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Briefing paper

Religion or belief

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Introduction

This Equality and Human Rights Commission (the Commission) briefing paper seeks to present within a single, short, document the best available recent statistical data in Britain on a range of issues relating to religion or belief. These include religious affiliation, religious practice and attendance, discrimination, and gender and church leadership positions. It does so to provide the background context for equalities work in this area both by the Commission and by others; as such, it seeks to complement the much more detailed information provided by the British Religion in Numbers (BRIN) online data resource (funded by the AHRC/ESRC Religion and Society Programme) which readers are encouraged to consult.¹

It should be emphasised that the selection of topics for this briefing reflects the available national statistical data and should not be taken as indicating the key concerns of the Commission in this area. For example, the Commission is interested in the services offered by religious bodies, but currently only individual regional and local studies of religion as social capital are available. Given their methodological differences, any attempt to collate the data to present national statistics on this topic would produce unreliable results at best.²

There are many different definitions of 'religion' and 'belief'. Under the terms of the Equality Act 2010, 'religion' means any religion and a reference to religion includes a reference to a lack of religion, while 'belief' means any religious or philosophical belief and a reference to belief includes a reference to a lack of belief.³ In practice, however, statistical data sources tend only to cover religion/no religion and there are relatively few national statistics relating specifically to belief. It is also unwise to assess 'belief' on the basis of data on affiliation.

Religious affiliation in Great Britain

A voluntary question was asked in the 2001 Census about religion for the first time since 1851.⁴ Different questions were asked in England and Wales and in Scotland; in Scotland, two questions were asked, the first relating to religious upbringing and the second to current religion. Despite this (and other differences between the Censuses in England/Wales and Scotland), responses from England and Wales have been combined with the response to the first Scottish question to produce GB figures (Table 1). This is in line with the approach adopted by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) in its main publication on the 2001 Census on this topic, *Focus on Religion*.⁵ The responses to the England and Wales question and to the first Scotland question are often taken to indicate religious affiliation and perhaps also to be related to national identity.⁶ In England and Wales, data were only

collected by religion and not by denomination or sect, so, for example, no data were collected on Protestants or Roman Catholics or on Sunni and Shia Muslims.

| | Number (thousands) | Per cent (overall) | Per cent (of those stating a religion) |
|---------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| Christian | 41,015 | 71.8 | 77.9 |
| Muslim | 1,589 | 2.8 | 3.0 |
| Hindu | 558 | 1.0 | 1.1 |
| Sikh | 336 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Jewish | 267 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| Buddhist | 149 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Any other religion | 159 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| No religion | 8,596 | 15.1 | 16.3 |
| Religion not stated | 4,434 | 7.8 | n/a |
| Total (%) | n/a | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| <i>Base</i> | 57,104 | 57,104 | 52,670 |
| Notes: | The question in England and Wales was: 'What is your religion?' and the question in Scotland was: 'What religion, religious denomination or body were you brought up in?' | | |
| | n/a: not applicable. | | |
| Source: | Office for National Statistics, <i>Focus on Religion</i> (ONS, 2004), Table 1. | | |

As Table 1 shows, depending on whether those who did not answer the question are included or excluded from the calculations, the Christian population of Great Britain in 2001 was 72 per cent or 78 per cent. Muslims were the second largest group, comprising over half the non-Christian religious population, followed by Hindus, Sikhs, Jews and Buddhists. The proportion of the population with no religion was 15-16 per cent. In addition, of the 151,000 people in England and Wales who stated 'any other religion', the two largest groups consisted of spiritualists (32,000) and pagans (31,000).⁷

Since 2004-05, the Annual Population Survey (APS) in GB has asked a question on religious affiliation. Results are currently available on an annual basis from 2004-05 to 2008-09 (Table 2). Three clear trends are apparent from the data: a decline each year in the Christian population; an increase in the Muslim population, and a rise in the 'no religion' population.

The Citizenship Survey, which covers England and Wales only, asks an identical question to the APS. In 2008-09, 72 per cent of adults identified themselves as Christians; 4 per cent as Muslims; 2 per cent as Hindus; 1 per cent as Sikhs;

1 per cent as Buddhists; and 3 per cent as being of 'other religion'. The remaining 18 per cent stated that they were of no religion.⁸

| | Per cent: | | | | |
|--------------------|--|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | 2004-05 | 2005-06 | 2006-07 | 2007-08 | 2008-09 |
| Christian | 77.6 | 76.3 | 75.1 | 73.6 | 72.0 |
| Muslim | 3.4 | 3.7 | 3.9 | 4.1 | 4.2 |
| Hindu | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.3 |
| Sikh | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| Jewish | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| Buddhist | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| Other religion | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 |
| No religion at all | 15.7 | 16.8 | 17.7 | 18.8 | 20.0 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| <i>Base</i> | <i>518,743</i> | <i>365,016</i> | <i>353,914</i> | <i>348,699</i> | <i>339,805</i> |
| Notes: | The question was: 'What is your religion even if you are not currently practising?' Non-respondents are excluded. Data are for July in the first year to June in the second. The sample was higher in 2004-05 than in later years because in those years there was an additional boost for England only, which was discontinued in January 2006. | | | | |
| Source: | Equality and Human Rights Commission analysis of Annual Population Survey, 2004-05 to 2008-09. | | | | |

Religious affiliation in England, Scotland and Wales

There were some differences in the religious distribution of the population in England, Scotland and Wales in 2001 (Table 3). The proportion of those stating that they were Christians was higher in Scotland than in the other two nations (although this could simply reflect the different question wording in Scotland and also the different location of the question on the Census form), while the proportion of those with no religion was highest in Wales and lowest in England.⁹ The Muslim share of the population was higher in England than elsewhere.

