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Counting the converts: investigating change of religion in Scotland and estimating change of religion in England and Wales using data from Scotland's Census 2001

M. A. Kevin Brice

Newcastle University and University of Wales: Trinity Saint David

m.a.k.brice@newcastle.ac.uk / k.brice@tsd.uwtsd.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

Due to the nature of the question asked in the Census for England and Wales about religion in both the 2001 and the 2011 Census, it is not possible to investigate the phenomenon of change of religion from Census data alone. Scotland's Census 2001 asked questions about both current religion and religion of upbringing and by cross-referencing answers to these two questions, change of religion can be tracked (unfortunately in Scotland's 2011 Census a question about religion of upbringing was dropped).

This paper presents a quantitative analysis of change of religion in Scotland using data from Scotland's Census 2001 and then provides an estimate for change of religion in England and Wales in 2011.

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Introduction

Interest in change of religion has increased significantly since the publication of data on religious affiliation from the Census 2011 in December 2012. The large drop in the number of individuals identifying as 'Christian' and the large rise in the number identifying as having no religion has created much debate (with the assumption being that the one is explained by the other). On the face of it these two trends appear to lend support to the "secularisation thesis" which holds that the population is becoming less religious over time. However, there is a need for a more detailed analysis of the available data before any firm conclusions about what it is telling us can be made.

Almost all of the research which has been done on change of religion in the United Kingdom, both in general and for specific religions, is qualitative in nature – the majority of published material concentrating on the theory and process of conversion and identity issues for those who have changed religion. The lack of quantitative analyses is often justified by the absence of reliable data. Prior to the Census 2001 information was not sought for religious affiliation in the Census and so the only way that a classification by religious affiliation could be obtained was to use simplistic assumptions about

religious affiliations based on ethnic groups. This very much precluded the identification of individuals who may have changed religion, as such individuals very often contravene the normal expectations of religious affiliation. Although a question on religion was introduced for the England and Wales Census 2001 and Scotland's Census 2001 (and repeated in 2011), the England and Wales Census asked a single voluntary question on religion ("What is your religion?") which cannot provide any information about change of religion. However, Scotland's Census 2001 asked two questions: "What religion, religious denomination or body do you belong to?" (or 'current religion') and "What religion, religious denomination or body were you brought up in?" (or 'religion of upbringing'). Cross-referencing answers to these two questions, allows change of religion to be tracked for individuals and so converts to and from the different religions can be quantified.

By using data from Scotland's Census 2001, a quantitative analysis of reported change of religion in Scotland can be produced which will allow for the identification of detailed trends for each religious category in Scotland. Change of religion for England and Wales cannot be tracked from Census data, but it will be argued that the trends identified in Scotland can be applied to England and Wales and so allow estimates for change of religion to be calculated. This will give an opportunity for a more dynamic interpretation of the "static" figures of the Census for England and Wales and help give context to the observed (but maybe simplistic) trends of a move away from 'Christian' with the corresponding move to 'None'.

Much has been written on what is actually being measured by the religion question since it was first introduced in the Census in 2001. This paper is not attempting to investigate this particular issue, but is presenting an analysis of the reported change of religion for Scotland and then estimating change for England and Wales. In all the analysis and estimates it must be kept in mind that the Census is not measuring religious adherence or practice as such, but provides a snapshot of religious affiliation on Census day.

Scotland's Census 2001

Data on change of religion in Scotland's Census 2001 was obtained through the commissioned table "Religion of Upbringing by Ethnic Group and Current Religion" (ID Number 21274) available from the General Register Office for Scotland.

Both of the religion questions in this census were voluntary and some individuals did not give an answer to one or both of the questions – 8.4 percent of the total population did not answer the religion of upbringing question, 5.5 percent of the total population did not answer the current religion question, and 5.0 percent of the population did not answer both of the questions. In total 8.9 percent of the population did not answer one or both of the questions and so will be excluded – so there will be differences in the total numbers presented in this investigation and the unadjusted total numbers available from Scotland's Census.

The religion questions in Scotland's Census identify three 'Christian' categories – 'Church of Scotland', 'Roman Catholic' and 'other Christian'. In analysing the data for the purpose of this investigation, these three 'Christian' categories are combined to give a single 'Christian' category. Although this will mean that information on change between these three categories will be lost (and will result in an under-estimation of change of religion for 'Christian'), it is no different to the situation for other religious categories which cover a number of distinct 'subdivisions' (such as Shia and Sunni 'Muslim') or the heterogeneous 'Any other' category where intra-category changes are not recorded. For the purpose of this investigation the category 'None' (that is those with no religious affiliation) will be counted and referred to as a "religion".

From the 'raw' data of religion of upbringing and current religion (see Table 1), those whose current religion is the same as their religion of upbringing (termed as 'stayers' for this paper) can be identified. Overall 86.5 percent of individuals who answered both questions on religion stayed with their religion of upbringing and 13.5 percent changed.

From these figures the number of 'leavers' (that is those who have converted away from their religion of upbringing) for each religious category can be calculated by subtracting the number of stayers from the total for religion of upbringing. This figure can then be expressed as a percentage of the total for religion of upbringing to allow direct comparison with the other religious categories. The number of 'joiners' (that is those who have converted to their current religion) can also be calculated for each religious category by subtracting the number of stayers from the total for current religion, and this can then be expressed as a percentage of the total for current religion to allow direct comparison with the other religious categories. Finally, the net change for each religious category can be calculated by subtracting the number of leavers from the number of joiners; a positive result indicating that the religious category is a 'gainer' and a negative result indicating that the religious category is a 'loser'. The net change can be expressed as a percentage of the total for religion of upbringing to allow comparison with the other religious categories (see Table 2).

The religious categories of 'Buddhist' and 'Any other' have the largest proportion of leavers (significantly greater than any of the other categories) – those whose religion of upbringing is either 'Buddhist' or 'Any other' are most likely to change to a different religious category. However, these two categories, along with the category 'None', have the largest proportion of joiners (significantly greater than any of the other categories) – more than half of those whose current religion is 'Buddhist' or 'Any other' have changed from their religion of upbringing (and so these two can be seen as 'conversion' religions).

The religious category of 'Muslim' has the smallest proportion of leavers (significantly smaller than any of the other categories) – those whose religion of upbringing is 'Muslim' are least likely to change to a different religious category. 'Muslim' along with 'Christian' have the smallest proportion of

joiners – clearly neither of these should be seen as conversion religions and numbers in both have more to do with those who were brought up in the religion and have not changed religion.

In terms of net change, four religious categories are net losers and four are net gainers. Of the gainers, the category 'Any other' shows by far the greatest proportional gain, increasing more than three-fold. 'Muslim' is a gainer, but the net gain is so marginal that it would be more accurate to characterise it as 'holding steady'. Of the losers, 'Sikh' and 'Hindu' show a relatively small net loss (around 5 percent), while 'Christian' and 'Jewish' show a slightly larger net loss (around 13 percent).

