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An Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism in Scotland

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE ON SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- This paper begins by highlighting the key findings from a similar review of the evidence published in 2005 - that while there was a perception of sectarianism in Scotland, there was little consensus about whether this was underpinned by empirical evidence.
- This current review adds another perspective to the debate by focusing not only on the research that is explicitly designed to explore sectarianism but also the broader survey data that allow us to explore whether there appears to be any structural disadvantage for either Catholics or those who belong to the Church of Scotland.

Perceptions of sectarianism in Scotland

- Recurrent questions on conflict in the Scottish Election Survey and in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey from the late 1970s through to 2000 suggest that a sizable proportion of the Scottish population have, in recent history, believed that conflict between Protestants and Catholics is 'very' or 'fairly serious'.
- One of the key studies on sectarianism in Scotland is that commissioned by Glasgow City Council (2003) which shows that most adults believe that sectarianism is still a feature of their city. More recent in-depth research on young people aged 16-18 in Glasgow suggests that the use of sectarian language and humour has become normalised among young people.
- Three-quarters of those who responded to the Glasgow City Council survey believed that, rather than being mainly anti-Catholic or mainly anti-Protestant, sectarianism tended to be equally aimed at Catholics and Protestants. Even among Catholics and Protestant respondents, there was a strong view that sectarianism affected both religions equally.
- The study also revealed that a sizable proportion - 12% of respondents - believed that sectarianism affected them personally.

Experience of sectarianism in Scotland

- The Glasgow City Council survey asked residents if, in the last five years, they had been the victim of discrimination, and if so, whether they believed this was motivated by bigotry or prejudice. There was no significant difference in the level of discrimination experienced by Catholics and Protestants in respect of any of the forms of discrimination explored: discrimination when applying for work; treatment in the workplace; treatment by the police; treatment by the council; or treatment by another public service.

- Though the numbers are very small, responses did reveal that, even in recent times, there are both Catholics and Protestants who believe that they have been discriminated against because of their religion in Glasgow. The very small number of cases meant that it was not possible to draw any conclusions about whether Catholics or Protestants are more likely to experience this sort of discrimination.
- While two-thirds of respondents perceived sectarian violence to be very or quite common in Glasgow, the numbers who claim to have experienced this suggested that it was actually fairly rare. Nevertheless, there is a small number of both Catholics and Protestants who believe that they have been the victim of crime and harassment because of their religion in recent times.
- There are also more recent national survey data from the Scottish Household Survey and Scottish Crime and Justice Survey that show that a very small proportion of people in Scotland believe they have been the victim of sectarian crime and harassment.
- Analysis of data from the criminal justice system show that in 2012-13 there was a 24% decrease in crimes motivated by religious prejudice that were reported to the procurator fiscal. This follows as 26% increase in 2011-12. Roman Catholicism was the religion that was the focus of the majority of cases – 56.5% of incidents were derogatory towards Catholicism and 29% derogatory towards Protestantism. However, closer analysis of the data suggest that, since many victims were not known to the offender, this would not necessarily have been linked to the *actual* religion of the victim.
- Data from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey show that there has been no increase in the proportion of victims who believe that the crime they experienced was related to race, religion or sectarianism. This suggests that the increase in the numbers of racial and religiously aggravated crimes that had been reported to COPFS in recent years was simply due to changes in reporting and recording practice.
- What emerged from the 2003 Study for Glasgow City Council is that, if there is sectarian discrimination in Scotland, it is most likely to present itself in the form of discrimination in the workplace. Evidence of anti-Catholic discrimination in the workplace was also uncovered in Walls and Williams' qualitative research in Glasgow in the mid to late 1990s. Although some of these examples involved discrimination that took place many years ago, there were examples from the 1980s and 1990s. More recent research by Finn, Uygan and Johnson (2008) suggest that favouritism along religious grounds has still occurred in recent years.
- What is most obvious from the literature is that more research is needed to allow us to explore the extent and nature of sectarianism in Scotland - not only national sources of data that will allow us to quantify sectarianism experiences but qualitative research to explore if and how sectarianism affects particular communities in Scotland.

- Questions in the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey and the Scottish Household Survey have recently been extended to collect more data on the extent of sectarian harassment, intimidation and discrimination. Data will be available towards the end of 2013.

Indicators of structural disadvantage

- Data from national surveys (such as the Census, Scottish Household Survey and Labour Force Survey) were used to explore whether sectarianism manifests itself in disadvantage for either Catholics or those who belong to the Church of Scotland. The evidence shows that Catholics are not disadvantaged in terms of income and that younger Catholics are no longer disadvantaged in terms of educational attainment. The most comprehensive source of data also suggests that Catholics are not disadvantaged in terms of occupational class. Although earlier data suggested that Catholics were more likely to suffer poor health, these differences may be disappearing. The data have shown however that Catholics are more likely, than those of the Church of Scotland, to be unemployed, to live in deprived areas, to rent their homes, to be the victims of crime and to experience imprisonment.
- There is also evidence to suggest that differences are more apparent amongst older generations than younger generations. This may suggest that the socio-economic position of Catholics has improved over time but we cannot yet rule out the possibility that there is an age effect – that disadvantage emerges only as people get older.
- Some of the associations which emerge between religion and the measures of disadvantage may be influenced by demographic differences between those of different groups rather than by religion itself. The 2001 Census data show that Catholics had a younger age profile than those affiliated to the Church of Scotland, were more likely to have dependent children and more likely to be lone parents.
- The relative impact of these demographic differences and religion on outcomes deserves fuller analysis. The release of the 2011 Census data will provide an ideal opportunity to explore this using regression analysis to identify the relative impact of a range of variables (such as religion, age, gender, length of residency and family status) on the outcomes discussed above.

Intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants

- One other measure of the extent to which a country is divided on ethnic or religious grounds is the extent of intermarriage between particular groups. Holligan and Raab use the 2001 Census data to show that, of the Roman Catholic females, 45% were in partnership with someone of the same religion but the percentage in partnerships with a Protestant partner was almost the same (43%). They also found that there was a very steep decline in the percentages of same religion couples among younger couples for all Christian

groups. This, they argue, should contribute to an erosion of any sectarian divisions in Scotland.

INTRODUCTION

In broad terms, sectarianism in Scotland is understood as behaviour which is characterised by historical intra-Christian conflict between Catholics and Protestants (the majority being Church of Scotland - by far the largest Christian group in Scotland). Some commentators also argue that there is an ethnic as well as religious element to the problem with Irish Catholics being a key focus of sectarian behaviour.

That Catholics in Scotland suffered prejudice and discrimination in the past and were socio-economically disadvantaged is generally not disputed amongst scholars. The fundamental questions are whether and how far such attitudes and behaviour persist in modern Scotland, what form they take and whether they result in disadvantage. To help explore this, the Scottish Executive published a review of the evidence on sectarianism in 2005 that focused on the research published between 2002 and 2004 - *Religious Discrimination and Sectarianism in Scotland: A Brief Review of Evidence 2002 - 2004*, (2005)¹. (An earlier briefing paper had highlighted that there was very little empirical research in sectarianism up to 2002.) The conclusion of that review was that while there was a perception of sectarianism in Scotland, there was little consensus about whether this was underpinned by empirical evidence. The review also recommended that policy-makers stay up-to-date with the debate and evidence. This current paper provides a further up-date of the evidence but also draws on some data from the criminal justice system and from census and survey data to add another perspective to the debate. The aim is to identify not only what we do know about sectarianism in Scotland but also to highlight what we do not know and to try to set an agenda for future research on the subject.

The subject 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 sites². While there is a great deal of literature in which academic commentators debate the existence and extent of sectarianism in Scotland³, this paper does not seek to rehearse these arguments but instead focuses the discussion on the empirical evidence.

The paper begins by examining data on perceptions of sectarianism in Scotland before moving on to explore the evidence on experience. In exploring the extent to which sectarianism actually presents itself in Scotland, the paper draws on an important study conducted for Glasgow City Council, some national data on sectarian-related crime and a number of studies that explore the specific issue of

¹ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/01/20553/50497>

² Search terms were derived from popular public perceptions of sectarianism in the research literature. Key search terms included sectarian/ism in Scotland; Catholics/Protestants in Scotland; race and ethnicity in Scotland; hate crime/and Scotland/international/UK; discrimination/prejudice/bigotry in Scotland; football and sports in Scotland; sectarianism and housing/education/youth/health/employment/internet/culture/religion.

³ While Bruce et al (2005) argue sectarianism is a Scottish myth, Walls and Williams (2005) argue that sectarian discrimination within the workplace has resulted in economic disadvantage for large numbers of Catholics and the Scottish Catholic composer, James McMillan, has called sectarianism 'Scotland's shame'.

sectarian behaviour in the workplace. 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 and briefly summarises some analysis on intermarriage between Catholics and those of the Church of Scotland. The final section of this paper makes some suggestions for further research on sectarianism.

SECTION 1: PERCEPTIONS OF THE EXTENT OF SECTARIANISM

One of the most useful studies on sectarianism in Scotland was that commissioned by Glasgow City Council⁴ and published in 2003. The aim was to determine the scale, nature, and impact of sectarianism in the city. The central element of the research was a survey of a representative sample of 1,000 adults in Glasgow but the research also involved telephone interviews with key stakeholders and interest groups. The study also involved focus groups with Catholics, Protestants and those who had no religious affiliation, and focus groups with S4 pupils from a Catholic and a non-denominational school. The results highlighted that perceptions of sectarianism were commonplace. Approximately two thirds of those surveyed disagreed with the statement that 'discrimination along sectarian lines no longer exists' and the same proportion disagreed that 'sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past'.

According to respondents in the survey, sectarianism was most commonly observed through jokes between friends and by using sectarian terms to describe people. The majority of those involved in the research felt that sectarian jokes, terms of abuse, vandalism, violence, threats, intimidation, and harassment were common in Glasgow. Perhaps more alarmingly, around two-thirds (65%) of respondents felt that sectarian violence was very or quite common and a majority (58%) felt that sectarian threats and harassment were common. Although institutional sectarianism was perceived to be less common, 25% felt that it was very or quite common for people not to get jobs or promotion for because of their religion and 20% felt that it was very or quite common for the police to treat people differently due to their religion. That 5% said that they excluded themselves from particular areas of Glasgow because of their religion, and 6% because of football allegiance, suggests that concerns about sectarianism do have an effect on behaviour.

