Counting Religion in Britain

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Special Edition

Religious Data from British Household Panel Survey (1991–2009) and Understanding Society: United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Study (2009–19)

This month, we are departing from our usual format for the round-up of new statistical sources to focus on key religious data extracted from two of the UK's largest and most important longitudinal panel studies: British Household Panel Survey (BHPS, 1991–2009) and its successor Understanding Society: United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Study (US, from 2009). They have primarily been funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, with additional support from a consortium of government departments.

BHPS and US had initial (wave 1) samples of 10,264 and 50,994 adults, respectively. However, as with all longitudinal studies, there has been a degree of sample attrition between waves, as well as augmentation (when new people join the households of original panel members). The sample has also been boosted periodically by further residents of Wales and Scotland and members of ethnic minorities.

Fieldwork is currently undertaken by Kantar Public, but other agencies have been involved in the past, including NOP and NatCen. Interviews have traditionally been conducted face-to-face supplemented by self-completion questionnaire, but they are increasingly taking place online. Full background information and documentation about Understanding Society can be found at:

https://www.understandingsociety.ac.uk/

The standard datasets (there are many specialist variants) for BHPS and US are available via the UK Data Service as follows:

- SN 5151: British Household Panel Survey, Waves 1–18, 1991–2009
- SN 6614: Understanding Society, Waves 1–9, 2009–2018 and Harmonised BHPS, Waves 1–18, 1991–2009

This report is by no means the first attempt to exploit the religious potential of BHPS and US. There have been several partial efforts to tap the data, one of the earliest being by Robin Gill in *Churchgoing and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 97–121. They have also featured in several articles by the co-directors of British Religion in Numbers (BRIN).

Nevertheless, the following analysis constitutes the most systematic and up-to-date presentation of the topline findings thus far. It has been commissioned by BRIN and undertaken by Yuliya Kazakova of the Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Essex, from where BHPS and US have been managed.

The analysis is confined to respondents living in Great Britain and therefore excludes Northern Ireland. It concentrates on questions that have been asked serially of the entire British panel and omits those addressed to specific ethnic or age sub-groups or only posed on one or two occasions (from which trends cannot meaningfully be deduced).

The five core religion questions meeting these criteria are:

- 'How much difference would you say religious beliefs make to your life?'
- 'Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion? If yes, which?'
- 'Are you currently a member of any of the kinds of organisations on this card? Which ones? Religious group or church organisation.'
- 'How often, if at all, do you attend religious services or meetings?'
- 'Do you join in the activities of any of the organisations on this card on a regular basis? Which ones? Religious group or church organisation.'

The wording of some of these questions is not necessarily as sharp and unambiguous as might be desired, leaving them open to differing interpretations by respondents.

Using the appropriate weights, the results are shown in the following tables for: (a) the panel constituted as a cross-section of the British population for each wave; and (b) members of wave 1 of BHPS who have contributed to all subsequent waves of BHPS and US, representing a constant panel.

Breakdowns of the cross-sectional data are provided for individual home nations and Britain as a whole. An Excel version of these data is being posted to the figures section of the BRIN website, and this includes breakdowns by gender and age. No breakdowns are given in the longitudinal tables, on account of more restricted sample sizes.

In order to make the data available in a timely fashion, a detailed commentary on the statistics has not been written at this stage. However, some immediate conclusions emerge:

CROSS-SECTIONAL

- The proportion saying that their religious beliefs make no difference to their lives has increased over time and is now a majority (Table 1)
- The number of religious nones has grown to become a majority; there has been a corresponding slump in those professing allegiance to the Church of England and Church of Scotland, while there has been more modest decline among Roman Catholics and other Christians (Table 2)
- The presence of non-Christians in the panel went up substantially with the advent of US, when it was greatly enlarged and representation of ethnic minorities was improved to ensure a more accurate reflection of British society in 2009 (Table 2)
- There has been only a modest decrease in claimed membership of religious groups and church organizations, which remains about one in ten in Britain (Table 3)
- There has been only a modest decrease in claimed regular participation in the activities of religious groups and church organizations, which remains about one in ten in Britain (Table 4)
- There has been some fluctuation in the number claiming to attend religious services monthly or more often but limited growth in those who, effectively (including