Two religious categories dominate in terms of numbers ('Christian' and 'None'), making up 98.0 percent of total religion of upbringing and current religion, 98.8 percent of leavers, and 95.8 percent of joiners.

By referring back to the 'raw' data, a breakdown of the destination religious category for leavers in each religious category can be obtained (see Table 3). In some cases the actual numbers involved are very small (less than 10) and so calculated percentages cannot be considered meaningful (indicated with an asterisk in the table). There is a clear trend for leavers to go to the category 'None'; this is destination of the majority of leavers from all categories except 'Sikh' (where there is no single destination which accounts for more than 50 percent of leavers, but 'Christian' is the largest single destination, closely followed by 'None') and 'None' (where a large majority moved to 'Christian'). The second most frequent destination for all these categories is 'Christian' (apart from leavers from 'Christian').

A breakdown of the religion of upbringing for joiners in each religious category can be obtained (see Table 4). In some case the actual numbers involved are very small (less than 10) and so the calculated percentages cannot be considered meaningful (indicated with an asterisk in the table). The majority of 'Christian' joiners come from 'None', while for all other categories 'Christian' was the source either of the majority of joiners, or of the single largest source (for 'Hindu' and 'Sikh'). For all categories other than 'Sikh' and 'None', the second most frequent source of joiners is 'None'.

A number of clear trends emerge – there is an overall move to 'None' (85.7 percent of all changes involved a move to 'None'), with this being the majority destination for leavers from all religious categories apart from 'Sikh'. The main source for movers is 'Christian' (87.5 percent of leavers had 'Christian' as their religion of upbringing). Although the data appears to support the general perception of a move from 'Christian' to 'None', there is a second smaller trend of a movement from 'None' to 'Christian' and a third smaller trend of movement from all religious categories to 'Any other'.

Ethnic groups

A more nuanced understanding of change in religion can be gained by taking ethnicity into consideration. There are certain differences in the way the ethnic groups were recorded in Scotland's Census compared to the England and

Wales Census. Scotland's Census used two categories ('White Scottish' and 'Other White British') which, following ONS advice on harmonisation, can be combined to equate to the England and Wales category of 'White British'. Scotland's Census did not differentiate mixed ethnic groups and used a single 'Any mixed' group.

The 'White British' ethnic group forms a very large majority in Scotland (95.5 percent) and the 'non-White' ethnic groups only represent 2.0 percent of the total population. 'White British' also accounts for 95.8 percent of all leavers and joiners. 'White British' forms a majority for four of the religious categories ('Christian', 'Jewish', 'Any other' and 'None'), 'Indian' forms a majority for two of the categories ('Hindu' and 'Sikh'), 'Pakistani' forms a majority for 'Muslim' and 'Chinese' forms a majority for 'Buddhist' (but only for religion of upbringing – for current religion, there is no majority ethnic group, although 'White British' are the single largest ethnic group).

The number of those whose current religion is different to their religion of upbringing can be expressed as a percentage of the total number for each ethnic group to allow comparison with other ethnic groups and with the overall average. Overall, 'Black Caribbean' and 'Other White' are the most likely to change while 'Bangladeshi' and 'Pakistani' are the least likely to change (see Table 5).

By considering ethno-religious groups, the internal variations within each religious category can be investigated. The net change for each ethno-religious group can be compared to the overall average for the relevant religious category (see Table 6).

There is wide variance in net change for different ethnic groups within most of the religious categories. For 'Christian', all groups except 'Bangladeshi' and 'Chinese' show a net decrease. For 'Buddhist', three 'Asian' groups, 'Chinese' and 'Other Ethnic' all show a net decrease (and 'Indian' stays the same), while the three 'White' groups all show a very large net increase (over five-fold). For 'Hindu', all groups except 'White British' and 'Other White' show a net decrease. For 'Jewish', all groups except 'White Irish' show a net decrease. For 'Muslim', all groups except 'White British', 'White Irish' and 'Black Caribbean' show a net decrease. For 'Sikh', all groups except 'Black Caribbean' and 'Other Ethnic' show a net decrease. Both 'None' and 'Any other' show a net increase across all ethnic groups (although there is significant difference in the extent of increase).

All ethnic groups show net increases for 'None' and 'Any other', but the 'non-White' groups generally show a net decrease in the five named religious categories (which, apart from 'Jewish', are normally seen as minority ethnic religions), while the 'White' groups show a net increase. The influence of ethnic group on overall trends is evident when the percentages for leavers, joiners and net change for 'White British' and the 'non-White' groups are compared to the overall percentages (see Table 7).

There are a number of notable differences evident in the trends. 'Buddhist' – a large net gain overall, but a huge (almost six-fold) gain for 'White British' as opposed to a relatively large net loss for the 'non-White' groups. 'Hindu' – a net loss overall and for the 'non-White' groups, but a net gain for 'White British'. 'Muslim' – a marginal net gain overall, but a significant net gain for 'White British' and a slight net loss for the 'non-White' groups. The trends observed in the other religious categories are more constant, although there is variance in the degree of change. The 'non-White' groups show lower net losses for 'Christian' and 'Sikh', a larger net loss for 'Jewish' and a significantly smaller net gain for both 'Any other' and 'None'. Unsurprisingly, given the dominance in terms of numbers, 'White British' show net change almost the same as the overall for these categories, except for a much larger net loss for 'Sikh'.

In order to gain a better understanding of the effect of ethnicity on change of religion, three of the religious categories will be considered in more detail. The two main religious categories in terms of numbers ('Christian' and 'None') will be looked at to unpick the relationship between the two – 'Christian' represents a net loser and 'None' represents a net gainer. 'Buddhist' is the third category that will be looked at – it is a net gainer and one of the 'conversion' religions.

Detailed analysis of 'Christian'

In total there were 545,077 'Christian' leavers, with 96.6 percent of leavers coming from the 'White British' ethnic group. When broken down by ethnic group and destination religion, the largest single grouping (accounting for 93.9 percent of leavers) was 'White British' who moved to 'None', followed by 'White British' who moved to 'Any other' (2.1 percent) and 'Other White' who moved to 'None' (1.9 percent).

On average 14.9 percent of those with a religion of upbringing of 'Christian' were leavers, with 97.0 percent of these moving to 'None' and 2.3 percent moving to 'Any other'. There is some variance in the proportion of leavers for each ethnic group (see Table 8), ranging from figures of over 20 percent for 'Black Caribbean' (22.4 percent) and 'Other White' (21.6 percent) to figures of less than 10 percent for 'Black African' (9.1 percent) and 'Bangladeshi' (6.8 percent).

Looking at the main destinations for 'Christian' leavers for each ethnic group, in almost all cases the pattern of a substantial majority moving to 'None' with 'Any other' forming the second most frequent destination was in evidence (although all groups apart from 'White British' showed a slightly lower proportion moving to 'None' than the average and a corresponding slightly higher proportion moving to 'Any other'). Three ethnic groups showed a different pattern – the second most frequent destination for 'Indian' leavers was 'Sikh' while 'Pakistani' and 'Bangladeshi' leavers moved to 'Muslim' and to 'None'.