While over half (59%) of respondents believed that Catholics faced prejudice, a similar proportion (55%) felt that Protestants faced prejudice. This is reflected in the fact that three-quarters of those who responded to the survey believed that rather than being mainly anti-Catholic or mainly anti-Protestant, sectarianism in Glasgow tended to be equally aimed at Catholics and Protestants. Only a small minority said that sectarianism tended to be mainly anti-Catholic (8%) or anti-Protestant (2%). Even among Catholics and Protestant respondents, there was a strong view that sectarianism affected both religions equally, although Catholic respondents were more likely to say that sectarianism tended to be anti-Catholic (15%) than Protestants were to say that it tended to be anti-Protestant (3%).

⁴ NFO Social Research, (2003) *Sectarianism in Glasgow- Final Report*, Glasgow City Council

The rivalry between Rangers and Celtic was most commonly seen as the way in which the sectarian divide in Glasgow is sustained. To a lesser extent, public processions, including those commonly referred to as Orange Walks and Catholic⁵ parades, and separate Catholic schools were given as reasons for the continuance of the divide.

Since this study was published, more in-depth qualitative research by Deuchar and Holligan⁶ has explored how young people aged 16-18 in Glasgow viewed their city and provided them with an opportunity to comment on sectarianism. This qualitative study involved a total of 50 young people selected from nine voluntary organisations and five secondary schools in some of the most socially deprived areas of Glasgow. Amongst the main findings was the salience 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"⁷. 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. Finally, the researchers acknowledged the small sample size and called for further and larger scale research on urban youth culture and sectarianism.

More recent data on young people's views on sectarianism were collected in an opinion poll conducted by Action for Children and published in 2011⁸. 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, 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) bill would not be

⁵ The Orr report into parades states that this "also includes groups which would describe themselves as Republican and political rather than religious, such as the James Connolly Society and the West of Scotland Bands Alliance."

⁶ See the 2008, 2009 and 2010 publications listed in the bibliography.

⁷ Deuchar, R. and Holligan, C. (2008) '*Territoriality and Sectarianism in Glasgow: A Qualitative Study*'. Report of a study funded by the British Academy. University of the West of Scotland. Page 5.

⁸ Action for Children (2011) See:

<http://www.actionforchildren.org.uk/news/archive/2011/september/sectarian-views-are-inherited-say-young-people-in-scotland>

enough to tackle sectarianism and that 44% believed that sectarian views come from households rather than just religion.

Recurrent questions on conflict in the Scottish Election Survey and in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey from the late 1970s through to 2000 also suggest that a sizable proportion of the Scottish population have, in recent history, believed that conflict between Protestants and Catholics is 'very' or 'fairly serious'. Responses over time are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Public perceptions of conflict between Protestants and Catholics

| How serious would you say the conflict is? | 1979 | 1992 | 1997 | 1999 | 2000 |
|--|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| Very or fairly serious | 36% | 34% | 39% | 51% | 38% |
| Not very serious | 41% | 49% | 48% | 40% | 49% |
| There is no conflict | 21% | 14% | 11% | 8% | 12% |
| Don't know | 3% | 2% | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| Base = 100% | 660 | 957 | 882 | 1,482 | 1,663 |

Source: Scottish Election Surveys, 1979–1997 and Scottish Social Attitudes Surveys, 1999–2000. Reproduced in Rosie, Michael (2004) *The Sectarian Myth in Scotland: Of bitter memory and Bigotry*. Palgrave Macmillan. P.41 Table 3.6.

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 leading⁹. 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 Rosie¹⁰ notes, 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', 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. The extent to which these perceptions reflect actual experience of sectarianism is the focus of the next section.

SECTION 2: EXPERIENCE OF SECTARIAN BEHAVIOUR

Not only did the 2003 NFO Study in Glasgow (mentioned above) reveal that most adults in Glasgow believed that sectarianism was an issue in Glasgow, it also revealed that a sizable proportion - 12% of respondents - believed that sectarianism affected them personally. One of the key aims of the NFO study was to measure the proportion of respondents who believed that they had been the subject of sectarianism in the city and to try to identify the nature of this experience. To gauge the extent of sectarian behaviour, the survey asked residents if, in the last five years,

⁹ Perhaps a question that began by asking respondents if they thought there was conflict between Protestants and Catholics would generate quite different results.

¹⁰ Rosie, Michael (2004) *The Sectarian Myth in Scotland: Of bitter memory and Bigotry*. Palgrave Macmillan. P.41

they had been the victim of various forms of discrimination, and if so, whether they believed that these actions were motivated by bigotry or prejudice.

Sectarian discrimination

The first point to note is that there was no significant difference in the level of discrimination experienced by Catholics and Protestants in respect of any of the forms of discrimination explored: discrimination when applying for work; treatment in the workplace; treatment by the police; treatment by the council; or treatment by another public service.¹¹ Respondents who believed that they had been victims of discrimination were then asked to give the reason they thought they had been discriminated against. Respondents were shown a list of possible reasons including their race, religion, age, gender, the area where they live, and the football team they supported. With regard to religion, the key findings were as follows:

- 1.1% (11 out of 1029) of respondents believed they had been discriminated against when applying for a job because of their religion, of whom: 4 were Roman Catholics and 1 Protestant.
- 1.1% (11 out of 1029) of respondents believed they had been unfairly treated within the workplace because of their religion, of whom 3 were Roman Catholics and none Protestant.
- 0.3% (3) believed they had been unfairly treated by the police because of their religion: 1 Protestant and 1 Roman Catholic.
- 0.5% (5) believed they had been unfairly treated by the Council because of their religion: 2 Roman Catholics and 3 Protestant respondents.
- 0.2% (2) believed they had been unfairly treated by another public service because of their religion: one was Protestant and one non-Christian.

The proportion of those who believe they have been discriminated against or unfairly treated because of their religion is very low and certainly too low to allow us to say whether Catholics or Protestants are more likely to experience this.

Sectarian crime and harassment

As well as being asked about discrimination, respondents in the 2003 Glasgow study were asked about their experience of crime and harassment in the past five years. Before the researchers could compare experiences of Catholics and Protestants, they first had to control for the impact of age – the Catholic population in Scotland has a younger profile than that of the Church of Scotland and crime survey data show that the risk of criminal victimisation reduces with age. Their analysis revealed that, after controlling for age, Catholic and Protestant respondents were equally likely to report being a victim of crime or harassment. Victims of crime were then asked if they believed that the crime had been motivated by any particular reason. The results revealed that:

¹¹ While only 2% of Protestants reported being unfairly treated at work, compared with 6% of Catholic respondents, this difference is not statistically significant after the different age and working status profiles of these groups have been controlled for. (In other words, the differences were a result of differences in age and working status rather than religion.)

- 0.7% of all respondents (7 out of 1029) believed they had been physically attacked because of their religion, of whom, 3 were Protestants and 3 were Roman Catholics.
- 0.6% of all respondents (6) believed they had been the victim of vandalism because of their religion: including 2 Protestants and 3 Roman Catholics.
- 0.8% (8) believed they had been threatened with violence because of their religion: including 4 Protestants and 2 Catholics.
- 0.4% (4) believed they had been the victim of other harassment because of their religion: including 2 Catholics and no Protestants.
-

The proportions are tiny and do not allow for meaningful comparisons between groups but, again, there are both Catholics and Protestants who believe that they have been the victim of crime and harassment because of their religion in recent times. What is more reassuring though is that while two-thirds of respondents perceived sectarian violence to be very or quite common in Glasgow, the very low numbers who claim to have personal experience suggests that it is actually fairly rare.

Other useful survey data with which to further test the prevalence of sectarian discrimination come from the Scottish Household Survey and Scottish Crime and Justice Survey¹². In 2011 Scottish Household Survey respondents were asked if they had experienced any kind of harassment, bullying or violence in the last two years. Those who had experienced this (8% of all respondents) were then asked if they thought this was because of their religion. Our analysis of the responses to these questions revealed that, of the 922 respondents who had experienced this, 71 (7.7%) believed that it was because of their religion. Of this 71, 28 were Catholics and 4 were affiliated to the Church of Scotland¹³.

The Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) also provides some relevant data on the proportion of crimes that are thought to be related to sectarianism. The survey interviews a randomly selected adult¹⁴ in 13,000 households across Scotland, is carried out every two years and asks respondents about crimes that they may have experienced in the past year. Those who are the victims of crime are asked whether they thought the incident may have been racially or religiously motivated or related to sectarianism. The proportion of crimes thought to be motivated by any of these reasons is very low and consistent over time. In 2008/09, 1% of crimes were thought by respondents to be motivated by sectarianism. In 2009/10 this dropped to less than 0.5% and then returned to 1% in 2010/11. The next data point in the series will be for 2012/13 and available from November 2013.

¹² In May 2003, System Three ran a poll for BBC Radio 5 Live which suggested that a much higher proportion (13%) of Scots believed that they had been the victim of sectarian abuse. Levels of reporting were higher amongst Catholics. However, the details of the study were never published and so it is not possible to establish how robust the data are or what how 'abuse' was defined. See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/2935922.stm> for media report.

¹³ 23 were those who had no religion.

¹⁴ Defined as those aged 16 and over.

There are therefore recent national survey data that show that some in Scotland – albeit a very small proportion- believe they have been the victim of sectarian crime and harassment.

Other data that has been drawn upon to test the extent of sectarian crime in Scotland are the official figures on religiously offensive conduct that come to the attention of the criminal justice system. Sectarian behaviour is included in measures of ‘hate crime’¹⁵ reported to the procurator fiscal and published in an annual official statistics publication, *Hate Crime in Scotland*. The most recent figures, published in June 2013, are for 2012-13¹⁶. By far, the largest proportion of hate crime is that which involves racial aggravation. (A total of 4,012 charges relating to race crime were reported in 2012-13 – 68% of all hate crime.) Twelve percent of hate crime in 2012-13 involved a religious aggravation¹⁷. While in 2011-12 there had been a large increase (of 26%) in religiously aggravated offending reported to the procurator, the proportion dropped by 24% in 2012-13. The large increase in 2011-12 had been attributed, at least in part, to increased awareness, reporting and recording of these crimes, following several incidents that received significant media attention during 2011-12. Part (but not all) of the recent reduction could be explained by the use of the new Section 1 charges under the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012 (which came into force on 1 March 2012)¹⁸

A separate analysis of religiously aggravated offences is contained in a Scottish Government research report, *Religiously Aggravated Offending in Scotland 2012-13*¹⁹. The aim of the report was to provide an insight into the nature of religious offending that comes to the attention of the procurator fiscal by presenting a further breakdown of the charges reported in 2012-13, including information about the nature of the religious belief that formed the focus of the offensive conduct. 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 and 2011-12.

