

# **Tackling Sectarianism and its Consequences in Scotland**

**Final Report of The Advisory Group  
on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland –  
April 2015**



**The Scottish  
Government**  
Riaghaltas na h-Alba

## **Index**

Foreword

Executive summary

Introduction

### **Annexes:**

Annex A: Advisory Group remit and membership

Annex B: List of meetings of the Advisory Group

Annex C: List of links to the documents referred to in the report

Annex D: Funded Projects 2015-16

## FOREWORD



I am pleased to present this, the final report of the Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland. For over two years now the Advisory Group has been looking at this issue and trying to establish how sectarianism manifests itself today, what can be done to move forward from the rivalries and prejudices that have been associated with sectarianism for generations and why this remains such a persistent problem in Scotland.

This journey has highlighted many negative feelings including misunderstanding, mistrust and irrationality, however, it has also highlighted that communities across Scotland are good places to live, with people from all areas desperate for change and hungry to move away from the real and perceived prejudices and stereotypes that have held back progress. The responses to the Advisory Group's work have ranged from out-and-out denial that any problem exists to claims that sectarianism is the worst social issue that Scotland has to address. We do not believe that either is true, but they do highlight the strong, deep and often extreme feelings that people bring to the issue based on their personal experience or received assumption. If the work of the Advisory Group moves the debate on sectarianism in Scotland from the polarising positions of denial and sensationalism to a positive position where it can be acknowledged, challenged, discussed and debated on a less emotional basis which favours facts and evidence over assumption and myth, it will have contributed to progress. By taking sectarianism out of the twin traps of denial and sensationalism we can improve relationships and understanding, create more open spaces for discussion and dialogue and allow expression of views that do not lead to violence, discrimination or hatred.

Such an approach favours a culture of action over a culture of avoidance and blame, where everyone recognises that they have a role to play in tackling this issue. Many have tried to limit their own responsibility for tackling sectarianism by stating that it is a societal problem and therefore for someone else to deal with – but as we are all part of that society, a societal problem is a shared problem which requires responsible action, not just diagnosis, if it is to change.

We believe that it is time for Scottish leaders, organisations, institutions and individuals to take action, recognising that a failure to do so is a tacit endorsement of the attitudes and behaviours that have been used to justify abuse, anger, aggression and violence towards

others simply because they are different. Our differences are important to the health of every society, community and family. Making sure that they are not used to promote hostility and exclusion but to celebrate the value of variety is an important democratic task. Scotland is hungry for change from sectarianism and those who wait until 'after the event' to speak out may endanger their own credibility.

I would like to extend my thanks to everyone who took time out of their busy schedules to meet with the Advisory Group and who have contributed to this debate. The work of the Advisory Group has been a fascinating learning journey for me, on both a personal and professional level, and I am very pleased to have been part of this work. Putting sectarianism behind us will require both vision and action but we are going in the right direction.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Duncan Morrow". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name "Duncan" and the last name "Morrow" clearly legible.

**Dr Duncan Morrow**  
**Chair of the Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland**

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

1. The findings, conclusions and recommendations contained in this report reflect the evidence gathered by the Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland ('the Advisory Group') up to 31 March 2015, the date at which the Advisory Group formally concluded. This advice also reflects the collective views of the Advisory Group based on this evidence. The specific form of sectarianism we have considered is that arising from the Catholic-Protestant tensions that are part of the historic legacy of Scotland.
2. As with our interim report, which was published on 13 December 2013, the breadth of views, opinions and experiences expressed to us has been striking and left us with the complicated dilemma of how to work through these to provide advice on the future development of work to tackle sectarianism in Scotland. This, our final report, therefore builds on the findings set out in our interim report.
3. Throughout the lifespan of the Advisory Group we have aimed to raise the level of discussion and debate on the issue of sectarianism in Scotland so that we can tackle it effectively, and it is our sincere hope that our interim and final reports will be used by a wide cross-section of Scottish society to help achieve this aim.
4. All of the work that we have engaged in has led us to the clear conclusion that Scotland is ready to move on from its sectarian past and that the need to build a truly inclusive society for all those who make Scotland their home is more important now than it has ever been. We have the potential to work together to shape our shared future by embracing positive change and not resisting or fearing it. Modern Scots come from a wide and diverse range of backgrounds and have complex and multi-layered identities. But all are Scots and these different layers demonstrate that Scotland is strong, inclusive and embraces difference.

### **Definition**

5. As an alternative to the definition of sectarianism offered in our interim report we offer the following:

Sectarianism in Scotland is a mixture of perceptions, attitudes, actions, and structures that involves overlooking, excluding, discriminating against or being abusive or violent towards others on the basis of their perceived Christian denominational background. This perception is always mixed with other factors such as, but not confined to, politics, football allegiance and national identity.

6. We recommend that the Scottish Government continue to seek the help of communities across Scotland to craft a definition, which is easily understood, can be tailored to be appropriate for different communities, is useful for analysing what is happening in local areas, and covers as far as possible the breadth of manifestations of this complex phenomenon.

## Research

7. We are pleased to have been instrumental in developing a robust research base for sectarianism in Scotland including the commissioning of new research. Our key conclusions are that:

- A very substantial body of evidence consistently corroborates the evident perception in Scotland that 'sectarianism' (however defined) is widespread and worrisome. There is, though, rather less clear evidence about its actual form, character and extent. This 'gap' was amongst the key conclusions of Scottish Government reviews of evidence in 2005, 2013 and 2015 we wish to emphasise the importance of this finding.
- Whilst sectarianism is a problem in 'pockets' of Scottish life, there is limited robust evidence of structural disadvantage between key religious groups.
- It is clear that many people in Scotland live their lives untouched by sectarianism, or have the means to avoid it. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that a minority of Scots report having been victims of sectarianism historically and recently and such experiences are not restricted to any particular religious or ethnic community.
- There are consistent patterns to beliefs about the seriousness and extent of sectarianism, as well as to what contributes to its continued existence.
- There is considerable evidence of social integration between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland.
- There is little evidence of sectarianism at the heart of Scottish politics.
- It is clear that there remain some key areas in which we lack robust knowledge about the nature and extent of sectarianism.

## Recommendations

8. We have made recommendations calling for clearer responsibility taking and action in all areas associated with sectarianism and those who deal with the consequences of sectarianism such police, prisons and local communities. The recommendations are:

### Research

8.1 Focus on the role of gender in both sectarian victimisation and in the 'handing down' of sectarian attitudes through role models and family traditions.

8.2 Focus on better understanding of sectarian articulation and understanding on social media – potentials for exacerbate or ameliorating.

8.3 Further understand the relationship between sectarianism and football – top level, youth football – and what can be done to address this.

8.4 Better understand what we have termed as the polite, educated forms of sectarianism as a means to uncover in professional life in Scotland the roots of what has been described to us as a permissive environment that tacitly sanctions the more overt expressions of sectarianism.

8.5 Investigate the economic impact to organisations, business and geographical area associated with sectarianism.

8.6 Ensure the final community project reports, when collated, are used as community practice and practical knowledge alongside the review of evidence

(Scottish Government, forthcoming 2015) to inform and direct future policy and decisions on funding.

### **Churches**

8.7 Affirm cooperation where it exists, and encourage it where it has yet to emerge, including the provision of opportunities for people to learn about one another's history, tradition and practice. Too often people have a view of others' faith that is founded on inaccuracy and ancient prejudice.

8.8 Ensure local action is seen to be the priority, but also affirm this work through symbolic statements and actions at a denominational level to demonstrate the commitment to on-going co-operation and opposition to sectarian behaviour from all of Scotland's churches.

### **Football**

8.9 We wish to reaffirm the recommendations made in our Interim Report (paragraphs 6.65 to 6.73) all of which remain valid.

8.10 The football authorities and clubs should proactively work to address the close association in public perception of football in Scotland with sectarianism through direct programmes of intervention, clear anti-sectarian messaging and active and visible leadership in partnership with other agencies such as local government, youth work, schools, police.

8.11 Respond to our question of 'if not strict liability then what?' It is clear that a strategic and measured response to Scotland's remnants of sectarian attitudes and behaviour cannot succeed without squarely addressing the sectarian problems within and around football.

### **Marches and Parades**

8.12 Organisations convey the key messages of their parades through dialogue in and with local communities. Dialogue will also give an opportunity for local communities to present their views.

8.13 Scottish Government enter a dialogue with local communities and community planning partnerships which affirms and respects the rights of religious and political expression and the rights of communities not to be unreasonably disrupted.

### **COSLA**

8.14 Should work with local authorities to help empower and enable community planning to take the necessary steps to address sectarianism where and how it is found in local areas.

### **Local Authorities**

8.15 Develop a whole council approach through policies, training and education of staff, where this is currently being developed it should be encouraged and supported with learning discussed and disseminated for use by other local authorities.

8.16 Use the learning from the existing community projects funded by the Scottish Government as a data source with community projects integrating their work into their wider youth work practice and training.

### **Education Scotland**

8.17 Ensure sectarianism is integrated into the curriculum in a clear, locally appropriate way to provide a pathway into the wider equalities work when teachers and schools have the opportunity to not only address sectarianism but build their own skills, experience and confidence.

8.18 Aid development of all schools actively tackling the issue by producing a “Horrible Histories” style timeline of sectarianism in Scotland that can be used within schools and where appropriate the local history can be investigated.

### **Media**

8.19 Should make a clear commitment not to sensationalise and stoke flames of sectarianism through headlines, intensifying feeling and anxiety as seen in the lead up to the recent Celtic v Rangers league cup semi-final. This commitment should be acted on with the full knowledge that the repercussions of such sensationalism will always be harmful to society as a whole.

### **Youth and Community Projects**

8.20 Work closely with local authority departments such as community planning partnerships and education departments where possible to begin mainstreaming work.

8.21 Form the basis of further development of programmes of training, learning and institutional development, using the Action on Sectarianism to open up the work to wider sectors with time being spent collating the work to produce a national toolkit or overarching guide.

### **Justice**

8.22 Police Scotland work with relevant partners to share their knowledge and expertise in addressing sectarianism to allow the issues to be actively addressed by youth services, local authorities and Community Planning Partnerships.

8.23 Scottish Prison Service proactively address the issue and work with prisoners to reduce re-offending. Resources that have been developed with and for the prison service to tackle sectarianism should be utilised and updated where necessary.

### **Scottish Government**

8.24 Continue to build on the current evidence base through new research and annual monitoring of the issue.

8.25 Use learning from community pilot projects to build on the practical knowledge of what is working and develop evidence based policy to direct any future funding.

8.26 Consider the role of independent advice in the future development of this agenda. While the Scottish Government has a leading role to play in tackling sectarianism, and indeed all other social issues, it is not a problem that can simply be dumped at their doorstep. As well as working with a broad range of partner organisations the Scottish Government should consider how independent advice can continue to contribute to this agenda particularly in relation to reporting on



progress; convening discussions which have no political bias; and advising on the development and interpretation of evidence.

8.27 Leadership needs to be shown by the Scottish Government which encourages the acknowledgement of sectarianism where it is identified while refusing to turn it into a party-political football. This is essential if progress is to be maintained.

#### **Working Definition**

8.28 The Scottish Government continue to seek the help of communities across Scotland to craft a definition, which is easily understood, useful for analysing what is happening in local areas, and covers as far as possible the breadth of manifestations of this complex phenomenon.

#### **Scottish Parliament**

8.29 Leadership needs to be shown across all parties in the Scottish Parliament which encourages the acknowledgement of sectarianism where it is identified while refusing to turn it into a party-political football. This is essential if progress is to be maintained.

8.30 Demonstrates a willingness to act where action or resources are required to embed change in line with the report of the assets-based approach set out by the Christie Commission. Central to this is recognition of the fact that such approaches can only ever be successful if they are taken forward in a consistent long-term way and this can only be achieved if there is a shared political vision for this work.

## SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 'Sectarianism' has had real consequences in Scotland. In a variety of complex relationships with other political, social and economic forces, it has been a recognisable factor in justifying, rationalising or tolerating violence, discrimination and separation.

1.2 Almost three years ago, the Independent Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism set out to answer two questions: 'What is sectarianism in Scotland now?' and 'How would we best deal with its consequences?' What happened as a result was one of the most wide-ranging, engaged and challenging civic explorations of any equalities issues to have ever taken place in Scotland. It took place during a period of change in relations between churches and wider society and, even more, alongside the huge national debate that was the independence referendum in 2014. That this was possible, and indeed creative, is a testament to the health of civic society in Scotland at this time and to the commitment that exists to exploring the possibilities for positive change.

1.3 We are grateful to all those who participated with us, whether through developing work in communities, through participation in events or conferences, through supporting research or through meeting directly with us to explore particular aspects of sectarianism. We are also grateful to the Scottish Government for leading a shift in approach to equalities issues from high profile (but short term) responses to extreme events to a longer-term community-based approach which clearly focusses on the needs of those who are experiencing the problem. Furthermore, the cross-party support that emerged in the Scottish Parliament for our work was striking and provided evidence of considerable maturity. Without this focus on shared values by all parties, work on equalities issues becomes impossible and we believe that it will be essential to protect and develop this co-operation on tackling sectarianism in coming years.

1.4 What we began to discover was at times disturbing but at other times was heartening. Sectarianism has made its way into the identity, culture and rituals of institutions, communities and people, some of which retain only a fleeting formal association with these overtly religious origins. Being 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' in Scotland was not something limited to the realm of theology and religious life, but fostered identity and belonging in distinctive cultural patterns and shaped the organisation of community life: what was remembered and what was passed on, how people behaved and what they expected in workplaces, the organisation of schools, cultural organisations and even politics. Often it provided a framework whereby people were identified and treated as 'different', 'outsiders', 'less important' or 'suspicious'.