In total there were 63,555 'Christian' joiners, with 95.0 percent of joiners coming from the 'White British' ethnic group. When broken down by ethnic

group and source religion, the largest single grouping (accounting for 92.4 percent of joiners) was 'White British' who came from 'None', followed by 'Other White' who came from 'None' (accounting for 2.1 percent) and 'White British' who came from 'Any other' (1.4 percent).

On average 2.0 percent of those with a current religion of 'Christian' were joiners, with 96.2 percent of these coming from 'None' and 1.6 percent coming from 'Any other'. There is some variance in the proportion of joiners for each ethnic group, ranging from figures of over 10 percent for 'Chinese' (20.6 percent), 'Pakistani' (15.0 percent) and 'Bangladeshi' (10.4 percent) to figures of less than 1 percent for 'White Irish' (0.7 percent).

Looking at the main sources for 'Christian' joiners for each ethnic group, the three 'White' groups and the 'All Mixed' group all follow the pattern of a substantial majority coming from 'None' with 'Any other' forming the second most frequent source (although, apart from 'White British', the groups showed a slightly lower proportion coming from 'None' than the average and a corresponding slightly higher proportion coming from 'Any other'). The non-White ethnic groups showed different patterns – in six groups 'None' was the most frequent source for joiners, but the second most frequent source was either 'Hindu' (for 'Other Asian' and 'Black Caribbean'), 'Buddhist' (for 'Chinese' and 'Other Ethnic'), 'Muslim' ('Black African') or a combination of 'Jewish' and 'Any other' ('Other Black'). Three groups showed completely different patterns – 'Indian' joiners came from 'Hindu' and 'Sikh', 'Pakistani' joiners came from 'Muslim' and 'None', while 'Bangladeshi' joiners came exclusively from 'Muslim'.

Overall 'Christian' was a net loser (decrease of 13.2 percent), but there was considerable variation between ethnic groups in net change. Two groups ('Bangladeshi' and 'Chinese') showed a net gain, while all others showed a net loss, with 'Other White' (-18.7 percent) and 'Black Caribbean' (-18.6 percent) the biggest losers and 'Other Asian' (-4.8 percent) and 'Other Ethnic' (-3.9 percent) the smallest.

In summary, the 'Christian' category shows a large net loss in terms of numbers (over 480,000), but as the overall numbers are so large when the loss is expressed as a percentage it is relatively low. A clear trend of a flow from 'Christian' to 'None' is evident for almost all ethnic groups.

Detailed analysis of 'Buddhist'

In total there were 1,395 'Buddhist' leavers, with 55.3 percent of leavers coming from the 'Chinese' ethnic group, 21.2 percent from 'White British' and 16.1 percent from 'Other Ethnic'. When broken down by ethnic group and destination religion, the largest single grouping (accounting for 44.9 percent of leavers) was 'Chinese' who moved to 'None', followed by 'Other Ethnic' who moved to 'None' (11.3 percent) and 'White British' who moved to 'None' (11.2 percent).

On average 30.7 percent of those with a religion of upbringing of 'Buddhist' were leavers, with 71.4 percent of these moving to 'None' and 22.2 percent

moving to 'Christian'. There is significant variance in the proportion of leavers for each ethnic group (see Table 9), ranging from figures of 100 percent for 'White Irish', 'Pakistani' and 'Other Black' (although the numbers for all three groups are so low such that the percentages cannot be seen as meaningful), to figures of less than 10 percent for 'Other Asian' (9.8 percent).

Looking at the main destinations for 'Buddhist' leavers for each ethnic group, five groups follow the pattern of a substantial majority moving to 'None' with 'Christian' forming the second most frequent destination ('Chinese' – numerically the largest of the groups - 'White British', 'Other White', 'Other Ethnic' and 'All Mixed'). The remaining eight ethnic groups showed a different pattern; although the numbers involved for seven of these are so low (zero in the case of 'Black African') such that the percentages for destinations cannot be seen as meaningful. The most frequent destinations for 'Other Asian' leavers (the ethnic group with meaningful numbers) were the same as the average, but with the relative ordering reversed (with 'Christian' being the most frequent).

In total there were 3,432 'Buddhist' joiners, with 82.8 percent of joiners coming from the 'White British' ethnic group. When broken down by ethnic group and source religion, the largest single grouping (accounting for 61.4 percent of joiners) was 'White British' who came from 'Christian', followed by 'White British' who came from 'None' (accounting for 20.1 percent) and 'Other White' who came from 'Christian' (4.7 percent).

On average 52.2 percent of those with a current religion of 'Buddhist' were joiners, with 69.3 percent of these coming from 'Christian' and 28.3 percent coming from 'None'. There is significant variance in the proportion of joiners for each ethnic group, with high figures of 100 percent for four ethnic groups (although the numbers for all except 'White Irish' are so low that the percentages cannot be seen as meaningful), figures of 92.8 percent and 88.5 percent for 'White British' and 'Other White' respectively, and low figures of under 10 percent for 'Chinese' (9.2 percent), 'Other Ethnic' (6.3 percent) and 'Other Asian' (4.9 percent). There were no 'Buddhist' joiners at all from the 'Bangladeshi' ethnic group.

Looking at the main sources for 'Buddhist' joiners for each ethnic group, the three 'White' ethnic groups, the 'Other Asian' and the 'All Mixed' group all follow the pattern of a majority coming from 'Christian' with 'None' forming a significant minority as the second most frequent source (with the 'White' ethnic groups being more likely to come from 'Christian'). The remaining eight ethnic groups showed different patterns – although the numbers involved for six of these are so low (zero in the case of 'Bangladeshi') that the percentages for sources cannot be seen as meaningful. For the two ethnic groups with meaningful numbers, the most frequent destinations for 'Chinese' and 'Other Ethnic' leavers were the same as the average, but with the relative ordering reversed (with 'Christian' being the most frequent).

Overall 'Buddhist' was a net gainer (increase of 44.9 percent), but there was a very large variation between ethnic groups in net change. Excluding the ethnic

groups with very small numbers, three ethnic groups ('Other Asian', 'Chinese' and 'Other Ethnic') showed a net loss, while 'All Mixed' showed a slight net gain (6.5 percent). The three 'White' ethnic groups showed very large net gains; from 400.0 percent for 'Other White' (a five-fold increase) to 1,350.0 percent for 'White Irish' (more than fourteen-fold increase), with 'White British' showing an almost six-fold increase (494.0 percent).

In summary, the overall numbers involved for the 'Buddhist' category are small. For those ethnic groups with a strong association with 'Buddhist' (that is 'Chinese', 'Other Ethnic' and 'Other Asian') there is a trend for a flow from 'Buddhist' to 'None' (with a smaller flow to 'Christian'). For the 'White' ethnic groups there is a counter-flow from 'Christian' and 'None' to 'Buddhist'.