There are a number of points that 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

¹⁵ Since the introduction of the Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009, hate crime refers to any offence where there is evidence that it was motivated by racial, religious, sexual or other social prejudice, such as transgender identity or disability. It can take a number of forms, including physical attacks, verbal abuse or threats.

¹⁶ Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service ‘Hate Crime in Scotland 2012-13’ June 2013. Not live on the website at time of publication.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ The Act criminalises religious hatred that is connected to football and may be used instead of section 74 in certain circumstances. There were 75 additional charges relating to religious charges under this legislation during 2012-13. Adding these to the number of religiously aggravated offences in 2012/13 would bring the number of charges relating to religious prejudice in 2012-13 up to 762 (and still represents a decrease from 2011-12).

¹⁹ Scottish Government (2013) *Religiously Aggravated Offending in Scotland 2012-2013*. Goulding, A and Cavanagh, B. Justice Analytical Services. (Published on the same day as this literature review).

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 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.²⁰

The researchers’ assessment of the religion that was the focus of religiously aggravated charges in 2012-13 is provided in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Assessment of the religion that was the focus of religiously aggravated offences reported to the Procurator Fiscal in 2012-13.

| Religion | Number of Charges | As a proportion of all religiously aggravated offences |
|------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Roman Catholicism | 388 | 56.5 |
| Protestantism | 199 | 29.0 |
| Islam | 80 | 11.6 |
| Judaism | 27 | 3.9 |
| Christianity (General) | 5 | 0.7 |
| Unknown | 4 | 0.6 |
| Other | 3 | 0.4 |

Note: Because some charges relate to incidents that targeted more than one religion, the total number of religions targeted slightly exceeds the number of charges.

As the table shows, Roman Catholicism was the religion that was the focus of the majority of cases – 56.5% of incidents were derogatory towards Catholicism and

²⁰ In a special edition of *Criminal Justice Matters* 2002 that focused on hate crime, Cramphorn also observed that crimes motivated by sectarianism can be difficult to define, and that often these are more than a matter of religious prejudice. In the same edition, Clarke and Moody, on racist crime and victimisation in Scotland, pointed out that for some offenders, racist behaviour featured as one element in a range of criminality, so that racism manifested as one aspect of problematic behaviour. They also noted that police statements indicated that a minority of offenders disputed the charge of racism, and that some sentencers distinguished between “casual verbal insults uttered in the heat of an altercation . . . which they regarded as mostly trivial; and language ‘with a fascist twinge’, which they were prepared to treat much more seriously” (2002:14).

29% derogatory towards Protestantism. The proportion of incidents derogatory towards Catholicism has changed very little in recent years - the proportion was 58.1% in 2011-12 and 57.7% in 2010-11.

The general identity of the person to whom the offending behaviour was directed was also examined by the research team. This revealed that in 40% of cases the religious prejudice was directed towards a police officer, in 34% of cases it was directed towards the general community, in 25% of cases towards a member of the public and in 12% 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 offences occurred in the west of Scotland, the most frequent locus being a police car/station, followed by a street, and residential area. 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 56% of aggravations) and 20% of aggravations involved a charge of breach of the peace. Only 4% of aggravations involved an assault charge. The vast majority of the behaviour that involved a religious aggravation was therefore anti-social, rather than violent. Of the accused, 91% were male and 49% were aged between 16 and 30. Just under half (49%) 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 victim²¹. 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 2011-12. Over 5,000 racist incidents were recorded – 10% higher than in recorded in 2010-11. Two percent (95) of the victims of racist incidents recorded by the police were defined as 'White Irish'. This proportion has remained fairly stable since 2006-07. The most common crimes/offences recorded as part of a racist incident were racially aggravated conduct²² (57%) and breach of the peace (19%).

The fact that the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey shows there has been no increase in the proportion of victims who believe that the crime they experienced was related to race, religion or sectarianism suggests that the increase in the numbers of religiously aggravated crimes that had been reported to COPFS in recent years was, as COPFS suggested, simply due to changes in reporting and recording practice.

²¹ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2011/11/14105100/1>

²² To act in a manner, including speech, which is racially aggravated and which causes, or is intended to cause, a person alarm or distress.

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 2012²³. 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 268 charges in 2012-13, 106 (40%) were related to religious offence and, of those, 88 were derogatory towards Catholicism and 16 towards Protestantism.

Sectarian discrimination in the workplace

What emerges from the 2003 Study for Glasgow City Council is that, if there is sectarian discrimination in Scotland, it is most likely to present itself in the form of discrimination in the workplace. This form of discrimination has been the subject of a number of other quantitative and qualitative studies on sectarianism.

One source that has been used in the literature on sectarianism is the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS)²⁴. In 2001, the survey contained a module on religion that included some questions on religious attitudes generally as well as some on perceptions of discrimination. The data were analysed by Bruce and Glendinning²⁵ and reveal that, in 2001, 1 in 5 Catholics claimed to have experienced discrimination in gaining employment or promotion. It should be noted, however, that the question was about discrimination generally and not just on the basis of religion. It is possible then that some of these respondents felt discriminated against for other reasons (such as age or gender) and for this reason cannot be used as a measure of the prevalence of sectarianism.

Some useful qualitative data on sectarian discrimination in the workplace was generated by Walls and Williams²⁶. As part of a wider study of health disadvantage among the Irish and those of Irish descent in Britain, they conducted 72 in-depth interviews with Protestants and Catholics in two areas in Glasgow in the mid-late 1990s. Subjects were sampled from those who were involved in the West of Scotland Twenty-07 study²⁷ and were selected to reflect the socio-economic profile in the city. Two age groups were interviewed: those who, in 1998, were aged around 46 (38 subjects) and those who were aged around 66 (34 subjects) and subjects included those who were Irish Catholic, Scottish Catholic, Irish Protestant and Scottish Protestant. The sample was composed this way to allow the researchers to explore the relative impact of Irish ethnicity and religion. All interviewees were asked directly whether or not their religion had ever been a factor in getting work, and whether there had been any changes over time in the perceived relevance of religion to experiences of work.

²³ Scottish Government (2013) 'A Review of Section 1 and Section 6 of the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications Act (2012-13).

²⁴ The SSAS is an annual survey which samples around 1,600 randomly selected adults in Scotland.

²⁵ Bruce, S with Glendinning, A., (2003) *Full Report of Research Activities and Results: 'Religion in Modern Scotland' 2001 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey ESRC Sponsored Religion Module*, ESRC.

²⁶ See 2000, 2003 and 2004 publications listed in the bibliography.

²⁷ The Twenty-07 study was established in 1987 and followed three cohorts of people, living in and around Glasgow, for twenty years - initially aged 15, 35 and 55, they were 35, 55 and 75 in 2007 - the final year of the Study.

Seven out of the 39 Catholics who were interviewed (in both age groups) described what they believed to be personal experience of discrimination. For example, a 46 year old Catholic claimed to have been told in 1979 that he had secured a job only to have the offer withdrawn when he revealed that he had attended a Catholic school. Many others described what was believed to be discrimination against friends or family.

The authors explain that Protestants were also likely to mention discrimination against Catholics. One 66 year old Protestant who became the director of a large company until 1986 described how Catholics were restricted to certain lower grade roles²⁸:

There was no Catholics in the office at all, none at all, none of the directors, none of the officials, none of the clerks, were ever Catholics, or typists, no. But the works had them . . .

When asked if this was an active effort on the part of the company he explained:

Oh no, no, no, it was a Glasgow trait, it was a Glasgow firm and I think the people had grown up just as I had grown up, I wouldn't have broken the mould latterly. I never employed anybody that was a Catholic, not that there were many Catholics applied.

Although there was a general perception that discrimination had reduced since the mid 1970's, there were still examples from the 1980's and 1990's. The authors also concluded that 'the fact that Irish Protestants were not discriminated against, despite Irish connections, clearly demarcates religion as crucial to identification of otherness'²⁹.

Finn, Uygun and Johnson³⁰ have also conducted research on discrimination in the workplace in Glasgow for a report to the Scottish Trade Union Congress and the Scottish Government. The research aimed to explore the experiences of sectarianism amongst younger workers in Scotland aged up to twenty six years and was to specifically include the topics of education and training. In part of the study, participants were expected to have a trade union background and so the STUC agreed to arrange the focus groups. Although focus groups were conducted to explore the issue in depth, the authors note that these were difficult to arrange and suggested that this may have been due to the sensitive nature of the topic and the reluctance of some employers to allow the issue to be discussed. In addition to the groups arranged via the STUC, the researchers also set up some separate Catholic and Protestant groups by seeking volunteers from students who were weeks from the conclusion of a four-year undergraduate degree in Primary Education³¹. A total of

²⁸ Walls and Williams, 2003:641

²⁹ Walls and Williams, 2003: 639-40

³⁰ Finn, G. Uygun, F. Johnson, A. (2008) 'Sectarianism' and the Workplace' Report to the Scottish Trades Union Congress & the Scottish Government

³¹ The authors explain that both the literature, and the earlier focus groups that had already taken place by then, had identified the existence of Catholic schools to be a topic of importance, and as a specific work place that was often brought up in discussions of sectarianism. These two groups therefore offered valuable insights.

six focus groups were convened. The study also included interviews with trade union officials. This was a small qualitative study, and although not generalisable, offers some relatively recent insights into what were perceived as experiences of sectarianism in the workplace, and from respondents who were relatively young. The focus groups revealed that in the workplace, sectarian jokes and banter were fairly commonplace occurrences, but the context of these was particularly important in terms of whether offence was caused. Some participants perceived that the normality surrounding these occurrences could not be challenged and that any objections to these in the workplace could be inflammatory. The study also revealed other forms of discrimination in the workplace, including religious prejudice that was not restricted to Catholics. There were also allegations of favouritism in some workplaces (both for Catholics and Protestants), and there was a perception that prejudice in recruitment along religious lines still exists. For example, one Catholic student reported the benefits she gained when her boss had learned that they had both attended the same Catholic school:

“I worked in that place for four years and it was very clear that she favoured me over other people, and she would give me more important jobs. And it was only myself and another girl who were the only Catholic people who worked in the whole store, and you could tell straight away. She would automatically do things for me and this other girl. I got days off that I had asked for, that I couldn't get, and stuff like that. It became really apparent.”

