

SECTARIANISM AND MUNICIPAL HOUSING ALLOCATION IN GLASGOW

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This article assesses whether or not sectarian practices existed in the allocation of municipal housing in Glasgow during the inter-war and post-war periods of the twentieth century. Population and parish data, and previously unpublished local government material, are examined to assist in an investigation that has not been considered in the previous research on sectarianism in Scotland.

The public debate hosted by the broadsheet letters' pages following James MacMillan's infamous 'Scotland's Shame' lecture was welcome for two reasons. First, it showed that plenty of people were prepared to share their thoughts on the subjects of religious bigotry and sectarianism, albeit with the aid of an unexpected stimulus. Second, given the amount of anecdote presented, it was a timely reminder that research into the extent of sectarianism in Scotland was still very much necessary. An edited collection of essays was produced as a direct consequence of the reaction MacMillan's lecture had provoked (Devine (ed) 2000), itself an important addition to the growing number of key texts in this area (Murray 1984, Bruce 1985, Gallagher 1987, Walker and Gallagher (eds) 1990, Devine (ed) 1991, Bradley 1995, Walker 1995; Boyle and Lynch 1998). Most of the essays directly addressed MacMillan's claims of endemic anti-Catholic hatred and discrimination in Scotland, with some attempting to quantify the relative social status, educational attainment, political preferences and cultural habits of Catholics in post-war Scotland (L. Paterson, McCrone and Rosie, I. Paterson, Williams and Walls). Research into discrimination and

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disadvantage has so far centred on the possibility that Catholics of Irish descent faced barriers to recruitment in the skilled sectors of the industrial and post-industrial labour markets of Scotland, and, as a result, remained heavily concentrated in the lower social classes. Little investigation, if any at all, has been made into the existence of discrimination against Catholics in the allocation of social goods at local government level.

The distribution of Catholics and Protestants within Glasgow's numerous municipal housing schemes, built during the inter-war and post-war periods of the twentieth century, forms the basis of this work. While the search for tangible anti-Catholic discrimination in housing allocation forms part of the investigation, there are other important considerations. First, and paradoxically, is the growth in the number of Catholics holding public office and the potential to favour their own in social provision. The over-representation of Catholic Labour councillors relative to the Catholic population in Glasgow raised accusations of pro-Catholic bias in the letting of municipal housing during the 1960s. Where Catholics were possibly enduring discrimination in the privately run employment sector, could they have been favoured in access to the better quality municipal housing stock? Second, could policymakers in the City Corporation, and later Council, have implemented a housing strategy that segregated Catholics and Protestants in an attempt to maintain political power? After all, the assurance of Catholic dominance in some electoral wards would have been to Labour's advantage in the event of a strong local challenge from the Unionists. And when in power itself, the Unionist Party had much to gain if Protestants were rehoused to dominate the key electoral wards¹. Third, is there any evidence of a balanced sectarian *quota*, designed to redistribute Catholics and Protestants in equal proportions in the outlying schemes (in a general 32:68 percentage ratio²), to actually avoid the possible formation of such religious enclaves?

¹ *Labour's rise to power in Scotland during the 1920s, and its dominance thereafter, is attributed to the solid Catholic vote. However, in absolute terms, the majority of its support has always come from Protestants. The Unionists (latterly Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party) on the other hand, received exclusively Protestant support.*

² *Official estimates of the population distribution by religion in Glasgow throughout the 1950s consistently recorded one Catholic for every two Protestants. Contemporary survey material suggests that this general ratio still holds reasonably well.*