| Table 3: Population of England, Scotland and Wales by religion, 2001 | | | |
|---|---|-----------------|--------------|
| | Per cent: | | |
| | England | Scotland | Wales |
| Christian | 71.7 | 72.6 | 71.9 |
| Muslim | 3.1 | 0.8 | 0.7 |
| Hindu | 1.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| Sikh | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Jewish | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Buddhist | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| Other religion | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| No religion | 14.6 | 17.5 | 18.5 |
| Religion not stated | 7.7 | 8.4 | 8.1 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| <i>Total (thousands)</i> | 49,139 | 5,062 | 2,903 |
| Notes: | The question in England and Wales was: 'What is your religion?' and the question in Scotland was: 'What religion, religious denomination or body were you brought up in?' | | |
| Source: | ONS, <i>Focus on Religion</i> , Tables 3.3 and 3.4. | | |

More recent data from the Integrated Household Survey (IHS) for 2009-10 (Table 4) reveal that there are now marked differences between the three countries in terms of religious affiliation. First, the Christian share of the population is higher in Scotland and England than in Wales. Secondly, in England, the proportion of the population who are affiliated to any of the minority religions is higher than in Scotland and Wales (which have very similar figures); the difference between England and the other two nations being particularly great for Muslims. Thirdly, the proportion of the population stating that they have no religion is higher in Wales and Scotland than in England and also higher in Wales than in Scotland.

| Table 4: Population of England, Scotland and Wales by religion, 2009-10 | | | | |
|--|--|-----------------|--------------|----------------------|
| | Per cent: | | | |
| | England | Scotland | Wales | Great Britain |
| Christian | 71.4 | 72.3 | 69.0 | 71.4 |
| Muslim | 4.7 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 4.2 |
| Hindu | 1.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1.4 |
| Sikh | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.6 |
| Jewish | 0.6 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.5 |
| Buddhist | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| Other religion | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.1 |
| No religion at all | 19.6 | 24.7 | 28.0 | 20.5 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| <i>Base:</i> | 442,266 | | | |
| <i>Notes:</i> | As in the case of the APS, the question asked was: 'What is your religion even if you are not currently practising?' The base number refers to the number of eligible responders to the question. Data refer to the period April 2009 to March 2010. | | | |
| <i>Source:</i> | ONS, 'Integrated Household Survey Experimental Statistics, 2009-10', <i>Statistical Bulletin</i> , September 2010, Table 2. | | | |

Further analysis of the 2009-10 IHS data reveal that across England, individual unitary authorities (UAs) and counties have very different levels of reported religious affiliation. The data, which can only be broken down between 'religion' and 'no religion (at all)', show that Slough UA had the highest rate of religious affiliation at 93 per cent and Brighton and Hove UA the lowest rate at 58 per cent. In addition, all eight UAs/counties in the North East and all 10 UAs/counties in the North West reported at least an 80 per cent affiliation rate (the overall English average), although no English UA/county other than Slough exceeded 90 per cent. The proportion of people stating that they had no religion in Brighton and Hove at 42 per cent was exceptionally high; the second highest rate in England was only 30 per cent (in both City of Kingston upon Hull UA and Bath and North East Somerset UA).

The proportion of people stating they had no religion was higher overall in Wales than in Scotland or England and in all 22 UAs except Flintshire, at least 20 per cent of the population stated that they had no religion in 2009-10. The figure was highest at 33 per cent in three UAs: Blaenau Gwent, Caerphilly and Swansea. Out of 30 UAs in Scotland, religious affiliation was highest in Inverclyde (92 per cent - second in Britain only to Slough) and lowest in Midlothian (62 per cent); in only nine authorities was religious affiliation measured at 80 per cent or higher.¹⁰

Belonging to a religion

Since its inception in 1983, the annual British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey has included a slightly different question, 'Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?' (Table 5).

| | Per cent: | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--------------|
| | 1983 | 2008 |
| Christian - <i>of which:</i> | 66 | 50 |
| - Church of England/Anglican | 40 | 23 |
| - Roman Catholic | 10 | 9 |
| - Presbyterian/Church of Scotland | 5 | 3 |
| - Methodist | 4 | 2 |
| - Baptist | 1 | 1 |
| - Christian - no denomination | 3 | 10 |
| - Other Christian | 3 | 2 |
| Muslim | 1 | 3 |
| Jewish | 1 | 1 |
| Other non-Christian | 1 | 3 |
| No religion | 31 | 43 |
| Total (%) | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Base</i> | <i>1,761</i> | <i>4,486</i> |
| Source: | D. Voas and R. Ling, 'Religion in Britain and the United States' in A. Park, J. Curtice, K. Thomson, M. Phillips, E. Clery and S. Butt (ed.), <i>British Social Attitudes 26th Report</i> (London: Sage, 2010), p. 67 (Table 4.1). Data are also available at: http://www.britisocat.com/Body.aspx?control=HomePage . | |

The latest data for 2008 show that only half (50 per cent) of all people in Britain stated that they belonged to the Christian religion, with the biggest single group of Christians consisting of Church of England/Anglicans. This compared with two-thirds who stated that they belonged to the Christian religion in 1983. The declining Christian share is clearly attributable to a fall in the Church of England/Anglican percentage. The increase in the 'Christian - no denomination' proportion is probably due to the fact that Christians who were not religiously active described themselves as 'Christian' in 2008 and as 'Church of England' in 1983. The other key trend has been the increase in those who state that they have no religion.