The interviews with trade union officials revealed that although older interviewees recognised that substantial progress had been made in tackling sectarianism in the workplace, nearly all of them judged sectarianism still to be a serious problem. An older official identified how difficult it had been for Catholics to obtain employment in engineering jobs on Clydeside. Even where Catholics had not been disbarred, once employed they had no, or very limited, prospects of promotion. These practices had begun to end around thirty years ago, but there was a perception that some of these attitudes still remained, even if they were now “underground”. Very recent acts of direct employment discrimination against Catholics were reported: one example in the finance sector and another in the public sector.

Summary

There is evidence that, while the numbers are very small and it is not as overt or as common as in the past, there are still some examples of sectarian discrimination in Scotland. The empirical evidence, although limited, also suggests that sectarian discrimination is something that is experienced by both Catholics and Protestants. While the evidence from the 2003 Glasgow study suggests that this form of discrimination is most likely to manifest itself in the workplace (rather than in treatment by the police, council or other public services), the proportion of people who experience this is very small. There is also evidence that some victims of crime are targeted because of their religion, though again the proportions are very small. While, in recent years, there had been an increase in religiously aggravated crime that comes to the attention of the criminal justice system, data on victimisation suggests that this was due to changes in reporting and recording practice. However, neither this, the very small numbers involved nor the fact that sectarian

discrimination appears to be less common than in the past are reasons to be complacent.

What is obvious from the material examined in this section is that more research is needed to allow us to explore the extent and nature of sectarianism in Scotland. Not only do we need national sources of data that will allow us to quantify sectarianism experiences but we also need qualitative research that explores if and how sectarianism affects particular communities in Scotland. This is something to which we return in the final section of this paper.

The next section of this paper examines data of a different nature to consider whether there is any evidence that Catholics in Scotland suffer any obvious disadvantage across a range of social outcomes.

SECTION 3: STRUCTURAL DISADVANTAGE

Given the limited research that seeks to identify and quantify sectarian discrimination in Scotland, much research has focused on testing for evidence of structural disadvantage³² by comparing outcomes for Catholics and Protestants in, for example, health, employment, housing and education. In this section, this is explored using the 2001 Census data and, in particular, a Scottish Executive report published in 2005 that uses the data specifically to examine the profiles of the different faith groups living in Scotland³³. While the Census data are the most comprehensive source of information on the status of religious groups within Scotland, the 2001 data are now very out of date. (Data on religion from the 2011 Census were not available at time of writing.) This review therefore also draws heavily on some bespoke analysis of the most recent findings from the Scottish Household Survey and the Labour Force Survey.

A crucial point to make here is that comparing outcomes for Catholics and those who belong to the Church of Scotland does not allow us to test whether sectarian discrimination exists in Scotland. The research commissioned by Glasgow City Council highlighted that while many respondents believed that Catholics faced prejudice, almost just as many believed that the same was true of Protestants. As already noted, the same study also found that there was no significant difference in the level of discrimination experienced by Catholics and Protestants. This suggests then that sectarian behaviour will not necessarily result in poorer outcomes for one group relative to the other – if sectarian behaviour runs in both directions it may not manifest itself in indicators of structural disadvantage (unless it is aimed disproportionately at one group). This means that even if we find no evidence of structural disadvantage, we cannot use this to argue that sectarian behaviour no longer exists. What is being tested in this next section then is not whether sectarian behaviour still occurs in modern Scotland but whether the sort of sectarian behaviour that has been identified in the section above has resulted in disadvantage for any one particular group.

³² An inequality in opportunity that is a result of systemic discrimination.

³³ Scottish Executive (2005a) Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census: Summary Report. Office of the Chief Statistician.

Before describing the findings from this analysis, it is worth noting some caveats that have been highlighted by Clegg and Rosie³⁴ around using survey data on religion. Firstly, they draw attention to the different levels of reported 'No Religion' which emerge from different surveys, concluding that "when answering a survey *about* religion, [people] may under different circumstances describe themselves as being of no religion", thus overall figures for religious affiliation tend to vary. For example, the 2001 Census indicated that around 42% of people were affiliated with the Church of Scotland, around 16% to Catholicism and 28% claimed no religion. By comparison, the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2003 showed 36% affiliating themselves to the Church of Scotland, around 14% with Catholicism, and 37% claimed to have no religion. More recent data from the 2009/2010 Scottish Household Survey showed that around 33% professed an affiliation to the Church of Scotland, 15% to Catholicism and 41% with no religion³⁵. (It is worth noting though that levels professing an affiliation to Catholicism are quite similar, regardless of the particular survey.) Secondly, religious affiliation (measured as the number of people in surveys who claim to belong to a particular religion) is different to religious behaviour or practice or beliefs, thus affiliation does not equate to what might be understood as *being religious*.

Area Deprivation

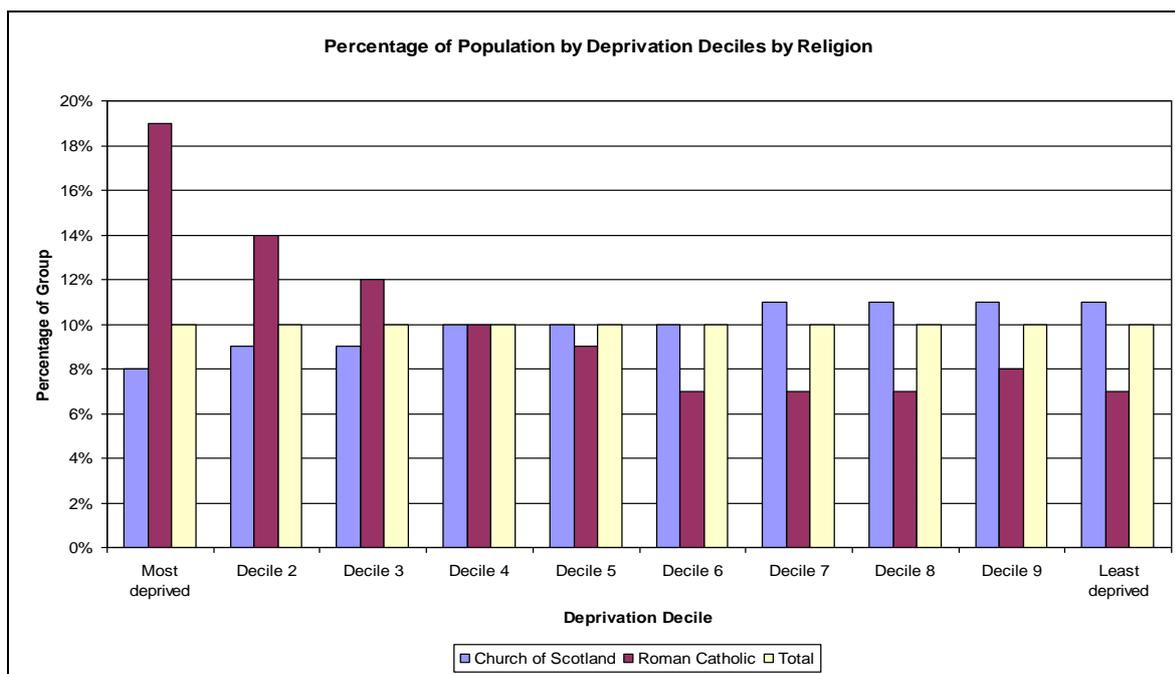
A Scottish Executive report published in 2005- *Social Focus on Deprived Areas*³⁶ - drew on the 2001 Census data on religion and the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) to explore whether any particular religious groups were over-represented in Scotland's most deprived areas. Figure 1 shows the proportion of Catholics and Church of Scotland affiliates that live in each of the deprivation deciles and shows that while 19% of Catholics live in the most deprived areas, only 8% of those who belong to the Church of Scotland live in these areas. The study also found that Muslims were over-represented in these areas (14%) and argues that the reasons why both of these groups are overrepresented are complex and relate not only to their education, health and the labour market outcomes but also to the concentration of these groups in urban areas (which in turn tend to be characterised by higher levels of deprivation).

Figure 1: Religion by residence in SIMD decile

³⁴ Clegg and Rosie (2005) p.55

³⁵ Some of the differences can undoubtedly be explained by loss of adherents over time. Methodologically, whilst the Census surveys every household in Scotland (estimated response rate of approximately 96%, allowing inferences to be made about the Scottish population as a whole), the SHS is a random sample of around 31,000 households, and the SSAS is a national sample of around 1,600 randomly selected adults .

³⁶ Scottish Executive (2005) *Social Focus on Deprived Areas 2005*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.



Source: Social Focus on Deprived Areas (2005) Scottish Government. Table 2.15

More recent Scottish Household Survey data also confirm that Catholics are disadvantaged in terms of area deprivation. Rather than examining deprivation deciles, Table 3 below examines the proportion of each religious group living in the 15% most deprived areas in Scotland. It shows that while 24% of Catholics live in the 15% most deprived areas, only 12% of those who belong to the Church of Scotland live in these areas.

Table 3: Religious affiliation by SIMD - 15% most deprived areas in Scotland

| Religion | Most deprived 15% areas | Rest of Scotland | Base = 100% |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Church of Scotland | 12% | 88% | 4,600 |
| Roman Catholic | 24% | 76% | 1,870 |
| Other Christian | 9% | 91% | 1,050 |
| Another religion / Other | 12% | 88% | 310 |
| None | 14% | 86% | 5,050 |

Source: Scottish Household Survey. 2011 Random Adult Dataset.

Source: Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) 2009.

Housing tenure

The 2001 Census provides some information about housing tenure. Regardless of religious group, most people's household tenure is that of home owner (around two thirds). However, the data show that Catholics are less likely, than Church of Scotland households, to be homeowners (62% and 70% respectively)³⁷. The data also show the proportion of households who live in social rented and private rented accommodation by religious group. Of those who live in rented accommodation, Catholics were slightly more likely to reside in social housing compared to Church of

³⁷ Religion in the 2001 Census" (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Table 2.2.

Scotland households (86% and 81% respectively) and more likely to do so than any other religious group³⁸.

These differences were corroborated by more recent data from the Scottish Household Survey. As Table 4 shows, 26% of Catholics compared with 18% of those affiliated with the Church of Scotland, were in socially rented accommodation in 2011. Those most likely to be owner occupiers were those affiliated to the Church of Scotland (75%). The comparable figure for Catholics is 60%.

