analysis for 2011 the NRS standard age bands are used for both genders.

<sup>84</sup> In the 'Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism in Scotland report' (2013) the figures for the age group 0-29 have been amended. The previous figures cited were higher due to the proportions reported for the 0-15 and 16-29 age groups having been erroneously added together. The figures have been corrected accordingly.

<sup>85</sup> All religion groups in the 2001 census included, in addition to those listed in the table, Other Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh and Other Religion. 2011 census data provided an 'All people' rather than all religions group for comparative analysis, reflecting the proportionate increase in those with 'no religion' between 2001 and 2011.

<sup>86</sup> The Twenty-07 study was set up in 1987 and followed 3 different age cohorts of people for 20 years. See Abbotts et al, 1997; 1999; Abbotts et al, 2001; 2001a; 2001b; Abbotts, 2004 Mullen et al, 2000; and Walls and Williams, 2004 (listed in bibliography).

<sup>87</sup> Abbotts, J., Williams, R, Gord, G, Hunt, K., West, P. (1997). 'Morbidity and Irish Catholic descent in Britain: an ethnic and religious minority 150 years on', *Social Science and Medicine* 45(1): 3-14.

<sup>88</sup> Abbotts, J. (2004) 'Irish Catholic Health Disadvantage in the West of Scotland', *Scottish Affairs*, 46: 131-48.

<sup>89</sup> Abbotts, J., Williams, R., West, P., Hunt, K. and Ford, G. (2004) 'Catholic socio-economic disadvantage in the west of Scotland: a narrowing of inequality', *Scottish Affairs*, (49), 77-87.

reported good health is highly correlated with age, it is possible that health differentials will widen over time.

Overall, then the most recent (2011) Census data on general health shows that a slightly higher proportion of Roman Catholics recorded their health as good or very good, in comparison with a slightly lower proportion of those affiliated with the Church of Scotland (80% compared with 78%), and reported lower proportions of limiting long-term health problems or disability (21% compared with 26%). However, these results are largely driven by the younger age profile of the Roman Catholic population overall. Analysis of limiting long-term health or disability broken down by age and compared between 2001 and 2011 suggests that although Roman Catholics still had higher proportions with a limiting long-term health problem or disability across the older age groups (30+), the gap had narrowed slightly across all age ranges. The next sweep of the census data (2021) will reveal whether or not this improvement in health is part of a longer-term trend.

### **Criminal Victimization**

Data from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) was disaggregated by religious group to explore whether particular groups were more likely to be the victims of crime. Due to small base sizes, it was only possible to break down the data by the response categories: No religion, Church of Scotland, Roman Catholic, Other Christian and other religion<sup>90</sup>. Data from the SCJS 2012-13 again showed that Catholics were more likely to have been the victims of crime than the other religious groups – 20% of Catholics who responded to the survey (and gave their religion were victims of crime compared with 13% affiliated with the Church of Scotland<sup>91, 92</sup>. It is worth noting however, that those with no religion had the same victimisation rate as Roman Catholics (at 20%).

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<sup>90</sup> includes Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jewish, Pagan, Another Religion

<sup>91</sup> The 7% difference between Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic is statistically significant. The 2012-13 figures are in line with earlier analysis from 2010-11 where 20% of Catholics were victims of crime compared with 14% of those affiliated with the Church of Scotland.

<sup>92</sup> It is also important to note that this does not mean that they were the victims of sectarian or religiously motivated crime. Previous analysis has showed that sectarian crime and harassment accounts for only a very small proportion of crime (see earlier section).

**Table 16: Victims of crime by religious group**

Religion	% victims of crime	Base
None	20%	4468
Church of Scotland	13%	4526
Roman Catholic	20%	1740
Other Christian	16%	820
Other religions	18%	377
Total	17%	12045

Source: Scottish Crime and Justice Survey 2012-13

It was previously suggested that differences in victimisation rates may be (at least partly) attributed to the risks of criminal victimisation being higher in more deprived areas<sup>93</sup>. The SCJS 2012-13 found that risk of crime victimisation for those living in the 15% most deprived areas of Scotland was 21% compared with 16% of those living in the rest of Scotland<sup>94</sup>. According to the 2011 census data, Roman Catholics in particular have the highest proportion of people (16%) living in the most deprived decile compared with all other religions (and those with no religion) which may go some way towards explaining higher crime victimisation rates.