- attendance only for rites of passage), never worship, who have always formed the majority and now account for seven in ten persons in Britain (Table 5)
- Wales and Scotland appear to have secularized later but faster than England, reversing their relative positions compared with the situation at the commencement of BHPS in 1991; Wales is now less religious than England on all five measures in BHPS and US and Scotland less religious than England on three of them (Tables 1–5)

LONGITUDINAL

• There has been relative stability or only limited decline on all measures over the adult life-course (Tables 6–10), reinforcing the case advanced by David Voas and others that people in the aggregate do not significantly change their religious beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour as they get older (this does not preclude some change, in different directions, at the individual level, but leaving the net picture much the same)

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CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS

Table 1: Self-assessed difference made by religious beliefs in respondent's life, Great Britain, cross-section, 1991–2018 (percentages across)

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Great	Some	A little	None/no
				difference	difference	difference	difference
England	DIIDO		0.400	15.0	40.4		10.7
1991	BHPS	1	8,433	17.2	19.6	22.7	40.5
1997	BHPS	7	7,819	15.1	17.9	25.4	41.5
1999	BHPS	9	7,583	14.5	17.1	21.8	46.6
2004	BHPS	14	7,052	13.2	16.7	20.0	50.1
2008	BHPS	18	6,601	12.2	17.6	21.9	48.3
2009–11	US	1	39,937	17.0	20.3	19.0	43.8
2012–14	US	4	32,851	15.5	17.5	18.9	48.0
2016–18	US	8	29,516	14.4	16.4	18.6	50.6
Wales							
1991	BHPS	1	522	23.0	23.4	18.7	34.9
1997	BHPS	7	469	19.1	21.0	22.1	37.8
1999	BHPS	9	2,899	15.2	17.7	17.0	50.1
2004	BHPS	14	2,504	13.3	17.7	17.9	51.1
2008	BHPS	18	2,349	13.2	16.5	18.5	51.7
2009-11	US	1	2,257	13.8	16.9	19.1	50.1
2012-14	US	4	3,331	12.5	15.4	18.4	53.7
2016–18	US	8	2,399	9.7	14.6	18.8	56.9
Scotland							
1991	BHPS	1	929	22.4	21.1	18.6	37.8
1997	BHPS	7	786	14.6	21.8	21.3	42.3
1999	BHPS	9	3,134	17.0	17.5	17.0	48.4
2004	BHPS	14	2,617	15.0	17.6	17.0	50.4
2008	BHPS	18	2,271	14.5	18.8	17.7	48.9
2009-11	US	1	3,397	15.5	19.9	17.8	46.7
2012-14	US	4	3,849	13.3	17.9	18.6	50.3
2016-18	US	8	3,095	12.4	14.7	16.8	56.0
Great Britain							
1991	BHPS	1	9,884	17.9	19.9	22.2	40.0
1997	BHPS	7	9,074	15.3	18.4	24.9	41.4
1999	BHPS	9	13,616	14.7	17.2	21.1	47.0
2004	BHPS	14	12,173	13.4	16.9	19.6	50.2
2008	BHPS	18	11,221	12.5	17.7	21.4	48.5
2009–11	US	1	45,591	16.7	20.1	18.9	44.5
2012–14	US	4	40,031	15.2	17.5	18.9	48.5
2016–18	US	8	35,010	14.0	16.2	18.5	51.4

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Table 2: Self-assigned religious affiliation, Great Britain, cross-section, 1991–2018 (percentages across)