Table 4: Religion of Respondent by Tenure, 2011

| Religion | Owner occupied | Socially rented | Privately rented | Other | Base = 100% |
|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------|-------------|
| Church of Scotland | 75% | 18% | 5% | 2% | 4,600 |
| Roman Catholic | 60% | 26% | 13% | 1% | 1,870 |
| Other Christian | 70% | 13% | 14% | 3% | 1,050 |
| Another religion / Other | 61% | 15% | 23% | 1% | 310 |
| None | 63% | 22% | 13% | 1% | 5,050 |

Source: Scottish Household Survey, 2011. Random adult dataset. Weighted percentages and unweighted bases.

The Census also records data on occupancy rating from which a sense of overcrowding can be gauged³⁹. Whilst Muslim households were most likely to live in over-crowded accommodation, Catholics were more likely than Church of Scotland households to be living in this way. (16% of Catholic households were in over-crowded accommodation compared with 10% of Church of Scotland households)⁴⁰.

Educational attainment

Table 5 uses data from the 2011 Scottish Household Survey to show the proportion of Catholics and those who belong to the Church of Scotland who achieved various levels of educational attainment. At the top end of the scale, 24% of those who belong to the Church of Scotland and 22% of Catholics were educated to Degree or Professional Qualification level – a difference that is not statistically significant. There was also no statistically significant difference at the other end of the scale - 27% of those affiliated to the Church of Scotland and 24% of Catholics and had no qualifications.

³⁸ Religion in the 2001 Census” (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Chart 2.1.

³⁹ The occupancy rating relates the actual number of rooms in a home to the number of rooms required by the household, taking into account the number of people, their ages and their relationships.

⁴⁰ Religion in the 2001 Census” (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Chart 2.2.

Table 5: (Christian) Religion by Highest Educational Qualification, 2011

| Religion | Degree, Professional Qualification | HNC / HND or equivalent | Higher, A Level or equivalent | O Grade, Standard Grade or equivalent | Other qualification | No qualifications | Qualifications not known | Base = 100% |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| Church of Scotland | 24% | 9% | 14% | 17% | 8% | 27% | 1% | 4,600 |
| Roman Catholic | 22% | 11% | 17% | 21% | 4% | 24% | 1% | 1,870 |
| Other Christian | 40% | 11% | 17% | 15% | 3% | 15% | 0% | 1,050 |
| Another religion / Other | 43% | 14% | 11% | 11% | 2% | 18% | 1% | 310 |
| None | 26% | 12% | 19% | 23% | 4% | 15% | 1% | 5,050 |

Source: Scottish Household Survey, 2011. Random adult dataset. Weighted percentages and unweighted bases.

Although more dated, the 2001 Census is useful in that it provides analysis across age groups. Table 6 shows the highest level of qualification by current religion for 16-74 year olds as a whole. While across all age groups it shows (like the SHS) that attainment amongst Catholics and Church of Scotland adherents is very similar, analysis by age reveals some differences.

Table 6: Highest Level of Qualification by Current Religion of All People aged 16-74

| Religion | No qualifications or non standard qualifications | O/Standard Grade, Intermediate C&G; SVQ 1&2 | Highers, CSYS, ONC, OND, C&G Advanced, RSA Advanced Diploma, SVQ 3 or equivalent | HND, HNC, RSA Higher Diploma, SVQ Level 4/5 or equivalent | First Degree, Higher Degree, Profes.Qual. |
|----------------------------|---|--|---|--|--|
| Church of Scotland | 38% | 25% | 14% | 6% | 16% |
| Roman Catholic | 39% | 24% | 15% | 7% | 16% |
| All Religion ⁴¹ | 33% | 25% | 16% | 7% | 19% |

SOURCE: Religion in the 2001 Census” (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Table 3.1.

Comparing the proportion of those of different Christian affiliation who have no qualifications or non-standard qualifications, Table 7 shows that there are no differences among Catholics and Church of Scotland adherents aged 16 – 29. (The data also show that among this age group, there were very similar proportions of Catholics and Church of Scotland adherents who attained each of the four other categories of educational attainment in the columns in Table 7) However, differences are apparent among those aged over 30. As Table 7 shows, Catholics aged 30-49,

⁴¹ All Religion Groups in the Census includes, in addition to those listed in the table, Other Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Other Religion.

50 to pensionable age and pensionable age to 76 are more likely, than those affiliated to the Church of Scotland, to lack qualifications or to have only non-standard qualifications.

Table 7: Proportion of People with No Qualifications by Current Religion

| No Qualifications (or non standard qualifications) | Age 16 - 29 | 30 - 49 | 50- Pensionable Age | Pensionable Age - 76 |
|---|--------------------|----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Church of Scotland | 12% | 26% | 52% | 65% |
| Roman Catholic | 13% | 32% | 59% | 74% |
| All Religions | 12% | 25% | 50% | 65% |

SOURCE: Religion in the 2001 Census" (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Tables 3.2 -3.5.

Employment Rates

The Census records the 'economic activity' rate which, consistent with the International Labour Organisation definition, is the proportion of the working age population who are working, not working but looking for work (and available to start within 2 weeks) or in full-time education. These data show that while 76% of those who were affiliated to the Church of Scotland were economically active at the time of the Census among Catholics the figure was lower (71%)⁴². The data also show that levels of employment were lower amongst Catholics (65%) than amongst those affiliated to the Church of Scotland (72%), and this difference held across the genders. Catholics were also shown to have a higher unemployment rate than those affiliated to the Church of Scotland – 8% compared with 6%. Muslims had the highest unemployment rate overall. Finally, the data show that Catholics were less likely to be self-employed than those of other all religious groups.

More recent data on employment status are provided by the 2011 Scottish Household Survey results. Table 8 shows that Catholics are twice as likely as those affiliated to the Church of Scotland to be unemployed and seeking work. The table also suggests that this is likely to reflect age differences between the two groups – the fact that 40% of those affiliated to the Church of Scotland were permanently retired (compared with only 20% of Catholics) suggests that there are considerable differences in the age profile of each group. This, and other demographic differences in the two groups, is discussed towards the end of this paper.

⁴² Of all religious groups, Muslims are least likely to be recorded as economically active, though these figures may under-estimate the extent of employment in family run businesses, and reflect the fact that Muslim women are less likely to work than women in other religious groups, partly a result of cultural differences.

Table 8: Religion by employment status, 2011

| Religion | Self-employed, full time or part time employed | Permanently retired | At school, higher/further education or training scheme | Looking after home or family | Unable to work due to illness or disability | Unemployed | Base = 100% |
|--------------------------|--|---------------------|--|------------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| Church of Scotland | 46% | 40% | 3% | 4% | 5% | 3% | 4,600 |
| Roman Catholic | 56% | 20% | 7% | 4% | 7% | 6% | 1,870 |
| Other Christian | 49% | 27% | 10% | 4% | 4% | 5% | 1,050 |
| Another religion / Other | 48% | 11% | 17% | 10% | 3% | 8% | 310 |
| None | 59% | 12% | 10% | 6% | 5% | 7% | 5,050 |

Source: Scottish Household Survey, 2011. Random adult dataset..

The most robust source of recent data on employment outcomes is the Annual Population Survey which pulls together the quarterly data collected in the Labour Force Survey. The range of questions included on economic activity and employment also means that it is the most accurate source of data on levels of employment. For the purposes of this review, colleagues in Labour Market Statistics provided some analysis of Annual Labour Force Survey data by religion for both 2011 and 2012. This revealed that:

- In 2012, the employment rate (among the population aged 16-64) was slightly lower for Catholics (68%) than for Church of Scotland (71%). There were similar small differences in 2011 (69% and 71% respectively);
- The unemployment rate among Catholics (9%) was higher than the rate among those affiliated to the Church of Scotland (6%). In 2011 the figures were 9% and 7% respectively.
- Economic activity rates were lower for Catholics (78%) for those affiliated to the Church of Scotland (84%). The proportions in 2011 were 78% and 83%.

Occupational class

Commentators have argued that, historically, Catholics in Scotland have been predominantly working class⁴³. However, the data on the relationship between social status (measured by occupation) and religion that we were able to obtain for this review provides mixed findings about the current position of Catholics.

The most comprehensive source is the Census data. Although now very dated, the 2001 data showed quite clearly that there was little or no difference in the occupations of Catholics and those of the Church of Scotland. Focusing on either

⁴³ See Paterson, L. (2000) 'The social class of Catholics in Scotland', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 163, (3): 263–379.

end of the scale, Table 9 shows that among Catholics and those affiliated to the Church of Scotland very similar proportions -13% and 14% - were in 'elementary occupations' (such as farm workers, construction labourers, and packers) and very similar proportions were in managerial and senior official occupations – 11% and 12%. There was also little or no difference in the proportion of Catholics and Church of Scotland affiliates in the other occupational groupings.

Table 9: Occupation of Employment by Current Religion of All People aged 16-74 in employment

| Religion | Managers and senior officials | Professional | Associate professional and technical | Administrative and secretarial | Skilled trades | Personal service | Sales and customer services | Process, plant and machine occupations | Elementary |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------------|--|------------|
| Church of Scotland | 12% | 9% | 13% | 14% | 13% | 8% | 8% | 10% | 13% |
| Roman Catholic | 11% | 10% | 14% | 13% | 11% | 8% | 9% | 10% | 14% |
| All Religion ⁴⁴ | 12% | 11% | 14% | 13% | 12% | 7% | 9% | 10% | 13% |

SOURCE: Religion in the 2001 Census" (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Table 4.2.

By comparison, the 2011 Scottish Household Survey data on occupational class suggests that there are some differences in the occupational class of Catholics and those affiliated to the Church of Scotland. Table 10 shows that there are differences across almost all of the occupational classes and that Catholics are less likely than those of the Church of Scotland to be in higher occupational classes and more likely to work in semi-routine and routine occupations.

Table 10: Religion by occupational class, 2011

| Religion | Higher managerial and professional | Lower managerial and professional | Intermediate occupations | Small employers and own account | Lower supervisory and technical | Semi-routine | Routine occupations | Base = 100% |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Church of Scotland | 8% | 25% | 17% | 9% | 10% | 18% | 14% | 1,510 |
| Roman Catholic | 5% | 23% | 14% | 5% | 10% | 23% | 21% | 720 |
| Other Christian | 14% | 29% | 13% | 8% | 6% | 19% | 11% | 400 |
| Another religion / Other | 12% | 22% | 19% | 10% | 7% | 20% | 9% | 120 |
| None | 9% | 21% | 15% | 6% | 10% | 22% | 17% | 2,170 |

Source: Scottish Household Survey, 2011. Random adult dataset.