## Imprisonment

The previous review highlighted how some commentators have argued that the criminal justice system discriminates against people of Irish origin, and that Catholics are disproportionately represented among the prison population. The most recent figures available suggest that although this was indeed still the case in 2015, whereby Catholics represented around 16% of the Scottish population<sup>95</sup>, and 22% of the prison population, there has been an overall fall since 2001 when Catholics comprised the same proportion of the population (16%) and 28% of the total prison population<sup>96</sup>. In proffering an understanding of why this relationship exists, Wiltshire (2010) contends that it is likely a direct result of the fact that offenders are more likely to come from deprived backgrounds<sup>97</sup>. As has been shown earlier in the report, Catholics had the highest proportion of people living in the most deprived areas in Scotland in 2011.

<sup>93</sup> Scottish Government, Justice Analytical Services (2013): 'An examination of the evidence on sectarianism in Scotland. <http://www.nls.uk/scotgov/2013/9781782566465.pdf>

<sup>94</sup> Scottish Government (2014) 'Scottish Crime and Justice Survey 2012/13: main Findings' <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0044/00447271.pdf>

<sup>95</sup> These figures as are at 25<sup>th</sup> of March with the total prison population being 7618. Although some caution should be attached to this figure as it represents a 'snapshot' in time, rather than a yearly average, it is in line with 2008-2009 figures which showed that 23% of the prison population were Catholic.

<sup>96</sup> Data for 2001 obtained from review cited PQ S1W-15069 – Pauline McNeill (Glasgow Kelvin) (Lab) (Date Lodged Thursday, April 12, 2001). The review cites figures for 2006 when the total number of prisoners in Scotland was 7,205 with 24% of these self-defined on entry as Catholic. In 2008-9 the figure was 23%.

<sup>97</sup> Cited in the 2013 review this work draws in Houchin's 2005 research which showed that the imprisoned population is drawn disproportionately from the most deprived communities in Scotland, particularly in Glasgow which had a particularly strong association between deprivation and imprisonment.

## UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENCE: THE RELATIVE IMPACT OF RELIGION COMPARED WITH OTHER KEY VARIABLES IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC OUTCOMES

As was previously highlighted, we cannot conclude simply from the data about different outcomes that Catholics or indeed Protestants have been systematically discriminated against at either the personal or structural level. This is because of the difficulty in extricating the effect of 'religion' from demographic factors which are likely to have a key role in influencing outcomes. Indeed, many of the findings set out above are likely to be inter-related, with the younger age profile of the Catholic population and higher proportions living in more urban and more deprived locations likely to provide a large part of the explanation for differences in imprisonment, unemployment and victimisation rates. The link between health and deprivation is also well understood, although the direction of the relationship may be reciprocal. In order to investigate the relative impact of these differences on outcomes (as recommended in the 2013 review), we therefore conducted some exploratory analysis using logistic regression looking specifically at the area of economic outcomes (see appendix for detailed models).

Economic activity was selected as a key area for exploration as Catholics have a slightly lower employment rate than those of the Church of Scotland (69% compared with 72% according to the 2011 census) and a slightly higher unemployment rate (8% compared with 6%), with a gap which has persisted over time (evident in the 2001 and 2011 censuses). However, it is worth reiterating that the unemployment rate for Catholics was the same as for those of 'no religion' and close to the 'all people' average figure at 7%. It was also considerably lower than Muslims (who had the highest unemployment rate of all at 12%).