1.5 We met people who engage with sectarianism as a topic from a strictly 'church-based' or doctrinal context. Others saw it as an issue of equality to be treated through law and regulation. Still others focussed on sectarianism's association with particular places, groups or institutions. And others considered it as a deeply rooted historic toxin in the

Scottish body politic. Separating what was 'sectarian' in the narrow denominational sense from anti-immigrant racism, employment discrimination, institutional development, access to the establishment or community tensions over other issues sometimes therefore seems like a process akin to unscrambling eggs.

1.6 Above all, sectarianism in Scotland is an issue which people knew about from many different and complex sources: some from personal experience and others from informal reference, from association with cultural organisations or in unspoken behaviours in communities. For some, sectarianism was a source of anger, for others of shame and for many of fear. We met nobody who promoted it as a virtue. But perhaps because of this association with a potential for violence or tension, we heard that sectarianism has not been an issue that is generally acknowledged or discussed in polite company. Sectarianism has most often been a subject acknowledged in private but avoided in public. This 'discursive deficit', as it was referred to by one person, alongside a fear of a potential threat, means that there is no consistent historical narrative about the development, nature and extent of the phenomenon. While its uglier manifestations have been widely regretted, there has been little appetite to make policy directly. Direct policy engagement of tackling sectarianism in Scotland is in a very early stage.

1.7 The existence of sectarianism in a kind of 'nether world' of Scottish society means that it can seem both hidden and menacing at the same time. The task of the Advisory Group was to create a context in which the culture of anxious silence around sectarianism could be changed into one of acknowledgement, engagement and action. Our collective challenge remains to address sectarianism without being seen to create even more complex and violent problems.

## **Background**

1.8 The historic development of sectarianism has been treated elsewhere and we do not propose to discuss this at length, but there have been a number of points raised with us during our deliberations which were of particular importance and deserve further comment:

1.8.1 While the work of the Advisory Group was primarily concerned with tensions which have historically existed between Protestant and Catholic communities in Scotland (sometimes referred to as intra-Christian sectarianism, although such a term could be used to describe tensions between and/or within any Christian denominations), we also recognise that "sectarianism" is a term that is increasingly used in the media to describe a wide range of conflicts and tensions which present themselves as being religiously based. However, its particular form in Scotland was shaped by the relation of these tensions to other important aspects of social change, in particular during the period of significant economic transformation and mass migration from Ireland into Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In practice, it is impossible to finally and absolutely separate the term 'sectarianism'

from these other critical phenomena: anti-immigrant sentiment and anti-Irish racism, issues of poverty and industrialisation, local and regional factors, and important dimensions of gender. While it is important to acknowledge the continuity of these factors in contributing to sectarianism, it also makes it important to avoid overly simple or general responses to a concept which has taken on many forms and meanings and often serves as a generic name for a number of different factors. Sectarianism in Scotland should therefore not be dismissed or described as any single one of the above.

1.8.2 Some of the most extreme and violent forms of sectarianism in Scotland were concentrated in particular districts, towns and regions, in working class and impoverished parts of society and in certain industries and workplaces. Visible sectarian behaviour became associated with specific parts of Scotland (particularly the industrial) and with the working class districts of cities and towns. For some living at distance from these developments, sectarianism was identified and confined to these areas and treated as a problem of others. The legacy of this varied history remains, with some people in Scotland having few points of reference to everyday sectarianism while others are aware of its impact on every child and family.

1.8.3 In reality, every state in western Europe was shaped by the reaction of the political authorities to the split in the western Church known as the Reformation. Once church divisions over doctrinal and ritual matters became integral to the claims to legitimacy of states, the consequence for religious minorities in many places was organised and serious persecution and exclusion. In the United Kingdom, the Act of Settlement asserted that no monarch could be or be married to a professing Roman Catholic.<sup>1</sup> Catholicism was, at times, treated as synonymous with treason, with particular consequences for Ireland. Furthermore, 'Protestantism' had a different meaning for established churches and those which were tolerated but not part of the state. While all official discrimination against Catholics ended in the United Kingdom in 1829, and all subsequent democratic reforms made no formal religious distinctions, the legacy of this history shaped both Irish nationalism and anti-Irish prejudice, fuelled sectarian approaches to immigration and left residual patterns of hostile behaviour and attitude in many institutions. The formal existence of the Act of Settlement continues to represent a symbol with significant consequences for belonging and attachment to the state. For some is evidence that the state continues to harbour implicit and unacknowledged sectarianism which hides and fosters unconscious and tacit assumptions and cultural norms in state circles with real and sometimes systemic consequences. Changing such a pivotal element of the British constitution will inevitably be a complex and controversial task raising questions of

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<sup>1</sup> "all and every Person and Persons that then were or afterwards should be reconciled to or shall hold Communion with the See or Church of Rome or should professe the Popish Religion or marry a Papist should be excluded and are by that Act made for ever"

the disestablishment of state religion and questions of the implications for different church approaches to such issues as divorce, remarriage and the religious obligations on parents. However, it is imperative that any implication that the state excludes Catholics or any other (non) belief community from full civic equality is repudiated in principle and practice.

1.8.4 Sectarianism in Scotland has shaped the conscious life of people in different communities in differing ways. We heard from many Catholics of a widespread residual sense that official and professional life in Scotland has been a 'cold house'. We also heard others contest this analysis, suggesting that tacit institutional or cultural bias resulted largely from differences in social class affecting people of all religious backgrounds and with greater impact when associated with other modern issues of identity and cultures such as gender, race and non-Christian religion. We have not been equipped to either confirm or disprove that historic patterns of systematic exclusion in Scotland were or were not primarily or even purely sectarian, although there is little doubt that anti-Catholicism was an active and persistent element until relatively recently. However, in line with our general approach, what is most important is that perceptions of this kind are proactively subjected to proper examination through further research and that evidence of residual exclusion is acted upon where it is identified. Likewise, using feelings or perceptions of exclusion which continue to draw on patterns which have now lost practical meaning to maintain or inflame resentment should be open to examination rather than asserted as uncontested 'facts' requiring unthinking action.

1.8.5 The language of sectarianism has created an on-going association between attitudes and experiences in Scotland and attitudes and experience in the north of Ireland. In historic terms, this goes back to the close bonds of family and economy that connects people on both sides of the Irish Sea and the fact that industrialisation and mass immigration took place during the same period in both Glasgow and Belfast. Although events in Northern Ireland can impact directly on some relationships in Scotland, and there is considerable evidence of cultural, organisational and even paramilitary connections, the most important effect of the eruption of significant violence in Northern Ireland after 1969 has been to emphasise differences rather than similarities. Above all, Scotland has not seen the emergence of organised violence nor the spread of exclusively Catholic or Protestant residential areas. Political sectarianism has been exceptional rather than normal and has almost certainly declined over the period. While some of the patterns and experience of Northern Ireland can be useful in understanding and addressing sectarian issues, efforts to address sectarianism in Scotland must be relevant to specifically Scottish circumstances.

1.8.6 Public discussion about sectarianism in Scotland has tended to fall into one of two broad patterns. Either sectarianism is dismissed as trivial or irrelevant, and those who bring it into public discourse are brushed aside, or it is treated in a highly emotive and amplified manner, where there is a tendency to magnify and heighten division and tension. It is our experience that this pattern is now both unconstructive and unhelpful, creating exasperation for some that such an insignificant issue continues to be raised and resentment among others that important issues are set aside or dismissed. Mature debate requires a willingness to submit our perceptions to evidence, a willingness to accept unexpected results and a willingness to find practical ways to address any emerging problems. The Advisory Group, therefore, believes that progress will only be possible with a transparent and open approach to experience and acknowledgement, an evidence-based approach to establishing facts and a ‘what works?’ approach to intervention.

1.8.7 Sectarianism in Scotland is not a static phenomenon but has undergone considerable change. Changing patterns of religious observance, global diversity and immigration, economic, social and political developments, and shifting emphases in the religious, national and cultural dimensions of ‘sectarianism’ mean that the sectarianism of the 1920s, 1950s and 1970s is only partly relevant. We have not found evidence of widespread support for any inequality, violence or discrimination which might result from sectarianism. Against this background, we believe that there is considerable room both for optimism that sectarianism can now be addressed rather than hidden, and of a wish to consign the consequences of hostility in the past to the past.

### **Why does Tackling Sectarianism and its consequences matter?**

1.9 The Advisory Group has not restricted our work to an exploration of inter-church relations, but has examined the potential for **tackling sectarianism and its wider consequences** in its real social settings. In democratic societies based on equal citizenship and the rule of law, discrimination against any person on the basis of identified particular characteristics, such as gender, ethnic or religious identity, is a threat to the overall health of society. In this vein, sectarianism has significant implications where it impacts on life chances and the quality of life of people and communities in Scotland. We have come to emphasise three specific contexts in sectarianism as a matter for potential action:

#### **GLASS CEILINGS: Where sectarianism creates, rationalises or sustains patterns of inequality and discrimination**

1.9.1 The historic association of religion with political legitimacy and advancement in Scotland, combined with discrimination and competition associated with mass immigration of people defined by religious and cultural difference, has left a complex pattern of social inequality. While we found no evidence that poverty and social

exclusion was, or is, confined to one group, there is historic evidence that anti-Catholicism was a significant factor restricting life chances and access to individual advancement. Recent statistics suggest that some of this has been addressed through education, legislation and changing social attitudes. However, ensuring that we understand this relationship, and the underlying patterns of change, remains important in moving from anecdote to evidence as the agreed basis for resolving questions of equality.

### **GLASS BOTTLES: Where sectarianism is used to justify violence, threat or intimidation**

1.9.2 The escalation of difference, disagreement and conflict into hate crime, abuse and violence is unacceptable in any democracy. Undoubtedly, however, sectarianism is strongly associated in some communities in Scotland with fear, usually based on experiences of threat, intimidation or actual violence. Often, this results from the association of sectarianism with other issues such as alcohol, masculinity, support for football teams or parading organisations. Such individual factors can lead to unacceptable behaviour, but more often a combination of different elements interact negatively with each other to produce an antisocial outcome creating what Police Scotland described to us as ‘a permissive environment’ where abuse and violence is tolerated and even sometimes encouraged. At other times it spills into hostility between young people or in schools.

1.9.3 The perception that sectarianism is closely associated with violence remains very strong in many people’s minds, particularly when it comes to the more visible areas where sectarianism is seen to be a problem – football and marches and parades. Furthermore, pockets of sectarian violence remain a real problem and, even though the overall picture is improving, such behaviour is completely unacceptable in a modern society, is criminal and rightly needs to be met with the full force of the law.

1.9.4 However, there appears to be significant resistance in many quarters to take action for fear that taking action would be mistaken for accepting liability for sectarianism in general. By wrongly focussing on individual acts, the costs and consequences of sectarianism are treated as a problem caused by a few individuals who have been described to us as ‘neds’ – a term often used to randomly demonise all young people involved in any form of antisocial behaviour or even who appear boisterous. Such a view frequently leads people into concluding that a primarily criminal approach to tackling sectarianism is what is required. There are only ever two consequences that can come from such an approach: The enormous financial

costs associated with such an approach will ultimately make it impractical and untenable and this approach also runs the risk that wider societal responsibilities and relationships are ignored in favour of legislation. If new legislation is to be avoided it is critical that all organisations including those in sport, culture, churches, youth work, schools and communities address the issue in tailored individual and appropriate ways for those they work with and have an influence over.

**GLASS CURTAINS: Where sectarianism creates persistent relationships of suspicion or antagonism fostering prejudice, hostility and resentment**

1.9.5 In any society, the principles of equity and diversity must be constantly re-examined to support the common good and recognise the interdependence of all. Humanising community life in the face of previous injuries is a task of the utmost importance. However, it is a task in which government and local government can lead and encourage but cannot enforce. Tackling sectarianism in this context means active attention to building relationships across institutions and communities where there has been tension. This involves acknowledging, however painfully, those issues which act as a barrier to the participation of all. Central to progress is the full involvement of both those who feel that they were victims of sectarianism and those who have been perceived as tolerating or promoting it. Although identified community leaders and those with authority in institutions and organisations have a particular responsibility, responsibility for action cannot be limited to any single party in society.

1.9.6 Tackling sectarianism does not imply the creation of a homogenous society. Difference, variety, conflict and change are vital elements of a healthy society. However, when particular differences harden to create prejudice, hostility or exclusion, the consequences are harmful and persistent for the whole community. Sectarianism has undoubtedly incubated a culture within institutions which conveys or fosters prejudice or negative attitudes towards others, continues with exclusive rituals which encourage 'identities' against other people or implies a different set of rules or standards for some rather than others. In such circumstances the potential for discrimination or violence grows.



1.9.7 In many cases, what is understood as ‘sectarian’ in the behaviour of the other is rationalised as ‘necessary’ by those behaving in this way. We are absolutely clear in stating that violence, threat and inequality, and anything which rationalises the behaviour or attitude that lead to them, have no place in a democratic society. However, there remains a particular onus on organisations that have emerged within or from the culture of sectarian antagonism to explore how and where their attitudes, presuppositions and actions impact on others, and to take action to eliminate any and all such negative impacts.

