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## Sectarianism in Scotland, myth or reality? Evidence from mixed partnerships in Scotland.

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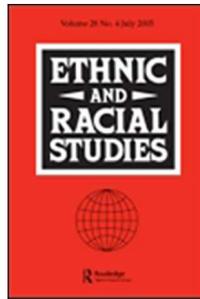
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**Sectarianism in Scotland, myth or reality? Evidence from mixed partnerships in Scotland.**

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## Sectarianism: Myth or Social Reality?

### Inter-sectarian partnerships in Scotland, evidence from the Scottish Longitudinal Study

#### Abstract

This article explores the contested issue of whether sectarianism divides Catholics and Protestants in Scotland. The conclusions are based on an analysis of 111,627 couples from the 2001 Census. The proportions with no religious upbringing and currently belonging to no religion decrease steeply with year of birth for the members of couples. This is largely due to a decline in the Protestant group, while the proportion of Catholics remained fairly stable with year of birth. For the oldest cohort those with a Catholic upbringing are disadvantaged compared to Protestants, in terms of educational qualifications and membership of the professional classes, but this difference has eroded so that there are few differences at the youngest ages. Those with no religious upbringing are disadvantaged on these measures at all ages. Catholics are more likely than Protestants to form couples outside their religious group, and this is not simply a consequence of their minority status, which would restrict the number of available partners. The trend towards secularism could be influenced by inter-sectarian coupling because those in mixed relationships are less likely to practice their religion of upbringing, even when part of a mixed couple. The high proportion of inter-sectarian marriages may give rise to many Protestants in Scotland having practicing Catholics among their extended families, and this should contribute to undermining sectarian divisions.

**Keywords:** religion; sectarianism; Scotland; couples; Census; Northern Ireland.

## Introduction and background

This paper is concerned with describing and interpreting shifts in the demographic patterns of conjugal partnerships between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland and their trends over the age-cohorts in the 2001 Census. An increase in such mixed couples can be interpreted as reducing the social distance between sectarian groups. The Census of 2001 was the first in the UK to include a question on the religious affiliation of respondents. In Scotland there were two religious questions, one on current religion and one on religion raised, with the latter being of particular relevance for studying couples with mixed sectarian backgrounds. The data used in this paper are individual level 2001 Census data available via the Scottish Longitudinal Study (SLS) (Boyle, et al, 2008). In order to address claims of discrimination against Catholics that might lead to social disadvantage, we examine socio-economic status by religion of upbringing by age group and region.

Academic debate about whether Scotland contains remnants of religious sectarianism was sparked by the Edinburgh Festival Lecture "Scotland's Shame" delivered by the composer James MacMillan in 1999 (Note 1). MacMillan's claim that anti-Catholicism is still endemic in Scottish society has been challenged by some academics and defended by others in monographs (Devine (ed.) 2000, Bruce et. al. 2004; Rosie, 2004) and in academic papers (Bruce et al. 2005, Walls and Williams, 2003 and 2005). A large proportion of Scottish Catholics, especially in the West of Scotland, have their origins in Irish immigration to Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Mitchell (ed.), 2008).

Some researchers argue that there was discrimination against Catholics over employment opportunities in the first half of the twentieth century (Brown, 1991; Devine, 1991).

Others dispute that the evidence supports sectarian discrimination, arguing instead that the

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11 rural backgrounds on Catholics meant that they lacked the skills and education needed for  
12 employment in developing industries (Paterson and Iannelli, 2006). It has however been  
13 documented and accepted that the marginalisation of Catholics was Church of Scotland policy  
14 during the 1920s; in 2002 their General Assembly issued a public apology for its role in this  
15 sectarianism (Conroy, 2003: 406).  
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22 Those who claim that sectarian divisions continue into the present cite the existence of  
23 Protestant Orange Lodge and associated ritualistic marching in Scottish towns (Kaufmann,  
24 2006; Murray, 2005) and group identification by supporters of Glasgow Rangers (Protestant)  
25 and Celtic (Catholic) football clubs (see Moorehouse, 2007; Bradley, 1996). More recently the  
26 Public Petitions Committee of the Scottish Government funded research into why Catholics  
27 were disproportionately represented in Scottish prisons it being suggested this manifested  
28 sectarianism in the exercise of sentencing in the criminal justice system, but it was concluded  
29 this reflected deprivation factors (Wiltshire, 2011, 26). Segregation along religious lines is a  
30 feature of Scotland's state schooling, but whether or not this contributes to sectarian division is  
31 a hotly contested issue (Bruce, 2003; Conroy, 2003; McKinney, 2008).  
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51 Recent Survey evidence (NFO Social Research, 2003) indicates that residents of  
52 Glasgow continue to believe that sectarianism persists. Over two thirds of respondents  
53 disagreed with the statement that "Sectarianism is a thing of the past". The majority of  
54 respondents believed that some form of prejudice or discrimination against Catholics was still  
55 present in Glasgow, although Catholics were seen as less affected than asylum seekers or  
56 blacks. However, fewer than 2 percent of all respondents could cite any example of personal  
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11 experience motivated by religious prejudice. Walls and Williams (2005) have disputed that this  
12 last finding really indicates that discrimination against Catholics no longer exists and they  
13 report a body of qualitative work from the West of Scotland that indicates that such  
14 discrimination continues.  
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### 20 21 22 23 **Couples in the 2001 Census of Scotland**