Detailed analysis of 'None'

In total there were 69,920 'None' leavers, with 94.9 percent of leavers coming from the 'White British' ethnic group. When broken down by ethnic group and destination religion, the largest single grouping (accounting for 84.0 percent of leavers) was 'White British' who moved to 'Christian', followed by 'White British' who moved to 'Any other' (9.5 percent) and 'Other White' who moved to 'Christian' (1.9 percent).

On average 7.9 percent of those with a religion of upbringing of 'None' were leavers, with 87.5 percent of these moving to 'Christian' and 10.3 percent moving to 'Any other'. There is some variance in the proportion of leavers for each ethnic group (see Table 10), ranging from figures of over 14 percent for 'Black African' (14.6 percent), 'Other Asian' (14.7 percent) and 'White Irish' (16.0 percent), to a figure of 5.8 percent for 'Chinese'.

Looking at the main destinations for 'None' leavers for each ethnic group, the three 'White' ethnic groups, the three 'Black' ethnic groups and the 'All Mixed' group all follow the pattern of a substantial majority moving to 'Christian' with 'Any other' forming the second most frequent destination. Three ethnic groups showed a different pattern – 'Christian' was the most frequent destination for leavers, but the second most frequent source was either 'Muslim' (for 'Other Asian') or 'Buddhist' (for 'Chinese' and 'Other Ethnic'). Three groups showed completely different patterns – 'Indian' leavers moved to 'Hindu' and 'Christian', 'Pakistani' leavers moved to 'Muslim' and 'Christian', while 'Bangladeshi' leavers moved to 'Muslim' and 'Hindu' / 'Any other'.

In total there were 533,480 'None' joiners, with 96.3 percent of joiners coming from the 'White British' ethnic group. When broken down by ethnic group and source religion, the largest single grouping (accounting for 84.0 percent of joiners) was 'White British' who came from 'Christian', followed by 'White British' who came from 'Any other' (accounting for 9.5 percent) and 'Other White' who came from 'Christian' (1.9 percent).

On average 39.6 percent of those with a current religion of 'None' were joiners, with 99.2 percent of these coming from 'Christian' and no more than 0.3 percent coming from any other single religious category. There is significant variance in the proportion of joiners for each ethnic group, with high

figures of 73.9 percent for 'White Irish', and low figures of 10.2 percent for 'Chinese'.

Looking at the main sources for 'None' joiners for each ethnic group, the 'White British' and 'White Irish' ethnic groups both follow the pattern of almost all joiners coming from 'Christian' and with no other single religious category representing more than 0.3 percent of joiners. Five other ethnic groups have large majorities (over 85 percent) coming from 'Christian', but also have over 1 percent from at least one other religious category (1.4 percent from 'Jewish' for 'Other White', 3.3 percent from 'Any other' for 'Black Caribbean', 7.5 percent from 'Muslim' for 'Black African', 2.6 percent from both 'Jewish' and 'Any other' for 'Other Black' and 7.6 percent from 'Muslim' for 'All Mixed'). The remaining six ethnic groups showed different patterns - 'Indian' joiners coming from 'Hindu' and then 'Christian', 'Pakistani' joiners coming mostly from 'Muslim' with some from 'Christian', 'Bangladeshi' joiners coming mostly from 'Muslim' and some from both 'Christian' and 'Hindu', a majority of 'Chinese' joiners coming from 'Buddhist' with a third from 'Christian', 'Other Ethnic' joiners coming from 'Christian' and 'Buddhist', and 'Other Asian' joiners coming equally from 'Christian' and 'Muslim'.

Overall 'None' was a net gainer (increase of 52.4 percent), and while all ethnic groups showed a net gain, there was some variation in the extent of the gain. 'White Irish' showed the largest net gain (221.2 percent) and 'Chinese' showed the smallest net gain (4.8 percent).

In summary, the 'None' category shows a large net gain in terms of numbers (over 460,000) which represents a more than 50 percent increase overall. A clear trend of a flow to 'None' from 'Christian' (mirroring the trend seen for the 'Christian' category) is evident along with a trend for a flow from those religious categories associated with particular ethnic groups to 'None'.

There is a major trend of a flow to 'None' and away from those religious categories associated with particular ethnic groups (see Table 11). For each ethnic group the proportion who identified their current religion as 'None' is greater than the proportion who identified their religion of upbringing as 'None'. The largest single religious category (excluding 'None') for religion of upbringing is identified for each ethnic group (for all but three groups this is the majority religion) – defined as the 'main' religion. For each ethnic group the proportion who identified their current religion as the main religion is smaller than the proportion who identified their religion of upbringing as the main religion.

A detailed analysis of the data appears to confirm the commonly held view that the population is becoming less inclined to identify with a religion. In terms of sheer numbers, the flow from 'Christian' to 'None' dominates the picture, but there is also a significant flow from all other religious categories to 'None' (with the one exception of 'Any other' where the net flow is reversed – more people move from 'None' to 'Any other' than from 'Any other' to 'None'). There are other minor trends of interest which should not be overshadowed by the large numbers involved in the 'Christian' to 'None' exodus: the overall net

gain of 'Any other'; the stability of 'Muslim'; the changing profile of 'Buddhist' which is an ethnic minority religious category for religion of upbringing, but is close to a 'White British' majority for current religion.

Applying figures from Scotland to England and Wales

While the single religious question asked in the England and Wales Census can give no insight into change of religion, it may be possible to apply the trends observed in Scotland to England and Wales and so allow estimates for change of religion to be calculated. In order to give an 'up-to-date' estimate for England and Wales, estimates will be given based on the England and Wales Census 2011. In applying trends identified from Scotland's Census 2001 to England and Wales in 2011 it is assumed that these trends have not changed in a period of 10 years and that the frequency and direction of change of religion is a constant. Such an assumption may be questioned and the appropriateness of the assumption must be kept in mind when analysing the estimates which are generated.

There are significant differences in the ethnic composition of Scotland and England Wales. While the 'White British' ethnic group forms a large majority in both (95 percent in Scotland and 80 percent in England and Wales), the 'non-White' ethnic groups are significantly larger in England and Wales (forming 12 percent in England and Wales compared to 2 percent in Scotland). It follows that the ethnic composition of individual religious categories will also differ, and given the influence of ethnicity on change of religion already demonstrated it would be inappropriate to apply the trends observed in the religious categories in Scotland directly to the religious categories in England and Wales. While the overall ethnic composition differs significantly, there should be sufficient similarity within the individual ethno-religious groups found in Scotland and those in England and Wales to allow the application of trends in these from Scotland to England and Wales.

For example, while the 'Buddhist' populations of Scotland and England and Wales may not be directly comparable, the ethno-religious groups of 'White British Buddhist', 'Indian Buddhist' and 'Chinese Buddhist' should be. Estimates for leavers and joiners for each individual ethno-religious group can be made and these individual profiles can then be put together to produce an overall total for each religious category.

