



SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE

Religious Discrimination &  
Sectarianism in Scotland:  
A Brief Review of Evidence  
(2002-2004)

Social Justice



social  
research

**RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION & SECTARIANISM IN  
SCOTLAND:**

**A BRIEF REVIEW OF EVIDENCE (2002-2004)**

**Louise McAspurren  
Development Department  
Analytical Services Division**

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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>BACKGROUND.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>RESEARCH BY SPECIFIC POLICY AREAS.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>LINKED ISSUES.....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>SUMMARY &amp; CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>ANNEX A: IDENTIFICATION OF RESEARCH ON SECTARIANISM, RELIGIOUS HATRED AND DISCRIMINATION (MARCH 2002).....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>ANNEX B: FURTHER READING &amp; USEFUL LINKS.....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>28</b>

# **RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION & SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND: A BRIEF REVIEW OF EVIDENCE 2002- 2004.**

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

1.1 The aim of this paper is to explore the key academic and research studies (between 2002 and 2004 only) which look at various issues within the subject area of attitudes to religion, religious discrimination and sectarianism. This will include papers on both structural and attitudinal discrimination, and will focus on discrimination between and against various faith groups. Conflict between Catholic and Protestant communities in Scotland will fall within this definition, but research into discrimination against or within other faiths will also be investigated.

1.2 This paper compliments an earlier piece of work from the Central Research Unit (March 2002) that identified similar pieces of work up until that date. (Please see **Annex A**).

1.3 This briefing paper will not aim to rate one piece of research above another. Instead, it will aim to draw together key findings across the subject area, and in effect compare and contrast such evidence. It will aim to provide a clear explanation of the kinds of evidence available to policy makers and the various debates that ensue within this field.

1.4 Preparation for this paper focused on the following methods:

- On line literature search
- Liaison with other government social researchers
- Liaison with specialist librarians (accessing various databases according to search criteria)

1.5 Literature searches were undertaken between April and May 2004. Some work has been published since the original preparation and collation of the papers for the review. Where possible, any subsequent texts have been included in the discussion.

1.6 However, this paper does not claim to represent a systematic review. Therefore there can be no guarantee that all papers within the academic and research communities are included here. The search for evidence within this sensitive area is ongoing within the wider evidence based policy agenda, and it is hoped that any accidental omission will be filled as time progresses.

## **2. BACKGROUND**

2.1 Since James Macmillan's well publicised speech at the Edinburgh International Festival in 1999, the debate on the prevalence of sectarianism (and religious discrimination in general) in Scotland has developed somewhat in academic circles and in the wider research community. Although traditionally sectarianism and religious hatred/ discrimination were broached from a largely historical perspective, other disciplines are now looking at the issue in more depth. These disciplines include politics, psychology, sociology and theology.

2.2 In particular, social research is now developing a stronger interest in the area. Quantitative and qualitative evidence for modern day Scotland has taken some time to complete and analyse- but data is now available to contribute to the wider debates that until recently have largely concentrated on historical and sociological commentary.

2.3 However, the picture is still very complex. Firstly, the fact that there are now more academic disciplines involved means that there is some confusion and criticism surrounding methodology, terminology and disciplinary bias. Also, the wider discussion around sectarianism and religion has developed links with other issues such as ethnicity and identity. This is further complicated by the multiple approaches to research which either concentrates on 'perceptions' or 'attitudes' to religious hatred and discrimination, or else aims to measure direct indications or experiences of daily discrimination.

2.4 Also, the complexity is heightened by the confusion between the measurement of perception and attitude. These different areas of analysis can often be misrepresented and proposed to measure the same thing. Whereas measurements of perceptions will allude to how someone understands something to be happening or what someone thinks is happening, measurement of attitudes will reflect what people think about that event or circumstance.

2.5 Nevertheless, the two are related, in that an entrenched 'attitude' can effect how someone perceives what is happening around them. Equally, how someone perceives what is happening can effect development of attitudes. Both of these measurements will be discussed as this paper progresses.

2.6 It is important to remember that while there has been development in this subject area, the research community is relatively small compared to those that research other sensitive and highly significant policy areas. This is a complex policy issue and one that may require further work on certain aspects and wider awareness raising.

### 3. SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS

3.1 Steve Bruce and various colleagues have recently provided significant evidence to contribute to the debate on the extent to which sectarianism exists in Scotland today. This is largely through two studies. The most recent is the publication of a collation of evidence in a text entitled ‘Sectarianism in Scotland’ (Edinburgh University, 2004), as well as the analysis of survey data gathered through the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey in 2001. Each will be discussed below, with the main findings highlighted as appropriate.

#### **Steve Bruce et al, ‘Sectarianism in Scotland’<sup>1</sup>**

3.2 The book opens with an attack on what it calls ‘anecdotal’ evidence to date which has fuelled a myth that Scotland is sectarian in its nature<sup>2</sup>. It also strongly criticises individuals such as James MacMillan, who it is claimed, further skew the debate on sectarianism and present an inaccurate and unhelpful picture to the public. With this background the authors claim that the text pulls together hard evidence about the prevalence of sectarianism, and in fact challenges the misconception that sectarianism was and is rife in modern Scotland.

#### *Nineteenth Century- Early Twentieth Century.*

3.3 The authors agree that there may have been disagreement over religion and nationality among Scottish Catholics and Irish Catholics; Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics; Scottish Protestants and Scottish Catholics; and Scottish Protestants and Irish Catholics, in the nineteenth century. However, they suggest that such disagreement was largely down to differences over belief in heaven and hell, and that it mainly manifested itself in caution over marriage partners. They suggest that it did not extend to discrimination in employment and such like. Many of the main employers in industry show no evidence that they did not employ Irish Catholics. Where there was any difficulty in gaining employment was due to the same difficulties that any migrant group would face- it was not because they were Catholic or Irish. It is claimed that any distrust did not evolve into large scale victimisation.