⁴⁴ All Religion Groups in the Census includes, in addition to those listed in the table, Other Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Other Religion.

The differences between the Census and the Scottish Household Survey data could be due to differences in the classification system used. The differences between the Census and the Scottish Household Survey data could be due to differences in the classification system used. While the Scottish Household Survey assigns classification only to working age adults in employment, the Census covers a wider age range (16-74). It is therefore not possible to use the occupational profiles apparent in the Census and Scottish Household Survey data to draw any conclusions about change in the relative position of Catholics and those of the Church of Scotland since 2001. To explore this we will have to wait for the release of the 2011 Census data.

It should also be noted that similarities in the occupational class among Catholics and those affiliated to the Church of Scotland that we see in the Census data might mask some important differences across the age groups. In much earlier work, Paterson⁴⁵ explored the occupational class of Catholics in Scotland using data generated from the 1997 Scottish Election Survey. Paterson's concept of class was derived from the Goldthorpe Scheme which uses father's class (or where not available, mother's class) to categorise subjects into either manual or non-manual groups⁴⁶. It should also be noted that his analysis is based on two categories of religion, Catholic and non-Catholic, where the latter comprises a very large and heterogeneous group of people. Paterson used the data to show that while, among older Catholics, class profile was significantly different from non-Catholics, social class amongst younger Catholics resembled that of non-Catholics for both men and women. From this he speculated that the social status of Catholics has probably risen to a greater extent than non-Catholics, the most likely explanation being a result of state funded Catholic education in 1918 and improvements to education after 1965 with provision for the comprehensive system. He also notes that although poorer formal educational qualifications accounted for part of the differences across the age groups, it did not account for all. Some of the differences in class profile among older groups could therefore have been due to discrimination in employment practice. The analysis could suggest that, although there may have been discrimination in the past, this is no longer being experienced by younger cohorts. However, Paterson does not rule out an alternative explanation- that occupational disadvantage and barriers only emerge with age, as people reach a certain point in their careers – and the possibility that these younger cohorts will experience discrimination as their careers progress.

The work of Paterson and Iannelli⁴⁷ is also very relevant here. They used Scottish Household Survey data from 2001 to explore the relationship between educational attainment, social status and religion in Scotland. Social status was defined by job and broken down into: unskilled; skilled; self-employed; routine non-manual; lower grade professional; and higher grade professional. While in older cohorts they found that Catholics were generally of lower status than Church of Scotland (and those

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ This is an approach which, among sociologists has been criticised because of its gender bias and failure to acknowledge changes in gendered work patterns and because of its disregard for the growth of service sector employment and the decline of traditional manufacturing industries shifts in occupational structures. See Crompton, 1989 for a critique of this class scheme.

⁴⁷ Paterson, L. and Iannelli, C. (2006) Religion and Social Mobility and Education in Scotland. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57(3): 353-377.

defined as non-religious), in younger cohorts⁴⁸ they found far less difference in social status between the two religious groups. The researchers also explore social mobility by comparing respondents' original social status (defined by parents' occupations when the respondent was around the age of 14) and their destination (current) status. Overall they found that there were similar levels of social mobility among religious groups and that this held true even for the older cohorts. They concluded that "[T]he relative chances of reaching a high-status destination as opposed to a lower-status one, when comparing any two classes of origin, are the same in all religious groups". Their analysis of the relationship between respondents' educational attainment and their social status suggested that the labour market was operating in a meritocratic way ("there is no evidence for any of the cohorts that the labour market rewards to education differ by religion").

Income

Although the survey is designed to provide data on income band rather than average income or average earning, some information on income (of the highest income householder and their partner) can be gleaned from the Scottish Household Survey. These data suggest that Catholics are not disadvantaged in terms of income. There was no statistically significant difference in the proportion of Catholics and those affiliated to the Church of Scotland who were in each income bracket.

Table 11: 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 | 15% | 33% | 22% | 29% | 4,470 |
| Roman Catholic | 16% | 33% | 24% | 27% | 1,800 |
| Other Christian | 13% | 29% | 22% | 37% | 1,010 |
| Another religion / Other | 18% | 32% | 17% | 33% | 290 |
| None | 13% | 32% | 23% | 33% | 4,900 |

Source: Scottish Household Survey, 2011. Random adult dataset.

Health

One of the key indicators of disadvantage is poor health. Though the findings are not always consistent, there are a number of sources of data about health differences among Catholics and non-Catholics.

The Census measures self-reported health by asking: How is your health in general? It then asks about long term health conditions which have lasted or are expected to last at least 12 months, and then about limiting long term illness/disability which may affect daily activities and have lasted or are expected to last at least 12 months⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ Those born between 1967 and 1976.

⁴⁹ See <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/en/howto/questionshelp/index.html#listofquestions>

Data from the 2001 Census demonstrate that, among those aged 0 - 29 years⁵⁰, Catholics were marginally more likely to report long-term limiting illness and disability than those who were affiliated to the Church of Scotland. The difference between the two groups appeared more marked in the 30-49 year old group, with greater proportions of Catholics reporting long-term limiting illness and disability. These differences increased further in the 50 to pensionable age group, and the pensionable age to 74 group. There was a slightly less pronounced difference between the two religions in the 75 plus group.

Table 12: Proportion of People with long-term illness and disability by Current Religion

| Religion | Gender | Age 0 - 29 | 30 - 49 | 50- Pensionable Age | Pensionable Age - 74 | 75+ |
|--------------------|--------|------------|---------|---------------------|----------------------|------|
| Church of Scotland | Male | 11.9 | 12.8 | 30.1 | 46.1 | 60.7 |
| | Female | 9.9 | 12.9 | 25.5 | 39.5 | 66.5 |
| Roman Catholic | Male | 13.7 | 16.4 | 41.3 | 56.5 | 67.7 |
| | Female | 11.3 | 16.4 | 35.5 | 50.2 | 72.2 |
| All Religions | Male | 12.7 | 13.2 | 31.1 | 47.9 | 62.3 |
| | Female | 10.7 | 13.6 | 27.6 | 42.0 | 67.8 |

SOURCE: Religion in the 2001 Census" (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Table 5.2.

By comparison, the Scottish Household Survey data for 2011 show that Catholics no longer appear to suffer these health disadvantages. As Table 13 shows, 73% of Catholics compared with only 67% of those affiliated to the Church of Scotland stated that they had no limiting long-term illness, health problem or disability. This difference is statistically significant. A possible explanation for the apparent improvement in health outcomes for Catholics, relative to those of the Church of Scotland, is the older age profile of the latter group (see section headed 'Explaining differences' below).

These are self assessment questions and therefore rely to a large extent on subjective interpretations of health and illness. There may therefore be some reporting error in self reported health since people have different understandings of what health and illness mean. For a discussion of measurement problems see Baker, M., M. Stabile and C. Deri (2004). What do self-reported objective measures of health measure? *Journal of Human Resources*, 39, pp. 1067-1093.

⁵⁰ Parents are likely to have responded on behalf of those under 16. Abbotts *et al* have drawn attention to the difficulties in measuring children's health from parental accounts (the method adopted in official national surveys). Specifically, they observed (and drawing on research from others in the field, Sweeting and West, 1998) that parents may understate children's mental health symptoms in surveys, since parental reports were found to have contradicted children's accounts of depression symptoms in their study. They maintain that this disparity may be due to either poor parental awareness of children's depression or a desire to present the family in a more positive light (2004:653).

Table 13: Limiting Long-term Illness, Health Problem or Disability by Religion, 2011

| Religion | Yes, disability | Yes, illness or health problem | Yes, both disability and illness or health problem | No, neither | Base |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------|-------|
| Church of Scotland | 7% | 15% | 10% | 67% | 4,600 |
| Roman Catholic | 5% | 13% | 9% | 73% | 1,870 |
| Other Christian | 5% | 14% | 8% | 73% | 1,050 |
| Another religion / Other | 4% | 15% | 4% | 77% | 310 |
| None | 4% | 10% | 5% | 81% | 5,040 |

Source: Scottish Household Survey, 2011. Random adult dataset.

Further data on the self-reported health of those of different religions is available from the Scottish Health Survey. Again this survey asked respondents to rate their health as being: very good; good; fair; bad; or very bad. A topic report on equalities, published in 2012⁵¹, combined the data from four consecutive years (2008-2011) to allow more in-depth analysis of sub-populations. The data showed that respondents whose religion was Church of Scotland were slightly, but statistically significantly, more likely to rate their health as good or very good (78%) than the Scottish average (76%) and Roman Catholics were statistically significantly less likely to do so (72%)⁵².

Again, however, data from the Scottish Household Survey for 2011 present a different picture and suggest much smaller differences between the two religious groups. As Table 14 shows, there was little difference in the proportion of Catholics and those of the Church of Scotland who rated their health as being very good or good (this difference was only just statistically significant) and no significant difference in the proportion who rated their health as bad or very bad.

Table 14: Self-reported General Health by Religion, 2011

| Religion | Very good/good | Fair | Bad/very bad | Base = 100% |
|--------------------------|----------------|------|--------------|-------------|
| Church of Scotland | 71% | 23% | 6% | 4,600 |
| Roman Catholic | 73% | 20% | 7% | 1,870 |
| Other Christian | 78% | 18% | 5% | 1,050 |
| Another religion / Other | 81% | 14% | 5% | 310 |
| None | 78% | 17% | 5% | 5,040 |

Source: Scottish Household Survey, 2011. Random adult dataset.

⁵¹ Scottish Government (2012) 'Topic Report: Equality Groups' in Scottish Health Survey. <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2012/10/8988>

⁵² Scottish Government (2012) 'Topic Report: Equality Groups' in Scottish Health Survey. Table 2.1. <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2012/10/8988>

The health of Catholics relative to other groups has been the focus of a range of analyses of the *Twenty-07 Study*⁵³. The Twenty-07 Study was set up in 1987 to investigate reasons for differences in health across place, age, gender, ethnicity, family structure and socio-economic circumstances. It should be noted that in this study the focus was on Irish Catholics – those who were either Irish by birth or had at least one parent who was Irish. The sample included 4,510 people, who were followed for 20 years, with the final data collection in 2007. Three cohorts of people were followed – those who were initially aged 15, 35 and 55 at the start of the study. Subjects were living in a large and socially mixed urban area in the west of Scotland⁵⁴. The study has generated a wealth of detailed information on health – some of which allows comparison between Irish Catholics and non-Catholics⁵⁵.