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Anglican	Roman Catholic	Other Christian	Non- Christian	No religion
England					Catholic	Cilistian	Cilistiali	rengion
1991	BHPS	1	8,440	39.0	9.0	10.2	3.0	38.8
1997	BHPS	7	7,842	37.2	8.8	9.0	3.5	41.6
1999	BHPS	9	7,596	37.9	8.7	8.7	3.7	41.1
2004	BHPS	14	7,060	33.6	8.2	8.7	4.3	45.2
2008	BHPS	18	6,601	33.4	8.5	9.4	4.4	44.2
2009–11	US	1	40,013	25.8	9.1	8.7	7.6	48.7
2012–14	US	4	32,906	26.6	8.5	8.7	6.7	49.6
2016–18	US	8	29,538	25.0	7.6	9.1	6.0	52.3
Wales			. ,					
1991	BHPS	1	524	38.5	7.2	16.9	1.3	36.0
1997	BHPS	7	470	32.0	6.0	20.8	1.6	39.5
1999	BHPS	9	2,902	25.7	5.9	16.1	4.0	48.3
2004	BHPS	14	2,508	23.5	5.1	16.9	3.6	50.8
2008	BHPS	18	2,349	22.3	5.0	16.5	2.2	54.0
2009-11	US	1	2,259	19.0	5.7	15.1	3.6	56.6
2012-14	US	4	3,337	19.7	4.7	15.1	3.4	57.2
2016–18	US	8	2,407	19.1	4.8	13.2	2.2	60.7
Scotland								
1991	BHPS	1	934	3.2	13.2	50.9	1.7	31.1
1997	BHPS	7	794	4.4	12.3	45.3	1.8	36.3
1999	BHPS	9	3,136	2.8	12.2	42.4	2.0	40.5
2004	BHPS	14	2,619	2.2	10.1	37.7	1.1	48.8
2008	BHPS	18	2,271	2.1	10.9	37.5	1.1	48.4
2009-11	US	1	3,399	2.9	14.0	29.1	2.5	51.6
2012-14	US	4	3,854	2.5	10.9	29.4	2.0	55.1
2016–18	US	8	3,105	2.5	11.1	26.6	2.5	57.4
Great Britain								
1991	BHPS	1	9,898	36.1	9.2	13.8	2.8	38.1
1997	BHPS	7	9,106	34.4	8.9	12.4	3.3	41.1
1999	BHPS	9	13,634	33.9	8.9	12.2	3.5	41.4
2004	BHPS	14	12,187	30.3	8.2	11.7	4.0	45.8
2008	BHPS	18	11,221	30.2	8.6	12.2	4.0	45.0
2009-11	US	1	45,671	23.5	9.4	10.8	7.0	49.4
2012–14	US	4	40,097	24.2	8.5	10.8	6.1	50.4
2016–18	US	8	35,050	22.8	7.7	10.8	5.5	53.2

Note: The Church of Scotland accounted for the majority of the 'other Christian' category in Scotland. In the Scottish sub-sample, percentages for the Church of Scotland alone were:

1991 1997 1999 2004 2008 2009-11 2012-14 2016-18 40.3 41.6 35.5 31.1 29.4 22.7 22.7 19.1

 $\hbox{Table 3: Claimed membership of religious groups or church organizations, Great Britain, } \\ cross-section, 1991-2019 \ (percentages across)$