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25 The 2001 Census form in Scotland asked respondents to answer two questions about their  
26 religion. The first asks "*What religion, religious denomination or body do you belong to?*", and  
27 the second "*What religion, religious denomination or body were you brought up in?*". Response  
28 categories for each of the questions were "Church of Scotland", "Roman Catholic", "Other  
29 Christian", "Other" or "None". Although, unlike the rest of the Census form, it was not  
30 compulsory by law to answer this question, over 94 percent of the respondents gave a valid  
31 answer to the first question and over 91 percent to the second. Voas and Bruce (2004) have  
32 compared the results for current religion with the equivalent question from the 2001 Census of  
33 England and Wales. They argue that differences in wording and placement of the questions  
34 have resulted in very different responses and show that the responses in Scotland are in better  
35 agreement with those from other sources. The Census records contain information about  
36 relationships within a household that enable cohabiting couples to be identified. The Census  
37 also includes data on the age, sex, social class and education level of each partner.  
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56 The SLS holds anonymized individual 2001 Census records for a semi-random 5.3  
57 percent sample of the Scottish population, and also the records of all other individuals living in  
58 the same households as the SLS member. By selecting all SLS members who are living as  
59 couples and their partners, we should have a sample of approximately 10.3 percent of all  
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11 couples enumerated in the Census (5.3 x 2 – 5.3 of 5.3 where both partners are SLS  
12 members). A sample of couples was first extracted from the SLS data, restricted to  
13 male/female couples aged 16 to 74, both born in Scotland, with complete data on religion  
14 raised. For the purpose of studying sectarian issues we have excluded the small number of  
15 Scottish born couples where one or more member was raised in a non-Christian religion. This  
16 provided a sample of 111,627 couples for whom the initial tables are presented.  
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25 Our original analyses of these data (Holligan and Raab, 2010) kept “other Christian” as  
26 a separate group. The major contributors to this group are Anglicans and those from other  
27 Presbyterian sects. Evidence suggests that the exclusion of those born outside Scotland will  
28 have reduced the numbers of Anglicans to a greater extent than the others. The Scotland-born  
29 “other Christians” made up fewer than 5 percent of all members of couples, had high rates of  
30 partnership with those brought up as Church of Scotland and out-partnering patterns with other  
31 groups similar to those brought up as Church of Scotland. Thus, to simplify and clarify the  
32 results we have combined the “other Christian” group with the Church of Scotland under the  
33 label “Protestant”.  
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46 Table 1 about here  
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48 Table 1 presents basic demographics for the answers to the questions on religion raised  
49 and current religion. In moving from upbringing to the present, there has been a fall in religious  
50 affiliation for Protestants (by 18 percent for males and 12 percent for females), a smaller  
51 decline for Catholics (by 13 percent for males and 10 percent for females) and a corresponding  
52 rise in those belonging to no religion. This trend towards a more secular society is even more  
53 evident when we examine the results by age for members of couples. Figure 1 shows the  
54 trends for women; those for men were very similar. For current religion (Figure 1b) the “no  
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11 religion” group has shifted from 8.5 percent for the oldest to 53 percent for the youngest, while  
12 the Protestant group has more than halved from 76.8 percent in the oldest age group to 32.8  
13 percent in the youngest. The proportions with a Catholic upbringing have remained stable,  
14 14.7 percent to 14.6 percent oldest to youngest, but with higher proportions at intermediate  
15 ages. The patterns for religion raised have somewhat similar trends (Figure 1a) but with lower  
16 proportions in the “no religion” category, especially at older ages. Although we do not see a  
17 declining trend in the proportion of current Catholics for younger cohorts, the overall numbers  
18 and proportions of those currently identifying with Catholics is lower than those raised as  
19 Catholics, as we saw from Table 1. We will comment on this further below in relation to inter-  
20 sectarian partnerships.  
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35 Figure 1 about HERE

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37 Table 2 gives a geographic breakdown of religion raised for female members of the  
38 couples; the percentages for males are very similar. This illustrates the expected  
39 predominance of Catholics in the West of Scotland. Figures for current religion show a similar  
40 pattern with over 30 percent of female members of couples in the West answering Catholic.  
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48 TABLE 2 about HERE

