

# **SECTARIANISM IN GLASGOW – FINAL REPORT**

Prepared for:  
**Glasgow City Council**

Prepared by:  
**NFO SOCIAL RESEARCH**

19 Atholl Crescent  
Edinburgh, EH3 8HQ

Telephone: 0131 656 4000  
Facsimile: 0131 656 4001  
e-mail: [nfos3@nfoeurope.com](mailto:nfos3@nfoeurope.com)

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## A. Introduction and methods

### Introduction and background

Religious sectarianism has long been an issue in Scotland. While few would disagree that sectarianism still exists in Glasgow in one form or another, there has been no consensus on its scale and nature within the city. While such studies as the Life and Times Survey have attempted to measure sectarianism in Northern Ireland, little hard evidence exists for Scotland. Indeed, Professor Tom Devine, editor of “Scotland’s Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland” has recently highlighted the paucity of rigorous research examining the scale of sectarianism in Scotland<sup>1</sup>. There has, however, been a growing debate on the prevalence of sectarianism and how to address the problem. This has been witnessed in a number of recent events:

- The public debate which followed James MacMillan’s 1999 Edinburgh Festival lecture in which he accused Scotland of being a land of ‘sleep-walking bigotry’.
- The proposal for a Bill in the Scottish Parliament by Donald Gorrie MSP in June 2001 to make sectarian behaviour an aggravation of a criminal offence.
- The convening of the Cross-Party Working Group on Possible Legislation to Tackle Religious Hatred in Scotland by the Scottish Executive in November 2001.
- The decision by the Scottish Parliament’s Justice 2 Committee on 11 December 2002 to support an amendment to the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Bill introducing offences aggravated by religious prejudice<sup>2</sup>.

In February 2001, Glasgow City Council formally recognised that sectarianism continues to be an issue, and in December 2001 commissioned NFO Social Research to carry out research to determine the scale, nature, and impact of sectarianism in the city. This report presents our findings.

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<sup>1</sup> Glasgow Herald, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2002, “McConnell accuses politicians of playing the sectarian card”.

<sup>2</sup> The Committee’s debate on the proposed amendment can be accessed at [www.scottish.parliament.uk/official\\_report/cttee/just2-02/j202-4902.htm#Col2438](http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/official_report/cttee/just2-02/j202-4902.htm#Col2438)

## Methodology

The study was undertaken in three broad phases, centred on a survey of a representative sample of 1,000 adults in Glasgow. The objective of the preparatory phase was to gain some insight into the issues that should be examined by the survey. This phase comprised:

- a brief review of the literature on sectarianism, particularly focused on the literature pertaining to Glasgow and the West of Scotland.
- telephone interviews with members of a 'sounding board' group established by the City Council. This group was established to give advice to the Council as it explored the issue of sectarianism and comprised representatives of the Church of Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church, Nil By Mouth, Rangers and Celtic Football Clubs, Strathclyde Police, NHS Greater Glasgow, Strathclyde Passenger Transport, Glasgow Alliance, and the Greater Glasgow and Clyde Valley Tourist Board.
- three focus groups with members of the public – one Protestant group, one Roman Catholic and one with people who did not align themselves with either religion.

After this preparatory phase, the survey was designed to elicit the views of a representative sample of adults on the main issues related to sectarianism. These were:

- the extent and nature of prejudice in Glasgow
- personal experiences of prejudice and discrimination
- attitudes to different social groups
- experience of crime and the links between crime and sectarianism and other prejudice.

Following the survey, a number of focus groups were conducted with adult members of the public (6 groups) and also 4 group discussions with S4 pupils at two Glasgow schools, two groups at a Catholic school and two at a non-denominational school. The post-survey adult groups were segmented by age, sex and social class<sup>3</sup>. These post-survey groups were designed to explore the findings of the survey in more detail.

Copies of the focus group topic guides and questionnaires are provided in the Appendix.

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<sup>3</sup> The occupational groupings ABC1 and C2DE were used for social class segmentation. Generally, ABC1 occupations include professionals, managers, and non-manual workers while C2DE includes skilled and non-skilled manual workers and those that depend on the state long-term.

### *Methodological issues*

From the outset, we were conscious of the potentially sensitive nature of the research and the possible impact this might have on the survey. Two possible ways that the topic of the research might have an effect were identified.

- People might refuse to take part in the research
- If they took part, they might not answer honestly, especially if this would mean expressing views that might be considered socially unacceptable.

We tried to overcome this in several ways. First, we introduced the study to people as being about 'Attitudes to life in Glasgow as well as experiences of prejudice and discrimination'. This was particularly important with the focus groups where we wanted to examine the extent to which issues of sectarianism would arise spontaneously in the course of the discussion. This was also important in the survey to avoid refusals to participate because of the subject of the survey.

The survey questionnaire was also carefully designed to ensure that issues that explicitly related to sectarianism were asked towards the end. The questions in the survey were also ordered carefully to minimise any effects on later responses of earlier questions. So, for example, questions relating to perceptions of the prevalence of sectarian behaviour in Glasgow were asked after questions relating to experience of crime motivated by any form of prejudice.

Finally, the questionnaire included an extensive self-completion section in which respondents entered their answers to questions directly into a computer. There was, therefore, no need for respondents to express their opinions to anyone else. We know from previous experience of self-reported offending that this tends to improve the quality of responses given by people.

### *Reporting conventions*

It is worth briefly commenting upon the conventions used in reporting the quantitative and qualitative elements of the study. While the survey results are representative of the views of Glasgow residents, the qualitative research is more of an exercise in gaining insight and not to secure representativeness in any statistical sense. With regard to the survey results, differences between groups are only reported following the appropriate test of significance. In some instances where differences appear noteworthy but are not statistically significant–

for example, when contrasting responses from white and minority ethnic respondents – appropriate warnings are given in the text. It should also be noted that, as with any sample survey, the results presented are estimates of the true population figures. The estimates may differ from the true population figure because they are based on a sample. As a rule of thumb, estimates from the total sample will be accurate to within +/-3%.

Apart from edits to ensure the confidentiality of the participants, extracts from the focus groups are reported verbatim. When quoting a conversation between participants, asterisks are used to identify each new interjection. When the interviewer or moderator is quoted, this is identified in the text. A reference to the focus group type is given after each individual extract. This details the recruitment criteria of the participants.

### **Terminology**

Glasgow City Council uses ‘black and ethnic minority people’ and ‘people from black and ethnic minority groups’ to refer to people who are South Asian or of South Asian descent, other Asians (e.g. Chinese), Africans and people from the African Diaspora and other visible ethnic minority groups. For the purpose of the survey questionnaire and interview, the shorthand of ‘Black and Asians’ was used.

### **Structure of the report**

Section B explores definitions and understandings of sectarianism from the pre-survey qualitative fieldwork. It also examines the perceived prevalence of sectarianism. Section C discusses existing prejudice and views on acceptable behaviour. Section D analyses individual experiences of sectarianism, Section E considers the possible responses to sectarianism and Section F provides a summary of the research and offers some conclusions.

## **B. Perceptions of the nature and scale of sectarianism in Glasgow**

### **Introduction**

The starting point for the research was to examine sectarianism, as members of the public in Glasgow understand it. Indeed, we were interested to see to what extent the issue of sectarianism would emerge spontaneously in discussions about participants' own communities and the context in which it might do so. This approach reflected both our concern to ensure that the issue was not established as a 'problem' at the outset and also our desire to look at sectarianism from the perspective of members of the public in the context of practical issues about which the Council and its partners could develop policy and initiatives.

From this perspective, dictionary definitions of the term are of limited value. If an issue or an agency is perceived as sectarian then it needs to be addressed in some way.

### **What do people understand by 'sectarianism'?**

Technically, adherents to any religious beliefs can be described as 'sectarian' but this idea of a value-free and benign description of theological differences finds no reflection in the popular understanding of the term. Instead, 'sectarianism' is almost always used as a pejorative term to describe division, bigotry and discrimination based on religion. Although it perhaps, hardly needs to be said, in the context of Glasgow, sectarianism is usually taken as a specific reference to conflict between Protestants and Catholics. It was recognised that sectarianism has historical roots in Ireland and a contemporary relevance because of the continuing events in Northern Ireland.

Thus, in popular understanding, sectarianism describes religious conflict rather than religious difference and a particular type of religious conflict. While people recognise

doctrinal differences between some Protestants and Catholics, they do not see any sectarian conflict between the mainstream Protestant and Catholic churches<sup>4</sup>.

Sectarianism was also described by respondents as just one of many possible prejudices reflecting, for some, a belief that prejudice was part of the 'natural order' in which group cohesion tends to result from an awareness of similarity and difference – for example, in relation to such characteristics as race and religion. Sectarianism in Scotland is, in this understanding, just one of many religious conflicts in the world and one of many different prejudices.

*\*I think you get it in every society and it's hard to stamp out and I think probably the Sikhs and Hindus are probably as bad as other religions.*

*Post-survey group, Females, ABC1 aged 25-39*

#### *Is religious sectarianism in Glasgow perceived to be one-way?*

Overall, most respondents in the survey took an even-handed view of sectarianism, with three-quarters saying that rather than being mainly anti-Catholic or mainly anti-Protestant, sectarianism in Glasgow tends to be equally aimed at Catholics and Protestants. Only a small minority said that sectarianism tends to be mainly anti-Catholic (8%) or anti-Protestant (2%). Even among Catholics and Protestant respondents, there was a strong view that sectarianism affected both equally although Catholic respondents were more likely to say that sectarianism tended to be anti-Catholic (15%) than Protestants were to say that it tended to be anti-Protestant (3%).

#### **Perceptions of the prevalence of sectarianism in Glasgow**

The survey sought to examine the public's views of sectarianism by including a series of questions relating to people's perception of the prevalence of sectarianism in Glasgow. Sectarianism was also examined in the context of other possible prejudices to see, in

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<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that in 2002, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland voted overwhelmingly to pass a motion saying that it "regrets any part played in sectarianism by our church in the past and affirm our support for future moves towards a more tolerant society". This motion contrasts starkly to the Church and Nation Report presented to the General Assembly in 1923 entitled "The Menace of the Irish Race to our Scottish Nationality".

relative terms, which are the main divisions in Glasgow. Respondents were asked to comment on:

- the nature of sectarianism in Glasgow
- whether sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past
- whether discrimination along sectarian lines still exists
- the extent of prejudice against Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Black and ethnic minority people, and refugees/asylum seekers
- what forms of sectarian behaviour are felt to be common.

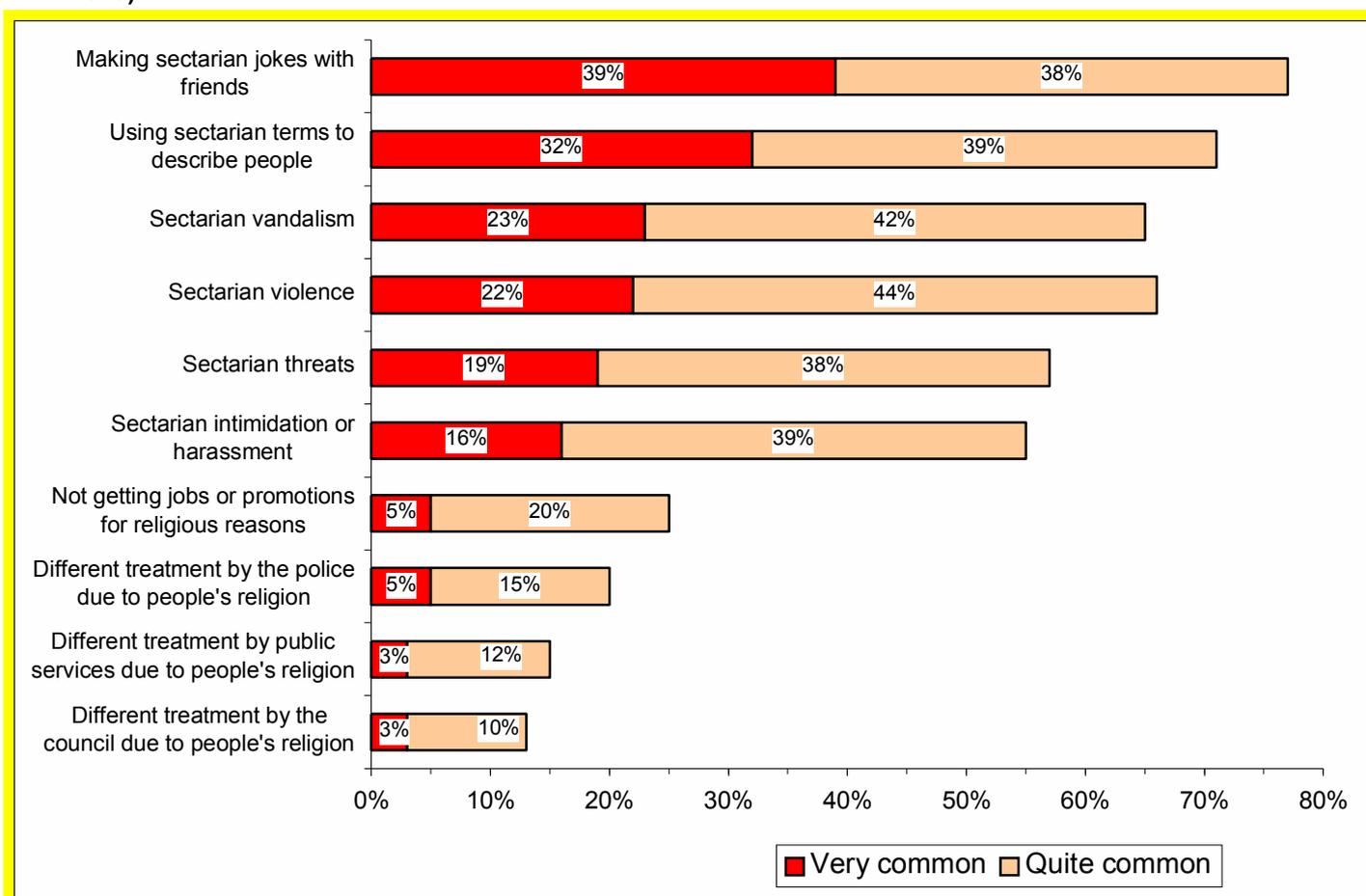
We also sought some understanding of the extent to which sectarianism is perceived as associated with particular institutions such as the Council, the Police etc.