An analysis of the BSA (Table 6) shows that the proportion stating they belonged to a particular religion fell from 66 per cent in 1985 to 57 per cent in 2008. Conversely, the proportion stating that they did not belong to any particular religion increased from 34 per cent in 1985 to 43 per cent in 2008. Women have consistently been

more likely than men to state that they belong to a religion. While there have been some fluctuations, the direction of the overall trend is clear both overall and by gender.

| Table 6: Respondents belonging to a particular religion or no religion, selected years, 1985-2008 | | | | | | |
|--|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Per cent: | | | | | | |
| <i>A religion</i> | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 | 2008 |
| Men | 59.2 | 54.1 | 51.8 | 52.9 | 55.5 | 50.7 |
| Women | 71.1 | 71.2 | 66.1 | 66.2 | 64.5 | 62.2 |
| All | 65.6 | 63.5 | 59.5 | 60.2 | 60.1 | 56.6 |
| <i>No religion</i> | | | | | | |
| Men | 40.8 | 45.9 | 48.2 | 47.1 | 44.5 | 49.3 |
| Women | 28.9 | 28.8 | 33.9 | 33.8 | 35.5 | 37.8 |
| All | 34.4 | 36.5 | 40.5 | 39.8 | 39.9 | 43.4 |
| <i>Base (all)</i> | <i>1,764</i> | <i>2,685</i> | <i>3,626</i> | <i>3,405</i> | <i>4,243</i> | <i>4,465</i> |
| Notes: | Data (including bases) exclude refusals and other non-responses. | | | | | |
| Source: | British Social Attitudes, 1985-2008, available at: http://www.britsocat.com/Body.aspx?control=HomePage . | | | | | |

Further analysis of the BSA (Table 7) shows that the level of affiliation is lower for younger than for older age groups; in 2008, those aged 18-24 were more than twice as likely as those aged 65 and over to state that they had no religion.

| Table 7: Respondents belonging to a particular religion or no religion, by age, 2008 | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|
| Per cent: | | | | | | | |
| | 18-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ | All aged 18+ |
| A religion | 44.7 | 51.6 | 49.3 | 52.9 | 65.9 | 77.9 | 56.6 |
| No religion | 55.3 | 48.4 | 50.7 | 47.1 | 34.1 | 22.1 | 43.4 |
| <i>Base</i> | <i>536</i> | <i>734</i> | <i>860</i> | <i>747</i> | <i>1,186</i> | <i>384</i> | <i>4,465</i> |
| Notes: | Data (including bases) exclude refusals and other non-responses. All aged 18+ includes those not stating their ages. | | | | | | |
| Source: | British Social Attitudes, 2008, available at: http://www.britsocat.com/Body.aspx?control=HomePage . | | | | | | |

Additional analysis of the BSA by BRIN shows that, perhaps not surprisingly, a high proportion of those who belong to a particular Christian denomination now were brought up in the same religion; it is unusual for people to switch. Thus, for example, 92 per cent of those who stated that they belonged to the Church of

England (CoE)/Anglicanism in 2008 were brought up in the CoE or as Anglicans. The same was true for 91 per cent of current Roman Catholics. In contrast, the majority of those stating that they had no religion were brought up as Christians; only 27 per cent stated that their families had no religion.¹¹

Religious practice and attendance

Several surveys seek to measure the extent to which individuals who state that they have a religion actively practise it. The Citizenship Survey in England and Wales asked those who stated that they had a religion whether they considered they were actively practising it or not. As Table 8 shows, between two-thirds and four-fifths of Buddhists, Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims in England and Wales considered that they actively practised their religion in 2008-09, whereas only a third of Christians did so.

| | Per cent: | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--------|-------|------|----------|----------------|--------------|
| | Christian | Muslim | Hindu | Sikh | Buddhist | Other religion | All |
| Men | 25 | 79 | 65 | 66 | 64 | 46 | 31 |
| Women | 38 | 82 | 78 | 66 | 69 | 56 | 42 |
| All | 32 | 80 | 70 | 66 | 66 | 51 | 37 |
| <i>Bases: men</i> | 3,778 | 1,103 | 493 | 173 | 79 | 197 | 3,359 |
| <i>Bases: women</i> | 5,242 | 1,031 | 406 | 182 | 74 | 240 | 4,432 |
| <i>Bases: all</i> | 9,021 | 2,134 | 900 | 355 | 153 | 437 | 7,792 |
| Notes: | Data exclude those with no religion and those with missing religion data. The 'all' column is based on the 'core' sample consisting of a representative sample of people aged 16 and over in England and Wales. The other columns are based on the 'combined' sample, which consists of the core sample and a boost sample comprising an additional sample of ethnic minority respondents aged 16 and over. This explains why the 'all' column bases are lower than the Christian bases. It also explains the apparent discrepancies between the 'all' percentages and the other percentages. | | | | | | |
| Source: | C. Ferguson and D. Hussey, <i>2008-09 Citizenship Survey: Race, Religion and Equalities Topic Report</i> (London: Communities and Local Government, 2010), Tables 15b and 17. | | | | | | |

A higher proportion of female (38 per cent) than male (25 per cent) Christians stated that they actively practised their religion in 2008-09; Hindu women (78 per cent) were also more likely to state this than Hindu men (65 per cent), but there were no significant gender differences for Muslims, Sikhs or Buddhists.¹²

The BSA also examines attendance (Table 9). Data are available about the frequency with which individuals attend services connected with their religion (excluding special occasions such as baptisms, weddings or funerals). They reveal

that around one fifth of those who stated that they belonged to, or were brought up, in a religion attended a service at least once a month in each selected year. Other BSA data (not shown here) indicate that older cohorts are more likely than younger ones to attend services at least monthly.¹³

| Table 9: Respondents reporting a religious affiliation by monthly attendance, 1983-2008 | | | |
|--|--|--|-------------|
| | Per cent: | | |
| | Attends at least once a month | Does not attend at least once a month | Base |
| 1990 | 22.2 | 77.8 | 2,579 |
| 1995 | 21.1 | 78.9 | 3,328 |
| 2000 | 22.4 | 77.6 | 3,052 |
| 2005 | 19.8 | 80.2 | 3,774 |
| 2008 | 20.2 | 79.8 | 3,939 |
| Notes: | Bases are those who stated that they belonged to, or were brought up, in a religion. Data exclude refusals and other non-responses. | | |
| Source: | British Social Attitudes, 2008, available at: http://www.britsocat.com/Body.aspx?control=HomePage . | | |

On Sunday 8 May 2005, Christian Research organised the English Church Census. Half the known churches in England (a total of 18,720) participated in the census. On the basis of this census, it was estimated that 3.17 million people in England usually attended church on a Sunday, representing 6.3 per cent of the total population. Moreover, the number of people usually attending church in England had declined in each successive census from 5.44 million in 1979 (Table 10).¹⁴