49 Religious groups differ in terms of both social class, defined by the NS-SEC grouping  
50 (Rose et al., 2001), and in terms of their educational qualifications: Figures 2 and 3 display  
51 trends with age for each of these. Those with no religion have a lower proportion in the  
52 professional classes and the lowest educational achievement at all ages. For the older ages  
53 the proportions of Catholics in the professional classes and with a Higher Education  
54 Qualification are lower, especially for men. At younger ages these proportions are very similar  
55 for Protestants and Catholics. We also examined our data by region, as defined in Table 2, to  
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11 check whether we found similar differences in all regions. The pattern of Catholics converging  
12 with Protestants in education and social position at younger ages was found consistently in all  
13 regions. Those with no religious upbringing were the least advantaged group at all ages in  
14 every region, although the difference between this group and Catholics was smaller in the  
15 West of Scotland than for elsewhere, especially so for men.  
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### 28 **Inter-sectarian partnerships**

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30 We will term partnerships between people brought up in the same religious group  
31 “homogamous” and those between people brought up in different religious groups as “mixed”.  
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33 Table 3 shows that 72 percent of all partnerships are homogamous and that Protestant-  
34 Catholic are the commonest mixed partnership comprising 16.5 percent of all partnerships.  
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36 Another way of approaching these data is to consider the percentage of those raised as  
37 Catholics and of those raised as Protestants in Protestant-Catholic partnerships, giving 43  
38 percent and 12 percent respectively.  
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48 TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE  
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50 Various ways of measuring homogamy have been used in studies of ethnic and  
51 religious segregation (e.g. Pullman & Peri 1999; Model and Fisher 2001, Voas, 2003). A  
52 simple measure of homogamy is the percentage of people in couples who are married to a  
53 partner of the same group. While this measure of segregation gives us some indication of the  
54 segregation of a group, it does not allow for the size of the groups. For example, the potential  
55 partners of a person from a large group, such as Protestants here, would be predominantly  
56 from their own group and hence they would tend to have a low out-partnering rate even if they  
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11 were open to finding partners from another group. To adjust for this, various indices of  
12 homogamy have been derived. The recommended one (see Pullman and Peri 1999), which we  
13 will refer to as the 'index of homogamy', measures the ratio of the numbers of couples where  
14 the partners come from the same group (e.g. religious or ethnic) to that which would be  
15 expected if couple formation in the population was completely random with respect to this  
16 grouping. Partnerships can be defined as homogamous with respect to other factors such as  
17 social class and education as well as the religious group of interest. If these other factors are  
18 different for different religious groups, then apparent homogamy due to religion may in fact be  
19 due to some other confounding variable. For example, if a certain religious group tended to  
20 have higher or lower education, then a high measure of religious homogamy might partly be  
21 due to couples formed between people of the same educational level. The advantage of using  
22 this homogamy index is that it can be adjusted for such other plausible explanatory factors. It is  
23 also possible to calculate homogamy coefficients within different subgroups by other factors.  
24 Details of the methods used are in Holligan and Raab (2010).  
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44 Table 4 gives a cross tabulation of the religion raised for male and female members of  
45 couples. The data are displayed as the percentages of females of each group forming couples  
46 with males of each other group. They could equally well have been displayed as percentages  
47 for males, but the results and their interpretation would be very similar. Unadjusted homogamy  
48 coefficients are also given. We can see that Catholics have the lowest percentage of  
49 homogamous partnerships and also the lowest homogamy coefficient, indicating that their high  
50 out-partnering rate is not simply a consequence of their relatively smaller numbers in the  
51 population.  
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TABLE 4 HERE

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11 This analysis was extended for different age groups and the results are shown in Figure  
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13 4. For Catholics and Protestants the proportion of homogamous partnerships and the  
14 homogamy coefficients decline for the youngest age groups, with the Catholics judged less  
15 homogamous on both measures at all ages. For the group with no religion the proportion in  
16 homogamous partnerships is fairly stable or even increasing at the youngest ages. But the  
17 availability of more potential partners at younger ages would have been expected to increase  
18 this proportion and hence the homogamy coefficient also decreases.  
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28 Figure 4 about HERE  
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30 Although partnerships were more common between people with similar characteristics  
31 in terms of educational levels, the extent of religious homogamy was very little affected by the  
32 education of the partners. Similar results were found for the NS-SEC classification of  
33 occupations where Catholics and Protestants show no evidence of differences in the rates of  
34 out-partnering by social class.  
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#### 42 West of Scotland only 43

