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SCOTTISH SOCIAL ATTITUDES SURVEY 2014
**PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO SECTARIANISM IN
SCOTLAND**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

1. This report presents findings from the 2014 *Scottish Social Attitudes* survey (SSA) on public attitudes to sectarianism. It is intended to fill a gap in the evidence base in detailed information about attitudes towards and beliefs about sectarianism across Scotland as a whole. Commissioned by the independent Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism established by the Scottish Government in 2012, the report is part of a programme of research aiming to improve the evidence on sectarianism in Scotland.

Methods

2. The *Scottish Social Attitudes* survey (SSA) is carried out by ScotCen Social Research, an independent research organisation based in Edinburgh. The 2014 survey involved 1,501 interviews with a representative probability sample of the Scottish population (a response rate of 54%). Interviews were conducted face-to-face in people's home, with a self-completion element for questions that were particularly sensitive or where there were concerns about respondents giving 'socially desirable' answers. Data are weighted to adjust for known non-response bias and to ensure they reflect the sex-age profile of the Scottish population.

Religion, football and social ties

3. Scotland has become an increasingly secular society: the proportion of Scots who do not identify with any religion has increased since the 2000s, from 40% in 1999 to 54% by 2013. Although this figure fell back in 2014, this appears to be an artefact of questionnaire content and ordering effects. The increasing secularisation in Scottish society in recent decades has particularly affected affiliation with the Church of Scotland, which fell from 35% in 1999 to 21% in 2014. The proportion claiming belonging to the Catholic church barely changed over the same period. However, people's willingness to acknowledge a religious affiliation is clearly affected by how they are asked and in what context. More people consider themselves to be Protestant, Catholic or Christian than say they 'belong' to any Christian church.
4. Religious identity appears to matter more to those who consider themselves to be Catholic compared with those who identify as Protestant. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of Catholics say being Catholic is an important part of who they are, compared with 45% of Protestants who say the same about their religious identity. Catholics are also more likely to claim to attend church more regularly.
5. Catholics and Protestants appear to be very well integrated in Scotland. Very few (5% or less) Catholics or Protestants in Scotland do not know anyone of the other faith. The majority of Protestants have a close friend who is Catholic, and vice versa.
6. Given the perceived associations between sectarianism and football allegiance, the survey looked at the level of support for different Scottish football teams. Most Scots (58%) do not support any Scottish football team. The most widely

supported by far are Celtic and Rangers, each supported by 12% of the Scottish population. While just over half of each of these clubs' support comes from people of the religion they have been historically associated with, they also gain support from people of other religions or none. However, relatively few Catholics support Rangers or Protestants Celtic.

General perceptions of sectarian prejudice and discrimination in Scotland

7. There is a widespread perception that religious prejudice against Catholics and Protestants exists in Scotland, though more people believe that Catholics are the subject of at least some prejudice (54%) than say the same of Protestants (41%). However, people are much less likely to believe that more explicit examples of anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant discrimination are commonplace in Scotland today. For example, only 24%/17% believed that being Catholic/Protestant stops people from getting a job or promotion they deserve either some of the time or a lot of the time.
8. People are also less inclined to believe that either Catholics or Protestants are likely to experience discrimination or harassment in their own area (9% for Catholics and 8% for Protestants) compared with Scotland as a whole (35% for Catholics and 28% for Protestants). For many people, sectarianism appears to be viewed as a problem that happens elsewhere in Scotland. While the vast majority of people in Scotland believe that sectarianism is a problem (88%), over two-thirds 69% view it as a problem for specific areas of Scotland, with just 19% seeing it as a problem throughout Scotland. Glasgow and the West of Scotland generally were the most commonly mentioned areas where people saw a problem with sectarianism – around a third thought it was only a problem for Glasgow or the West of Scotland. However, those who actually live in the West of Scotland were more likely to see sectarianism as a problem across the whole of Scotland.
9. Public views on whether or not Catholic-Protestant relationships have improved over the last decade were divided – 47% thought they had, while 40% thought they had stayed the same. Only 3% felt relationships had worsened. Whether or not people think inter-faith relationships have improved over recent years, there is some scepticism about whether it will ever be possible to completely eradicate sectarianism in Scotland – 66% agreed that 'Sectarianism will always exist in Scotland'. Two-thirds of those who believe Catholic-Protestant relationships have improved and over half of those who think that there is little or no general prejudice against Catholics or Protestants in Scotland nowadays nonetheless thought that sectarianism will always exist here. This may suggest that people do not necessarily expect the level of sectarianism in Scotland in the future to equate to serious anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant prejudice, discrimination or harassment. It also raises questions about how people understand and conceptualise sectarianism.

Perceptions of responsibility for sectarianism

10. Football is the most commonly mentioned factor people believe contributes to sectarianism in Scotland (88% mentioned it, and 55% thought it was the main factor). The next most commonly mentioned contributory factors were loyalist

(including Orange Order) marches (79% mentioned it, and 13% thought it the main factor) and Irish Republican marches (70% mentioned it, and 3% thought it the main factor).

11. Around a third thought each of denominational schools¹, the internet and social media, and more traditional media contributed to some extent to sectarianism in Scotland.
12. When it comes to tackling sectarianism, families (58%) and schools (55%) are most commonly viewed as best placed to tackle sectarian attitudes in Scotland. However, 50% also view either football clubs or football authorities as having a role in this respect. Although fewer people view the Scottish Government (31%), churches (22%), local community organisations (19%), local authorities (15%) or the police (14%) as best placed to tackle sectarian views, the fact that no one organisation or group attracted an overwhelming majority suggests that the public may support an approach which involves multiple organisations in tackling sectarianism.
13. The public is divided, however, on whether the Scottish Government gives the right amount of attention to sectarianism (47%) or too little (31%). Only 10% thought they gave it too much attention.

Overt and subtle expressions of difference

14. In addition to exploring attitudes to sectarianism directly, the survey also explored attitudes to religious difference in Scotland. While such expressions of difference do not necessarily equate to sectarianism, the survey indicates that some public expressions of religious identity are viewed by some as contributing to sectarianism in Scotland. At the same time, people's level of comfort with religious difference in their own lives might be seen as part of the social and cultural context that either allows sectarianism to persist, or may help ensure Scotland can become sectarianism-free.

Marches

15. Loyalist (for example Orange Order) and Irish republican marches are not widely supported by the Scottish public. Only 14% supported the right of loyalist organisations and 11% the right of republican organisations to march along public streets in Scotland. More than half opposed the right of each kind of organisation to march. Catholics were the most likely to oppose *both* loyalist and republican marches. 72% of Catholics opposed the rights of loyalist organisations to march, and 69% opposed the rights of Irish republican organisations. A majority (albeit a smaller one) of Protestants also opposed the right of each kind of organisation to march (54%/61%). In contrast, lower proportions (49%/50%) of those with no religion opposed each type of march.

¹ Schools associated with a particular religious denomination – in Scotland, this is most commonly the Catholic Church.

Denominational schools

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

Attitudes to jokes about religious groups and sectarian language

17. While only 5% thought that jokes about Catholics or Protestants were always acceptable, a further 34% thought they were acceptable if they did not offend anyone who heard them. Catholics and Protestants themselves were *more* likely than were those with no religion or those of other Christian identities to think such jokes acceptable, as were older people compared with younger people.
18. Most people found sectarian language unacceptable, and the majority of those who did so reported that they would say something about it if someone used these terms. Only 8-9% thought that the terms 'Hun' and 'Fenian' were acceptable.

Faith, family and friends

19. Very few respondents (1-2%) admitted they would be unhappy if a Catholic or a Protestant married into their family. Previous SSA reports found that people are much more likely to feel unhappy about the prospect of people from other religious groups, including Muslims and Hindus joining their family.
20. Christians, be they Protestant or Catholic or neither, were less likely to say they feel more comfortable around people of similar religious beliefs (or none) than were people of no religion or non-Christian religions. 34% of those with no religious beliefs and 45% of those of non-Christian religions compared with 15% of Protestants, 16% of Catholics and 22% of other Christians agreed that they felt more comfortable with people of similar beliefs to themselves. Men, those living in the West of Scotland, people who said that their religion (or lack of it) was an important part of their identity, and people who attended religious services regularly were all more likely to say they felt more comfortable around those of similar beliefs to themselves.

Personal experience of religious discrimination or exclusion

21. 14% of people in Scotland say they have experienced some form of religious discrimination or exclusion at some point in their lives. This includes 5% who did not attend or were not invited to a social event, 5% who believe they were refused a job or promotion and 7% who say they have been harassed or threatened because of their religious beliefs or background. The proportion reporting 'ever' having experienced discrimination was higher than that recorded by other surveys that ask about a more recent time period (for example, the Scottish Household Survey asks about experiences of discrimination and harassment in the last 3 years).

22. Catholics were more likely to say they had experienced some form of discrimination or exclusion based on their religion than were Protestants.
23. A minority (14%) of people in Scotland has ever thought twice about revealing their religion or lack of it to others. Those more likely to have thought twice about whether to tell others about their religion (or lack of it) included 18-24 year olds, men, people with family connections with Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland and those who agree that religion is an important part of their identity. Out of all religious groups, Protestants were the least likely to have doubts about telling others about their religion (6% compared with 11-26% for other groups).

1 INTRODUCTION

Background

- 1.1 Sectarianism exists in one form or another around the globe, but in the specific context of Scotland the term is usually used to denote the inter-faith tensions between Catholics and Protestants that are part of the historic legacy of Scotland. The religious roots of such tensions are, however, now complicated by associations with ethnicity, political nationalism and sporting allegiances. The complexity of this cultural phenomenon and the diversity of its impacts and consequences are captured in the independent Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism's working definition of the term:²

Sectarianism in Scotland is a complex of perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, actions and structures, at personal and communal levels, which originate in religious difference and can involve a negative mixing of religion with politics, sporting allegiance and national identifications. It arises from a distorted expression of identity and belonging. It is expressed in destructive patterns of relating which segregate, exclude, discriminate against or are violent towards a specified religious other with significant personal and social consequences
(Scottish Government, 2013a, p.18).

- 1.2 The Scottish Government's Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism was established in 2012 with the specific aim of raising the level of discussion and debate about sectarianism and identifying effective ways of tackling it. A core component of the work of the Advisory Group has been to consider existing evidence about the nature and extent of sectarianism in Scotland and to make recommendations about expanding and underpinning the evidence base in this area. To that end, the Scottish Government conducted an evidence review (Scottish Government, 2013b), which highlighted a lack of detailed information about the patterning of beliefs and attitudes about sectarianism across Scotland as a whole. This report aims to address this gap, using data from the 2014 *Scottish Social Attitudes* survey (SSA).
- 1.3 The remainder of this introductory chapter outlines the rationale, context and aims of this report, outlines some key challenges in researching attitudes to sectarianism, and summarises the report structure and conventions.

Research and policy context

- 1.4 The Scottish Government has expressed a commitment to creating a sectarian-free Scotland.³ To this end, £9 million has been committed between 2012/13 and 2014/15 to tackling sectarianism. The Advisory Group's progress report (Scottish Government, 2013a) highlights a number of areas where there is

² The Advisory Group have been consulting on this definition, acknowledging that it may not cover every form or manifestation of sectarianism and that it should be an evolving and adaptable definition which can be drawn on to apply to individual circumstances.

³ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/archive/law-order/sectarianism-action-1>

potential for action to tackle issues around sectarianism. These include: leadership, at political, organisational and community levels; marches and parades; football; community activity; and education.

- 1.5 As discussed above, the Advisory Group has also identified a need for a better evidence base on sectarianism in Scotland. In recent years, the Scottish Government has published more data on sectarian and religious hate crime, including analysis of administrative data on religiously aggravated offending and charges under the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications Act 2012 and analysis of new questions in the Scottish Household Survey and the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey on experiences of and concerns about discrimination or harassment believed to be motivated by sectarianism. New research has also been commissioned to ensure that policy makers have an accurate and triangulated account of the nature of the problem of sectarianism in Scotland. This includes research into the community impact of public processions (marches and parades – see Hamilton-Smith et al, 2015), community perceptions of sectarianism, and public attitudes towards sectarianism, the last of which has resulted in this report. These projects are detailed in the Scottish Government's response to the Advisory Group (Scottish Government, 2014).
- 1.6 The 2014 SSA module on sectarianism builds upon previous survey research on Sectarianism in Glasgow (NFO Social Research, 2003), as well as previous modules on religion and discrimination in SSA (e.g. Bruce and Glendinning, 2003; Ormston et al., 2011).
- 1.7 The most rigorous existing piece of research on public attitudes to sectarianism was conducted in 2003 in Glasgow (NFO Social Research, 2003 – referred to as 'The Glasgow report' in the remainder of this discussion). The Glasgow report found that a majority believed that many different forms of sectarianism were common, including harassment, violence, vandalism, threats, sectarian language and sectarian jokes, although personal experience of crime or discrimination attributed to sectarian motives was rare. This suggests a gap between perceptions and experiences of sectarianism similar to that often found in relation to perceptions of crime in general (see paragraph 1.11, below).
- 1.8 A majority of people in Glasgow thought there was prejudice against both Catholics and Protestants, although more recognised prejudice against people from minority ethnic groups. The rivalry between Celtic and Rangers was the most commonly mentioned factor people thought contributed to the perceived sectarian divide in the city. Although rare, religion was the most frequently cited reason respondents gave for being excluded from, or made to feel uncomfortable at, social occasions. This report addresses many of the same themes as the 2003 Glasgow report, but unlike the earlier study it explores views on these across the Scottish population as a whole. Where possible and appropriate, comparisons with this earlier research are included in discussion.

The challenges of researching sectarianism

- 1.9 Researching public attitudes to sectarianism presents a number of challenges in relation to understanding and defining key terms, avoiding ‘socially desirable’ responses, and tapping into views and experiences of a phenomenon that may be expressed in more or less overt and subtle ways.

Understandings of ‘sectarianism’

- 1.10 Sectarianism is a word which is widely used but is not always understood in a consistent manner. This presents a challenge in exploring views of sectarianism – people may be answering questions with different kinds of behaviours or attitudes in mind. In order to address this, many of the questions in the SSA 2014 asked about sectarianism indirectly, focusing on perceptions of discrimination against Protestants and Catholics, or on respondents’ feelings in specific situations where religion may be an issue. Where the term was used directly, for example in questions about what contributes to sectarianism, these questions were placed towards the end of the module, prefaced by a brief clarification of how the term was to be understood.⁴

‘Subtle’ expressions of sectarianism

- 1.11 While sectarianism is sometimes associated with ‘overtly aggressive bigotry’, or with ‘anti-Catholic’, ‘anti-Protestant’ or ‘anti-Irish’ prejudice, the Advisory Group’s report also refers to ‘polite, educated expressions [of sectarianism] which are subtle but no less potent [than overt bigotry]’. The problem with such ‘subtle’ expressions of sectarianism is that they will be largely invisible to most of those affected and highly diverse in character. It would be almost impossible to document their prevalence, impact or consequences via a social survey. However, in an attempt to capture some of this subtlety, the survey asked about whether the respondent had ever thought twice about telling someone about their own religious beliefs, or lack of them. It also asked about attitudes towards jokes about Protestants and Catholics, and the use of specific terms (‘Fenian’ and ‘Hun’) which could be considered derogatory. These questions were included in the self-completion section of the survey, in order to try and reduce the potential for respondents to give ‘socially desirable’ responses.

Overt sectarianism – a perception gap?

- 1.12 Recent evidence from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (Scottish Government, 2014b) and the Scottish Household Survey (Scottish Government, 2014c) has shown that relatively few people report they have been directly affected by more overt expressions of sectarianism, such as

⁴ Before the first question using the term “sectarianism”, interviewers were asked to read out: “As you may know, sectarianism is a term used to describe division, bigotry and discrimination rooted in religion. For the purposes of this survey, I would like you to think only about divisions between followers of different Christian traditions, such as Protestants and Catholics.”

violence, verbal abuse or overt discrimination.⁵ However, a sizeable proportion of the public, especially in the West of Scotland, appear to view sectarianism as a problem (Scottish Government, 2013b). This again signals the need for measures that speak to more ‘subtle’ forms of sectarian behaviour. As indicated above (1.7), there may be parallels here with the so-called ‘perception gap’ in relation to crime more generally (see Duffy, Wake, Burrows and Bremner, 2008) – a gap which often closes when people are asked to consider the extent of crime, not within Scotland or society as a whole, but within their immediate environments and communities. A similar approach was adopted in SSA 2014 – respondents were asked about their views of sectarianism across Scotland as a whole and in their own local area, as well as being asked where in Scotland they thought sectarianism was most common.

Report structure

1.13 The remainder of this report is structured as follows:

- Chapter 2 explores the nature and structure of religious identity, belief and belonging in Scotland, as well as some of the relationships between religion, familial and social ties, and football.
- Chapter 3 assesses whether or not sectarianism is in fact seen as a problem in Scotland. It explores perceptions of sectarian prejudice, discrimination and harassment in different contexts (comparing national and local) and views of whether or not relationships between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland have improved over time.
- Chapter 4 examines beliefs about what contributes to sectarianism in Scotland, and who is seen as best placed to tackle it.
- Chapter 5 explores feelings about various overt and subtle expressions of difference between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland, including marches and parades, denominational schools⁶, jokes and potentially offensive terms relating to religion, and attitudes to inter-faith marriages. It also explores people’s preferences for socialising with people of a similar religious orientation to themselves.
- Chapter 6 examines personal experiences of discrimination and exclusion on religious grounds.

About the data

1.14 The *Scottish Social Attitudes survey* (SSA) was established by ScotCen Social Research, an independent research organisation based in Edinburgh and part of NatCen Social Research, the UK’s largest independent social research agency. The survey provides robust data on changing social and political attitudes in Scotland to inform both public policy and academic study. Around 1,500 face-to-face interviews are conducted annually (1,501 in 2014) with a

⁵ Findings from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey suggest that around 10% of adults experienced incidents of insults, pestering or intimidation in the previous 12 months. Of this 10%, only 2-3% identified sectarianism as the reason for this, and 3% identified religion. Thus, around 1 in 200 experienced such insults, pestering or intimidation in the previous year.

⁶ Schools associated with a particular religious denomination – in Scotland, this is most commonly the Catholic Church.

representative probability sample of the Scottish population. Interviews are conducted in respondents' homes, using computer assisted personal interviewing. Most of the interview is conducted face-to-face by a ScotCen interviewer, but some questions each year are asked in a self-completion section. The response rate in 2014 was 54%. The data are weighted to correct for over-sampling, non-response bias and to ensure they reflect the sex-age profile of the Scottish population. All sample sizes shown below the charts and tables show unweighted bases. Further technical details about the survey are included in Annex B and full tables for all questions covered in this report are shown in Annex A.

Analysis and reporting conventions

- 1.15 All percentages cited in this report are based on the weighted data (see Annex B for details) and are rounded to the nearest whole number. All differences described in the text (between years, or between different groups of people) are statistically significant at the 95% level or above, unless otherwise specified. This means that the probability of having found a difference of at least this size, if there was no actual difference in the population, is 5% or less. The term 'significant' is used in this report to refer to statistical significance, and is not intended to imply substantive importance. Further details of significance testing and multivariate analysis conducted for this report are included in Annex B.

2 RELIGION, FOOTBALL AND SOCIAL TIES

Key points

- The proportion of Scots who do not identify with any religion increased over the 2000s, from 40% in 1999 to 54% by 2013.
- The increasing secularisation in Scottish society in recent decades has particularly affected affiliation with the Church of Scotland, which fell from 35% in 1999 to 21% in 2014. The proportion claiming belonging to the Catholic church barely changed over the same period.
- People's willingness to acknowledge a religious affiliation is clearly affected by how they are asked and in what context. More people consider themselves to be Protestant, Catholic or Christian than say they 'belong' to any Christian church.
- Religious identity appears to matter more to those who consider themselves to be Catholic compared with those who identify as Protestant. Catholics are also more likely to claim to attend church more regularly.
- Very few (5% or less) Catholics or Protestants in Scotland do not know anyone of the other faith. The majority have a close friend of the other faith.
- Catholics (52%) are more likely than Protestants (19%) to have family ties with Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland.
- Most Scots (58%) do not support any Scottish football team. The most widely supported by far are Glasgow Celtic and Rangers, each supported by 12% of the Scottish population.
- While just over half of each of these club's support comes from people of the religion they have been historically associated with, they also gain support from people of other religions or none. However, relatively few Catholics support Rangers or Protestants Celtic.

2.1 The working definition of sectarianism adopted by the independent Advisory Group, and used in this report (see p1), views it as originating in religious difference but reflecting a '*distorted expression of identity and belonging*' expressed in '*destructive patterns of relating*'. In order to understand the context in which sectarianism may arise, it is therefore important to know something about the religious beliefs and identities of people living in Scotland. This chapter summarises findings from SSA on changing patterns of religious belonging and practice over time. It explores levels of religious identity in 2014, highlighting significant differences between religious identity and belonging. The level of social interaction between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland in 2014 is examined. Finally, in light of perceived associations between sectarianism and football team allegiance, it also looks briefly at the level of support for Scottish football teams (particularly the 'Old Firm' teams, Glasgow Celtic and Rangers) and how this interacts with religious identity. Many of the questions introduced in this chapter are used in subsequent chapters to analyse attitudes to and experiences of sectarianism.

