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Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2010:
Attitudes to Discrimination and
Positive Action

Equalities



Scottish Centre for
Social Research



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Human Rights
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SCOTTISH SOCIAL ATTITUDES SURVEY 2010
**ATTITUDES TO DISCRIMINATION
AND POSITIVE ACTION**

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Responsibility for the opinions expressed in this report, and for all interpretation of the data, lies solely with the authors.

Rachel Ormston, John Curtice, Susan McConville & Susan Reid

Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	I
Introduction	i
General attitudes to prejudice	i
Relationships	i
Employment	ii
Religious dress and symbols	iii
Promoting equality and positive action	iii
Are attitudes changing?	iv
Conclusion	v
1 BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION	1
Defining 'discriminatory attitudes' and 'positive action'	1
Why do attitudes to discrimination and positive action matter?	2
Previous research	3
The 2010 survey: context and aims	4
Methodological challenges in measuring attitudes to discrimination and positive action	7
About the data	9
Report structure and conventions	9
2 GENERAL ATTITUDES TO PREJUDICE	11
Introduction	11
Is prejudice ever acceptable?	11
How do attitudes to prejudice vary?	11
Sociological factors	12
Economic factors	13
Psychological factors	15
Contact with different groups of people	17
Summary	20
3 RELATIONSHIPS	21
Introduction	21
Personal relationships	21
How do attitudes to relationships vary?	23
Gender, age and education	23
General attitudes to prejudice and diversity	25
Knowing someone from a particular group	26
Religion	27
Attitudes to same sex relationships	27
Summary	28
4 EMPLOYMENT	29
Introduction	29
Equity and participation in the labour market	29
How do attitudes vary?	30
Different contexts, different attitudes?	31
Gender and employment rights	32
How do attitudes to maternity and paternity leave vary?	33
Age and employment	35
Perceived labour market competition	37
Summary	38
5 RELIGIOUS DRESS AND SYMBOLS	40
Introduction	40

	Different symbols, different attitudes?	40
	How do views of religious symbols vary?	42
	Demographic differences	42
	Attitudes to prejudice and diversity	44
	Attitudes towards and contact with Muslims	45
	Summary	46
6	PROMOTING EQUALITY AND POSITIVE ACTION	48
	Introduction	48
	Equal opportunities	49
	Accessibility of services and information	51
	Targeted funding for employment support	54
	Positive action by companies	60
	Summary	65
7	ARE ATTITUDES CHANGING?	66
	Introduction	66
	Trends between 2002 and 2006	66
	Why might attitudes have changed between 2006 and 2010?	66
	What changes have occurred since 2006?	69
	Gay men and Lesbians	69
	Transsexual people	71
	Older People	72
	Religious groups	72
	Ethnic Minority groups	72
	Other Groups	73
	Summary	73
8	HAS THE RECESSION HAD AN IMPACT?	75
	Labour market issues	75
	Accessibility of Shops and Banks	78
	Summary	78
9	CONCLUSIONS	79
	The extent and nature of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland in 2010	79
	Attitudes towards positive action	79
	Changing attitudes	80
	REFERENCES	81
	ANNEX A – ADDITIONAL TABLES	84
	Notes on tables	84
	Chapter 2 additional tables	84
	Chapter 3 additional tables	87
	Chapter 4 additional tables	89
	Chapter 6 additional tables	94
	ANNEX B – TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE SURVEY	95
	The Scottish Social Attitudes series	95
	The 2010 survey	95
	Sample design	96
	Response rates	96
	Sample size for previous years	97
	Weighting	97
	Fieldwork	98
	Fieldwork procedures and equality	98
	Analysis variables	99
	National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC)	99

Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)	99
Analysis techniques	100
Regression models	101
Chapter 2 regression models	101
Chapter 4 regression models	104
Chapter 5 regression models	107
Chapter 6 regression models	111
References in technical annex	118
ANNEX C – FULL QUESTION TEXT AND RESPONSES	119