The English Church Census also sheds light on the relative strength of Christian denominations. It reveals that some denominations, particularly the United Reformed Church and Roman Catholicism, experienced a marked decline in usual churchgoing between 1998 and 2005 of 43 per cent and 28 per cent respectively. In contrast, Pentecostal churches witnessed a 34 per cent increase in usual churchgoing in this period and their total usual attendance almost matched that of the Methodist church.¹⁵

| | Per cent: | | | |
|--|--|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| | 1979 | 1989 | 1998 | 2005 |
| Roman Catholic | 36.6 | 36.2 | 33.1 | 28.2 |
| Anglican | 30.7 | 26.7 | 26.4 | 27.5 |
| Methodist | 11.4 | 10.8 | 10.2 | 9.1 |
| Pentecostal | 4.2 | 5.0 | 5.8 | 9.1 |
| Baptist | 5.3 | 5.7 | 7.5 | 8.0 |
| Independent churches | 4.3 | 6.3 | 4.3 | 6.0 |
| 'New' churches or denominations | 1.2 | 3.5 | 6.2 | 5.8 |
| United Reformed Church | 3.5 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 2.2 |
| Orthodox | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 0.8 |
| Other churches | 2.6 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 3.2 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| <i>Base (participating churches)</i> | <i>n/a</i> | <i>n/a</i> | <i>n/a</i> | <i>18,720</i> |
| Total count (millions) | 5.44 | 4.74 | 3.71 | 3.17 |
| Estimated share of the general population of England (%) | 11.7 | 9.9 | 7.5 | 6.3 |
| Notes: | The largest Pentecostal churches in 2005 were the Assemblies of God and the Elim Pentecostal churches, while the largest Independent churches were the Christian Brethren and the Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches. New churches (or House churches) began in the 1970s and expanded in the 1980s and 1990s, the largest church in 2005 being Newfrontiers. Other churches include the Salvation Army, the churches of 'Overseas Nationals' and Seventh-day Adventists. Population estimates were by Peter Brierley. | | | |
| Source: | P. Brierley, <i>Pulling out of the Nosedive: A Contemporary Picture of Churchgoing</i> (London: Christian Research, 2006), pp. 12-41; additional data from D. Voas. | | | |

Belief in God

One of the most commonly asked questions in surveys on religion or belief is 'Do you believe in God?' While British data stretch back to 1947, when the question was asked in a Gallup survey, comparisons between surveys are fraught with difficulties because of differences in sample sizes, the methodology used, slight differences in wording or the order in which questions are asked.¹⁶ On three occasions, the BSA has asked the same (and more detailed) question allowing comparisons over time to be made: 'Which best describes your beliefs about God?' (Table 11). It is clear that the proportion of people stating that they believe in God is lower in the late 2000s than it was in the early 1990s, while the proportion of non-believers is higher.

| | Per cent: | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 1991 | 1998 | 2008 |
| Believe and always have | 45.8 | 47.6 | 36.7 |
| Believe, didn't before | 5.9 | 4.2 | 5.1 |
| Not believe, did before | 12.1 | 11.6 | 15.2 |
| Not believe, never have | 11.6 | 13.2 | 19.9 |
| Can't choose | 22.7 | 21.7 | 21.7 |
| Not answered | 1.8 | 1.7 | 1.5 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| <i>Base</i> | 1,222 | 815 | 1,975 |

Source: British Social Attitudes, 1991- 2008, available at:
<http://www.britsocat.com/Body.aspx?control=HomePage>.

More recent data are available from a 2010 Eurobarometer survey (Table 12).

| | Per cent: | | | | |
|----------------|------------------------|--|---|------------|---------------|
| | Believe there is a God | Believe there is some sort of spirit or life force | Do not believe there is any sort of spirit, God or life force | Don't know | Base |
| Czech Republic | 16 | 44 | 37 | 3 | 1,043 |
| France | 27 | 27 | 40 | 6 | 1,018 |
| Germany | 44 | 25 | 27 | 4 | 1,531 |
| Italy | 74 | 20 | 6 | 0 | 1,018 |
| Malta | 94 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 500 |
| Spain | 59 | 20 | 19 | 2 | 1,004 |
| Sweden | 18 | 45 | 34 | 3 | 1,007 |
| UK | 37 | 33 | 25 | 5 | 1,311 |
| EU-27 | 51 | 26 | 20 | 3 | 26,671 |

Notes: The question asked was: 'Which of these statements comes closest to your beliefs?' The survey was conducted in January-February 2010.

Source: TNS Opinion & Social, *Biotechnology*. Special Eurobarometer 341. (European Commission, 2010), p. 204 and Table B32.

As Table 12 shows, there is wide variation in reported beliefs between European Union countries (EU-27), with 94 per cent of respondents in Malta believing in a God, compared with only 16 per cent in the Czech Republic. France had the highest percentage of respondents stating that they did not believe there was any sort of spirit, God or life force. A lower proportion of respondents in the UK than across the

EU-27 as a whole reported they believed in a God and of the 32 countries in the sample, only 11 countries reported a lower belief in God than the UK.