Some of the data, discussed by Abbotts *et al*⁵⁶ reveal significant differences on most aspects of health between Irish Catholics and non-Catholics. Abbotts⁵⁷ also found that mortality amongst Irish Catholics exceeded those of other groups for most causes of death, and was especially pronounced for cardiovascular disease. In a subsequent paper Abbotts *et al*⁵⁸ show that health disadvantages for Irish Catholics increase with age. The differences are very small amongst the youngest age group (those aged 18 at the beginning of the 1990s), greater among the middle aged cohort (those aged 38 at the beginning of the 1990s), and greatest amongst older age groups (those aged 58 at the beginning of the 1990s). However, it is not yet possible to use this evidence to suggest that health differentials between Irish Catholics and non-Catholics have decreased with time – self-reported good health is highly correlated with age and so those narrower differentials in the younger groups might not be retained- as the current younger groups age, differences between Irish Catholics and non-Catholics could widen.

Criminal victimisation

For this review we examined data from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) and disaggregated victims of crime according to their religious group to explore whether particular groups are more likely to be the victims of crime. In practice, only the response categories for Catholics, Church of Scotland, No Religion and Other Religion are of a large enough size to allow for meaningful comparison. Analysis of data from 2010-11 suggests that Catholics are more likely to have been the victims of crime than the other groups listed – 20% of Catholics who responded

⁵³ 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)

⁵⁴ The study included a Regional Sample (Random sample of people in the three age groups in the Central Clydeside Conurbation), a Locality Sample (Random sample of people in the three age groups from two localities in Glasgow City), and Sub-sample Studies (Smaller numbers of respondents from either the regional or locality samples who are invited to take part in more focused studies).

⁵⁵ See <http://2007study.sphsu.mrc.ac.uk/publications.html> for a wide range of papers published up to 2011.

⁵⁶ Abbotts, J., Williams, R., Ford, 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.

⁵⁷ Abbotts, J. (2004) 'Irish Catholic Health Disadvantage in the West of Scotland', *Scottish Affairs*, 46: 131-48.

⁵⁸ 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.

to the survey (and gave their religion) were the victims of crime compared with 14% of those who were affiliated to the Church of Scotland⁵⁹. However, it is important to note that differences in victimisation between Catholics and those who belong to the Church of Scotland are likely (at least in part) to reflect the fact that, as we have already seen, Catholics are more likely to live in deprived areas. Results from the 2011 SCJS show that the risk of criminal victimisation was higher for adults living in the 15% most deprived areas (21%) compared with those living in the rest of Scotland (17%)⁶⁰.

Imprisonment

Several authors have persistently argued that the criminal justice system discriminates against people of Irish origin⁶¹. In Scotland, there is evidence that Catholics are disproportionately represented in prisons, an issue which has been raised in the Scottish media and Scottish Parliament. While in 2001, Catholics represented around 16% of the total population in Scotland, they represented 28% of the total prison population⁶². Official figures suggest however that the proportion of Catholics in Scottish jails over recent years has dropped slightly. In 2006, the total number of prisoners in Scotland was 7,205, with 24% of these self-defined on entry as Catholic⁶³ and in 2008-09 the figure was 23%^{64 65}.

Drawing on Houchin's (2005) research on the links between social exclusion and offending, Wiltshire (2010) suggested that disproportionate numbers were most likely a result of the relationship between social deprivation and imprisonment which holds across prisoner groups more generally⁶⁶. Catholics, as we have already seen, are more likely to be living in the areas of deprivation from which most prisoners in Scotland come.

⁵⁹ This does not necessarily mean that they were the victims of sectarian or religiously motivated crime. We know from other analysis mentioned earlier (see section headed Sectarian crime and harassment) that this accounts for only a very small proportion of all crimes.

⁶⁰ 2010/11 Scottish Crime and Justice Survey: Main Findings. Scottish Government 2011. Figure 3.2. <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2011/10/28142346/5>

⁶¹ See Hickman and Walter, 1997; Hickman, Morgan and Walter, 2001; Mooney and Young, 1999 – listed in bibliography.

⁶² See PQ S1W-15069 - Pauline McNeill (Glasgow Kelvin) (Lab) (Date Lodged Thursday, April 12, 2001).

⁶³ See SPICe Briefing for the Public Petitions Committee, 20/09/2007.

⁶⁴ Wiltshire, S. (2010) Offender Demographics and Sentencing Patterns in Scotland and the UK. The Scottish parliament Public Petitions Committee

⁶⁵ It should be noted however, that over the same period in Scotland, the direct sentenced population increased, alongside remand prisoners and those recalled to custody.

⁶⁶ Houchin highlights that one quarter of the prisoner population came from just 53 of the 1222 electoral wards in Scotland, whilst a further quarter came from the next 102 wards. Glasgow was identified as particularly conspicuous and qualitatively distinct owing to the strength of the links between deprivation and imprisonment, particularly compared to other regions such as Edinburgh. The report showed unequivocally that the imprisoned population is derived disproportionately from the most deprived communities and that there is a "systemic link between social deprivation and imprisonment" (Houchin, 2005:16).

Explaining differences

This section has explored whether there is any evidence that sectarianism manifests itself in disadvantage for either Catholics or those who belong to the Church of Scotland. The evidence shows that Catholics are not disadvantaged in terms of income and that younger Catholics are no longer disadvantaged in terms of educational attainment. The most comprehensive source of data also suggests that Catholics are not disadvantaged in terms of occupational class (but we do need to wait for the release of the 2011 Census data to test whether this is still the case). Although earlier data suggested that Catholics were more likely to suffer poor health, these differences may be disappearing. The data have shown however that Catholics are more likely, than those of the Church of Scotland, to be unemployed, to live in deprived areas, to rent their homes, to be the victims of crime and to experience imprisonment. Some of these findings will be related. For example, the fact that Catholics are more likely to live in the most deprived areas will go some way to explaining their greater risk of criminal victimisation and imprisonment. The health outcomes and area deprivation findings are also likely to be linked (though the direction of causality may be reciprocal).

There is also evidence to suggest that disadvantage is more apparent amongst older generations of Catholics than younger generations. This has been shown in relation to health, occupational profile and educational attainment. The Twenty-07 Study by Abbots *et al* (2004) which explored Catholic disadvantage over a period of twenty years also suggested that there is a diminishing gap between Catholics and non-Catholics on a range of indicators examined (home ownership, car ownership, and socio-economic position of head of household). Together these data suggest that the socio-economic position of Irish Catholics has improved. However in interpreting these findings it is important to recognise that there may be an age effect; in other words, socio-economic differences may only emerge as people get older. So while some authors have argued⁶⁷ that discrimination against Irish Catholics was at its most pronounced after the Second World War, and it is unlikely that younger generations will experience this to the same extent as their forebears, Abbots *et al*⁶⁸ caution that whilst there have certainly been improvements for Catholics in Scotland it is premature to conclude that there is now equality in outcomes.

The data on structural disadvantage do not, by themselves, show that Catholics have been the subject of systematic discrimination, either at the personal or institutional level. This is because some of the associations which emerge between religion and the measures of disadvantage may be influenced by demographic differences between those of different groups rather than by religion itself. One obvious difference is age. With Protestant communities being hit harder and earlier by a secularisation of their young⁶⁹, the character of the Protestant communities has

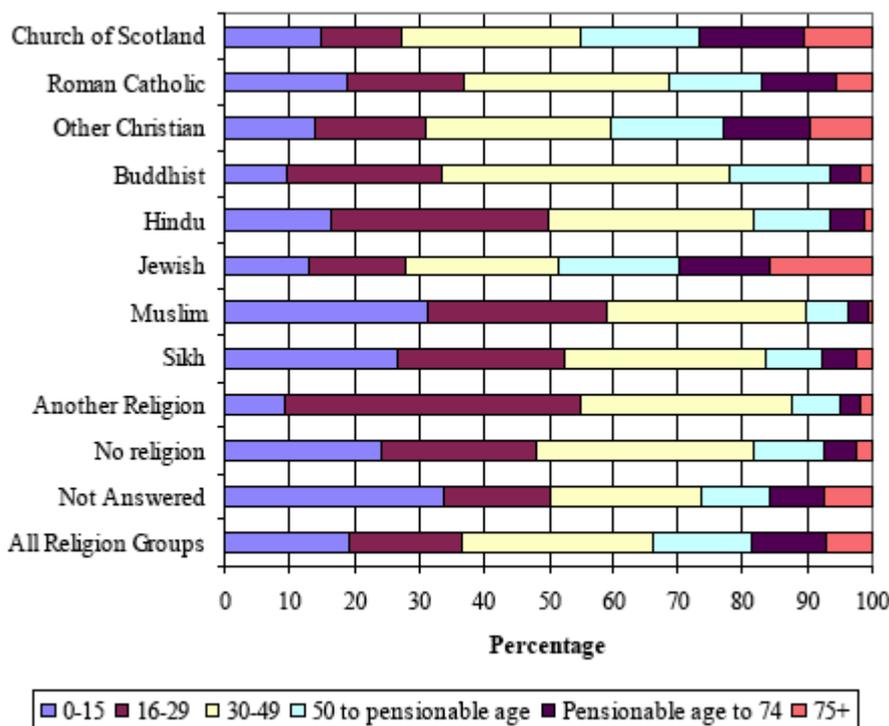
⁶⁷ Hickman, M. and Walter, B. (1997) *Discrimination and the Irish community in Britain*. London: Commission for Racial Equality ; Devine, T.M., (ed) (2000) *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.

⁶⁸ Abbots, 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.

⁶⁹ See Raab G. & 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. Callum G. Brown (2008), 'The secularisation decade: what the 1960s have

become older and, perhaps as a direct result, more affluent. The distinction between the age profile of Protestants and Catholics could be seen in the 2001 Census data⁷⁰: while over a quarter (27%) of those who were affiliated to the Church of Scotland were of pensionable age or above, the proportion among Roman Catholics was only 17%. The age profile of the various religious groups is illustrated in Figure 2 below. It also shows that a much higher proportion of Catholics were under the age of 30 than were those of the Church of Scotland. This could go some way to explaining differences in, for example, housing tenure, employment rates⁷¹, criminal victimisation and imprisonment rates⁷².