Notes on reliability of data

A number of the ethnic group categories used in Scotland and in England and Wales represent very diverse groups – 'Other White' covers all non-British 'White', 'Other Asian' covers all Asians apart from 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'Bangladeshi' (including African Asian and Caribbean Asian), 'Black African' covers all Africans except White Africans and Asian Africans, 'Other Black' covers all those not covered by 'Black Caribbean' or 'Black African', 'All Mixed' covers all those with parents from different ethnic groups, and 'Other Ethnic' covers the Far East and any other group not covered elsewhere. The diverse nature of these groups means that it would be misleading to consider them as single homogenous groups. Focusing specifically on ethno-religious groups may help overcome some of this diversity, but even at this level for some of

these groups there will still be significant diversity, and so estimates for any of these groups will need to be treated with caution,

The total numbers for some of the ethno-religious groups are very small (less than 10 individuals) and so any estimates generated for leavers, joiners and net change based on figures for these ethno-religious groups should be treated with caution as the actions of individuals will have had a large (and possibly unrepresentative) impact on the figures.

In applying the findings from Scotland to the England and Wales data, it should be noted that the data from Scotland presents a “closed” system – that is each joiner for one religious category is also a leaver from another religious category and overall the number of joiners will equal the number of leavers. A good test of the robustness of applying the findings from Scotland will be to see how close the calculated figures for England and Wales are to being a closed system.

Worked example

Data on religion by ethnic group in the England and Wales Census 2011 was obtained through the table “Ethnic Group by Religion” (DC2201EW) available from the Office for National Statistics.

Using ‘Buddhist’ as an example, an estimate for each ethnic group is generated, starting with ‘White British’. According to the Census 2011 there were 72,423 ‘White British’ who identified as ‘Buddhist’ in England and Wales – this is taken to be the current religion number. This figure is adjusted to take account of those who may not have indicated a religion of upbringing (4.5 percent are excluded in this way – giving an adjusted figure of 69,167). The number who are joiners is estimated (92.8 percent of the adjusted current number – that is 64,215). The number of stayers can then be calculated by subtracting the number of joiners from the adjusted current figure – 4,952. The adjusted figure for those who would have chosen ‘Buddhist’ as their religion of upbringing is estimated (given that stayers represent 42.5 percent of the total - 11,645). The number of leavers can then be calculated by subtracting the number of stayers from the adjusted upbringing figure – 11,645. Finally, the unadjusted figure for religion of upbringing is estimated (13,522 as 13.9 percent may not have indicated a current religion and so have been excluded from the calculations).

In summary: for ‘White British Buddhist’ there are 64,215 joiners and 6,693 leavers, giving a net change of 57,522 (or 494.0% of the estimated number of the ‘White British’ ethnic group who would have indicated that ‘Buddhist’ was their religion of upbringing).

Using the same method, estimates for each ethnic group within the religious category ‘Buddhist’ can be calculated and then summed to give an overall estimate for the category (see Table 12). Although the number for ‘Arab Buddhist’ from the 2011 Census is noted, no estimate can be made for joiners or leavers as this ethnic group was not identified in the Scottish Census of 2001.

Estimates can be generated for each of the eight religious categories and the numbers of leavers and joiners can be summed in order to test how close the estimate is to being a closed system (see Table 13). There is a close match between the number of leavers and joiners overall (the difference between the two calculated figures represents approximately 3 percent of the total), so the estimates can be considered as relatively robust.

The estimate for leavers can be expressed as a percentage of the estimated number for religion of upbringing and the estimate for joiners can be expressed as a percentage of the estimated adjusted number for current religion to allow comparison with both the other religious categories and the data from Scotland's Census 2001. The calculated figure for net change can also be expressed as a percentage of the estimated number for religion of upbringing to allow comparison with both the other religious categories and the data from Scotland's Census 2001 (see Table 14).

While the estimates for England and Wales are derived from Scotland's Census data, there are significant differences in the percentages for leavers, joiners and net change for some of the religious categories due to differences in the ethnic group composition of these categories. The most noteworthy differences are in 'Buddhist' (all percentages are significantly lower), 'Muslim' (percentage for leavers and joiners are higher, but net change has become a loser), 'Sikh' (percentage for leavers and net change are lower), and 'Any other' (all percentages are lower).

In terms of net change, five religious categories are net losers and three are net gainers. 'Muslim' was a marginal gainer in the Scottish data, but in England and Wales it is a marginal loser. Of the six named religions, only 'Buddhist' shows a net increase. Estimates for destination of leavers and sources for joiners could be made based on the data from Scotland's Census 2001, but the inaccuracies inherent in the method of applying the trends for Scotland to England and Wales (particularly given the lack of robustness for overall figures for a number of the ethno-religious groups) will be amplified and result in estimates that may have little meaning numerically. The overall trends can be noted without needing to create estimated numbers – for example, the vast majority of joiners for 'None' will have come from 'Christian' for almost all the ethnic groups.

External check on estimates

While there is no comparable data on a large scale from other sources for leavers or joiners for all religious categories across all ethnic groups, the Citizenship Survey 2010 - 2011 (formerly known as the Home Office Citizenship Survey) does have two religion questions and the numbers are large enough to allow meaningful figures for 'Christian' to be calculated. Weighted data from the Citizenship Survey 2010 - 2011 gives an almost perfect match with the estimates generated for 'Christian' (leavers: 15.5%, joiners: 2.6% and net change: -13.2%). While the figures for weighted data for the other religious categories are less reliable, the general trends evidenced are the same in every case except for 'Sikh' (where 2011 estimates suggest a

net loss and Citizenship Survey shows a marginal net gain). However, it must be stressed that some of the estimated figures are far from robust and the figures presented for England and Wales 2011 are only estimates.

Conclusion

There is a wealth of data on change of religion in Scotland's Census 2001 which has been very much under-utilised. The results invite further research and a more detailed analysis of change for each religious category – in fact for each ethno-religious group – would warrant a whole series of papers. Aside from confirming the generally accepted trend of a significant, and on-going, move from the six named religions to no religion (which is dominated numerically by the move of 'White British' from 'Christian' to 'None'), the data throws up unexpected outcomes which run contrary to the generally accepted understanding of the composition of the religious categories. For example, the net flow figures show that the expectation that 'Chinese' will be leavers for 'Buddhist' and 'Pakistani' will be leavers for 'Muslim' is justified. However, there are small (but significant) numbers moving in the opposite direction – that is 'Buddhist' joiners who are 'Chinese' and 'Muslim' joiners who are 'Pakistani'. A closer analysis of the source for these joiners may help explain this apparent anomaly.

It is a great shame that the religion of upbringing question was dropped in Scotland's Census 2011 as an opportunity to investigate whether the trends identified in 2001 continue or have changed on a large scale has been lost.