Trends in religious belonging and practice

2.2 Scotland is often regarded as an increasingly secular society. In every year since 1999, SSA has asked people ‘*Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?*’. As Table 2.1 shows, in 1999 there was evidence of a large secular minority in Scotland - as many as 40% said that they did not regard themselves as belonging to any religion. However, this proportion steadily increased over most of the 2000s, and by 2013 over half (54%) said they did not belong to any religion – clear evidence of an increasingly secular population.

Table 2.1: Religious belonging, 1999-2014, SSA

	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	09	10	11	12	13	14
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
No religion	40	41	37	42	43	47	46	46	50	52	48	53	53	54	44
Church of Scotland	35	35	36	31	32	29	28	27	25	22	24	22	20	18	21
Roman Catholic	14	12	14	15	13	12	12	12	12	12	13	12	12	13	14
Other Christian	10	10	11	10	10	9	11	13	11	12	12	10	12	11	15
Non-Christian	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	5

See Annex A, Table A.1 for sample sizes

2.3 Given this trend, it comes as something of a surprise that in the most recent survey the proportion who said they did not belong to any religion has fallen, from 54% in 2013 to 44% in 2014. However, this finding seems most likely to be an artefact of questionnaire content and ordering effects rather than a reflection of any true upsurge in religious adherence in Scotland. It is already known that the proportion who claim adherence to a religion depends on *how* and *when* people are asked about this issue. The 2011 Scottish Census, for example, asked, ‘*What religion, religious denomination or body do you belong to?*’, a wording that arguably assumes religious affiliation and does not explicitly invite the response ‘none’ – only 37% said that they had no religion, while higher proportions (compared with SSA 2014) said they belonged to the Church of Scotland (32%) and the Roman Catholic church (16%) (National Records Scotland, 2013). This year’s SSA was the first since 2001 to carry an extensive range of questions about attitudes to religion or relationships between different religious groups. As Table 1 shows, in 2001 the proportion who said that they had no religion also fell somewhat (from 41% in 2000 to 37%). It is evidently possible that when, as in 2001 and 2014, a question about religious belonging is preceded by other questions about religion some people are stimulated into reporting a largely latent religious affiliation that they would not otherwise have acknowledged.

2.4 There is certainly no evidence of any increase in religious *practice* since 2013. Just 13% of respondents to our most recent survey who were either brought up in a religion or said they currently belonged to one said that they attended a religious service or meeting once a week or more, slightly lower (though not significantly different from) the 16% figure for 2013. The figure is notably down on the 19% who did so in 1999 (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Frequency of attendance at a religious service*, selected years, 1999-2014

	1999	2005	2010	2013	2014
	%	%	%	%	%
Once a week or more	19	16	15	16	13
Never or practically never	49	54	60	56	54
Sample Size*	1327	1352	1264	1198	1260

*Based on all those either brought up in or expressing belonging to any religion

2.5 The increased secularisation of Scottish society since the late 1990s is also apparent if we compare those who say that they *currently* belong to a religion (Table 2.1) with the proportion who say they were *brought up* in a religion (Table 2.3). Although the proportion is a little higher in 2014 (19%) than in 1999 (12%), still only a minority say that they were not brought up in a religion as a child. This is far short of the 44% who, in 2014, said they do not *currently* belong to any religion.

Table 2.3: Religion respondent brought up in, 1999-2014

	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	09	10	11	12	13	14
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Church of Scotland	54	54	54	50	52	49	47	47	44	43	41	39	38	35	36
Roman Catholic	18	17	17	20	18	19	19	17	18	18	20	21	18	19	20
Other Christian	14	15	15	14	16	15	17	18	17	18	19	15	18	20	20
Other religion	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	5
No religion	12	14	13	14	12	16	15	16	18	18	17	20	22	23	19
Refused/Don't Know/NA	*	-	*	1	1	*	1	-	1	*	*	*	1	1	*

See Annex A, Table A.1 for sample sizes

2.6 The recent secularisation of Scottish society has not, however, occurred evenly. Reference back to Table 2.1 shows that over the last 15 years the decline in religious adherence has in fact been almost wholly confined to those who describe themselves as 'Church of Scotland'. In 1999, 35% of people in Scotland said they belonged to the Church of Scotland; in 2014, this figure was just 21%. The proportion who say they are Catholic has barely changed at all (14% in both 1999 and 2014), while those who say they are 'Other Christian' (most of whom do not claim membership of any particular denomination) has actually *increased*, from 10% in 1999 to 15% in 2014. There has also been a marked increase, from 1% in 1999 to 5% in 2014, in the proportion who say they belong to a faith community other than Christianity, amongst whom the largest group are Muslims (3% in 2014). The increase in those identifying as 'Christian' but not affiliating themselves with any particular denomination could also be interpreted as a sign of increasing secularisation: perhaps for some a 'Christian' identity has taken on a looser, more cultural meaning, and one which does not necessarily imply connection with a particular church. It may also, in part, reflect the ordering effects noted above – in 2013 the figure for those identifying as 'Other Christian' was lower at 11%.

- 2.7 As we might anticipate, given that religious adherence appears to have been declining over time, the proportion of younger people who say that they do not belong to a religion is considerably greater than the proportion of older people who do. As many as two-thirds (68%) of those aged 18-24 say that they do not belong to any religion, compared with just one in five (22%) of those aged 65 and older (Table 2.4). Patterns by age also highlight the fact that increasing secularisation has affected the Church of Scotland in particular - while younger people are much less likely than older people to say that they belong to the Church of Scotland (6% of under 25s compared with 45% of those aged 65 or older), younger people are almost as likely as older people to say that they are Catholic (12%/14%) or 'Other Christian' (10%/16%).

Table 2.4: Religion belong to by age group, 2014

	18-24	25-39	40-64	65+
	%	%	%	%
Church of Scotland	6	7	21	45
Roman Catholic	12	13	16	14
Other Christian	10	11	18	16
Other religion	4	13	2	2
No religion	68	56	42	22
Unweighted sample size	100	303	665	430

- 2.8 Those who say they are Catholic are also more likely than those who claim adherence to the Church of Scotland to regularly attend church. As many as 43% of Catholics say that they attend a religious service at least once a month, compared with 32% of Other Christians and just 22% of those who say they belong to the Church of Scotland – though none of the Christian groups match the equivalent figure of 52% amongst (the relatively small number of) non-Christians.
- 2.9 However, if increasing secularisation in recent decades appears to have disproportionately affected the Church of Scotland, there is some evidence that the Catholic Church is not immune from this trend. Analysis of childhood religion by current religion shows that as many as 26% who say they were brought up as a Catholic now do not consider themselves to belong to any religion. Thus the level of adherence to the Catholic Church may also be declining over the longer term.

Nature and strength of religious identities in 2014

2.10 Historically, sectarianism in Scotland has most commonly taken the form of those who regard themselves as 'Protestant' discriminating in some way against those who are thought to be 'Catholic', and vice-versa (although some have argued that anti-Catholic sentiment has been the far more prevalent form of sectarianism in Scotland). Such a phenomenon may be thought to be as much to do with people's sense of social identity as with any religious 'belonging' or practice. The latter may imply a deeper set of beliefs or a more involved sense of membership of particular religious traditions than that claimed by some people who nonetheless identify with a particular religious label in some looser sense. SSA 2014 therefore also asked people whether they thought of themselves as any of the following:

Protestant

Catholic

Christian (but neither Protestant nor Catholic)

Muslim

Belonging to another religion

Having no religion

2.11 When asked about their religious identity in this way, 30% of people in Scotland think of themselves as Protestant and 15% consider themselves to be Catholic. Another 15% think of themselves as Christian, but neither Protestant nor Catholic, while 3% say they are Muslim and 1% identify with another religion. One in three (33%) do not identify with any religion at all.

2.12 This pattern of responses suggests two key points. On the one hand, rather more people claim a religious identity than feel that they *belong* to a religion. While 44% say they do not think of themselves as belonging to a religion, only 33% think of themselves as having no religion (Table 2.5). Cross-tabulating these two questions also shows that as many as 23% of those who say they do not *belong* to any religion nonetheless *identify* as Protestant (12%), Catholic (3%) or Other Christian (7%). To that extent religious feeling is more pervasive in Scottish society than is apparent from questions about belonging, let alone attendance at a religious service.⁷

⁷ It is worth noting that there appears to be a greater difference between the proportion claiming they think of themselves as Protestant (30%) and the proportion who feel they belong to a Protestant Church (25%) compared with the proportion identifying with (15%) and belonging (14%) the Roman Catholic church. This may suggest a stronger relationship between religious identity and a feeling of actual affiliation with the church among Catholics compared with Protestants.

Table 2.5: Religious belonging and religious identity, 2014

	Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?	Do you think of yourself as any of the following?
	%	%
No religion	44	33
Protestant ^a	25	30
(Roman] Catholic	14	15
Other Christian/Christian but not Catholic or Protestant	11	15
Non-Christian religion	5	5
Sample size	1501	1501

a – ‘Protestant’ in the first column includes all those who said they belonged to the Church of Scotland, Church of England, Anglican, Episcopal, Church in Wales, Free Church/Free Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, United Reformed, Congregational, or Brethren

2.13 On the other hand, overall less than half of people in Scotland in 2014 identify themselves as either Protestant or Catholic. In so far as sectarianism arises from ‘*a distorted expression*’ of such religious identities, it is perhaps important to note that only a minority (albeit a large one) of people in Scotland still explicitly identify with these labels. In the remainder of this report, we primarily use this question on religious ‘identity’, rather than the longer-standing question on religious ‘belonging’, to look at differences in attitudes between Protestants and Catholics. This choice reflects the argument that sectarianism primarily has to do with (distorted) expressions of religious identity, which may not necessarily be underpinned by any deeper sense of religious belonging or attachment to specific churches.

2.14 If these looser religious ‘identities’ are more widespread in Scotland than feelings of ‘belonging’ to specific churches, they are not necessarily very strongly held. In fact, only a half of people in Scotland (50%) either ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ that their religious identity ‘is an important part of who I am’.⁸ However, as Table 2.6 shows, some of those who agree with that statement do so in respect of *not* having any religion – 38% of those who thought of themselves as having no religion considered this to be an important part of who they are. If this group is excluded, only 37% of Scots can be said to have a ‘religious’ identity that they consider to be an important part of who they are. That figure falls further to 25% when only those who say they are Protestant or Catholic are included – in other words, being Protestant or Catholic was an important part of the identity of just a quarter of Scots in 2014.

⁸ Respondents were asked about the religious identity they chose in response to the question described in paragraph 2.10. For example, those who said they were Protestant at this question were then asked how strongly they agreed or disagreed that ‘Being Protestant is an important part of who I am.’

Table 2.6: Strength of religious identity by religious identity, 2014

Being (<i>religion</i>) is an important part of who I am	Religious Identity					All
	Protestant	Catholic	Christian	Other Religion	No Religion	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly Agree	14	27	17	45	12	17
Agree	31	45	33	51	26	33
Neither	28	15	29	3	32	26
Disagree/Strongly Disagree	26	13	21	1	30	23
Unweighted Sample Size	520	200	251	49	475	1495

Note: Those who said, 'Strongly Disagree' have been combined with those who simply say they disagree because only 4% of all respondents have that response

2.15 Religious identity appears to matter more to those who regard themselves as Catholic than it does to those who consider themselves to be Protestant. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of Catholics agree that their Catholic identity is an important part of who they are, compared with less than half (45%) of Protestants.

2.16 Much the same pattern is obtained if those who claim a religious identity are asked '*how religious*' they are. Whereas 63% of Catholics say that they are 'very' or 'fairly' religious, only 41% of Protestants and 39% of 'Other Christians' express that view. Overall, just 32% of all Scots in 2014 claimed to be 'very' or 'fairly' religious.

Family and Friendship Ties

2.17 Existing research shows that those who know people with particular characteristics often hold less discriminatory views about people with those characteristics in general (Ormston et al, 2011). In order to explore whether the same is true of sectarian attitudes in Scotland, SSA 2014 looked at whether those who identify with different religious traditions have different or overlapping social networks. Respondents were asked '*Thinking about the people you know, which of them, if any, are Catholic?*'. They were asked the same question about anyone who is Protestant. In each case, respondents were given a list of the kinds of people whom they might know, ranging from their partner/spouse through to other family members, friends and, finally, work colleagues.

2.18 As Table 2.7 shows, there is a high degree of overlap in the social networks of Catholics and Protestants in Scotland. Just 5% of those who consider themselves to be a Protestant said that they did not know anyone who was a Catholic, while only 4% of Catholics indicated that they did not know someone who was Protestant. In fact those who identify as Catholic or Protestant are less likely to say they do not know someone from the other tradition than are those who say they are Christian but not Catholic or Protestant or those who say they do not belong to a religion. It may perhaps be that those who do not feel that they belong to either religious tradition are less interested in and are thus less aware of the religious sympathies of their friends and acquaintances.

Table 2.7: Proportion who do not know anyone who is Protestant/Catholic by Religious Identity, 2014

	Religious Identity					All
	Protestant	Catholic	Christian	Other Religion	No Religion	
Protestant	*	4	13	35	16	10
Catholic	5	0	11	10	12	7
Unweighted sample size	520	200	251	49	475	1501

* Less than 0.5

2.19 Looking in more detail at the kinds of social ties Protestants have with Catholics (and vice versa) shows that relatively fewer Protestants (18%) have a close family member (that is a partner, parent, child or sibling) who is Catholic, though as many as 30% of Catholics say they have a close family member who is Protestant. This difference may reflect the fact that there are fewer Catholics than Protestants in Scotland - there is more chance of a Protestant marrying in to your family as there are more of them. Friendship more clearly extends across the religious divide. No less than 81% of Catholics say that they have one or more friends they know fairly well who is Protestant, while 76% of Protestants report having a close friend who is Catholic. Friendship is thus the source of most integration between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland, and is the principal reason why most people who regard themselves as Protestant have at least one Catholic in their social network, and vice-versa.

2.20 Protestants and Catholics remain relatively distinct, however, in the extent to which they have family connections with one or other part of the island of Ireland. Slightly over half of Catholics (52%) report having family connections in either the north or the south of Ireland, whereas only 19% of Protestants do so. The latter figure is little different from that for those of no religion (22%) and only a little below that for those who simply regard themselves as Christian (27%).

Religion and Football

2.21 As we demonstrate later in this report (Chapter 4), there is a widespread popular belief that sectarianism and football are linked in Scotland. Media debate about sectarianism has often focused on the 'Old Firm', given the historical relationship between Glasgow Rangers and Protestantism and Glasgow Celtic with Catholicism. The sectarian character of songs and chants heard at some Scottish football matches has been a focus of recent legislation under the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012.

2.22 We asked our respondents which Scottish football clubs, if any, they supported. The majority of Scots (58%) do not support any Scottish club. But amongst those who do, those who support either Celtic or Rangers predominate. Around one in eight Scots (12%) support Celtic while the same proportion support Rangers. No other club's support approaches anything like these levels; the level of support for the next most popular clubs, Aberdeen and Hearts stands at just 3% (for detailed figures, see Annex A Table A.11).

- 2.23 Scottish men are nearly twice as likely as Scottish women to support a football club (over half of men, 55%, compared with just 29% of women). 16% of men support Rangers while 15% support Celtic (among women, the equivalent figures are 8% (Rangers) and 10% (Celtic)).
- 2.24 The historical relationship between the 'Old Firm' and religion is reflected to an extent in the religious identities of Rangers and Celtic supporters. A majority (56%) of those who support Rangers regard themselves as Protestants, but a substantial minority do not. Nearly a quarter of Rangers supporters (23%) do not identify with any religion at all, while 13% say they are Christian. Equally, a majority of Celtic supporters (56%) regard themselves as Catholic, but 23% do not identify with any religion at all, while 14% simply regard themselves as Christian. In each case, while around half the club's support comes from the religion with which they are historically associated, the relationship with religion is far from clear-cut.
- 2.25 However, given that there are only half as many Catholics as Protestants in Scotland, these figures imply that a Scots Catholic is twice as likely to be a Celtic supporter as a Protestant is to be a Rangers supporter. Indeed, whereas only 22% of Protestants support Rangers, as many as 45% of Catholics support Celtic. Meanwhile, neither club is very successful at securing the support of those who identify with the religious tradition of their 'Old Firm' rivals. Just 5% of Celtic supporters say they are Protestant while only 3% of Rangers supporters claim to be Catholic.

3 GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF SECTARIAN PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION IN SCOTLAND

Key points

- There is a widespread perception of religious prejudice against Catholics and Protestants in Scotland, though more people believe that Catholics are the subject of at least some prejudice (54%) than say the same of Protestants (41%).
- However, people are much less likely to believe that more explicit examples of anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant discrimination are commonplace in Scotland today.
- Employment discrimination and general discrimination and harassment against Catholics are still viewed as more common than is such discrimination against Protestants.
- However, this difference disappears when respondents are asked about discrimination and harassment in their own area – fewer than 1 in 10 people think that either Catholics or Protestants are likely to experience such discrimination in the area the respondent lives in.
- In spite of this, the vast majority of people in Scotland believe that sectarianism is a problem for our country (88%), though 69% view it as a problem for specific areas of Scotland, with just 19% seeing it as a problem throughout Scotland.
- Glasgow and the West of Scotland generally were the most commonly mentioned areas where people saw a problem with sectarianism – around a third (34%) thought it was only a problem for Glasgow or the West of Scotland. However, those who actually live in the West of Scotland were more likely to see sectarianism as a problem across the whole of Scotland.
- Views on whether or not Catholic-Protestant relationships have improved over the last decade were divided – 47% thought they had, while 40% thought they had stayed the same. Only 3% felt relationships had worsened.
- Whether or not people think inter-faith relationships have improved over recent years, there is some scepticism about whether it will ever be possible to completely eradicate sectarianism in Scotland – 66% agreed that '*Sectarianism will always exist in Scotland*'.
- Two-thirds of those who believe Catholic-Protestant relationships have improved and over half of those who think that there is little or no general prejudice against Catholics or Protestants in Scotland nowadays nonetheless thought that sectarianism will always exist here.

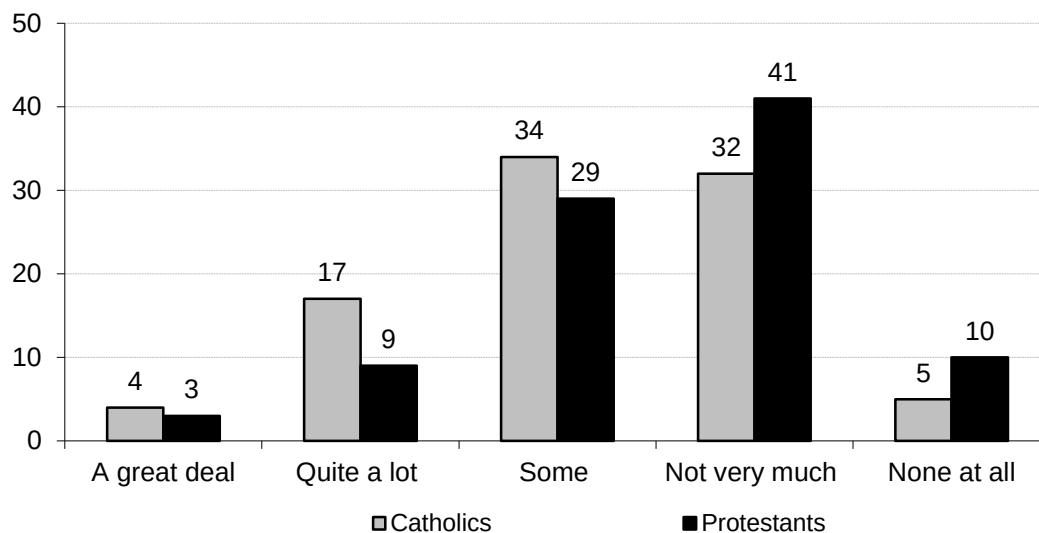
3.1 This chapter explores people's perceptions of prejudice and discrimination towards Catholics and Protestants in Scotland. It discusses whether people in Scotland consider sectarianism a problem and, if so, which parts of Scotland they think it affects. The final part of the chapter looks at perceptions of how intractable a problem sectarianism is for Scotland – do people think

relationships between Catholics and Protestants have become better over time and do they believe sectarianism will always exist?

Prejudice against Catholics and Protestants in Scotland

3.2 The belief that both Catholics and Protestants in Scotland experience prejudice is quite widespread, although more people believe there is at least some prejudice against Catholics (54% thought there was either 'a great deal', 'quite a lot' or 'some' prejudice) than against Protestants nowadays (41% - Figure 3.1). There is also a greater degree of perceived prejudice against Catholics – 21% said there is a great deal or quite a lot of prejudice against Catholics, compared with 12% who said the same of Protestants.

Figure 3.1: Perceptions of levels of prejudice against Catholics and Protestants



Sample: All respondents (n = 1,501)

3.3 That anti-Protestant prejudice is viewed as less widespread or severe than anti-Catholic prejudice is confirmed by cross-tabulating views on the two. Almost all (93%) of those who said there is 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' of prejudice against Protestants also said there is a similar level of prejudice against Catholics. However, of those who believe there is 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' of prejudice against Catholics, more than half (54%) consider the levels of prejudice towards Protestants to be less severe.