3.4 It is claimed that those voices that spoke out against Catholics (such as James Begg, John Hope and Jacob Primmer) were not given full support and were often criticised by their contemporaries. Historians who have used examples of these men to prove anti Catholicism was rife in Scotland, are accused of failing to look at widespread media (Scottish Guardian, Scotsman, Herald) and communities that condemned such attitudes. Where members got onto school boards on an anti Catholicism agenda, these were quickly moderated when in office. The authors also point out that when Catholic schools joined the state system, they benefited from keeping all their original terms of reference (in particular denominational guidance and observation), unlike other schools.

3.5 Bruce et al also warn against ‘ghetto-ising’ the Irish Catholic population in Scotland. They state this was not a homogeneous group and that there was a growth in the Irish Catholic middle class with people becoming teachers, doctors and policemen.

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<sup>1</sup> All findings under this heading are reported from the text, which is referenced at the end of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> This book defines sectarianism as conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland- with an emphasis on anti-Catholicism.

3.6 Although the authors acknowledge that there were negative attitudes about Catholics in the 1920 and 1930s, they claim that this was limited. Individuals such as Hugh Ferguson MP, John White (Church of Scotland), Alexander Ratcliffe (Scottish Protestant League) and John Cormack (Protestant Action Society) may have enjoyed a brief moment of popularity, but this was largely to do with issues around politics and economics rather than their stance on Catholics. Support later died away. It is also claimed that these individuals were campaigning against the failure of anti Catholicism rather than celebrating the success of such attitudes. It is also highlighted that the majority of clergy in Scotland urged tolerance of one another. No member of the clergy supported either the SPL or the PAS. Also, the authors highlight the fact that the British government deliberately gathered information to move against the racialism of Catholics.

*Late Twentieth Century- Present Day.*

3.7 When looking at discrimination in Scotland today, the authors note that older Catholic men are more likely to say discrimination exists against Catholics. Half of Catholics living in Scotland believe their religion makes a difference to how they are treated, and a third of other respondents share this view. However, only 1% report any experience of discrimination against them personally due to their religion. The authors suggest this shows the power of the myth of sectarianism. In reality they suggest that very few people experience any kind of discrimination because of their religion. From the 1980s onwards, it is suggested that Catholics no longer found discrimination on entering the workplace. Today, Catholics receive the same form of state protection in welfare, and there is no evidence to suggest that religious identity equals victimisation.

3.8 Furthermore, it is argued that the Catholic Church is very well respected- more so than some conservative Protestant groups. In looking at chaplaincy it is claimed that in the majority of cases where 2 chaplains work side by side, one is from the Church of Scotland and one is Catholic. This is said to be a large presence for a population that equals 16% of the Scottish population.

3.9 When looking at whether Catholics had a ‘distinctive’ identity, the following was claimed:

- Intermarriage is increasing with almost 50% of married Catholics marrying non Catholics.
- Catholics living in Scotland are more likely to say they are Scottish not British, as Protestants are more likely to say they are equally Scottish and British. There is no indication that Catholics in Scotland identify themselves primarily as Irish.
- 20% of those raised as Catholics now have ‘no religion’.
- An increasing number of those identifying with Catholicism, feel the Church should comment on public issues but not private matters. This is possibly a move to secularism.

3.10 Other signs of tolerance in society include the backlash against those figures that are ‘caught’ airing sectarian attitudes and the decreasing membership of the Orange Lodge (estimated to be 50,000) in Scotland, compared to other countries.

### *Football and Violence in Scotland.*

3.11 There is a perception that the majority of sectarian attitudes and behaviour is linked to football and associated street violence. Whilst the authors recognise some individual cases, in particular the murder of Mark Scott by Jason Campbell and Campbell's connections to the UVF and planned bombing attacks on Glasgow pubs, they suggest that this is the extreme and not the norm.

3.12 They openly criticise Kelly and Graham (2001) whose work suggests that recent years have seen up to 11 sectarian murders- the equivalent to 1.5 a year. On further inspection Bruce et al suggest that (based on Kelly and Graham's criteria) only 5 of those murders were actually sectarian. The authors suggest that the misrepresentation of these numbers in the original study, and the subsequent misrepresentations through reports by Nil by Mouth and the Church of Scotland have created a social panic over sectarianism.

3.13 Whilst the authors recognise that sectarian songs are sung at Old Firm matches, they claim this does not equate to sectarian attitudes. They argue that the average football supporter is young, male and from a working class background. The culture surrounding this group suggests that there is an appearance of aggressiveness that is not as severe as it might seem. The majority of the people who sing sectarian songs do so as a 'wind up' and do not mean the words they sing. In reality the people who sing these songs do so only to get at the team they are playing, and at the end of the day go home to their mixed marriages and mixed communities. They will often go to work the next day and talk to their Catholic or Protestant work colleague about the match.

### *Non-Threat of Sectarianism.*

3.14 Mixed relationships and revised family dynamic (incorporating different faiths and no faiths) alongside other evidence shown earlier in the book is used to argue that bigotry has failed to grip Scotland. Whilst some individuals remain bigoted in their views, the majority have moved against this type of attitude or behaviour. The authors suggest that this is outstanding proof that sectarianism is not a threat to Scotland. They do not see their text as being the last word on the issue, but rather that their book starts to present the real picture and hard evidence, which others have lacked to date.

3.15 One final point that the authors raise is the question over what is allowed in a 'good society'. In other words, what does it mean to be sectarian? They caution that it should not be prejudiced to accept Irish Catholicism in various forms, whilst also choosing to disagree with some aspects of that tradition in favour of a Scottish Protestant background. It is suggested that it is more a question of tolerance whilst keeping one's own identity.

### **Scottish Social Attitudes Survey: Religion in Modern Scotland (2001 Analysis)**<sup>3</sup>

3.16 This additional module to the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), as part of a project to analyse various measures of religion and religiosity and their links to behaviour and political and sectarian attitudes. Steve Bruce and Tony Glendinning were the lead researchers. Although based on 2001 analysis this report was produced in 2003.

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<sup>3</sup> Detailed findings are available from the final report on this survey, referenced in full at the end of this paper.

3.17 Specifically, the focus of this module was to look at:

- Links between religion, politics, ethnic identity and sectarian attitudes.
- How often people attended church
- To what extent people relate to conventional religion.
- Links between religious beliefs and sensitive moral issues.
- Other forms of spirituality other than conventional religion.