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

In order to yield clues as to the evidence required to address these questions, it is worth providing a brief overview of the history of housing allocation and the distribution of the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland. In the nineteenth century, the British local government franchise was based on the principle that those who paid for the services should have the greatest say in administering them. Hence only rate-payers had the vote and businesses had additional votes. In England and Scotland this system was replaced but in Northern Ireland the Unionist government retained it because, as Unionists were more likely than Nationalists to own property, it favoured their supporters. Unionists controlled 85 per cent of all local authorities during the 1920s when they represented no more than 66 per cent of the population (O' Leary and McGarry 1993, p. 120). During the 1960s, electoral districts such as the Londonderry wards were organised in such a way as to place most Catholic voters in one ward and create two smaller wards that would guarantee the return of Unionist councillors. Such distribution therefore created a Unionist-dominated council in an otherwise Nationalist-dominated town. There is an important link between the organisation of electoral districts and the control over housing allocation in the maintenance of Unionist power; housing segregation maintained predictable electoral outcomes and more importantly prevented the development of mixed communities that could threaten the existing voting trends. The outbreak of the Troubles in the late 1960s sharpened this segregation as many Catholic and Protestant families were forced to flee back into traditional strongholds of towns, villages or particular housing estates. Belfast contains numerous 'peace lines' that separate the two communities between and within estates. Contrary to the term's connotations, peace lines are large concrete walls built across roads and backyards, and the construction of such a barrier in the Ardoyne area has recently been announced to provide the 'solution' to the violence associated with the Holy Cross RC school demonstrations. Elsewhere, many provincial towns are virtually homogenous in their religious profiles; Comber is 97 per cent Protestant and Warrenpoint is over 80 per cent Catholic (Poole and Doherty 1996).

THE GROWTH AND CONTRACTION OF GLASGOW

The population of Glasgow rose from 784,000 in 1911 to 1,034,000 ten years later (Robertson 1958, p. 48). Before the 1920s, the housing needs of

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Glasgow's rapidly increasing population were met almost entirely by privately rented dwellings. Following the rent strikes of 1915 and the subsequent Rent Restriction Act of the same year, laissez-faire speculative building-for-rent collapsed. Glasgow Corporation, having been responsible for a mere 1 per cent of pre-war housing, built 71 per cent of housing between the wars and subsidised a further 13 per cent (Horsey 1990, p. 12). Its first step in tackling the acute overcrowding was to develop a two-tier system of housing provision. 'Ordinary' housing developments, such as at Mosspark, Knightswood and Riddrie, were allocated to the lower middle and skilled working classes and 'Rehousing' developments, such as those constructed at Blackhill, Possilpark and South Pollok, were provided for the poorer sections of the community who relied on rent subsidies.

Habitation often involved *en bloc* displacement of slum-dwellers. As Horsey notes, 72 families moved from Cowcaddens to Hamiltonhill on a single occasion (p. 14). Above all, Rehousing areas were inhabited by those who, following inspection by council officials, were not deemed clean and respectable. As Smout notes, 'Those who failed [inspection] ... were packed off to Blackhill, which, not surprisingly, rapidly developed a reputation for illness and violence that surpassed even that of the slums themselves' (1986, pp. 55-6). Similarly, South Pollok became known as 'The White Man's Grave' due to the number of tuberculosis sufferers living there (McLean 1983, p. 232). Such housing provision did help to ease Glasgow's overcrowding problem however; its population density fell from approximately 38 persons per acre in 1931 to 27 persons per acre by 1951.¹ Nevertheless, the inner-city areas of Woodside and Gorbals still recorded alarming densities of 158 and 145 respectively (Robertson 1958, p. 50). As part of the proposed Clyde Valley Regional Plan of 1949, it was projected that around half a million people could be displaced, with half remaining inside the city boundaries in new peripheral schemes such as Easterhouse, Drumchapel, and Castlemilk. The remaining half were relocated to the New Towns such as East Kilbride and Cumbernauld, as well as to overspill areas such as neighbouring Paisley. Finally, 29 inner-city districts were identified as Comprehensive Development Areas in the 1957 Report on the Clearance of Slum Houses. By the 1970s, the Gorbals, Cowcaddens and Townhead had been dramatically

¹ *The 1931 Census recorded a density of '3,793 persons per 100 acres'. However, the density recorded for the area contained within Glasgow's pre-1926 municipal boundaries was put at '5,527 per 100 acres' (General Register Office 1934).*

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transformed from areas packed with dilapidated Victorian tenements, to low-concentration landscaped zones featuring a mixture of high and low rise blocks, a lot of which have subsequently required modification or demolition. All together, the State assumed control of working-class housing to a greater extent in Scotland than in any other Western country. The UK average in the proportion of public housing in 1979 was 32 per cent; in Scotland it was 54 per cent while in Glasgow it was ten percent higher, making Glasgow City Council 'Europe's biggest landlord' (Horsey 1990, p. 69). As a result of the radical and widespread building projects, the population of Glasgow fell from 1,089,000 in 1951 to 825,668 in 1975 (Checkland 1975, p. 72). The city lost a further 13 per cent of its population between 1981 and 1998, leaving it with 620,000 inhabitants (National Statistics 2000).