Most respondents continue to see sectarianism as a current and prevalent problem in Glasgow. Only 9% of respondents agreed that “discrimination along sectarian lines no longer exists” and 68% disagreed. This view was consistent across all the sub-groups of the sample regardless of the respondent’s own religion, sex, social class and ethnicity.

Equally importantly, perhaps, there was little evidence that respondents felt sectarianism is on the wane, with 67% disagreeing that “sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past”. Again this view was held consistently across the sample.

Given the widespread perception that sectarianism is common in Glasgow, the forms that it is seen to take are important because it gives an indication of the nature of the problem. According to respondents in the survey, sectarianism is most commonly observed through jokes between friends and by using sectarian terms to describe people (Figure B-1). Overall, 77% said that sectarian jokes between friends was either very or quite common, while 71% said that using sectarian terms was common. Perhaps more alarmingly, around two-thirds (65%) of respondents felt that sectarian violence was very or quite common and a majority (58%) felt that sectarian threats and harassment were common.

**Figure B-1: How common different forms of sectarianism are (% saying very or quite common, n=1029)**



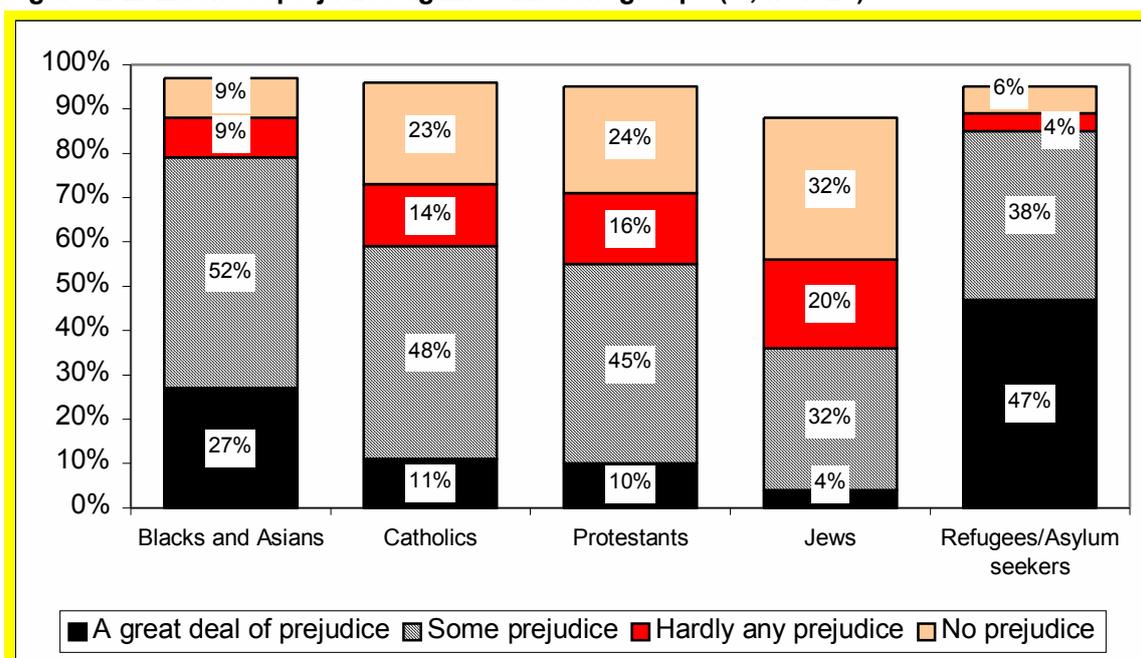
Institutional sectarianism – in the labour market, by the Police or by the Council or other public services – was perceived to be much less common. Even so, a quarter (25%) of respondents felt that sectarianism was common in employment decisions and a fifth (20%) felt that there was sectarian practice by the Police. Yet when people were asked specifically about how the Police treat Catholics and Protestants, 45% said that both are treated equally, 19% said that “religion doesn’t affect how people are treated” and 28% felt unable to comment, leaving only 7% believing there was some difference in how the Police treat Protestants and Catholics. On the surface these results appear contradictory. However, the difference reflects the fact that people generally perceive sectarianism to be common and yet when asked about specific organisations or experiences of sectarianism, they are less likely to identify it as a common problem.

A similar result was obtained when respondents were asked specifically about how the Council treats Protestants and Catholics, with only 5% saying there was any difference.

Overall, these findings clearly show that respondents believe that sectarianism is still prevalent in Glasgow and an issue of concern. However, there are two aspects of this view that need to be emphasised. First, sectarianism is seen primarily as an individual issue – as being about relationships between people rather than institutionalised prejudice. Secondly, sectarianism is only part of a broader pattern of prejudice that respondents feel is prevalent in Glasgow. While almost 60% of respondents felt there was some prejudice or a great deal of prejudice against Catholics and Protestants, 79% felt there was prejudice against Black people and Asians and 85% felt there was prejudice against refugees/asylum seekers.

Indeed as Figure B-2 shows, for none of the groups did a majority of respondents feel there was *no* prejudice. As can be seen from Figure B-2, 9% of respondents felt there was no prejudice against Black people and Asians and only 6% felt there was no prejudice against refugees/asylum seekers.

**Figure B-2: Extent of prejudice against different groups (% , n=1029)<sup>5</sup>**



<sup>5</sup> 'Don't know' responses are not shown.

These views were held consistently across the sample to the extent that Catholics and Protestants were agreed that the other groups faced prejudice. There were, however, differences by age, with respondents aged 60+ less likely to believe that each group faced prejudice and respondents aged 16-29 more likely to say this.

### **Why do people think there is sectarianism in Glasgow?**

While an understanding of the meaning of 'sectarianism' is useful, in policy terms it is more important to understand what sustains it and the forms in which it is expressed since these will be the focus of policy aimed at eradicating it.

#### *Sectarianism and football*

Discussion of sectarianism in the focus groups regularly focused on the rivalry between Rangers and Celtic. While most cities have rivalry between local teams that sometimes spills into violence, Glasgow is seen as peculiar in the intensity of the rivalry. In their origins and history, Rangers and Celtic reflect the divisions between Protestants and Catholics in Glasgow. The Old Firm is therefore about more than a sporting rivalry and is still seen as reflecting a more fundamental social division between Catholics and Protestants.

The relationship between religion and football can be seen in the survey, which shows that 74% of those who said they support Celtic described themselves as Roman Catholic (while only 4% described themselves as Protestant). Similarly, 65% of those who said they support Rangers described themselves as Protestant (while only 5% described themselves as Catholic). This is not to suggest that support for Rangers or Celtic is sectarian in itself but it shows a strong link between religion and support for the Old Firm in Glasgow.

For some, the role of football was so significant that it actually replaced religion as the source and focus of sectarian attitudes and behaviours.

*\*If we're talking just about Glasgow, it isn't a religious thing ...It's a football team thing.*

*Post-survey group, Females, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*It has nothing to do with Catholics and Protestants, it's the new religion of Celtic and Rangers.*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

*\*What I feel spurs it on is the football. I don't know if the religion itself is a problem... I think in Glasgow in particular it's not so much the religion as the football that I think seems to just hype it up.*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

Perhaps of more importance, support for Rangers and Celtic is also seen as reflecting the sectarian divide in Ireland, which, again, is seen to be about much more than religious difference. Even in the face of pronouncements and action from the Clubs themselves, the Clubs' histories, the symbolism surrounding them (the Union Flag versus the Irish Tricolour), the organisations and political movements that congregate around the Clubs and the highly visible activities of a small number of supporters, all help maintain the perception to some that Celtic is associated with Republicanism and Rangers with Loyalism.

*\*Unfortunately, there are a lot of people who I know and they've got a lot of family over in Belfast and things like that – both sides of religion.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 25-39*

*\*A lot of the time it does go back to religion because Protestants should support Rangers and Catholics should support Celtic.*

*Post-survey group, Females, ABC1 aged 25-39*

While football rivalry can lead to violent clashes between fans in Glasgow, because of the relationship between football and sectarianism, some participants presumed all of the violence around Old Firm matches to be a consequence of sectarianism rather than 'ordinary' violence that might occur at any football match.

*\*A lot of violence kicks off because of sectarianism yet a lot of people don't even know what it's about! They are just into it for Celtic, Rangers.*

*Pre-survey group, Protestants*

There was, however, no consensus on whether such violence is sectarian in nature, or whether it is simply sporadic football violence, similar to that which is viewed as mindless hooliganism elsewhere. Although sectarianism might have a strong link with football, members of the public were divided on the strength of the relationship. Nearly half of respondents (48%) strongly agreed or agreed that sectarianism “is almost entirely confined to football”. However, 37% of respondents disagreed with this.

Several focus group participants emphasised the role that alcohol plays in fuelling violence around Old Firm matches. This link is also reflected in the lower levels of offending of all forms since these matches have been held with an earlier start time.

*\* The real problem at the bottom of all this, the real problem is drink.  
The whole thing is about drink.*

*Post-survey group, C2DE Females aged 25-39*

#### *Catholic schools*

In the focus groups, Catholic schools were not generally considered sectarian in themselves, but many respondents felt that in a context where religious division is perceived as common, the continuation of Catholic schools represented tangible evidence of this.

*\*A lot of it has to do with, why do we educate our children separately?*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 40-60*

In the survey, however, views of Catholic schools were more polarised. Overall, respondents were evenly divided on whether Catholics schools caused “intolerance to other traditions”, with 33% agreeing and 32% disagreeing. Views among Catholic and Protestant respondents differed substantially. Only a fifth (18%) of Catholics agreed that separate schools created intolerance and 57% disagreed, compared with 39% of Protestants who agreed and 24% who disagreed.

#### *Organisations linked to sectarianism*

Reflecting the link between Irish politics and sectarianism, a number of respondents in the group discussions mentioned the tradition of marching by the Loyal Orange Order and Republican James Connolly Society. Although there are a number of different organisations that arrange marches, the Loyal Orange Order and James Connolly Society were most

commonly known to respondents. Both sets of marches were seen as provocative, intimidating and symbolic of the continuing presence of a minority that was intolerant of other religions. The association of both organisations with the troubles in Northern Ireland confirms in respondents' minds that these marches are, at some level, sectarian.

*\*Walking the Orange Walk is sectarian behaviour.*

*\*Aye and they can say it's historically significant but it isn't historical, it is anti-Catholic.*

*\*It's lost in history now. It's totally hatred-motivated and no way does it go back to history because I don't think half of them have enough brains to know what the history is about.*

*\*The younger ones don't but I think it is just an excuse for violence.*

*Pre-survey group, Protestants*

*\*Obviously it's the impact on people's lives almost in the sense it inconveniences them - for example it's okay to say you are not bothered by the Orange Walks but it's disrupting your life, the noise and the violence that goes with it. You can't always turn a blind eye to it.*

*\*No, it drives me up the pole!*

*\*I'm paying plenty in Council tax, why should I pay for Police to walk with them?*

*Pre-survey group, Catholics*

*\*I am not against people having religious freedom but look at the Orange Walk it is hijacked for people's prejudices. The people who take part in the walk are fine - it is the followers.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 40-60*

### *Personal experiences and social spheres*

Although sectarianism is often associated with particular institutions, there was also considerable discussion of personal interactions that were either explicitly sectarian or felt to be driven by a basic, low-level prejudice. At the very least, they reflected a situation in

which generations of religious division made a person's religion an important fact to be determined.

*\*And they asked me what my name was and my name's [deleted] so that doesn't give you any indication. Then they asked me what school I went to. They'd never heard of it so then it's just, do you support Rangers or Celtic? I don't support either so then it's, are you a Catholic or a Protestant?*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

Like the presence of separate schools, asking what school someone attended, although not in itself sectarian, has the potential to raise concern about the motivation of the questioner. In a society where sectarianism is perceived as a serious problem, enquiring about someone's school might be a way of determining their religion without asking. As the quote above shows, there are a number of questions that people perceive to be proxy measures of religion.

While there is evidence that people perceive sectarian motives in particular questions, there is less evidence to suggest that religion plays a major role in how people live their lives. A minority of survey respondents identified religion as having an impact on aspects of their social and personal lives, such as who they could have as a friend (6% saying they had felt that religion was a factor in this), who they could date or marry (12%), what jobs they could apply for (9%), where they could live (7%) and which social clubs they could join (16%). There were few variations in this, although Catholics were more likely to say that religion was a factor in the jobs they could apply for than were Protestants (13% and 6% respectively).

Increasing secularisation in Glasgow can be seen clearly in the religious affiliation of different age groups. While less than one tenth (8%) of respondents aged 60 and over reported having no religion, over a third (36%) of people aged between 16 and 29 said that they had no religious affiliation.

Mixed marriages were an issue which was commonly raised in relation to sectarian prejudice with a number of incidents mentioned in the focus groups. However, it should be noted that with several of the incidents, it was unclear as to how recently these incidents had occurred. The following comment is typical:

*\*And she says ... "my father says you're never to get in the house because you're a Catholic".*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

### **Perceptions of the nature and scale of sectarianism – key points**

- In popular understanding, sectarianism describes religious conflict rather than religious difference. It was recognised that sectarianism has historical roots in Ireland and a contemporary relevance. In the context of Glasgow, sectarianism is usually taken as a specific reference to the conflict between Protestants and Catholics.
- The vast majority of respondents continue to see sectarianism as a current and prevalent problem in Glasgow. Additionally, there was little evidence that the situation is perceived as getting better, with two-thirds of respondents disagreeing with the statement that sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past.
- Sectarian actions were primarily seen as being at an individual level rather than institutionalised prejudice and discrimination.
- Sectarianism is perceived as only part of a broader pattern of prejudice in Glasgow, with more respondents believing that there is some prejudice against Black and ethnic minority people, and refugees/asylum seekers as those who believed that prejudice exists against Catholics and Protestants.
- The rivalry between Rangers and Celtic was most commonly seen as the way in which the sectarian divide in Glasgow is sustained. To a lesser extent, public processions, including those commonly referred to as Orange Walks and Catholic parades, and separate Catholic schools were given as reasons for the continuance of the divide in Glasgow.

## C. Individual prejudice and what is acceptable

### Introduction

A key aim of the study was to measure perceptions of what is acceptable behaviour with regard to sectarianism and, in particular, to measure the levels of prejudice that exist in Glasgow. Previous work has recognised the possible links between the use of everyday language and ‘a culture of prejudice’ with more extreme forms of behaviour such as violence and discrimination. This chapter presents findings on what residents of Glasgow thought was acceptable in terms of language and mixed marriages, and attempts to measure levels of prejudice that exist in Glasgow.