- 3.4 A belief in the existence of both anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant prejudice was expressed by people who identify with different religious faiths and none. However, Catholics were the group most likely to believe that there is at least some prejudice against Catholics (68%, compared with 55% of Protestants and 54% of those with no religion). Differences by religion in views of prejudice against Protestants were not statistically significant.
- 3.5 Those who agreed or strongly agreed that religion is an important part of their identity were more likely to think that there is at least some prejudice against both Catholics and Protestants than those who did not consider religion as important for their identity. More than half (54%) of those who agreed that religion is an important part of their identity thought that there is a degree of prejudice against Catholics, compared with 48% among those who disagreed with this statement. Equivalent figures for prejudice against Protestants were 41% and 37%.

Who is most likely to think that there is prejudice against Catholics and Protestants?

- 3.6 Perceptions of the extent of sectarian prejudice in Scotland vary significantly depending on where in Scotland people live. Half (50%) of people living in the West of Scotland thought that there was at least some degree of prejudice against Protestants in Scotland compared with 31-36% of those living in other regions of Scotland. Similarly, 62% of people in the West thought there was at least some degree of prejudice against Catholics compared with 43-52% for other regions of Scotland. The area of Scotland most frequently associated in the media with sectarian tensions thus also seems to be the area where people themselves are most conscious of sectarian prejudice as a current issue for Scotland.
- 3.7 Those with family connections to Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland were also more likely to think there was prejudice against both Catholics and Protestants in Scotland⁹ - 49% of those with family connections with Ireland thought there was at least some prejudice against Protestants compared with 38% of those without such links. The equivalent figures for Catholics were 64% and 51%. Perhaps such links to Ireland, with its history of sectarian division, heighten people's sensitivity to apparent sectarian prejudice in Scotland too.
- 3.8 Perceptions of prejudice against Protestants (but not Catholics) also varied significantly and independently with area deprivation – 46% of people in the two most deprived quintiles (fifths) of Scotland compared with 37% of people in the three least deprived quintiles thought there is at least some prejudice against Protestants in Scotland.¹⁰ So perceptions of anti-Catholicism appear to be similar across deprived and affluent areas, but those in deprived areas are more likely than those in affluent areas to think there is at least some anti-

⁹ Although variations in perceptions of prejudice against Catholics by links with Ireland was only marginally significant in regression analysis which also took account of other factors.

¹⁰ The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) 2009 measures the level of deprivation across Scotland – from the least deprived to the most deprived areas. It is based on 38 indicators in seven domains of: income, employment, health, education skills and training, housing, geographic access and crime.

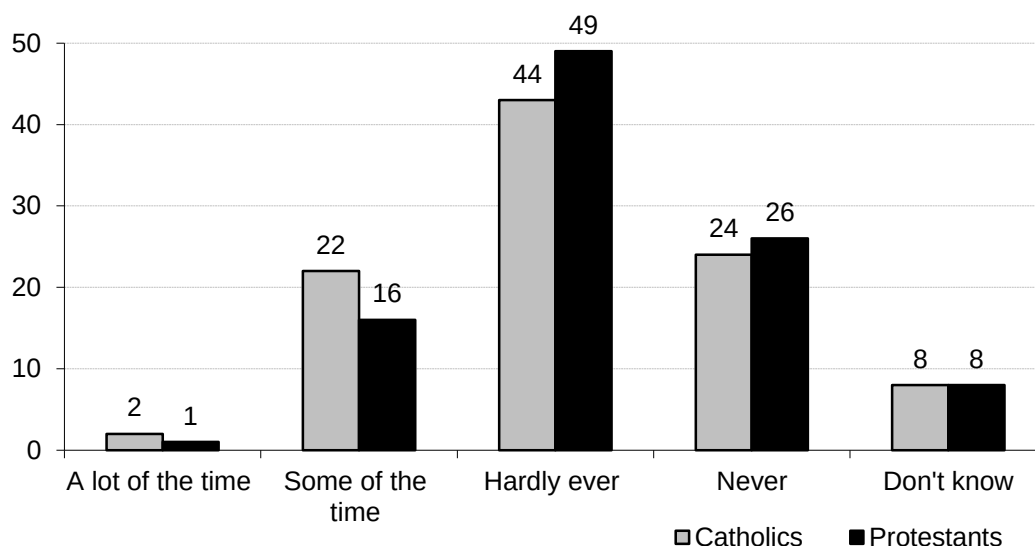
Protestant sentiment in Scotland. Regression analysis, which controls for the inter-relationships between different factors that might affect people's views (for example, controlling for the interactions between education and area deprivation), found that perceptions of anti-Catholic/Protestant prejudice did not vary significantly by other socio-demographic factors, including age, gender, education, religious identity/upbringing, church attendance, how religious they consider themselves to be, football club support or social ties to Catholics/Protestants.¹¹

Perceptions of discrimination and harassment

3.9 Although there is a fairly widespread perception of prejudice against Catholics and against Protestants in Scotland, people are less likely to believe this prejudice manifests itself in either employment discrimination or in other direct forms of harassment. However, again, people are slightly more likely to think that Catholics experience such discrimination than to say the same of Protestants.

3.10 When asked how often, if at all, they think being Protestant or Catholic stops someone from getting a job or promotion they deserve, a majority think this hardly ever or never happens in Scotland today (67% for Catholics and 75% for Protestants – Figure 3.2). However, a substantial minority of people thought this kind of employment discrimination did happen, either some of the time or a lot of the time (24% for Catholics and 17% for Protestants).

Figure 3.2: Perceptions of frequency of job discrimination against Catholics and Protestants



Sample: All respondents (n = 1,501)

¹¹ Note also that the Nagelkerke R-square (a measure of model goodness of fit – i.e. how successfully the independent variables predict the dependent variable) for these analyses were quite low. This indicates that it is quite difficult to identify all the drivers of believing there is prejudice against Catholics and Protestants in Scotland.

3.11 Meanwhile, when asked about Scotland as a whole, most people did not think it was likely that either Catholics or Protestants would be harassed or threatened because of their religious identity (Table 3.1). 35% thought it very or quite likely that Catholics would experience such treatment, while 28% thought the same for Protestants.

Table 3.1: Perceptions of likelihood of harassment for being Catholic / Protestant in Scotland more widely and in respondent's local area

	Scotland		Local area	
	Harassed for being Catholic	Harassed for being Protestant	Harassed for being Catholic	Harassed for being Protestant
	%	%	%	%
Very likely	4	4	2	2
Quite likely	31	25	7	6
Quite unlikely	39	42	31	29
Very unlikely	18	22	56	59
Don't know	7	7	4	4
Refused	*	*	*	*
Sample size	1501	1501	1501	1501

3.12 Research on perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour often finds a gap in peoples' perceptions of the prevalence of such behaviour at a local and a national level. For example, Ormston and Anderson (2010) found that while 87% of people thought anti-social behaviour was a 'very' or 'quite' a big problem for Scotland as a whole, just 27% said it was a problem for their local area. In order to assess whether people's views of sectarianism vary similarly, SSA 2014 also asked people how likely or unlikely they thought it was that someone would be harassed or threatened for being Catholic/Protestant in their local area.

3.13 People's perceptions of what happens around them were indeed quite different to their perceptions of what happens in Scotland more widely (Table 3.1). When asked about their own local area, the proportion who thought Catholics or Protestants were likely to experience harassment or threatening behaviour dropped considerably (9% for Catholics and 8% for Protestants). Moreover, in relation to their local area people no longer thought that a person who is Catholic was at a greater risk than a person who is Protestant of experiencing harassment or threatening behaviour.

Variations in perceptions of anti-Catholic / anti-Protestant discrimination

3.14 Catholics were more likely to think that employment discrimination against Catholics happened at least some of the time (38% of Catholics thought this compared with 12-25% of those with other religious identities). Catholics were also more likely than Protestants to think that both themselves and Protestants were likely to be harassed or threatened in their local area. (18% of Catholics compared with 9% of Protestants thought a Catholic is likely to experience harassment, 15% of Catholics compared with 7% of Protestants thought the same about a Protestant).

3.15 As with attitudes to sectarian prejudice more generally, people in the West of Scotland were more likely than those in other areas to think that anti-Catholic

and anti-Protestant employment discrimination happened at least some of the time. 30% of those in the West compared with 19-22% of those in other areas of Scotland thought being Catholic might stop someone getting a job or promotion. The equivalent figures for Protestants were 22% (West) and 10-15% (other regions).

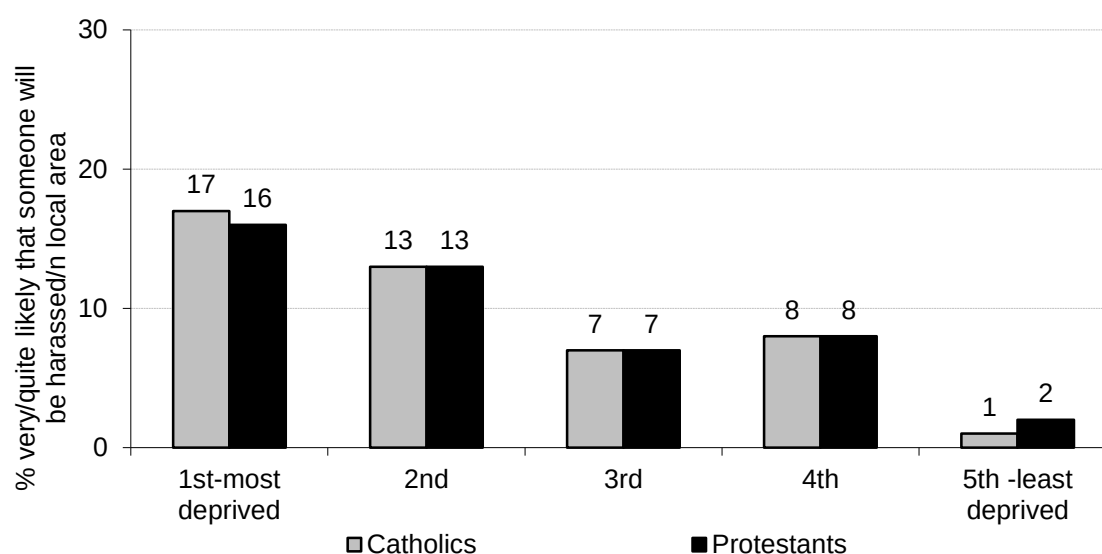
- 3.16 There was little regional variation in the perceived likelihood of someone being harassed or threatened for being Catholic or Protestant in Scotland as a whole, but there were some differences when people were asked about their own local area. 15% of people in the West of Scotland thought it very or quite likely that people in their area could be harassed or threatened for being Catholic, while 12% thought it likely Protestants could experience the same. Those living in other parts of Scotland thought it much less likely that this would happen where they live (2-8% for Catholics, 2-7% for Protestants).

Table 3.2: Perceptions of likelihood of harassment for being Catholic / Protestant in respondent's local area, by region

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

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

Figure 3.3: Perceptions of likelihood of harassment and threats in respondent's local area by area deprivation



Sample size: 1501 (all adults)

Do people think sectarianism is a problem for Scotland?

3.18 So far this chapter has examined perceptions of prejudice against Catholics and Protestants in Scotland. While such prejudice might be deemed sectarian in nature, since it is directed at people because of their religious tradition, none of the questions reported above actually used the term 'sectarianism'. They cannot therefore reveal whether or not people themselves actually consider this behaviour to be sectarian. Moreover, the fact that people believe that prejudice against Catholics and Protestants in Scotland is widespread does not necessarily imply that they think there is a problem with sectarianism in Scotland – they may consider such prejudice to be relatively minor. In order to examine perceptions of sectarianism as a problem more directly, SSA 2014 introduced the following definition of sectarianism:

'As you may know, sectarianism is a term used to describe division, bigotry and discrimination rooted in religion. For the purposes of this survey, I would like you to think only about divisions between followers of different Christian traditions, such as Protestants and Catholics.'

3.19 Respondents were then asked whether they thought sectarianism was:

- A problem throughout the whole of Scotland
- Only a problem in parts of Scotland
- Not a problem in Scotland at all.

3.20 Responses show that while there is a consensus that sectarianism is a problem in Scotland (88% think this), most people think it is so only for parts of the country (69%). A further 1 in 5 (19%) think sectarianism is a problem throughout the whole of Scotland, while just 8% think that sectarianism is not a problem in Scotland at all.

3.21 Respondents who said that sectarianism is only a problem in parts of Scotland were then asked which parts of Scotland they had in mind (they could give as many answers as they wished). Their responses reflect the perceived association between sectarianism and the West - 7 in 10 said that sectarianism was a problem in Glasgow, while 38% said it affected the West of Scotland generally (See Table A.21 in Annex).

3.22 Combining responses to these two questions shows that:

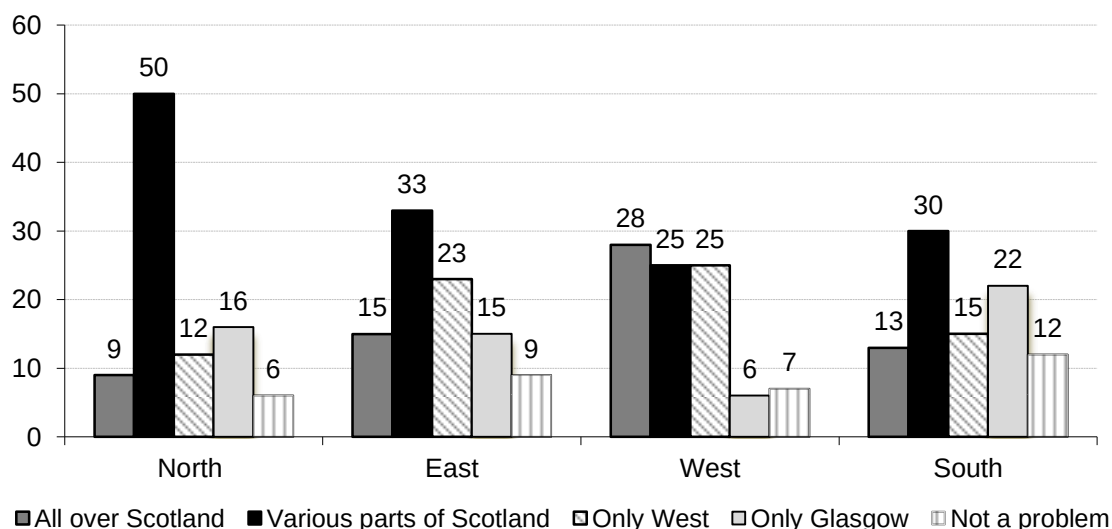
- 88% think that sectarianism is a problem in Scotland
- 8% do not think sectarianism is a problem for Scotland
- And 4% do not know whether or not it is a problem
- 19% think it is a problem throughout Scotland
- 12% think sectarianism is only a problem in Glasgow
- 21% think it is a problem in the West of Scotland¹²

¹² Those who mentioned at least one of the west coast / west of Scotland, Strathclyde, Ayrshire or Lanarkshire. They may also have mentioned Glasgow.

- And 32% think it is a problem across various parts of Scotland.¹³

3.23 People actually living in the West of Scotland were, however, much more likely to think that sectarianism is a problem throughout the whole of Scotland (28% compared with 9-15% in other regions – Figure 3.4). Moreover, they did not tend to think that it is a Glasgow-only issue (6% compared with 15%-22% in other regions). Half of those in the North thought that sectarianism is a problem in various parts of Scotland.

Figure 3.4: In which parts of Scotland sectarianism is seen as a problem, by region

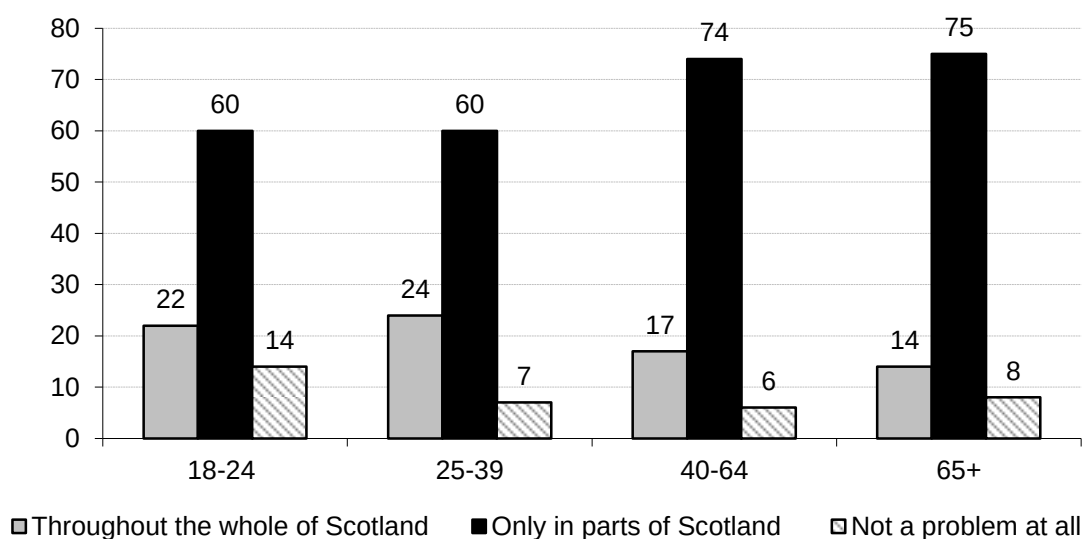


Sample size: North =355; East=498; West= 466; South=170

3.24 People's views on where in Scotland sectarianism happens also differed to some extent with age. A clear majority in all age categories said that sectarianism was only a problem in parts of Scotland. Those in the older age groups were most likely to respond in this way (60% of those aged 18-39 compared with 74-75% of those aged 40+).

¹³ Those who mentioned another part of Scotland, not in the west. They may have also mentioned Glasgow or somewhere else in the west.

Figure 3.5: Whether sectarianism is a problem throughout the whole of Scotland, in parts, or not at all, by age



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

Is sectarianism seen as an intractable problem for Scotland?

3.25 Although most people think that sectarianism remains a problem for at least some parts of Scotland, views on whether there has been any change in the relationships between Protestants and Catholics in the last 10 years were mixed. Nearly half (47%) said that relationships are better now than 10 years ago, while 40% were of an opinion that they have remained the same. However, only 3% of people said relationships had become worse in the last decade.

3.26 Interestingly, given the perceived association between Scottish football and sectarianism, those who supported a Scottish team were more likely than those who did not to believe that relationships between Catholics and Protestants have improved in the last decade (55% of Scottish football fans¹⁴ compared with 41% of those who do not support any Scottish team). As discussed in Chapter 1, the Scottish Government has an explicit aim of eradicating sectarianism from Scotland. However, there appears to be some scepticism among the public about how realistic this aim may prove to be – 66% of people in Scotland agree that '*sectarianism will always exist in Scotland*', while just 17% disagree (13% neither agree nor disagree).

3.27 Protestants were particularly likely to agree with this statement (78%, compared with 66% of Catholics, 64% of other Christians and 62% of those with no religion).¹⁵ Meanwhile, although they were more likely to think that

¹⁴ 60% of Celtic supporters, 55% of Rangers fans, and 52% of supporters of other teams.

¹⁵ 26% of those from other religions agreed with this statement, but this was based on a very small sample size (49) and a high proportion (35%) said they did not know if sectarianism would always exist or not.

Catholic-Protestant relationships had improved in the last decade, fans of Celtic and Rangers were less likely to believe in the possibility of a sectarianism-free future for Scotland than were fans of other Scottish football clubs or none (80% of Rangers fans, 76% of Celtic fans 69% of fans of other Scottish teams and 60% of those who do not support any Scottish club).

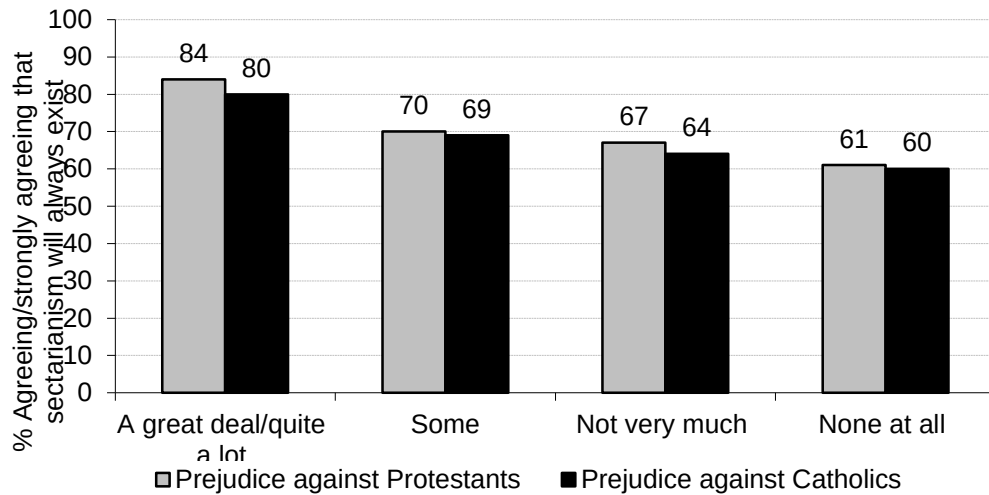
- 3.28 In terms of demographic variations, younger people and those with higher levels of education tended to be slightly more optimistic about the prospects for eradicating sectarianism from Scotland. 22% of those aged 18-24 *disagreed* that sectarianism will always exist compared with 12% of those aged 65 and over.¹⁶ Similarly, 24% of those educated to a degree level disagreed with this statement compared with 9% of those with no qualifications.¹⁷ This pattern by education may perhaps reflect the fact that those who have been through higher education tend themselves to be more tolerant and embracing of diversity (see for example findings in Ormston et al, 2011), and are thus perhaps more optimistic about the potential for society as a whole to move in that direction. Those in less deprived areas were also more optimistic than were those in the most deprived areas (23% in the most deprived quintile compared with 11% in the least deprived quintile disagreed that '*sectarianism will always exist in Scotland*').
- 3.29 Those who think there is currently a high level of prejudice against either Catholics or Protestants in Scotland are more likely to think sectarianism is an intractable part of Scottish life - for example, 24% of those who said there was a great deal or quite a lot of prejudice against Protestants in Scotland agreed strongly that sectarianism will always exist, compared with 7-10% of those who thought there was 'some' prejudice, 'not very much' or 'none at all' these days. Similar figures were apparent in relation to perceived prejudice against Catholics.
- 3.30 However, the view that sectarianism will always exist was also supported by over half of those who believe there is little or no general prejudice, employment discrimination, or harassment targeted at Protestants or Catholics these days. Moreover, a clear majority (66%) of those who think that relationships between Catholics and Protestants have improved in the last 10 years nonetheless agree that sectarianism will always exist. This may suggest that, although many people apparently believe some level of sectarianism will always exist in Scotland, they also believe things have improved and do not necessarily expect the level of sectarianism to equate to serious anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant prejudice, discrimination or harassment. It also raises questions about how people conceptualise and understand sectarianism – what does it tell us about the perceived nature of sectarianism that so many people

¹⁶ Figure 3.5 also shows that those aged 18-24 were twice as likely as older age groups to say that sectarianism is not a problem in Scotland at all (14%, compared with 6-8% of other age groups).