Logistic regression analysis was employed to look at how far religion or more specifically Catholicism is an 'explanatory' factor in terms of predicting the outcome variable<sup>98</sup> 'in education or employment'. This was classified as being a full-time student or currently employed<sup>99</sup> (i.e. those individuals who were **not** unemployed or economically inactive: looking after family, permanently sick, disabled or 'other') over the other key demographic and socio-economic variables. The model was designed to be purposefully simple, in line with the regression literature that explores predictors of employment outcomes (Isengard<sup>100</sup>, 2002; Manley and van Ham 2010<sup>101</sup>). It therefore allowed key demographic and socio-economic or 'individual' variables (i.e. dichotomised variables such as gender, lone parent, ethnicity and categorical such as health and qualifications), as well as regional

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<sup>98</sup> Derived from a census variable.

<sup>99</sup> Retired status was also included within this category. Part-time students would not be officially counted as a student, so would need to be working or otherwise economically active in order to be classified within the outcome variable.

<sup>100</sup> Isengard, B. (2002) 'Youth unemployment: individual risk factors and institutional determinants. A case study of Germany and the UK' German Institute of Economic Research, DIW Berlin, Discussion Paper 284.

<sup>101</sup> Van Ham, M. & Manley, D (2009) 'The Effect of Neighbourhood Housing Tenure Mix on Labour Market Outcomes: A Longitudinal Perspective' Institute for the Study of Labor, IZA DP No. 4094

factors (dichotomised variable for 15% most deprived area and council area) that affect individual employment prospects, to be controlled for before investigating the impact of including Catholicism as a 'predictor' of being in employment or education. A final model included a dichotomous 'Catholic' and 'non-Catholic' variable<sup>102</sup>, and in order to explore whether there were any generational differences, analysis was applied separately to the following four age groups: 16-24, 25-34, 35-49 and 50-64.

It found that when other key factors were controlled for, the impact of 'Catholicism' was marginal but positive for the youngest age group (16-24), but that overall 'individual' effects have the biggest impact on economic outcomes. These changed only slightly in the regional model but did not change after taking account of Catholicism<sup>103</sup>. Similar results were found for the 25-34 age group but with a less pronounced positive effect of 'Catholicism'. For the 35-49 age group the Catholic variable was not a useful predictor of economic outcomes (with no effect for the Catholicism variable) and so it might be concluded that there was no significant difference in employment outcomes between Catholics and non-Catholics. In this model, the results again show that individual effects seem to be the most important with a slight, statistically significant effect from including regional effects.

However, in terms of the oldest group (50-64) 'Catholicism' had a negative effect. Amongst those in the oldest group Catholics were more likely to be economically inactive or unemployed compared with non-Catholics. However, as with the youngest age group, the effect of Catholicism was marginal, with 'individual' factors (i.e. gender, lone parent, ethnicity, health and qualifications) having a greater predictive value.

Overall then key 'individual' factors have a large effect on economic outcomes, which do not change greatly when Catholicism is controlled for, and only change slightly after regional effects are accounted for. However, there does appear to be a slight generational difference, with Catholicism found to have a positive, but marginal effect on economic outcomes for young people aged 16-24, but a negative (again marginal) effect for older people aged 50-64.

A number of explanations for these effects are plausible. Firstly, while there may have been some disadvantage (possibly based on discrimination), related to their religion for the older Catholic population, this does not appear to be the case for the younger age groups. In fact, Catholicism has a slight positive effect for the youngest age group once other variables are controlled for. Alternatively, it may be that other religious or vulnerable groups face more difficult socio-economic challenges and/or (worse) discrimination and so it appears as if Catholicism has a positive effect on economic outcomes. However, there are some other interesting

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<sup>102</sup> Non-Catholic included all other groups not identifying as Catholic including those with no religion and those who did not specify a response to this question. Further breakdowns by religion may tell a different/more nuanced story, i.e. it is likely that other religious groups have different probabilities of being in employment or education.

<sup>103</sup> The effect of Catholicism has a very marginal effect, which impacts very slightly on council area coefficients.



observations that can be made from the regression results that may also provide an explanation for this difference, i.e. for younger age groups, residence in Glasgow (which has a large Catholic population) appears to have a positive effect on economic outcomes, whereas for older age groups the opposite is true.