3.18 There were some interesting findings from this module. These fall under the broad topics of strength of organised religion, non attendance and belief, socio-moral issues, sectarianism and discrimination.

*Religion and Attitudes in Scotland.*

3.19 The researchers argue that Scotland is not a multi- faith society. Rather it claims it is a former Christian society that now has a large minority of active Christians within it. It is claimed that the largest group is now those of no faith, which has seen a rise of 50% in the last 25 years.<sup>4</sup> Of those that do not go to church, 38% had just stopped going to church, 28% had never attended church, and 11% had no religious upbringing. Of those that did not go to church, approximately 1 in 10 people still felt that they identified with the core beliefs of the church.

3.20 Of those who affiliate themselves to a particular faith, the majority are from the Church of Scotland, with the next highest group identifying themselves as Roman Catholic. There is then a significant drop to those from 'Other' Christian groups, and 'Other' non-Christian faith groups. One third of the respondents were over 55 years of age. One half of these respondents were in the Church of Scotland.

3.21 Although a large proportion of the overall sample said they 'believed in God' this was later tested and found to mean a much wider definition along the lines of 'something is there'. There was little evidence of taking up new age spirituality. Those that were interested in this area tended to see this as a form of alternative therapy or exercise. These were more likely to be popular among university educated women under 55.

3.22 Views on issues such as homosexuality and abortion were tested against religious affiliation. Overall 1 in 5 Scots hold conservative views on homosexuality and issues such as the 'Clause 28/ 2A'. Of those that are 'religious' the majority disagree with homosexual relations, although this is clearly more prominent in older groups. Only 25% of those aged 18- 34 thought that homosexuality was wrong, compared to 70% of those over 55 years. Similar findings were found when looking at Catholic responses to the issue of abortion. The authors suggest that this means that religion does not influence culture, except among some elements of the older generation.

*Perceptions of Sectarianism in Scotland.*

3.23 The survey shows that 1 in 2 Catholics perceive a level of discrimination in employment, although less than 1 in 5 actually report experiencing any discrimination in

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<sup>4</sup> Findings indicate that 37% of those responding to the SSAS survey claimed to have 'no religion', compared to 36% affiliating themselves with the Church of Scotland, and 14% with Catholicism.

gaining employment or promotion. It is suggested that it is more likely that older men, from a Catholic background will perceive that they are discriminated against. This may be connected to poor access to education, as younger generations (which evidence suggests has access to education, and better educational attainment) are less likely to say this. Overall, few other respondents reported any form of discrimination.

3.24 Those with no religion are more likely to be in low skilled, low status jobs. They are followed by Catholics, and then Protestants. The order is reversed when looking at numbers in professional or managerial posts. However, this is again less pronounced in the younger generations.

3.25 Those that come from a Catholic background are more likely to live in a disadvantaged area, rent local authority housing and may 'find it difficult' on present household income. This is particularly true of older generations. The authors argue this may be due to living in former industrial heartlands of Scotland that are suffering poor socio-economic circumstances. However, they acknowledge that there appears to be a distinct 'class gap' between Catholics and Protestants living in urban south west Scotland.

3.26 Attitudes to mixed marriages were analysed to measure levels of discriminatory attitudes. 10% of respondents said they would mind slightly, or a great deal if a relative married outside of their 'faith' or denomination. The majority of these came from evangelical Christian groups or non Christian faiths. When looking specifically at Catholic and non Catholic marriages, it was found that approximately 50% of married Catholics aged 25- 34 were married to non Catholics. This is compared to 95% of those 65- 74 years and 85% of 55- 64 years being married to Catholics.

## **OTHER REPORTS ON SECTARIANISM**

### **Scottish Social Attitudes Survey: Attitudes to Discrimination (2003 Analysis) <sup>5</sup>**

3.27 This additional module, undertaken by Catherine Bromley and John Curtice, did not ask direct questions around religious intolerance. However, there were linked issues discussed around attitudes to discrimination. In particular the module focussed on women, disabled people, minority ethnic groups, gay and lesbian people and different forms of discrimination. This is relevant as people from minority ethnic groups can sometimes be doubly discriminated against because of their religious identity.

3.28 According to this research, 50% of Scots felt that all the groups experienced some discrimination. 1 in 10 said they thought the groups experienced a lot of discrimination. Younger, university educated women from urban areas, were most likely to share this view. Overall, Scots thought that minority ethnic groups and gay men and lesbians were most likely to face prejudice. 70% of Scots wanted to 'get rid of prejudice'.

3.29 In attempting to understand why people hold discriminatory views, the researchers looked at influencing factors, including sociological reasons. The authors looked to see how racial discrimination (link to religious discrimination) might be influenced by religion and church attendance. The table on the next page is taken from the report:

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<sup>5</sup> The full report is published by the Scottish Executive, and is referenced at the end of this paper.

**Table 3.1: Relationship between racial prejudice and ‘sociological’ factors**

	<b>% who say:</b>					
	Equal opportunities for black people and Asians gone too far	Would prefer an MSP who is white	Would mind inter-racial marriage	Ethnic minorities take jobs from other people	Ethnic minorities do <u>not</u> provide skills	Language translation is a waste of money
<b>All</b>	18	11	17	20	18	35
<b>Age</b>						
18-24	16	5	6	22	24	37
65+	18	19	29	23	16	34
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	19	12	17	21	21	41
Female	17	10	17	20	16	31
<b>Education</b>						
Degree	8	4	11	7	7	22
No quals	24	14	21	28	20	36
<b>Class</b>						
Professional	11	8	14	20	12	30
Working class	21	11	17	25	22	35
<b>Party id</b>						
Labour	17	11	19	18	17	32
Liberal Democrat	10	10	14	8	8	27
SNP	23	9	15	26	22	34
Conservative	16	15	26	21	18	45
None	21	10	12	24	28	42
<b>Religion</b>						
CoS/Presb	24	16	23	23	24	38
Catholic	15	7	15	14	15	31
No religion	15	7	12	10	17	35
<b>Church Attendance</b>						
Once a week	13	13	17	13	11	34
Never	18	10	15	22	20	35
<b>Urban/ rural</b>						
Big cities	10	15	15	18	17	25
Remote rural	14	16	16	20	13	39

### **‘Sectarianism in Glasgow’. (Glasgow City Council, 2003) <sup>6</sup>**

3.30 ‘Sectarianism in Glasgow’ examines findings from research conducted for Glasgow City Council by NFO Social Research. Approximately 1000 people in Glasgow took part in either telephone interviews, focus groups and postal surveys. A number of interesting conclusions were raised.