1.9.8 The role of schools and education was also raised, with some arguing strongly that the existence of choice in schooling relating to denominational schools was sectarian in and of itself while others arguing that targeting one sort of school as a contributor to sectarianism was itself sectarian. Debates which do not take seriously the risk that either or both of these approaches could end up with deeply sectarian outcomes are both pointless and counter-productive. Sectarianism primarily exists in the quality of relationships that grow between whole communities and children and our approach to education has been to shift the focus from the *structure* of education to the quality of what happens for young people, with a strong emphasis on the need for proactive engagement with this issue in age-appropriate ways. This includes the need to identify specific resources and curricular support through Education Scotland (including drama, literature, sport, history, religious instruction and civic education), training teachers to design and lead programmes to address sectarianism and emphasising the importance of inter-school relations and open values for school leadership.

### **Our approach to public policy on tackling Sectarianism and its consequences**

1.10 The roots of modern sectarianism in Scotland in both systematic religious rivalry and mass industrial migration mean that it has had a complex variety of personal, community and institutional consequences. Unsurprisingly, sectarianism is perceived and experienced very differently by different people. What to one person can be treated as trivial or distant may have left a deep impression on another. In some parts of Scotland people directly associate sectarianism with violence, discrimination and hostility. Yet we also found an uncomfortable dichotomy between those who will deny outright that sectarianism exists in Scotland and surprisingly high levels of discomfort about treating sectarianism like other issues of equality in society. Those in denial often prefer to use more simplistic labels for the abuse they see such as anti-Catholicism or anti-Irish racism. Those who are uncomfortable with treating sectarianism like other issues of equality often give the impression that taking this issue seriously is foolish or the result of political correctness gone mad. At the same time the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey found evidence of a widespread perception that sectarianism is a problem although it also found that most people think of it

as something largely experienced by others while being less inclined to think it was a problem in their local area.

1.11 We were regularly advised that raising and discussing the issue of sectarianism would in itself encourage more sectarian behaviour. We were told that this view was both widespread and commonly held in Scotland. Although a clear movement for change has been emerging in recent years, there are undoubtedly some people who believe that silence is the most effective way to deal with social problems. We believe that this view is deeply flawed as it risks both allowing sectarian abuse to be normalised through failing to recognise or challenge it, and raises serious questions about our lack of commitment to a fair and equal society for all.

1.12 Sectarianism remains a ‘crime without criminals’: even where sectarianism is recognised few would acknowledge that they themselves are ‘sectarian’. Indeed there is considerable resistance among many organisations – even those widely, if sometimes inaccurately, associated with sectarianism in the public mind – to publicly acknowledge or explore that association, let alone institute active programmes of change. We found much more evidence that to be associated with sectarianism was considered a reputational risk to be actively denied and repudiated.

1.13 While we share the desire to avoid inflaming or reigniting social divisions unnecessarily or to start finger-pointing, an approach based on denial and repudiation risks accusations of turning a blind eye to abuse, violence, discrimination and resentment. Most importantly we need to ensure that we do not allow a culture to flourish which stigmatises those who raise important issues of prejudice and exclusion. Above all, ‘management by denial’ creates a context where lingering and festering tensions become visible only through reaction to extreme events and compels the state to legislate. Inevitably, unwillingness to identify, acknowledge and act on sectarianism in the everyday means that its appearance in Scottish society alternates between silence and sensationalism.

1.14 For this reason, our approach has been shaped by six key principles:

**Principle 1:** The Advisory Group believes that the current legislative framework around equality and human rights, public order, hate crime and violent and offensive behaviour already provides the basis in law for all necessary action to tackle unacceptable behaviour. However, like all legislation, its effectiveness should be constantly scrutinised and monitored and advances in law elsewhere should be integrated into future approaches to sectarianism. Above all, it is important the legislation is enforced and that sectarian issues are tackled in a way which is consistent with approaches to other issues of rights and inequality. We are not advising any new legislation.

**Principle 2:** Political leadership is vital in removing any permissive environment for sectarian attitudes or behaviour. The fact that determination to eliminate sectarianism is shared across all parties in the Scottish Parliament has been extremely important for the functioning of the Advisory Group. A culture which both encourages the acknowledgement of sectarianism where it is identified while refusing to turn it into a party-political football is key to making progress. Creating regular and formal opportunities for politicians to demonstrate leadership and to monitor progress will be vital if there is to be sustained change, including a willingness to act where action or resources are required. Embedding real change through an assets-based methodology in line with the report of the Christie Commission requires a consistent long-term approach which can only be achieved if there is a shared political vision for this work.

**Principle 3:** Sectarianism and responsibility for sectarianism are emotive issues which inspire both fear and feeling. We found evidence that the fear of sectarianism and its consequences prevents open debate and discussion and may, at times be a larger problem than sectarianism itself. For this reason, the Advisory Group strongly favours an evidence-based approach in which experiences and allegations of sectarianism are investigated and assessed. Only a matter of fact approach can break the cycle of silence and sensation which characterises the debate on this issue.

**Principle 4:** Local government has a particular leadership responsibility in relation to tackling sectarianism. The impact of sectarianism has been so varied that it makes little sense to apply an inflexible centralised 'one size fits all' policy without reference to local conditions. So while we believe that addressing sectarianism should be a national priority, responsibility for tackling its manifestations and consequences should be tailored to local circumstances. This 'mainstreaming' approach must be actively developed in coming years to truly embed an ethos of finding and implementing the right solution for the identified problem being experienced in each individual area.

**Principle 5:** While central and local government have clear leadership responsibilities, sectarianism exists primarily in community and personal relationships and the legacies and history of institutions and organisations. The current culture of neglect or denial contributes to the festering of relationships which the vast majority of people now regard as shameful and anachronistic. Change will depend on organisations which have been linked to sectarianism through perception or historic actions – such as churches, cultural organisations, football clubs and governing bodies, educational organisations, the criminal justice system, youth work and community work – responding to the underlying will to see change by developing their own actions to address the manifestations of

sectarianism in their areas of activity and influence. Encouraging, highlighting and supporting this activity is an important role for the media in coming years.

**Principle 6:** Community leadership at local level will be vital in consigning sectarianism to the past. This means seeking out opportunities for co-operation and dialogue on issues of common concern, including developing networks and partnerships allowing organisations to work together for community action and actively exploring opportunities to ensure that prejudices are faced rather than avoided. The Advisory Group believes that this community based approach, which builds on the assets-based approach set out by the Christie Commission, offers a more creative and effective way to tackle sectarianism than simply reacting to high level media events. To enable and support change in tackling sectarianism, the Advisory Group has supported the development of practical programmes to address sectarianism in its many forms and the creation of web-based resources and tools for engagement. This work has been developed in many of the areas associated publicly with sectarianism, and has extended our understanding of the issue and how it can be addressed through tailored solutions, it will be vital that these projects form the basis of further development of programmes of training, learning and institutional development. Above all, we believe that the extension of activity to tackle sectarianism beyond legislation and politics to include community action, relationship building, partnership development and practical action can be a real contribution to the development of equalities based work on other issues with analogous consequences in discrimination, abuse, violence and hostility.

### **Framework for action**

1.15 There is no question that action is required if Scotland is to rid itself of the lingering consequences and perceptions of sectarianism which continue to shape so many people's lives. However, the approach to tackling sectarianism and its consequences needs to be guided by a clear framework to underpin all action at community, institutional or policy level. These are:

#### **Values**

1.15.1 Tackling sectarianism should be understood as core contribution to a cohesive and inter-dependent Scotland based on principles of equality of citizenship and valuing diversity.

#### **Research**

1.15.2 Tackling Sectarianism in practice requires the development of a good basis in research and evidence. Recent research work has already yielded valuable information which will help to shape future work in this area, but we need to recognise that we will not achieve a complete picture in a single attempt. It is

therefore essential to continue to build on the existing research base and continuing to monitor and develop this in coming years will be vital in moving beyond silence and sensation.

### **Responsibility**

1.15.3 We require a culture of responsibility taking rather than denial and the promotion of a culture of good relations which does not value instant and superficial harmony but values honesty, evidence and change. A culture of responsibility taking marked by pro-active interventions and projects would be a clear sign of a mature society and is the basis needed to change the narrative around sectarianism from 'Scotland's shame' to 'Scotland's success'. Furthermore, key figures and areas in Scottish culture – particularly through civic Scotland and in education, football, church and local government – have specific obligation to provide active public leadership.

### **History**

1.15.4 We need a new perspective on the history of Scotland to run alongside the robust evidence base that is being developed. Rather than a history which defines a single mainstream of insiders and subordinate streams of outsider-migrants, modern Scotland continues to be shaped by all its members who now have roots across the globe. We must supplement a history of assimilation of the out-group into the in-group with one which acknowledges that the cultural and economic success of modern Scotland has also been decisively influenced by the contribution of many streams of migrants and forms a cohesive and moving story of a country with diversity at its core.

### **Evidence**

1.15.5 The legacy of discrimination will not be eliminated until there is consistent evidence of change. For this reason we believe that attitudes towards sectarianism, progress in eliminating hate crime and monitoring of equality data on a regular and consistent basis should continue for the foreseeable future.

### **Community**

1.15.6 The research and evidence bases that are being developed also need to be informed by real, practical experience. Therefore the community-based projects which were funded by the Scottish Government to tackle sectarianism in local communities need to be fully evaluated, including an assessment of the impact on communities themselves. There should also be a follow on programme of mainstreaming activity involving local government, equality and human rights organisations, policing, youth work, community education and schools.

## **SECTION 2: DEFINING SECTARIANISM**

2.1 One of the key aspects of the Advisory Group's work has been to develop an understanding of what sectarianism is in Scotland today and how it manifests itself. A key finding is that sectarianism looks different in different parts of Scotland and can also vary depending on the circumstances and situation it is experienced in; the personal background and life experiences of the individual experiencing it; and even the time of year. This makes the task of defining sectarianism both important and complex.

2.2 In our interim report (in paragraph 3.9) we put forward a working definition:

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

2.3 This definition was an attempt to provide a relatively short framework that would help individuals and communities to analyse and understand a very complicated phenomenon. It was deliberately explanatory as well as descriptive to try and provide as holistic a picture as possible.

2.4 We recommended that the Scottish Government test this definition 'against the experiences of those delivering work to tackle sectarianism in communities, as well as with other stakeholders, to establish whether it encapsulates all of the forms of sectarianism being experienced and whether it is felt to be a usable definition which can be accepted by the broad range of groups that have an interest in this area' (paragraph 3.14.1 of the Advisory Group's interim report).

2.5 Testing was carried out through the Action on Sectarianism website and by direct request to those delivering projects to tackle sectarianism. This attracted 18 substantive responses. Of these six were from a project and 12 were from individuals from diverse local authority areas: Clackmannanshire, Dumfries and Galloway, Dundee City, Edinburgh (two), Glasgow (three), Highland, North Ayrshire and North Lanarkshire.

### **Feedback from those surveyed**

2.6 The feedback showed that the working definition was recognised by many to be a comprehensive, accurate and useful description of their experience of sectarianism. It was, however, useful largely with workers or key stakeholders but was found to be too wordy and complicated to be understood easily by a more general public. Those feeding back reported taking the framework of the definition and tailoring the language to make it more appropriate for the audience that would be receiving it. For example, the word 'complex'

was not always clearly understood and was replaced with 'mixture'. Overall there continued to be a strong call for a definition and a particular plea for the next version to be aimed more clearly at the general public rather than those with a knowledge of the subject area and for plain English to be applied as much as possible.

2.7 Some groups, who found the working definition too long and complicated, opted for shorter definitions provided by either Sense over Sectarianism or Nil by Mouth:

"Sectarianism is prejudice, discrimination and bigotry between 2 groups within the same religion" and often is followed by "Sometimes involving football." (Sense over Sectarianism)

"Narrow-minded beliefs that lead to prejudice, discrimination, malice and ill-will towards members, or presumed members, of a religious denomination." (Nil by Mouth)

2.8 These definitions are understandably attractive especially if you are working with school-age children. Neither, however, describes adequately the breadth of sectarianism in Scotland today.

2.9 The definition provided by Sense over Sectarianism risks creating an impression that sectarianism is always associated with overt aggressive behaviour that can be classified as 'bigotry', though it does not mention the violence – actual or threatened – that can accompany such behaviour. Therefore it places the burden of sectarianism with those whose overtly bigoted behaviour can be measured. In Scotland, these tend to be found amongst young people, working class people or football fans. The definition leaves out any account the type of polite, educated sectarian attitudes and behaviour that may be found amongst middle class people and the higher echelons of Scottish society. It effectively 'lets them off the hook' both in terms of owning their own sectarianism and in terms of the responsibility for ensuring that a permissive environment is not allowed to thrive through denial, advocating responsibility and inaction.

2.10 The definition provided by Nil by Mouth is more generally applicable but makes no distinction between sectarianism and what is usually understood as 'religious intolerance'. Sectarianism is not just intolerance between two Christian denominations; that would be anti-Catholicism or anti-Protestantism. Sectarianism always involves religious intolerance mixed with another factor – in Scotland these tend to be politics, and/or football club allegiance and/or national identity – indeed religion may not appear to be the most prominent element. To leave out these factors is to give undue weight to the religious element of sectarianism and the real or presumed religious background of the individuals involved. This definition also underplays the aspect of violence associated with sectarianism in the experience of many people.