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Yes	No
England	Burvey	,,,,,,	11	105	110
1991	BHPS	1	8,443	9.7	90.3
1992	BHPS	2	8,005	11.9	88.1
1993	BHPS	3	7,723	12.3	87.7
1994	BHPS	4	7,744	12.8	87.2
1995	BHPS	5	7,557	12.8	87.2
1997	BHPS	7	7,837	11.2	88.8
1999	BHPS	9	7,583	11.4	88.6
2001	BHPS	11	7,416	11.1	88.9
2003	BHPS	13	7,200	10.3	89.7
2005	BHPS	15	7,018	10.2	89.8
2007	BHPS	17	6,812	10.1	89.9
2011–13	US	3	34,683	10.6	89.4
2014–16	US	6	28,769	10.7	89.3
2017–19	US	9	27,327	10.2	89.8
Wales	0.0		27,627	10.2	07.0
1991	BHPS	1	524	9.9	90.1
1992	BHPS	2	484	10.6	89.4
1993	BHPS	3	455	13.6	86.4
1994	BHPS	4	484	12.4	87.6
1995	BHPS	5	468	12.6	87.4
1997	BHPS	7	470	12.4	87.6
1999	BHPS	9	2,898	11.8	88.2
2001	BHPS	11	2,739	11.0	89.0
2003	BHPS	13	2,576	11.2	88.8
2005	BHPS	15	2,489	11.3	88.7
2007	BHPS	17	2,395	10.9	89.1
2011–13	US	3	3,595	9.5	90.5
2014–16	US	6	2,732	9.1	90.9
2017–19	US	9	2,258	8.9	91.1
Scotland	- 0.5		2,200	0.7	71.1
1991	BHPS	1	933	15.0	85.0
1992	BHPS	2	881	19.0	81.0
1993	BHPS	3	840	20.1	79.9
1994	BHPS	4	827	18.5	81.5
1995	BHPS	5	790	19.5	80.5
1997	BHPS	7	795	16.8	83.2
1999	BHPS	9	3,125	15.8	84.2
2001	BHPS	11	3,088	14.4	85.6
2003	BHPS	13	2,788	15.8	84.2
2005	BHPS	15	2,546	16.7	83.3
2007	BHPS	17	2,375	15.5	84.5
2011–13	US	3	4,201	13.9	86.1
2014–16	US	6	3,340	13.0	87.0
2017–19	US	9	2,895	12.4	87.6
Great Britain					
1991	BHPS	1	9,900	10.1	89.9
1992	BHPS	2	9,370	12.4	87.6
1993	BHPS	3	9,018	13.0	87.1
1994	BHPS	4	9,055	13.3	86.8
1995	BHPS	5	8,815	13.3	86.7
1997	BHPS	7	9,102	11.7	88.3
1999	BHPS	9	13,606	11.8	88.2
2001	BHPS	11	13,243	11.4	88.6
2003	BHPS	13	12,564	10.8	89.2
2005	BHPS	15	12,053	10.8	89.2
2007	BHPS	17	11,582	10.6	89.4
2011–13	US	3	42,479	10.9	89.2
2014–16	US	6	34,841	10.8	89.2
2017–19	US	9	32,480	10.3	89.7

Table 4: Claimed participation in the activities of religious groups or church organizations on a regular basis, Great Britain, cross-section, 1991–2019 (percentages across)