PRE-WAR SECTARIAN COMPOSITION OF GLASGOW

While areas of Glasgow became identifiably 'Orange' or 'Green' following the immigration and settlement of both Irish Catholics and Ulster Protestants in the nineteenth century, no districts were completely inhabited by members of one religious denomination or the other. Protestant strongholds such as Bridgeton and Govan were partly mixed as were the Irish Catholic enclaves of the Gorbals and Garngad. As noted, there was yet to be municipal housing in the city and the private landlords who controlled housing tenure were free to let their premises to anyone they wished. Furthermore, by 1914 over 700,000 people were living in Glasgow's three central square miles, the densest concentration of population in the whole of Europe (Checkland and Checkland 1984, p. 185). Such absence of space was an obvious constraint on the creation of rival ethnic ghettos that were unavoidable in Belfast and Liverpool. In 1886, Irish Catholics in Glasgow were not densely concentrated enough to ensure the return of an Irish Home Rule candidate at a time when their counterparts in Liverpool could (Gallagher 1987, p. 68). When the United Irish League's John Ferguson was returned in 1893, it was in Calton, an area containing a large number of Ulster Protestant immigrants (Walker 1991).¹ Between 1897 and 1906, Irishman Patrick O'Hare of the Independent Labour Party was twice re-elected to the council in the Springburn electoral ward, an area with a strong Orange presence (Gallagher 1987, p. 76). Indeed,

¹ *Although Ferguson was Protestant, it is highly unlikely than many co-religionists backed the aims of the UIL.*

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branches of the ILP, according to Gallagher, 'were not divided on religious grounds because of the absence of complete residential segregation' (p. 101).

INTER-WAR SECTARIAN COMPOSITION OF GLASGOW

The slum clearances were bound to have a major impact on the Catholic community given that it was so over-concentrated in the inner city. However, the pattern of relocation is not clear. Gallagher suggests that officials in the Corporation's housing department wielded immense power and, if they regarded working-class Catholics in the same way as did other power-holders, it may explain why so many were sent in large numbers to schemes such as Blackhill (p. 248). Certainly, discriminatory allocation practices would have produced a high concentration of Catholics in the inter-war Rehousing schemes. Then again, this could possibly be expected even without the spectre of discrimination; Catholics were heavily concentrated in the unskilled urban classes and were therefore natural candidates for the poorly-constructed schemes anyway.

In way of evidence that suggests to which council estates the bulk of Catholics moved, one could do worse than identify the areas where new parishes were created. After all, new churches would have been built in areas where it was obvious that the Catholic community had resettled. Parishes, of course, were not of equal size and small parishes (in terms of population) were created to serve the Ordinary estates, while the much larger and poorer populations were served by new parishes in the Rehousing schemes. During the inter-war period, five new parishes were established in Glasgow. Two of these were in Rehousing areas, at Possilpark and Royston, while three were created in the Ordinary developments of Riddrie, Knightswood and Kings Park (Fitzpatrick 1986, p. 108). Figures available for 1950 put the parish populations in the Rehousing schemes as roughly twice that of the parish populations of Ordinary schemes. St. Teresa in Possilpark and St. Philomena in Royston record a combined population of 20,500, while St Thomas in Riddrie, St Ninian in Knightswood, and Christ the King in King's Park together record 11,410.¹

A comparison between the number of Catholics in each estate with their overall populations would determine whether or not Catholics were over-

¹ *My thanks to this article's referee for supplying parish populations.*

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represented in the Rehousing estates and under-represented in Ordinary estates. Glasgow at this time had 37 administrative wards for which census population data are available. Knightswood, a ward formed through large-scale reconstitution in 1948, hosted a population of 17,530 in 1951 (General Registry Office 1952). Based on the 32:68 ratio, there should have been almost 6,000 Catholics living here. The St. Ninian parish population in 1950 was 4,410. As intriguing as this is, it would be hazardous to reach judgement that Catholics were under-represented in Knightswood. Among several technical issues, it is not known whether the parish and ward geographies are approximately coterminous or not. Crude comparisons between parish rolls and census data cannot even be attempted with the remaining inter-war estates, which are contained within much larger wards. For example, the Possilpark Rehousing and Riddrie Ordinary estates were located in the expansive Ruchill and Provan wards respectively. Despite all this, the Catholic presence in the Knightswood Ordinary scheme is a useful indication of the absence of anti-Catholic discrimination in the allocation of municipal housing. For, even treating the figures with understandable caution, they show that Catholics are far from being grossly under-represented. The creation of parishes in the better housing schemes - Knightswood contained only 11 persons per acre - could also suggest that more Catholics were located in the skilled-working and lower-middle class categories during the inter-war and immediate post-war eras than first thought. Over one third of the total Catholic population recorded in the five parish rolls linked to the inter-war schemes was resident in the two better quality schemes. More concretely, there is an obvious absence of residential segregation between Catholics and Protestants.