¹⁷ Of course, age and education are likely to be associated – older people (aged 65 and above are also more likely to have no qualifications. However, analysis that controls for the relationship between age and education in fact suggests that education is more strongly associated with attitudes to whether or not sectarianism will always exist. Logistic regression analysis including age and education indicates that education, but not age, is independently and significantly related to the odds of disagreeing that '*sectarianism will always exist*'.

appear to think it is endemic, even if they feel there is little actual prejudice against Catholics and Protestants in Scotland?

Figure 3.6: Whether sectarianism will always exist in Scotland by people's views on the current levels of prejudice against Protestants and Catholics



Sample sizes:

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

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

4 PERCEPTIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR SECTARIANISM

Key points

- Football is the most commonly mentioned factor people believe contributes to sectarianism in Scotland (88% mentioned it, and 55% thought it was the main factor).
- The next most commonly mentioned contributory factors were loyalist (including Orange Order) marches (79% mentioned it, and 13% thought it the main factor) and Irish Republican marches (70% mentioned it, and 3% thought it the main factor).
- Around a third thought each of denominational schools¹, the internet and social media, and more traditional media contributed to some extent to sectarianism in Scotland.
- Families (58%) and schools (55%) are most commonly viewed as best placed to tackle sectarian attitudes in Scotland, perhaps suggesting public support for a grass-roots, rather than a top-down approach to tackling sectarianism. However, 50% also view either football clubs or football authorities as having a role in this respect.
- Although fewer people view the Scottish Government (31%), churches (22%), local community organisations (19%), local authorities (15%) or the police (14%) as best placed to tackle sectarian views, the fact that no one organisation or group attracted an overwhelming majority suggests that the public may support an approach that involves multiple organisations in tackling sectarianism.
- The public is divided on whether the Scottish Government gives the right amount of attention to sectarianism (47%) or too little (31%). Only 10% thought they gave it too much attention.

4.1 This chapter explores perceptions of responsibility for sectarianism from two angles. First, it looks at responsibility in terms of who or what people believe contributes to sectarianism in Scotland. Second, it considers who the public think is best placed to tackle sectarianism, and whether or not people think the Scottish Government focus the right amount of attention to sectarianism as an issue.

What do people think contributes to sectarianism?

4.2 The 2003 report on attitudes to sectarianism in Glasgow (NFO, 2003) found that discussion of sectarianism in focus groups often focused on Rangers and Celtic football clubs. The media was blamed by some for stirring up feelings around Old Firm games. Others discussed the history of the clubs, the symbolism that surrounds them, and the activities of supporters or organisations who associate themselves with the clubs, all of which feed in to the perceptions of the clubs as being associated with Loyalist and Republican divisions in Ireland. There was no consensus, however, as to how much of the trouble around such matches was grounded in sectarianism, and how much was simply down to football rivalries. Catholic schools were also identified in

these focus groups, not so much as being a direct cause of sectarianism, but as something that made religious difference appear common and thus as potentially sustaining sectarian sentiment more widely. Links between sectarianism in Scotland and Irish politics were also raised, particularly with respect to Orange Order and Irish Republican marches, with both of these seen as intimidating and symbolic of religious intolerance.

- 4.3 Respondents to SSA 2014 (with the exception of those who had said that sectarianism is not a problem in Scotland at all, 8% of all respondents), were asked:

From what you have seen, read or heard, which of these, if any, would you say contribute to sectarianism in Scotland?

- 4.4 They were given a list of 12 responses (listed in Table 4.1), and asked to choose all that apply. To limit any bias introduced from the ordering of the list, the order in which options were presented was reversed for half the sample. Where more than one answer was provided, respondents were asked to say which they thought contributed the most.
- 4.5 As Table 4.1 shows, football is viewed by a majority of people in Scotland as the main contributor to sectarianism. Among those who viewed sectarianism as a problem, 55% thought that football was the main contributor (a far higher proportion than picked any other options), while 88% thought it contributed to some extent.
- 4.6 Ties with Ireland, through Orange Order and Irish Republican marches, or through events in Ireland were also considered as significant contributors by many. 79% said that Orange Order marches contributed, 70% mentioned Irish Republican marches, and 51% mentioned events in Ireland. Given the more common occurrence of Orange Order marches in Scotland, it is perhaps not surprising that more thought that Orange Order marches were the main factor contributing to sectarianism (13%) than attributed it to Irish Republican marches (3%).
- 4.7 Of the other options presented to respondents (see Table 4.1), just over a third mentioned each of denominational schools; the internet and social media; and newspapers, television or radio as contributing to sectarianism. Just over a quarter mentioned churches. Relatively few people (5% or less in each case) considered each of these to be the factor that contributed most to sectarianism in Scotland.

Table 4.1: Perceptions of what contributes and what contributes most to sectarianism in Scotland

	Contributes	Contributes most
Football	88	55
Orange Order marches	79	13
Irish Republican marches	70	3
Events in Ireland	51	4
Denominational schools	37	5
The internet and social media	37	4
Newspapers, television or the radio	34	4
Churches	27	3
Non-denominational schools	8	*
The police	8	*
Rugby	3	*
Golf	1	0
Other	4	2
None of these	*	1
Don't know	3	4
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1385</i>	<i>1385</i>

Those who said sectarianism is not a problem at all in Scotland were not asked this question

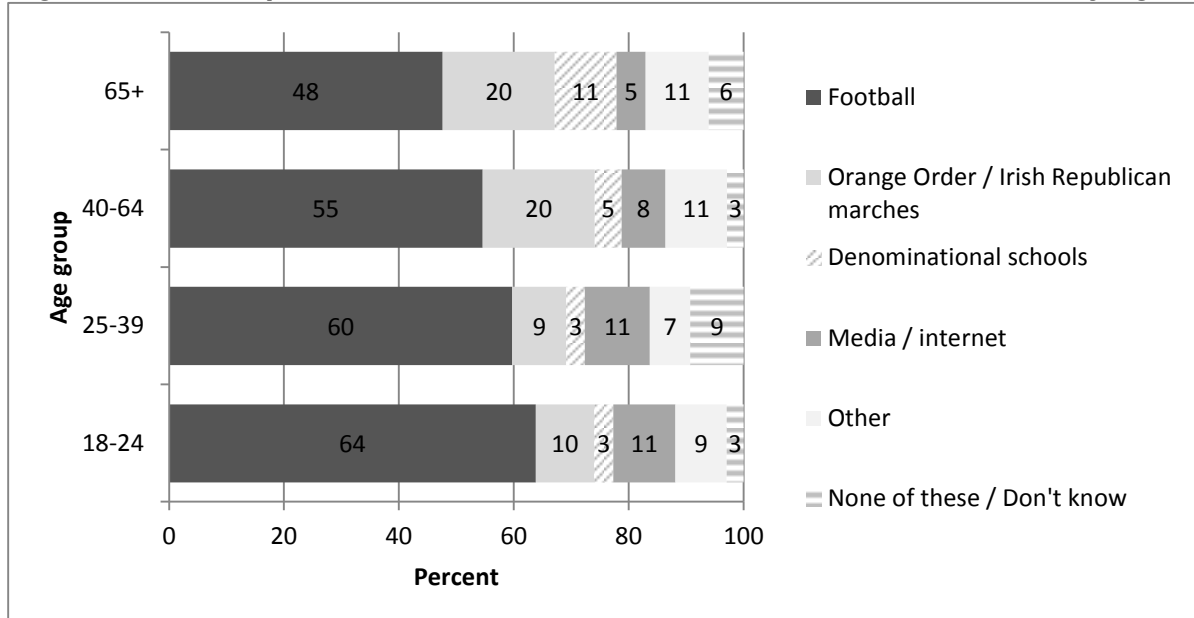
* indicates less than 0.5%, but greater than 0, whereas a 0 indicates no one in the sample gave this answer

Variations in views of what contributes to sectarianism

- 4.8 The extent to which particular factors were seen as contributing to sectarianism varied significantly depending on people's age, religious identity, geographical location, schooling and family and social ties.
- 4.9 Younger people were more likely to mention both traditional and social media as contributing factors to sectarianism in Scotland today. 56% of those aged 18-24 mentioned the internet and social media, declining to 15% of those aged 65 and above. The pattern for more established media was not quite so stark, but there was still a clear difference, with 43% of the younger age group mentioning newspapers, television or radio, compared with 26% of those in the oldest group.
- 4.10 Young people were also more likely than older people to view football as the main contributor to sectarianism (64% of 18-24 year-olds compared with 48%

of those aged 65 or older). Older people, in contrast, were more likely to attribute sectarianism primarily to denominational schools (11% of those aged 65 and above, compared with 3% of those aged 18-39). Those aged 40 or older were also more likely to see either Orange Order or Irish Republican marches as the main contributor (20%), compared with 10% of those aged 18-39 (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Perceptions of what contributes the most to sectarianism, by age



Sample size: 18-24=87; 25-39=284; 40-64=621; 65+=391

Excludes those who said sectarianism is not a problem at all in Scotland

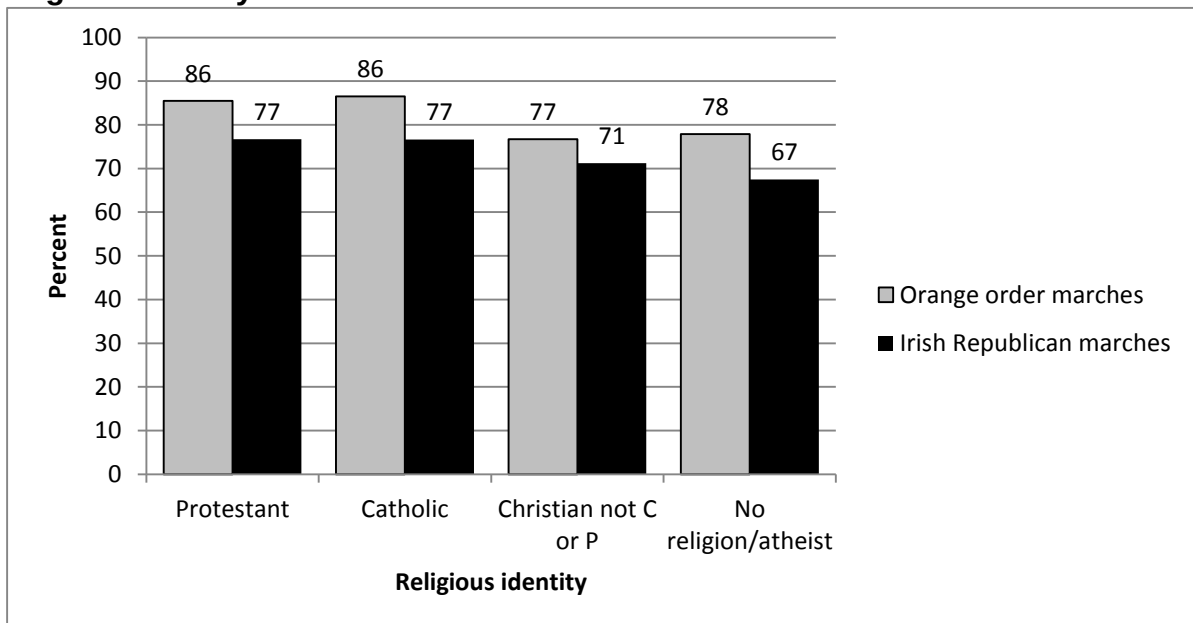
The main 'other' responses were 'events in Ireland' (between 3% and 6%) and churches (between 2% and 4%)

4.11 Those who did not identify with any religion were more likely than religious people to think that churches contributed to sectarianism in Scotland (39% of those with no religion, compared with 22% of Protestants, 14% of Catholics and 24% of those who were Christian but not Catholic or Protestant). Lapsed Christians (who were brought up as Christian but did not now belong to any church) were just as likely to view churches as responsible as those who had never belonged to any faith. Loss of faith and lack of faith thus seem equally associated with a greater tendency to lay some of the blame for sectarianism at the door of Scotland's churches.

4.12 In contrast, those who identified as Protestant or Catholic were both more likely to identify marches as contributing to sectarianism than were those who did not identify themselves with either of these faiths. 86% of both Protestants and Catholics who recognised sectarianism as a problem in Scotland thought that Orange Order marches contributed, compared with 77% of other Christians and 78% of those identifying with no religion. Similarly, 77% of both Protestants and Catholics thought that Irish Republican marches contributed, compared with 71% of other Christians and 67% of non-believers. Those with close friends or family members who are Protestant were also more likely than those who do not know anyone who is Protestant to view marches (both Orange Order and Irish Republican) as a contributing factor. The pattern by having friends or

family who are Catholic was not as clear. However, these findings perhaps suggest that being either Catholic or Protestant or having close ties with those who are is associated with a heightened awareness of marches which may, in turn, be associated with a more critical view of their perceived association with sectarianism.

Figure 4.2: Perceptions of whether marches contribute to sectarianism, by religious identity



Sample size: Protestant=485; Catholic=186; Other Christian=227; No religion=438
Excludes those who said sectarianism is not a problem at all in Scotland

- 4.13 The previous chapter indicated that around a third of people perceive sectarianism to be an issue primarily in Glasgow and the West of Scotland. However, people living in these areas do not view the contributors to sectarianism particularly differently from those living in other parts of Scotland. As in the rest of Scotland, football was the most common factor mentioned by people in the West (88%, the same as for Scotland as a whole). The proportion of those living in the West who identified Orange Order (83%) or Irish Republican marches (75%) as contributing was also not statistically significantly different from the proportions in other parts of Scotland who mentioned these (77% and 67% respectively).
- 4.14 Having family connections to Ireland was associated with being more likely to think Irish Republican marches contribute to sectarianism in Scotland (80%, compared with 67%). There was no such association with Orange Order marches. Perhaps those with family ties to Ireland hold particular views on the role of Irish Republicanism in sectarianism in Ireland which find parallels in their opinion of the role of Irish Republican marches in Scotland. Family connections to Ireland were also associated with thinking events in Ireland contribute to sectarianism (58% of those with a connection to Ireland, compared with 49% of those without).
- 4.15 It might be expected that those who support football would be less critical of its role in relation to sectarianism. However, in fact the opposite is true - football

fans were if anything slightly more likely to perceive football as a contributing factor (92% of supporters of any Scottish football club, compared with 84% of those who did not support one). There was no significant difference between supporters of the Old Firm and other clubs. Perhaps those who have witnessed first-hand sectarian chanting or songs on the terraces are even more inclined to see their sport as having some role to play in sustaining sectarian attitudes and behaviours in Scotland.

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

Perceptions of who is best placed to tackle sectarianism

- 4.17 The 2003 Glasgow report explored how people thought that sectarianism should be tackled. Many of the suggestions in that report related to football. Some of these, for example, concerning sectarian chanting at football matches, have already been the subject of government action (via the Offensive Behaviour at Football Act). Education, including campaigns aimed at the general public, was also seen by many as important in tackling sectarianism, while churches were seen as having only a limited role in this respect.

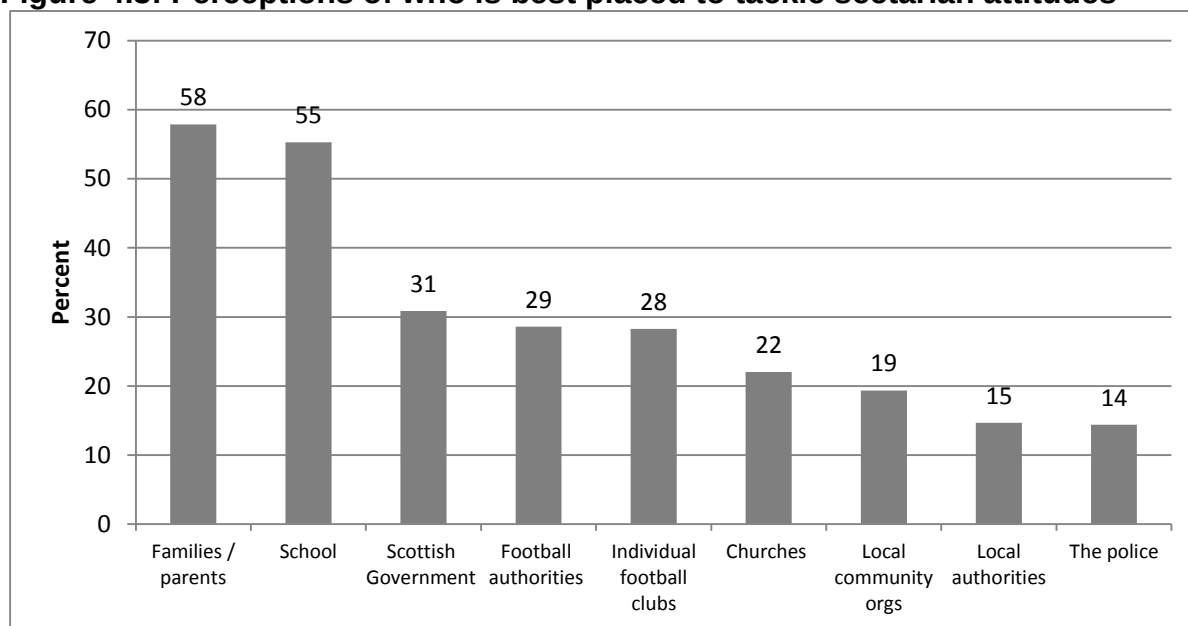
- 4.18 In order to explore who people think is best placed to tackle sectarianism, SSA 2014 asked:

Some people think it is important to address sectarian attitudes in Scotland. Who do you think is best placed to do that?

Respondents were allowed to choose up to 3 answers from the list of 9. Again, the order of this list was reversed for half the sample.

- 4.19 Although football was the issue most commonly seen as the main contributor to sectarianism in Scotland, football clubs or authorities were not necessarily seen as best placed to tackle it. Rather, the most common responses reflected education and family as the most appropriate sites for tackling sectarianism (58% mentioned families and parents and 55% schools – Figure 4.3). However, half (50%) did mention either football authorities or individual clubs, indicating that football in Scotland is still seen as having an important role to play in tackling sectarianism. A third (31%) mentioned the Scottish Government, while 22% thought Churches had a role to play, 19% local community organisations, 15% local authorities and 14% the police (Figure 4.3). Overall, the range of organisations selected and the fact that no one response attracted an overwhelming majority suggests public support for an approach involving multiple sites where sectarianism might occur (home, school, football, community) and multiple organisations who might be seen as contributing to sustaining or eradicating it.