It should be noted that this model does not claim that the younger Catholic population is 'more successful' or indeed 'less successful', than the non-Catholic population. It simply shows that 'individual' effects, and not 'Catholicism', have a stronger association with economic outcomes. Likewise one cannot rule out discrimination more generally. The Catholic population may be disproportionately represented by certain variables. For example, we know that Catholics had a slightly higher proportion of people with no qualifications (30%) than the Scottish average (27%) although Church of Scotland were the group most likely to have no qualifications (35%). It may be that forms of discrimination or other processes lead to a situation whereby the Catholic (or other) population is disadvantaged in certain variables, which, in turn lead to related negative outcomes. Further analysis would allow greater understanding of other socio-economic factors that may play a significant role.

Further breakdowns by religion may also lead to a different picture, as it may be that being of any faith has a positive impact for employment outcomes for the younger age groups. Alternatively, it may be that other groups face more difficult socio-economic challenges and/or (worse) discrimination and so it appears as if Catholicism has a positive effect on economic outcomes. Further analysis of the Scottish-born population may also remove any lingering effects of economic migration on the Catholic coefficient.

Overall then, while it is recognised that there are a number of limitations to the analysis (including the dichotomous categories of Catholic and non-Catholic and the inability to distinguish between high and low paid employment), based on the models as specified, it would seem that individual factors have a greater effect than religion in shaping economic outcomes, with no evidence found to suggest persistent anti-Catholic discrimination.

## Appendix - Detailed Models

**Table 17: Logistic Regression for 16-24 year-olds (\*\* refers to a p-value less than 0.01, \*\* a p-value less than 0.05, and \* a p-value less than 0.1)**

<b>Logistic Regression (Outcome Variable = In Employment or Education) All Age 16-24</b>			
<i>Gender (Reference=Male)</i>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
Female	0.96 ***	0.94 ***	0.94 ***
<i>Lone Parent (Reference= Not a Lone Parent)</i>			
Lone Parent	0.77 ***	0.84 ***	0.84 ***
<i>Country of Birth (Reference= Scottish)</i>			
Accession EU	2.38 ***	2.03 ***	1.89 ***
EU15	2.17 ***	1.51 ***	1.5 ***
Non-EU	1.73 ***	1.27 ***	1.27 ***
Rest of the UK	1.28 ***	1.06 ***	1.06 ***
<i>Self Reported Health (Reference = Good)</i>			
Fair	0.33 ***	0.33 ***	0.34 ***
Poor	0.16 ***	0.17 ***	0.17 ***
<i>Ethnicity (Reference = White)</i>			
Black or Minority Ethnic (BME)	1.07 ***	1.04	1.06 **
<i>Qualifications (Reference = Level 1)</i>			
No Qualifications	0.33 ***	0.36 ***	0.36 ***
Level 2	3.96 ***	3.44 ***	3.44 ***
Level 3	2.50 ***	2.41 ***	2.41 ***
Level 4	3.08 ***	2.75 ***	2.75 ***
<i>Local Area Deprivation (Ref=Not Deprived)</i>			
Deprived		0.49 ***	0.49 ***
<i>Council Area (Reference=Glasgow)</i>			
Aberdeen		1.40 ***	1.45 ***
Aberdeenshire		1.40 ***	1.45 ***
Angus		0.80 ***	0.83 ***
Argyll & Bute		0.93 ***	0.95
Borders		0.81 ***	0.84 ***
Clackmannanshire		0.75 ***	0.78 ***
D and G		0.87 ***	0.89 ***
Dundee		0.99	1.00
East Ayrshire		0.82 ***	0.84 ***
East Renfrewshire		0.98	0.99
East Dunbartonshire		1.08 **	1.09 **
East Lothian		0.75 ***	0.77 ***
Edinburgh		1.02	1.05
Eilean Siar		1.02	1.04
Falkirk		0.83 ***	0.85 ***
Fife		0.81 ***	0.84 ***
Highland		0.95 **	0.98
Inverclyde		0.98	0.96
Midlothian		0.75 ***	0.77 ***
Moray		0.82 ***	0.84 ***
North Ayrshire		0.75 ***	0.77 ***
North Lanarkshire		0.82 ***	0.80 ***
Orkney		1.27 ***	1.32 ***
Perth & Kinross		0.97	1.00
Renfrewshire		0.90 ***	0.91 ***
Shetland		1.58 ***	1.63 ***
South Ayrshire		0.83 ***	0.85 ***
South Lanarkshire		0.85 ***	0.85 ***
Stirling		0.95	0.98
West Lothian		0.73 ***	0.74 ***
West Dunbartonshire		0.74 ***	0.74 ***
<i>Religion (Not Catholic)</i>			
Catholic			1.17 ***
<b>Diagnostics</b>			
Percent Concordant	70.7	74.5	74.5
Percent Discordant	23.3	24.7	24.7
Akaike Information Criterion	472158	451117	450915