Better evidence comes from information contained in the General Report of 1930-33 on Education in Scotland, which explains the delay in sanctioning new denominational schools as due to 'the varying proportions of Roman Catholics and Protestants in the new housing schemes and the impossibility of forecasting this before the homes are occupied' (Treble 1979, p. 123). Thus if Catholic schools could not be built to serve estates until the number of Catholic tenants was determined, it seems fairly clear that there was no pre-arranged sectarian quota for municipal housing in Glasgow between the wars. The Moderates (Unionists at local level) introduced the two-tier selective allocation system which Labour did not modify until after 1945, even though it seized control of Glasgow Corporation in 1933. This suggests that principles of housing allocation had always rested on the social behaviour of prospective tenants and not their religion, even under the Protestant-backed

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Moderates. In any case, the Corporation was now led by Patrick Dollan, a Catholic. One would imagine that even if anti-Catholic discrimination had prevailed among city housing officials before his term in office, it certainly would not thereafter. Of course, under Dollan's leadership, there could have been potential for Catholics to be allocated better quality housing over Protestants. As noted, accusations of pro-Catholic bias have extended to the letting of council housing. However, no hard evidence of this forthcoming and, coupled with the fact that Dollan himself had been married to a Protestant since 1912, would be very hard to imagine anyway.

POST-WAR SECTARIAN COMPOSITION OF GLASGOW

Between 1951 and 1971, the population of the eight inner city Catholic parishes slumped from 69,000 to 13,000 (Gallagher 1987, p. 232). The largest and most dramatic rehousing projects occurred during the 1950s, and fairly promising material is available that could point to the redistribution of the Catholic and Protestant populations into the new housing schemes which were rapidly appearing on the Glasgow map. A series of memoranda sent between the city's School Attendance Department (SAD) and Property Department between 1956 and 1958 is particularly enlightening.¹ One memo sent by an employee of SAD following an enquiry for data reads:

With reference to your enquiry I am appending particulars of the number of children in post-war housing schemes as at March, 1956. No up-to-date particulars are available concerning some of the smaller schemes such as Braehead, Broomhill etc., but an estimate can be made of the number of children in these areas if desired.
(SAD. JCS/HMcF. 17.4.56)

Figures are supplied showing the breakdown of children resident in 19 post-war schemes by 'Prot' and 'R.C.', and by 'prim' and 'sec'. Judging by the language of the memo, the latter categories are likely to refer to the number of children of primary and secondary school age resident in the schemes, rather than the number of pupils enrolled in primary and secondary schools in the schemes. Replication and re-analysis of these data are presented in Table 1. The school-age categories have been aggregated. The proportion of Catholic

¹ *All material presented was uncovered in the Archive Department of the Mitchell Library in Glasgow.*

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children has been calculated for each scheme, as has the relative representation of Catholic children. The overall figures indicate that Catholic children formed just over 32 per cent of the total, very much in line with the expected Catholic to Protestant ratio. Thus, if the Catholic presence in some schemes is significantly higher or lower (at least 5 per cent deviation) than this baseline figure, then Catholics are not represented as they 'should' be.