Figure 4.3: Perceptions of who is best placed to tackle sectarian attitudes



Sample size: 1,501 (all respondents)

- 4.20 Different problems may require different solutions, so it is not surprising to find that where different contributors to sectarianism were identified, thoughts about who was best placed to tackle the problem also varied. For example, among respondents who thought football contributed to sectarianism, 58% mentioned either football authorities or football clubs (or both) as being one of those best placed to tackle sectarian attitudes. Where football was not mentioned, only 21% mentioned clubs or football authorities. Similarly, when schools were mentioned as part of the problem, they were also mentioned as part of the solution – 65% of those who mentioned denominational schools as contributing to sectarianism (compared with 51% of those who did not) saw schools as among those best placed to act.
- 4.21 As with views of what contributes to sectarianism, views on who is best placed to tackle it varied by age. Those aged 65 and above were less likely than younger adults to mention schools (49%, compared with 57% of those aged 18-64), and more likely to mention churches (32%, compared with 19% of younger adults), perhaps reflecting their greater distance from the former, and greater connection with the latter (as noted in Chapter 2, older people are more likely to maintain a sense of religious belonging). Those aged 18-24 were more likely to mention the police (29%, compared with 12% of those aged 25 and above), and, interestingly given that they will have been living with their parents more recently than other age groups, less likely to mention families and parents (41%, compared with 60% of older adults).
- 4.22 There was little regional variation in views about who is best placed to tackle sectarian attitudes, with the exception of the finding that those in the West were slightly less likely to mention churches (18% in the West and 25% across the rest of Scotland).
- 4.23 Although they were slightly more likely to view football as a contributing factor to sectarianism, supporters of Scottish football clubs were no more or less likely

to mention either individual clubs (31%) or the football authorities (28%) as best placed to tackle it than were those who do not support any Scottish club (26% and 29% respectively).¹⁸

Perceptions of Scottish Government attention to sectarianism

- 4.24 Respondents were asked whether the Scottish Government gives too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention to sectarian divisions between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland. Responses suggest a lack of consensus on this issue – 47% said the government gave this issue about the right amount of attention, 31% thought it gave it too little, 10% too much, and 11% were not sure. A similar question on *Scottish Social Attitudes* 2003 found that 20% agreed that the Scottish Parliament was too concerned with sectarian divisions, suggesting some change in attitudes, although accurate comparisons between these two questions are not possible, since they use different answer options and frames of reference.
- 4.25 Those who thought that the Scottish Government was best placed to tackle sectarianism were less likely than those who mentioned other organisations to think they were paying too much attention to the issue (6%, compared with 13% of those who did not mention the Government). There was, however, no difference between these two groups in the proportion who thought the Government was paying the right amount of attention to sectarianism (48% and 47% respectively).
- 4.26 While it is not possible to infer from responses to this question exactly what action people would like to see taken, it is plausible that they would like to see greater Scottish Government focus on those factors that they believe contribute to sectarianism. In this context, it is worth noting that those who thought football and Orange Order marches contributed to sectarianism were more likely than those who did not see these as contributing factors to say that the Scottish Government is paying too little attention to sectarianism.¹⁹

¹⁸ These differences are not significant.

¹⁹ 36% of those who perceived football to be a contributor thought that the government was paying too little attention to sectarian divisions, compared with 15% of those who did not perceive football to be a contributor (including those who said sectarianism is not a problem). 36% of those who perceived Orange Order marches as contributing said the government was not giving enough attention to sectarian marches, compared with 20% of those who did not. Differences by attitudes to Irish Republican marches were not significant.

5 OVERT AND SUBTLE EXPRESSIONS OF DIFFERENCE

Key points

- Orange Order and Irish republican marches are not widely supported by the Scottish public. Only 14% supported the right of loyalist organisations and 11% the right of republican organisations to march along public streets in Scotland. More than half opposed the right of each kind of organisation to march.
- Catholics are the most likely to oppose *both* loyalist and republican marches. 72% of Catholics opposed the rights of loyalist organisations to march, and 69% opposed the rights of Irish republican organisations. A majority (albeit smaller) of Protestants also opposed the right of each kind of organisation to march (54%/61%). In contrast, lower proportions (49%/50%) of those with no religion opposed each type of march.
- Overall, 43% of people in Scotland oppose denominational schools, while 25% support them. Opposition has fallen in recent years, from 50% in 2007.
- Catholics were much more likely to support denominational schools than other groups. 62% of Catholics supported denominational schools, while 18% opposed them.
- While only 5% thought that jokes about Catholics or Protestants were always acceptable, a further 34% thought they were acceptable if they did not offend anyone who heard them. Catholics and Protestants themselves were *more* likely to think such jokes acceptable, as were older people.
- Most people found sectarian language unacceptable, and the majority of those who did so reported that they would say something about it if someone used these terms. Only 8-9% thought that the terms 'Hun' and 'Fenian' were acceptable.
- Very few respondents (1-2%) admitted they would be unhappy if a Catholic or a Protestant married into their family. Previous SSA reports found that people are much more likely to feel unhappy about the prospect of people from other religious groups, including Muslims and Hindus joining their family.
- Christians, be they Protestant or Catholic or neither, were less likely to say they feel more comfortable around people of similar religious beliefs (or none) than were people of no religion or non-Christian religions. 34% of those with no religious beliefs and 45% of those of non-Christian religions compared with 15% of Protestants, 16% of Catholics and 22% of other Christians agreed that they felt more comfortable with people of similar beliefs to themselves.
- Men, those living in the West of Scotland, people who said that their religion (or lack of it) was an important part of their identity, and people who attended religious services regularly were all more likely to say they felt more comfortable around those of similar beliefs to themselves.

- 5.1 This chapter focuses on attitudes to religious difference in Scotland. Expressions of difference do not in themselves necessarily equate to or contribute to sectarianism in Scotland (though sectarianism does depend on a - misdirected - sense of difference). However, we have already seen that some public expressions of religious identity – namely marches and denominational schools – are viewed by some as contributing to sectarianism. Marches and denominational schools could both be described as overt expressions of difference, as they make or highlight distinctions on the basis of religion, or historical connections with Ireland. This chapter explores in more detail attitudes to both these overt expressions of difference. It also explores attitudes to expressions of difference that may occur in private between friends, but which it could be argued also perpetuate religious divisions. In particular, it looks at attitudes towards the acceptability of sectarian language and jokes. Finally, it examines how comfortable people feel with religious difference in their own social and family lives, including how happy people would be if someone of the Protestant or Catholic faiths married into their family, and how comfortable people feel around people of a different religious orientation to themselves. Again, while neither of these measure sectarian attitudes directly, people's level of comfort with religious difference in their own lives might be seen as part of the social and cultural context that either allows sectarianism to persist, or may help ensure Scotland can become sectarianism-free.

Public attitudes towards Orange Order and Irish Republican marches

- 5.2 The 2003 report on Sectarianism in Glasgow (NFO) asked people whether they thought Orange Walks and Catholic Parades should be banned. In both cases, more than half the respondents agreed, with Catholic respondents being more likely to agree that both types of march should be banned. In SSA 2014, a slightly different pair of questions was asked:

How much do you support or oppose the right of loyalist organisations, such as the Orange Order, to march along public streets in Scotland?

And how much do you support or oppose the right of Irish republican organisations, such as Cairde na hÉireann, to march along public streets in Scotland?

These questions were designed to try and make people focus on the rights of the organisations involved, and to avoid responses that might be made on the grounds of inconvenience (for example, saying marches should be banned because they cause inconvenience for local people or businesses). However, this difference in wording in fact made little or no difference. 53% of SSA 2014 respondents opposed the right of loyalist organisations and 56% opposed the right of Irish Republican organisations to march. These figures exactly match those in the 2003 Glasgow report, in which 53% agreed that Orange Walks should be banned, and 56% agreed Catholic parades should be banned.

- 5.3 Only 14% of respondents said that they supported the right of loyalist organisations to march along public streets in Scotland. 11% said they supported the rights of Irish Republican organisations. These figures might perhaps be viewed as very low, given that the questions were framed in terms

of rights. Under article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights, there is a right to peaceful assembly, although the Public Order Act 1986 does allow for restrictions to be placed on marches, including the banning of them in specific areas for up to 3 months. In any case, the low level of support for an unqualified right to march highlights the contentious status of Orange Order and Irish Republican marches in Scotland.

- 5.4 There was a strong correlation between views on the two different types of march. 93% of those who supported the right of Irish Republican organisations to march also supported the right of loyalist organisations to march. 92% of those who opposed Irish Republican organisations marching also opposed loyalist organisations marching.
- 5.5 Variation in the level of support or opposition for loyalist and republican marches across the regions of Scotland was not significant – those in the West, where more marches take place each year, were no more or less likely to oppose the rights of loyalist or republican organisations to march than were those in other parts of the country. Those in the West, however, were slightly more likely to have a definite opinion in favour or against loyalist marches (Tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Table 5.1: Support or opposition to right of loyalist organisations to march in public streets in Scotland, by region, 2014

	North	East	West	South	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Support	12	14	15	10	14
Neither support nor oppose	33	35	26	33	31
Oppose	52	49	56	56	53
Don't know / refused	4	2	2	1	2
<i>Sample size</i>	356	502	471	172	1501

Base: all adults

Table 5.2: Support or opposition to right of Irish republican organisations to march in public streets in Scotland, by region, 2014

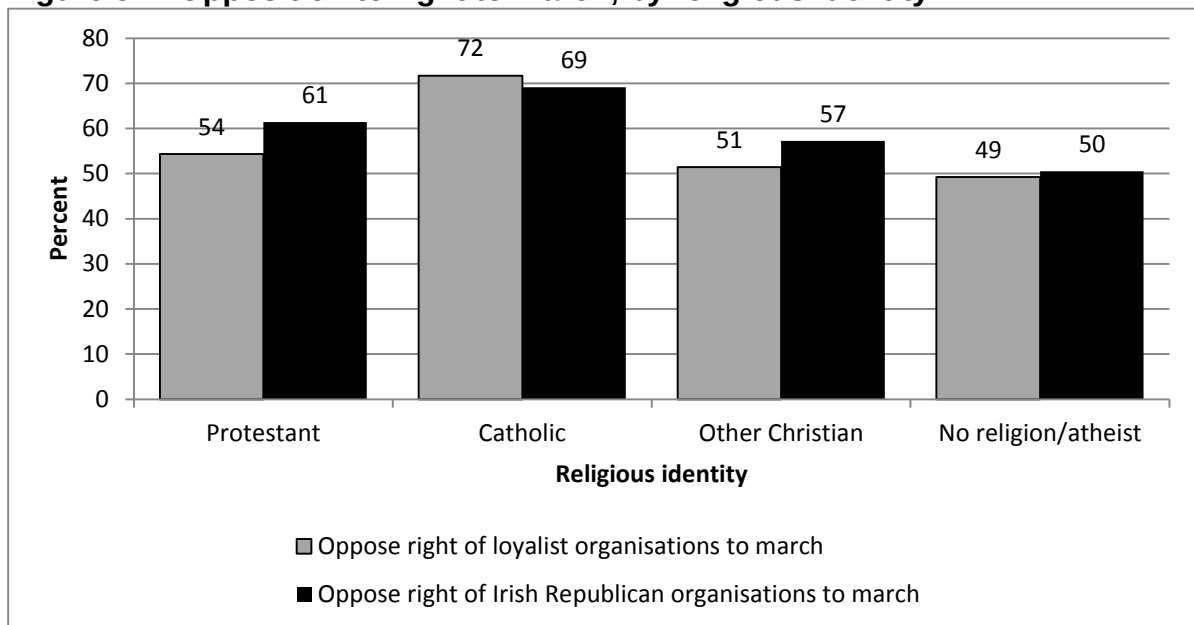
	North	East	West	South	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Support	9	12	13	8	11
Neither support nor oppose	32	33	26	31	30
Oppose	55	54	58	59	56
Don't know / refused	4	2	2	2	2
<i>Sample size</i>	356	502	471	172	1501

Base: all adults

- 5.6 As in the 2003 Glasgow report (NFO), Catholics were more likely to oppose *both* loyalist and republican marches than were those of other religions. 72% of those who identified themselves as Catholics said they opposed the right of loyalist organisations to march, compared with 54% of Protestants, and 49% of those who had no religious beliefs. Similarly, 69% of Catholics opposed the right of Irish republican organisations to march, compared with 61% of Protestants and 50% of those with no religion (Figure 5.1). Perhaps this higher opposition to both types of marches among Catholics is connected with their

increased sensitivity to sectarianism more generally (as noted in earlier chapters of this report).

Figure 5.1: Opposition to right to march, by religious identity



Sample sizes: Protestant=520; Catholic=200; Other Christian=251; No religion=475

- 5.7 The strength of respondents' religious views was not significantly associated with opinion on the right to march, except that Catholics who described themselves as 'very' or 'fairly' religious were more likely to oppose marches than those who described themselves as 'not very' religious or 'not at all' religious. 79% of more strongly religious Catholics opposed loyalist marches and 77% opposed Irish Republican marches. The equivalent figures for Catholics who felt less strongly religious were 60% and 57% respectively.
- 5.8 Unsurprisingly, people who thought marches contributed to sectarianism were more likely to oppose the right to march. 61% of those who thought that Orange Order marches contributed to sectarianism opposed the right of loyalist organisations to march, compared with 32% of those who did not think Orange Order marches contributed to sectarianism. Similarly, 66% of those who thought that Irish Republican marches contributed to sectarianism, compared with 40% of those who did not, opposed the right of Irish Republican organisations to march. Perhaps the more surprising finding here is the proportion of those who do not think that marches contribute to sectarianism who nevertheless oppose them. Presumably for these people their opposition to the right to march is based on concerns about issues other than sectarian tensions – perhaps relating to disorder or disruption to local communities and businesses. In their report on the community impact of public processions, Hamilton-Smith et al (2015) highlight anti-social behaviour, delays and noise as among the concerns local people expressed about Loyalist and Irish Republican parades.

Public attitudes towards denominational schools

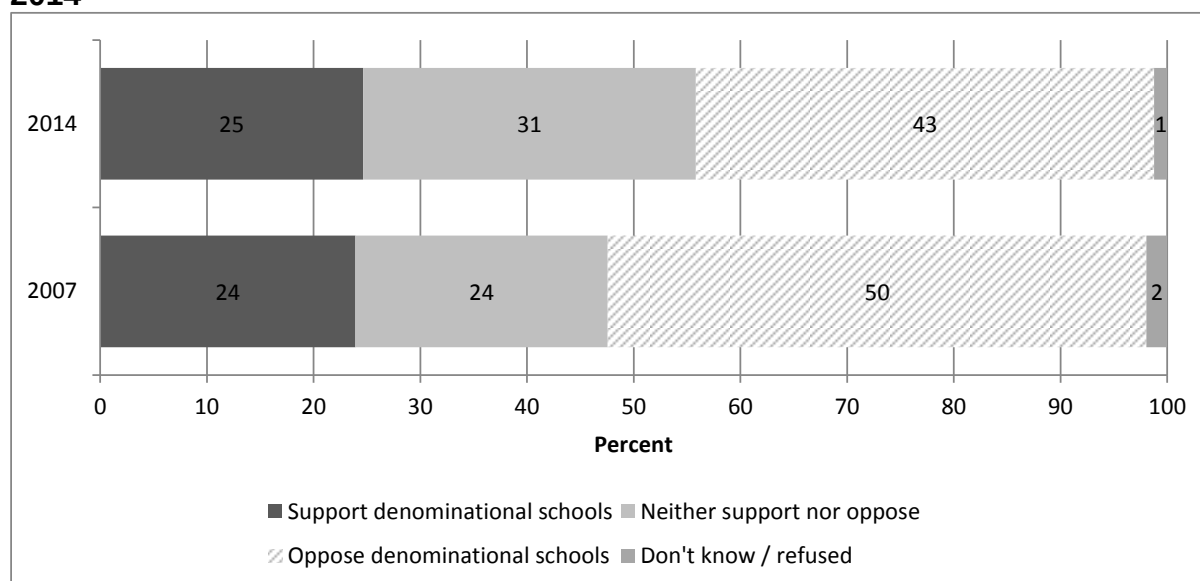
5.9 In Scotland, 'denominational schools' can be considered almost synonymous with 'Catholic schools'.²⁰ The policy of such schools is that children who were baptised into the Catholic faith take precedent over others if places are over-subscribed. The 2003 report on sectarianism in Glasgow (NFO) noted that, while few blamed faith schools for breeding sectarianism, some people thought that the existence of such overt divisions between Catholics and non-Catholics made divisions on religious grounds seem normal.

5.10 SSA 2014 asked people:

How much do you support or oppose having some schools that are linked to a particular religious denomination, such as Roman Catholic?

5.11 This question was also asked in SSA 2007. In 2014, 25% of adults supported the existence of denominational schools and 43% opposed them. While support has remained fairly constant (24% in 2007), opposition has fallen, from 50% in 2007, with more people saying they 'neither support nor oppose' such schools (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Support for and opposition to denominational schools, 2007 and 2014

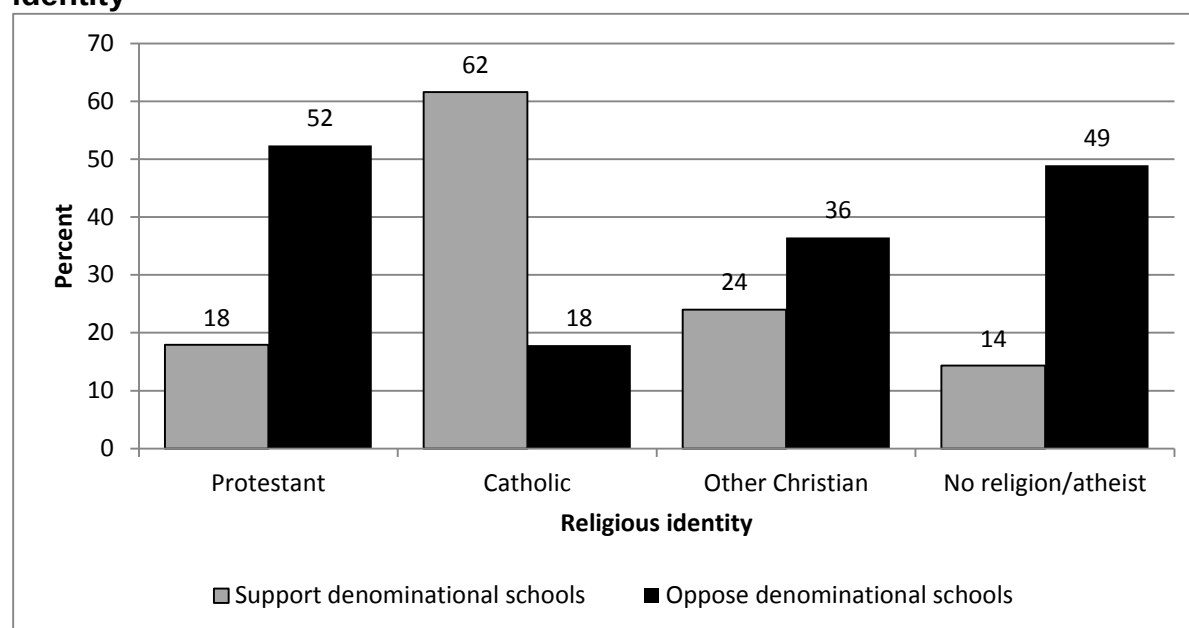


Sample sizes: 2014=1501; 2007=1508

5.12 Support for denominational schools was, not surprisingly, much more common among Catholics. Overall, 25% of adults in Scotland supported the existence of denominational schools; among Catholics, this figure was 62%. Protestants and those with no religious beliefs were the most likely to oppose the existence of these school: 52% of Protestants and 49% of those with no religious beliefs said they were opposed, compared with 18% of Catholics (and 43% overall) (Figure 5.3).

²⁰ There are currently 366 state-funded Roman Catholic schools in Scotland, one state-funded Jewish school and three state funded Episcopalian schools (<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/topics/education/schools/faqs>)

Figure 5.3: Support for and opposition to denominational schools, by religious identity



Sample sizes: Protestant=520; Catholic=200; Other Christian=251; No religion=475

5.13 Support for denominational schools was also more common among those who had attended them. Around three quarters of Catholics had attended a denominational school. 69% of this group supported them, although sample sizes are too small to make any proper comparisons between this group and those Catholics who did not attend a denominational school.

5.14 Those who thought denominational schools contributed to sectarianism were more likely to oppose them. 68% of those who felt that denominational schools contributed to sectarianism were opposed to such schools, compared with 28% of those who did not think denominational schools contributed to sectarianism in Scotland.

Just a joke? Attitudes to jokes about religious groups

5.15 The language we use when we talk about religion and the jokes we make about it have the potential to perpetuate or sustain divisions on religious lines. The 2003 Glasgow report noted that the most common forms of sectarianism in Glasgow were jokes between friends and the use of sectarian language. SSA 2014, asked people (in the self-completion section of the survey²¹):

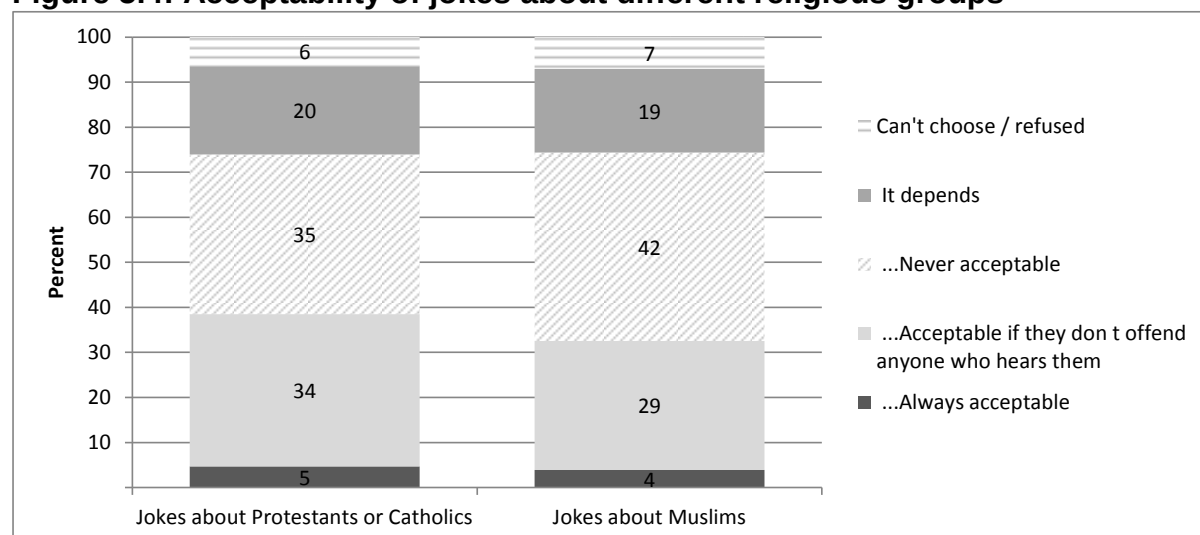
Would you say that jokes about Protestants or Catholics are ... always acceptable, acceptable if they don't offend anyone who hears them, or never acceptable?