### Acceptability of language

In order to measure perceptions about what is acceptable in terms of language, respondents were asked how they would react if a friend used different slang terms to describe different types of people during a conversation. Results are displayed in Table C-1.

**Table C-1: Acceptability of different slang terms (column %, n=1029)**

	<b>Paddy</b>	<b>Fenian</b>	<b>Proddy</b>	<b>Hun</b>	<b>Paki</b>	<b>Nigger</b>	<b>Poof</b>
<b>Think it acceptable</b>	22%	10%	20%	11%	15%	6%	10%
<b>It depends on the context</b>	24%	18%	22%	20%	18%	12%	21%
<b>Think it unacceptable but not say anything</b>	20%	26%	22%	24%	24%	24%	24%
<b>Think it unacceptable and say so</b>	27%	39%	30%	37%	40%	55%	40%
<b>Can't say</b>	7%	7%	6%	7%	4%	4%	5%
<b>Total</b>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The majority of respondents said that they would find the use of three of the four slang terms referring to Protestants and Catholics that were asked about – ‘paddy’, ‘fenian’, ‘proddy’ and ‘hun’ – unacceptable. Overall, 65% said that the term ‘fenian’ was unacceptable, 61% said that the term ‘hun’ was unacceptable, and 52% said that the term ‘proddy’ was unacceptable. Slightly fewer respondents said that the term ‘paddy’ was unacceptable (47%).

It is worth emphasising that a sizeable minority of respondents said that they would find the use of these terms acceptable. Around 1 in 10 respondents said that they would find the terms 'fenian' and 'hun' acceptable if used by a friend (10% and 11% respectively), while around 1 in 5 respondents said likewise for the terms 'paddy' and 'proddy' (22% and 20%).

Respondents were also asked whether they would find the terms 'paki', 'nigger' and 'poof' acceptable if used by a friend. The term 'nigger' elicited the least acceptance (6%) and the most opposition (79%) among the seven terms. Just under two-thirds of respondents said that they would find the terms 'paki' and 'poof' unacceptable (64% each), a similar level to those who would find the words 'fenian' and 'hun' unacceptable (65% and 61% respectively).

A sizeable minority of respondents also said that the acceptability of these terms would depend on the context that they were used. The importance of context and different nuances of meaning were emphasised in several of the focus group discussions. One participant, for example, argued that the use of different terms is common and acceptable when referring to oneself or someone in the same grouping as themselves, but unacceptable when referring to others -

*\*These groups use it to describe themselves. I'm a Celtic fan right and I would say to myself I'm a Tim, it's almost that people use these words against themselves. The black community in America where they could call each other 'niggers', yet if we use it it's offensive.*

*Pre-survey group, Catholics*

A common theme that emerged from the focus group discussions was that the acceptability of language was dependent on whether it was intended to - or was perceived as attempting to - cause offence. Using such terms among friends was, therefore, seen as more acceptable than using such terms with strangers -

*\*Interviewer: What about the use of words like 'fenian' and 'proddy'?*

*\*Following the word 'fenian' with 'bastard' is not acceptable*

*\*Depends again who you are talking to*

*\*Interviewer: What do you mean?*

*\*Well, some guys might use it where one supports Rangers and one Celtic and they're slagging each other off.*

*\*When it's your pals*

*\*When you are saying it with venom to somebody you don't know.*

*\*When you may cause offence to that person then that's totally unacceptable.*

*Pre-survey group, Protestants*

This is also illustrated in the following quote, where a participant argues that there is an important distinction between behaviour in public and in private.

*\*It's acceptable behaviour if some of my mates are round at my house and two of them are Catholic and two of them are Protestant and they want to laugh and sing at the other two, that is totally acceptable - it's nothing to do with anyone else. People who go out in public and do it is unacceptable because half the time they are doing the damage to themselves because that is what happens - they start it and somebody else finishes it.*

*Pre-survey group, Protestants*

However, there is the obvious difficulty in that people's views on what causes offence differ. This inevitably leads to situations where comments that are intended as inoffensive are perceived as offensive. These differences and a lack of empathy with the viewpoints of others are seen clearly in the following discussion about the acceptability of jokes -

*\*Interviewer: What about jokes, like jokes in the workplace?*

*\*No, you get jokes all the time*

*\*And they are accepted in the workplace*

*\*People that can't handle that should lighten up then. Like someone who was a Celtic supporter and he worked in a place where they were all Rangers fans, Rangers and Celtic were playing and he went into work the next day and couldn't handle all the stick he was getting because he was a Celtic supporter. You know - lighten up!*

*\*I used to work in [name of company] and even although Rangers got beat at the weekend, I'd kind of look forward to going in and getting a slagging because it was a laugh. It was a carry on.*

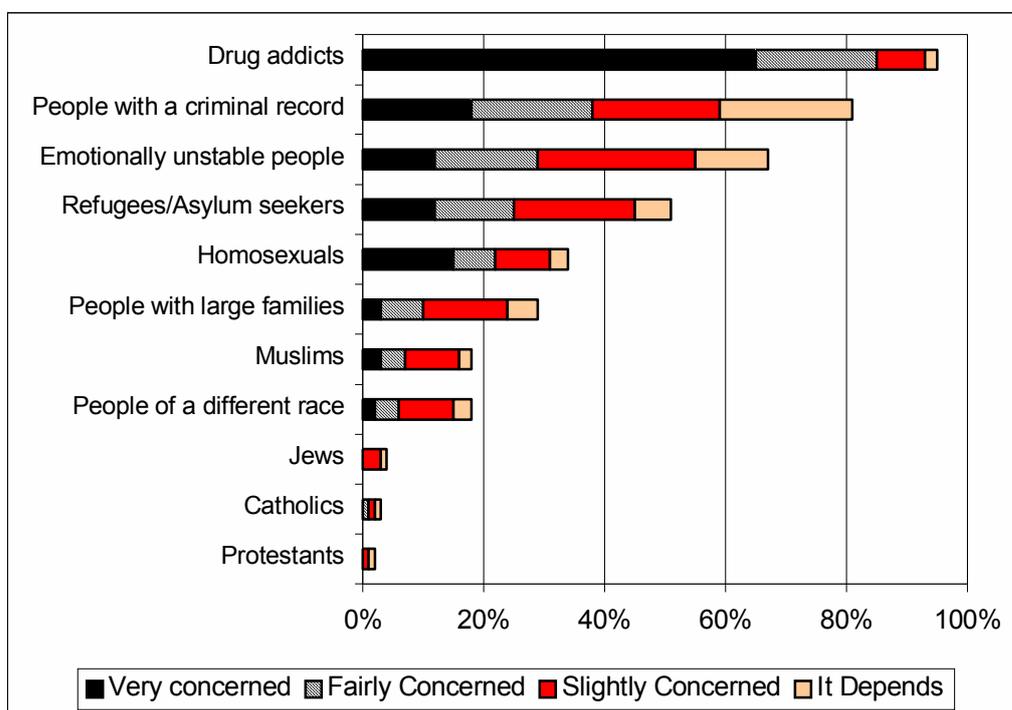
*Pre-survey group, Protestants*

Both the survey and the focus group discussions suggest that there are a range of views on the acceptability of different slang terms relating to Protestants, Catholics and other groupings, and that these views are closely related to perceptions of what causes offence and the context in which they are used. However, there was no clear consensus on what is offensive. It could, therefore, be argued that there is scope for action to increase awareness of the offence caused by using slang terms for Protestants and Catholics.

### Measuring attitudes to different groups

Researching sectarianism offers the challenge of measuring an attribute that is not widely considered to be socially acceptable.

**Figure C-1: Level of concern if certain people moved into neighbouring home (% , n=1029)**



In order to examine prejudices against particular groups, the survey asked respondents about how concerned they would be if particular types of people moved into a neighbouring house or flat. This question was placed first in the survey so as not to be influenced by question order effects that might result from the later focus on sectarianism.

As Figure C-1 shows, drug addicts, people with a criminal record, emotionally unstable people, and refugees/asylum seekers would most commonly elicit some level of concern

from respondents should they move into a neighbouring house (93%, 59%, 55% and 45% respectively). A sizeable minority of respondents also said that they would be concerned to some extent if homosexuals (31%), people with large families (24%), Muslims (16%), and people of a different race (15%) moved into a neighbouring home. In contrast, Jews, Catholics, and Protestants moving into the neighbourhood would concern 3%, 2%, and 1% of respondents respectively.

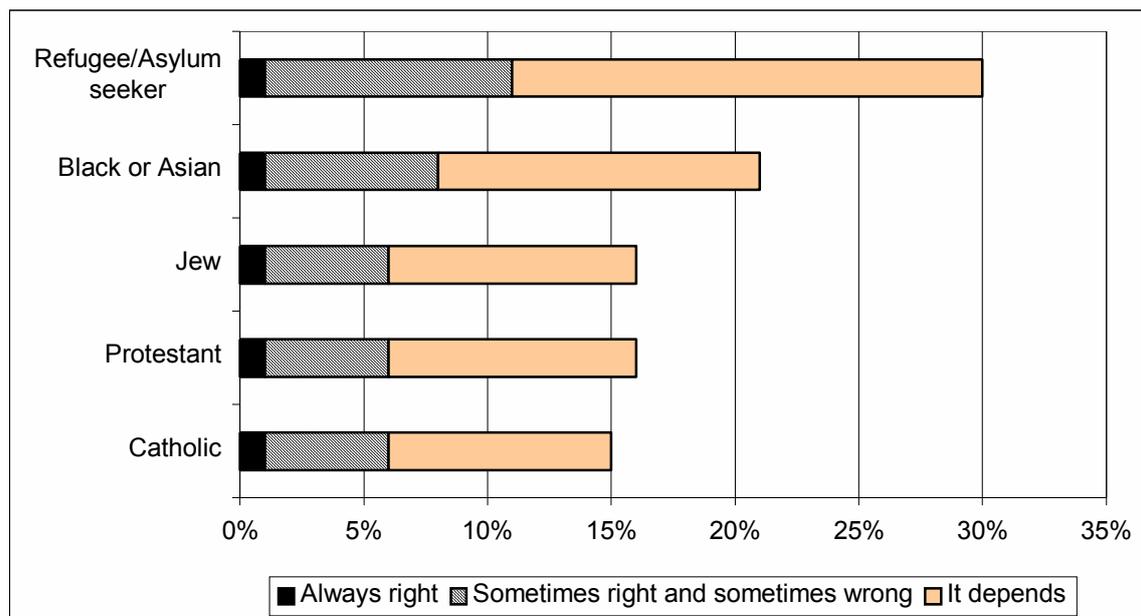
When considering these results, it has to be borne in mind that respondents are only likely to admit to concerns that they see as valid or defensible. Indeed, these results could be viewed as much as a reflection on the social acceptability of negative feeling towards these groups, as a true indicator of the level of concern people feel towards them. Even so, the results do suggest that a significant minority of respondents believe it is socially acceptable to express concern about homosexuals, Muslims, people of a different race and refugees/asylum seekers becoming their neighbours, while only a small proportion of respondents expressed similar concerns about Protestants and Catholics.

#### *Opinions on poorer treatment of particular groups*

Respondents were also asked a number of questions about the acceptability of poorer treatment for different groups, such as, “If a Catholic is treated worse than a person of another religion, just because of his or her religion, would you say that was always right, sometimes right and sometimes wrong, always wrong, or that it depends?” By wording the questions in this way, it is possible to gauge levels of prejudice across different groups. Figure C-2 displays the level of agreement with the view that poorer treatment of different groups is right or wrong *simply because of this group membership*. For clarity, respondents who said such action is ‘always wrong’ are not displayed<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> The number of such responses is equal to 100% minus the displayed responses.

**Figure C-2: Opinion on poorer treatment of particular groups (% , n=1029)**

Very few respondents thought that it was always right to treat people worse simply because they were a refugee/asylum seeker, Black or Asian, a Jew, Protestant or a Catholic. One per cent of respondents said that they thought poorer treatment of these groups was always right.

However, a larger proportion of people said that poorer treatment of people belonging to these groupings was either “sometimes right and sometimes wrong” or that “it depends”. It should be noted that the interpretation of these responses is not straightforward. The response that it is “sometimes right and sometimes wrong” to treat a Catholic worse *simply because they are Catholic*, begs the questions why and when. Two readings of these forms of response can be posited, depending on how closely the respondent has followed the question wording. First, these responses may reflect feelings that there are different types of Catholics, Protestants, Asians etc and that respondents are making a distinction between these different types. So, for example, people may be drawing a distinction between Pakistanis and Indians or conceivably between Church of Scotland and Free Church of Scotland Protestants. Second, these respondents may associate the different groups with other characteristics. So, for example, some respondents may make a distinction between Catholics who support Celtic and those who don’t, or the distinction between asylum seekers who are perceived to have come to Scotland to escape political persecution and those who have come for economic reasons:

*\*[Asylum seekers] are not only poor, sympathetic people who want to avoid this war in their country. These are fly men. Mob - I'm talking about Mafia. Their Mafia is over here.*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

Poorer treatment is justified in the quote above, not simply because they are an asylum seeker, but because they are a particular type of asylum seeker. Either way the “sometimes right and sometimes wrong” and the “it depends” responses are interpreted, they clearly represent prejudice of some form or other.

Overall, 14% of respondents said that worse treatment of a Catholic just because of their religion was sometimes right, or that “it depends”, while 15% said likewise with regard to Protestants and Jews. In comparison, 20% of respondents said that worse treatment of a Black or Asian, just because they were Black or Asian, was sometimes right, or that “it depends”, while 29% said likewise with regard to refugees/asylum seekers.

These results suggest that a sizeable minority believe that, at least in certain circumstances, it is acceptable to treat Jews, Protestants, Catholics, refugees/asylum seekers and Blacks and Asians worse because of their religion or race. In relative terms, it must be emphasised that fewer respondents accepted poorer treatment of Protestants and Catholics because of their religion than accepted poorer treatment of refugees/asylum seekers, and Blacks and Asians.

### **Views on mixed marriages**

Overall, 83% of respondents said that they would not mind at all if a close relative married someone of a different faith. However, 3% said they would mind a great deal, 6% that they would mind slightly, and 7% that they would not mind much, giving a total of 16% of respondents who would mind to some extent if a close relative married someone of a different faith (Figure C-3).