List of tables and figures

Figure 1.1 Timeline of key legislative changes and media and other events	6
Table 2.1 Attitudes to prejudice by education, age and gender (row %)	13
Table 2.2 Attitudes to prejudice by socio-economic class and economic activity (row %)	14
Table 2.3 Responses to questions about immigration and Scotland's identity (2010, row %)	15
Table 2.4 Attitudes to prejudice by comfort with diversity, beliefs about the impact of immigration on Scotland's identity, and whether religious or not (row %)	17
Table 2.5 Contact with different groups of people (column %)	18
Table 2.6 Attitudes to prejudice by whether or not know anyone from different groups (row %)	20
Table 3.1 Feelings about different groups marrying/forming long-term relationship with a family member (row %)	22
Table 3.2 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by age (cell %)	24
Table 3.3 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by highest educational qualification (cell %)	25
Table 3.4 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by general attitudes to prejudice (cell %)	26
Table 3.5 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by whether know someone from that group (cell %)	27
Table 4.1 Views of the suitability of different people to be a primary school teacher (row %)	30
Figure 4.1 Discriminatory views in different contexts	32
Figure 4.2 Views on mothers' and fathers' rights to 6 months paid leave after having a child	33
Table 4.2 Beliefs about paternity leave, by gender and age (cell %)	34
Table 4.3 Beliefs about paternity leave, by class, self-rated hardship and household type (cell %)	35
Figure 4.3 Beliefs about whether people from ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland	37
Figure 4.4 Beliefs about black and Asian people and ethnic minority groups	38
Table 5.1 Should a bank be able to insist employees remove religious dress or symbols? (column %)	41
Table 5.2 Attitudes to religious dress and symbols by demographic factors (cell %)	43
Table 5.3 Attitudes to religious dress and symbols by attitudes to prejudice and diversity (cell %)	45
Table 5.4 Attitudes to religious dress and symbols by contact with Muslims and attitudes to impact of Muslim immigration on Scottish identity (cell %)	46
Figure 6.1 Attitudes to attempts to promote equal opportunities	50
Table 6.1 Agree/disagree 'Shops and banks should be forced to make themselves easier for disabled people to use, even if this leads to higher prices' (column %)	52
Figure 6.2 Attitudes to providing information about public services in alternative formats	52
Table 6.2 Attitudes to using government money to provide information about public services in other languages for people who do not understand English well, by various factors (row %)	54
Table 6.3 Views on giving money to organisations that help particular groups find work (row %)	55
Figure 6.3 Discriminatory attitudes and attitudes to positive action targeting different groups (%)	57

Table 6.4 Bad/very bad use of government money to give money to organisations that help different groups find work, by gender, age and education (cell %)	58
Table 6.5 Bad/very bad use of government money to give money to organisations that help different groups find work, by current economic activity (cell %)	59
Table 6.6 Bad/very bad use of government money to give money to organisations that help different groups find work, by general attitudes to prejudice and diversity (cell %)	60
Figure 6.4 Perceptions of fairness of different kinds of positive action by companies (%)	62
Table 6.7 View positive action as unfair, by gender, age and education (cell %)	63
Table 6.8 View positive action as unfair, by socio-economic class and current economic activity (cell %)	64
Table 7.1 Acquaintance with people from different groups, 2002-10	67
Table 7.2 Trends in attitudes towards same sex relationships, 2000-10	69
Table 7.3 Trends in attitudes towards same sex relationships by gender, religious attendance and age group, 2005-10	70
Table 7.4 Trends in attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, 2002-10	70
Table 7.5 Attitudes towards same sex marriages and gay men and lesbians as primary school teachers by whether know a gay man or lesbian, 2006 and 2010	71
Table 8.1 Trends in attitudes towards labour market issues, 2002-10	76
Table 8.2 Trends in attitudes towards labour market issues by income, 2006-10	77
Table A.2.1 Agree that if more people from particular groups moved here, Scotland would start to lose its identity, by gender, age, education, class, economic activity and area deprivation (2010, cell %)	85
Table A.2.2 Disagree that people from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make it a better place, by gender, age, education, class, economic activity and area deprivation (2010, cell %)	86
Table A.3.1 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by income (cell %)	87
Table A.3.2 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by preferences for type of area live in (cell %)	87
Table A.3.3 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by religious affiliation (cell %)	88
Table A.4.1 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by gender (cell %)	89
Table A.4.2 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by age (cell %)	89
Table A.4.3 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by education (cell %)	90
Table A.4.4 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by income (cell %)	90
Table A.4.5 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by current religion (cell %)	90
Table A.4.6 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by general attitudes to prejudice (cell %)	91
Table A.4.7 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by preference for type of area live in (cell %)	91
Table A.4.8 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by whether knows someone from that group (cell %)	91
Table A.4.9 Views on compulsory retirement age, by age (column %)	92
Table A.4.10 Views on compulsory retirement age, by education (column %)	92