In response to another question in this survey, 6 per cent of people in the UK described themselves as atheists and 24 per cent as non-believers/agnostics; this compared with EU-27 averages of 6 per cent and 16 per cent respectively. The Czech Republic and Estonia had the higher proportions of atheists at 18 per cent.¹⁷

Discrimination and prejudice on grounds of religion or belief

Perceptions of discrimination and prejudice

The majority of adults in England and Wales consider that there is more religious prejudice today than in the recent past (Table 13).

| Table 13: Perceptions of religious prejudice today, compared with five years ago, England and Wales, 2005 to 2008-09 | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| | Per cent: | | | | |
| | More prejudice | Same amount of prejudice | Less prejudice | Don't know or can't say | Base |
| 2005 | 52 | 30 | 10 | 8 | 9,671 |
| 2007-08 | 62 | 24 | 6 | 8 | 9,331 |
| 2008-09 | 52 | 29 | 9 | 10 | 9,325 |
| Notes: | The Citizenship Survey was conducted on a biennial basis until 2007-08, so there was no survey in 2006. | | | | |
| Sources: | S. Kitchen et al., <i>2005 Citizenship Survey: Race and Faith Topic Report</i> (London: Communities and Local Government (CLG), 2006), Figure 13; C. Ferguson et al., <i>2007-08 Citizenship Survey: Race, Religion and Equalities Topic Report</i> (London: CLG, 2009), Table 26; C. Ferguson and D. Hussey, <i>2008-09 Citizenship Survey: Race, Religion and Equalities Topic Report</i> (London: CLG, 2010), Table 19. | | | | |

A comparison of Tables 13 and 14 shows that the increase in the proportion stating that there was more prejudice in 2007-08 than in 2005 was primarily due to an increase in the Christian population considering that there was more prejudice. This increased by 11 percentage points for the Christian population and by 10 percentage points for all religions. By 2008-09, the overall proportion had fallen to 2005 levels. The authors of the 2007-08 report suggested that the reason for the increase might be linked to the 7 July 2005 London bombings (the proportion perceiving that there was more prejudice was greater among those interviewed after the bombings in 2005 than before it).¹⁸

| Table 14: Perceptions of more religious prejudice today, compared with five years ago, by religious group, England and Wales, 2005 to 2008-09 | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--------|-------|------|----------|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| | Per cent: | | | | | | | |
| | Christian | Muslim | Hindu | Sikh | Buddhist | Other religion | No religion | Base (total) |
| 2005 | 52 | 57 | 42 | 55 | n/a | 57 | 52 | 9,671 |
| 2007-08 | 63 | 59 | 44 | 49 | 47 | 61 | 61 | 9,331 |
| 2008-09 | 53 | 49 | 35 | 48 | 53 | 53 | 52 | 9,325 |
| Notes: | Data exclude respondents with missing religion data. | | | | | | | |
| Source: | As for Table 13. 2005 data are from Kitchen et al. (2006), Table 25. | | | | | | | |

Similarly, 7 per cent of adults in England in 2009-10 considered that racial or religious harassment was a very or fairly big problem in their local area, with Muslims being the most likely, and Christians the least likely, to feel this (Table 15).

| Table 15: Perception that racial or religious harassment is a big problem in the local area, England, 2009-10 | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--------|-------|------|----------|----------------|-------------|-------|
| | Per cent: | | | | | | | |
| | Christian | Muslim | Hindu | Sikh | Buddhist | Other religion | No religion | All |
| | 6 | 17 | 13 | 14 | 10 | 14 | 9 | 7 |
| Base | 7,725 | 3,641 | 663 | 350 | 119 | 278 | 1,911 | 8,254 |
| Notes: | Excludes respondents answering 'don't know'. As for Table 8, the all percentage is based on the core sample and the column percentages on the combined sample. | | | | | | | |
| Source: | CLG, <i>Citizenship Survey: 2009-10 (April 2009 - March 2010, England)</i> , Cohesion Research Statistical Release no. 12, 2010, Table 13. | | | | | | | |

Table 16 presents findings from a European Commission survey on discrimination. Respondents were asked whether they considered that discrimination on grounds of religion or belief was very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare or very rare.¹⁹ The European Commission noted that the five countries which reported the highest perceived levels of discrimination on these grounds were ones where immigration featured prominently in public debate, whereas the four countries with the lowest perceived levels of discrimination all have little religious diversity. The proportion of respondents in the UK considering that discrimination was very/fairly widespread was higher than the EU average. Nevertheless, to put these figures in a wider context, as Table 17 shows, discrimination on grounds on religion or belief (at least in this survey) was considered in the UK (and in the EU-27 as a whole) to be less widespread overall than discrimination on grounds of age, disability and ethnic origin.²⁰

| Table 16: Respondents stating that discrimination on grounds of religion or belief is fairly/very widespread, selected EU countries, 2009 | | |
|--|---|---------------|
| | Per cent: | Base: |
| Netherlands | 59 | 1,079 |
| France | 58 | 1,078 |
| Denmark | 57 | 1,001 |
| Belgium | 54 | 1,000 |
| Sweden | 53 | 1,006 |
| | | |
| Austria | 47 | 1,001 |
| Italy | 45 | 1,048 |
| United Kingdom | 45 | 1,317 |
| Germany | 32 | 1,523 |
| Spain | 32 | 1,007 |
| | | |
| Lithuania | 14 | 1,022 |
| Latvia | 13 | 1,012 |
| Czech Republic | 12 | 1,033 |
| Slovakia | 12 | 1,037 |
| | | |
| EU-27 | 39 | 26,756 |
| Notes: | The table shows the top five and bottom four countries and selected others. | |
| Source: | TNS Opinion & Social, <i>Discrimination in the EU in 2009</i> . Special Eurobarometer 317. (European Commission, 2009), p. 100. | |

Since discrimination on grounds of religion or belief was first measured by the European Commission in 2006, the view that it is widespread has fallen; for example, in 2008, 56 per cent of respondents in the UK thought that such discrimination was very/fairly widespread, but only 45 per cent did so in 2009. Moreover, in 2009, the majority of people in the UK (52 per cent) felt that discrimination on religious grounds was less widespread than five years before.²¹

| Table 17: Perceptions of discrimination by equality strand, UK and EU-27 countries, 2009 | | | | | | |
|---|---|-------------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Per cent: | | | | | |
| | Age | Disability | Ethnic origin | Gender | Religion or belief | Sexual orientation |
| <i>UK</i> | | | | | | |
| Widespread | 61 | 50 | 58 | 43 | 45 | 40 |
| Rare | 33 | 43 | 35 | 50 | 47 | 48 |
| Non-existent | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 11 |
| <i>Base (for each strand)</i> | 1,317 | | | | | |
| <i>EU-27</i> | | | | | | |
| Widespread | 58 | 53 | 61 | 40 | 39 | 47 |
| Rare | 37 | 41 | 32 | 53 | 53 | 43 |
| Non-existent | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Don't know | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 7 |
| <i>Base (for each strand)</i> | 26,756 | | | | | |
| Notes: | The alternative options were 'rare' or 'don't know'. The non-existent figure is based on the spontaneous responses. | | | | | |
| Source: | TNS Opinion & Social, <i>Discrimination in the EU in 2009</i> , Tables 1.1 to 1.6. | | | | | |