In this paper trends for change of religion for ethno-religious groups identified in Scotland's Census 2001 have been applied to England and Wales in 2011 based on the assumption that the frequency and direction of change of religion for these groups is relatively constant from 2001 to 2011. Such an assumption appears to be supported by the output: the estimates generated are close to representing a "closed" system (with an approximate 3 percent variance); further checks on the data show that the estimated numbers for those who do not answer the religion question show less than a 1 percent variance on the actual numbers from the England and Wales Census 2011; the estimates generated for 'Christian' very closely match figures obtained from the Citizenship Survey 2010 – 2011.

As with the analysis of Scotland's Census 2001, the estimates for England and Wales invite further analysis for each religious category and for each ethno-religious group. The estimates are particularly useful in identifying changes which may otherwise be overlooked because of the "headline" changes. For example, there are a large number of 'White British' who are 'Christian' leavers – over 4.7 million (with most probably going to 'None'), but there are also over 500,000 who are 'Christian' joiners – for every 9 leavers there is roughly 1 joiner. Likewise, there are a large number of 'White British' who are 'None' joiners – over 4.8 million, but there are also over 600,000 who are 'None' leavers – for every 8 joiners there is roughly 1 leaver. The estimates indicate that while overall trends seem to support "secularisation thesis", a simple application of this thesis will not fully explain the self-reported change of religion in the population.

The estimates also help uncover groups which may otherwise go unnoticed. For example, while it is not surprising that the vast majority of the 72,423 'White British Buddhist' are joiners, without the estimates it would not be apparent that there were over 13,000 'White British' who had 'Buddhist' as their religion of upbringing and that almost 7,000 of these had moved to other religions. The existence of these groups, which generally run contrary to simplistic assumptions about religious affiliations based on ethnic groups, invites further study to understand who these individuals are.

Data Sources

Citizenship Survey 2010-2011, Department for Communities and Local Government
<http://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk/catalogue/?sn=7111&type=Data%20catalogue>

England and Wales Census 2011, Office for National Statistics
<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/census-data/index.html>

Scotland's Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland
<http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/census/censushm/index.html>

Tables

Table 1: Religion of upbringing by current religion for eight religious categories – Scotland 2001

Religion of upbringing	Current religion								Upbringing total
	Christian	Buddhist	Hindu	Jewish	Muslim	Sikh	Any other	None	
Christian	3,110,913	2,379	79	269	727	124	12,557	528,942	3,655,990
Buddhist	309	3,146	6	1	11	4	68	996	4,541
Hindu	119	13	5,237	2	61	11	32	317	5,792
Jewish	442	26	5	5,661	6	55	86	774	7,055
Muslim	217	13	14	4	40,415	30	51	846	41,590
Sikh	273	9	4	31	37	5,951	23	248	6,576
Any other	1,031	22	8	10	50	17	5,328	1,357	7,823
None	61,164	970	72	129	332	47	7,206	813,858	883,778
Current Total	3,174,468	6,578	5,425	6,107	41,639	6,239	25,351	1,347,338	4,613,145

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Note: The numbers exclude all 'not answered'

Table 2: Leavers, joiners and net change for eight religious categories – Scotland 2001

Religion	Leavers	As % of upbringing	Joiners	As % of current	Net change		% change on upbringing
Christian	545,077	14.9%	63,555	2.0%	-481,522	Loser	-13.2%
Buddhist	1,395	30.7%	3,432	52.2%	2,037	Gainer	44.9%
Hindu	555	9.6%	188	3.5%	-367	Loser	-6.3%
Jewish	1,394	19.8%	446	7.3%	-948	Loser	-13.4%
Muslim	1,175	2.8%	1,224	2.9%	49	Gainer	0.1%
Sikh	625	9.5%	288	4.6%	-337	Loser	-5.1%
Any other	2,495	31.9%	20,023	79.0%	17,528	Gainer	224.1%
None	69,920	7.9%	533,480	39.6%	463,560	Gainer	52.5%

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Table 3: Destination of leavers for eight religious categories – Scotland 2001

Religion of upbringing	Destination (current) religion							
	Christian	Buddhist	Hindu	Jewish	Muslim	Sikh	Any other	None
Christian	-	0.4%	< 0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	< 0.1%	2.3%	97.0%
Buddhist	22.2%	-	0.4%	0.1%*	0.8%	0.3%*	4.9%	71.4%
Hindu	21.4%	2.3%	-	0.4%*	11.0%	2.0%	5.8%	57.1%
Jewish	31.7%	1.9%	0.4%*	-	0.4%*	4.0%	6.2%	55.5%
Muslim	18.5%	1.1%	1.2%	0.3%*	-	2.6%	4.3%	72.0%
Sikh	43.7%	1.4%*	0.6%*	5.0%	5.9%	-	3.7%	39.7%
Any other	41.3%	0.9%	0.3%*	0.4%	2.0%	0.7%	-	54.4%
None	87.5%	1.4%	0.1%	0.2%	0.5%	0.1%	10.3%	-

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Note: Actual numbers for those with asterisk are too small for the percentages to be considered meaningful.

Table 4: Religion of upbringing for joiners for eight religious categories – Scotland 2001

Current religion	Religion of upbringing							
	Christian	Buddhist	Hindu	Jewish	Muslim	Sikh	Any other	None
Christian	-	0.5%	0.2%	0.7%	0.3%	0.4%	1.6%	96.2%
Buddhist	69.3%	-	0.4%	0.8%	0.4%	0.3%*	0.6%	28.3%
Hindu	42.0%	3.2%	-	2.7%*	7.5%	2.1%*	4.3%*	38.3%
Jewish	60.3%	0.2%*	0.5%*	-	0.9%*	7.0%	2.2%	28.9%
Muslim	59.4%	0.9%	5.0%	0.5%*	-	3.0%	4.1%	27.1%
Sikh	43.1%	1.4%*	3.8%	19.1%	10.4%	-	5.9%	16.3%
Any other	62.7%	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	0.1%	-	36.0%
None	99.2%	0.2%	< 0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	-

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Note: Actual numbers for those with asterisk are too small for the percentages to be considered meaningful.