Table A.4.11 Agree people from ethnic minorities / people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland by gender, age, education, class, economic activity and area deprivation (2010, cell %)	93
Table A.6.1 Attempts to give equal opportunities to different groups gone too far, by demographic and economic factors, 2010(cell %)	94
Table 1: 2010 Scottish Social Attitudes survey response.....	97
Table 2: <i>Scottish Social Attitudes</i> survey sample size by year	97

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

1. This report presents key findings from a study of public attitudes towards discrimination and positive action. Based on data from the Scottish Social Attitudes survey (SSA), the study aimed to:
 - Measure the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland in 2010
 - Assess the extent of support for positive action to try and achieve equality for different groups, and
 - Examine how attitudes have changed over time.
2. It focused on discriminatory *attitudes*, rather than *behaviours*, and examined attitudes towards different groups of people currently protected by equalities legislation in the UK, including: men and women; older people; people of different religions; gay men and lesbians; disabled people; ethnic minority groups; and transgender people. The survey included two sets of detailed questions – one about personal relationships and one about employment – in the expectation that attitudes towards a particular group are likely to vary depending on the context.

General attitudes to prejudice

3. In 2010, only a minority (28%) of people in Scotland felt that there was sometimes good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups, while two-thirds (66%) believed Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice. However, at almost 3 in 10 the minority that felt prejudice can sometimes be justifiable was a substantial one. Moreover, some sections of society were more likely to hold this view than others. In particular, those with no or lower levels of educational attainment were more likely to think this, as were older people. Conversely, people with a preference for living in a more diverse area, as well as those who felt that immigration had a positive impact on Scotland, were *less* likely to feel there was ever a good reason for prejudice. Similarly, those who knew personally someone from a different racial or ethnic background, a Muslim, or someone with a learning disability were all less likely than those who did not know anyone from these groups to feel that prejudice is ever justifiable.

Relationships

4. Respondents were asked if they would be happy or unhappy if a close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with someone from each of ten different groups. Responses varied widely depending on the group in question:
 - Over half (55%) said they would be unhappy about a family member forming a relationship with someone who cross-dresses in public.
 - 49% said the same of someone who has had a sex change operation.

- 37% would be unhappy about a Gypsy/Traveller joining their family circle.
 - 30% would be unhappy if a family member formed a relationship with someone of the same sex.
 - 23% would be unhappy about a family member forming a relationship with a Muslim, compared with 18% for a Hindu, 9% for a Jewish person and just 2% (of non-Christian respondents) for a Christian.
 - 1 in 5 (21%) would be unhappy about a family member marrying someone who experiences depression from time to time.
 - 1 in 10 (9%) would be unhappy about a black or Asian person joining their family circle.
5. Differences in responses by age and education were striking. Those aged 65 and older and, to a lesser extent, those aged 55-64 were more likely than younger generations to say they would be unhappy at the prospect of someone from any of these groups (except Christians) joining their family circle. Those with lower levels of educational attainment were also significantly more likely to say they would be unhappy if a close relative formed a relationship with someone from most of these groups. In contrast, knowing someone from a particular group was associated with being less likely to feel unhappy with someone from this group joining your family circle.
6. In 2010, 50% said that sexual relationships between two adults of the same sex are either rarely wrong or not wrong at all, compared with 27% who thought they were always or mostly wrong. A majority (61%) agreed that gay or lesbian couples should have the right to marry one another if they want to.