Experience of discrimination and prejudice

Despite the evidence noted above about the extent of perceived discrimination, across the EU, only 1 per cent of respondents in 2009 stated that they had themselves experienced discrimination on grounds of religion or belief in the previous year, although a higher percentage (5 per cent) had witnessed it.²² Similarly, among respondents to the 2009-10 Citizenship Survey in England, less than 0.5 per cent of adults felt that they had personally been turned down for a promotion because of their religion or belief.²³

Perhaps reflecting this situation, the number of Employment Tribunal discrimination cases in Britain on grounds of religion or belief remains relatively low, although it is increasing; in 2009-10, 1,000 claims relating to discrimination on grounds of religion or belief were accepted by the Employment Tribunals, compared with 710 in 2007-08. To put these figures in context, 392,800 claims were accepted in total in 2009-10; a higher number of cases related to sex discrimination (18,200), disability discrimination (7,500), race discrimination (5,700) and age discrimination (5,200), but more cases related to discrimination on grounds of religion or belief than to discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation (710).²⁴

As Table 18 shows, most cases submitted to Employment Tribunals relating to discrimination on grounds of religion or belief are withdrawn or result in ACAS conciliated settlements and only a very small number are successful at Tribunal. But with the exception of sex discrimination cases, where a higher proportion of cases than average are withdrawn, there are greater similarities than differences between equality strands in the outcomes of Tribunal cases.

| Table 18: Disposal of Employment Tribunal cases, Great Britain, 2009-10 | | | | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|--------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| | Per cent: | | | | | |
| | Age | Disability | Race | Religion or belief | Sex | Sexual orientation |
| Withdrawn | 39 | 32 | 30 | 32 | 57 | 30 |
| ACAS conciliated | 39 | 45 | 38 | 33 | 20 | 40 |
| Struck out not at hearing | 7 | 7 | 7 | 11 | 15 | 9 |
| Successful at Tribunal | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| Dismissed at preliminary hearing | 3 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 5 |
| Unsuccessful at hearing | 9 | 9 | 15 | 12 | 3 | 9 |
| Default judgement | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| <i>Number of cases</i> | <i>3,900</i> | <i>6,100</i> | <i>4,500</i> | <i>760</i> | <i>17,500</i> | <i>540</i> |
| Notes: | Data are for April 2009 to March 2010. | | | | | |
| Source: | Ministry of Justice, <i>Employment Tribunal and EAT Statistics, 2009-10</i> (2010), Table 2. | | | | | |

Gender and church leadership positions

Some religions and some religious denominations have a stronger hierarchy than others making it possible to examine the female proportion of their leadership positions. It is also the case that different Christian churches have very different theologies regarding the role of women in leadership; for example, under canon law, the Roman Catholic Church does not allow the ordination of women as priests. Similarly, Orthodox Judaism does not allow women to be rabbis, although all other types of Judaism have women rabbis.

In 2009, women accounted for 20 per cent of full-time diocesan stipendiary clergy in the Church of England, but over half of part-time stipendiary clergy and self-supporting clergy. There has been a steady increase in the female proportion of full-time stipendiary clergy since 2000, the ban on the ordination of women as priests having been lifted in 1992 and the first women having been ordained as priests in 1994 (Table 19). This has reflected both an increase in the number of female full-time priests and a decline in the number of male priests, with women comprising 38 per cent of those ordained as full-time stipendiary priests in 2009. In addition, in 2009, 14 out of 110 archdeacons were women (compared with two out of 106 in

2000).²⁵ However, the ban on women bishops (the highest post in the Church of England) remains, although this has been relaxed in other branches of the wider Anglican Communion. Other Christian churches in Britain do have women in their most senior positions; for example, the first woman bishop of the small Lutheran Church assumed office in January 2009, while the United Reformed Church appointed two women as co-moderators (its most senior position) in July 2010.²⁶

| | Per cent: | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
| Full-time stipendiary clergy | 12.0 | 12.8 | 13.7 | 15.0 | 15.8 | 16.7 | 17.5 | 18.3 | 19.1 | 20.0 |
| Part-time stipendiary clergy | n/a | | | | | 54.8 | 53.1 | 53.1 | 53.1 | 50.3 |
| Self-supporting clergy | n/a | | | 45.3 | 46.2 | 47.5 | 48.7 | 49.1 | 50.3 | 51.2 |
| All clergy | n/a | | | 21.1 | 22.3 | 25.0 | 26.2 | 27.4 | 28.6 | 29.2 |
| Notes: | Stipendiary clergy are those who have been ordained as priests or deacons and are paid. Self-supporting clergy include ordained local ministers. All clergy figures for 2003-04 are based on figures for full-time stipendiary clergy and self-supporting clergy. Administrative data based on annual returns completed each year by parishes. | | | | | | | | | |
| Source: | Diocesan licensed ministers (2000-09), compiled by Archbishops' Council. Published as <i>Church Statistics</i> (2000-10). | | | | | | | | | |

Sources

The main sources of data on the religious affiliation in the UK are the 2001 Census and the Annual Population Survey (APS). Both the Census and the APS are carried out by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and have large samples; the APS sample consists of approximately 170,000 households and 360,000 people in each dataset containing 12 months of data. APS data are available for downloading on the Economic and Social Data Service website: <http://www.esds.ac.uk/>.

Census data on religion or belief are available on the ONS website, particularly in the 2004 report, *Focus on Religion*, which is available at: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/Product.asp?vlnk=13209>.