44 Because of the particular interest in sectarianism in the West of Scotland, we repeated  
45 the analyses by age for the West of Scotland only. Despite the higher proportion of Catholics in  
46 the West of Scotland, the proportion of religiously homogamous partnerships is not much  
47 higher than for Scotland as a whole. This results in the homogamy coefficient being even lower  
48 in the West of Scotland than in Scotland as a whole. The trends with age group for proportions  
49 of same-religion partnerships and homogamy coefficients are similar to those for Scotland as a  
50 whole. The fact that a higher proportion of the population is Catholic in the West of Scotland  
51 and that there is a high rate of out-partnering combine to produce a relatively large proportion  
52 of inter-sectarian partnerships in the West of Scotland (Table 5) making up over a quarter of all  
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11 partnerships where the woman is under 40. The percentage of Protestant-Catholic couples  
12 exceeds that of homogamous Catholic couples except in the oldest group in the West of  
13 Scotland. The proportion of Catholic-Catholic partnerships remains comparatively stable over  
14 the age span in the West and in Scotland as a whole whereas inter-Protestant partnerships  
15 show a marked decline towards younger ages.  
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23 TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE  
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26 *Comparisons with data from Northern Ireland*  
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29 In 2001 the Northern Ireland Census asked the same two questions about religion as  
30 did the Scottish Census, although the routing and response categories differed. For the age  
31 ranges matching those we have selected in Scotland, 43 percent responded Catholic for  
32 religious upbringing and 40 percent Catholic for current religion (Northern Ireland Statistics and  
33 Research Agency 2001). The trend to lack of religion in younger age groups that is seen in  
34 Figure 1 is not nearly so evident in Northern Ireland, where a smaller proportion report no  
35 current religion overall (13.7 percent) and the proportion is only slightly higher (14.7 percent) in  
36 those under 25. The equivalent figures for all Scotland would be 25.6 percent and 52.1  
37 percent, while those for the West of Scotland are somewhat lower at 22.2 percent and 36.9  
38 percent.  
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52 A detailed breakdown of inter-sectarian couples in the 2001 Census in Northern Ireland  
53 has not been published but Lloyd and Robinson (2008) present an analysis of religiously mixed  
54 couples from eight waves (1998 to 2005) of the Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey  
55 (NILT). They found an overall rate of mixed religion partnerships of 10 percent of all couples  
56 compared to the 28 percent we find for Scotland. As in the Scottish data, rates of mixed  
57 partnerships are higher for younger age groups in the NILT (Note 2). The NILT rate of mixed  
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11 partnerships is 14 percent for the under 40s, but this compares with 35 percent for the same  
12 age group in Scotland and with 42 percent in the West of Scotland (Table 5). Lloyd and  
13 Robinson found that mixed couples had higher levels of education and a higher proportion of  
14 professional occupations compared to those in same religion couples. Further analysis of the  
15 NILT showed that this difference persisted after adjustment for age and religion of upbringing.  
16 This was not the case for the Scottish data where there were no such differences in education  
17 or social class between mixed and same religion couples.  
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### 27 Current religion in couples

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30 The extent to which people in homogamous or mixed partnerships continue to belong to  
31 their religion of upbringing will have relevance to the inter-generational transmission of religion  
32 and perhaps to the persistence of sectarian attitudes. Results in Table 6 show that,  
33 homogamous couples are more likely to continue to identify with their religion of upbringing  
34 than those in mixed partnerships. Those brought up with no religion are the most likely to  
35 maintain this status irrespective of their partner's upbringing. Those brought up as Catholics  
36 are more likely to continue identifying with their religion of upbringing than are Protestants.  
37 Proportions are similar for men and women.  
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TABLE 6 HERE

Figure 5 breaks down this analysis down by age at the time of the Census for male and female members of couples combined. In examining trends by age group for current religion we cannot distinguish between a cohort effect where religious affiliation is different by year of birth, and an age effect where it changes over the life course. However, Voas and Crockett (2007) have used longitudinal survey data on religious affiliation in the UK to argue that religious decline is principally the result of differences between the generations. Thus we will

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11 interpret the trends seen in Figure 5 as cohort rather than age effects. Religious identity would  
12 be expected to be formed when young people reach maturity around ages 20-25 so we will  
13 identify cohorts by the years in which they attained these ages.  
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18 Figure 5 about here  
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20 For Protestant homogamous couples there is an increase in the proportion losing their  
21 religious identity for those reaching maturity between 1960 and 1970 (aged 50-60 at the  
22 Census), but a stabilization of this trend for younger cohorts. Protestants in mixed relationships  
23 have the lowest adherence to their religion of upbringing. Catholics in homogamous  
24 relationships have much lower rates of loss of religious identity than do Protestants, although  
25 there is evidence of an increase in this loss for those under 50. For those brought up as  
26 Catholics or with no religion, but now in mixed relationships, we can see a trend for later  
27 cohorts to be more likely to retain the religious affiliation in which they were raised. The same  
28 is true, for Protestants, though with a less pronounced trend at lower rates.  
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41 We can use the results in Figures 4 and 5 to investigate how the loss of identification  
42 with a religion is associated with out-partnering. For Protestants the overall proportion who no  
43 longer identify with their religion of upbringing is around 10 percent for the oldest age-groups  
44 who have reached maturity from 1950 to 1965. For those born later this gradually increases to  
45 25 percent for those in their 20s at the time of the Census. This is a consequence of the  
46 increase in mixed partnerships (Fig4a) combined with the low percentage of those with a  
47 Protestant upbringing in mixed partnerships who continue to identify as Protestants. For those  
48 brought up as Catholics 12 percent of the earliest cohort no longer identify as Catholics. This  
49 rises to 17 percent for those reaching maturity in the 1970s, but falls to only 10 percent in the  
50 most recent cohort (men and women combined). This is because the rise in the retention of a  
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11 Catholic identity for those in mixed relationships (Fig 5b) overcomes the increase in those  
12 relationships (Fig 4a).