Employment

7. Respondents were asked how suitable or unsuitable different kinds of people would be for the job of primary school teacher. Again, there were wide variations in attitudes towards people from different groups taking on this role:
- Gypsy/Travellers were most likely to be considered unsuitable – 46% said this.
 - Similar proportions felt that someone who experiences depression from time to time (41%) and someone aged 70 (39%) would be unsuitable for such a position.
 - 3 in 10 (31%) felt someone who has had a sex change operation would be an unsuitable primary teacher.
 - 18% said the same of gay men and lesbians, 15% of a Muslim, and just 6% of a black or Asian person.
8. Again, older people, those with lower levels of educational attainment and those who did not know anyone from the group in question were more likely to feel that members of these groups were unsuitable primary teachers.

9. Although very few people (just 2%) felt men would be unsuitable primary teachers, 17% gave responses that suggested they considered women to be more suited to this role than men. People also held different views about paid maternity and paternity leave. While 82% agreed that mothers should be entitled to six months paid leave after having a child, just 46% felt that fathers should have an equivalent right.
10. In relation to older people working, three quarters (75%) felt that it is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age, compared with 22% who thought older people ought to be made to retire to make way for younger age groups. However, even among those who said it is wrong to make people retire when they reach a certain age, 35% felt that someone aged 70 would be unsuitable for primary teaching.
11. Although relatively few people felt that a black or Asian person would be unsuitable as a primary teacher, or said they would be unhappy if someone who was black or Asian married a close family member, a higher proportion believed that 'People from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland' (31%). Even more (37%) believed that 'People who come here from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland'.

Religious dress and symbols

12. Religious dress and symbols have been a particular focus of debate about religious and cultural diversity in the UK in recent years. Respondents were asked whether they thought a bank interviewing people for a job serving customers ought to be able to ask prospective employees to remove particular religious symbols or items of dress while at work. People were least likely to accept that a bank should be able to insist a Christian woman remove a crucifix while at work – 15% thought this. Slightly more (24% and 23% respectively) thought the bank should be able to insist a Sikh man remove a turban and that a Muslim woman remove a headscarf that did not cover her face. In contrast, a far higher proportion – 69% - said the bank should be able to insist a female Muslim employee remove a veil that did cover her face.
13. Attitudes towards a bank's rights vis-à-vis their employees with respect to a Sikh man wearing a turban and a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf varied in much the same way as did most other attitudes covered by the survey – older people and those with lower levels of educational attainment were more likely to say the bank ought to be able to insist that an employee remove these items. However, there were fewer differences in attitudes towards the veil, with a majority of both graduates and those with no qualifications supporting the bank's right to ask that this be removed. Support for the bank's right to ask a Christian woman to remove a crucifix was highest among those aged *under* 35.

Promoting equality and positive action

14. As well as asking questions aimed at tapping the extent to which people hold discriminatory views, SSA 2010 also asked about attitudes towards promoting equality and different kinds of positive action.