Table 5: Percentage of each ethnic group who have changed religion – Scotland 2001

Ethnic group	Changed religion	Ethnic group	Changed religion
White British	13.5%	Chinese	12.2%
White Irish	11.0%	Black Caribbean	21.1%
Other White	19.5%	Black African	9.1%
Indian	6.6%	Other Black	12.7%
Pakistani	2.2%	Other Ethnic	10.9%
Bangladeshi	2.6%	Any Mixed	15.4%
Other South Asian	8.1%	Average	13.5%

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Table 6: Net change for each ethno-religious group – Scotland 2001

	Christian	Buddhist	Hindu	Jewish	Muslim	Sikh	Any other	None
Average	-13.2%	44.9%	-6.3%	-13.4%	0.1%	-5.1%	224.1%	52.5%
White British	-13.2%	494.0%	11.6%	-12.6%	75.0%	-35.9%	249.1%	52.7%
White Irish	-10.2%	1350.0%*	0.0%*	2.7%	106.3%	-55.6%*	304.8%	221.2%
Other White	-18.7%	400.0%	29.4%	-18.5%	-2.7%	-13.1%	169.0%	60.9%
Indian	-5.2%	0.0%	-5.7%	-13.3%	-1.1%	-2.7%	21.3%	60.0%
Pakistani	-5.3%	-50.0%*	-57.1%	-80.0%*	-0.7%	-30.6%	0.0%	43.2%
Bangladeshi	4.1%	-20.0%*	-13.3%	-*	-1.2%	-33.3%	-*	34.6%
Other South Asian	-4.8%	-5.1%	-8.3%	-40.0%*	-3.1%	-2.2%	13.3%	38.2%
Black Caribbean	-18.6%	33.3%*	-66.7%	-50.0%*	18.2%	100.0%*	45.0%	61.2%
Black African	-6.5%	-*	0.0%*	-30.8%	-3.4%	-28.6%*	57.7%	59.6%
Other Black	-8.9%	100.0%*	0.0%*	-50.0%*	0.0%	-20.0%*	100.0%	26.2%
Chinese	5.9%	-24.3%	-12.5%*	-25.0%	-19.1%	-22.2%*	10.5%	4.8%
Other Ethnic Group	-3.9%	-15.3%	-23.8%	-9.8%	-4.5%	24.5%	10.0%	35.1%
Any Mixed	-15.0%	6.5%	-20.4%	-18.8%	-1.4%	-3.0%	74.2%	22.4%

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Note: Actual numbers for those with asterisk are too small for the percentages to be considered meaningful.

Table 7: Leavers, joiners, and net change for all, 'White' British' and 'non-White' – Scotland 2001

Religion	Leavers			Joiners			Net change		
	All	White British	Non-White	All	White British	Non-White	All	White British	Non-White
Christian	14.9%	14.8%	15.3%	2.0%	2.0%	8.2%	-13.2%	-13.2%	-7.7%
Buddhist	30.7%	57.5%	27.0%	52.2%	92.8%	9.5%	44.9%	494.0%	-19.4%
Hindu	9.6%	65.9%	8.2%	3.5%	69.4%	1.4%	-6.3%	11.6%	-6.7%
Jewish	19.8%	19.0%	25.2%	7.3%	7.3%	9.5%	-13.4%	-12.6%	-17.3%
Muslim	2.8%	15.3%	2.3%	2.9%	51.6%	1.0%	0.1%	75.0%	-1.3%
Sikh	9.5%	74.2%	4.3%	4.6%	59.7%	1.7%	-5.1%	-35.9%	-2.7%
Any other	31.9%	32.0%	30.6%	79.0%	80.5%	46.1%	224.1%	249.1%	28.9%
None	7.9%	7.8%	8.4%	39.6%	39.6%	22.5%	52.5%	52.6%	18.1%

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Table 8: 'Christian': Leavers, joiners, net change and main destination/source for each ethnic group – Scotland 2001

Ethnic group	Leavers	Joiners	Net change	Main destination/source
White British	14.9%	2.0%	-13.2%	To: None - 97.3%; Any other - 2.2% From: None - 97.3%; Any other - 1.4%
White Irish	10.7%	0.7%	-10.2%	To: None - 92.2%; Any other - 6.2% From: None - 87.1%; Any other - 7.0%
Other White	21.6%	3.6%	-18.7%	To: None - 91.5%; Any other - 6.4% From: None - 90.2%; Any other - 4.7%
Indian	14.4%	9.7%	-5.2%	To: None - 86.7%; Sikh - 6.2% From: Hindu - 42.5%; Sikh - 30.6%
Pakistani	19.5%	15.0%	-5.3%	To: None - 51.0%; Muslim - 44.0% From: Muslim - 65.8%; None - 28.8%
Bangladeshi	6.8%	10.4%	4.1%	To: Muslim - 60.0%*; None - 40.0%* From: Muslim - 100.0%*
Other Asian	13.4%	9.1%	-4.8%	To: None - 79.8%; Muslim/Any other - 5.6%* From: None - 32.5%; Hindu - 17.5%
Black Caribbean	22.4%	4.7%	-18.6%	To: None - 88.9%; Any other - 7.5% From: None - 79.1%; Hindu - 11.6%*
Black African	9.1%	2.8%	-6.5%	To: None - 88.1%; Any other - 7.7% From: None - 56.1%; Muslim - 28.0%
Other Black	13.1%	4.6%	-8.9%	To: None - 87.7%; Any other - 7.4%* From: None - 76.9%; Jewish/Muslim - 7.7%*
Chinese	15.9%	20.6%	5.9%	To: None - 90.6%; Any other - 4.7% From: None - 69.7%; Buddhist - 25.3%
Other Ethnic	11.2%	7.6%	-3.9%	To: None - 84.4%; Any other - 7.8% From: None - 41.5%; Buddhist - 31.0%
All Mixed	19.4%	5.2%	-15.0%	To: None - 87.5%; Any other - 7.1% From: None - 79.7%; Any other - 7.4%

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Note: Actual numbers for those with asterisk are too small for the percentages to be considered meaningful.

Table 9: 'Buddhist': Leavers, joiners, net change and main destination/source for each ethnic group – Scotland 2001

Ethnic group	Leavers	Joiners	Net change	Main destination/source
White British	57.5%	92.8%	494.0%	To: None - 52.7%; Christian - 28.7% From: Christian - 74.2%; None - 24.3%
White Irish	100%*	100.0%	1350.0%	To: Christian - 75.0%* ; Any other - 25.5%* From: Christian - 87.9%; None - 12.1%*
Other White	42.3%	88.5%	400.0%	To: None - 68.2%; Christian/Any other - 13.6%* From: Christian - 70.4%; None - 23.9%
Indian	23.9%	23.9%	0.0%	To: None - 54.5%* ; Hindu -18.2%* From: Hindu - 36.4%* ; None - 27.3%*
Pakistani	100%*	100%*	-50.0%	To: Muslim - 100.0%* From: Christian - 100.0%*
Bangladeshi	20%*	0%*	-20.0%	To: None - 100.0%* From: n/a
Other Asian	9.8%	4.9%	-5.1%	To: Christian - 52.0%; None - 40.0%* From: Christian - 33.3%* ; None - 33.3%*
Black Caribbean	66.7%*	75%*	33.3%	To: None - 100.0%* From: Christian - 66.7%* ; Jewish - 33.3%*
Black African	n/a	100%*	-	To: n/a From: Christian/None/Muslim - 33.3%*
Other Black	100%*	100%*	100.0%	To: Any other - 100.0%* From: Christian - 100.0%*
Chinese	31.3%	9.2%	-24.3%	To: None - 81.2%; Christian - 17.3% From: None - 86.5%; Christian - 9.4%
Other Ethnic	20.7%	6.3%	-15.3%	To: None - 70.1%; Christian - 27.7% From: None - 77.6%; Christian - 15.5%*
All Mixed	33.3%	37.4%	6.5%	To: None - 63.9%; Christian - 25.0%* From: Christian - 51.2%; None - 39.5%