3.31 Approximately two thirds of those interviewed disagreed that ‘discrimination along sectarian lines no longer exists’. The same proportion disagreed that ‘sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past’. The majority of those involved in the research felt that sectarian jokes, terms of abuse, vandalism, violence, threats, intimidation, and harassment are all common place in the Glasgow area. Overall, 59% of respondents felt that Catholics faced prejudice and 55% felt that Protestants faced prejudice. However, institutional sectarianism was perceived to be less common. Even so, 25% felt that discrimination occurred in employment decisions, and 20% felt that the police held sectarian views.

3.32 However, when analysing the self completion questionnaire, which allowed respondents to express attitudes and concerns about particular groups, very few expressed concern about Catholics and/ or Protestants. Other attitudes were raised including concerns about Muslims and asylum seekers and refugees in their neighbourhood.

3.33 Respondents were asked to report when they thought they had been discriminated against because of their religion. 1.1% felt that they had been turned down for a job or had received poor treatment at work because of their faith. Less than 1% felt that they had suffered a physical assault, threat of violence, vandalism, harassment, unfair treatment from the Council or other public service due to their faith. Yet, despite this apparent lack of ‘reported’ discrimination, 5% still said they avoided certain areas of Glasgow because of their religion. Whereas 6% said they avoided certain areas because of the football team they supported.

### **Opinion Polls**

3.34 NFO System Three Social Research conducted a poll for BBC Radio Five Live which showed that 13% of people living in Scotland claimed to have experienced sectarian abuse of some sort. Catholics were 4 times more likely to be attacked than Protestants and 1 in 5 of all victims had been physically assaulted. This was conducted in May 2003

3.35 NFO System Three Social Research also conducted a poll on behalf of the Sunday Herald which showed that 47% of Scots would support a ban on all sectarian marches, 35% would oppose a ban and 19% said they did not know. This was conducted in July 2003.

### **Scottish Social Attitudes Survey: Islamophobia and Anglophobia (2003 Analysis) <sup>7</sup>**

3.36 Asifa Hussain and Bill Miller used a module in the 2003 SSAS to compliment a wider programme of work (funded by ESRC) on perceptions and attitudes connected to Islamophobia and Anglophobia. 1151 majority Scots were approached (this was defined as the general sample of the SSAS excluding those born outside Scotland, whose partner was born outside Scotland, who are not ‘white’ or who are Muslim).

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<sup>6</sup> Please see references for further details of this report.

<sup>7</sup> Further details are available from a full report, of which details are given in the references section.

3.37 In linked research, 12 focus groups and 1500 telephone interviews asked Pakistani Muslims (that were living in Scotland) and English born people (living in Scotland) how they felt their presence was perceived by majority Scots. These two groups are described as being the largest ‘visible’ and ‘invisible’ minorities in Scotland today. In order to view this against what perceptions and attitudes were held by majority Scots, the SSAS module was devised.

3.38 Both sets of findings will be discussed below, but it would be helpful to note the different sources.

#### *Minorities Perception of Majority Attitude*

3.39 48% of Muslims and 27% of English people living in Scotland think that majority Scots think that they are taking jobs, housing, healthcare and other forms of support from ordinary Scots. 60% Muslims and 48% of English people think that majority Scots feel they can never ‘be fully committed to Scotland’. 81% Muslims and 78% of English people think that majority Scots think they will always be more loyal to other Muslims around the world/England than Scotland.

3.40 56% of Muslims think that majority Scots would be unhappy if a relative married someone from their background. 25% of Muslims feel that Scots would be unhappy to work beside them.

#### *Economic and Social Exclusion*

3.41 Few Scots expressed any concern about economic factors in the SSAS, but a number of majority Scots did indicate that they doubted the minority’s loyalty to Scotland. This was equal for both the English born and Pakistani Muslims now living in Scotland.

3.42 4% (compared to perceived 25%) of majority Scots would be unhappy to work side by side with a Muslim. 32% (compared to perceived 56%) of majority Scots would be unhappy if a relative married a Muslim.

3.43 5% of majority Scots would be unhappy if a relative married an English person. This is cited as a similar number to those that would be unhappy if their Protestant relative married a Catholic (or vice versa). However, 26% of majority Scots said they would be very happy to have a Muslim relative. 33% said they would be very happy to have an English relative. 44% said they would be very happy to have a relative from another denomination (Catholic/Protestant).

3.44 The authors suggest that whilst the minorities recognise some elements of social exclusion, there may be some exaggeration in their perceptions of these specific issues.

#### *Perceptions of Conflict*

3.45 The minority groups and majority Scots were asked whether they perceived conflict between their two groups. Minorities and majority Scots were also asked whether they perceived conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland. With the exception of Muslim and majority Scot conflict, this was to exclude anything connected to sport.

3.46 16% of the English felt that there was conflict between the English and majority Scots. 39% of Muslims felt there was conflict between Muslims and majority Scots. However, 93% of Muslims felt that conflict between Muslims and non Muslims was present around the world, 77% of Muslims felt there was similar conflict in England. Majority Scots largely agreed with this pattern.

3.47 43% of Muslims and 37% of English people felt that conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland was serious. Most of the majority Scots believe that the sectarian conflict is more serious than the Muslim/ Scottish conflict or the English/ Scottish conflict. However, majority Scots view the English/ Scottish conflict more seriously than the English.

#### *Being Scottish*

3.48 Factors such as birthplace, parentage and race were investigated as to their perceived relevance in being a true Scot. 48% of English people living in Scotland believed that you need to be born in Scotland to be accepted as a true Scot. 36% felt that you needed to have Scottish parents. 14% felt that you had to be 'white'. Most of the Muslims did not agree with the English. Only 9% felt that parentage contributed to whether or not you were a true Scot. 20% felt that birthplace was relevant.