The same question was also asked with respect to jokes about Muslims, as a point of comparison.

²¹ The self-completion was used for questions where there was concern about social acceptability bias, whereby respondents answer in the way they would like to be perceived by the interviewer, rather than giving an 'honest' response.

5.16 Around a third of respondents (35%) thought that jokes about Catholics or Protestants were never acceptable. A similar proportion (34%) said they were acceptable if they did not offend anyone who hears them, while 5% said they were always acceptable. By comparison, 42% said jokes about Muslims were never acceptable, 29% said they were acceptable if they don't offend anyone who hears them, and 4% said they were always acceptable (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Acceptability of jokes about different religious groups



Sample size: 1428 – all who completed the self-completion

5.17 Older people were more likely to find jokes about Catholics and Protestants acceptable. 52% of those aged 65 or above said that jokes about Protestants and Catholics were always acceptable, or acceptable if they do not offend anyone who hears them, compared with 29-31% of those aged 18-39 (Table 5.3). For those who believe that such jokes can help perpetuate sectarianism, this lower tolerance among the younger generation is clearly a positive finding.

Table 5.3: Acceptability of jokes about Protestants or Catholics, by age

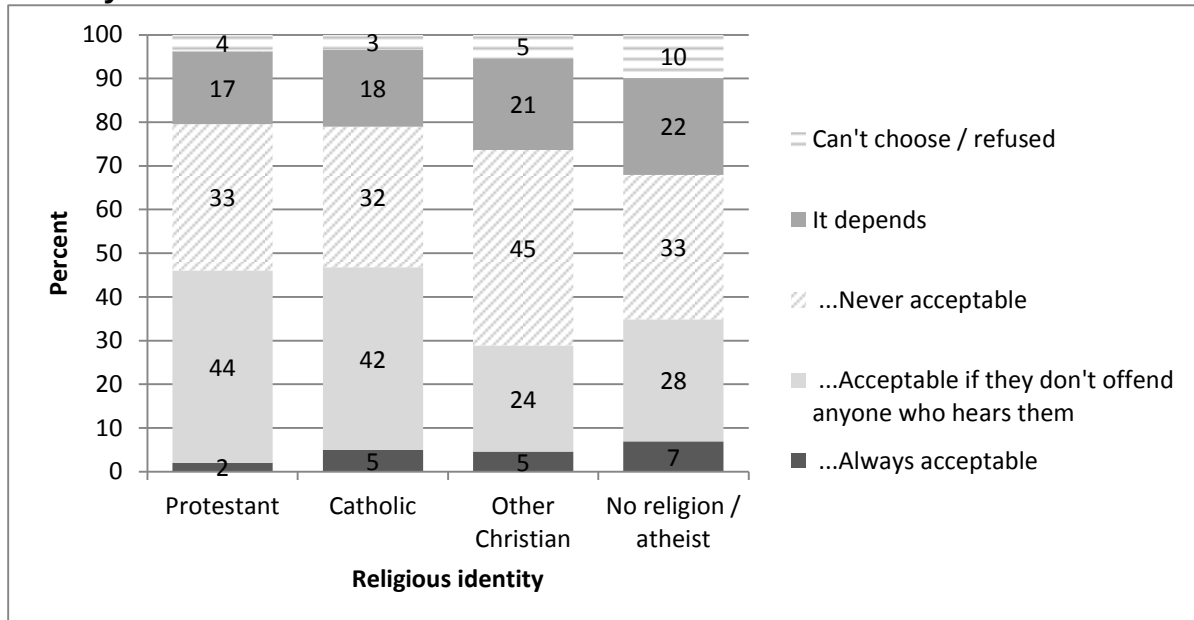
	18-29	30-39	40-64	65+	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Always acceptable	5	3	6	4	5
Acceptable if they don't offend anyone who hears them	26	26	33	48	34
Never acceptable	42	38	35	29	35
(It depends)	21	21	21	14	20
(Can't choose / refused)	6	12	5	5	6
Sample size	179	212	646	390	1428

Base is all who completed the self-completion. Total includes one adult whose age was not known

5.18 People who were themselves either Protestant or Catholic were more likely than others to say that jokes about Protestants or Catholics were acceptable if they don't offend anyone who hears them. This could reflect a reluctance on the part of some who belong to a particular group to express disapproval of jokes directed at themselves, perhaps because of concerns about being seen to take themselves too seriously. Alternatively, it could reflect the fact that some Catholics may themselves make jokes about Protestants, and vice versa.

Those who identified themselves as Christian, but neither Protestant nor Catholic were the most likely to say such jokes were never acceptable (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5: Acceptability of jokes about Protestants and Catholics, by religious identity



Base: Those who completed the self-completion

Sample sizes: Protestant=492; Catholic=188; Other Christian=240; No religion=459

Sectarian language

5.19 In addition to asking about jokes which might be regarded as sectarian, SSA 2014 asked²² about the acceptability of two terms which may also be regarded as such:

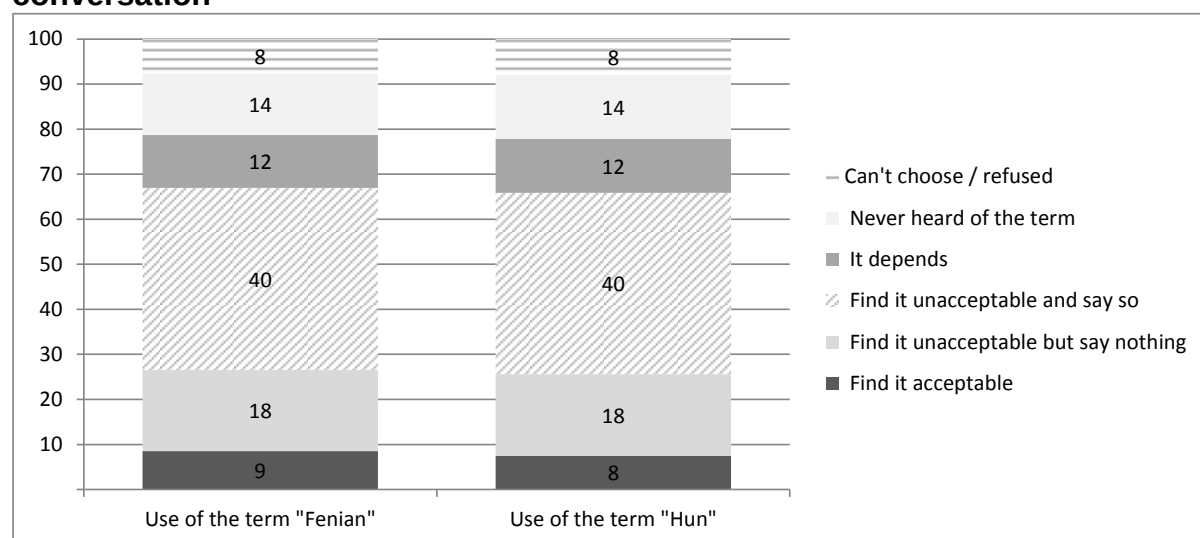
Imagine a friend who was not Catholic came round to your home and casually used the term “Fenian” during the course of the conversation to describe someone who was Catholic. Would you find it acceptable or unacceptable?

And what if a friend who was not Protestant casually used the term “Hun” during the course of the conversation to describe someone who was Protestant? Would you find this was acceptable or unacceptable?

5.20 The vast majority of respondents viewed both terms as unacceptable. Only 9% said the casual use of the term ‘Fenian’ by someone who was not Catholic was acceptable, and 8% said the use of the term ‘Hun’ by someone who was not Protestant was acceptable. Most of those who found the terms unacceptable said they would say something to this effect to the person using the term (Figure 5.6). These findings are in line with those from the Glasgow report, which found that both terms were unacceptable to a majority of people in the city (NFO, 2003).

²² In the self-completion part of the questionnaire

Figure 5.6: Acceptability of the use of the terms ‘Fenian’ and ‘Hun’ in casual conversation



Sample size: 1428 – all who completed the self-completion

5.21 Differences in responses by age were not significant, except that those aged 18-24 were more likely to say they had never heard of the term ‘Fenian’ (23%, compared with 11% of those aged 40 and above). This could be viewed as an encouraging sign that the term may be in less common use among the younger generation. Differences according to the religious identity of the respondent were not significant.

Faith, family and friends

5.22 The final section of this chapter considers respondents’ feelings about social connections with people of different religious beliefs to themselves. Those who did not identify themselves as Catholic were asked (in the self-completion part of the questionnaire):

How would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with a Catholic?

Those who did not identify themselves as Protestant were asked:

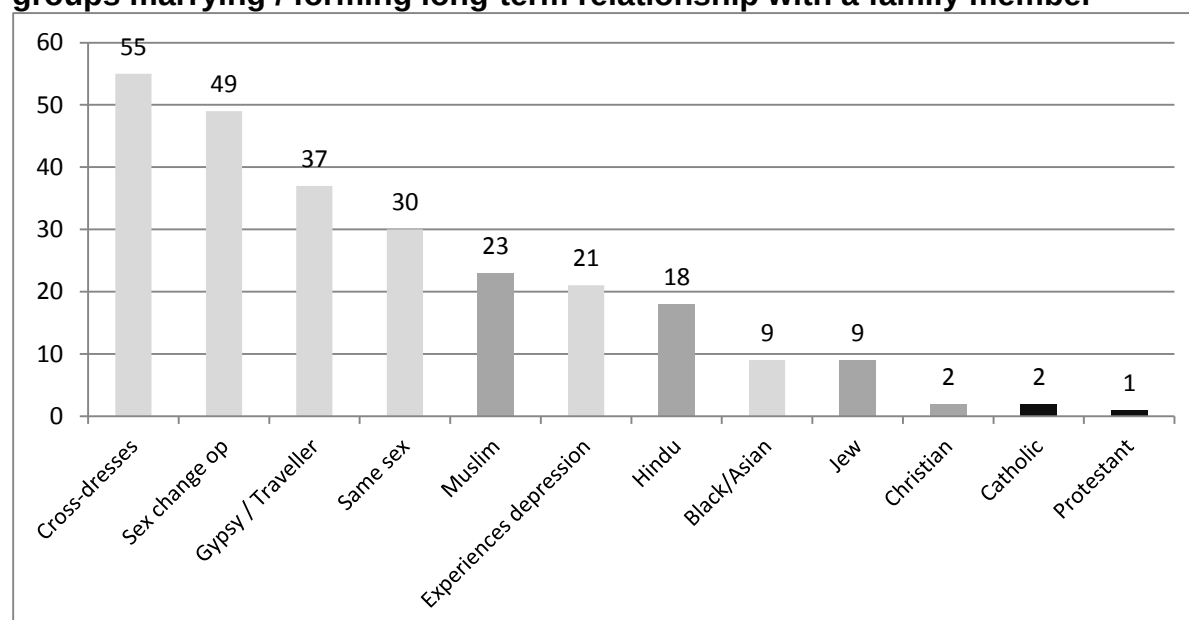
And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with a Protestant?

5.23 Similar questions were asked in SSA 2010, with respect to Christians in general (as opposed to Catholics and Protestants specifically) as well as a number of other religious and non-religious groups.

5.24 Very few respondents to SSA 2014 said they would be unhappy if someone of either the Catholic or Protestant faiths joined their families - just 2% of those who were not Catholic said they would be unhappy if a close relative married, or formed a long-term relationship with, a Catholic, while only 1% of those who were not Protestant said the same about Protestants.

5.25 This is in line with findings on attitudes to Christians in general in 2010, when just 2% of those who were not Christian said they would be unhappy if a close relative married, or formed a long-term relationship with, a Christian (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: Proportion who would be unhappy or very unhappy about different groups marrying / forming long-term relationship with a family member



All figures are from SSA 2010, except those for Protestants and Catholics, from SSA 2014
 Base 2010: All respondents (except for religions, which exclude those from that religious group)
 Base 2014: Those who completed the self-completion, excluding those from that religious group
 Sample size: Protestant (all those not Protestant)=936; Catholic (all those not Catholic)=1240;
 Christian (all those not Christian)=725; Other=1477-1495

5.26 Figure 5.7 indicates that this type of discriminatory feeling against Christians, be they Protestant or Catholic, is very unusual compared with feelings about other religious groups. In 2010, 9% said they would be unhappy if a close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with a Jew, 18% with a Hindu, and 23% with a Muslim. Unhappiness about other, non-religious, groups joining people's families was even more common – for example, 55% said they would be unhappy if a close relative married or formed a long-term relation with someone who cross-dressed in public, while 30% would be unhappy about close family members forming same sex-relationships. In this context then, people in Scotland appear far more comfortable with religious difference than with other kinds of difference, and with Christianity than with other religions. This may, in part, be because people are more comfortable with the familiar; most people in Scotland, whatever their beliefs, have been exposed to Christianity.

5.27 SSA 2014 also asked about how comfortable people are with religious difference in a social context. Everyone who identified themselves with any religion was asked how much they agreed or disagreed that:

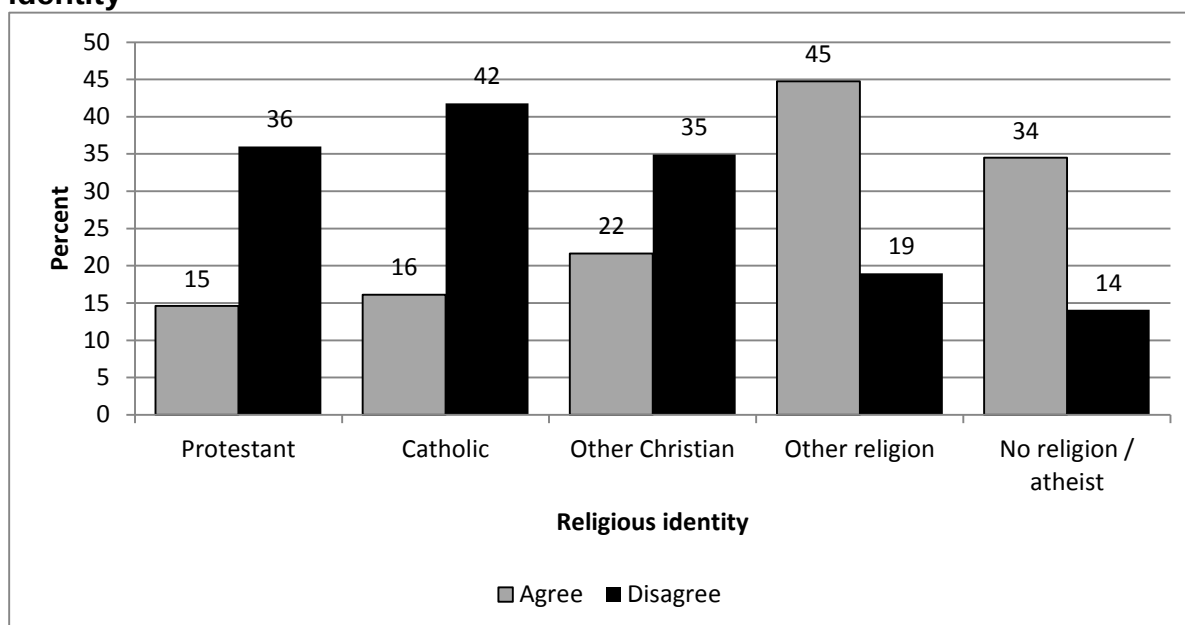
I am more comfortable around people with similar religious beliefs to my own.

While those who said that they had no religious beliefs were asked how much they agreed or disagreed that:

I am more comfortable around people with no religious beliefs.

5.28 Protestants and Catholics were less likely than those of other faiths or none to express discomfort about socialising with people whose religious beliefs differ from their own. Just 15% of Protestants and 16% of Catholics agreed that they were more comfortable with people of the same beliefs as themselves, compared with 22% of other Christians, 45% of those of non-Christian faiths²³, and 34% of those with no religion (Figure 5.8). The figures for those who said they had no religion may suggest a certain degree of secular discomfort with religion.

Figure 5.8: % agreeing or disagreeing that they feel more comfortable with people with similar religious beliefs (or no religious beliefs), by religious identity



Base: Those who completed the self-completion.

Sample sizes: Protestant=492; Catholic=188; Other Christian=240; Other Religion=43; No religion=459

5.29 In addition to religious identity, a number of other factors were significantly and independently associated with feeling more comfortable around people of similar beliefs.²⁴ Men were more likely to agree - 30% of men, compared with 19% of women, said that they felt more comfortable around people of similar religious beliefs (or none).

5.30 People living in the West of Scotland were more likely to say they feel more comfortable around people of similar beliefs (29% compared with 21% of those

²³ There were only 43 respondents who said they were of a non-Christian religion, so caution should be applied concerning any findings about this group.

²⁴ Regression analysis was conducted to determine which other factors were most closely associated with agreement that one is more comfortable around people of similar religious beliefs (or no religious beliefs, in the case of those with no religion). Full details of this analysis are provided in Annex B.

living in other parts of Scotland). Those who regularly attended services or meetings associated with their religion also felt more comfortable with similar people – 33% of those who attended such services or meetings at least once a month felt more comfortable around those with similar religious beliefs to themselves, compared with 18-22% of those who attended church less regularly.

- 5.31 Similarly, those who said that being of a particular religious group (or none) was an important part of their identity were more likely to agree that they felt more comfortable with people of similar religious beliefs. 38% of those who agreed strongly about the importance of their religion (or lack of it) to who they were, falling to 10% of those who disagreed strongly (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: % agreeing/disagreeing that they feel more comfortable with people of similar religious beliefs, by how important religion is to the respondent

	Being of my religion (or no religion) is an important part of who I am					Total
	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	
I feel more comfortable around people of similar religious beliefs (or none)	%	%	%	%	%	%
Agree	38	26	18	18	10	24
Neither agree nor disagree	40	40	52	45	42	44
Disagree	19	31	27	31	45	28
Don't know / refused	3	3	3	5	3	4
Sample size	222	463	393	285	56	1428

Base is all adults who answered the self-completion. Total includes those who answered don't know or did not answer the question on importance of religion

6 PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION OR EXCLUSION

Key points

- 14% of people in Scotland say they have experienced some form of religious discrimination or exclusion at some point in their lives. This includes 5% who did not attend or were not invited to a social event, 5% who believe they were refused a job or promotion and 7% who say they have been harassed or threatened because of their religious beliefs or background.
- Catholics were more likely to say they had experienced some form of discrimination or exclusion based on their religion than were Protestants.
- Catholics who described themselves as 'very' or 'fairly' religious were more likely to say they had experienced job discrimination or exclusion from social events than were Catholics who felt less strongly religious.
- Fans of Celtic football club, those with family connections to Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and those living in the West of Scotland were all more likely to say they had experienced various forms of discrimination at some point in their lives.
- More people aged 18-24 than those aged 65 and over said they had experienced harassment or threats at some point in their lives.
- A minority (14%) has ever thought twice about revealing their religion or lack of it to others.
- Those more likely to have thought twice about whether to tell others about their religion (or lack of it) included 18-24 year olds, men, people with family connections with Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland and those who agree that religion is an important part of their identity.
- Out of all religious groups, Protestants were the least likely to have doubts about telling others about their religion (6% compared with 11-26% for other groups).

Experiences of religious discrimination in Scotland

- 6.1 The previous chapters have explored people's perceptions of the levels of prejudice and of specific forms of discrimination against Catholics and Protestants. This chapter moves on from perceptions of prejudice against others to explore people's own personal experiences of religious discrimination and exclusion.
- 6.2 SSA 2014 asked respondents whether any of the following situations had ever happened to them because of other people's attitudes towards their religious beliefs or religious background:
- Not attended or not been invited to social events (such as weddings, going but with friends, or children's school-based activities),

- Been refused a job, overlooked for promotion or treated unfairly at work,
- Been harassed or threatened, or
- None of these.

- 6.3 5% of all respondents said that they had not attended or been invited to social events because of their religion or lack of it, 5% had been refused a job or overlooked for promotion because of their beliefs, and 7% said they had been harassed or threatened. Overall, 14% of all respondents said they had experienced one or more of these kinds of religious discrimination or exclusion.
- 6.4 Even though the prevalence of religious discrimination or exclusion reported above is relatively low, it is nonetheless higher than that found in other Scotland-wide surveys. However, this is likely to be a result of differences in the time frames different surveys ask about, as well as differences in the precise kind of discriminatory behaviour covered. For example the Scottish Crime survey asked about the incidence of crime in the last 12 months and found that, overall, 10% of people had been insulted, pestered or intimidated in that period. Of this 10%, only 3% said it was because of sectarianism and 3% because of their religion (Scottish Government, 2014). Similarly, the Scottish Household Survey asked about experience of discrimination or harassment in the last 3 years and found that 7% had been discriminated against and 6% harassed (Scottish Government, 2014). Again only a fraction of these were attributed to sectarian or religious reasons. However, the much longer time-frame asked about by SSA appears to identify more widespread historic experiences of historic religious discrimination or exclusion in Scotland.

Who is more likely to say that they have experienced discrimination?