The APS forms part of the Integrated Household Survey (IHS). Experimental statistics from the IHS for April 2009 to March 2010 were published in September 2010 as a Statistical Bulletin and are available at: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/ihs0910.pdf>.

There are two other important sources of statistics on religion or belief. The British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey, which is carried out by the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen), has been conducted annually since 1983 with a range of questions about religion or belief appearing in most surveys. The BSA has a smaller sample than the APS, with about 3,500 adults aged 18 and over being interviewed each year, but offers the most detailed analysis of trends over time in terms of attitudes and beliefs. BSA results on religion or belief are regularly described in chapters in the published volume (there were two relevant chapters in the 2010 volume), while a great deal of secondary analysis of BSA questions over time has been carried out as part of British Religion in Numbers (BRIN), an online data source established in 2010 by the University of Manchester. This is available at: <http://www.brin.ac.uk/> BSA data are also available from the BSA Information System, an interactive online tool at: <http://www.britsocat.com/Body.aspx?control=HomePage>.

The Citizenship Survey, which was first conducted by the Home Office and was subsequently carried out by (the Department for) Communities and Local Government ((D)CLG), is a more recent survey having first been conducted in 2001; a household survey covering England and Wales, but not Scotland, it had a core sample of approximately 10,000 adults (aged 16 and over), an ethnic minority boost sample of around 5,000 adults and a Muslim boost sample of around 1,200 adults.²⁷ The survey (which unfortunately is to be discontinued after the current 2010-11 survey) contains a number of questions about religious belief, discrimination and harassment, with periodic in-depth examinations of data on religion and race. The

most recent such analysis is C. Ferguson and D. Hussey, *2008-09 Citizenship Survey: Race, Religion and Equalities Topic Report* (London: CLG, 2010). Two earlier studies are also useful: S. Kitchen, J. Michaelson and N. Wood, *2005 Citizenship Survey: Race and Faith Topic Report* (London: DCLG, 2006) and C. Ferguson, S. Finch and O. Turczuk, *2007-08 Citizenship Survey: Race, Religion and Equalities Topic Report* (London: CLG, 2009). The three reports are available at the following links:

<http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/corporate/statistics/citizenshipsurvey200809equality>.

<http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/corporate/statistics/citizenshipsurvey200708equality>.

<http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/2005citizenshipsurveyracefaith>.

Overall results from the *Citizenship Survey: 2009-10 (April 2009 - March 2010, England)* were published as Cohesion Research Statistical Release no. 12, 2010; they are available at:

<http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/statistics/pdf/164191.pdf>.

The English Church Survey was carried out in 2005 by Christian Research. Responses were received from 18,720 churches in England - nearly half the total of 37,501 churches in England that were originally contacted. The fullest analyses of the survey are in P. Brierley, *Pulling out of the Nosedive: A Contemporary Picture of Churchgoing* (London: Christian Research, 2006) and *UK Christian Handbook: Religious Trends*, no. 6 (2006/2007). These sources also contain data from the three earlier surveys. The most recent equivalent census of Scottish churchgoing was conducted in 2002; these are reported in P. Brierley, *Turning the Tide: The Challenge Ahead* (London: Christian Research, 2003) and *UK Christian Handbook: Religious Trends*, no. 4 (2003/2004).

Key findings from the English Church Census are also available at:

<http://www.eauk.org/resources/info/statistics/2005englishchurchcensus.cfm>.

Since 2006, the European Commission has commissioned a Eurobarometer survey covering European Union (EU) citizens aged 15 and over to measure the extent of perceived discrimination on grounds of age, disability, ethnic origin, gender, religion or belief and sexual orientation. The most recent survey results (for 2009), which was carried out by TNS Opinion & Social and published as *Discrimination in the EU in 2009* (Special Eurobarometer 317), are available at:

http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_317_en.pdf.

Results were based on 26,756 interviews with those aged 15 or over in 27 EU countries, including 1,317 interviews in the UK. Except in Cyprus, Luxembourg and Malta, a minimum of 999 interviews were held in all countries. The interviews were also conducted in three non-EU countries.

The European Commission commissioned TNS Opinion & Social to examine attitudes to biotechnology in 2010 (see Special Eurobarometer 341). The results are available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_341_en.pdf.

Results were based on 26,671 interviews with those aged 15 or over in 27 EU countries, including 1,311 interviews in the UK. Except in Cyprus, Luxembourg and Malta, a minimum of 1,000 interviews were held in all countries. The interviews were also conducted in five non-EU countries.

Employment Tribunal statistics are published as: *Employment Tribunal and EAT Statistics (GB) 2009-10 (GB)* (2010) by the Ministry of Justice and are available at: <http://www.justice.gov.uk/publications/employment-eat-annual-stats.htm>.

Church Statistics is prepared each year by the Archbishop's Council, Research and Statistics. Latest data are available at: <http://www.churchofengland.org/about-us/facts-stats/research-statistics/licensed-ministry.aspx>.

Earlier data were kindly provided by the Archbishop's Council, Research and Statistics.

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Endnotes

- ¹ The AHRC is the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the ESRC is the Economic and Social Research Council.
- ² For further information on this topic, see material on research and evidence for faith-based social action on the Faith-based Regeneration Network: <http://www.fbrn.org.uk/research-and-evidence-faith-based-social-action> and additional data on the British Religion in Numbers (BRIN) website: <http://www.brin.ac.uk/commentary/drs/appendix3/index.html>. See also V. Jochum, B. Pratten and C. Wilding (ed.), *Faith and Voluntary Action: An Overview of Current Evidence and Debates* (London: National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 2007); available at: <http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/policy-research-analysis/research/faith-civil-society#publications>.
- ³ Equality Act 2010, Part 2, Chapter 1, Clause 10.
- ⁴ The Census question has been criticised on a number of grounds; see, for example, Office for National Statistics (ONS), *Ethnic Group, National Identity, Religion and Language consultation*. Summary report on responses to the 2011 Census stakeholders consultation 2006/07 (London: ONS, 2007), pp. 48-53; available at: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011-census/consultations/eth-group-nat-iden>.