Figure 2: Age profile of all people by current religion



SOURCE: Scottish Executive (2005a) *Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census. Summary Report.* Office of the Chief Statistician. Chart 1.2

The 2001 Census data also revealed that a smaller proportion of Roman Catholics were married (47%) than were those who were affiliated to the Church of Scotland (55%)⁷³ and the 2011 Scottish Household Survey data show that a higher percentage of Catholics are female (41%) than those who belong to the Church of Scotland (38%). Finally, we also know from the 2001 Census data that among those

done to the study of religious history', in Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf (eds), *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750–2000*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP. p33-34

⁷⁰ Religion in the 2001 Census" (2005a)

<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/02/20757/53568>

⁷¹ 2012 data show that, among the working age population, 16-14 year olds have the lowest employment rates. See Scottish Government, Local Area Labour Market in Scotland: Statistics from the Annual Population Survey 2012. <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2013/05/6728/2>

⁷² We know from other sources that both criminal victimisation and offending behaviour decline with age.

⁷³ Scottish Executive (2005a) Religion in the 2001 Census" Office of the Chief Statistician.

who were in a couple, Catholics were more likely to have dependent children than those who were affiliated to the Church of Scotland⁷⁴. (Of families⁷⁵ headed by a Roman Catholic, 47% had at least one dependent child. The proportion among those headed by someone from the Church of Scotland was only 36%.) Even more striking is the evidence that, of all religious groups, Roman Catholic families are the most likely to be lone parent families. Of all Roman Catholic families with dependent children, 34% were headed by a lone parent, compared with 24% of those headed by someone from the Church of Scotland⁷⁶. There may also be other demographic differences that need to be considered, such as length of residency in Scotland – this is particularly important given the likely growth in Catholic migrant populations from Eastern Europe.

The relative impact of these demographic differences and religion on outcomes deserves fuller analysis. The release of the 2011 Census data will provide an ideal opportunity to explore this using regression analysis to identify the relative impact of a range of variables (such as religion, age, gender, length of residency and family status) on the outcomes discussed above.

INTER-CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE

One other measure of the extent to which a country is divided on ethnic or religious grounds is to explore the extent of intermarriage between particular groups. (The extent to which couples are formed from members of the same groups has been widely used in studies of ethnic segregation.) In a research paper published in 2010, Holligan and Raab⁷⁷ therefore use the 2001 Census data to explore intermarriage between Christian groups in Scotland. Using a sample of anonymised census records they were able to sample approximately 10% of all couples enumerated in the 2001 Census. The analysis was restricted to male/female couples aged 16 to 75, both born in Scotland, for whom complete data on the religion in which they were raised was available. It excluded the small number of Scottish born couples where one or more member was raised in a non-Christian religion. This left a total sample size of 111,627 couples.

Looking at the percentages of females of each group forming couples with males of each other group, Holligan and Raab show that, of the Roman Catholic females, 45% were in homogamous⁷⁸ couples but the percentage in partnerships with a Protestant partner was almost the same (43%). The largest rate of homogamy (79%) was for females affiliated to the Church of Scotland. Only 12% of Church of Scotland females were in partnership with a Catholic partner. However, the researchers point out that the high rate of homogamy among those of the Church of Scotland was largely due to them being the largest group within the sample of couples. Recognising that a person from a small group would have only a small number of

⁷⁴ Religion in the 2001 Census” (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Chart 1.9.

⁷⁵ Defined as a married or co-habiting couple or a lone parent.

⁷⁶ Religion in the 2001 Census” (2005a) Office of the Chief Statistician. Chart 1.10.

⁷⁷ Chris Holligan and Gillian Raab (2010), Inter-sectarian couples in the 2001 Census. Scottish Longitudinal Study Research Working Paper 7.

<http://www.lscs.ac.uk/sls/working%20papers/WP7%20Holligan.pdf>

⁷⁸ Partnerships with those of the same religion.

potential partners from the same group, they use an 'index of homogamy' that compares the numbers of couples where the partners come from the same religious group, to that which would be expected if couple formation in the population was completely random. Looking then at these homogamy coefficients, which adjust for the proportions in the population, it was Catholics that were shown to have the least propensity to form partnerships with those of other religions (compared with those of the Church of Scotland, other Christians and those with no religious affiliation).

The researchers also found that there was a very steep decline in the percentages of same religion couples among younger couples for all Christian groups. The steepest decline being among those females aged 50-59 in 2001, most of whom will have formed partnerships in the 1970s. Similar patterns are seen in all areas of Scotland, but the higher proportion of Roman Catholics in the West of Scotland lead to a much higher proportion of inter-faith couples there. They also point out that because a high proportion of Catholics continue their religious practice, even when part of a religiously mixed couple, this may mean that many people in the West of Scotland will have practising Catholics who are part of their extended family. This, they argue, should contribute to an erosion of any sectarian divisions in Scotland⁷⁹.

FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDA

This review has revealed that, while there is plenty of evidence that people believe that there is a problem of sectarianism in Scotland there is much less to demonstrate that people have experienced this. The extent to which perceptions of sectarianism reflect actual experience of sectarianism is something that is very difficult to establish given the current state of the evidence-base. A key priority should therefore be to improve that evidence base and to be able to establish some robust data, not just about perceptions but also about the experience of sectarianism.

In an effort to develop the evidence base on sectarianism, Justice Analytical Services have added a new module to the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) which asks victims of non-criminalised pestering, harassment and intimidation if they thought this might be related to sectarianism (along with other forms of prejudice such as race, religion generally, gender, disability or sexual orientation). A similar module on harassment was included in the survey in 2008/09 and suggested that 15% of the population had been insulted, pestered or intimidated by someone who was not a member of their household and that, of this 15%, around 5% stated (when prompted) that this might have been related to their race or religion or related to sectarianism. The new module will allow us to disaggregate this further and will also go further by collecting more detail about the incident or incidents: by what means it took place (including on-line), what type of behaviour was involved and where it took place. Respondents will also be asked how much they personally worry about being insulted, pestered or intimidated on the basis of these things. Data will be available at the end of 2013.

⁷⁹ See Raab G. & 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.

Walls and Williams⁸⁰ argue that their own qualitative research on discrimination within the workplace suggests that there is a case for a more 'thorough quantitative estimation of discrimination occurring in the present day, with sufficient power to detect even low levels of prevalence'. The new module in the SCJS will go some way to providing this but collecting similar data on a wider range of discriminations would also be helpful. The Scottish Household Survey (SHS) is perhaps the most appropriate vehicle for this. The SHS is designed to provide accurate, up-to-date information about the characteristics, attitudes and behaviour of Scottish households and individuals on a range of issues, including social justice. Statistically reliable results are available for larger local authorities on an annual basis and for all local authorities, regardless of size, every 2 years. The survey has, for a number of years, asked respondents if, in the last three years, whilst in Scotland, they have experienced any kind of discrimination or harassment and if so, whether that was because of their religion (it also asks about other forms of discrimination, such as gender, age, sexual orientation and ethnicity). From 2012, at the request of the Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland, these questions have been extended to include sectarianism, to provide separate estimates of the prevalence of harassment and discrimination and to collect some information about the context of the discrimination. (There is less need to collect information about the nature of harassment since data on this is being collected in the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey.) Results will also be available in late 2013.

The survey also provides a base from which to commission more detailed follow-up research on sub-samples of respondents to the survey and so there would be potential to conduct some qualitative research with those who indicate that they have experienced sectarian discrimination. This might help us to understand more about the exact nature of the discrimination, by whom the respondents were discriminated against, why respondents attribute their treatment to religious discrimination and how this form of behaviour impacts on them.

Another useful source of survey data is the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS). This is an ideal vehicle to explore whether respondents think or behave in a way that could be considered sectarian (rather than whether they have experienced sectarian discrimination themselves). Questions on religious discrimination have been included in previous modules but a dedicated module on sectarianism could help test the extent to which sectarian attitudes and behaviours exist in modern Scotland. The evidence base would be greatly improved by including some questions about the extent to which Catholics and Protestants mix socially, about attitudes to this and other forms of engagement between the two groups and about attitudes to potentially offensive or discriminatory behaviour. The content of the 2013 have already been finalised but there is an opportunity to develop a module for the 2014 survey.

Collecting national data about the experience and extent of sectarianism will go some way to helping us to quantify the nature of the problem in Scotland but it will not help us to test whether, which and how individual communities are particularly affected by the issue. Recently commissioned Scottish Government research on the community impact of marches and parades (including Orange Order and Republican

⁸⁰ Walls, P., and Williams, R., (2003) 'Sectarianism at work: accounts of employment discrimination against Catholics in Scotland', in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26, (4): 632- 662.

processions) may provide one perspective on this but is unlikely to capture the full range of issues. In the first instance research should focus on geographies within which distinct Catholic and Protestant communities live, either separately or side-by-side. In-depth qualitative research at a local level could help test whether social fractures exist, how that impacts on communities and what could be done to address this. Assuming research of this nature reveals that there are social fractures, a longer-term research agenda would need to build geographical and perhaps even ethnic comparisons. Reflecting the geographical concentration of Catholics, most research on sectarianism has centred on west central Scotland. However, it would be useful to consider whether the experiences among Catholics living in other areas of Scotland are different in any important respects. There are concentrated pockets of Catholics in Edinburgh, Fife and Dundee. With regard to ethnic comparisons, it may also be worth exploring whether new Catholic migrant communities, such those from Eastern Europe, have experienced discrimination on religious grounds.

Another priority should be to continue to monitor the data on structural disadvantage, in particular to monitor the age effects apparent in some of the data and, over time, to test whether the improving position of younger cohorts of Catholics is maintained as they age or whether, as some commentators have suggested, disadvantage emerges only in later life. The results of the 2011 Census are expected to be available in 2013. An immediate priority should therefore be to up-date the analysis of the Census and to explore whether the patterns seen in the 2001 data prevail. The potential for using the 2011 Census data to explore the relative impact of demographic differences and religion on outcomes for Catholics and those of the Church of Scotland has already been noted.

Finally, an important point that emerges from the evidence is that, despite the limited evidence of sectarian behaviour in Scotland, there are strong perceptions among the general population that it is a problem. This will have implications not only for Scotland's reputation as an inclusive and equal society but also for feelings of safety and inclusion. Even if future research reveals that sectarianism is not a significant feature of modern Scotland, it will still be important to try to understand the way in which perceptions are shaped.

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