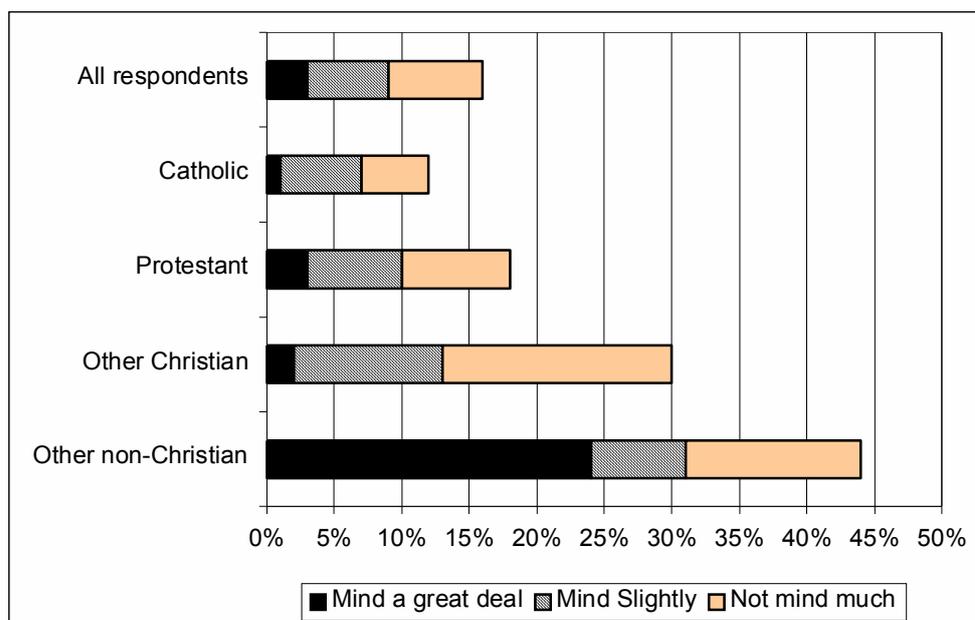
Again, it should be recognised that respondents are only likely to admit to concerns that they see as valid or defensible. It should also be noted that such feelings might only be seen in subtle ways or even hidden. One focus group participant talked about how a new boyfriend was greeted at a family dinner party -

*\*Yeah. It's always that "I'm not bigoted. I'm not racist. We're just having a laugh here." [...] The feeling I got at that dinner party was - we're all Rangers here and this boy's Celtic so he'd better be on his best behaviour, he's got a lot to prove. One step out of line and then that's it. He's the black sheep for the rest of the time that we know him.*

*Post-survey group, Females, ABC1 aged 25-39*

Feeling towards mixed marriage differed significantly by age and religion. Respondents aged 60 and over were more likely than those aged 59 and below to express some level of concern about a relation marrying into a different religion (20% compared with 13%). With regard to religion, respondents who classified themselves as Catholic were the least likely group to express some level of concern about a relation marrying into a different religion (12%). In comparison, 18% of Protestants, 30% of respondents from other Christian faiths, and 44% of non-Christian respondents expressed some level of concern about mixed marriages. It is worth noting that Protestant respondents were more likely than Catholic respondents to be aged 60 and over, and that the difference in their views on mixed marriages is likely to be driven by their age rather than their religious beliefs.

**Figure C-3: Feelings on a mixed marriage of a close relation by religious grouping<sup>7</sup> (% , n=1029)**



### Individual prejudice and what is acceptable - key points

- There was no consensus about whether slang terms describing Catholics and Protestants were acceptable.
- The acceptability of these terms relates closely to whether they are believed to give offence. However, there is no common understanding of what is offensive, with a number of respondents emphasising the importance of context in which language is used.
- A significant minority of respondents displayed sectarian prejudice. However, this form of prejudice was not as common as prejudice against homosexuals, members of minority ethnic groups, and refugees/asylum seekers.
- A significant minority of respondents also said they would be concerned if a close relative married someone from a different faith. This was most common among non-Christian respondents and among over 60 year olds.

<sup>7</sup> Figure C-3 does not display those respondents who said that they would not mind at all if a close relative married someone from a faith different from their own.

## D. Personal experience of sectarianism

### Introduction

One of the key aims of the study was to attempt to measure the prevalence of sectarian actions in Glasgow. This chapter focuses on the prevalence of a number of different forms of sectarian behaviours experienced by residents in Glasgow in relation to crime, discrimination, social exclusion of various forms, and in opposition to mixed marriages.

### Personal experience of sectarian crime and discrimination

It is worth emphasising the difficulty of measuring personal experience of sectarian crime and discrimination. In order to obtain measures of prevalence for such actions, there is a need to rely on respondents' perception of what actions constitute different forms of crime and different forms of prejudice. There is also a reliance on the respondents' perception of the motivation for such actions. Not only could the motivation for such actions be hidden or misinterpreted, as Chapter C emphasised, sectarianism is a nebulous term that has different connotations to different people. We have broadly defined sectarian crime and discrimination as actions that are perceived to be motivated by religion, although the association, for some people, between football and sectarianism, should also be borne in mind.

In order to gauge the level of personal experience of sectarianism, the survey asked Glasgow residents if, in the last five years<sup>8</sup>, they had been the victim of any of a number of forms of crime and discrimination, and if so, whether they believed that these actions were motivated by bigotry or prejudice. By structuring the questions in this way, the results are able to throw light on both differences in the level of crime and discrimination experienced by different groups of people, and whether this crime and discrimination was considered sectarian in nature.

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<sup>8</sup> The period of five years is longer than is commonly used in surveys used to estimate prevalence levels of crime such as the Scottish Crime Survey. This period was chosen in order to be able to generate a sufficient sample of incidents in order to allow analysis of perceived motivation.

*Differential experience of crime?*

Table D-1 shows the proportion of respondents who reported being the victim of different types of crime in the past five years by age, social group, religion and ethnicity. Overall, 14% of respondents reported being physically attacked in the last five years, 28% had been the victim of vandalism, 16% had been threatened with force or violence, and 15% had been the victim of some other form of harassment in the last five years. Younger respondents were more likely to be the victim of a physical attack than older respondents<sup>9</sup>. They were also more likely than older respondents to have been threatened in the last five years or to have been the victim of another form of harassment. Victims of vandalism were more likely to be from social groups AB and C1 than from C2 and DE.

**Table D-1: Personal experience of different forms of crime in the last five years by selected characteristics (% , n=1029)**

		Physically attacked	Victim of vandalism	Threatened	Victim of other harassment
<b>Age</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>15%</b>
	16-29	27%	30%	27%	19%
	30-44	19%	39%	23%	22%
	45-59	11%	32%	14%	12%
	60+	2%	14%	4%	8%
<b>Social Group</b>	AB	14%	45%	17%	19%
	C1	15%	29%	16%	20%
	C2	12%	30%	16%	11%
	DE	14%	22%	16%	13%
<b>Religion</b>	RC	13%	28%	14%	12%
	Protestant	9%	22%	12%	10%
	Non-Christian	13%	29%	13%	24%
	None	21%	32%	23%	22%
<b>Ethnicity</b>	White	14%	28%	16%	14%
	Non-white (n=49)	14%	27%	18%	35%

In terms of religion, a number of interesting patterns emerge. There is no significant difference with regard to the level of crime experienced between respondents who classify themselves as Catholics and those who classify themselves as belonging to a Protestant

<sup>9</sup> This general pattern is well established by crime surveys such as the Scottish Crime Survey.

faith. However, people who classify themselves as having no religion – atheist or agnostic – were more likely than both Protestants and Catholics to report having been physically attacked, threatened or to have been a victim of another form of harassment in the last five years. This pattern, however, reflects the different age profile of these groups rather than any kind of causal relationship. Overall, 69% of those who classify themselves as having no religion are aged 44 and under, compared with 51% of Catholic respondents and only 31% of Protestant respondents.

It is more difficult to draw conclusions with regard to non-Christian respondents due to the size of this group (n=45). However, the results do suggest that respondents who classify themselves as belonging to a non-Christian faith may be more likely than both Protestants and Catholics to have been a victim of some form of harassment. (24% compared with 10% and 12%). Again, this pattern may partially reflect the different age profiles of these groups as two-thirds of the non-Christian respondents were aged 44 and under.

It is also difficult to draw conclusions with regard to ethnicity of respondents due to the number of non-white respondents (n=49). However, Black and minority ethnic respondents were more than twice as likely as whites to report being the victim of other forms of harassment (35% compared with 14%). Once again, this difference may be partially explained by the different age profiles of these groups.

#### *Differential experience of discrimination?*

Table D-2 shows the proportion of respondents who reported being the victim of various forms of discrimination in the past five years by age, social group, religion and ethnicity. Overall, levels of reported discrimination were lower than reported levels of crime: 7% felt that they had been discriminated against when applying for a job, 6% felt they had been unfairly treated at work, 6% unfairly treated by the Police, 5% unfairly treated by the Council, and 4% unfairly treated by some other public service, such as the NHS.

With regard to unfair treatment by the Council and unfair treatment by other public services, perceptions of discrimination do not vary significantly by age, social group, religion or ethnicity. Younger respondents are more likely than older respondents to believe that they have been discriminated against when applying for a job, unfairly treated at work, and unfairly treated by the Police.

There is no significant difference in the level of discrimination experienced by Catholics and Protestants. While only 2% of Protestants reported being unfairly treated at work, compared with 6% of Catholic respondents, this difference is not statistically significant after the different age and working status profiles of these groups have been controlled for. Similarly, while sizeable differences are seen in the level of discrimination experienced by non-Christian respondents and all other respondents in relation to applying for jobs, treatment in the workplace, and treatment by the Police, these differences are not statistically significant once age and working status have been controlled for.

**Table D-2 – Experience of different forms of discrimination in the last five years by selected characteristics (% , n=1029)**

		Turned down for a job	Unfairly treated at work	Unfairly treated by Police	Unfairly treated by Council	Other public services
<b>Age</b>	<b>All</b>	7%	6%	6%	5%	4%
	16-29	16%	10%	13%	5%	5%
	30-44	7%	7%	5%	7%	5%
	45-59	5%	6%	4%	4%	4%
	60+	2%	1%	1%	3%	2%
<b>Social Group</b>						
	AB	8%	6%	5%	4%	3%
	C1	7%	8%	5%	3%	3%
	C2	5%	4%	4%	5%	4%
	DE	7%	5%	7%	5%	4%
<b>Religion</b>						
	RC	6%	6%	3%	5%	4%
	Protestant	6%	2%	3%	4%	3%
	Non-Christian	16%	16%	13%	0%	4%
	None	8%	8%	10%	6%	5%
<b>Ethnicity</b>						
	White	6%	5%	5%	5%	4%
	Non-white (n=49)	20%	16%	16%	4%	6%

Additionally, there are apparent differences in the levels of discrimination experienced by white and minority ethnic respondents in applying for jobs, in treatment in the workplace and in treatment by the Police. For example, while 6% of white respondents reported having been unfairly turned down for a job, 20% of minority ethnic respondents said likewise. However, due to the small sample size of minority ethnic respondents and because of the different age profiles within these samples, we cannot say with confidence that these differences are significant within the population of Glasgow.

*Sectarian crime?*

Victims of crime were asked if they believed that the crime had been motivated by any particular reason. Respondents were shown a list of possible reasons including their race, religion, age, gender, the area where they live, and the football team they support. Table D-3 shows their responses.

The majority of respondents who had been the victim of a physical attack did not believe that the crimes had been motivated by any of the reasons listed (52%) or could not say why they had been attacked (11%). The three reasons which were most commonly given as the motivation for physical attacks were the area where the respondent lived (12%) the football team they supported (10%) and their gender (6%). It is worth noting the prevalence levels among those who reported being attacked among the sample as a whole. Among all respondents, 2% said that they had been attacked in the last five years due to the area where they lived, 1% said that they had been attacked due to the football team they supported, and 1% said that the attack was due to their gender.

**Table D-3: Perceived motivation for crime (n,%)**

	<b>Physically attacked</b>	<b>Victim of vandalism</b>	<b>Threatened</b>	<b>Victim of other harassment</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>147 (100%)</b>	<b>288 (100%)</b>	<b>168 (100%)</b>	<b>155 (100%)</b>
<b>None of the reasons listed</b>	77 (52%)	199 (69%)	104 (62%)	93 (60%)
<b>Can't say</b>	16 (11%)	37 (13%)	14 (8%)	17 (11%)
<b>Area where you live</b>	18 (12%)	34 (12%)	14 (8%)	11 (7%)
<b>Football team</b>	14 (10%)	3 (1%)	5 (3%)	3 (2%)
<b>Gender</b>	9 (6%)	1 (0%)	6 (4%)	9 (6%)
<b>Religion</b>	<b>7 (5%)</b>	<b>6 (2%)</b>	<b>8 (5%)</b>	<b>4 (3%)</b>
<b>Sexuality</b>	8 (5%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	6 (4%)
<b>Country of origin</b>	7 (5%)	3 (1%)	4 (2%)	6 (4%)
<b>Age</b>	4 (3%)	2 (2%)	11 (7%)	7 (5%)
<b>Race</b>	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	8 (5%)	10 (6%)
<b>Skin colour</b>	1 (1%)	1 (0%)	7 (4%)	8 (5%)

Seven respondents - three Protestant, three Roman Catholic and one non-Christian respondent - believed that they had been physically attacked because of their religion. It should be noted that, due to the very small sample size of this group, this is not a robust estimate of the composition of the population of all people who believe that they have been attacked because of their religion. In others words, 5% of respondents who were physically attacked believed that this was because of their religion, and 0.7% (7 from 1029) of all

survey respondents believed they had been physically attacked in the last five years because of their religion. To put this in context, a similar number of respondents believed that they had been attacked because of their sexuality (n=8) and twice as many respondents believed that they had been attacked because of their football team. Of course, the distinction between football team and religion as a motivation for a physical attack may be unclear in some incidents.

A similar pattern emerges with regard to perceived threats of physical violence and other forms of harassment. The majority of respondents who had been threatened with violence (62%), and the majority of respondents who had been the victim of other harassment (60%), did not believe that these actions had been motivated by any of the reasons listed. When given, the most commonly mentioned reason was the area where the respondent lived (8% and 7% respectively). Other reasons given as motivations for threats of violence, and as motivations for other harassment were age (7% and 5%), race (5% and 6%) skin colour (4% and 5%) and religion (5% and 3%). With respect to race and skin colour, this result is particularly stark given that the total achieved sample includes only 49 respondents from black and ethnic minority groups.