## 13 14 15 16 17 **Conclusion and discussion**

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20 For couples in the 2001 Census in Scotland we have illustrated a very steep trend to a loss of  
21 Protestant religious identity in later cohorts that appears to have accelerated for those reaching  
22 adulthood in the 1960 and 70s. This is in agreement with analyses presented by Voas (2006).  
23 The patterns for those brought up as Catholics are somewhat different. Although there has  
24 been an overall loss of Catholic identification, comparing upbringing to the current situation,  
25 there is not a consistently increasing loss towards later cohorts.  
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35 For the younger cohorts there is no longer evidence that Catholics are at a socio-  
36 economic disadvantage compared to Protestants. Indeed those with no religious upbringing  
37 are the more disadvantaged than either of the other groups across the whole age range  
38 studied. Analyses of data on religion raised and social class from the 2001 Census data and  
39 from Scottish survey data were carried out by Bruce et al. (2005), who arrived at broadly  
40 similar conclusions for the whole of Scotland to those reported here. However, they noted that  
41 different patterns appeared to apply in Glasgow, especially for the group reporting no religious  
42 upbringing, which seemed to have a more advantaged social profile than Catholics in  
43 Glasgow. They argued that this inconsistency in different areas suggested that those with no  
44 religious upbringing are not a homogenous group. Our analyses, finding those with no religion  
45 were still the most disadvantaged group in the West of Scotland, differ from those of Bruce et  
46 al. in several ways. In particular we restricted our analyses to those born in Scotland. Further  
47 investigation showed that this restriction accounted for the difference between our results and  
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11 those of Bruce et. al.. Including those born outside Scotland gave results similar to those of  
12 Bruce et al., whereas restricting to the more homogenous group of those born in Scotland  
13 gave a fairly consistent pattern in all regions.  
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18 There has been a trend to a much higher proportion of mixed partnering between  
19 religious groups at younger ages and this is especially true of Catholics. Similar patterns are  
20 seen in all areas of Scotland, but the higher proportion of Catholics in the West of Scotland  
21 leads to a much higher proportion of inter-sectarian couples there. A high proportion of  
22 Catholics continue to identify as Catholics, even when part of a religiously mixed couple. The  
23 proportion of Catholics maintaining their religious identity in mixed couples is increasing in the  
24 most recent cohorts. This means that many people without a Catholic background will have  
25 Catholics who are part of their extended family, and similarly many Catholics will have  
26 Protestant family members. This would be expected to reduce sectarian discrimination and  
27 conflict. This will be especially true in the West of Scotland where there is a higher proportion  
28 of mixed Catholic-Protestant couples.  
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44 These results are in contrast to evidence from Northern Ireland where the loss of  
45 religious identity is much less evident and where the proportion of inter-sectarian couples  
46 remains lower. In Northern Ireland couples with mixed religious backgrounds are more likely  
47 to have had experience of Higher education, while in Scotland the formation of mixed couples  
48 is similar at all levels of educational qualification. In Scotland, in contrast to NI, the sectarian  
49 divide is not defined by either residential segregation (Paterson, 2002) or by political allegiance  
50 (Bruce et al. 2004) and these factors may be at the root of the differences in the rates of inter-  
51 sectarian partnerships between the two countries.  
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11 Our analyses have added to a body of work which shows that recent social change is  
12 such that it should reduce the extent of conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland.  
13 Yet “the problem of sectarianism” continues to loom large in popular culture in Scotland and in  
14 the Scottish Government’s equality agenda (Scottish Government, 2006) and initiatives (Note  
15 3). These policy initiatives arise largely in response to press reports of violence in connection  
16 with football matches. Kelly (2010) argues in his analysis of press reports of sectarianism in  
17 relation to football that “press voices continue to indulge in fetishizing what appears to be a  
18 waning social problem whilst furnishing the illusion of widespread sectarian malaise”.  
19 Nevertheless, football-related violence with sectarian links is no myth. Bruce et al. 2005 argue  
20 that this bad behaviour may have little to do with religious conflict, but is simply part of group  
21 identification. Patrick (1973) and Holligan and Deuchar (2009) argue that religion, per se,  
22 contributes little to gang-formation or gang-identification in Glasgow. A detailed study of one ill-  
23 behaved football star describes how he was demonized by the press in terms of his Irish  
24 Catholic background (Reid, 2008) although it is interesting to note that most of the physical  
25 violence he suffered took place in Northern Ireland. Rather than policies to “reduce  
26 sectarianism” what may be needed to promote future harmony are initiatives to tackle the  
27 promotion of the myth of sectarianism and the reality of football-related violence.  
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13 our results.  
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**Table 1** Numbers and percentage of men and women in couples by religion raised and current religion