V	C	117	N	V	NI.
Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Yes	No
England	DITE		0.445		00.4
1991	BHPS	1	8,445	9.9	90.1
1992	BHPS	2	7,985	12.0	88.0
1993	BHPS	3	7,661	12.5	87.5
1994	BHPS	4	7,702	13.2	86.8
1995	BHPS	5	7,500	13.4	86.6
1997	BHPS	7	7,773	11.5	88.5
1999	BHPS	9	7,593	10.9	89.1
2001	BHPS	11	7,469	11.2	88.8
2003	BHPS	13	7,200	10.3	89.7
2005	BHPS	15	7,018	10.2	89.8
2007	BHPS	17	6,812	9.6	90.4
2011–13	US	3	34,678	10.5	89.5
2014–16	US	6	22,590	11.2	88.8
2017-19	US	9	27,219	10.9	89.1
Wales					
1991	BHPS	1	524	8.7	91.3
1992	BHPS	2	482	11.0	89.0
1993	BHPS	3	445	12.9	87.1
1994	BHPS	4	481		
				11.6	88.4
1995	BHPS	5	457	13.8	86.2
1997	BHPS	7	467	13.8	86.2
1999	BHPS	9	2,903	10.7	89.3
2001	BHPS	11	2,772	9.7	90.3
2003	BHPS	13	2,576	9.6	90.4
2005	BHPS	15	2,489	11.2	88.8
2007	BHPS	17	2,395	10.3	89.7
2011–13	US	3	3,595	9.3	90.7
2014–16					
	US	6	2,691	9.0	91.0
2017–19	US	9	2,242	8.5	91.5
Scotland					
1991	BHPS	1	933	12.6	87.4
1992	BHPS	2	878	17.1	82.9
1993	BHPS	3	833	17.8	82.2
1994	BHPS	4	825	16.4	83.6
1995	BHPS	5	783	17.9	82.1
1997	BHPS	7	780	15.2	84.8
1999	BHPS	9	3,139	12.7	87.3
2001	BHPS	11	3,096	12.5	87.5
2003	BHPS	13	2,788	13.8	86.2
2005	BHPS	15	2,546	13.2	86.8
2007	BHPS	17	2,375	12.7	87.3
2011–13	US	3	4,201	12.0	88.0
2014–16	US	6	3,391	12.0	88.0
2017–19	US	9	2,884	11.8	88.2
Great Britain					
1991	BHPS	1	9,902	10.1	89.9
1992	BHPS	2	9,345	12.4	87.6
1993	BHPS	3	8,939	13.0	87.0
1994	BHPS	4	9,008	13.4	
					86.6
1995	BHPS	5	8,740	13.8	86.2
1997	BHPS	7	9,020	11.9	88.1
1999	BHPS	9	13,635	11.1	88.9
2001	BHPS	11	13,337	11.3	88.7
2003	BHPS	13	12,564	10.6	89.4
2005	BHPS	15	12,053	10.5	89.5
2007	BHPS	17	11,582	9.9	90.1
2011–13	US	3	42,474	10.6	89.4
2014–16	US	6	34,600	11.2	88.8
2017–19	US	9	32,345	10.9	89.1

Table 5: Claimed frequency of attending religious services, Great Britain, cross-section, 1991–2018 (percentages across)