3.49 The majority Scots felt that birthplace was most important, with 64% citing this as whether or not you were a true Scot. 18% said that you had to be 'white'. 33% of majority Scots said they would deny a Scottish passport to anyone not truly Scottish.

3.50 Majority Scots were more apprehensive of a Muslim influx into Scotland (52%), than an English influx (42%). 55% of majority Scots felt that Muslims had 'not done a great deal to condemn terrorism' in the aftermath of 9/11. However, most of the majority Scots said they welcome a multi-cultural society, and that they would support any discrimination laws on race, religion or gender on a UK and sub UK origin. This would include any legislation to support Muslims and English in Scotland.

#### *Correlations*

3.51 The authors suggest that a number of factors influence Islamophobia and Anglophobia, and that there is some correlation between the two. They claim that both phobias 'go together', you are more likely to be biased against one group, if you are against the other. Lack of knowledge and lack of friendship between the groups will make this worse. Other influencing factors include age, gender and level of education.

## **4. RESEARCH BY SPECIFIC POLICY AREAS**

### **Education**

4.1 There are two main areas of work which relate to education and sectarianism. Firstly, there is the work of school and community education (the latter includes academic, community or specific support groups which work to combat sectarianism), and secondly there is the debate about the existence of Catholic schools.

4.2 The Scottish Executive Education Department held an anti- sectarianism conference in Dundee on April 26, 2004, where a number of papers and workshops were presented. Elinor Kelly and Tom Devine were among the key speakers. Kelly discussed the basis of open and closed views on religiosity and how this impacts on discrimination. Devine looked at the history behind the development of sectarianism and religious or ethnicity based discrimination. He argued that sectarianism is not at the same overt levels as the 1960/70s, although it can still exist in more discreet forms. Looking back on specific times of religious conflict he linked any resurgence of sectarianism to politics in Northern Ireland, social memory and the economical circumstances of the day.<sup>8</sup>

4.3 The Education Department's anti sectarian resource for schools was also highlighted at this conference. This resource is currently at pilot stage and it draws on a range of initiatives and good practice in schools and the wider community. Nil By Mouth and Sense over Sectarianism are linked to such work.

4.4 In terms of more academic papers, a handful of these are available which look at the existence of Catholic schools. Papers by Finn (2003) and by Torrance (2004) discuss the positive and negative implications for society and political debates surrounding Catholic schools. They also raise the question of whether other denominational or religious schools should gain state funding to prevent discrimination escalating. Neither paper cited here agrees that Catholic schools are divisive.

### **Health (and links to employment)**

4.5 The MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit (University of Glasgow) conducts various pieces of research, including a research programme on ethnicity and health. This programme includes work on Irish and Catholic health, religiosity and health, housing and health and the impact of racist and sectarian graffiti on health and social welfare.

4.6 Focusing on health and employment, Wells and Williams (2003) make a distinction between reporting of discrimination from a Protestant and Catholic viewpoint. They suggest that some Catholics don't report discrimination as there is little overt evidence, whereas Protestants were more likely to acknowledge discrimination against Catholics.

4.7 Another aspect of this programme looked at the role of public and social health and levels of graffiti among areas of Glasgow. Ellaway et al (2002) suggest from their initial findings that sectarian graffiti is more prominent than racist graffiti.

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<sup>8</sup> Titles of presentations available in the references section.

## **Crime and Justice**

### *Elinor Kelly*

4.8 From 2002 until 2004, Elinor Kelly has produced a number of papers which discuss various issues around sectarianism. An earlier piece of collaborative work with Graham on the murder study (which methodology was criticised by Steve Bruce and colleagues) is not within the remit of this report, however it is important to note in the wider academic debate on sectarianism.

4.9 One of the most relevant of the academic papers which Kelly has produced appeared in 'Scottish Affairs' in 2003, entitled 'Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism'. Here she discusses various elements of the debate around sectarianism both in social and political contexts. As in other pieces of work she also refers to sectarian violence and criminal justice issues.

4.10 What is perhaps most interesting in this paper, is her comparison of sectarian violence and discrimination against the conflict caused by racial discrimination. She further goes on to say that procedures which are now in place to react against such racial intolerance, must be revisited and used in light of sectarianism among Catholic and Protestant groups and other faiths that suffer such discrimination. This is highlighted in other papers which she has produced along the more specific lines of hate crime.

### *Government Research*

4.11 Currently, the Scottish Crime and Victimisation survey, commissioned by the Scottish Executive, includes questions on racial and religious incidents. Furthermore, there is a commitment from the Criminal Justice research branch to consider research into the various issues behind those cases deemed to be 'religiously aggravated' brought forward under recent criminal justice legislation.

## **Housing**

4.12 Little research is known of that focuses on this area- unless in more generic issues concerning health (please see above) However, one historical paper which focuses on the debate surrounding whether or not municipal housing in the inter war and post war period was based on sectarian loyalties, has been produced by Paterson (2002). This research largely concludes that there is no evidence of such discrimination. Paterson was involved in working with Steve Bruce on the recent 'Sectarianism in Scotland' text.

## **Sport and Culture**

4.13 Joseph Bradley has issued a number of papers on the issues of identity and how this is a mix of religion or religiosity, politics and social attitudes, which are often manifested through football allegiances. The majority of his earlier work was completed prior to this review. However, he has recently published 'Celtic Minded: Essays on Religion, Politics, Society and Football' (2004). This looks clearly at the culture, community and identity that have developed around Celtic FC.