	Religion of upbringing				Current religion			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Roman Catholic	21,012	18.8	21,972	19.7	18,368	16.5	19,723	17.7
Protestant	75,060	67.3	75,965	68.0	61,084	54.7	65,624	58.8
None	15,555	13.9	13690	12.3	31,389	28.1	25,708	23.0
Other religion or not answered					786	0.7	572	0.5
Total	111,627	100	111,627	100	111,627	100	111,627	100

**Table 2** Female members of couples percent in each religious group of religion raised by area\*

Area*	% by religious group of female			Total couples
	CATHOLIC	Protestant	None	
North	6.8	77.6	15.6	22,320
South	9.3	81.0	9.7	8,072
Central	13.3	73.7	13.1	9,585
West	32.0	59.9	8.2	45,908
East	14.6	68.2	17.2	25,742

\* Areas were defined by groups of local authorities as follows:

**South:** Scottish Borders, Dumfries and Galloway and South Ayrshire

**Central:** Perth and Kinross, Falkirk, Stirling and Clackmannanshire.

**North:** Argyle and Bute, Highland, Angus, Moray, Aberdeen City, Aberdeenshire and the Northern and Western Isles.

**East and West:** All remaining authorities with West Lothian Eastwards defining the East. (See note 4)

**Table 3** Homogonous and mixed partnerships in Scotland by religion raised of partners

Homogamous partnerships			Mixed partnerships		
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Protestant- Protestant	62,182	55.7%	Protestant- Catholic	18430	16.5%
Catholic- Catholic	9,896	8.9%	Protestant- No religion	8231	7.4%
No religion- No religion	8,126	7.3%	Catholic- No religion	4762	4.3%
All homogamous	80,204	71.9%	All mixed	31,423	28.1%

**Table 4:** Religion raised by members of couples in Scotland and unadjusted homogamy coefficients

Raised religion of female partner	Raised religion of male partner				Homogamy coefficients
	Catholic	Protestant	None	All	
Catholic	45.0	43.2	11.8	100	1.86
Protestant	11.8	81.9	6.4	100	3.90
None	15.9	24.7	59.4	100	7.81
All females	18.8	67.2	13.9	100	

**Table 5** *Different types of partnerships by age group for West of Scotland and Scotland excluding the West.*

Percent of each type of partnership

Area	Age group of female member	Catholic with Catholic	Protestant with Protestant	Catholic with Protestant	Catholic with None	Protestant with None	None with None
All Scotland	55 or over	9.7	72.4	11.7	1.3	3.2	1.6
	40-54	9.0	59.2	18.5	3.2	6.1	4.0
	under 40	8.3	42.4	17.3	7.0	11.1	13.9
West of Scotland*	55 or over	18.1	61.2	15.2	1.7	2.5	1.2
	40-54	17.2	48.0	25.0	3.7	3.9	2.3
	under 40	16.5	35.2	25.5	9.0	7.1	6.7
Scotland except West	55 or over	3.7	80.3	9.2	1.1	3.7	2.0
	40-54	3.1	67.2	13.8	2.9	7.7	5.3
	under 40	2.7	47.4	11.7	5.7	13.8	18.7

\* See note under Table 2 for a definition of West

**Table 6** *Percentage of people in couples currently identifying with the religion in which they were raised by their own and their partner's religion of upbringing.*

Men in couples Religion raised	Religion of partner		
	Catholic	Protestant	None
Catholic	94.3	74.6	75.9
Protestant	63.8	80.6	51.4
None	86.5	85.8	93.8

Women in couples Religion raised	Religion of partner		
	Catholic	Protestant	None
Catholic	95.6	72.8	74.2
Protestant	62.6	85.2	60.3
None	82.1	84.5	93.5

**Table 7** Proportions of men and women identifying with the religion in which they were raised by their own religion of upbringing, age group and whether their partner is of the same religion.