2.11 We recognise that targeting the more gross or obvious expressions of sectarianism in violence or expressions of bigoted attitudes is important. We are concerned, however, that too little attention is being paid to the polite and educated versions of sectarianism which usually operate by ignoring the needs of another individual or group, or by omitting information that would illuminate the motivations or perspective of the 'other', for example, in teaching or describing events it is easy to present a one dimensional view which favours a single perspective while omitting the other. Such behaviours often pass unnoticed in polite society and are very difficult to challenge. They, however, contribute much to a permissive environment out of which other more abusive and violent expressions may emerge.

### **A definition of Sectarianism in Scotland**

2.12 Of course there is a fine balance to be found between making the definition of sectarianism clear enough and brief enough to be used across the spectrum of individuals and communities and not leaving out crucial aspects of the phenomenon. We would continue to recommend our original working version for those who want to do serious analysis because it covers the nature, origins and effects of sectarianism and has been confirmed as useful by community users.

2.13 We also offer here a shorter definition in plainer English:

Sectarianism in Scotland is a mixture of perceptions, attitudes, actions, and structures that involves overlooking, excluding, discriminating against or being abusive or violent towards others on the basis of their perceived Christian denominational background. This perception is always mixed with other factors such as, but not confined to, politics, football allegiance and national identity.

2.14 This definition makes clear that:

2.14.1 Sectarianism can have structural as well as individual or community manifestations.

2.14.2 There are both overt bigoted and polite, educated ways of being sectarian and it is not always intentional.

2.14.3 The religious background is intra-Christian and may be real or perceived.

2.14.4 Religious intolerance does not exhaust the scope of sectarianism; to be sectarian, religion must be mixed with other factors: politics, football club allegiance and/or national identity.



## **Recommendation**

2.15 We are conscious that the time for testing our working definition was short. We recommend that the Scottish Government continue to seek the help of communities across Scotland to craft a definition, which is easily understood, can be tailored to be appropriate for different communities, is useful for analysing what is happening in local areas, and covers as far as possible the breadth of manifestations of this complex phenomenon.

### **SECTION 3: RESEARCH / WHAT WE KNOW**

3.1 Underpinning the work of the Group has been the recognition that all our assumptions, recommendations and conclusions must be based on robust and reliable evidence. It is also crucial that this evidence is made accessible to all those working in this field now and in the future, so that our assumptions, recommendations and conclusions can be weighed, tested and built on appropriately. We do not claim to have a monopoly on understanding sectarianism in Scotland, rather our aim has been to advance the development of a robust research and evidence base which is essential for us to move this issue away from the polarities of silence and sensationalism to allow us to rationally recognise, acknowledge and address the issue in a meaningful way.

3.2 Sectarianism is too often an arena where claims and accusations are made without sufficient reference beyond anecdote and assumption. Stories are important in providing nuance and colour to evidence – we all understand our lives and experiences through stories – but it is essential that we move the debate onto less uncertain ground than that offered by anecdote alone. A key ambition of the Advisory Group has been to move the tackling sectarianism agenda more clearly towards the kind of evidence-based policy which is routinely and uncontroversially expected in other Scottish Government policy areas.

3.3 We have to also acknowledge that with sectarianism we have been to a large extent playing ‘catch-up’. The situation with sectarianism in Scotland is odd in the sense that it has a long and clear history which has impacted directly on the lives of many Scots over the years, but until recently it had not received the same level of attention as other equality issues. This had put all of our attempts to tackle sectarianism at a distinct disadvantage as the basic research needed to build a holistic picture of sectarianism in modern Scotland was lacking. The work of the Advisory Group has made significant strides towards addressing this and we are pleased with the progress made.

3.4 We recognise that the evidence base is not complete. However, the research base that has been developed for sectarianism in Scotland now provides a robust understanding of the impact of this issue. The approach taken towards building that evidence base has been holistic and is an approach which we believe should be taken in relation to building the evidence base in relation to all equality issues. The issues surrounding equalities work often overlap and are strongly linked to one another, this can make them difficult to disentangle, but a holistic approach to research and evidence is the best basis for understanding all issues relating to equalities in a fully rounded way.

3.5 One idea that the Scottish Government should consider is whether this approach could be used as the basis for a coordinated approach to researching and effectively tackling all issues which fall under the category of “hate crime”. Such an approach would not only deliver parity of understanding for all equality issues, it would allow the Scottish

Government to set the standard for all organisations and communities to deal with equalities and hate crime in flexible and holistic ways.

3.6 It is essential that we do not allow tackling sectarianism to recede into the background again or allow taking a broad approach to addressing all forms of hate crime to favour tackling one form of abuse over others. All of the equality strands must be seen as equally important at all times and work to tackle all of these individually and holistically needs to be taken forward.

### **Commissioning research**

3.7 To provide a robust basis for building a better research base the Advisory Group commissioned two reviews of existing evidence. The first was commissioned at the beginning of our work (Scottish Government 2013a) and has helped to shape our thinking as we have moved forward. The second was commissioned towards the end of the Advisory Group's lifespan and will ensure that those who come after us, or who want to build on our work, have a robust understanding of the research landscape at the point that the Advisory Group concluded (Scottish Government, forthcoming 2015).

3.8 In addition to these reviews the Advisory Group commissioned three independent research projects undertaking original research. These comprised the following reports which were all published on 20 February 2015:

- A dedicated module on Public Attitudes to Sectarianism in Scotland in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014 (Scottish Government 2015a).
- A qualitative enquiry into *Community Experiences of Sectarianism* (Scottish Government 2015b).
- A multi-method study of the *Community Impact of Public Processions* (Scottish Government 2015c).

3.9 The Advisory Group also took account of the fact that further evidence was available through recently released datasets (such as the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey; the Scottish Household Survey; and the analysis of information from the 2011 Scottish Census) as well as from the 2011 Census of Scotland. Many of these have been published elsewhere and also form part of a substantial, and developing, corpus of robust and illuminating evidence. The update to previous reviews of evidence (Scottish Executive 2005; Scottish Government 2013a) is scheduled to be published during the course of 2015 .

3.10 Core aspects of the research base have already been published in full and we will not seek to summarise it here, however, those who wish to see a summary of this work should refer to the Advisory Group's interim report which was published on 13 December 2013. In this section we will reflect upon that research core, as well as the other evidence presented to the Advisory Group through its meetings and visits, as well as through the evidence

garnered through interaction with the 44 community-based projects funded by the Scottish Government to tackle sectarianism.

3.11 The Advisory Group wish to make seven overarching comments about the research evidence for those trying to understand and address sectarianism in Scotland:

**Comment 1: A substantial body of evidence consistently corroborates the evident perception in Scotland that ‘sectarianism’ (however defined) is widespread and worrisome. There is, though, less clear evidence about its actual form, character and extent. This ‘gap’ was amongst the key conclusions of Scottish Government reviews of evidence in 2005, 2013 and 2015 we wish to emphasise the importance of this finding.**

3.11.1 There are a number of aspects to this that bear careful reflection. Firstly, for many people in Scotland sectarianism is ‘displaced’. For example, whilst a very large majority (88%) of respondents to the Scottish Social Attitudes survey felt that sectarianism was a problem in Scotland, relatively few (19%) felt it was a problem throughout Scotland. A substantial number of respondents felt sectarianism was a problem in the urban central belt, and in Glasgow and the west of Scotland in particular.

3.11.2 Secondly, on a more specific question, substantial minorities felt that discrimination or harassment was a likely experience for both Catholics (35%) and for Protestants (28%) in Scotland as a whole; but rather fewer felt that this would be the experience in *their own* area for either Catholics (9%) or for Protestants (8%). This echoes findings from a 2000s survey in Glasgow, which found that whilst many respondents believed that various forms of sectarian behaviour were ‘common’ in the city, far fewer reported having recently experienced such behaviour themselves (NFO, 2003: 58).

3.11.3 Thirdly, these quantitative findings were echoed in the qualitative community experiences study which noted that “Sectarianism was not seen as happening everywhere ... Often [respondents] described it as happening in ‘pockets’, which could be areas of a town but also individual places or flash incidents at particular times” (Scottish Government 2015b: 30). The community experiences study also identified a ‘discursive deficit’ with sectarianism, with many respondents unsure what the term meant. In part this may have reflected that many Scots do not experience sectarianism, though in other cases it may have reflected a discomfort at discussing such a sensitive and potentially divisive topic (Scottish Government 2015b: 18). It may also, of course, reflect the complexity of sectarianism and a widespread uncertainty over how it should be defined. Where people are not sure precisely what ‘it’ is, then they will find focused discussion difficult.

**Comment 2: Whilst sectarianism is a problem in ‘pockets’ of Scottish life, there is limited evidence of structural disadvantage between key religious groups.**

3.11.4 Some statistical sources do indicate differences between, for example, Catholics and Church of Scotland identifiers. However, these differences are sometimes inconsistent depending on the context and wording of the question or across survey year. Much quantitative evidence, particularly the census which is the most robust source of data on religious groups and populations, also suggest that the experiences of Protestants and Catholics across a number of (though not necessarily all) ‘structural’ measures are similar. This is particularly so when analyses include the growing number of Scots who are of ‘no religion’, and when demographic differences such as age are carefully introduced. We can say with some confidence that differences in ‘life chances’ between religious (and irreligious) groups in Scotland *appear* to be declining.

3.11.5 In its Interim Report, the Advisory Group noted that “More sophisticated and robust analysis of existing data is, therefore, required. The availability of the 2011 Census data, as well as further iterations of the other important surveys noted above, offers an unparalleled opportunity to significantly deepen our understanding of how and where religion “matters” in terms of life chances and the social structure in Scotland.” (AGOTS 2013: 23)

3.11.6 Steps towards such analysis will be taken in the update on the evidence base (Scottish Government, forthcoming 2015), although it should be noted that at the time of writing of this final report from the Advisory Group the full 2011 Census data was not available for analysis. However it appears to be the consensus of most academic and policy researchers that structural differences between religious groups are in decline albeit debate remains over when broad parity between religious groups emerged.

**Comment 3: It is clear that many people in Scotland live their lives untouched by personal experience of sectarianism, or have the means to avoid it. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that a minority of Scots report having been victims of sectarianism historically and recently. While this experience is stronger among Catholics it is not restricted to any particular religious or ethnic community.**

3.11.7 Whilst there is no neat overlap between sectarianism and hate crime, there is very clear and consistent evidence that offences motivated by religious hatred are directed in ways derogatory to both Catholicism and Protestantism, as well as towards other faiths such as Judaism and Islam. The multi-directional nature of the problem of religious prejudice was identified in the public attitudes survey with 54% of respondents believing that there is anti-Catholic prejudice in Scotland; and 41% believing there was anti-Protestant prejudice. However, it should be noted that when more explicit examples of prejudice were suggested to respondents – such as discrimination in employment – these figures dropped sharply (Scottish Government 2015a: 15). Moving beyond prejudice, the survey found that 14% of respondents reported having had “experienced some form of religious

discrimination or exclusion at some point in their lives” (Scottish Government 2015a: 46). This figure is higher than that recorded in other surveys, though this may reflect the timescale in the question, in that respondents were asked if they had *ever* had such experiences. Likewise 14% of respondents reported having ever had reservations about divulging their religion (or lack of it) to others. These reports and reservations were found across religious (and irreligious) groups though, as we explore below, not with equal frequency.

3.11.8 The Advisory Group heard that sectarianism was exclusively or disproportionately, anti-Catholic in nature. Some felt that ‘sectarianism’ was an unhelpful term since the problem was actually ‘anti-Irish racism’. The Advisory Group recognises the seriousness of both anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish racism, and their role within the wider problem of sectarianism. At the same time, the evidence demonstrates that sectarian prejudice and action also crosses religious boundaries: no one group is sole perpetrator nor sole victim of sectarian attitudes and behaviour in Scotland.

**Comment 4: There are consistent patterns to beliefs about the seriousness and extent of sectarianism, as well as to what contributes to its continued existence.**

3.11.9 Key amongst these patterns – found both in survey data and in much of the evidence heard by the Advisory Group – is that sensitivities and perceptions are more acute amongst certain communities within Scotland, defined both religiously and geographically. Thus we found more sensitivity to such issues and concerns in west-central Scotland, and considerably more in the Catholic community. This suggests both that a community-focus for anti-sectarian work remains highly salient, and that brokering meaningful inter-community dialogue will be crucial in airing and addressing remaining concerns about sectarianism.

3.11.10 Throughout the Advisory Group’s meetings with representatives from across Scottish society and in the independent research commissioned, several perceptions of sectarianism were consistent and clear. Firstly, from the outset several areas and institutions in Scottish life were perceived as having a key role within sectarianism in Scotland. This was neatly mirrored and encapsulated by the social attitudes survey which asked respondents what aspects of Scottish life they felt ‘contributed’ to sectarianism. Very substantial proportions mentioned football (88%), Orange Order/Loyalist parades (79%), and Irish Republican marches (70%). Smaller, but still notable, proportions of around one third mentioned denominational schools, internet/social media, and traditional media. Very strikingly, when asked which aspect of Scottish life *most* contributed to sectarianism, 55% identified football, with much smaller proportions identifying Orange Order/Loyalist parades (13%) or Irish Republican marches (3%).

3.11.11 The Advisory Group has refused the temptation to identify singular causes for sectarianism in Scotland as inadequate responses to a complicated problem. The commissioned research of the *Community Impact of Public Processions* revealed that attitudes around, and experiences of, Loyalist and Irish Republican parades were complex, and there was evidence that the main parading organisations have made some efforts towards improving planning and stewarding of their events. The Advisory Group met with key parading organisations and believes there is potential to assuage negative perceptions around such events whilst upholding the fundamental freedoms of assembly and expression. Such progress would require fuller acknowledgement of the impact of events on others and a willingness to take responsibility for management of parades and their consequences.