The eight respondents who mentioned religion with regard to threats of physical violence comprised 4 Protestants, 2 Catholics, and 2 non-Christian, while the four respondents who mentioned religion with regard to other forms of harassment comprised 2 Catholics and 2 non-Christians. Thus, only 0.8% of all respondents believed that they had been threatened with physical violence because of their religion. Again, however, the size of this group does not allow us to draw firm conclusions regarding their religious composition.

A similar pattern also appears in relation to vandalism. Over two-thirds of victims of vandalism did not believe that this had been motivated by any of the reasons listed (69%) while 13% could not say why they were a victim of vandalism. The reason most commonly perceived as to the motivation for vandalism was the area where they lived, with 12% of victims of vandalism giving this reason. Thus, 2% of all respondents said that they had been a victim of vandalism in the last five years because of the area where they lived.

Six respondents, two Protestants, three Roman Catholics, and one non-Christian - believed that the vandalism directed against them was motivated by religion. Hence religion was given as a motivation for vandalism by 2% of all such victims, and by 0.6% of all respondents.

*Sectarian discrimination?*

Respondents who believed that they had been victims of discrimination were asked to give the reason they thought they had been discriminated against (Table D-4). Of the 70 respondents who thought that they had been unfairly turned down for a job, over half (n=43) believed that they had been discriminated against due to their age. Eleven respondents said that they had been discriminated against in applying for a job because of religion. This accounts for around 15% of all respondents who believed they had been unfairly turned down for a job, and 1.1% of all respondents. Those who believed they were discriminated against in applying for a job because of religion included 4 Roman Catholics, 1 Protestant, 1 other Christian, 3 non-Christians, and 2 respondents who are either agnostic or atheist.

With regard to unfair treatment within the workplace, the three most common reasons given for discrimination were age (17 from 54), gender (13 from 54) and religion (11 from 54). The group who believed they were unfairly treated due to their religion, was composed of 3 Roman Catholics, 1 other Christian, 3 non-Christian, and 4 who are either agnostic or atheist.

**Table D-4: Motivation for discrimination**

	<b>Turned down for a job</b>	<b>Unfairly treated at work</b>	<b>Unfairly treated by Police</b>	<b>Unfairly treated by the Council</b>	<b>Unfairly treated by other public services</b>
<b>All</b>	<b>73 (100%)</b>	<b>58 (100%)</b>	<b>57 (100%)</b>	<b>48 (100%)</b>	<b>41 (100%)</b>
<b>None of the reasons listed</b>	5 (7%)	11 (19%)	11 (19%)	16 (33%)	18 (44%)
<b>Can't say</b>	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	5 (9%)	4 (8%)	2 (5%)
<b>Age</b>	43 (59%)	17 (29%)	18 (32%)	8 (17%)	6 (15%)
<b>Religion</b>	11 (15%)	11 (19%)	3 (5%)	5 (10%)	2 (5%)
<b>Gender</b>	3 (4%)	13 (22%)	5 (9%)	4 (8%)	5 (12%)
<b>Area where you live</b>	5 (7%)	3 (5%)	16 (28%)	13 (27%)	7 (17%)
<b>Country of origin</b>	3 (4%)	5 (9%)	3 (5%)	0 (0%)	4 (10%)
<b>Skin colour</b>	1 (1%)	3 (5%)	3 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
<b>Race</b>	3 (4%)	2 (3%)	5 (9%)	2 (4%)	2 (5%)
<b>Football team</b>	3 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<b>Sexuality</b>	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

In terms of unfair treatment by the Police, the most commonly mentioned reasons for the discrimination were the area where the respondent lived (16 from 54), age (16 from 54) race (5 from 54) and gender (5 from 54). Three respondents, 1 Protestant, 1 Roman

Catholic, and 1 non-Christian believed that they had been unfairly treated by the Police because of their religion.

The most common reasons given for unfair treatment by the Council were the area where the respondent lived (13 from 48), age (8 from 48) religion (5 from 48), and gender (4 from 48). The 5 respondents who said that they had been unfairly treated by the Council because of their religion comprised 2 Roman Catholics and 3 Protestant respondents.

Unfair treatment by other public services was the least common form of discrimination of the five enquired about. Of the 41 respondents who said that this had happened to them in the past five years, 7 believed that this was because of the area where they lived, 6 said that this was due to their age, 5 thought that this was because of their gender, and 4 said that this was because of their country of origin. Two respondents - one Protestant and one non-Christian - said that they had been unfairly treated by other public services because of their religion.

### **Experience of crime and discrimination – key points**

These results present a strong contrast to the common belief that serious sectarian behaviours are reasonably prevalent in Glasgow as seen in Chapter B:

- Neither different forms of crime, nor different forms of discrimination were commonly believed to be caused because of religion. Less than one percent of all respondents said that their religion was the cause of a physical attack against them (0.7%), a threat of physical violence (0.8%), vandalism (0.6%) or other forms of harassment against them (0.4%)<sup>10</sup> in the last five years.
- Similarly, only a small proportion of respondents believed that they had been turned down for a job because of their religion (1.1%), or that they had been unfairly treated at work for this reason (1.1%).
- Experience of non-sectarian crime and discrimination was equally common among Catholic and Protestant respondents. After controlling for age, Catholic and Protestant respondents were equally likely to report being a victim of crime or discrimination in the past five years.

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<sup>10</sup> These figures include respondents of all religions, and not just Catholics and Protestant respondents.

- In relative terms, sectarian crime and discrimination in Glasgow may not be as common as racist crime and discrimination. Given that only 49 respondents to the survey belonged to minority ethnic groups, a high proportion of these respondents mentioned skin colour, race, and country of origin as reasons for crime and discrimination.
- However, no definitive conclusions can be drawn on the relative prevalence of sectarian and racist crime and discrimination due to the small sample of minority ethnic respondents and because of the difference in the age profiles between minority ethnic and white respondents.

### **Sectarianism and social exclusion**

As Chapter B shows, while it is commonly accepted that sectarian-motivated crime and discrimination are arguably the most serious forms of sectarian actions, it is also widely agreed that there are various more subtle forms of sectarian behaviour. This section reports on individuals' experience of sectarianism in relation to fear of particular places, fear of using public transport, exclusion from social occasions and disapproval of mixed marriages.

#### *Sectarianism and fear of particular places*

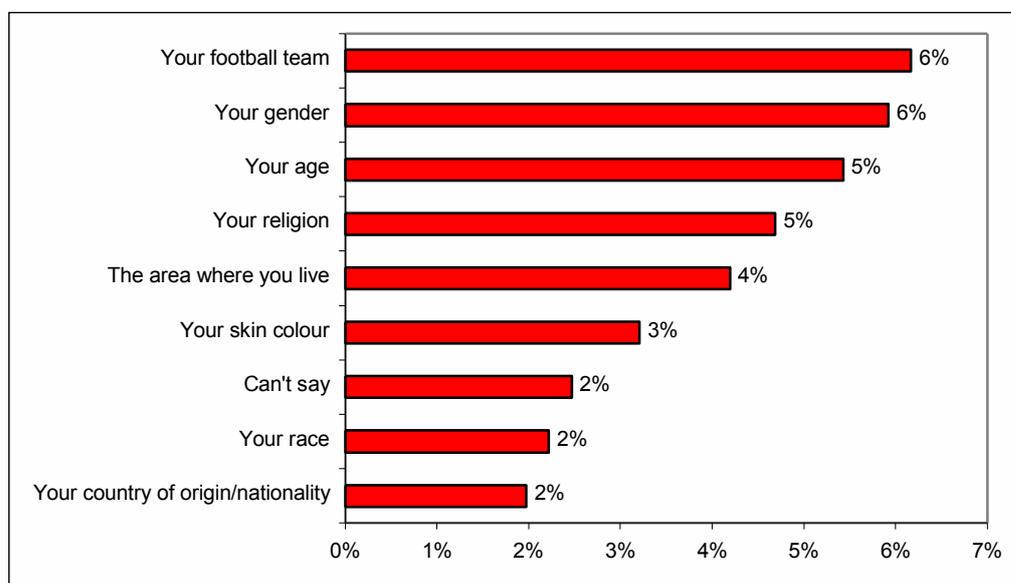
In order to examine the impact that the fear of 'sectarian' violence has on residents of Glasgow, respondents were shown a list of possible reasons why they might avoid particular places or areas in Glasgow.

Overall, 25% of respondents said that there were particular places or areas in Glasgow that they would avoid going to due to fear about their personal safety for a particular reason. There was no significant difference in the level of fear of particular places for the reasons listed between Protestants, Catholic and non-religious respondents. Neither was there any significant difference with regard to gender or football club supported. Younger respondents were more likely than older respondents to express fear of areas or places for a particular reason. For example, while 34% of 16 to 29 year olds expressed such a fear, only 17% of those aged 60 and over did likewise. This might be a feature of territorialism amongst young people. Similarly non-white respondents were significantly more likely than white respondents to express such fears (39% and 24% respectively).

Figure D-1 shows the different reasons that respondents gave for avoiding particular areas of Glasgow. Overall, 5% of all respondents said that they would avoid particular areas of Glasgow due to their religion. A similar number of respondents mentioned their football

team (6%), their gender (6%), their age (5%), and the area where they live (4%) as reasons for avoiding parts of Glasgow.

**Figure D-1: Reason(s) would avoid particular areas of Glasgow (% , n=1029)**



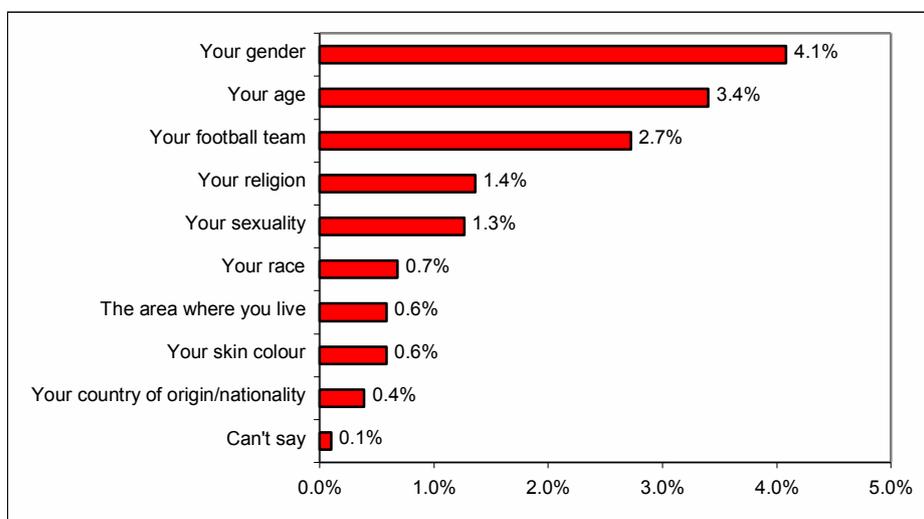
### *Sectarianism and fear of using public transport*

Overall, 11% of respondents said that they had avoided using public transport at some point in the past because of concerns about their safety. Slightly more respondents said that they had avoided using the underground (10%) than had avoided using buses and trains (both 7%). There was no significant difference in the proportion of Protestants, Catholic and non-religious respondents that had avoided using public transport. Neither was there any significant difference by football club supported, ethnicity, or class with regard to avoiding using public transport. Women were more likely than men to have avoided using public transport because of a particular concern for their safety (22% compared with 11%). Younger respondents were more likely than older respondents to have avoided using public transport due to safety concerns for a particular reason. For example, while 22% of 16 to 29 year olds said they had avoided public transport, only 13% of those aged 60 and over had done likewise. This is an interesting finding, since it suggests that the practical consequences of crime-related anxiety are greater for younger

than for older people, despite other survey findings<sup>11</sup> which suggest that older people have higher levels of fear of crime in general. It is likely that this difference by age is related to different levels of use of public transport and that journeys on public transport by younger people are more likely to be after dark.

As Figure D-2 shows, the reason most commonly mentioned by respondents for avoiding using public transport for safety concerns was gender. This was mentioned by 4.1% of all respondents. Age was given as a reason by 3.4% of respondents, while 2.7% said that they had avoided public transport because of their football team. Religion was mentioned by 1.4% of respondents, about the same proportion of respondents who mentioned their sexuality as a reason (1.3%).

**Figure D-2: Reason(s) for safety concerns on public transport (% , n=1029)**



In addition to self-imposed exclusion from public transport due to safety fears, concerns were raised in one focus group discussion about exclusion due to limited public transport services on particular football match days:

*\*Now in [area], there are notes which say they may have to shut the service on days when Rangers are playing – why should we now not be able to travel to the city centre by underground? That affects people's lives.*

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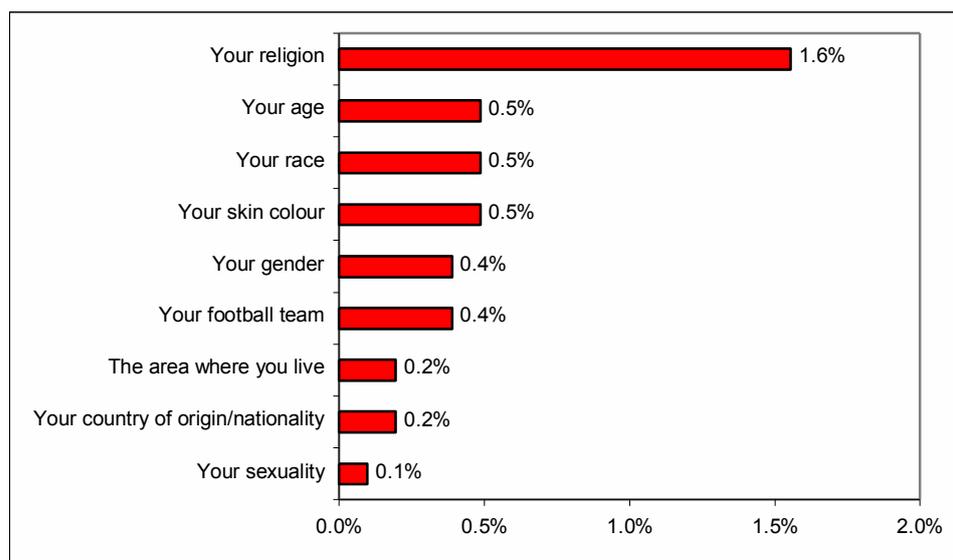
<sup>11</sup> For example, the Scottish Crime Survey.