		Males in couples			Females in couples		
		Religion raised			Religion raised		
		Catholi c	Protestan t	Non e	Catholi c	Protestan t	None
All	under 40	81.8	83.8	76.5	83.5	83.4	80.6
	40-54	78.7	81.9	76.1	82.3	81.8	82.0
	55 or over	86.2	88.5	85.8	89.0	85.8	89.9
Partner raised in different religion	under 40	74.4	50.6	79.6	73.9	57.7	75.0
	40-54	66.6	45.1	76.1	68.8	55.8	66.3
	55 or over	66.6	51.2	71.3	64.3	60.8	56.3
Partner raised in same religion	under 40	97.0	92.1	97.3	98.4	98.4	97.5
	40-54	97.4	90.8	97.7	98.5	98.5	95.7
	55 or over	98.4	94.2	98.6	99.4	99.4	95.4

**NOTES**

1. The text of MacMillan's lecture and his response to commentaries on it can be found in Devine (ed.) 2000.
2. Further analyses of the NILT data, available from <http://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/> (accessed June 2011), were carried out to obtain the results quoted in this paragraph.
3. On 9<sup>th</sup> March 2011 the Community Safety Minister announced that "The Scottish Government will continue to deliver a united approach to tackling sectarianism by supporting organisations delivering a range of projects." See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2011/03/08152206>.
4. Our definition of East includes the following Local Authorities: Dundee City, East Lothian, Edinburgh, Fife, Midlothian, West Lothian. The West area comprises East and West Dunbartonshire, East Renfrewshire, Glasgow, Inverclyde, East and North Ayrshire, North and South Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire.

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10 **Figure legends**

11  
12 **Figure 1** *Percentage of women in couples by religion and age group at 2001*  
13 *Census a) religion raised and b) current religion*

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15 **Figure 2** *Percent professional managerial (NSSEC codes 1 to 13 as a*  
16 *percentage of all reported occupations) by religion raised and age group for*  
17 *members of couples. a) males and b) females.*

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19  
20 **Figure 3** *Percent with a degree or professional qualification by religion raised*  
21 *and age group for members of couples. . a) males and b) females*

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24 **Figure 4** *Homogamy by the age of the female partner. (a) Percentage same*  
25 *religion couples (b) Homogamy coefficients*

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28 **Figure 5** *Percentage of age group (males and females combined) with*  
29 *current religion same as religion raised by religion of upbringing a) in*  
30 *homogamous couples and b) in mixed couples*

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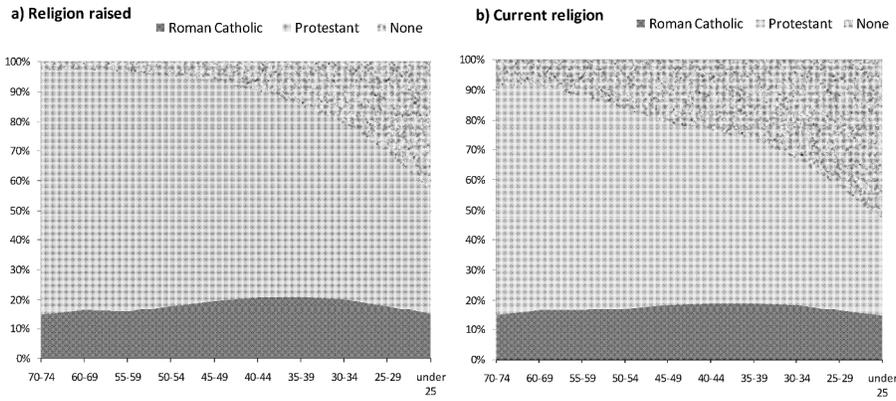


Figure 1 Percentage of women in couples by religion and age group at 2001 Census a) religion raised and b) current religion  
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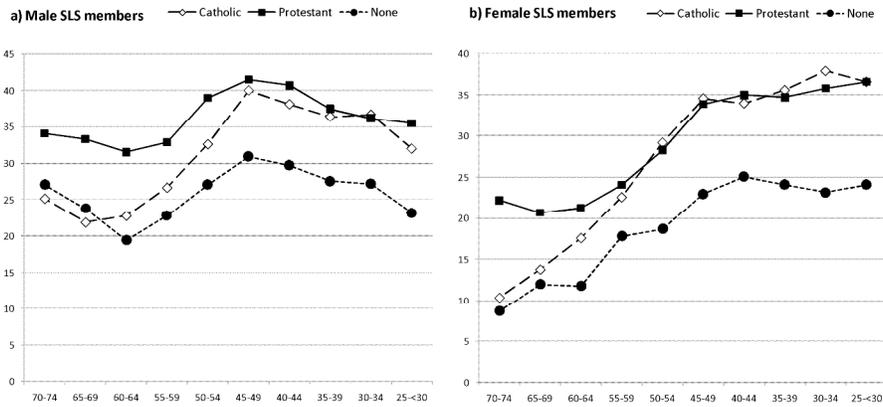