3.11.12 It remains clear, however, from the evidence heard by the Advisory Group in person, through the commissioned and other research, from published statistics on hate crime, and from media discourse, that football, or rather some particular rivalries within football, has an important place in perceptions about, and experiences of, sectarianism. It was disappointing that football seemed to be the institution of Scottish society where we found most resistance to engaging on this issue. The Advisory Group believes that, given this evidence, football could, and must be central to tackling sectarianism and that the positive influence of sport which football clubs and authorities could harness would significantly move this agenda forward. Whilst we found some within football were keen to take the initiative, they appeared to be constrained by the reluctance of others to accept any responsibility for acting against sectarian behaviour beyond the current limited liability rules of Scottish football. The group has emphasised that football does not constitute the entirety of Scotland's sectarianism. Football is not 'the problem', but it certainly constitutes a key part of any solution.

**Comment 5: There is considerable evidence of increasing social integration between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland.**

3.11.13 Evidence from the social attitudes survey suggests an important degree of overlap in the social networks of both Protestants and Catholics, with large majorities of both reporting that they know at least one person – a friend, work colleague, or acquaintance – from the other faith tradition. Large majorities of both Catholics (81%) and Protestants (76%) report having at least one close friend from the other tradition, whilst 30% of Catholics and 18% of Protestants report having a close family member (such as a partner, parent, child or sibling) from the other tradition. This supports previous research (for example, Raab and Holligan, 2012) which found high rates of religious intermarriage across Scotland. Previous research has shown that people with such inter-group contact are less likely

to hold discriminatory views about the groups they are in contact with (Ormston et al, 2011).

**Comment 6: There is little evidence of sectarianism at the heart of Scottish politics.**

3.11.14                    Whilst not systematically investigated within the Advisory Group's remit, some attention was given to the debates and activities around the Scottish Independence Referendum since it offered an unprecedented opportunity to examine Scottish political life. Scots of all backgrounds and beliefs participated in both the 'Yes' and 'No' campaigns, and were actively involved in the debate with a record number of electors voting.

3.11.15                    Just as sectarianism can be characterised as being found in 'pockets' of Scottish community life, so too can it be seen as residing in 'pockets' of Scottish political life. It was striking that in such an unprecedented exercise of Scottish political self-examination attempts to introduce sectarian elements into the debate were strongly repudiated by all sides. This is an important finding in itself. The most visible event which was linked to the possibility of sectarian-related disorder was the march organised by the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland in support of the 'No' campaign. In the event, the parade passed off without any significant incident.

3.11.16                    Events which took place in George Square in Glasgow after the referendum were covered more substantially in the media with assertions that some of those opposing the gathering of 'Yes' campaigners had sectarian motives. However, the key organisations within the Unionist/Loyalist community were quick to disassociate themselves from the events which took place in the square.

**Comment 7: Finally, it is clear that there remain some key areas in which we lack robust knowledge about the nature and extent of sectarianism.**

3.11.17                    In its interim report the Advisory Group noted a dominance of quantitative sources and addressed this, at least in part, through two specially commissioned and mainly qualitative research projects. There are, though, several areas in which a dearth of robust research is still evident: key amongst these are the impact of internet/social media on spreading (perceptions of) sectarianism; the role of gender within sectarianism, and sectarianism's gendered impacts; the extent to which particular football rivalries (primarily that of the 'Old Firm') shape and impact sectarian attitudes and behaviours, and the extent to which clubs should take responsibility within the tackling sectarianism agenda; and the economic impact of sectarianism – for example, do perceptions and experiences of divisions impact upon



the capacity of specific communities and localities to attract the investment and business growth that can have a direct impact on local employment opportunities.

### **Further research**

3.12 We know that the presence, absence and nature of sectarianism varies markedly by community, by context and by timing. As noted above, there is a strong belief that social media is a key arena for the transmission of sectarianism, and the Advisory Group repeatedly heard concerns from police, educationalists and from those working to tackle sectarianism in communities about the corrosive impact of online hate speech and sectarian bullying. Likewise throughout the work of the Advisory Group we have been struck by how little we know about the gendered impact(s) of sectarianism in different contexts, and indeed of the role of gender in sustaining and nurturing sectarian attitudes.

3.13 Our interim report also recommended that the Scottish Government use the existing funded community projects as a 'data source' and, in partnership with researchers, carry out evaluation of the projects. This would allow both the collection of information on the perceptions and experiences of sectarianism within those communities, and the assessment of the impact that the projects are having on those perceptions and experiences (AGOTS 2013: 24). The Advisory Group can report that, in conjunction with the Voluntary Action Fund, considerable progress has been made in developing means to record and evaluate issues around impact. The 'Scotland: No Place for Sectarianism' evaluation toolkit was developed in 2013 and community projects began using it to report their work from April 2014. However, further work will be required to integrate these findings with the broader research and evidence base.

### **Recommendations**

3.14 Through our work, and with the support of the Scottish Government, the research and evidence on sectarianism in Scotland has expanded greatly in the last two years. We recognise that there is a role for the Scottish Government in supporting work to continue building the research base as we move forward. There are also many qualified organisations and institutions which are very well placed to take forward further research. Universities and the higher and further education sector are particularly well placed to take on the challenge of filling the evidence gaps. We recommend that the following key areas are prioritised for further research:

3.14.1 Examine the current evidence on the role of gender in both sectarian victimisation and perpetuation such as through the 'handing down' of sectarian attitudes through role models and family traditions, and consider whether further research could be commissioned to build upon this.

3.14.2 Examine the current evidence relating to the spread and impact of sectarianism on-line/through social media with a view to building a better

understanding of the potential for interventions which would help to ameliorate any identified problems.

3.14.3 Examine the current evidence on what we have termed the polite, educated forms of sectarianism as a means to uncover the roots of what has been described to us as a permissive environment that tacitly sanctions the more overt expressions of sectarianism through professional life in Scotland.

3.15 There are two specific areas in relation to building the research base where we feel that it is entirely appropriate for specific organisations to take the lead:

3.15.1 Scottish football clubs and governing bodies should develop a research programme to give us a better understanding of the relationship between sectarianism and football at all levels of the game, and how any identified issues.

3.15.2 The Scottish Government should ensure that the final reports of the funded projects are collated and used as community practice and practical knowledge. These reports should be added to the overall collection of research and evidence to help create as wide a picture of sectarianism in modern Scotland as possible.

#### **Links to publications referred to in this section**

3.16 The publications referred to in this section can be found at:

'Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014: Public Attitudes to Sectarianism in Scotland' published in 2015: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/5330>

'Community Experiences of Sectarianism' published in 2015: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/9920>

'Community Impact of Public Processions': <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/3769>

'An Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism in Scotland' published in 2013: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2013/06/8109>

'Religious Discrimination Sectarianism in Scotland: A Brief Review of Evidence (2002 - 2004)' published in 2005: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2005/01/20553/50497>

'Advisory Group On Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland 2013 report' published 2013: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2013/12/6197>

Census 2011: Key results on Population, Ethnicity, Identity, Language, Religion, Health, Housing and Accommodation in Scotland part 1 published 2014 and part 2 published 2015: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/10/8378>  
<http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/03/8716>

'Sectarianism in Glasgow – Final Report' (Sectarianism, Intolerance and Racism in Glasgow study: NFO Social Research): <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=7316>

Scotland: No Place for Sectarianism' evaluation

toolkit: [http://www.voluntaryactionfund.org.uk/files/5413/8927/4832/no\\_place\\_for\\_sectarianism.pdf](http://www.voluntaryactionfund.org.uk/files/5413/8927/4832/no_place_for_sectarianism.pdf)

## **SECTION 4: MAINSTREAMING**

4.1 The Advisory Group acknowledges the lead that the Scottish Government has taken in tackling sectarianism and the support it has given for the development of a community-based approach to this issue. This has been backed by a considerable investment over the past three years. While some have felt appeared to be disproportionate to the extent of the problem of sectarianism in Scotland, we believe that sectarianism has been neglected compared to other equality issues and that there is a continuing need for some investment to move the agenda forward.

4.2 In saying that, the Advisory Group also recognises that a centralised funding approach at the current level is neither desirable or sustainable in the future, and that a clear sign of success for this agenda will be when it moves from this centralised approach to a more strongly localised approach which is more flexible and able to respond more directly to the identified needs of local communities. In effect what we are proposing is mainstreaming, with key organisations that work directly with communities and who are better placed than the Scottish Government to support the delivery of grass-roots approaches to addressing societal problems.

4.3 To be effective, increase impact and reduce the consequences of sectarianism, or perceived sectarianism, grass-roots approaches will need to be backed by positive, responsible messages, engagement and reporting from those with influence in Scottish public life.

4.4 This does not mean that we are proposing that the Scottish Government should stand back from this agenda entirely. There is a clear role for Scottish Government in providing leadership and co-ordinating activity which is best delivered at a national level but this cannot be done in isolation, without other public authorities, and be expected to adequately address the issue. We believe it is time for others to acknowledge their responsibility through more open, active and positive promotion and delivery of activity and key messages on and related to this agenda.

4.5 We see the following areas as key to mainstreaming and localising the work to tackle sectarianism:

### **Churches**

4.6 The Advisory Group believes that we are currently living in an era of ecumenical warmth and believes that this is a healthy situation for Scotland. We also acknowledge the efforts of churches and faith organisations which have positively contributed to building positive relations between faiths.

4.7 However, we cannot ignore the fact that the roots of sectarianism in Scotland are found in historic religious divides between Christian denominations and that Scotland's

churches need to play an active role in addressing the residual problems which we see in contemporary Scottish society.

4.8 Churches should take steps to create the environment for local leadership that encourages positive and constructive responses to issues of sectarianism without the fear of accusation that it is a distraction from their core business, and without the assertion that sectarian behaviour is only ever found outside churches.

4.9 One of the clear potential strengths of churches is the range of relationships that they have in local communities, including in many fragile places where mixtures of poverty, poor health and education and a lack of opportunities have reduced people to levels of desperation which allow injustices and antisocial behaviour to go unchallenged within those communities. Local churches of different denominations working intentionally together to address issues that are important to the neighbourhoods they serve defy the sectarian narrative and have a positive impact beyond their own membership. Where such co-operation is absent or invisible those who imagine the Christian community to be riddled with antagonism sectarian views are unlikely to have their assumptions challenged.

4.10 Among those leading the projects funded by the Scottish Government to deliver work to tackle sectarianism were several faith based organisations. Thanks to those organisations, the Advisory Group was able to engage with a broad range of mainly full time professional church clergy and staff.

4.11 Through this we were able to discover a considerable number of imaginative local developments between and among denominations and congregations and encountered a very strong sense that local relationships are more effective in developing and promoting change than institutional and hierarchical meetings or statements. We acknowledge that there is no holistic or Scotland-wide approach to the delivery of such initiatives, and that what happens on the ground is largely dependent on personalities and the level of leadership shown by churches in individual areas. Churches should affirm co-operation where it exists, and encourage it where it has yet to emerge, including the provision of opportunities for people to learn about one another's history, tradition and practice. Too often people have grown up with or acquired a view of others' faith that is founded on inaccuracy and ancient prejudice which has never been challenged.

4.12 The fact that most churches can no longer be said to be overtly sectarian should not be used as an excuse for failing to address the more subtle manifestations of this problem. There is nothing that requires us to learn about the "other" denomination or to venture into their church to see their rituals, and this allows us to cling to our ancient prejudices without ever having to put that prejudice into practice. But this is simply prejudice by avoidance and while it may not appear as harmful to society as more overt and violent expressions of sectarianism, it is in some respects worse as it allows prejudice to fester and spread its roots below the surface where it is most difficult to challenge. It is time to make those challenges.

4.13 While the Advisory Group clearly see local action as the top priority, we also recognise that the hierarchies and officialdom within churches also have an important role to play in providing a clear steer and authorisation to promote and support work at a local level, but also to be making the high level symbolic statements which demonstrate the

commitment to on-going co-operation and opposition to sectarian behaviour from all of Scotland's churches.

## **Football**

4.14 One of the most striking things about the work of the Advisory Group was that there were very few meetings which took place without those we were meeting with mentioning Scottish football. Most often this was raised in the context of football providing a toxic environment which created space and impetus for sectarian attitudes and behaviour. Commissioned research confirmed that 88% of people thought that football was a major contributor to sectarianism in Scotland.

4.15 Sectarianism cannot be reduced to a simplistic 'football' issue. But it is important that all sectors of Scottish society play their part in tackling sectarianism and, in this context, football has huge relevance. Given the strong influence that football exerts on the lives of those who participate in it, the importance of this point cannot be overestimated.

4.16 There are three over-arching comments we wish to make about football:

4.16.1 Firstly, there is nothing 'inherently' sectarian about Scottish football. Sectarianism is a wider social problem which has lodged itself, over a century and more, within some aspects of football. Ridding Scotland of sectarianism in football will not remove the problem entirely, but will be a significant step forward. We do not believe that taking action to tackle sectarianism means that a club or association is somehow accepting responsibility for sectarianism across Scottish society.