*Pre-survey group, Catholics**Sectarianism and exclusion from social occasions*

Overall, only 4% of respondents felt they had been excluded from a social occasion of any kind, for some particular reason such as their religion, race or gender. The most common reason given for such exclusion was religion, with 1.6% of all respondents saying they felt they had ever been excluded for such a reason (Figure D-3). Other reasons were mentioned by less than one per cent of respondents. It is interesting to note that the 16 respondents who felt excluded because of their religion comprised 4 Roman Catholics, no Protestants, 3 other Christians, 4 non-Christian respondents, and 5 respondents who said they were either atheist or agnostic. This suggests that exclusion from social occasions in Glasgow is not only because of inter-Christian sectarianism but also because of other forms of religious bigotry.

While the study did not ask about the religion of those who had excluded the respondents, it did enquire about the type of person. The most common type of person that these respondents felt excluded by were work colleagues (16 from 38 respondents). Other types of person mentioned were friends (n=6), acquaintances (n=5), and relations (n=4).

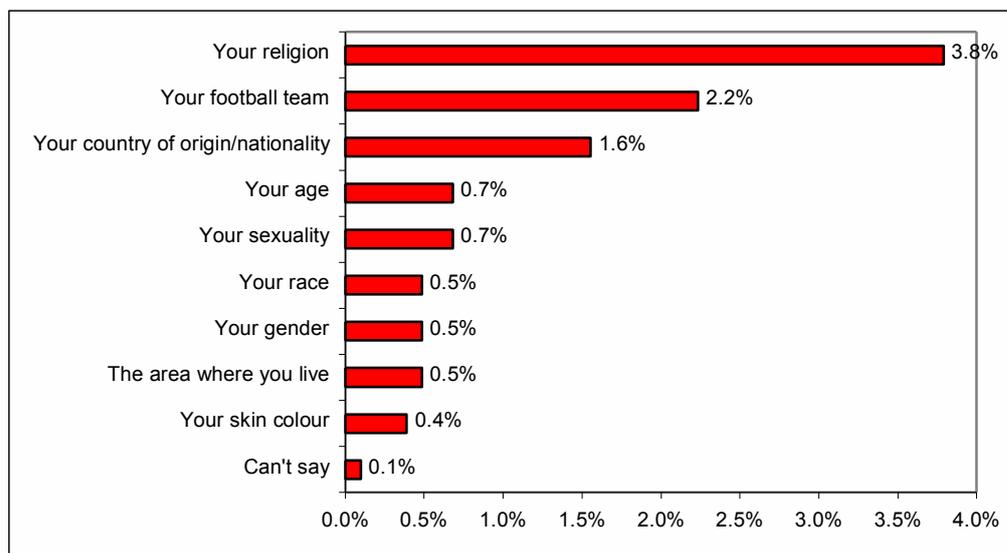
**Figure D-3: Reason(s) felt excluded from a social occasion (% , n=1029)**



More respondents said they had been made to feel uncomfortable on social occasions than said they had been excluded from such occasions for some particular reason. Overall, 9% of respondents said that they had been made to feel uncomfortable on social occasions

compared with 4% who said that they had been excluded for some particular reason. In total, 3.8% of respondents said that they had been made to feel uncomfortable due to their religion, 2.2% mentioned their football team, and 1.6% thought that this was due to their nationality. Other reasons were mentioned by less than one per cent of all respondents.

**Figure D-4: Reason(s) given for feeling uncomfortable on a social occasion (% , n=1029)**

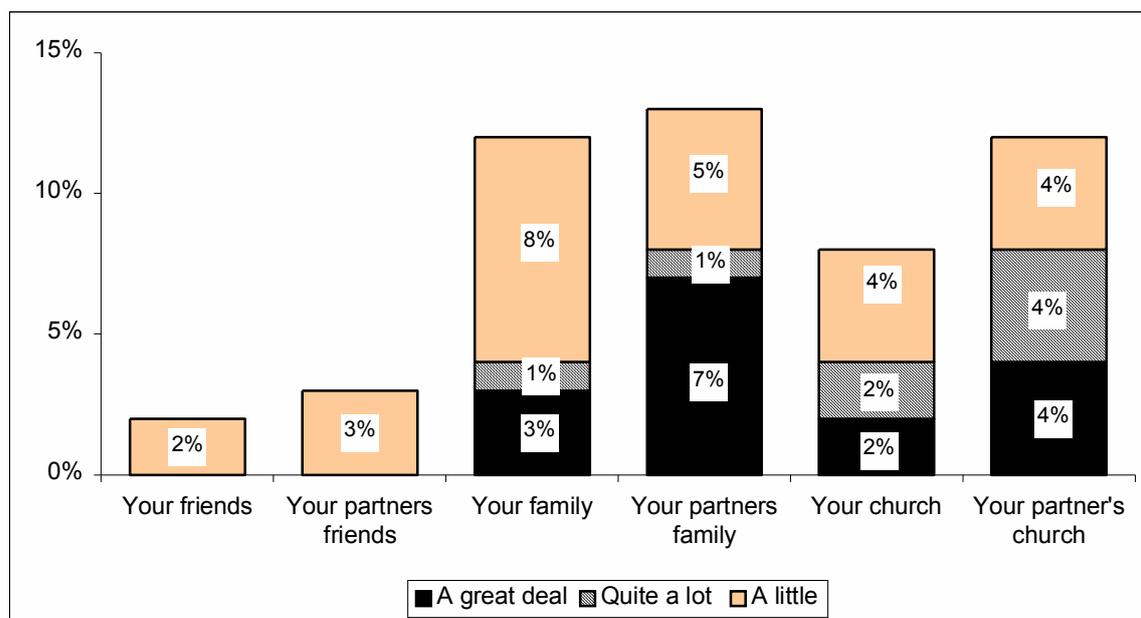


The 87 respondents who said that they had been made to feel uncomfortable on a social occasion were asked about the type of person that had made them feel uncomfortable. Acquaintances were the most commonly mentioned type of people (n=33), followed by work colleagues (n=28), and friends (n=13). Additionally, 6 respondents said that relations had made them feel uncomfortable on a social occasion.

#### *Mixed marriages and sectarianism*

As Chapter B shows, one form of sectarianism that has historically existed in Glasgow is disapproval of relationships between people of different faiths. In order to examine the extent of such disapproval, the survey asked respondents who were married, were in a relationship, or who had been married, about their partner's religion. Those who were in, or who had been in a mixed marriage, were then asked about the level of disapproval they had experienced from different groups. Overall, 22% of respondents were in, or had been in, a marriage or relationship where their partner belonged to a different faith.

**Figure D-5: How much the following people disapproved of mixed relationship because of your different religious backgrounds (% , n=226)<sup>12</sup>**



Overall, 12% of respondents who were or had been in a mixed marriage or relationship said that they had experienced some level of disapproval from their family, while 13% said they had experienced disapproval from their partner's family (Figure D-5). A similar proportion said that they had experienced some level of disapproval from their partner's church (12%) or from their own church (8%). Protestants in mixed marriages (16 from 67) were more likely than Catholics (2 from 67) to say that they had experienced some level of disapproval from their partner's church. Conversely, Catholics in mixed marriages (10 from 67) were more likely than Protestants (2 from 67) to say that they had experienced some level of disapproval from their own church. Considerably fewer respondents said that they had experienced disapproval from their friends (2%) or their partner's friends (3%) than from their respective families and churches.

### *Perceptions versus Experience*

Further evidence suggesting that there is a gulf between people's perception of the prevalence of sectarianism and their personal experience of sectarianism is seen in the responses to the statement, "Sectarianism affects me personally". Overall, 12% of respondents agreed that sectarianism affects them personally, while 69% disagreed. Given

<sup>12</sup> Excludes those who said they had not experienced any disapproval.

that only 9% of respondents agreed with the statement that “discrimination along sectarian lines no longer exists” while 68% disagreed, and that 67% of respondents disagreed that “sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past”, it is clear that a large proportion of people in Glasgow believe that sectarianism is prevalent *even though* they are personally unaffected by it.

### **Sectarianism and social exclusion – key points**

While exclusion from places and social occasions due to sectarianism is not endemic in Glasgow, a small minority of respondents reported various forms of exclusion due to their religion –

- Particular areas of Glasgow have been avoided by 5% of respondents as they were worried for their safety because of their religion and by 6% of respondents because of their football team. A similar proportion of respondents mentioned avoiding parts of Glasgow because of their gender.
- Only 1.4% of respondents said that they had avoided using public transport because of concerns for their safety due to their religion, about the same proportion of respondents who mentioned their sexuality as a reason for concern. More respondents mentioned their age and their football team as reasons why they had avoided using public transport.
- Religion was the most common reason given by respondents for being excluded from social occasions (1.6%), and as to why respondents had been made to feel uncomfortable on social occasion (3.8%).
- Disapproval of mixed marriages/relationships came predominantly from churches and families rather than from friends. The results suggest that Catholics are more likely than Protestants to feel that their church disapproves of their mixed marriage/relationship.

## E. Responses to sectarianism

### Introduction

Possible responses to sectarianism were discussed as part of the post-survey focus groups. Additionally, a number of questions examining responses to sectarianism were included in the quantitative survey. It is worth stressing again that, while the survey results reflect the views of Glasgow residents, the aim of qualitative research is not to secure representativeness in any statistical sense, but more as an exercise in gaining insight. Reactions to the Cross-Party Working Group's recommendations for action were not sought as fieldwork was carried out before the publication of their report.

It is also worth noting that participants felt more at ease focusing on where the problems lie in relation to sectarianism, rather than presenting concrete solutions. Additionally, several of the suggested responses to sectarianism – such as those relating to the singing of sectarian songs at football matches – could involve overcoming considerable practical difficulties. The views reported in this chapter therefore reflect the wide range of action that participants called for in order to reduce sectarianism, rather than focusing on specific proposals and how they should be implemented.

### Responses relating to football

In the post-survey focus groups, responses relating to football in Glasgow were mentioned more than any other issue. There was a broad consensus within the focus groups that Rangers and Celtic football clubs should be involved in combating sectarianism in Scotland. The following comment is typical:

*\*The biggest culprits of sectarianism in this city are the two football teams, Rangers and Celtic. They keep it going. They're all about business and about keeping sectarianism going.*

*\*[...] What they should be forced to do is the Scottish Executive or the Council in Glasgow should insist that their fans behave themselves, or else they're sent packing.*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

There was, however, no consensus on whether the clubs were currently doing enough to combat sectarianism. This is also reflected in results of the quantitative survey which asked respondents if they agreed with the statement, "Rangers and Celtic are doing as much as possible to get rid of sectarian division". Responses to this question were mixed - while 8% of respondents strongly agreed, and 26% agree with this statement, 22% of respondents disagreed and a further 16% strongly disagreed. A further 15% said they neither agreed nor disagreed, while 13% said they did not know if Rangers and Celtic were doing as much as possible to get rid of sectarian division.

A number of participants suggested that, to some extent, it is in the clubs' interest to maintain the division in Glasgow. The following extracts illustrate this belief while also commending Celtic FC on the action that they have taken:

*\*Interviewer: Do you think the clubs will stamp down on it?*

*\*Not Rangers. I think Celtic will.*

*\*Celtic will do.*

*\*Yeah. Celtic are.*

*\*Interviewer: Why do you think they are not then?*

*\*Because they're making all their money from these people so they don't want to alienate them.*

*Interviewer: Are Celtic not making money from them?*

*\*Yes. But I don't know why they're taking a stand. I don't know if it's a publicity thing or whatever. But I notice that - I don't know the chairman's name or anything like that - but he seems to be in the papers, and individually writing saying, "Please don't sing these songs". But Rangers, you never see them making a stand.*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\* [Rangers and Celtic] probably encourage segregation and all that because it puts money in their pockets at the end of the day and that's all they're interested in.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 25-39*

One participant suggested reasonably severe action to "hit the football clubs where it hurts":

*\* Make Rangers play Celtic behind closed doors – no T.V. coverage, no radio.*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

Several participants perceived the colours of the respective strips and the waving of flags as an embodiment of sectarianism in Glasgow. More than one respondent suggested that Rangers and Celtic should change the colour of their football strips to less 'antagonistic' colours, while several participants believed that 'sectarian' flags should be banned.

*\*They should change the football strips to different colours. Pink and some other colour.*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*... about the clubs and what they're doing. There's simple things like, for instance, like Rangers having a completely bright orange away strip. Things like that. You still see, every week, people wearing Ireland flags and chanting these things. [...] So I don't know when it is going to stop, but I don't think the clubs are doing everything they could do to try and cut down on it.*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*Until they're seen to be getting rid of these sectarian flags to begin with, start off with the sectarian flags and then the sectarian songs. If you're caught singing these sectarian songs, you should be thrown out and never allowed back in no matter what part of the world you're from.*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

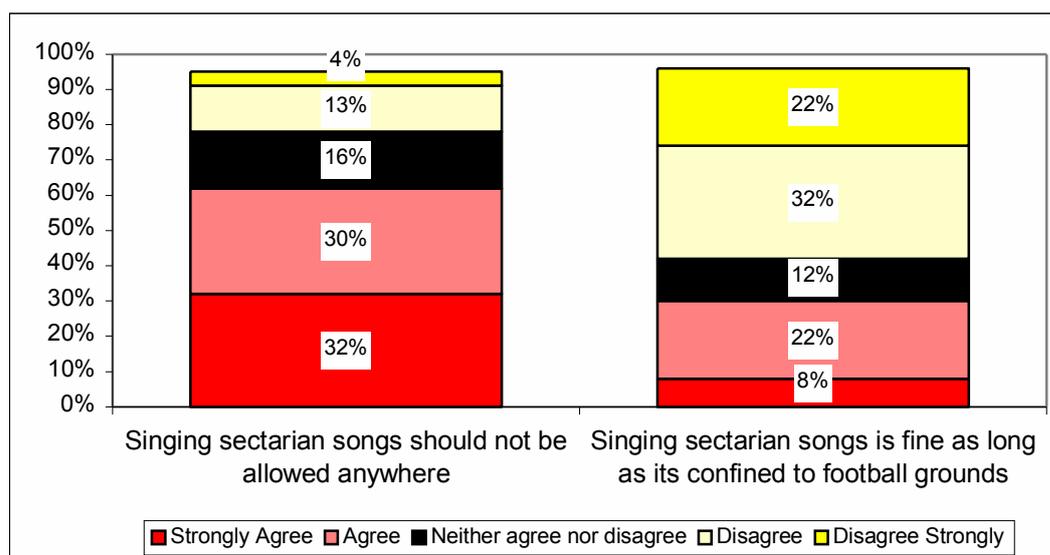
The singing of sectarian songs was also widely criticised in the focus group discussions:

*\*Well, I mean if you want to combat sectarianism, maybe you can start from, the easiest thing to do is to stop people shouting stuff at matches.*

*Post-survey group, Females, ABC1 aged 25-39*

The quantitative survey asked for respondents' opinions on the acceptability of singing sectarian songs. Overall, almost two-thirds of respondents (62%) agreed that singing sectarian songs should not be allowed anywhere (Figure E-1). However, almost a third (30%) of respondents said that singing such songs was acceptable as long as it was confined to football grounds. Thus, while the majority of respondents said that sectarian songs should not be allowed anywhere, a sizeable minority believed they were acceptable within football grounds.