## 5. LINKED ISSUES

### Ethnicity

5.1 Recent analysis of statistics from the Census includes basic tables on religion by ethnicity. What information is available is given below. All findings are taken directly from the Analysis of Ethnicity in the 2001 Census- Summary Report from the Office of Chief Statistician (2004)

**Table 5.1: Scottish population by current religion — All People**

	<i>Thousands</i>	<i>Percentages</i>
Church of Scotland	2,146	42.4
Roman Catholic	804	15.9
Other Christian	345	6.8
Buddhist	6.8	0.13
Hindu	5.6	0.11
Jewish	6.4	0.13
Muslim	43	0.84
Sikh	6.6	0.13
Another Religion	27	0.53
<i>All Religions</i>	<i>3,389</i>	<i>67</i>
No religion	1,394	27.5
Not stated	278	5.5
<i>All no religion/not stated</i>	<i>1,672</i>	<i>33</i>
<b>Base</b>	<b>5,062</b>	<b>100</b>

- Just over two-thirds (67%) of the Scottish population reported having a religion.
- The most common faith was Christianity: 65.1% of the population are members of the Church of Scotland, Roman Catholic Church or Other Christian churches.
- The next most common faith was Islam (0.84%) followed by Other religions (0.53%), Buddhism (0.13%), Jewish (0.13%), Sikhism (0.13%) and Hinduism (0.11%).
- The Census religion question was voluntary, but nevertheless only 5.5% chose not to answer it.

**Table 5.2: Current religion by ethnic group — All People (Shown as percentages)**

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Church of Scotland</b>	<b>Roman Catholic</b>	<b>Other Christian</b>	<b>Buddhist</b>	<b>Hindu</b>	<b>Jewish</b>	<b>Muslim</b>	<b>Sikh</b>	<b>Another religion</b>	<b>No religion</b>	<b>Not stated</b>	<b>Base</b>
White Scottish	46.7	15.9	4.3	0.1	-	0.1	-	-	0.4	27.1	5.4	4,459,071
Other White British	13.9	8.5	33.8	0.2	-	0.3	0.1	-	1.5	35.6	6.0	373,685
White Irish	6.7	68.6	6.5	0.1	-	0.1	0.1	-	0.9	12.3	4.7	49,428
Other White	8.0	27.8	20.3	0.4	-	1.0	2.4	-	2.0	30.8	7.5	78,150
Indian	2.4	3.8	3.4	0.3	30.5	0.1	5.9	37.6	0.9	9.1	6.0	15,037
Pakistani	0.7	0.5	0.4	-	0.1	-	89.2	0.1	0.2	2.8	6.1	31,793
Bangladeshi	2.0	1.2	1.1	0.3	1.4	0.3	84.3	0.1	0.3	3.9	5.3	1,981
Other South Asian	4.9	6.5	4.2	4.1	9.2	0.2	43.2	3.8	2.3	11.5	10.3	6,196
Chinese	3.4	4.3	8.8	11.7	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	1.0	63.1	7.2	16,310
Caribbean	13.6	17.6	22.7	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.2	1.6	32.0	10.9	1,778
African	9.3	18.2	32.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	18.5	0.1	0.9	12.4	7.7	5,118
Black Scottish or Other Black	20.4	18.3	14.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	8.7	0.4	1.4	23.1	12.5	1,129
Any Mixed Background	13.6	16.8	10.1	0.9	0.3	0.6	10.7	0.3	2.2	35.7	8.9	12,764
Other ethnic group	4.4	15.7	8.4	9.8	0.7	1.2	32.4	0.7	1.4	17.5	7.8	9,571
<b>All People</b>	<b>42.4</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>27.5</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>5,062,011</b>

Table 5.2 shows current religion by ethnic group.

- Christianity is the most common religion for all four White groups and also for Caribbean, African and Other Black Scottish people.
- Sikhism is the most common faith among Indian people (37.6%) followed by Hinduism (30.5%)
- 89.2% of Pakistanis, 84.3% of Bangladeshis and 43.2% of Other South Asian people are Muslim. 32.4% of people who listed their ethnicity as 'Other' are also Muslim as are 18.5% of African people.
- 63.1% of Chinese people responded that they have 'no current religion'. The group reporting the lowest level of 'no religion' is Pakistani people (2.8%).
- 12.5% of Other Black people chose not to state their religion as did 10.9% of Caribbean people and 10.3% of Other South Asian people.

## Identity

5.2 Looking at identity, Rosie and Bond have written a number of papers relating to Scottish identity. Most notably, in their paper 'National Identities in Post Devolution Scotland' (2002) they suggest that the majority of people living in Scotland identify themselves as Scottish as oppose to British or English- with very few people considering themselves as Irish- even when given the choice to pick multiple identities.

5.3 Rosie was involved in working with Bruce et al on the recent 'Sectarianism in Scotland' text. More recently, he has also published a text entitled 'Sectarian Myth in Scotland' (2004) which aims to place the debate on sectarianism within a wider context and look at the issues around politics, religion and identity. The text also attempts to look at the different understandings of sectarianism. Within the introduction to this book it says:

*'Sociologically, 'sectarianism' denotes a social setting in which systematic discrimination affect the life chances of religious group, and within which religious affiliation stands for much more than theological belief... What passes for sectarianism in modern Scotland is better described as bigotry or prejudice... -it is not systematic and does not materially affect the life chances of entire religious groups... [however] there is a wide spread perception that religious bigotry, or even simple religious difference, remains a serious social problem- hence the debate.'*

*(Rosie, M. 2004)*

5.4 Alan Smith from University of Ulster, also questions how much sectarianism today is connected to religion. Does sectarian conflict or discrimination base itself on identity and fear of the 'other', and then transpose religious differences on to this? In a presentation at the Scottish Executive's Anti-Sectarianism Conference in Dundee (April 2004) he cites:

*'While identity factors such as ethnicity and religion are commonly cited as a major cause of conflict, many analysts conclude that ethnicity and religion are more often mobilised and politicised by conflict rather than the other way around'.*

*(Duffield, M. 2001)*

## 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 The majority of research listed above tends to focus on the traditional understanding of sectarianism along Catholic and Protestant divisions, however there have been wider developments to discuss issues of ethnicity, religiosity and identity in its various forms.

6.2 Few authors would say that sectarian or religious discrimination is entirely extinct, but there is now significant debate around the extent to which it exists in modern day Scotland. There is also debate around how history is relevant to the debate, some believe it is important in understanding perceptions/ identities, where as others argue that reliance on history promotes myth of sectarianism. Overall, the findings from the various pieces cited above indicate that there is indeed a perception of religious discrimination and sectarianism. However, there are conflicting conclusions when discussing what evidences actual 'hard' discrimination.