4.16.2 Secondly, no serious and long term attempt to address and tackle sectarianism in Scotland will succeed without the sustained co-operation and engagement of the football authorities, the clubs (in particular Celtic and Rangers), and football supporters. Football fandom has, at times, provided a permissive environment within which sectarian attitudes and behaviour can, at best, survive, and, at worst, flourish. Only strong leadership and role models from within football can effectively address the problem that has attached itself to the game.

4.16.3 Thirdly, Advisory Group has been struck by the reticence about leadership in addressing sectarianism from within Scottish football. We do not believe that this lack of enthusiasm springs from a lack of desire to act against the remnants of sectarianism in football. Rather football authorities and clubs do not appear to feel empowered to act and do not always recognise the full and complex nature of sectarianism in Scotland.

4.17 In meeting with football authorities and Celtic and Rangers Football Clubs, it was intimated to us that the system of 'strict liability' for fans misbehaviour which has been in place for a number of years in UEFA competitions would be difficult, if not impossible, to introduce in Scotland. While the Advisory Group accepts that there are hurdles and objectors to its introduction, we feel very strongly that sanctions are urgently needed and remain of the view that their introduction would not simply be a step towards tackling sectarianism, but also an important step towards clubs and their fans taking responsibility for their actions as we all have to do elsewhere in society.

4.18 We were told that one reason that strict liability was unworkable in Scotland was because certain stadia would be closed for months leading to severe financial hardship for particular clubs. However, that claim also makes the case for action. If elements within Scottish football make it so toxic that it cannot survive the introduction of strict liability, then we need to find ways to address these elements and create an environment which allowed it to survive and thrive.

4.19 The Advisory Group attended football matches with Police Scotland and heard about worrying levels of antisocial behaviour which regularly take place at these events. The positive impact that the introduction of 'strict liability' could have therefore goes way beyond the boundaries of tackling sectarianism and is, in our view, central to making Scottish football relevant to people who may currently feel it provides a hostile environment which belittles and excludes them.

4.20 Football in modern Scotland should embrace all forms of diversity and should act to remove the very vocal minorities who seek to reduce club support to anachronistic loyalties which have no contemporary relevance to the individual club or the sport as a whole. Football, and sport more broadly, should be a way of bringing people together and uniting them through friendly rivalry and appreciation of good sportsmanship, instead we see support for particular football clubs being used as a weapon for fans to separate themselves from the rest of the world.

4.21 The Advisory Group was continuously asked about songs and chants that mix religion, politics, and national identity in ways that are sectarian. We also frequently heard strong objections to certain songs and chants being described as sectarian and a considerable desire to describe these as being entirely 'political'. The fact is that many of the 'political' songs and chants refer to the politics and political situation in and relating to Northern Ireland and are deeply steeped in sectarianism, sustaining the sectarian divides that have blighted Northern Ireland. Although we do not think that sectarianism in Scotland and Northern Ireland are identical, we cannot escape the fact that actions which sustain sectarianism in one territory have a significant impact in the other. The Advisory Group does not believe that these songs should be 'excluded' from the definition of sectarianism, especially if this is part of a process to define sectarianism as someone else's problem.

4.22 The group also heard frequently about the 'commercial' aspects of the sectarian subculture within parts of Scottish football. It is clear to us that no club is currently promoting a sectarian fan-identity for their commercial profit. We also heard, however, that there is reluctance within football to directly confront sectarian attitudes and behaviour for fear that this could provoke a section of supporters into attacking and criticising the club and/or discourage some fans from attending matches and purchasing merchandising which would of course result in losses in club revenue.

4.23 A strategic and measured response to Scotland's remnants of sectarian attitudes and behaviour cannot succeed without squarely addressing the sectarian problems that persist within and around football. We do not believe that football authorities and clubs are sufficiently active in addressing sectarianism. The question therefore remains: 'if not strict liability then what?' We would strongly encourage the football authorities to address themselves to this question, thereby taking responsibility for creating a new and sustainable vision for the future of Scottish football.

4.24 We make the following recommendations in relation to football:

4.24.1 We wish to reaffirm the recommendations made in our Interim Report (paragraphs 6.65 to 6.73) all of which remain valid.

4.24.2 Scottish Football proactively works to address the close association in public perception of football in Scotland with sectarianism through direct programmes of intervention, clear anti-sectarian messaging and active and visible leadership in partnership with other agencies such as local government, youth work, schools and the police.

4.24.3 Respond to our question of ‘if not strict liability then what?’ It is clear that a strategic and measured response to Scotland’s remnants of sectarian attitudes and behaviour cannot succeed without squarely addressing the sectarian problems within and around football.

### **Marches and parades**

4.25 The issue of marches and parades remains contentious especially around rights and responsibilities. Achieving the best outcome in relation to human rights is a balancing act and it is important to note that no one has an absolute right to march, parade or publicly demonstrate in the same way that no one can claim that their right to go about their business unfettered by such events is absolute. But the ultimate responsibility for such events, the behaviour associated with them and those who turn up to spectate lies with those organising the event.

4.26 In our Interim Report we noted that we had frequently heard marches and parades discussed within the context of sectarianism. As part of our work several members of the Advisory Group observed a number of parades by both Orange/Loyalist and Irish Republican organisations, and the Advisory Group met with both the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland and Cairde na hEireann. We were struck by the planning that goes into parades, large and small, organised by these groups, as well as the effort given over to stewarding. This impression was confirmed by the independent research into marches and parades, which noted that most events organised by these key organisations passed off peacefully.

4.27 We note that public concern around such marches and parades remains high (along with football, Orange and Irish Republican marches and parades were the most frequently cited ‘contributors’ to sectarianism in the social attitudes survey). We would re-emphasise the comments and recommendation made in our Interim Report (paragraphs 6.56 through 6.64). We would, however, draw particular attention to 6.58 which noted that: “Marches and parades have been the subject of a number of reviews in recent years but continue to give rise to allegations of sectarianism and to complaints that they are associated with an increase in unruly behaviour and street violence.”

4.28 More work needs to be done by march organisers to reassure the general public about the nature of these parades, and issues of public safety and public order associated with them. In this respect we need to address the issue of ‘hangers-on’ and those who turn up to spectate marches and parades. We have consistently heard that those organising marches feel they cannot be held responsible for the behaviour of these individuals and that



by simply disassociating themselves from them they are able to ignore any responsibility for their conduct. This is not a view which is supported by the Advisory Group.

4.29 Those organising public events must recognise that spectators attend because of the event itself. Organisers need to accept a duty of care not only to those invited to participate in the march, but also to those wishing to spectate. Loyalist organisations have been particularly vocal in wishing to disassociate themselves from those they refer to as ‘the blue bag brigade’. The Advisory Group believes that those who indulge in antisocial behaviour at their events are, in part, attracted to them because of what they believe the organisation represents and the permissive environment that surrounds such events. The misconduct of spectators can also be encouraged by those participating particularly through playing tunes which they know will provoke a strong reaction. Organisations therefore need to be proactive in encouraging good behaviour from spectators and work to tackle bad behaviour.

4.30 We recommend that the Scottish Government maintains direct dialogue with parading organisations and strongly encourages dialogue with local communities and community planning partnerships which affirms and respects the rights of religious and political expression *and* the rights of communities not to be unreasonably disrupted.

4.31 Conveying the key messages of the parades through dialogue in and with local communities could avoid confusion, bad interpretation and resentment. Dialogue will also give an opportunity for local communities to present their views and allow march organisers to hear the concerns of local residents, many of which centre around the volume of parades and negative impacts for those people living in the community where a parade is taking place.

#### **COSLA/Local government**

4.32 Sectarianism has too often been dealt as a matter for policing or public order. The Advisory group is strongly of the view that it will only change when it is recognised primarily as an issue of community relations, community safety, and social justice. In our interim report we noted the important role that local authorities have as an agent of social change and the central role they have taken to establish a robust equalities agenda across Scotland. We therefore believe that local government should be ‘the’ lead agency in taking action to address issues of sectarianism in the community in Scotland.

4.33 Local Government touches on community lives at every stage of life. Furthermore, they are in the best position to identify local priorities and local assets and capacity for change. Through Community Planning we have an important opportunity to link statutory, voluntary and third sector resources and thereby enable sectarianism to be dealt with through active, public and effective partnerships between local authorities, public agencies with responsibility for a wide variety of services and community practitioners.

4.34 COSLA and SOLACE should support local authorities to develop a framework to tackle the local manifestations of sectarianism. In designing this they should draw on the work of some of the community groups and organisations supported by the Scottish Government in recent years to address and tackle sectarianism

4.35 We previously called for local authorities to develop a whole council approach with the aim of hardwiring issues around sectarianism into their service planning. In recent

months we have seen the development of policies, training and education of staff within Edinburgh City Council. We regard this as a significant development to be encouraged and supported with a view of learning being emulated and used in other local authorities.

### **Youth and community organisations**

4.36 There is no doubt that much of the sectarian behaviour exhibited and experienced by young people takes place in their communities, outside of school. Youth and community organisations have made up a large section of the funded projects. There is real value in working with young people in community settings, outwith but connected to work in the formal education settings. This community setting can provide a more relaxed environment for young people to open up and explore the issues most affecting them.

4.37 In our interim report we noted a recommendation that the 'Youth work sector should develop long-term models of practice to support youth workers and young people in communities to engage creatively and actively with anti-sectarian programmes beyond the school setting'. (AGOTS 2014; 38)

4.38 The funded projects working in this area have moved a long way to putting the foundations in place to deliver this recommendation. Community practice has taken place, toolkits have been developed in various settings using a variety of approaches and training for youth workers has begun to extend the skill set, confidence and reach of youth workers in Scotland.

4.39 The learning from the existing funded community projects should be used as a data source with community projects integrating the work into their wider youth work practice and training. This will ensure the work that has gone on is made sustainable for the long term and reduce the need for public funding support.

4.40 The Action on Sectarianism website should continue to be used as a hub for information and sharing developed practice and resources. Using the website in this way will open up the toolkits to the whole sector and time should be spent collating the work to produce a national toolkit or overarching guide.

### **Education**

4.41 Our position stated in 2013 report has not changed from the belief that sectarianism would not be eradicated by closing schools (AGOTS 13, 37). Above all, we believe that a creative, active, holistic and co-ordinated approach to delivering education work to tackle sectarianism is vital if there is to be long term change.

4.42 Tackling sectarianism as a policy agenda is still relatively new and this has to be taken into account when deciding how to approach and deal with it. As work progresses Education Scotland need to identify where sectarianism will be appropriately addressed as a stand-alone issue and when it can be explicitly placed within the wider equalities agenda covered by the school curriculum.

4.43 To be able to integrate this agenda into the broader equalities work Education Scotland need to ensure sectarianism is integrated into the curriculum in a clear, locally appropriate way. Moving sectarianism into the wider equalities work too early and before

teachers and schools have the opportunity to not only address it but build their own skills, experience and confidence will have a negative impact on the potential delivery and work.

4.44 Through organisations funded to work with schools we know local histories have been used to engage and put the issue into context of the area and people the pupils know and relate to. Education Scotland have built on this, developing lesson and journey plans for use by teachers in the classroom. This approach could reap huge rewards if teachers are supported and provided with correct curriculum material that they can use.

4.45 We believe that every school should be able to show how they have been dealing with this issue. To aid this development an accessible ('Horrible Histories') type timeline of sectarianism in Scotland should be developed that can be picked up and used by schools and where appropriate the effects and impact of Scotland's history had on local history can then be investigated.

## **Media**

4.46 The group is keen that concerns about sectarianism can be discussed and assessed in a way that avoids sensationalism and unnecessary fear. The print and broadcast media can have a particularly positive role in informing and engaging the public about the nature and complexities of sectarianism. Doing this could have a significant impact on what we have found in the evidence base: that a relatively high widespread public perception of the issue of sectarianism does not align with personal experience.

4.47 Print and broadcast media continue to exert strong influence over public perceptions and opinion of norms across society. This brings with it a huge responsibility not to stoke fear and scale of the issue. A balance should be struck in reporting the news and informing opinion and the sensationalist nature a headline or narrative can create.

4.48 In the same way, that political parties create a culture which both encourages the acknowledgement of sectarianism while refusing to turn it into a party-political football is key to making progress, so too is it the responsibility of media not to sensationalise as was seen in the lead up to the recent Celtic v Rangers league cup semi-final.

4.49 As noted above social media is becoming an increasing complex area to track and understand. Everyday use is on the rise and the majority of users are more likely to be members of the public than journalists or professional commentators. Current legislation is in place to deal with the extreme end of sectarian and offensive intimidation and threats but lower level harassment appears to be more common and wider spread.

4.50 This form of media and communication can be used easily and quickly and spread perceptions of sectarianism and sectarian expression to a vast number of people. There are currently funded projects working in this area to both investigate how social media is being used in this way but to also raise awareness of the effects sectarian comments can have on the recipients and ultimately the poster, if the police and criminal justice system become involved.

4.51 As above we recommend more research to better understand sectarian articulation on social media with use and expansion of work around awareness and education increased both where practical and where it is proved to work.

## **Police/Criminal justice/Prisons**

4.52 Sectarianism is often located and picked up in marginal communities and it is regularly some of those communities who are the most willing and pro-active in trying to address the issue. Often though, it is left for schools and youth services to pick up the preventative work with police and Accident and Emergency Departments dealing with the extreme ends of the issue. Costs are inevitably picked up by local communities, criminal justice system and NHS. We need to move from this high end, high cost approach and embrace a preventative agenda that will allow the re-distribution of resources.