Figure 2 Percent professional managerial (NSSEC codes 1 to 13 as a percentage of all reported occupations) by religion raised and age group for members of couples. a) males and b) females. 289x160mm (300 x 300 DPI)

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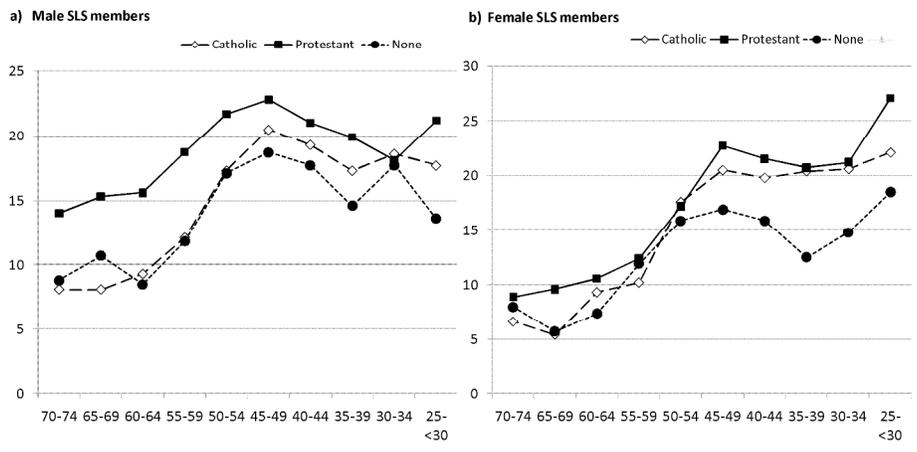


Figure 3 Percent with a degree or professional qualification by religion raised and age group for members of couples. . a) males and b) females  
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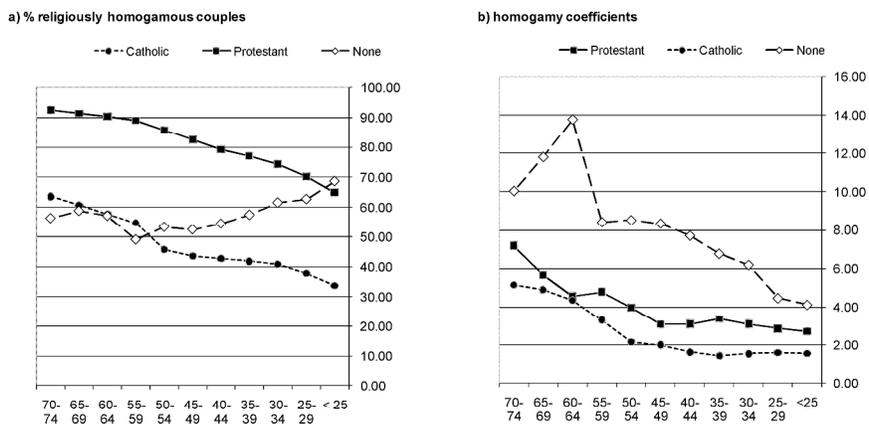


Figure 4 Homogamy by the age of the female partner. (a) Percentage same religion couples (b) Homogamy coefficients  
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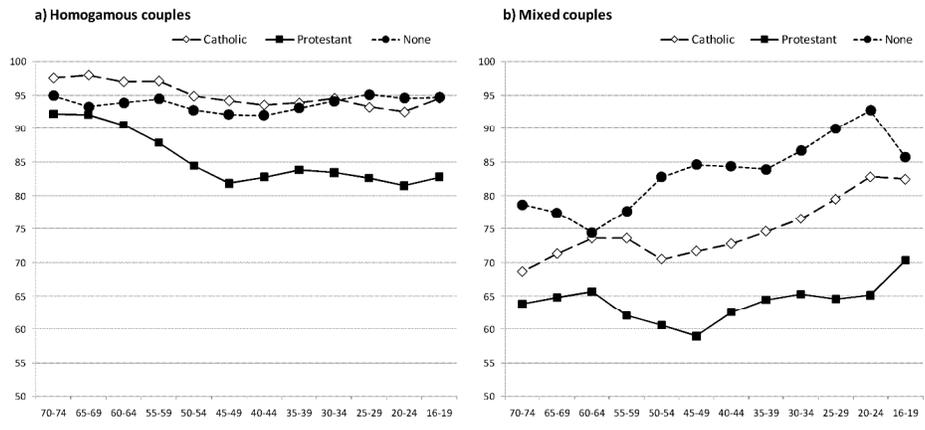


Figure 5 Percentage of age group (males and females combined) with current religion same as religion raised by religion of upbringing a) in homogamous couples and b) in mixed couples

289x160mm (300 x 300 DPI)

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