**Table 18: Logistic Regression for 25-34 year-olds (\*\* refers to a p-value less than 0.01, \*\* a p-value less than 0.05, and \* a p-value less than 0.1)**

<b>Logistic Regression (Outcome Variable = In Employment or Education) All Age 25-34</b>			
<i>Gender (Reference=Male)</i>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
Female	0.67 ***	0.64 ***	0.64 ***
<b><i>Lone Parent (Reference= Not a Lone Parent)</i></b>			
Lone Parent	0.40 ***	0.42 ***	0.42 ***
<b><i>Country of Birth (Reference= Scottish)</i></b>			
Accession EU	1.65 ***	1.57 ***	1.53 ***
EU15	0.98	0.90 ***	0.89 ***
Non-EU	0.77 ***	0.72 ***	0.72 ***
Rest of the UK	0.96 ***	0.91 ***	0.91 ***
<b><i>Self Reported Health (Reference = Good)</i></b>			
Fair	0.26 ***	0.26 ***	0.26 ***
Poor	0.08 ***	0.08 ***	0.08 ***
<b><i>Ethnicity (Reference = White)</i></b>			
Black or Minority Ethnic (BME)	0.58 ***	0.57 ***	0.57 ***
<b><i>Qualifications (Reference = Level 1)</i></b>			
No Qualifications	0.34 ***	0.37 ***	0.37 ***
Level 2	2.25 ***	2.17 ***	2.17 ***
Level 3	2.57 ***	2.51 ***	2.51 ***
Level 4	4.54 ***	4.16 ***	4.16 ***
<b><i>Local Area Deprivation (Ref=Not Deprived)</i></b>			
Deprived		0.62 ***	0.61 ***
<b><i>Council Area (Reference=Glasgow)</i></b>			
Aberdeen		1.19 ***	1.20 ***
Aberdeenshire		1.00	1.01
Angus		0.79 ***	0.79 ***
Argyll & Bute		0.84 ***	0.85 ***
Borders		0.87 ***	0.88 ***
Clackmannanshire		0.81 ***	0.82 ***
D and G		0.94 **	0.95 *
Dundee		0.96 *	0.96 *
East Ayrshire		0.85 ***	0.85 ***
East Renfrewshire		0.77 ***	0.77 ***
East Dunbartonshire		0.90 ***	0.90 ***
East Lothian		0.91 ***	0.92 ***
Edinburgh		0.98	0.99
Eilean Siar		1.05	1.06
Falkirk		0.98	0.99
Fife		0.81 ***	0.82 ***
Highland		0.93 ***	0.94 ***
Inverclyde		0.88 ***	0.87 ***
Midlothian		0.85 ***	0.86 ***
Moray		0.89 ***	0.90 ***
North Ayrshire		0.73 ***	0.74 ***
North Lanarkshire		0.97 *	0.96 ***
Orkney		1.29 ***	1.30 ***
Perth & Kinross		1.08 ***	1.09 ***
Renfrewshire		0.97	0.97
Shetland		1.41 ***	1.42 ***
South Ayrshire		0.82 ***	0.83 ***
South Lanarkshire		0.98	0.98
Stirling		0.93 **	0.94 *
West Lothian		0.93 ***	0.93 ***
West Dunbartonshire		0.83 ***	0.83 ***
<b><i>Religion (Not Catholic)</i></b>			
Catholic			1.06 ***
<b><i>Diagnostics</i></b>			
Percent Concordant	77.0	78.8	78.8
Percent Discordant	19.8	20.6	20.6
Akaike Information Criterion	496946	482996	482970