**Figure E-1: Opinions on the acceptability of singing sectarian songs (% , n=1029).**



While the majority of respondents to the survey and a number of focus group participants said that singing sectarian songs should not be allowed anywhere, a number of participants recognised the difficulty of policing such action in football grounds:

*\*The clubs should police [sectarian singing].*

*\*Yes, it's the club who should do that and if they get anyone doing that, they should ban them.*

*\*I wouldn't like to be in that situation though [policing laws against sectarian songs at football matches].*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

### **Action by the Council**

A number of different proposals were made that relate to the remit of the Council. In particular, the opinion that Orange Walks should be banned or not given a licence by the Council was commonly expressed. Before turning to feedback on these different proposals, it is worth noting that there was widespread support for a collaborative approach to dealing with the sectarianism in Glasgow of the kind that has been taken by the Council in the conducting of this research:

*\*You should get, I think, church leaders in Glasgow from all sections of society and the two big clubs in Glasgow sitting round the table like this and just discussing how to eradicate it.*

*Post-survey group, Females, ABC1 aged 25-39*

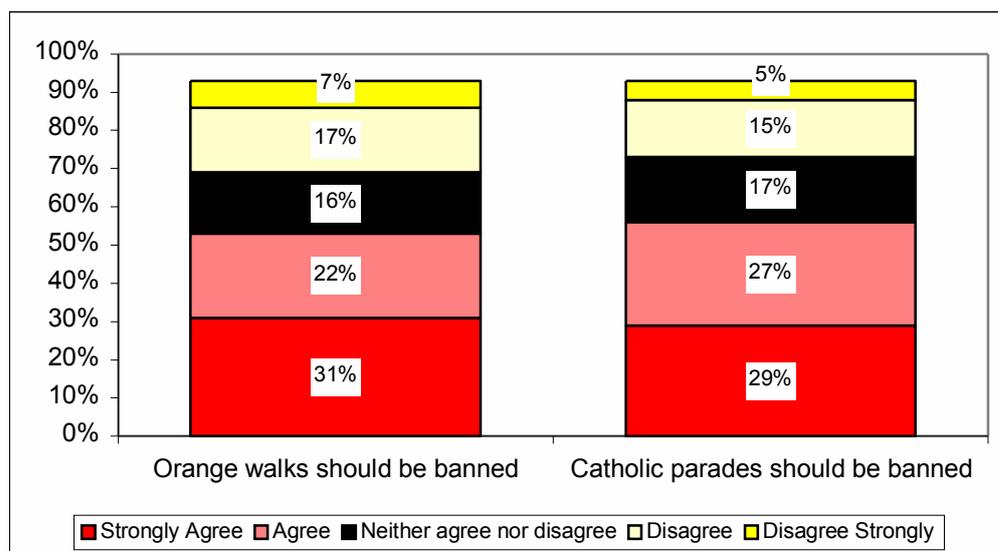
*\* I think the Council should get together with the clubs and do something about it. I don't think it's just for the Council. I think the Council and Rangers and Celtic should get together and sit and try and get something solved because the clubs definitely have got a big part in it. If they all sat together and had a meeting, I'm sure they could come up with something.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 25-39*

### *Orange Walks and Catholic Parades*

The survey asked respondents if they agreed that Orange Walks and Catholic/Irish Republican Parades should be banned in Glasgow. While the majority of respondents agreed with these proposals, a significant minority were against such action (Figure E-2). Overall, 53% of respondents said that Orange Walks should be banned and 56% said that Catholic Parades should be banned. However, around a quarter (24%) of respondents disagreed with the proposal to ban Orange Walks and a fifth (20%) said likewise in relation to Catholic Parades. Catholic respondents were more likely than Protestants to say that Orange Walks should be banned (66% compared to 39%) and that Catholic/Irish Republican Parades should be banned (63% compared to 47%).

**Figure E-2: Level of support for banning Orange Walks and Catholic/Irish Republican Parades (% , n=1029)**



Action relating to Orange Walks was also mentioned by a considerable number of focus group participants. On the whole, participants favoured the banning of Orange Walks. They tended to view marches as creating disruption, triggering violence, being openly anti-Catholic and associated with a sectarian past.

*\*I think what you could do is maybe put them on some kind of licensing system. That organisers or the lead participants have to be licensed to take part in it and if there's infringements, if there's any trouble, any antagonism, then their license is taken away.*

*Post-survey group, Female, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*...they [the Council] are openly giving people licence to march for sectarian reasons, whether it's Orange Walks or James Connolly walks...*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 40-60*

However, there were also a number of dissenting voices among the focus groups. In particular, issues of censorship and democracy were raised:

*\*Once you stop them walking, the next is stopping the Pakistanis walking because you don't agree with them and you don't agree with their culture – that's where it all starts. In a democracy where there's diversity, then you have to have all shades of opinion. Should they be policed? Yes, they should be well policed. Should they be well governed? Yes they should.*

*Pre-survey group, Catholics*

*\*A lot of the Chinese community/the Middle Eastern community feel that they can't advertise their religious beliefs or have their celebrations in public, for fear of antagonising people. So they're sort of very underground about it. And the Police were trying to give them a forum to come out and expose their culture and have their celebrations in front of everybody else to create a bit of integration. So, if you were to ban Orange Walks outright, but encourage that, you would have a schism.*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

#### *Other actions by the Council*

A number of other possible actions by the Council were suggested in the focus group discussions. In the main, these actions related to the football clubs. There was a consensus among most focus group discussions that the team colours of Rangers and Celtic should not be used as bunting and, similarly, that streets should not be painted in team colours. Additionally, participants suggested changes to the licensing of street vendors that sell 'sectarian' merchandise outside football grounds on match days:

*\*I think Glasgow City Council is a lot to blame for it. They're giving the street licence to these people to sell these things. See the people that are outside the ground selling a' that stuff.*

*\*The clubs selling all the stuff.*

*\*That's not the club stuff. That's entirely different.*

*\*But Glasgow City Council are giving them authorisation for vendors to sell in the street, so they should be looking at what they're selling before they give them a licence.*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*You know outside Ibrox and Parkhead you get all this daft stuff, the UVF and other rubbish. Guess who licenses these people? Not that the football boards or management would let you do anything about it because they like the money, but would you believe it is the District Council!*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 40-60*

A number of participants also believed that the Council should be involved in advertising campaigns and in actively promoting education against sectarianism. The recent Scottish Executive advertising campaign against racism was mentioned as a model that the Council could follow with regards to sectarianism. With regard to education, a number of suggestions were made. These comments are detailed in the section below.

### **Schools and education**

Education - and the effect that having separate Catholic schools in Scotland has on sectarianism in Glasgow - was discussed in a number of the focus groups. In general, participants tended to highlight the dangers of creating a division along religious lines by separating different groups of children into different types of school.

*\*But to me I remember I lived in [area of Glasgow] when my son was younger and his best pal was upstairs and they got on like a house on fire and they went to day nursery at 2 together and they got to 5 down the path and one went that way and the other went that way.*

*\*What about their friendship?*

*\*It fizzled out a bit because they were in separate primary schools [...] The thing is they started making pals at school which you do anyway. If they had gone to two separate schools with the same religion well ... But what separated was the fact that at the time both of them were saying to their mummies "So how is he going that way and I am going that way?" They just wanted to know why they went to different schools because they had been to nursery all those years and they just assumed they would go to school together.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 40-60*

*\*If they live in the same area, then they should go to the same school and that would stop it or help to stop it. Then there wouldn't be this divide.*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

A number of the pupils who took part in the focus group in a Catholic secondary school in Glasgow also suggested that people's perceptions of them is partly determined by this divide:

*\*In school it is all right because you can be friendly with people in your class and you are all right with them but outside school it could be that you are being threatened with a knife or something.*

*\*Interviewer: Has anyone else experienced that?*

*\*You get chased by people with glass bottles.*

*\*See another thing, because this is a Catholic school, a lot of people pre-judge you because of the sectarianism about Celtic and Rangers. Because we go to this school, a lot of people say you are a "such and such".*

*S4 Girls, Catholic school*

It is important, however, to make the distinction between the effect of the divide between Catholic and non-denominational schools and the impact of the schooling itself. Indeed, the pupils at the Catholic school in Glasgow praised the school's action in discussing different forms of prejudice with them:

*\*Interviewer: Would you want to end this session by saying anything else?*

*\*There is not a lot of prejudice in the school.*

*\*And we get to talk about it and how to cope with it.*

*S4 Girls, Catholic school*

In several of the post-survey focus groups with adults, participants stressed the importance of education (as opposed to schooling) in eliminating sectarian attitudes. There was,

however, no clear consensus on what form this education should take. The following extracts illustrate some of the arguments made:

*\*It goes back to the education thing. You can't sort out any of these problems by focusing on one issue at a time, and zapping it. You've got to start from the bottom ... educating children. And if you can educate a generation, you're on to a good start, but you're still ... teaching people.*

*Post-survey group, Females, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*I'm not saying that you should try and influence people's religion. What I'm saying is you should educate them about the consequences of sectarian attitudes.*

*Post-survey group, Females, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*Educating children now would help give them an understanding so that if their parents were very bigoted at least they would have this different knowledge. It may be confusing for them but at least they have got that in there and they can then draw their own opinions as time goes on, because there are families where mum and dad are in the Orange Walk or whatever and they are brought up and they are brainwashed "you will go to the walk" and get them wee uniforms and whatever. So if a child has been brought up that way and channelled that way if it has, I believe everything is down to education and information and having choices.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 40-60*

While some participants supported advertising campaigns and education against sectarianism, a number warned against stirring up sectarian feelings and advocated a 'softly, softly' approach to combating sectarianism.

*\*To make a big issue of it ... let it just gradually fade but do it by incrementalism, this is wrong, that is wrong and the operational points*

*where the Police are saying you can't get away with that certainly in the workplace. But if you allow a campaign to continue, that actually highlights it, then it can become a problem – it's constant in people's minds.*

*Pre-survey group, Catholics*

*\*I think sometimes as well by discussing it you are setting a stage for putting the thoughts there that wouldn't have been there in the first place.*

*Post-survey groups, Females, C2DE aged 40-60*

### **Other possible actions**

A number of other proposals relating to what could or should be done to combat sectarianism were made in the focus group discussions. These related to the Police and the criminal justice system, the Churches, the media and alcohol in relation to sectarian violence.

#### *The Police and the criminal justice system*

The survey and the focus group discussions were conducted before the current proposals for legislation against sectarianism were made. The Cross-Party Working Group on Possible Legislation to Tackle Religious Hatred in Scotland has recently made a number of recommendations for action that are currently out for consultation. These include:

- The Lord Advocate should issue guidelines to the Police on their handling of alleged offences.
- The Crown Office should ensure that any religious elements are brought to court and are not withdrawn in return for the accused agreeing to plead guilty to a lesser offence.
- The Crown Office should record the number of offences with a religious motivation which are prosecuted, along with the outcome to each case.
- The Police, Procurators Fiscal, and football clubs should share information to identify and deal with those supporters who are charged with or convicted of offences at or near to football grounds.

The survey did, however, ask respondents if there should be a special law against sectarian motivated violence as previously proposed by Donald Gorrie MSP. The majority of

respondents did not think that such a law should be introduced, with 53% of respondents against such a law, 39% in favour, while 9% of respondents did not know or expressed no opinion.

In the focus group discussions, a number of participants suggested that there should be a 'zero tolerance' approach to sectarian crime, particularly violent crimes and breach of the peace associated with football and Orange Walks. Unsurprisingly, there were calls for more 'bobbies on the beat' to reduce crime in general and sectarian crime in particular. One participant expressed concern that less serious crime associated with sectarianism was going unpunished due to current pressures on the court system and called for this to be remedied:

*\*The problem is that they charge a couple of guys on a Friday and they appear in front of the Fiscal on Monday. The Fiscal looks at it and says "we don't have enough court time for this" and drops all the charges. Now, sometimes people have 26 and 27 pending and they're all going to get thrown out because the court says it's minor stuff and they won't deal with it so they keep re-committing the offences because they know there's going to be no punishment. We have to have some kind of punishment even if we have to open a separate court for the minor offences – get them in and out, hit them where it hurts. Hit them in their pockets. Give them community service – they generally turn up and cause trouble. There used to be the old Justice of the Peace court, you turn up there, you're heard and get a fine.*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

### *The Churches*

Suggestions that the churches should be involved in combating sectarianism were generally met with indifference in the focus group discussions. Most participants saw the churches as irrelevant:

*\*I think that you would have to say that the Church's days are almost dead. The amount of people attending them now, they've got far too much say for the representation of so little people.*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

*\*Interviewer: Should the churches be doing anything?*

*\* I think they're irrelevant.*

*\* Half these guys don't even go to church.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 25-39*

The quantitative survey asked respondents if they agreed with the statement, "the different churches in Glasgow are doing as much as possible to get rid of sectarian division". Responses to this question were mixed - while 10% of respondents strongly agreed, and 29% agree with this statement, 16% of respondents disagreed and a further 7% strongly disagreed. A further 20% said they neither agreed nor disagreed, while 18% said they did not know if the different churches in Glasgow were doing as much as possible to get rid of sectarian division.