6.3 Work by Steve Bruce and colleagues would suggest that any limited evidence of religious discrimination is among older generations, and so is indicative of sectarianism dying out- although this may be an issue of definition of sectarianism. Work by NFO System Three indicates that there is little 'hard evidence' to suggest that sectarianism is highly reported in Glasgow, but that serious concerns remain, as highlighted through focus group discussions. However, all authors would agree that the perception of sectarianism or religious discrimination along other religious lines is high.

6.4 Asifa Hussain and Bill Miller would agree that some Muslims and English people living in Scotland perceive discrimination to be slightly higher than it actually is, although they would argue that the perceptions of the minorities who took part in the research have clear links to the some of the attitudes expressed in the SSAS.

6.5 Elinor Kelly and Tom Devine, whilst coming from different perspectives on this subject area, both raise their concern that sectarianism still exists within Scotland.

6.6 Quite clearly, the majority of this attitudinal work presents a mixed conclusion. However, this may be more an issue in how research measures attitudinal discrimination. This is not a straightforward matter and methodologies are contested among different academic schools of thought. Structural discrimination can be measured by assessing to what extent certain groups are denied access to school education and post compulsory education, what type of employment they undertake and what type of housing they live in. However, it is suggested that this does not necessarily understand or indeed measure adequately complex attitudinal discrimination. Attitudes to sectarianism will obviously be linked to structural discrimination- but this is also argued to be a distinct issue in itself.

6.7 Other issues include the fact that there still remains a significant number of the population that perceive a level of sectarian conflict. This could potentially develop barriers that go on to contribute to the cycle of perpetuating divisive attitudes and behaviours (in whatever way this is shown).

6.8 The conclusion of the review is that the research community is small, but within the community there were several examples of complexities and contention between researchers. There are a number of reasons for this. These include arguments around:

- The extent of sectarianism in modern Scotland and individual views on this.
- Disciplinary biases (including theory on use of history).
- Differences in methodology (including use of quantitative and qualitative data/ use of media reports).
- Differences in terminology (including definition of sectarianism).
- ‘High level thinking’ on perceptions/ attitudes to sectarianism v. ‘ground level’ research on specific experiences of sectarianism/ community work.

6.9 However, what is also apparent is that this subject area will develop as the various connected issues within this complex topic are further explored and for this reason it will be important and highly beneficial for all concerned with this policy area to keep up to date with the ongoing debates and proposed findings.

## **ANNEX A:**

This briefing was prepared for the Equality Unit by Linda Nicholson, Central Research Unit, March 2002.

### **IDENTIFICATION OF RESEARCH ON SECTARIANISM, RELIGIOUS HATRED AND DISCRIMINATION WITHIN A SCOTTISH CONTEXT**

You asked for information about research relating to the issues of sectarianism, religious hatred and discrimination particularly in a Scottish context.

I undertook a scoping exercise based on the following:

- Planning Exchange databases
- Home Office Research
- JRF database
- ESRC Regard database
- Runnymede Trust website
- Websites of relevant Universities: Warwick, Bristol, Bradford
- Relevant CRU research: Audit of Research on Minority Ethnic Issues
- Liaison with CJ research branch
- Personal contact with Scottish Academic research community

#### **Overview**

Overall, very little research evidence exists on these issues in the contemporary Scottish context. The searches undertaken revealed scant research attention to religious hatred/discrimination in Scotland, with limited focus (mostly historical) on issues of sectarianism.

The lack of a robust statistical evidence base to underpin research exploration is likely to have curtailed progress to date, and the forthcoming 2001 Census data may open up new possibilities for research. Another new major data source of relevance is the 2001 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey module on religious belief and behaviour. I attach a relevant handout (hard copy) from the recent Conference which we both attended and at which preliminary analysis of the data was presented. The SSAS data is not, however, likely to stand up to detailed disaggregation and interrogation of the data, for example, to geographical area level.

Within Scotland the relevant but limited research work appears to have been undertaken within the policy domains of governance/sociology (Edinburgh Univ. - Dave McCrone, Lindsay Paterson/Aberdeen Univ. - Steve Bruce, Tony Glendinning), Sport (Stirling Univ. - Joseph Bradley), Health (Glasgow Univ. - Rory Williams) with ad hoc work in the spheres of social care and education. Details of key research studies/publications identified by the search are listed below.

## **SCOTTISH FOCUSED RESEARCH**

### *1. Religion in Modern Scotland*

ESRC funded current work being undertaken by Steve Bruce and Tony Glendinning, Aberdeen University.

Commissioning of a module on religious belief and behaviour in the 2001 SSAS, with the aim of addressing, inter alia, a) sectarianism (how relevant is religion for other forms of identity and how important is religio-ethnic identity in modern Scotland; and b) conventional religion (how popular is church attendance and how is it related to social-economic, political and demographic characteristics).

The research is underway with a completion date of end Jan 2003.

### *2. Class, Creed and Community Integration in the west of Scotland 1918-85*

ESRC funded completed work undertaken by Tom Gallagher, Bradford University

Project monitoring the relations between the host community and Irish immigrants and their descendants from 1918 onwards and an examination of why community divisions failed to reach critical proportions although many of the ingredients of the N.I. conflict were present on Clydeside. Key factors encouraging gradual absorption and integration are identified and the failure of sectarianism to be completely eradicated is discussed.

### *3. Sectarianism in Glasgow and Liverpool*

An essay by Damer,S (1989) reviewing research by Gallager,T on religious tension in modern Scotland and Neal,F on Sectarian violence: the Liverpool experience 1819-1914.

## **Education**

A few relevant items identified:

### *4. Bruce, S (1999) "Social Divisions and the Social Impact of Catholic Schools" in Scottish Affairs, No. 29, 1999, pp 1-8.*

This discusses the recently stated assertion that Scotland remains a bigoted and sectarian society with the descendants of early twentieth century Irish migrants still experiencing social, political and economic discrimination. This assertion is challenged by examining social-economic status and reviewing the clear convergence that exists between Catholics and non-Catholics in Scotland. It looks at the situation in N.I. and compares it with attitudes in Scotland. It considers marriage patterns and cultural identity. It discusses the social impact of schooling and the declining divisiveness and influence of segregated schools throughout the country.