Table 1
Number of Children in post-war housing schemes, March 1956

Scheme	Protestant	RC	Total	Catholic presence (%)	Representation (+/- 5%)
Arden	394	281	675	46.7	+
Auldhouse/Eastwood/ Mansewood	1151	227	1378	16.5	-
Balornock	1001	648	1649	39.3	+
Barlanark	2206	1116	3322	33.5	=
Barmulloch	1346	658	2004	32.8	=
Blairdardie	236	77	313	24.6	-
Cadder	660	318	978	32.5	=
Castlemilk	1256	659	1915	34.4	=
Cranhill	1681	826	2507	32.9	=
Drumchapel	5617	2233	7850	28.4	-
Garthamlock	1217	842	2059	40.9	+
Greenfield/Springboig	454	306	760	40.3	+
Merrylee	485	110	595	18.5	-
Milton	1968	1228	3196	38.4	+
Pollok	3421	1661	5082	32.7	=
Priesthill	2322	1188	3510	33.8	=
Ruchazie	1436	709	2145	33.1	=
Simshill	108	33	141	23.4	-
Toryglen	534	257	791	32.5	=

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Total	27493	13397	40890	32.7	=
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The table shows that Catholic children are over-represented in five schemes, under-represented in five more and equally represented in nine. On inspection of the dozen schemes with more than 1,000 children, an argument could be made that there is evidence of discrimination in the letting of flats in the Auldhouse/Eastwood/Mansewood area, which was classed as 'high amenity' and where Catholics are clearly heavily under-represented. Yet by implication, the same argument would probably place Catholics firmly and disproportionately in the bleakest, peripheral schemes that remained void of adequate leisure facilities, shopping amenities and public houses until well into the 1960s. Catholics, however, are not over-represented in either Castlemilk or Drumchapel (where they are slightly under-represented). And of the schemes listed that form much of Greater Easterhouse (Ruchazie, Cranhill, Barlanark, Garthamlock), only Garthamlock contains a higher than average Catholic presence. Balornock and Milton, it should be noted, were not 'high amenity', but were superior to Easterhouse, Castlemilk and Drumchapel both in terms of the variety of housing built (including terraced villas and cottage flats) and ease of access to the city centre, and hence amenities.

On this evidence, it is difficult to draw particularly robust conclusions. Most of these schemes had not been completed by 1956, with many only in the first stages of construction and yet to host large populations. It is interesting to note, however, that the parish of St. Gabriel in Merrylee (another 'high amenity' scheme where Catholics are shown to be heavily under-represented) was founded in 1955 and could record 2,000 parishioners by 1972 (Fitzpatrick 1986, p. 164). Catholics then, did begin to populate this scheme at some point, although their relative presence cannot be established after 1956. At the very least, it is clear that there was no policy in place to enforce residential segregation, but what of any evidence as to the existence of a sectarian quota in the allocation of post-war housing?

A memo sent from SAD to the Property Department in 1957 reads:

I have to refer to your enquiry asking which of the primary schools due for completion in the next twelve months will be Protestant. In this connection I have to inform you that the two 17-classrooms schools in

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Arden and Cadder, i.e. Arden No.3 and Cadder No.1, will both be Protestant. In Easterhouse it is expected that Easterhouse No.1 will be a Protestant primary school.

So far as the schools in Castlemilk are concerned it is too early yet to fix any denomination for the schools. The schools at Site 5 and Site 12 are down for completion during the next twelve months and it is expected that at least one of these will be Protestant.
(JCS/HMcF. S.A.D. 15.11.57)

One sent to the SAD from the Property Department the following year reads:

We are being urged by the City Architect to put janitors into schools some time before they are completed. We cannot of course advertise for janitors until we know whether the schools are to be Protestant or Roman Catholic. I should be obliged if you could let me know what the following schools are to be:

Castlemilk Site 12
Castlemilk Site 17
Easterhouse Site 9
Easterhouse Site 18
Drumchapel Site 8
Drumchapel Site 15
(P.D./RC/MFL 1.10.58)

The reply states:

Your request for a denominational tag for new schools in housing schemes poses a question in some cases to which we really cannot give a definite answer at this stage. However, a definite answer can be given in respect of the undernoted schools:

Drumchapel Site 8 - Protestant
Drumchapel Site 15 - Roman Catholic
Easterhouse Site 9 - Protestant
Castlemilk Site 17 - Protestant

The remaining two schools will probably be allocated as follows :

Castlemilk Site 12 - Protestant
Easterhouse Site 18 - Roman Catholic

As you are aware, when we come to consider the territorial areas of

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individual schools in new housing areas it is sometimes found that the breakdown of the primary school population into Roman Catholic and Protestant sub-divisions results in an actual distribution of population which does not fit in with our original proposals. Easterhouse Site 18 is far enough away both in date of completion and prospects of occupancy as to warrant a temporary appointment. In the case of Castlemilk Site 12 it will probably be safe enough to appoint a temporary janitor. (WL/ID S.A.D. 9.10.58)