- 6.5 Out of all religious groups it was Catholics who were most likely to say they had been refused a job or promotion (14% compared with 1-5% for other groups) and experienced harassment or threats (15% compared with 2-10% for other groups) because of their religious beliefs. This suggests that the general perception (reported in Chapter 3) that Catholics are more likely to experience such discrimination has some basis in reality (at least historically – we cannot infer from responses to this question how recent such experiences are). Interestingly, people who described themselves as Christian but not Catholic or Protestant were more likely than Protestants to say they had experienced harassment (Table 6.1).
- 6.6 Catholics who feel more strongly religious are particularly likely to say they have experienced discrimination - nearly 1 in 5 Catholics who say they are 'very' or 'fairly' religious said they had experienced job discrimination at some point in their lives, compared with 7% of those Catholics who said they were 'not very' or 'not at all' religious. More religious Catholics were also more likely to say that they had not been invited to or attended social events because of their religion (10% compared with 5% for less religious Catholics). However, people's strength of religious feeling did not make a difference to their reported experience of harassment or threatening behaviour – both more religious and less religious Catholics were equally likely to say they had been threatened or harassed at some point in their lives (14-15%).

Table 6.1 Personal experience of religious discrimination by religious identity and religiosity

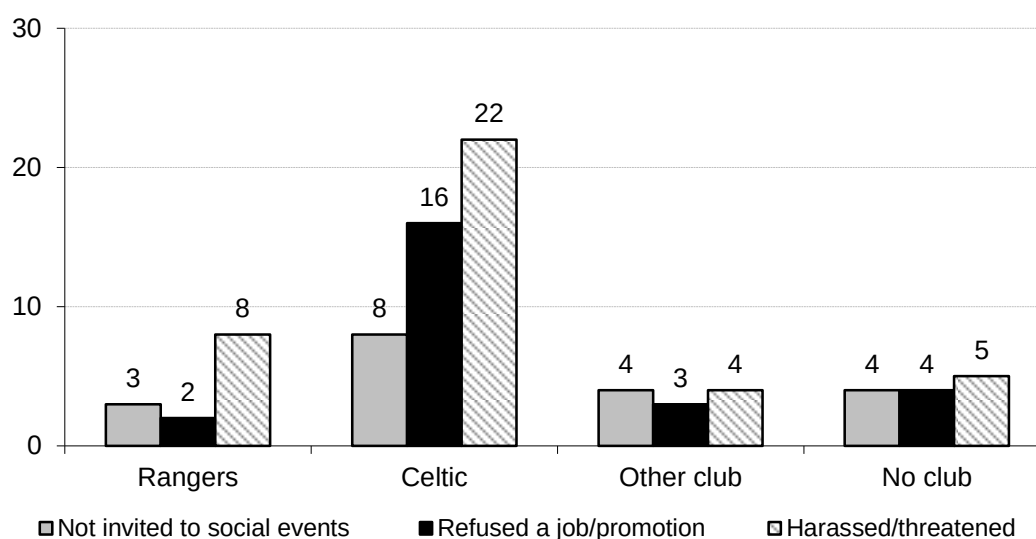
	% Not been invited or not attended social events	% Been refused a job or promotion	% Been harassed or threatened	<i>Sample size</i>
More religious* Protestants	5	4	2	230
Less religious* Protestants	3	3	2	289
More religious Catholics	10	19	14	120
Less religious Catholics	5	7	15	79
More religious other Christians	6	8	10	105
Less religious other Christians	3	3	10	145
Other religion	5	1	10	49
No religion	5	2	6	459

* 'More religious' includes those who said they considered themselves to be 'very' or 'fairly' religious, while 'less religious' includes those who said they were 'not very' or 'not at all' religious

Given the strong links between Celtic football club and Catholicism, it is not surprising that fans of this football club were more likely to say they had personal experiences of sectarianism. However, even after this link is taken into account,²⁵ fans of Celtic are significantly more likely than fans of other clubs or none to say they have experienced sectarianism. 16% of Celtic fans have experienced job discrimination, compared with only 2% of Rangers fans and 3% of those who support other Scottish clubs. Celtic fans were also more likely to say they had been excluded from social events because of their religious beliefs than were fans of Rangers (8% compared with 3%). 22% of Celtic supporters compared with 4-8% for supporters of other teams said they had experienced harassment or threats at some point in their lives because of their religious beliefs or background.

²⁵ Regression analysis of likelihood of having experienced any of the types of sectarian discrimination asked about by religious identity; support (or not) for Celtic, Rangers, or any Scottish team; whether respondents live in the West vs. the rest of Scotland; and whether or not they have family in Ireland shows that support for Celtic is significantly and independently related to experience of discrimination even after religious identity is controlled for.

Figure 6.1: Religious discrimination by football support



Sample sizes: Rangers=160, Celtic=154, Other club=872, Other club =237, No club= 872

6.7 Other groups who were more likely to say they had experienced harassment and threats include: those with family connections to Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland (14% compared with 5% of those without such connections); those in the West of Scotland (11%, compared with 4% in the rest of the country). Those in the oldest age group were least likely to say they had ever experienced harassment or threats relating to their religion (1% of those aged 65 and older, compared with 8% of 25-64 year-olds, and 11% of 18-24 year-olds). Given that the questions ask about lifetime experience of harassment or threats, it is perhaps surprising that younger age groups were more likely to say they had experienced this (since they have had less time in which to experience such behaviour). Perhaps one explanation of this (suggested by the previous chapter) is that younger people are less accepting of sectarian language which may not be viewed as 'harassment' or even as 'sectarian' by some members of older generations.

6.8 Job discrimination was a more common experience among those from the West of Scotland (8%, compared with 3% for other regions) and for those with family connections to Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland (9% vs 3%).

Do people think twice about revealing their religion (or lack of it) to others?

6.9 The discussion above focuses on direct experiences of religious discrimination and exclusion. However, experiences of exclusion can also be more subtle and may reflect self-imposed exclusionary behaviour based on concerns about the responses of others. Such behaviour is arguably an indication that people still censor themselves as a result of perceived religious division and discrimination, whether or not such division or discrimination actually exists. SSA 2014 tried to address this more subtle form of religious difference by asking:

Have you ever thought twice about telling someone you are a (RELIGION²⁶)/have no religious beliefs because of concern about what they might think?

6.10 Only a minority of people said they had ever thought twice about telling others about their religion or lack of it - 3% said they had done it often, 11% occasionally.

6.11 Regression analysis shows that some groups are more likely than others to think twice about telling others about their religion. In particular:

- Catholics *and* those with no religious beliefs were significantly more likely to think twice about sharing their religious views with others (27% of Catholics and 15% of those with no religion compared with 6% for Protestants)
- 18-24 year olds were more likely than those in other age groups to think twice about telling someone about their religion (28% of 18-24 year olds compared with 8-15% for older age groups)
- Men were more likely than women to think twice about telling someone about their religion or lack of religious beliefs (17% of men compared with 11% of women)
- Those who agreed or strongly agreed that their religion or lack of religious belief is an important part of their identity were more likely to have had second thoughts about revealing their beliefs than those who did not feel religion was important to their identity (18% of those who agreed/agreed strongly compared with 9% who disagreed)
- People with family connections to Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland were more likely to have thought twice about telling someone about their religion than were those with no relatives in Ireland (22% compared with 11%).

There were no significant differences by region, area deprivation, education, church attendance, football support, or the nature of people's social connections with Catholics and Protestants.

²⁶ The interview programme automatically filled in the respondent's religion here based on the religion they thought of themselves as.

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ANNEX A – DETAILED TABLES

Notes on tables

- ‘*’ indicates less than 0.5 percent but greater than zero
- ‘-’ indicates no respondents gave this answer
- All figures are rounded to the nearest whole number (from 2 decimal places, such that 0.49 rounds down and 0.51 up)

Chapter 2 detailed tables

Table A.1: Sample sizes for SSA by year (1999 to 2014)

Year	Sample size (unweighted)
1999	1,482
2000	1,663
2001	1,605
2002	1,665
2003	1,508
2004	1,637
2005	1,549
2006	1,594
2007	1,508
2009	1,482
2010	1,495
2011	1,197
2012	1,229
2013	1,497
2014	1,501

Table A.2: Religious belonging (2013 & 2014)

	2013	2014
	%	%
<i>Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?</i>		
No religion	54	44
Christian- no denomination	7	11
Roman Catholic	13	14
Church of England / Anglican / Episcopal / Church of Wales	1	2
Church of Scotland	18	21
Free Church / Free Presbyterian	1	*
Methodist- including Wesleyan	*	*
Baptist	*	*
United Reformed Church / Congregational	-	*
Brethren	*	*
Other Protestant (write in)	1	1
Other Christian (write in)	*	*
Jewish	*	-
Hindu	*	1
Islam / Muslim	2	3
Sikh	*	*
Buddhist	*	*
Other non-Christian (write in)	1	1
(Don't know)	*	*
Refusal	*	*
Sample size	1496	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.3: Family religion (2013 & 2014)

	2013	2014
	%	%
<i>In what religion, if any, were you brought up?</i>		
No religion	23	19
Christian- no denomination	10	11
Roman Catholic	19	20
Church of England / Anglican / Episcopal / Church of Wales	5	6
Church of Scotland	35	36
Free Church / Free Presbyterian	1	1
Methodist- including Wesleyan	*	1
Baptist	*	*
United Reformed Church / Congregational	*	1
Brethren	*	*
Other Protestant (write in)	2	2
Other Christian (write in)	1	*
Jewish	*	-
Hindu	1	1
Islam / Muslim	2	3
Sikh	*	*
Buddhist	-	1
Other non-Christian (write in)	-	*
(Don't know)	*	-
Refusal	-	-
Sample size	1494	1501

Table A.4: Frequency of attendance at religious services

	2014
	%
<i>Apart from such special occasions as weddings, funerals and baptisms and so on, how often nowadays do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion?</i>	
Once a week or more	13
Less often but at least once in two weeks	3
Less often but at least once a month	6
Less often but at least twice a year	9
Less often but at least once a year	6
Less often	6
Never or practically never	54
Varies too much to say	2
Don't know	*
Refused	*
Sample size	1260

Base: all adults who said they belong to a religion or were brought up in a religion

Table A.5: Religious identity

	2014
	%
<i>Do you think of yourself as any of the following?</i>	
Protestant	30
Catholic	15
Christian (but neither Protestant nor Catholic)	15
Muslim	3
Jewish	-
Hindu	1
Sikh	*
Buddhist	*
Spiritualist	*
Atheist	1
Belonging to another religion (WRITE IN)	1
Having no religion	33
Don't know	*
Refusal	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.6: How religious would you say you are?

	2014
	%
<i>How religious would you say you are?</i>	
Very religious	8
Fairly religious	41
Not very religious	41
Not at all religious	10
Don't know	*
Refused	-
Sample size	1017

Base: all adults who identified themselves with a religion

Table A.7: Importance of religion to identity

	2014
	%
<i>Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statement.</i> <i>Being {RelID} is an important part of who I am.</i> <i>Where {RelID} is a textfill using religious identities from table A.4</i>	
Agree strongly	17
Agree	33
Neither agree nor disagree	26
Disagree	19
Disagree strongly	4
Don't know	*
Refused	*
Sample size	1495

Base: all adults who identified themselves with a religion or no religion

Table A.8: Who one knows who is Catholic

	2014
	%
<i>Thinking about the people you know, which of them, if any, are Catholic?</i> <i>Multicoded (Maximum of 7 codes)</i>	
I don't know anyone who is Catholic	7
Partner / spouse	14
Parents / brother / sister/ son / daughter	26
In-laws	23
Other relatives	43
A friend, or friends, I know fairly well	69
Friends or acquaintances I know less well	51
People at my work	33
Don't know	2
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.9: Who one knows who is Protestant

	2014
	%
<i>Thinking about the people you know, which of them, if any, are Protestant?</i> <i>Multicoded (Maximum of 7 codes)</i>	
I don't know anyone who is Protestant	10
Partner / spouse	23
Parents / brother / sister/ son / daughter	43
In-laws	32
Other relatives	56
A friend, or friends, I know fairly well	71
Friends or acquaintances I know less well	55
People at my work	35
Don't know	3
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.10: Family connections with Ireland or Northern Ireland

	2014
	%
<i>Do you have any family connections with Ireland or Northern Ireland?</i>	
Yes	25
No	75
Don't know	*
Refused	*
Sample size	1486

Base: all adults excluding those born in Ireland or Northern Ireland

Table A.11: Support for Scottish football club

	2014
	%
<i>Which Scottish football clubs, if any, do you support?</i> <i>Please include non-league clubs.</i> <i>Multicoded (Maximum of 3 codes)</i>	
None	58
Aberdeen	3
Celtic	12
Dundee	1
Dundee United	1
Dunfermline Athletic	1
Falkirk	*
Heart of Midlothian	3
Hibernian	1
Inverness Caledonian Thistle	2
Kilmarnock	1
Motherwell	*
Partick Thistle	1
Rangers	12
Ross County	1
St. Johnstone	1
St. Mirren	1
Other, Please write in	5
(Don't know)	-
Refusal	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Chapter 3 detailed tables

Table A.12: Perceived level of prejudice against Catholics in Scotland

	2014
	%
<i>How much prejudice do you think there is against Catholics in Scotland nowadays?</i>	
A great deal	4
Quite a lot	17
Some	34
Not very much	32
None at all	5
Don't know	8
Refused	-
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.13: Perceived level of prejudice against Protestants in Scotland

	2014
	%
<i>How much prejudice do you think there is against Protestants in Scotland nowadays?</i>	
A great deal	3
Quite a lot	9
Some	29
Not very much	41
None at all	10
Don't know	8
Refused	-
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.14: Perceived level of job discrimination against Catholics in Scotland

	2014
	%
<i>Some people think that being a Catholic may stop someone getting the job or promotion they deserve. Thinking about Scotland today how often, if at all, do you think this happens?</i>	
A lot of the time	2
Some of the time	22
Hardly ever	43
Never	24
Don't know	8
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.15: Perceived level of job discrimination against Protestants in Scotland

	2014
	%
<i>And some people think that being a Protestant may stop someone getting the job or promotion they deserve. Thinking about Scotland today how often, if at all, do you think this happens?</i>	
A lot of the time	*
Some of the time	16
Hardly ever	49
Never	26
Don't know	8
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.16: Perceived likelihood of harassment for being Catholic in local area

	2014
	%
<i>Thinking about your local area, how likely, or unlikely, do you think it is that someone would be harassed or threatened nowadays for being Catholic?</i>	
Very likely	2
Quite likely	7
Quite unlikely	31
Very unlikely	56
Don't know	4
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.17: Perceived likelihood of harassment for being Protestant in local area

	2014
	%
<i>Still thinking about your local area, how likely, or unlikely, do you think it is that someone would be harassed or threatened nowadays for being Protestant?</i>	
Very likely	2
Quite likely	6
Quite unlikely	29
Very unlikely	59
Don't know	4
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.18: Perceived likelihood of harassment for being Catholic in Scotland

	2014
	%
<i>Now thinking about Scotland more widely, how likely, or unlikely, do you think it is that someone would be harassed or threatened for being Catholic?</i>	
Very likely	4
Quite likely	31
Quite unlikely	39
Very unlikely	18
Don't know	7
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.19: Perceived likelihood of harassment for being Protestant in Scotland

	2014
	%
<i>Still thinking about Scotland more widely, how likely, or unlikely, do you think it is that someone would be harassed or threatened for being Protestant?</i>	
Very likely	3
Quite likely	25
Quite unlikely	42
Very unlikely	22
Don't know	7
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.20: Perceptions of how widespread a problem sectarianism is

	2014
	%
<i>I am now going to ask some questions about sectarianism. As you may know, sectarianism is a term used to describe division, bigotry and discrimination rooted in religion. For the purposes of this survey, I would like you to think only about divisions between followers of different Christian traditions, such as Protestants and Catholics.</i>	
<i>Which of these statements comes closest to your view...READ OUT...</i>	
Sectarianism is a problem throughout the whole of Scotland	19
Sectarianism is only a problem in parts of Scotland	69
Sectarianism is not a problem in Scotland at all	8
Don't know	4
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Response categories reversed for half of the sample

Table A.21: Where sectarianism is perceived to be a problem?

	2014
	%
<i>In which parts of Scotland do you think sectarianism is a problem?</i> <i>Coded by interviewer – no show card</i> <i>Multicoded (Maximum of 13 codes)</i>	
Glasgow	70
West coast / west of Scotland	38
Strathclyde	13
Ayrshire	6
Fife	3
Lanarkshire	12
West Lothian	4
Highlands	4
Edinburgh	15
Central belt	18
Cities / urban areas	11
Rural areas	3
Other (write in)	7
Don't know	5
Refused	*
Sample size	1073

Base: all who said sectarianism was only a problem in parts of Scotland

Table A.22: Perceptions of change in relationships between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland

	2014
	%
<i>Do you think that relationships between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland are better, worse, or about the same as they were 10 years ago?</i>	
Better	47
Worse	3
About the same	40
Don't know	10
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.23: Level of agreement that sectarianism will always exist in Scotland

	2014
	%
<i>Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:</i> <i>Sectarianism will always exist in Scotland.</i>	
Agree strongly	9
Agree	57
Neither agree nor disagree	13
Disagree	15
Disagree strongly	2
Don't know	3
Refused	-
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Chapter 4 detailed tables

Table A.24: What contributes to sectarianism

	2014
	%
<i>From what you have seen, read or heard, which of these, if any, would you say contribute to sectarianism in Scotland?</i> <i>Multicoded (Maximum of 13 codes)</i>	
Newspapers, television or the radio	34
The internet and social media	37
Rugby	3
Football	88
Golf	1
Orange Order marches	79
Irish Republican marches	70
Denominational schools	37
Non-denominational schools	8
The police	8
Churches	27
Events in Ireland	51
Other (WRITE IN)	4
(None of these)	*
Don't know	3
Refused	-
Sample size	1385

Base: all who said sectarianism is a problem throughout or in parts of Scotland

Order of response categories reversed for half of the sample

Table A.25: And which would you say contributes the most to sectarianism in Scotland?

	2014	2014
	%	%
<i>And which would you say contributes the most to sectarianism in Scotland?</i>	Including single responses from previous question	Excluding single responses from previous question
Newspapers, television or the radio	4	4
The internet and social media	4	4
Rugby	*	*
Football	57	55
Golf	-	-
Orange Order marches	14	13
Irish Republican marches	3	3
Denominational schools	6	5
Non-denominational schools	*	*
The police	*	*
Churches	3	3
Events in Ireland	4	4
Other (WRITE IN)	2	2
(None of these)	1	1
Don't know	1	4
Refused	-	-
Sample size	1290	1385

Base: all who gave more than one answer to previous question / all who said sectarianism is a problem throughout or in parts of Scotland

Order of response categories as for previous question

Table A.26: Perceptions of who is best placed to address sectarian attitudes

	2014
	%
<i>Some people think it is important to address sectarian attitudes in Scotland. Who do you think is best placed to do that? Please choose up to 3 answers from the card.</i> <i>Multicoded (Maximum of 3 codes)</i>	
Families / parents	58
Football authorities	29
Individual football clubs	28
Churches	22
The police	14
Local community organisations	19
Schools	55
Local authorities	15
The Scottish Government	31
Other (WRITE IN)	*
(None of these)	-
Don't know	3
Refused	-
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Order of response categories reversed for half of the sample

Table A.27: Perceptions of level of Government attention to sectarianism (2014)

	2014
	%
<i>Thinking about sectarian divisions between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland, would you say that the Scottish Government gives these too much attention, too little attention or about the right amount of attention?</i>	
Too much attention	10
Too little attention	31
About the right amount of attention	47
Don't know	11
Refused	1
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.28: Perceptions of level of Scottish Parliament attention to sectarianism (2003)

	2003
	%
<i>Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:</i>	
<i>The Scottish Parliament is too concerned about sectarian divisions between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland</i>	
Agree strongly	3
Agree	18
Neither agree nor disagree	31
Disagree	35
Disagree strongly	4
Can't choose/ Don't know	8
Not answered	2
Sample size	1324

Base: all who completed self-completion

Chapter 5 detailed tables

Table A.29: Support for and opposition to the right of loyalist organisations to march along public streets

	2014
	%
<i>The next two questions are about loyalist or Orange Order marches, and Irish republican marches in Scotland.</i>	
<i>How much do you support or oppose the right of loyalist organisations, such as the Orange Order, to march along public streets in Scotland?</i>	
Strongly support	3
Support	11
Neither support not oppose	31
Oppose	22
Strongly oppose	31
Don't know	2
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.30: Support for and opposition to the right of Irish republican organisations to march along public streets

	2014
	%
<i>And how much do you support or oppose the right of Irish republican organisations, such as Cairde na hÉireann, to march along public streets in Scotland?</i>	
Strongly support	1
Support	10
Neither support not oppose	30
Oppose	25
Strongly oppose	32
Don't know	2
Refused	*
Sample size	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.31: Support for and opposition to denominational schools

	2007	2014
	%	%
<i>How much do you support or oppose having some schools that are linked to a particular religious denomination, such as Roman Catholic?</i>		
Strongly support	5	6
Support	19	18
Neither support nor oppose	24	31
Oppose	29	22
Strongly oppose	21	21
Don't know	2	1
Refused	-	*
Sample size	1508	1501

Base: all adults

Table A.32: Acceptability of jokes about Protestants or Catholics

	2014
	%
<i>Would you say that jokes about Protestants or Catholics are ...</i>	
Always acceptable	5
Acceptable if they don't offend anyone who hears them	34
Never acceptable	35
(It depends)	20
(Can't choose)	6
Refused	1
Sample size	1428