### *5. Hemming,H and Saeed, A(1995) "Religious Education for Muslims: Opinions from second generation Pakistani Muslims in Scotland" (Applied Social Studies Department, University of Paisley).*

6. Gordon, S (1998) *“Meeting the religious, personal and social needs of Muslim children in Scottish primary schools”* (Aberdeen Campus, Northern College).

### **Social Care**

7. Millen, D (2000), *“The relationship between religion and services to children in Scotland”* (Edinburgh: Children in Scotland).

Focused on the extent to which minority religious beliefs were acknowledged and met within mainstream services of adoption and fostering, education and non-statutory social support (e.g. services to young people who were affected by HIV/AIDS).

8. Glasgow University Centre for the Study of Child and Society and Muslim Network (1995) *“The needs of Muslim Women”* (Glasgow: The Muslim Network).

Research reports on the high percentage of women who felt discriminated against because of their religion and concludes that there is a high demand of Muslim women specific services in the areas of social work, leisure and health.

9. Samuel, E and Pearson, C (1999) *“The Jewish Community of Greater Glasgow: Population and Residential Patterns”* (University of Edinburgh).

Focuses on the importance of planning housing, care and support services which take into account the cultural and religious needs of an ageing community, who were increasingly living apart from their family.

### **Health**

Research by Mullen and by Williams has considered the role of religion and religious discrimination in health and health-related behaviours in those of Irish descent e.g.:

10. Mullen, K et al (1996) *“Irish descent, religion and alcohol and tobacco use”*, *Addiction* Vol. 91, no. 2: pp242-254.

11. Williams, R (1993) *“Religion and Illness”*, in Radley, A (ed.) *Worlds of illness* (London: Routledge).

### **Criminal Justice**

12. CRU criminal justice branch is considering a new major study of violence with a focus on the west of Scotland. Likely start date is May/June with an expected completion in 2004. Although not a central focus of the work, the issue of religious hatred may emerge and could be pursued if appropriate. The research developed from discussions with Strathclyde police and has ACPO(S) endorsement.

## **OTHER KEY UK RESEARCH**

### **Home Office**

13. *Weller, P et al (2001) "Religious Discrimination in England and Wales" (University of Derby)*

Research based on fieldwork in Blackburn, Cardiff, Leicester and Newham and a postal questionnaire to a range of religious organisations in England and Wales. Aimed to assess the evidence of religious discrimination both actual and perceived; describe the patterns emerging; indicate the extent of overlap with racial discrimination and identify suitable policy options. Muslim organisations most likely to say that ignorance, hostility and discriminatory practices had worsened over the last five years. Christian and Jewish respondents thought things had stayed much the same. Respondents in Wales thought less progress had been made compared to counterparts in England (Scotland not covered by this study). Discrimination most likely to be experienced in education, employment and the media. Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus frequently reported unfair treatment in areas such as immigration, policing and prisons.

Associated "Policy Options" documented in:

14. *Hepple, B and Choudhury, T (2001) "Tackling religious discrimination: practical implications for policy-makers and legislators"*.

### **RUNNYMEDE TRUST**

15. Established the "Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia" in 1996 and produced a 1997 consultation paper "*Islamophobia its features and dangers*". The report "*Islamophobia: a challenge for us all*" (1997) was based on this exercise. The document contains 60 recommendations and focuses on Muslim communities.

16. Anti-Semitism tackled in the Runnymede's Commission on Anti-Semitism's report "*A very light Sleeper: The persistence and dangers of anti-Semitism*" (1994 reprinted 1997).

Since Sept 11 a new section of the Runnymede website has been developed to focus on islamophobia ([www.runnymedetrust.org/meb/islamaphobia/index.html](http://www.runnymedetrust.org/meb/islamaphobia/index.html))

### **SUMMARY**

Overall, little Scottish focused work with main emphasis on sectarianism, religious hatred/discrimination. 2001 Census data may open up new possibilities for exploration. SSAS data likely to stimulate new research analysis along the lines of "religion not the most pressing social divide in Scotland". The new CJ study *may* inform issues around the significance and manifestation of religious hatred although these are not the main foci of study.

## **ANNEX B: FURTHER READING & USEFUL LINKS**

### **SELECTED FURTHER READING BY CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER**

Please note that this does not restrict itself to the timeframe of the review.

Scottish Executive (2004) *Update on the Recommendations of the Cross-Party Working Group on Religious Hatred*, HMSO.

Faulkner, D., (2004) *Civil Renewal, Diversity and Social Capital in Multi Ethnic Britain*, Runnymede Trust.

Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations (2004) *Understanding, Accepting and Valuing Each Other (A Good Practice Guide)*.

Scottish Executive (2002) *Report of the Cross Party Working Group on Religious Hatred*, HMSO.

Spalek, B., (2002) *Hate Crimes Against British Muslims in the Aftermath of September 11<sup>th</sup>*, in Crime Justice Matters no 48, 20-21.

Devine, T. (ed.), (2000) *Scotland's Shame?: Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland*, Mainstream Publishing.

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Walker G., and Gallagher, T., (eds.), (1990) *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press.

### **USEFUL LINKS**

**‘One Scotland. Many Cultures.’ web site... [www.onescotland.com](http://www.onescotland.com)**

This link will take the reader to the ‘One Scotland Many Cultures.’ web site, which gives more detail on the Scottish Executive’s multi cultural and anti racism campaign and encourages the public to contribute to the campaign. There are many useful links within this site to organisations and campaigns that are committed to promote equality for minority ethnic groups, religious communities and refugees.

**‘Mainstreaming Equality’ web site... [www.scotland.gov.uk/mainstreamingequality](http://www.scotland.gov.uk/mainstreamingequality)**

This link will take you to a resource tool which includes relevant papers that cover a wide number of equalities issues, many in reference to specific policy areas such as Health or Social Justice.

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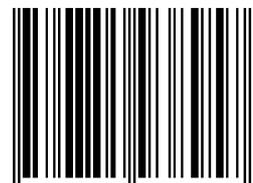
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