4.53 Police Scotland has often been the lead agency in dealing with the visible and overt manifestations of sectarianism through public order issues and criminal or violent behaviour. The Advisory Group has been consistently impressed with the fact that Police Scotland has clearly recognised sectarianism as an issue which needs to be addressed to ensure the safety and wellbeing of communities. This has been done through both direct interventions when appropriate and through initiatives such as those to professionalise the standard of stewarding at marches and parades and thereby free up police time to deal with other public order issues. Unfortunately, as long as sectarianism is not properly addressed in wider society it will remain a matter for law enforcement.

4.54 Police Scotland has engagement experience and tools to address the issue as they encounter it, the good practice and knowledge from this engagement that has been developed may be beneficially shared. Working with relevant partners to share their knowledge, learning and expertise could allow the issues to be actively addressed by youth services, local authorities and Community Planning Partnerships as stated above in the local government section.

4.55 We have heard about the community justice 2017 refresh and believe that this is an ideal time to ensure that sectarian issue that have been displayed and punished through the justice system can be addressed within the prison service. By proactively addressing the issue and working with prisoners the prison service could potentially reduce re-offending. Resources that have been developed with and for the prison service should be utilised and updated where necessary.

## **Claims of persistent sectarianism in institutions**

4.56 We heard of persistent claims of sectarianism often unacknowledged in a number of settings, professions and institutions in Scotland. We have not been able to substantiate the truth or otherwise of any particular claim. If the consequences of sectarianism are to be addressed allegations made or received must be based on evidence and taken seriously and investigated. This may require future research to ensure that action is precise and based on evidence.

## **Scottish Government**

4.57 We believe that the Scottish Government should maintain the focus and momentum they have built up in addressing this issue. The Scottish Government should continue to:

- 4.57.1 Build on the research and monitoring of the issue to track what is going on and continue to develop the evidence base.
- 4.57.2 Ensure the evidence generated by the community pilot projects is captured and used within the evidence base.
- 4.57.3 Use what has been learned from assets and community based approaches to build on success and what is working.
- 4.57.4 Consider any further independent advice based on: capacity to report on progress; capacity to convene; and capacity to advise on evidence.

## **Community projects**

4.58 The Scottish Government have invested heavily in community projects to empower communities to tackle sectarianism in creative and constructive ways. Considerable commitment has been seen at a local level to engage with the challenging issues presented by sectarian behaviour and attitudes.

4.59 We recognise that support was required in most local settings to build the capacity needed to make a robust response to the issue of sectarianism. This was, perhaps, particularly true in the many areas where it appeared there had been little, or no, visible attempt to raise or deal with sectarianism previously.

4.60 In an environment of continued and sustained pressures on public funding it is crucial that the capacity, energy and enthusiasm that has been built up is not lost. It is, therefore, important to examine how that energy and purpose can be integrated into existing community initiatives, agencies and structures to ensure that momentum is not lost.

4.61 The Scottish Government have made sustainability a real focus of projects who will be funded in 2015-16 and we feel this is the right approach to lessen the reliance on public funding and look at innovative ways work and activity can continue.

4.62 Working with local authority community planning partnerships and education departments for example will help enable mainstreaming of work and consideration should be given by organisation whether the work they have been doing can become part of their core business or funding can be found from other external sources. In some cases it may be appropriate for the wider community to take sole access and responsibility for driving future work forward.

## **Culture**

4.63 Through the course of our work we have seen and heard at various times a culture of avoidance around sectarianism. It is a complex phenomenon that evokes anger, shame, fear and denial as previously discussed. Sectarianism has most often been a subject acknowledged in private but avoided in public.

4.64 We have tried to create a context in which the culture of anxious silence around sectarianism could be challenged and changed into one of acknowledgement, engagement and action. Our collective challenge remains to address sectarianism without being seen to create even more complex and violent problems. To do this we need to continue to develop the work that has gone on and pay attention to the issue as it exists and not go back to avoidance and fear.

4.65 Furthermore, the cross-party support that emerged in the Scottish Parliament for our work was striking and provided evidence of considerable maturity. Without this focus on shared values by all parties, work on equalities issues becomes impossible and we believe that it will be essential to protect and develop this co-operation on tackling sectarianism in coming years. Political leadership is vital in removing any permissive environment for sectarian attitudes or behaviour.

4.66 The fact that determination to eliminate sectarianism is shared across all parties in the Scottish Parliament has been extremely important for the functioning of the Advisory Group. A culture which both encourages the acknowledgement of sectarianism where it is identified while refusing to turn it into a party-political football is key to making progress. Creating regular and formal opportunities for politicians to demonstrate leadership and to monitor progress will be vital if there is to be sustained change, including a willingness to act where action or resources are required.

### **Economic impact**

4.67 There is a widespread and commonly held view in Scotland which believes that dealing with the consequences of sectarianism would pose risks to day-to-day tranquillity in communities and that dealing with the consequences would be disproportionate to the scale of the problem. Indeed there is considerable resistance among many organisations – even those widely, if sometimes inaccurately, associated with sectarianism in the public mind – to publicly acknowledge or explore that association, let alone institute active programmes of change.

4.68 We found much more evidence that to be associated with sectarianism was considered a reputational risk to be actively denied and repudiated. For some, the concerns stretched into economic factors, where it was believed that association, if not denied, would adversely affect the finances of the organisation. We have not established whether economic factors through association, perceived or otherwise, can have a negative economic impact for an organisation, business or geographical area generally.

4.69 Equally, we have not established that where association is believed or perceived and serious, visible action is being taken to address the issue, whether that action is economically positive for the organisation, business or geographical area. Exploring the effects of sectarianism, its connotations and consequences may expose whether action or inaction to address the issue directly can result in a positive or negative economic impact.

## SECTION 5: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 The Advisory Group, from August 2012, set out to answer two questions:

5.1.1 'What is sectarianism in Scotland now?'

5.1.2 'How would we best deal with its consequences?'

5.2 We heard sufficient evidence to be convinced that sectarianism continues to be an active element in Scottish life. In December 2013, we set out wide ranging and detailed recommendations for all areas of Scottish society who are either associated with or have a direct stake in engaging with the issue to remove it from our communities.

5.3 Our collective challenge remains to address sectarianism without being seen to create even more complex and violent problems. The recommendations in our interim report from December 2013 remain relevant and live and we will not repeat them here but it is important that we emphasise core areas for action:

5.3.1 Values: Tackling sectarianism should be understood as core contribution to a cohesive and inter-dependent Scotland based on principles of equality of citizenship and valuing diversity.

5.3.2 Tackling sectarianism in practice requires the development of a robust basis in research and evidence. Continuing to expand and develop the evidence base alongside effective monitoring of the progress being made to tackle sectarianism through projects and initiatives in coming years will be vital in moving beyond silence and sensation.

5.3.3 Changing the narrative around sectarianism from 'Scotland's shame' to 'Scotland's success' will be achieved through positive action and will require a culture of responsibility taking, rather than denial, which is underpinned by the promotion of a culture of good relations which does not value instant harmony but values honesty, evidence and change.

5.4 Tackling sectarianism is not simply a question of education or religious education, but of a new perspective on the history of Scotland. Rather than a history which defines a single mainstream of insiders and subordinate streams of outsider-migrants, modern Scotland continues to be shaped, by all its members who now have roots across the globe. This involves moving beyond a history of assimilation of the out-group into the in-group to one which acknowledges that modern Scotland has been made by the integration of many streams into a cohesive and moving story.

5.5 The legacy of discrimination will not be eliminated until there is consistent evidence of change. For this reason we believe that attitudes towards sectarianism, progress in eliminating hate crime and monitoring of equality data on an annual basis should continue for the foreseeable future. Furthermore, key elements in Scottish culture, particularly

Education, Football, Church and Culture have specific obligation to provide active public leadership.

5.6 The work that has emerged through the models of practice under the government's Tackling Sectarianism programme need to be fully evaluated including an assessment of the impact on communities together with a follow on programme of mainstreaming activity involving Local Government, Equality and Human Rights Organisations, Policing, Youth Work, Community Education and Schools.

5.7 To do this we recommend that:

### **Research**

5.7.1 Focus on the role of gender in both sectarian victimisation and in the 'handing down' of sectarian attitudes through role models and family traditions.

5.7.2 Focus on better understanding of sectarian articulation and understanding on social media – potentials for exacerbate or ameliorating.

5.7.3 Further understand the relationship between sectarianism and football – top level, youth football – and what can be done to address this.

5.7.4 Better understand what we have termed as the polite, educated forms of sectarianism as a means to uncover in professional life in Scotland the roots of what has been described to us as a permissive environment that tacitly sanctions the more overt expressions of sectarianism.

5.7.5 Investigate the economic impact to organisations, business and geographical area associated with sectarianism.

5.7.6 Ensure the final community project reports, when collated, are used as community practice and practical knowledge alongside the review of evidence (Scottish Government, forthcoming 2015) to inform and direct future policy and decisions on funding.

### **Churches**

5.7.7 Affirm cooperation where it exists, and encourage it where it has yet to emerge, including the provision of opportunities for people to learn about one another's history, tradition and practice. Too often people have a view of others' faith that is founded on inaccuracy and ancient prejudice.

5.7.8 Ensure local action is seen to be the priority, but also affirm this work through symbolic statements and actions at a denominational level to demonstrate the commitment to on-going co-operation and opposition to sectarian behaviour from all of Scotland's churches.



## **Football**

5.7.9 We wish to reaffirm the recommendations made in our Interim Report (paragraphs 6.65 to 6.73) all of which remain valid.

5.7.10 The football authorities and clubs should proactively work to address the close association in public perception of football in Scotland with sectarianism through direct programmes of intervention, clear anti-sectarian messaging and active and visible leadership in partnership with other agencies such as local government, youth work, schools, police.

5.7.11 Respond to our question of ‘if not strict liability then what?’ It is clear that a strategic and measured response to Scotland’s remnants of sectarian attitudes and behaviour cannot succeed without squarely addressing the sectarian problems within and around football.

## **Marches and Parades**

5.7.12 Organisations convey the key messages of their parades through dialogue in and with local communities. Dialogue will also give an opportunity for local communities to present their views.

5.7.13 Scottish Government enter a dialogue with local communities and community planning partnerships which affirms and respects the rights of religious and political expression and the rights of communities not to be unreasonably disrupted.

## **COSLA**

5.7.14 Should work with local authorities to help empower and enable community planning to take the necessary steps to address sectarianism where and how it is found in local areas.

## **Local Authorities**

5.7.15 Develop formal guidance on addressing sectarianism at local level which takes a whole council approach through policies, training and education of staff. Where this is currently being developed the learning should be actively disseminated through local government networks for use by other local authorities.

5.7.16 Use the learning from the existing community projects funded by the Scottish Government as a data source with community projects integrating their work into their wider youth work practice and training.

## **Education Scotland**

5.7.17 Ensure sectarianism is integrated into the curriculum in a clear, locally appropriate way to provide a pathway into the wider equalities work when teachers and schools have the opportunity to not only address sectarianism but build their own skills, experience and confidence.

5.7.18 Aid development of all schools actively tackling the issue by producing a “Horrible Histories” style timeline of sectarianism in Scotland that can be used within schools and where appropriate the local history can be investigated.

### **Media**

5.7.19 Should make a clear commitment not to sensationalise and stoke flames of sectarianism through headlines, intensifying feeling and anxiety as seen in the lead up to the recent Celtic v Rangers league cup semi-final. This commitment should be acted on with the full knowledge that the repercussions of such sensationalism will always be harmful to society as a whole.

### **Youth and Community Projects**

5.7.20 Work closely with local authority departments such as community planning partnerships and education departments where possible to begin mainstreaming work.

5.7.21 Form the basis of further development of programmes of training, learning and institutional development, using the Action on Sectarianism website to open up the work to wider sectors with time being spent collating the work to produce a national toolkit or overarching guide.

### **Justice**

5.7.22 Police Scotland work with relevant partners to share their knowledge and expertise in addressing sectarianism to allow the issues to be actively addressed by youth services, local authorities and Community Planning Partnerships.

5.7.23 Scottish Prison Service proactively address the issue and work with prisoners to reduce re-offending. Resources that have been developed with and for the prison service to tackle sectarianism should be utilised and updated where necessary.

### **Scottish Government**

5.7.24 Continue to build on the current evidence base through new research and annual monitoring of the issue.

5.7.25 Use learning from community pilot projects to build on the practical knowledge of what is working and develop evidence based policy to direct any future funding.

5.7.26 Consider the role of independent advice in the future development of this agenda. While the Scottish Government has a leading role to play in tackling sectarianism, and indeed all other social issues, it is not a problem that can simply be dumped at their doorstep. As well as working with a broad range of partner organisations the Scottish Government should consider how independent advice can continue to contribute to this agenda particularly in relation to reporting on progress; convening discussions which have no political bias; and advising on the development and interpretation of evidence.

5.7.27 Leadership needs to be shown by the Scottish Government which encourages the acknowledgement of sectarianism where it is identified while refusing to turn it into a party-political football. In particular the Scottish government should seek assurance that sectarianism is being actively addressed through local government. This is essential if progress is to be maintained.

### **Working Definition**

5.7.28 The Scottish Government continue to seek the help of communities across Scotland to craft a definition, which is easily understood, useful for analysing what is happening in local areas, and covers as far as possible the breadth of manifestations of this complex phenomenon.

### **Scottish Parliament**

5.7.29 Leadership needs to be shown across all parties in the Scottish Parliament which encourages the acknowledgement of sectarianism where it is identified while refusing to turn it into a party-political football. This is essential if progress is to be maintained.