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Weekly	At least	At least	Never or	Only for
				or more	monthly	annually	practically never	weddings, funerals, etc.
England							never	Tunctais, etc.
1991	BHPS	1	8,419	12.6	7.1	_	_	-
1993	BHPS	3	7,712	12.0	6.8	15.4	27.8	38.1
1994	BHPS	4	7,735	11.4	6.5	16.6	24.2	41.3
1995	BHPS	5	7,548	11.5	6.4	15.7	26.3	40.2
1997	BHPS	7	7,820	10.7	6.7	16.5	19.7	46.4
1999	BHPS	9	7,596	10.2	6.1	17.4	23.2	43.0
2001	BHPS	11	7,469	10.3	6.6	15.6	28.4	39.2
2004	BHPS	14	7,062	8.9	5.5	16.0	26.6	43.0
2006	BHPS	16	6,983	8.9	4.8	14.4	28.4	43.4
2008	BHPS	18	6,601	8.5	5.9	15.4	24.3	46.0
2009-11	US	1	40,019	11.4	6.6	15.7	22.6	43.8
2012-14	US	4	32,909	10.8	6.2	14.7	21.1	47.3
2016–18	US	8	29,590	10.4	5.7	14.0	20.8	49.1
Wales								
1991	BHPS	1	522	11.4	6.9	-	-	
1993	BHPS	3	455	11.9	6.3	16.3	31.9	33.0
1994	BHPS	4	484	11.4	5.4	18.3	31.2	33.8
1995	BHPS	5	467	11.8	4.6	17.7	24.5	41.4
1997	BHPS	7	469	11.6	7.6	18.4	20.7	41.5
1999	BHPS	9	2,901	11.1	5.8	15.7	23.3	44.
2001	BHPS	11	2,772	10.6	6.2	14.8	26.5	41.9
2004	BHPS	14	2,511	9.6	5.1	15.6	25.2	44.:
2006	BHPS	16	2,495	8.9	5.2	12.9	33.0	40.0
2008	BHPS	18	2,349	8.8	4.7	14.6	28.3	43.0
2009-11	US	1	2,261	9.7	3.8	12.4	39.9	34.3
2012–14	US	4	3,338	8.9	4.3	10.5	33.1	43.2
2016–18	US	8	2,406	7.6	3.0	12.5	25.9	51.0
Scotland								
1991	BHPS	1	932	20.0	7.6	-	-	
1993	BHPS	3	840	16.1	8.3	15.9	34.3	25.4
1994	BHPS	4	827	15.9	8.7	16.2	29.0	30.3
1995	BHPS	5	789	15.8	9.0	18.1	22.4	34.0
1997	BHPS	7	790	15.6	9.4	16.1	19.5	39.4
1999	BHPS	9	3,138	14.6	8.4	14.4	24.7	37.3
2001	BHPS	11	3,096	13.6	7.1	13.4	35.1	30.9
2004	BHPS	14	2,622	13.8	7.7	12.5	24.5	41.5
2006	BHPS	16	2,481	14.2	7.1	10.1	27.9	40.8
2008	BHPS	18	2,271	13.1	7.1	12.2	32.9	34.7
2009–11	US	1	3,399	13.2	5.6	12.6	22.3	46.3
2012–14	US	4	3,853	12.0	5.5	12.0	26.5	44.0
2016–18	US	8	3,105	10.9	6.5	9.8	24.2	48.0
Great Britain								
1991	BHPS	1	9,873	13.2	7.2		-	
1993	BHPS	3	9,007	12.3	6.9	15.5	28.5	36.9
1994	BHPS	4	9,046	11.7	6.6	16.7	25.0	40.0
1995	BHPS	5	8,804	11.8	6.5	16.0	25.9	39.8
1997	BHPS	7	9,079	11.1	7.0	16.5	19.8	45.0
1999	BHPS	9	13,635	10.7	6.3	17.1	23.4	42.0
2001	BHPS	11	13,337	10.6	6.6	15.3	28.9	38.
2004	BHPS	14	12,195	9.4	5.7	15.7	26.4	43.0
2006	BHPS	16	11,959	9.4	5.1	13.9	28.6	43.0
2008	BHPS	18	11,221	8.9	6.0	15.1	25.2	44.9
2009–11	US	1	45,679	11.4	6.3	15.3	23.4	43.
2012–14	US	4	40,100	10.8	6.0	14.2	22.2	46.
2016–18	US	8	35,101	10.3	5.7	13.5	21.4	49.

Note: Only the first two (of four) response options for BHPS, wave 1 were directly comparable with all subsequent waves.

LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS

Table 6: Self-assessed difference made by religious beliefs in respondent's life, Great Britain, longitudinal, 1991–2018 (percentages across)

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Great	Some	A little	None/no
				difference	difference	difference	difference
1991	BHPS	1	2,335	15.5	19.6	23.4	41.5
1997	BHPS	7	2,349	14.4	19.5	25.0	41.0
1999	BHPS	9	2,351	14.8	18.2	21.4	45.5
2004	BHPS	14	2,313	15.2	17.8	20.5	46.5
2008	BHPS	18	2,298	14.9	20.7	19.8	44.6
2012-14	US	4	2,346	15.3	21.1	20.5	43.2
2016–18	US	8	2,343	14.0	21.7	19.8	44.4

Table 7: Self-assigned religious affiliation, Great Britain, longitudinal, 1991–2018 (percentages across)