Base: all who completed self-completion

Table A.33: Acceptability of jokes about Muslims

	2014
	%
<i>Would you say that jokes about Muslims are ...</i>	
Always acceptable	4
Acceptable if they don't offend anyone who hears them	29
Never acceptable	42
(It depends)	19
(Can't choose)	6
Refused	1
Sample size	1428

Base: all who completed self-completion

Table A.34: Acceptability of the term “Fenian” in casual conversation

	2014
	%
<i>Imagine a friend who was not Catholic came round to your home and casually used the term 'Fenian' during the course of the conversation to describe someone who was Catholic. Would you find it acceptable or unacceptable?</i>	
Find it acceptable	9
Find it unacceptable but say nothing	18
Find it unacceptable and say so	40
(It depends)	12
(I have never heard of the term 'Fenian' to describe a Catholic)	14
(Can't choose)	7
Refused	1
Sample size	1428

Base: all who completed self-completion

Table A.35: Acceptability of the term “Hun” in casual conversation

	2014
	%
<i>And what if a friend who was not Protestant casually used the term 'Hun' during the course of the conversation to describe someone who was Protestant? Would you find this was acceptable or unacceptable?</i>	
Find it acceptable	8
Find it unacceptable but say nothing	18
Find it unacceptable and say so	40
(It depends)	12
(I have never heard of the term 'Hun' to describe a Protestant)	14
(Can't choose)	7
Refused	1
Sample size	1428

Base: all who completed self-completion

Table A.36: Whether happy or not for a Catholic to join the family

	2003	2014
	%	%
<i>Some people say they would be happy if a close relative of theirs married or formed a long-term relationship with a Catholic, while others say they would be unhappy about this even if the couple themselves were happy.</i>		
<i>How would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with a Catholic?</i>		
Very happy	31	25
Happy	33	19
Neither happy not unhappy	32	46
Unhappy	3	2
Very unhappy	1	*
It depends	*	4
Can't choose	*	3
Refused	*	1
Sample size	1508	1240

Base: 2014 – all who did not identify themselves as Catholic and who completed self-completion

Base: 2003 – all adults (face-to-face)

Table A.37: Whether happy or not for a Protestant to join the family

	2003	2014
	%	%
And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with a Protestant?		
Very happy	32	24
Happy	36	18
Neither happy not unhappy	30	50
Unhappy	1	1
Very happy	*	*
It depends	1	3
Can't choose	*	3
Refused	*	1
Sample size	1508	936

Base: 2014 – all who did not identify themselves as Protestant and who completed self-completion

Base: 2003 – all adults (face-to-face)

Table A.38: Whether more comfortable around people with similar religious beliefs to themselves

	2014
	%
<i>Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statement.</i>	
<i>I am more comfortable around people with similar religious beliefs to my own.</i>	
<i>(If no religious beliefs: I am more comfortable around people with no religious beliefs)</i>	
Agree strongly	10
Agree	14
Neither agree nor disagree	44
Disagree	17
Disagree strongly	12
Don't know	3
Refused	*
Sample size	1428

Base: those who completed self-completion

Chapter 6 detailed tables

Table A.39: Personal experience of religious discrimination

	2014
	%
<i>Have any of the following things ever happened to you because of other people's attitudes towards your own religious beliefs or religious background?</i>	
<i>Multicoded (Maximum of 4 codes)</i>	
Not attended or not been invited to social events (such as weddings, going out with friends, or children's school-based activities)	5
Been refused a job, overlooked for promotion or treated unfairly at work	5
Been harassed or threatened	7
None of these	80
(Can't choose)	4
Refused	1
Sample size	1428

Base: those who completed self-completion

Table A.40: Whether ever thought twice about revealing religion (or lack of it)

	2014
	%
<i>Have you ever thought twice about telling someone you are a {RelID}, because of concern about what they might think?</i> <i>Where {RelID} is a textfill using religious identity from table A.4</i>	
Yes, often	3
Yes, occassionally	11
No	83
(Can't choose)	2
Refused	1
Sample size	1428

Base: those who completed self-completion

ANNEX B –TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE SURVEY

The Scottish Social Attitudes series

1. The *Scottish Social Attitudes* (SSA) survey was launched by ScotCen Social Research in 1999, following the advent of devolution. Based on annual rounds of interviews of between 1,200 to 1,500 people drawn using probability sampling (based on a stratified, clustered sample)²⁷, it aims to facilitate the study of public opinion and inform the development of public policy in Scotland. In this it has similar objectives to the *British Social Attitudes* (BSA) survey, which was launched by ScotCen's parent organisation, NatCen Social Research in 1983. While BSA interviews people in Scotland, these are usually too few in any one year to permit separate analysis of public opinion in Scotland (see <http://www.bsa-31.natcen.ac.uk/> for more details of the BSA survey).
2. SSA has been conducted annually each year since 1999, with the exception of 2008. The survey has a modular structure. In any one year it typically contains four or five modules, each containing 40 questions. Funding for its first two years came from the Economic and Social Research Council, while from 2001 onwards different bodies have funded individual modules each year. These bodies have included the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), the Scottish Government, the Equality and Human Rights Commission, and various charitable and grant awarding bodies, such as the Nuffield Foundation and Leverhulme Trust.

The 2014 survey

3. The 2014 survey contained modules of questions on:
 - Dementia – funded by the Life Changes Trust and Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
 - Sectarianism – funded by the Scottish Government
 - Violence Against Women – funded by the Scottish Government
 - Attitudes to policing – funded by ScotCen and the Scottish Institute for Policing Research
 - Scottish independence – funded by the ESRC and Edinburgh University.
4. Findings from the modules funded by the Scottish Government will be available in reports published on their website (www.scotland.gov.uk). Separate programmes of dissemination are planned for each of the other modules. This technical annex covers the methodological details of the survey as well as further discussion of the analysis techniques used in this report.

²⁷ Like many national surveys of households or individuals, in order to attain the optimum balance between sample efficiency and fieldwork efficiency the sample was clustered. The first stage of sampling involved randomly selecting postcode sectors. The sample frame of postcode sectors was also stratified (by urban-rural, region and the percentage of people in non-manual occupations) to improve the match between the sample profile and that of the Scottish population. For further details of the sample design, see Para 5 below.

Sample design

5. The survey is designed to yield a representative sample of adults aged 18 or over, living in Scotland. The sample frame is the Postcode Address File (PAF), a list of postal delivery points compiled by the Post Office. The detailed procedure for selecting the 2014 sample was as follows:
 - i. 104 postcode sectors were selected from a list of all postal sectors in Scotland, with probability proportional to the number of addresses in each sector for addresses in urban areas and a probability of twice the address count for sectors in rural areas (i.e. the last 3 categories in the Scottish Government's 6 fold urban-rural classification). Prior to selection the sectors were stratified by Scottish Government urban-rural classification²⁸, region and percentage of household heads recorded as being in non-manual occupations (SEG 1-6 and 13, taken from the 2011 Census).
 - ii. 30 addresses were selected at random from each of these 104 postcode sectors
 - iii. Interviewers called at each selected address and identified its eligibility for the survey. Where more than one dwelling unit was present at an address, all dwelling units were listed systematically and one was selected at random using a computer generated random selection table. In all eligible dwelling units with more than one adult aged 18 or over, interviewers had to carry out a random selection of one adult using a similar procedure.

Response rates

6. The *Scottish Social Attitudes* survey involves a face-to-face interview with respondents and a self-completion section (completed using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing). The numbers completing each stage in 2014 are shown in Table 1.

²⁸ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/07/29152642/7> for details.

Table B.1: 2014 Scottish Social Attitudes survey response

	No.	% of 'eligible' (in scope) sample
Addresses issued	3,120	
Vacant, derelict and other out of scope ¹	341	11
Achievable or 'in scope'	2779	
Unknown eligibility ²	21	1
Interview achieved	1,501	54
Self-completion completed	1,427	51
Interview not achieved		
Refused ³	883	32
Non-contact ⁴	185	7
Other non-response ⁵	168	6

Notes to table

1 This includes empty / derelict addresses, holiday homes, businesses and institutions, and addresses that had been demolished.

2 'Unknown eligibility' includes cases where the address could not be located, where it could not be determined if an address was residential and where it could not be determined if an address was occupied or not.

3 Refusals include: refusals prior to selection of an individual; refusals to the office; refusal by the selected person; 'proxy' refusals made by someone on behalf of the respondent; and broken appointments after which a respondent could not be re-contacted.

4 Non-contacts comprise households where no one was contacted after at least 6 calls and those where the selected person could not be contacted.

5 'Other non-response' includes people who were ill at home or in hospital during the survey period, people who were physically or mentally unable to participate and people in which a language barrier made recruitment too difficult (despite translation and interpreting services being offered).

Sample size for previous years

7. The table below shows the achieved sample size for the full SSA sample (all respondents) for all previous years.

Table B.2: Scottish Social Attitudes survey sample size by year

Survey year	Achieved sample size
1999	1482
2000	1663
2001	1605
2002	1665
2003	1508
2004	1637
2005	1549
2006	1594
2007	1508
2009	1482
2010	1495
2011	1197
2012	1229
2013	1497
2014	1501

Weighting

8. All percentages cited in this report are based on weighted data. The weights applied to the SSA 2014 data are intended to correct for three potential sources of bias in the sample:
 - Differential selection probabilities
 - Deliberate over-sampling of rural areas
 - Non-response
9. Data were weighted to take account of the fact that not all households or individuals have the same probability of selection for the survey. For example, adults living in large households have a lower selection probability than adults who live alone. Weighting was also used to correct the over-sampling of rural addresses. Differences between responding and non-responding households were taken into account using information from the census about the area of the address as well as interviewer observations about participating and non-participating addresses. Finally, the weights were adjusted to ensure that the weighted data matched the age-sex profile of the Scottish population (based on 2013 mid-year estimates from the General Register Office for Scotland).

Fieldwork

10. Fieldwork for the 2014 survey ran between May and August 2014, with 83% of interviews completed by the end of June and 93% by the end of July. An advance postcard, followed by an advance letter, was sent to all sampled addresses and followed up by a personal visit from a ScotCen interviewer. Interviewers were required to make a minimum of 6 calls at different times of the day (including at least one evening and one weekend call) in order to try and contact respondents. All interviewers attended a one day briefing conference prior to starting work on the study.

11. Interviews were conducted using face-to-face computer-assisted interviewing (a process which involves the use of a laptop computer, with questions appearing on screen and interviewers directly entering respondents' answers into the computer). All respondents were asked to fill in a self-completion questionnaire using the interviewer's laptop. If the respondent preferred, the questions could be read out by the interviewer. Table 1 (above) summarises the response rate and the numbers completing the self-completion section in 2014.

Analysis variables

12. Most of the analysis variables are taken directly from the questionnaire and are self-explanatory.

Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)

13. The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)²⁹ 2009 measures the level of deprivation across Scotland – from the least deprived to the most deprived areas. It is based on 38 indicators in seven domains of: income, employment, health, education skills and training, housing, geographic access and crime. SIMD 2009 is presented at data zone level, enabling small pockets of deprivation to be identified. The data zones are ranked from most deprived (1) to least deprived (6,505) on the overall SIMD 2009 and on each of the individual domains. The result is a comprehensive picture of relative area deprivation across Scotland.
14. The analysis in this report used a variable created from SIMD data indicating the level of deprivation of the data zone in which the respondent lived in quintiles, from most to least deprived.³⁰

²⁹ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/> for further details on the SIMD.

³⁰ These variables were created by the ScotCen/NatCen Survey Methods Unit. They are based on SIMD scores for all datazones, not just those included in the sample – so an individual who lives in the most deprived quintile of Scotland will also be included in the most deprived quintile in the SSA dataset.

Region of Scotland

15. For the purpose of analysis, Scotland was split into four regions, north, east, west and south, although in some cases analysis is only presented for the west of Scotland and the rest of Scotland. The four regions were defined as follows:
- North – Aberdeen City, Aberdeenshire, Argyll and Bute, Highland, Moray, Orkney, Shetland, and the Western Isles;
 - East – Angus, Clackmannanshire, Dundee, East Lothian, Edinburgh, Falkirk, Fife, Midlothian, Perth and Kinross, Stirling, and West Lothian;
 - West – East Ayrshire, East Dunbartonshire, East Renfrewshire, Glasgow, Inverclyde, North Ayrshire, North Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, South Ayrshire, and South Lanarkshire;
 - South – Borders, and Dumfries and Galloway.

Analysis techniques

Significance testing

16. Where this report discusses differences between two percentages (either across time, or between two different groups of people within a single year), this difference is significant at the 95% level or above, unless otherwise stated. Differences between two years were tested using standard z-tests, taking account of complex standard errors arising from the sample design. Differences between groups within a given year were tested using logistic regression analysis, which shows the factors and categories that are significantly (and independently) related to the dependent variable (see below for further detail). This analysis was done in PASW 18, using the CS logistic function to take account of the sample design in calculations.

Regression analysis

17. Regression analysis aims to summarise the relationship between a 'dependent' variable and one or more 'independent' explanatory variables. It shows how well we can estimate a respondent's score on the dependent variable from knowledge of their scores on the independent variables. This technique takes into account relationships between the different independent variables (for example, between education and income, or social class and housing tenure). Regression is often undertaken to support a claim that the phenomena measured by the independent variables cause the phenomenon measured by the dependent variable. However, the causal ordering, if any, between the variables cannot be verified or falsified by the technique. Causality can only be inferred through special experimental designs or through assumptions made by the analyst.
18. All regression analysis assumes that the relationship between the dependent and each of the independent variables takes a particular form. This report was informed by logistic regression analysis – a method that summarises the

relationship between a binary 'dependent' variable (one that takes the values '0' or '1') and one or more 'independent' explanatory variables. The tables in this annex show how the odds ratios for each category in significant explanatory variables compare to the odds ratio for the reference category (always taken to be 1.00).

19. Taking the model shown in Table B.5 (below), the dependent variable is agreeing that 'I am more comfortable around people with similar religious beliefs to my own' – or for those with no religion – 'I am more comfortable around people with no religious beliefs'. If the respondent either agreed or strongly agreed, the dependent variable takes a value of 1. If not, it takes a value of 0. If the respondent didn't know, refused to answer, or did not complete the self-completion, they were omitted from the analysis. An odds ratio of above 1 means that, compared with respondents in the reference category, respondents in that category have higher odds of agreeing that they are more comfortable around people with similar religious beliefs to themselves (or no religious beliefs if they have none). Conversely, an odds ratio of below 1 means they have lower odds of saying this than respondents in the reference category. The 95% confidence intervals for these odds ratios are also important. Where the confidence interval does not include 1, this category is significantly different from the reference category. If we look at religious identity in Model 2, we can see that Protestants had an odds ratio of 0.23, indicating that they have lower odds compared with those of no religious beliefs (who were the reference category). The 95% confidence interval (0.15-0.35) does not include 1, indicating this difference is significant.
20. The significance of each independent variable is indicated by 'P'. A p-value of 0.05 or less indicates that there is less than a 5% chance we would have found these differences between the categories just by chance if in fact no such difference exists, while a p-value of 0.01 or less indicates that there is a less than 1% chance. P-values of 0.05 or less are generally considered to indicate that the difference is highly statistically significant, while a p-value of 0.06 to 0.10 may be considered marginally significant.
21. The models below show the final model for each variable, which was produced using the Complex Survey command (CS Logistic) in PASW 18. CS Logistic models can account for complex sample designs (in particular, the effects of clustering and associated weighting) when calculating odds ratios and determining significance. The models shown below include only those variables found to be significant after the regression models were run using CS logistic. A number of other variables were removed from the models before these final models were produced. This was for reasons of multicollinearity and for parsimony. Models with too many variables can sometimes be misleading, particularly if there is a strong association between the independent variables. Religious identity, for example, was strongly associated with both religious belonging and family religion. The statistical modelling process does not work correctly if more than one of these variables is included in the model. It is a matter of judgement as to which is the most appropriate to include. In this case, it was judged that religious identity should be included.

Regression models

Table B.3: Factors associated with thinking that there is either a great deal / quite a lot / some' prejudice against Protestants in Scotland

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Those thinking there is 'A great deal / Quite a lot / some' prejudice against Protestants in Scotland 0 = Those thinking there is 'Not very much / None at all' prejudice against Protestants in Scotland	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Region (p=0.00)		
Not West (reference)	1.00	
West	1.86	1.39-2.47
SIMD (p=0.011)		
Less deprived 80% (reference)	1.00	
Most deprived 20%	1.42	1.08-1.85
Family ties to Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland (p=0.08)		
Lack of family ties to Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland (reference)	1.00	
Family ties to Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland	1.29	0.96-1.74
Religion / lack of religion important to identity (p=0.043)		
Disagree (reference)	1.00	
Agree/strongly agree	1.29	0.97-1.72
Neither agree nor disagree (+DK)	1.59	1.09-2.30

Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.072$

Other factors included in the final model but which were not significant after other factors were accounted for were: age; sex; highest level of education and religious identity.

Additional modelling also looked at religious upbringing, church attendance, how religious they consider themselves to be, football club support or social ties to Catholics/Protestants but none of these factors were significant.

Excludes cases where the respondent answered "don't know" to the dependent variable, or where no answer was provided.

Table B.4: Factors associated with thinking that there is either ‘a great deal / quite a lot / some’ prejudice against Catholics in Scotland

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Those thinking there is ‘a great deal / Quite a lot / some’ prejudice against Catholics in Scotland 0 = Those thinking there is ‘Not very much / None at all’ prejudice against Protestants in Scotland	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Region (p=0.00)		
Not West (reference)	1.00	
West	1.70	1.34-2.38
Family ties to Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland (p=0.010)		
Lack of family ties with Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland (reference)	1.00	
Family ties with Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland	1.38	0.98-1.75
Religion / lack of religion important to identity (p=0.016)		
Disagree (reference)	1.00	
Agree/strongly agree	1.32	0.95-1.83
Neither agree nor disagree (+DK)	1.72	1.19-2.48

Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.062$

Other factors included in the final model but which were not significant after other factors were accounted for were: age; sex; area deprivation; highest level of education; religious identity. Additional modelling also looked at religious upbringing, church attendance, how religious they consider themselves to be, football club support or social ties to Catholics/Protestants but none of these factors were significant.

Excludes cases where the respondent answered “don’t know” to the dependent variable, or where no answer was provided.

Table B.5: Factors associated with agreeing that ‘I am more comfortable around people with similar religious beliefs to my own’ – or for those with no religion – ‘I am more comfortable around people with no religious beliefs’

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Agreeing ‘I am more comfortable around people with similar religious beliefs to my own’ – or for those with no religion – ‘I am more comfortable around people with no religious beliefs’ 0 = Neither agree nor disagree / disagree	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p<0.001)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	0.54	0.39-0.74
Region (p=0.059)		
Not West (reference)	1.00	
West	1.41	0.99-2.01
SIMD (p=0.046)		
Less deprived 80% (reference)	1.00	
Most deprived 20%	0.61	0.38-0.99
Religious identity (p<0.001)		
No religion (reference)	1.00	
Protestant	0.23	0.15-0.35
Catholic	0.15	0.08-0.29
Other Christian	0.35	0.22-0.57
Other non-Christian	0.66	0.23-1.90
Religious attendance (p=0.020)		
No religion (reference)	1.00	
At least once a month	2.54	1.40-4.62
At least once a year but less than once a month (+DK)	1.29	0.60-2.78
Less often or never	1.29	0.81-2.06
Religion / lack of religion important to identity (p<0.001)		
Disagree (reference)	1.00	
Strongly agree	3.26	1.92-5.53
Agree	1.89	1.17-3.05
Neither agree nor disagree (+DK)	1.21	0.75-1.93

Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.177$

Other factors included in model but which were not significant after other factors were accounted for were: age; highest level of education; and family connections with Ireland.

Excludes cases where the respondent answered “don’t know” to the dependent variable, or where no answer was provided.

Table B.6: Factors associated with having often or occasionally thought twice about telling someone about your religion / having no religious beliefs because of concern about what they might think.

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Those saying they have often/occasionally thought twice about telling someone about your religion / having no religious beliefs because of concern about what they might think 0 = Those saying that they have never thought twice about telling someone about your religion / having no religious beliefs because of concern about what they might think	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p=0.046)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	0.67	0.45-0.99
Age (p=0.013)		
18-24 (reference)	1.00	
25-39	0.46	0.22-0.95
40-64	0.42	0.23-0.77
65 and over	0.26	0.12-0.57
Religious identity(p=0.003)		
Protestant(reference)	1.00	
Catholic	3.21	1.80-5.70
Other Christian	1.37	0.69-2.71
Other non-Christian	2.28	0.72-7.13
No religion	1.94	0.98-3.83
Religion / lack of religion important to identity (p=0.009)		
Disagree (reference)	1.00	
Agree/strongly agree	2.10	1.28-3.44
Neither agree nor disagree (+DK)	1.31	0.71-2.43
Family ties to Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland (p=0.004)		
Lack of family ties with Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland (reference)	1.00	
Family ties with Northern Ireland or Republic of Ireland	1.75	1.25-2.54

Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.148$

Other factors included in model but which were not significant after other factors were accounted for were: area deprivation; highest level of education; region.

Additional modelling also looked at religious upbringing, church attendance, how religious they consider themselves to be, football club support or social ties to Catholics/Protestants but none of these factors were significant.

Excludes cases where the respondent answered "don't know" to the dependent variable, or where no answer was provided.

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