5.7.30 Demonstrates a willingness to act where action or resources are required to embed change in line with the report of the assets-based approach set out by the Christie Commission. Central to this is recognition of the fact that such approaches can only ever be successful if they are taken forward in a consistent long-term way and this can only be achieved if there is a shared political vision for this work.

## **SECTION 6: CONCLUSION**

6.1 Sectarianism in Scotland is not a static phenomenon but is an issue which people know about from many different and complex sources. Our collective challenge remains to address sectarianism without being seen to create even more complex problems.

6.2 To do this we believe that in any society, the principles of equality and diversity must be constantly re-examined to support the common good and recognise the interdependence of all. Difference, variety, conflict and change are vital elements of a healthy society. However, when particular differences harden to create prejudice, hostility or exclusion, the consequences are harmful and persistent for the whole community.

6.3 Addressing these harmful consequences is a task in which government and local government can lead and encourage but cannot enforce. Tackling sectarianism in this context means active attention to building relationships across institutions and communities where there has been tension. Central to progress is the full involvement of both those who feel that they were victims of sectarianism and those who have been perceived as tolerating or promoting it.

6.4 Although identified community leaders and those with authority in institutions and organisations have a particular responsibility, responsibility for action cannot be limited to any single party in society. The recommendations in section 5 have been split down by sectors associated with sectarianism across Scottish society, we see action in those areas as necessary but they cannot be done in isolation they need to be combined with a joint emphasis on:

### **Value of relationships and honest conversation**

6.4.1 Tackling sectarianism should be understood as core contribution to a cohesive and inter-dependent Scotland based on principles of equality of citizenship and valuing diversity. Mature debate requires a willingness to submit our perceptions to evidence, a willingness to accept unexpected results and a willingness to find practical ways to address any emerging problems. We believe that progress will only be possible with a transparent and open approach to experience and acknowledgement, an evidence-based approach to establishing facts and a 'what works?' approach to intervention.

### **Leadership and Responsibility**

6.4.2 We require a culture of responsibility taking rather than denial and the promotion of a culture of good relations which does not value instant and superficial harmony but values honesty, evidence and change. Key figures and areas in Scottish culture – particularly through civic Scotland and in education, football, church and local government – have specific obligation to provide active public leadership.

## **Mainstreaming**

6.4.3 To be effective, increase impact and reduce the consequences of sectarianism, or perceived sectarianism, grass-roots approaches will need to be backed by positive, responsible messages, engagement and reporting from those with influence in Scottish public life. Community based work should be supported, encouraged and valued by key organisations to ensure societal and community problems are being tackled appropriately and sustainably.

## **Evidence**

6.4.4 Tackling Sectarianism in practice requires the development of a good basis in research and evidence. Recent research work has already yielded valuable information which will help to shape future work in this area, but we need to recognise that we will not achieve a complete picture in a single attempt. It is therefore essential to continue to build on the existing research base and continuing to monitor and develop this in coming years will be vital in moving beyond silence and sensation.

6.5 It is important that the Scottish Government maintains an overarching role to tackle sectarianism at this time but responsibility must be passed and spread across Scottish society more than it has been to this point. The area, in policy terms is still new and playing catch up with other equality issues such as race, gender or homophobia. These areas have a longer and deeper history of having been scrutinised and analysed by government and others within society. Ultimately, work to tackle sectarianism should be brought into the wider equality framework but the decision to do that should be taken with careful consideration.

6.6 All efforts to address sectarianism in Scotland must be relevant to specifically Scottish circumstances and community experiences aiming to build relationships in communities and institutions and ensure difference is acknowledged, accepted and celebrated. If the work of the Advisory Group moves the debate on sectarianism in Scotland in this direction from the polarising positions of denial and sensationalism to a positive position where it can be acknowledged, challenged, discussed and debated on a more rational and less emotional basis which favours facts and evidence over assumption and myth, it will have contributed to progress.

## ADVISORY GROUP BACKGROUND, REMIT AND MEMBERSHIP

### Background

1. In August 2012, the Minister for Community Safety and Legal Affairs established the independent Advisory Group to provide Scottish Ministers with impartial advice on the developing work to tackle sectarianism in Scotland. The Advisory Group has operated entirely independently of the Scottish Government and we are grateful that we could take forward our remit with a free hand.
2. The content discussed, findings, recommendations and conclusions contained within this report reflect the evidence gathered and opinion voiced to the Advisory Group over the last thirty-two months. This report follows and builds on the interim report of December 2013 and reflects the collective views of the Advisory Group.
3. We are grateful to all those who participated with us whether through developing work in communities, through participation in events or conferences, through supporting research or through meeting directly with us to explore particular aspects of sectarianism.
4. Our remit has been to focus on sectarianism as it is, and has been experienced in Scotland, essentially Catholic-Protestant tensions and relationships. We set out to answer two main questions: 'What is sectarianism in Scotland now?' and 'How would we best deal with its consequences?'
5. Our aim has always been to address these questions through discussion and debate by creating a culture around sectarianism of acknowledgement, engagement and action rather than silence and avoidance. The Advisory Group have not restricted our work to an exploration of inter-church relations, but have examined the potential for tackling sectarianism and its wider consequences in its real social settings.

### Remit

The revised remit for the Advisory Group following completion of 2013 Interim Report is to:

- Continue to build, develop and analyse a body of empirical evidence to give Scottish Ministers robust and informed advice on the nature, extent and impact of sectarianism on modern Scottish life.
- Work with the Scottish Government, Voluntary Action Fund, anti-sectarian practitioners and independent evaluators to monitor current practice to tackle sectarianism and advise Ministers on how to achieve greatest impact and positive change.
- Develop, deliver and facilitate discussion forums across different sectors in Scotland aimed at acknowledging and acting in response to sectarianism.
- Continue to engage with representatives from all political parties in Scotland to develop understanding of the extent and impact of sectarianism in Scotland.

- Bring in additional independent expertise to support the work of the Advisory Group, as required.
- Respond to Ministerial requests for specific advice in this area, as required.

### **Membership**

The same five individuals have been invited to continue as part of the Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland. All members have been invited as individuals and not as a representative of any organisation they currently work for or are affiliated to.

- Dr Duncan Morrow (Chair): Dr Morrow is a lecturer at the University of Ulster and has ten years' experience as a member and chair of the Community Relations Council in Northern Ireland.
- Dr Cecelia Clegg: Dr Clegg is a Senior Lecturer in Practical Theology at the University of Edinburgh (retired August 2014) and has published extensively on sectarianism.
- Ms Margaret Lynch: Ms Lynch is the Chief executive of Citizens' Advice Scotland and a board member of the Conforti Institute.
- Rev Ian Galloway: Rev Galloway is a Church of Scotland minister based in the Gorbals and a board member of Faith in Community Scotland.
- Dr Michael Rosie: Dr Rosie is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology and former Director of the Institute of Governance at the University of Edinburgh and has published extensively on sectarianism.

### SCHEDULE OF ADVISORY GROUP MEETINGS

The following is a list of meetings undertaken by the Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland. It is a continuation from the meetings listed in the Advisory Group's interim report published in December 2013.

<b>DATE:</b>	<b>ORGANISATION/ INDIVIDUALS MET</b>
7 January 2014	Business meeting with the Advisory Group members – no external attendees.
30 January 2014	Attendance and facilitation at Projects Discussion Day.
20 February 2014	Evidence given at Equal Opportunities Committee. Meeting with Elaine Murray MSP.
27 February 2014	Business meeting with the Advisory Group members – no external attendees.
27 March 2014	Meetings with COSLA; Pat Bourne the Irish Consul-General; and Justice Analytical Services.
24 April 2014	Meetings with the members of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland; Conforti Institute, Voluntary Action Fund and Justice Analytical Services.
29 May 2014	Meetings with Education Scotland; University of Stirling Marches & Parades researchers; Justice Analytical Services; Donald Smith from the Scottish Storytelling Centre; and Voluntary Action Fund.
4 June 2014	Chair of the Advisory Group meeting with MSPs: Alison McInnes, Elaine Murray, Margaret Mitchell.
31 July 2014	Meeting with Scottish Football Association (SFA) and Scottish Professional Football League (SPFL) representatives; meeting with Inspector Marian Maclean and Sergeant Neil McLeod of Football Co-ordination Unit Scotland (FoCUS).
4 August 2014	Chair of the Advisory Group speaking at Just Festival regarding Northern Ireland Reconciliation and Peace.
13 August 2014	Hosting Just Festival event on forgiveness: 'What does forgiveness mean in relation to sectarianism in modern Scotland?'
30 September 2014	Business meeting with the Advisory Group members – no external attendees.
22 October 2014	Meeting with Place for Hope Stakeholder Group.
10 November 2014	Attendance and facilitation at Projects Discussion Day.
18 November 2014	Meeting with Justice Analytical Services; meeting with Kay Goodall, University of Stirling on research of Communities Experience of Sectarianism; meeting with Elisabeth Campbell, Head of Community Safety Unit in the Scottish Government.
3 December 2014	Chair of the Advisory Group meeting with Labour MSPs; Chair meeting with Sami Awad from the Holy Land Trust.



9 December 2014	Chair of the Advisory Group meeting with the Minister for Community Safety and Legal Affairs, Paul Wheelhouse MSP; Chair meeting with Conservative MSPs.
17 December 2014	Business meeting with the Advisory Group members – no external attendees.
19 January 2015	Business meeting with the Advisory Group members and meeting with Justice Analytical Services.
11 February 2015	Business meeting with the Advisory Group members – no external attendees (AM). Meeting with Faith Groups: Conforti Institute, Place for Hope, Faith in Community Scotland (PM).
20 February 2015	Advisory Group discussion day with stakeholders following launch of commissioned research: Community Impact of Public Processions, Community Experiences of Sectarianism, and Social Attitudes Survey – Public Attitudes to Sectarianism.
12 March 2015	Meeting with Peter Lawwell, Ian Jamieson, Ronnie Hawthorn, and Michael Nicholson from Celtic Football Club; meeting with David Martin from Rangers Football Club.
16 March 2015	Meeting with COSLA.
26 March 2015	Meeting with Advisory Group members – no external attendees.

**LINKS REFERRED TO IN REPORT**

'Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2014: Public Attitudes to Sectarianism in Scotland'  
published in 2015: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/5330>

'Community Experiences of Sectarianism' published in  
2015: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/9920>

'Community Impact of Public Processions': <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/02/3769>

'An Examination of the Evidence on Sectarianism in Scotland' published in  
2013: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2013/06/8109>

'Religious Discrimination Sectarianism in Scotland: A Brief Review of Evidence (2002 - 2004)'  
published in 2005: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2005/01/20553/50497>

'Advisory Group On Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland 2013 report' published  
2013: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2013/12/6197>

Census 2011: Key results on Population, Ethnicity, Identity, Language, Religion, Health,  
Housing and Accommodation in Scotland part 1 published 2014 and part 2 published 2015:  
<http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/10/8378>  
<http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/03/8716>

'Sectarianism in Glasgow – Final Report' (Sectarianism, Intolerance and Racism in Glasgow  
study: NFO Social Research): <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=7316>

Scotland: No Place for Sectarianism' evaluation  
toolkit: [http://www.voluntaryactionfund.org.uk/files/5413/8927/4832/no\\_place\\_for\\_sectarianism.pdf](http://www.voluntaryactionfund.org.uk/files/5413/8927/4832/no_place_for_sectarianism.pdf)

## SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT FUNDED PROJECTS FOR 2015-16

<b>ORGANISATION</b>	<b>Funded 2015-16</b>
Aberlour Child Care Trust	£24,492.00
Brora – High Life Highland	£56,218.00
Bridging the Gap	£52,690.00
Citizens Theatre	£151,028.00
Community Links – South Lanarkshire	£49,783.00
Central Scotland Regional Equality Council	£39,159.00
Deaf Connections	£38,580.00
Fauldhouse Community Development Trust	£36,356.00
Faith in Community Scotland, Place for Hope, Conforti Institute – Partnership Project	£233,776.00
Getting Better Together Shotts	£20,413.00
Glasgow Womens Library	£59,926.00
I SEE! Scotland	£50,952.00
In Cahootz	£36,860.00
Inverclyde Community Development Trust	£45,182.00
Just Festival	£31,500.00
Nil by Mouth – Beyond Religion and Belief	£42,900.00
Nil by Mouth – Champions for Change	£31,875.00
North Glasgow Football Development Group	£23,943.00
NG Homes	£25,959.00
Parkhead Youth Project	£34,217.00
Pilmey Development Project	£20,000.00
Renton Community Development Trust	£62,629.00
Royston Youth Action	£62,735.00
Sacro	£76,450.00
Scottish Books Trust	£92,392.00
Scottish Community Development Centre	£49,700.00
Show Bigotry the Red Card	£20,000.00
Sense Over Sectarianism	£169,676.00
Stewartry Council of Voluntary Service	£52,512.00
Supporters Direct Scotland	£54,126.00
The Spark	£105,972.00
West of Scotland Housing Association	£20,000.00
West of Scotland Regional Equality Council	£45,750.00
Yipworld	£26,316.00
Youth Scotland	£55,307.00
Youthlink Scotland – Sustaining and Improving	£64,303.00
Youthlink Scotland – Looking Forward Not Back	£66,474.00
Xchange Scotland	£41,958.00
Voluntary Action Fund - Small Grant Programme	£150,000.00
	<b>TOTAL</b>
	<b>£2,322,109.00</b>



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