**Table 19: Logistic Regression for 35-49 year-olds (\*\* refers to a p-value less than 0.01, \* a p-value less than 0.05, and \* a p-value less than 0.1)**

<b>Logistic Regression (Outcome Variable = In Employment or Education) All Age 35-49</b>			
<b>Gender (Reference=Male)</b>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
Female	0.64 ***	0.62 ***	0.62 ***
<b>Lone Parent (Reference= Not a Lone Parent)</b>			
Lone Parent	0.73 ***	0.77 ***	0.77 ***
<b>Country of Birth (Reference= Scottish)</b>			
Accession EU	1.37 ***	1.43 ***	1.43 ***
EU15	0.75 ***	0.74 ***	0.74 ***
Non-EU	0.71 ***	0.70 ***	0.70 ***
Rest of the UK	0.87 ***	0.81 ***	0.81 ***
<b>Self Reported Health (Reference = Good)</b>			
Fair	0.22 ***	0.23 ***	0.23 ***
Poor	0.05 ***	0.05 ***	0.05 ***
<b>Ethnicity (Reference = White)</b>			
Black or Minority Ethnic (BME)	0.65 ***	0.69 ***	0.69 ***
<b>Qualifications (Reference = Level 1)</b>			
No Qualifications	0.40 ***	0.44 ***	0.44 ***
Level 2	1.44 ***	1.41 ***	1.41 ***
Level 3	1.61 ***	1.59 ***	1.59 ***
Level 4	2.19 ***	2.12 ***	2.12 ***
<b>Local Area Deprivation (Ref=Not Deprived)</b>			
Deprived		0.59 ***	0.59 ***
<b>Council Area (Reference=Glasgow)</b>			
Aberdeen		1.21 ***	1.21 ***
Aberdeenshire		1.25 ***	1.25 ***
Angus		1.26 ***	1.26 ***
Argyll & Bute		1.23 ***	1.23 ***
Borders		1.27 ***	1.27 ***
Clackmannanshire		1.20 ***	1.20 ***
D and G		1.35 ***	1.35 ***
Dundee		1.10 ***	1.09 ***
East Ayrshire		1.13 ***	1.13 ***
East Renfrewshire		1.06 **	1.06 **
East Dunbartonshire		1.14 ***	1.14 ***
East Lothian		1.16 ***	1.16 ***
Edinburgh		1.02 *	1.02
Eilean Siar		1.21 ***	1.21 ***
Falkirk		1.24 ***	1.24 ***
Fife		1.12 ***	1.12 ***
Highland		1.20 ***	1.20 ***
Inverclyde		1.04 *	1.04 ***
Midlothian		1.26 ***	1.26 *
Moray		1.19 ***	1.18 ***
North Ayrshire		1.02	1.02
North Lanarkshire		1.22 ***	1.22 ***
Orkney		1.50 ***	1.49 ***
Perth & Kinross		1.36 ***	1.36 ***
Renfrewshire		1.11 ***	1.10 ***
Shetland		2.01 ***	2.01 ***
South Ayrshire		1.03	1.03
South Lanarkshire		1.23 ***	1.22 ***
Stirling		1.02	1.02
West Lothian		1.21 ***	1.20 ***
West Dunbartonshire		1.05 **	1.05 **
<b>Religion (Not Catholic)</b>			
Catholic			0.99
<b>Diagnostics</b>			
Percent Concordant	76.7	78.6	78.6
Percent Discordant	20.2	20.8	20.8
Akaike Information Criterion	861081	841385	841386

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### **How to access background or source data**

The data collected for this social research

may be made available on request, subject to consideration of legal and ethical factors. Please contact [ben.cavanagh@scotland.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:ben.cavanagh@scotland.gsi.gov.uk) for further information





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