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Note: Actual numbers for those with asterisk are too small for the percentages to be considered meaningful)

Table 10: 'None': leavers, joiners, net change and main destination/source for each ethnic group – Scotland 2001

Ethnic group	Leavers	Joiners	Net change	Main destination/source
White British	7.8%	39.6%	52.6%	To: Christian - 88.5%; Any other - 10.0% From: Christian - 99.6%
White Irish	16.0%	73.9%	221.2%	To: Christian - 75.9%; Any other - 20.4% From: Christian - 99.6%
Other White	12.5%	45.7%	60.9%	To: Christian - 74.7%; Any other - 18.6% From: Christian - 96.5%; Jewish - 1.4%
Indian	12.5%	45.3%	60.0%	To: Hindu - 35.0%; Christian - 29.1% From: Hindu - 39.4%; Christian - 30.5%
Pakistani	15.4%	40.9%	43.2%	To: Muslim - 70.0%; Christian - 23.3% From: Muslim - 83.3%; Christian - 14.9%
Bangladeshi	9.1%	32.4%	34.5%	To: Muslim - 60.0%; Hindu/Any other - 20.0%* From: Muslim - 79.2%; Christian/Hindu - 8.3%*
Other Asian	14.7%	38.3%	38.2%	To: Christian - 36.6%; Muslim - 33.8% From: Christian - 38.8%; Muslim - 37.6%
Black Caribbean	10.7%	44.6%	61.2%	To: Christian - 94.4%; Any other - 5.6%* From: Christian - 92.2%; Any other - 3.3%*
Black African	14.6%	46.5%	59.6%	To: Christian - 83.6%; Muslim/Any other - 7.3%* From: Christian - 90.3%; Muslim - 7.5%*
Other Black	12.8%	30.9%	26.2%	To: Christian - 80.0%; Any other - 12.0%* From: Christian - 93.4%; Jewish/Any other - 2.6%*
Chinese	5.8%	10.2%	4.8%	To: Christian - 65.8%; Buddhist - 26.6% From: Buddhist - 61.7%; Christian - 34.2%
Other Ethnic	12.9%	35.6%	35.1%	To: Christian - 53.5%; Buddhist - 29.0% From: Christian - 45.0%; Buddhist - 27.3%
All Mixed	9.6%	26.2%	22.4%	To: Christian - 59.5%; Any other - 19.8% From: Christian - 86.6%; Muslim - 7.6%

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Note: Actual numbers for those with asterisk are too small for the percentages to be considered meaningful.

Table 11: Summary of difference in religion of upbringing and current religion for the category 'None' and the main religious category for each ethnic group – Scotland 2001

Ethnicity	None as % of ethnic group		Largest religious category	As % of ethnic group	
	Upbringing	Current		Upbringing	Current
White British	19.3%	29.5%	Christian	80.4%	69.8%
White Irish	4.0%	12.9%	Christian	95.6%	85.9%
Other White	20.7%	33.3%	Christian	74.4%	60.5%
Indian	6.0%	9.5%	Sikh	41.2%	40.1%
Pakistani	2.0%	2.9%	Muslim	95.9%	95.2%
Bangladeshi	3.0%	4.1%	Muslim	90.8%	89.8%
Other Asian	9.1%	12.6%	Muslim	50.6%	49.0%
Black Caribbean	22.3%	36.0%	Christian	74.2%	60.4%
Black African	8.3%	13.3%	Christian	69.3%	64.8%
Other Black	20.9%	26.3%	Christian	66.4%	60.5%
Chinese	65.2%	68.3%	Buddhist	16.9%	12.8%
Other Ethnic	14.0%	18.9%	Muslim	37.1%	35.5%
All Mixed	32.1%	39.3%	Christian	52.3%	44.4%

Source: based on General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Table 12: Estimated numbers for leavers, joiners and net change for 'Buddhist' – England and Wales 2011

Ethnic Group	2011 Census	Leavers	Joiners	Net change
White British	72,423	6,693	64,215	57,522
White Irish	1,516	100	1,441	1,341
Other White	9,696	787	8,229	7,442
Indian	3,637	800	800	-
Pakistani	700	200	100	-100
Bangladeshi	534	107	-	-107
Other South Asian	93,581	9,175	4,404	-4,771
Black Caribbean	1,145	572	859	287
Black African	933	3	933	930
Other Black	731	2	487	485
Chinese	49,344	19,887	4,411	-15,476
Other Ethnic	3,246	776	201	-575
Any Mixed	9,855	3,007	3,591	584
Arab*	402	*	*	*
Total	247,743	42,109	89,671	47,562

Source: based ONS Census 2011, DC2201EW and General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Note: No estimates are available for the ethnic group 'Arab'.

Table 13: Estimated numbers for leavers, joiners and net change for all religious categories - England and Wales 2011

Religion	2011 Census	Leavers	Joiners	Net change
Christian	33,243,175	5,610,134	731,651	-4,878,483
Buddhist	247,743	42,109	89,671	47,562
Hindu	816,633	79,832	18,158	-61,674
Jewish	263,346	57,370	18,210	-39,160
Muslim	2,706,066	84,325	77,715	-6,610
Sikh	423,158	25,085	19,216	-5,869
Any Other	240,530	26,724	160,168	133,444
None	14,097,229	730,381	5,323,577	4,593,196
Total	52,037,880	6,655,960	6,438,366	

Source: based ONS Census 2011, DC2201EW and General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274

Table 14: Estimated leavers, joiners and net change for England and Wales 2011 and leavers, joiners and net change in Scotland 2001 for eight religious categories

Religion	England and Wales 2011				Scotland 2001			
	Leavers	Joiners		Net change	Leavers	Joiners		Net change
Christian	15.2%	2.3%	Loser	-13.2%	14.9%	2.0%	Loser	-13.2%
Buddhist	22.3%	37.9%	Gainer	25.4%	30.7%	52.2%	Gainer	44.9%
Hindu	9.3%	2.3%	Loser	-7.1%	9.6%	3.5%	Loser	-6.3%
Jewish	19.9%	7.3%	Loser	-13.6%	19.8%	7.3%	Loser	-13.4%
Muslim	3.4%	3.1%	Loser	-0.3%	2.8%	2.9%	Gainer	0.1%
Sikh	6.0%	4.7%	Loser	-1.4%	9.5%	4.6%	Loser	-5.1%
Any other	29.0%	71.0%	Gainer	144.8%	31.9%	79.0%	Gainer	224.1%
None	8.1%	39.1%	Gainer	51.0%	7.9%	39.6%	Gainer	52.5%

Source: based ONS Census 2011, DC2201EW and General Register Office for Scotland, commissioned table 21274