If the denomination of a school had been chosen *before* most of the tenants had arrived in the schemes, then the housing allocation process would have obviously involved a pre-selection of the tenants' religion. However, the material above clearly indicates that, as the actual school buildings were being completed, it was still not known if they were to be assigned as Catholic or non-denominational (or 'Protestant'). The discussions between these council departments closely echo the statement made in the General Report of 1930-33 on Education in Scotland, and provide very strong evidence that there was no sectarian allocation of municipal housing in the post-war era.

The Schools Attendance Department was aware of the ratio of Catholic to Protestant children in inner-city Glasgow. It also knew from which older areas many children would arrive from. For example many children living in Castlemilk continued to attend schools in nearby Govanhill and Polmadie while the new schools were under construction. Yet the reproduction of such a ratio in every scheme could not be guaranteed as the memos discuss. While it could be tentatively projected that two non-denominational or 'Protestant' schools would be built for every Catholic one in the new schemes, affixing denominational tags would have to wait until the requisites were obvious. It is clear that the tenants settled before the schools could be labelled, and if the ratios in most schemes were replicated near enough at one Catholic child for every two Protestant children (which the table indicates), then this arose naturally and not through the implementation of balanced sectarian quotas.

CONCLUSION

There is no compelling evidence that Catholics were penalised, or even favoured, as part of the massive rehousing programmes managed by Glasgow City Council during the twentieth century. The apparent absence of anti-

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Catholic discrimination, or pro-Catholic bias, in the letting of council housing says much about the lack of active religious prejudice, or the lack of influence that those with such interests had, in the corridors of local government power. The dominant Labour Party was built on cross-community support and, by large, suppressed factional interests within its ranks. For the same reason, it had no real strategic interest in segregating Catholic and Protestant voters. The Unionists probably did, but, on the few occasions where they won control of the Council, do not appear to have taken the opportunity to create potential 'safe seats'. It is also evident that the Council did not implement any policies with 'progressive' sectarian properties, and attempt to engineer well-balanced mixed-community housing schemes. The material from Council sources strongly suggests that they arose naturally, and as they did, played a major part in the erosion of sectarianism in Glasgow.

Catholic and Protestant co-habitation in all schemes must have contributed to the break-up of insular ghetto mentalities, the softening of traditional tensions based on suspicion and mistrust, and the stimulation of cross-community social interaction. The growth in the number of mixed marriages, by far the strongest indication of improving Catholic-Protestant relations, would simply not have been possible without resettlement. It is likely that well over half of Catholic marriages in the Archdiocese of Glasgow now involve a non-Catholic, while such ceremonies are very rare in Northern Ireland partly because of the continuing physical segregation (I. Paterson 2000) Thus, while Glasgow's slum-clearance strategies of the twentieth century arguably created as many social problems as they were designed to address, they did provide some positive outcomes for the city and its people.

POSTSCRIPT

Those involved in the pursuit of data relating to the relative fortunes of Catholics and Protestants in Scotland, and of course their implications, have operated using fairly meagre sources to date. There are currently only two credible datasets that include a variable for religious affiliation in Scotland, so its omission from the Scottish Executive's *Scottish Household Survey*, which has so far sampled in excess of 30,000 households, was a disappointment. Fortunately, the successful lobby for the inclusion of the variable in the 2001 Census will finally make it possible to conduct research at small-area level using official data, at least on a cross-sectional basis. For example, in conjunction with the census-based Carstairs and Morris Index of

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Deprivation (or similar composite tool), it will be possible to calculate the relative proportion of Catholics and Protestants residing in the most deprived postal sectors of Glasgow, Strathclyde and beyond. There will be much to digest when examining the interactions between residency, material disadvantage and religion. Future research into possible sectarian activity in housing provision might, however, need to locate itself in the realms of community-owned 'social rent' housing. In partnership with the Scottish Executive and Scottish Homes, Glasgow City Council has announced plans to transfer the ownership of its entire housing stock to the Glasgow Housing Association, which will be able to seek private investment for housing regeneration. Since the council tenants agreed to the transfer via a ballot, the UK Government will also pay off the City's sizeable housing debt.

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