#### *The effect of the media*

A number of participants saw the media as actively fuelling sectarianism in Glasgow. In particular, newspaper reporting around the time of Old Firm matches was seen as stirring up sectarian feelings among football fans:

*\*It is fuelled by the media. The Daily Record for example, a week prior to the Old Firm game they are writing of the horror stories of previous Old Firm games. Why do we need to know? It's almost as if they are fuelling it before the game.*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*Because the media stick so much ammunition behind it, when it comes to Old Firm games, it just fuels the hatred. So there you've got this massive hatred fuelled by the media, who think they're not doing anything, but they are. They are, because they parade this kind of stuff all the time. And the more times they put stuff in the paper about violence here, violence there.... That just takes somebody else to go ... "oh, well done him. Well done him."*

*Post-survey group, Males, C2DE aged 40-60*

### *Alcohol*

Alcohol was mentioned by a number of participants as a major contributory factor in encouraging sectarian violence. Women in particular saw alcohol as fuelling violence, while one participant suggested that education about drinking would be as effective as anti-prejudice education in alleviating sectarian violence. These points are illustrated in the following quotes:

*\* It is quite common but it's your wee dafties who don't even know what it's about. Filling themselves full of Buckfast, Mad-dog or whatever and then starting. They'll just go out and start filling in Jimmy just because Jimmy has got a Celtic top on or Jimmy's got a Rangers top on.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 25-39*

*\* There used to be a drunk guy up our close and, every time he used to get drunk on a Friday night - there was Catholics and Protestants up our close - he'd always shout. "I'll fight any Catholic up the stair. I remember that." The doors would open. But, for every drunk Protestant, there was a drunk Catholic.*

*Post-survey group, Males, ABC1 aged 25-39*

*\*There is really only so much that can be done by advertising. I think the focus has to be on education, some kind of education about drinking because, at the end of the day, it usually boils down to drink. You can plough as much money as you want into certain things but if you don't put them in the right areas, you just do not make a difference.*

*Post-survey group, Females, C2DE aged 25-39*

Pubs were commonly mentioned as a locale for violence associated with football and sectarianism. While the licensing of pubs was not explicitly mentioned in any of the focus groups, a number of comments were made about the acceptability of colours and flags in pubs:

*\*I agree with no colours in pubs. If I'm not allowed to wear colours in a pub, any colours, no pub should be allowed to have those in them either.*

*Post-survey group, Male, C2DE aged 40-60*

*\*I'm a Protestant and, see if I walked into a pub and I saw the Red Hand of Ulster, I would be offended.*

*Post-survey group, Female, C2DE aged 40-60*

### **Responses to sectarianism – key points**

- Various aspects relating to football were mentioned in relation to possible responses to sectarianism.
- There was no consensus on whether Rangers and Celtic are currently doing enough to combat sectarianism. The waving of flags, the singing of sectarian songs, and the colour of their football strips were all mentioned as areas where action should be taken.
- A number of different suggestions were made that relate to the remit of Glasgow City Council. The opinion that Orange Walks should be banned or not given a licence by the Council was the most commonly expressed area where the Council should be taking action, although there were a number of dissenting voices to this proposal.
- The licensing of street vendors, and action against bunting, pubs and streets decorated in team colours were also mentioned in relation to possible action by the Council.
- There was no consensus on the effect of having separate Catholic schools in Scotland on sectarianism. However, many participants stressed the importance of education (as opposed to schooling) in eliminating sectarian attitudes.
- Alcohol was mentioned by a number of participants as a major contributory factor in encouraging sectarian violence. Education about drinking and action against 'sectarian' pubs were mentioned as possible responses.
- A number of participants expressed concern at the role of the media in heightening tension in the run-up to Old Firm games.
- The survey found that the majority of respondents did not think that there should be a special law against sectarian motivated violence as previously proposed by Donald

Gorrie MSP. A number of focus group participants did, however, suggest that there should be a tougher approach taken to sectarian crime and that lesser crimes associated with sectarianism should not go unpunished.

## F. Summary and conclusions

The starting point for the research was to examine how members of the public in Glasgow understand the term 'sectarianism'. Unlike the dictionary definition, in popular understanding, sectarianism was seen as describing religious conflict rather than religious difference, and usually taken as a specific reference to the conflict between Protestants and Catholics. It was generally recognised that sectarianism has historical roots in Ireland but that it still has a strong contemporary relevance in Scotland in general and in Glasgow in particular.

One of the predominant topics of discussion of sectarianism in the focus groups was the rivalry between Rangers and Celtic, with the Old Firm representing more than a sporting rivalry. For some, the role of football was so significant that it was actually felt to have replaced religion as the source and focus of sectarian attitudes and behaviours. Around half of the survey respondents agreed that sectarianism "is almost entirely confined to football". This is not to suggest that support for Rangers or Celtic is sectarian in itself but it shows a strong link between religious bigotry and football in Glasgow.

Catholic schools, the troubles in Northern Ireland, and marching by the Loyal Orange Order and James Connolly Society were also common topics of discussion in relation to sectarianism in Glasgow. Catholic schools were not generally considered sectarian in themselves though in a context in which religious division is perceived to be common, they were commonly seen as representing tangible evidence of the divide. Reflecting the link between Irish politics and sectarianism, marching by the Loyal Orange Order and Republican James Connolly Society were both widely seen as provocative, intimidating and symbolic of the continuing presence of a minority that is intolerant of other religions.

The study examined both the culture of prejudice that exists in Glasgow and also sectarian action as 'objective experience' in such forms as crime, discrimination, and self-exclusion from places and from using public transport due to fear of sectarianism. These findings present mixed messages about the sectarian divide in Glasgow.

### *A culture of prejudice?*

There is clear evidence to suggest that people believe that a 'culture of prejudice' exists in Glasgow. The survey interview included a series of questions relating to people's

perceptions of the prevalence of sectarianism in Glasgow. Respondents were asked to comment on:

- Whether discrimination along sectarian lines still exists.
- Whether sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past.
- What forms of sectarian actions are common.
- And the extent of prejudice against Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Blacks and Asians, and refugees/asylum seekers.

Residents believe that sectarianism continues to be prevalent in the city. Over two-thirds of the survey respondents disagreed that “discrimination along sectarian lines no longer exists” and around two-thirds of respondents also disagreed that “sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past”.

Several forms of sectarianism were seen as relatively common. The majority of respondents expressed the belief that making sectarian jokes with friends, using sectarian terms to describe people, sectarian vandalism, violence, threats and intimidation or harassment were either very or quite common in Glasgow. Sectarian violence, for example, was perceived as very common or quite common by almost two-thirds of respondents (66%). In contrast, institutional sectarianism – in the labour market, by the Police, or by the Council or other public services – was perceived to be much less common. Even so, a quarter of respondents felt that sectarianism was common in employment decisions and a fifth felt that there was sectarian practice by the Police.

There is also evidence to suggest that there are a range of other prejudices within Glasgow, that need to be addressed. Several different forms of prejudice were perceived to be common in Glasgow, with the majority of respondents believing that there was either a great deal of, or some prejudice against refugees/asylum seekers and Blacks and Asians, as well as Catholics and Protestants. Refugees/asylum seekers and Blacks and Asians were most commonly viewed as facing prejudice, with 85% and 79% of respondents respectively indicating that there was a great deal of, or some prejudice against them. Although fewer respondents thought that there was prejudice against Catholics and Protestants, the majority of respondents (59% and 55% respectively) believed that these groups faced prejudice. Fewer respondents thought that there was anti-Semitic prejudice in Glasgow (36%) though this almost certainly reflects the size and low visibility of the city’s Jewish population.

Attempting to estimate actual rather than perceived prejudice through survey instruments offers a particular challenge since people are often reluctant to admit to beliefs that are considered socially unacceptable. In order to examine prejudices against particular groups, the survey used self-completion interviewing to ask respondents about how concerned they would be if particular types of people moved into a neighbouring house or flat. A significant minority of respondents expressed concern about homosexuals, Muslims, people of a different race and refugees/asylum seekers becoming their neighbours. In contrast, only a small proportion of respondents expressed similar concerns about Protestants and Catholics.

### *Evidence of sectarian behaviour*

There is a clear contrast between perceptions of prevalence and the level of reported experience of different forms of sectarian behaviour. While sectarianism is perceived as endemic, there is less evidence to suggest that of sectarian crime and discrimination is widespread.

In order to gauge the level of personal experience of sectarianism, the survey asked Glasgow residents if, in the last five years, they had been the victim of any of a number of forms of crime and discrimination, and if so, whether they believed that these actions were motivated by bigotry or prejudice. By structuring the questions in this way, the results are able to throw light on both differences in the level of crime and discrimination experienced by different groups of people, and whether this crime and discrimination was considered sectarian in nature.

The results challenge the common belief that serious sectarian actions are prevalent in Glasgow. Neither different forms of crime, nor different forms of discrimination experienced by respondents themselves were commonly believed to be caused by religion. Less than one percent of all respondents said that, in the last five years, their religion had been the motivation of a physical attack against them (0.7%), a threat of physical violence (0.8%), vandalism (0.6%) or another form of harassment against them (0.4%). Similarly, only a small proportion of all respondents believed that, because of their religion, they had been turned down for a job (1.1%), unfairly treated at work (1.1%) unfairly treated by the Council (0.5%), unfairly treated by the Police (0.3%), or unfairly treated by another public service (0.2%) in the last five years.

Additionally, non-sectarian crime and discrimination was equally common among Catholic and Protestant respondents. These groups were equally likely to report being a victim of crime or discrimination in the past five years.

In relative terms, sectarian crime and discrimination in Glasgow may not be as common as racist crime and discrimination. Skin colour, race and country of origin were all commonly mentioned as reasons for crime and discrimination. However, due to the small sample of minority ethnic respondents, no definitive conclusions can be drawn about the actual prevalence of these forms of crime and discrimination. These results, however, do echo the findings on the perceived prevalence of different forms of prejudice in Glasgow and the findings on the level of concern respondents would have about different types of neighbour.

While exclusion from places and social occasions because of anxieties about sectarianism is not endemic in Glasgow, a small minority of respondents reported various forms of exclusion due to their religion. Particular areas of Glasgow have been avoided by 5% of all respondents because they were worried for their safety because of their religion and by 6% of respondents because of their football team. Overall, 1.4% of respondents said that they had avoided using public transport because of concerns for their safety due to their religion, about the same proportion of respondents who mentioned their sexuality as a reason for concern. Religion was the most common reason given by respondents for being excluded from a social occasion (1.6%) and for respondents being made to feel uncomfortable on a social occasion (3.8%).

#### *The mismatch between perceptions and experience of sectarianism*

The results above clearly show a stark contrast between perceptions of prevalence and reports of experience of different forms of sectarian behaviour:

- Over two-thirds of respondents disagreed that “discrimination along sectarian lines no longer exists”. However, 12% of respondents agreed that “sectarianism affects me personally”.
- Two-thirds of respondents perceived sectarian violence to be very or quite common in Glasgow. However, less than one percent of all respondents said that, in the last five years, their religion had been the cause of a physical attack against them.
- A quarter of respondents believed that sectarianism was common in employment decisions. In contrast, only around one percent of respondents believed that, because of their religion, they had been turned down for a job in the last five years.

- A fifth of respondents said that different treatment by the Police because of people's religion was common. However, less than one percent reported being unfairly treated by the Police in the last five years because of their religion.

#### *Where from here?*

Possible responses to sectarianism were discussed both in the post-survey focus groups and in a number of questions included in the quantitative survey. It should be noted that this fieldwork was carried out before the recent recommendations for action made by the Cross-Party Working Group on Possible Legislation to Tackle Religious Hatred in Scotland.

A wide range of proposals to combat sectarianism in Glasgow were made by the research participants:

- There was considerable support for a collaborative approach to dealing with sectarianism in Glasgow, with the Council, the Old Firm and the Police working closely together.
- There was also a consensus that Rangers and Celtic football clubs should be closely involved in combating sectarianism. Changing the colour of football strips, combating sectarian singing and education against sectarianism were all mentioned in relation to the Old Firm. Additionally, participants suggested changes to the licensing of street vendors that sell 'sectarian' merchandise.
- Alcohol was mentioned by a number of participants as a major contributory factor to sectarian violence. Education about drinking was mentioned as a possible response.
- While there was considerable support for banning Orange Order Walks and Republican Parades, a number of respondents expressed opposition to such action, raising issues of censorship and democracy.
- Action against the team colours of Rangers and Celtic being publicly displayed on bunting and in pubs, and against the painting of these colours on streets in Glasgow was widely supported.
- The majority of respondents did not support a special law against sectarian motivated violence as proposed initially by Donald Gorrie MP. While there were few concrete suggestions of action the Police might take to combat sectarianism, there was a general feeling that the Police should take a 'zero tolerance' approach to sectarian crime and that lesser crimes associated with sectarianism should not go unpunished.

- While many focus group participants stressed the importance of education in eliminating sectarian attitudes, there was no consensus on what form this should take.

These findings suggest that sectarianism still exists in Glasgow or at least that it is widely believed still to exist. In particular, the majority of residents believe that sectarian prejudice is prominent within the city. Encouragingly, the survey results suggest however, that sectarian behaviour in the form of crime and discrimination is relatively uncommon. It should also be recognised that due to the nature of prejudice and discrimination, there may be areas where sectarian behaviour is hidden and difficult to measure. The findings detailed above suggest that policy initiatives should be concentrated in combating the “culture of prejudice” – sectarian or otherwise – as much as they should be aimed at measures to reduce the associated crime and discrimination. For example, there is scope for action to increase awareness of the offence caused by using slang terms for Protestants and Catholics.

Sectarianism is only one form of prejudice where action may be necessary. In relative terms, fewer respondents accepted poorer treatment of Protestants and Catholics because of their religion than accepted poorer treatment of refugees and asylum seekers, Blacks and Asians. A larger proportion of respondents said that they would be concerned to some extent if homosexuals, people with large families, Muslims, and people of a different race moved into a neighbouring home than said they would be concerned if Protestants or Catholics did likewise. Additionally, in relative terms, sectarian crime and discrimination in Glasgow may not be as common as racist crime and discrimination. These results attest that action against other forms of prejudice may be as necessary, if not more so, than action against sectarian attitudes in Glasgow.

The study findings should be seen as a benchmark in terms of perceptions of sectarianism and sectarian attitudes and behaviours, and act as a baseline against which to measure future progress in combating sectarianism.

## **Appendix – Topic guides and questionnaire script**