The same question will be used in the England and Wales Census in 2011, while only the question relating to religious upbringing will be used in Scotland. One of the leading critics of the Census question, the British Humanist Association (BHA), has launched a campaign 'to encourage people who do not have religious beliefs' to state 'no religion' on the Census; see <http://www.humanism.org.uk/campaigns/census-2011>. The 1851 Census of Religious Worship (covering 'Places of Worship') took place on the same day as the Census of Population. It consisted of a voluntary enumeration of churches, sittings and attendances.

- ⁵ ONS, *Focus on Religion* (London: ONS, 2004). Other differences between the surveys include that the order of questions was not the same and that whereas in England and Wales, there was a single undifferentiated 'Christian' category, in Scotland, the wording and denominational options made the question more evidently about religion. For a discussion, see D. Voas and S. Bruce, 'The 2001 Census and Christian Identification in Britain', *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 19, 1 (2004): 23-28.
- ⁶ See Voas and Bruce, '2001 Census'.
- ⁷ ONS, *Focus on Religion*, Table 2. Comparable data from Scotland are not available. It has been suggested that the perhaps surprisingly high figure for 'spiritualists' (who

believe in God, but not an anthropomorphic one) might have included some people who regarded themselves as 'spiritual'.

- ⁸ C. Ferguson and D. Hussey, *2008-09 Citizenship Survey: Race, Religion and Equalities Topic Report* (London: Communities and Local Government, 2010), Table 15. The total number of respondents to this question was 9,313.
- ⁹ One possible explanation for the higher 'no religion' figure in Wales than in England is that there is no established church (the Church in Wales was disestablished in 1920). It may be the case that where there is an established church, nominal membership is higher.
- ¹⁰ ONS, 'Integrated Household Survey: Geographic Analysis', Table A.1. Available at: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_social/IHS/ihsappendix1.pdf. Sample base numbers for individual authorities are not available, but confidence levels are: these varied between 1 and 9 percentage points.
- ¹¹ Analysis by BRIN; see 'Figures', section 8.6. In the United States, for example, the pattern is very different and movement from one Christian denomination to another is much more common. Around half of respondents to a survey of 2,867 adults in the US in 2008 stated that they had changed their religious affiliation at least once during their lives, either by moving from one religion to another or leaving religion altogether. See Pew Forum of Religion and Public Life, *Faith in Flux: Changes in Religious Affiliation in the U.S.* (2009); available at: <http://pewforum.org/Faith-in-Flux.aspx>
[http://pewforum.org/Faith-in-Flux\(2\).aspx](http://pewforum.org/Faith-in-Flux(2).aspx).
- ¹² Ferguson and Hussey, *2008-09 Citizenship Survey*, p. 37.
- ¹³ Analysis by BRIN; see 'Figures', section 3.3.
- ¹⁴ Estimates were made by the author (Peter Brierley) about attendance in churches that did not respond to the sample. Churches that meet regularly on a Saturday, rather than a Sunday, such as Congregationalists and Seventh-day Adventists, were included in the survey.
- ¹⁵ P. Brierley, *Pulling out of the Nosedive: A Contemporary Picture of Churchgoing* (London: Christian Research, 2006).
- ¹⁶ Results from a large number of surveys from 1947 to 2009 are on the BRIN website; see 'Figures', section 7.23.
- ¹⁷ European Commission, *Biotechnology*. Special Eurobarometer 341. (European Commission, 2010), results for question 33.

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- ¹⁸ C. Ferguson, S. Finch and O. Turczuk, *2007-08 Citizenship Survey: Race, Religion and Equalities Topic Report* (London: Communities and Local Government, 2009), p. 46.
- ¹⁹ Some respondents spontaneously answered 'non-existent'.
- ²⁰ TNS Opinion & Social, *Discrimination in the EU in 2009*. Special Eurobarometer 317. (European Commission, 2009), p. 99. It has been suggested that, at least in the UK, religious discrimination is most likely to occur when religious identity intersects with another 'discriminated against' identity, and even more where several such identities intersect. Thus ethno-religious (where ethnic means skin colour) discrimination seems present and real in various forms of anti-Muslim prejudice, and is even worse for Muslim women. See N. Khattab, 'Ethno-religious Background as a Determinant of Educational and Occupational Attainment in Britain', *Sociology*, 43, 2 (2009): 304-22.
- ²¹ TNS Opinion & Social, *Discrimination in the EU in 2008: Perceptions, Experiences and Attitudes*. Special Eurobarometer 296. (European Commission, 2008), p. 66; *Discrimination in the EU in 2009*, p. 104.
- ²² TNS Opinion & Social, *Discrimination in the EU in 2009*, p. 105.
- ²³ CLG, *Citizenship Survey: 2009-10 (April 2009 - March 2010, England)*, Cohesion Research Statistical Release no. 12, 2010, p. 24. A more detailed breakdown of these figures by religion is not possible because of small sample sizes.
- ²⁴ Ministry of Justice, *Employment Tribunal and EAT Statistics (GB) 2009-10 (GB)* (2010) Table 1.
- ²⁵ *Church Statistics, 2008-09*. Women had first been ordained as deacons in the Church of England in 1987.
- ²⁶ See <http://www.lutheranworld.org/News/LWI/EN/2320.EN.html> and <http://www.reform-magazine.co.uk/index.php/2009/05/kirsty-thorpe-and-val-morrison-interview-moderators-in-waiting/>.
- ²⁷ The 2009-10 sample (April 2009 - March 2010) consisted of 9,305 core interviews, an additional 5,280 interviews with people from ethnic minority groups and an additional 1,555 interviews with Muslim people. See CLG, *Citizenship Survey: 2009-10 (April 2009 - March 2010, England)*, Cohesion Research Statistical Release no. 12, 2010, p. 27.

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