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Anglican	Roman	Other	Non-	No
					Catholic	Christian	Christian	religion
1991	BHPS	1	2,336	33.9	8.3	12.8	2.7	42.3
1997	BHPS	7	2,349	35.2	8.0	12.8	2.9	41.0
1999	BHPS	9	2,353	35.7	8.1	12.6	3.4	40.2
2004	BHPS	14	2,317	34.8	7.9	13.0	3.5	40.8
2008	BHPS	18	2,298	35.8	8.1	13.5	3.2	39.4
2012-14	US	4	2,347	34.4	7.5	12.5	3.5	42.2
2016-18	US	8	2,340	36.6	8.1	12.8	3.5	39.0

Note: The Church of Scotland accounted for the majority of the 'other Christian' category in Scotland.

Table 8: Claimed membership of religious groups or church organizations, Great Britain, longitudinal, 1991–2019 (percentages across)

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Yes	No
1991	BHPS	1	2,010	12.3	87.7
1992	BHPS	2	2,027	13.7	86.3
1993	BHPS	3	2,019	15.4	84.6
1994	BHPS	4	2,026	14.9	85.1
1995	BHPS	5	2,026	15.4	84.6
1997	BHPS	7	2,030	13.3	86.7
1999	BHPS	9	2,023	14.2	85.8
2001	BHPS	11	2,018	14.3	85.7
2003	BHPS	13	2,020	14.7	85.3
2005	BHPS	15	2,011	14.7	85.3
2007	BHPS	17	2,005	14.4	85.6
2011–13	US	3	2,019	14.9	85.1
2014–16	US	6	2,025	14.3	85.7
2017–19	US	9	2,026	14.3	85.7

Table 9: Claimed participation in the activities of religious groups or church organizations on a regular basis, Great Britain, longitudinal, 1991–2019 (percentages across)

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Yes	No
1991	BHPS	1	2,010	12.3	87.7
1992	BHPS	2	2,022	14.2	85.8
1993	BHPS	3	2,004	15.9	84.1
1994	BHPS	4	2,018	15.2	84.8
1995	BHPS	5	2,014	15.6	84.4
1997	BHPS	7	2,016	13.7	86.3
1999	BHPS	9	2,027	13.7	86.3
2001	BHPS	11	2,029	13.8	86.2
2003	BHPS	13	2,020	14.5	85.5
2005	BHPS	15	2,011	14.4	85.6
2007	BHPS	17	2,005	13.2	86.8
2011-13	US	3	2,018	14.6	85.4
2014–16	US	6	2,017	13.7	86.3
2017–19	US	9	2,021	14.6	85.4

Table 10: Claimed frequency of attending religious services, Great Britain, longitudinal, 1991-2018 (percentages across)

Years	Survey	Wave	N =	Weekly	At least	At least	Never or	Only for
				or more	monthly	annually	practically	weddings,
							never	funerals, etc.
1991	BHPS	1	2,231	12.9	7.4	-	1	1
1993	BHPS	3	2,241	11.7	7.1	18.0	25.7	37.6
1994	BHPS	4	2,250	11.2	7.5	19.1	22.3	40.0
1995	BHPS	5	2,251	11.6	6.9	18.9	23.1	39.6
1997	BHPS	7	2,254	11.6	7.5	18.0	16.1	46.8
1999	BHPS	9	2,256	11.4	6.7	19.1	18.3	44.4
2001	BHPS	11	2,254	11.8	7.5	16.5	25.5	38.6
2004	BHPS	14	2,224	12.1	7.3	16.2	21.4	42.9
2006	BHPS	16	2,221	11.7	6.0	14.8	23.6	43.9
2008	BHPS	18	2,205	12.0	6.8	15.4	19.9	45.9
2012-14	US	4	2,250	11.7	6.6	15.4	15.9	50.5
2016–18	US	8	2,250	11.1	5.9	15.1	15.9	52.1

Note: Only the first two (of four) response options for BHPS, wave 1 were directly comparable with all subsequent waves.