15. Relatively few people (6% in 2010) felt that attempts to promote equal opportunities for women had gone too far. In contrast, 23% felt attempts to promote equality for black and Asian people had gone too far, while 20% said the same with respect to gay men and lesbians. However, similar proportions (26% and 22% respectively) felt that attempts to promote equal opportunities for these two groups had not gone far enough.
16. Most (76%) agreed that shops and banks should take action to reduce barriers to disabled people using their services, even if this leads to higher prices. An even higher proportion (93%) believed that providing information about public services in 'easy read' formats for people with learning disabilities is a good use of government money. However, attitudes to providing information about public services in translation for people who do not speak English well were more divided – 47% felt this was a good use of government money, but 34% thought it was a bad use.
17. Respondents were also asked whether they felt providing funding for organisations that focus on helping particular groups of people find work was a good or a bad use of government money. Support for this kind of targeted action varied depending on the group in question – three quarters felt that funding this kind of support for people over 50 or for people who experience depression from time to time was a good use of money, compared with between 31% and 43% who said the same with respect to funding support for Gypsy/Travellers, gay men and lesbians, Muslims and black and Asian people to find work.
18. Attitudes to different kinds of positive action that employers could take to try and increase the representativeness of their workforce varied depending on both the group in question and the nature of the action. While only 37% felt that increasing training opportunities for women would be unfair, almost half (48%) felt that providing more training to black or Asian staff would be. A majority felt that giving a suitably qualified disabled candidate an automatic interview for a job or only interviewing women for a post would be unfair (63% and 79% respectively). In contrast with findings on discriminatory attitudes, it was the more highly educated and those in managerial or professional professions who were most likely to view these kinds of positive action as unfair.

Are attitudes changing?

19. For the most part, the survey found relatively little change since 2006 in the extent to which people express discriminatory attitudes. There were, however, two main exceptions to this: a further decline in discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, and a small (but significant) increase in the proportion who felt that people from ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland. At the same time, the proportion of people who viewed positive action to help increase the labour market prospects of black and Asian people and disabled people as unfair also increased.
20. The biggest and most rapid change in discriminatory attitudes in the last decade has been in views of gay men and lesbians. In 2000, 48% felt sexual relationships between two adults of the same sex were always or mostly wrong. By 2010 this figure had fallen to just over a quarter (27%).

At the same time, support for same sex marriage has increased from 41% in 2002 to 61% in 2010, while more people said a gay man or lesbian would be a suitable primary school teacher in 2010 compared with 2006 (56% compared with 48%). These changes in attitudes have occurred across most groups in Scottish society, including people brought up in an era when male same sex relationships were illegal (although it remains the case that older people are more likely than younger people to hold discriminatory views towards gay men and lesbians).

21. The only questions on which the incidence of discriminatory views *increased* between 2006 and 2010, albeit only very slightly, related to the perception that people from ethnic minority groups and people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland. The proportion of people who agreed with these propositions increased from 27% to 31% for ethnic minority groups, and from 32% to 37% for people from Eastern Europe. At the same time, the proportion of people who regarded positive action to increase the labour market prospects of black and Asian people and disabled people as unfair increased slightly (from 41% to 48% and from 57% to 63% respectively). These changes suggest that the advent of the recession may have had some impact on attitudes towards the position of certain groups within the labour market in particular.

22. Other changes since 2006 included:

- A fall in the proportions of people who felt someone aged 70 and someone who experiences depression from time to time would be unsuitable primary teachers, and
- A fall in the proportion of people who regarded women as more suitable for primary teaching than men.

Conclusion

23. For the most part, only a minority of people in Scotland hold views that could be described as discriminatory. However, some groups – particularly Gypsy/Travellers and transgender people – appear to be the subjects of fairly widespread discriminatory attitudes.

24. The findings also suggest that discriminatory attitudes towards a group of people with particular characteristics may often be more common than discriminatory attitudes towards individual members of that group, possibly reflecting concerns about cultural diversity and labour market competition.

25. The incidence of discriminatory views is not evenly spread across Scottish society, with certain sections (e.g. older people and those with lower levels of educational attainment) still relatively more likely to express such views.

26. All other things being equal, we might expect the incidence of discrimination to decline over time as a result of generational change, increasing educational attainment and increasing contact between people with different characteristics. However, this process is not necessarily inevitable.

27. The small but significant increase in discriminatory views with respect to the perceived labour market position of ethnic minority groups and people from Eastern Europe since 2006 highlights the possible impact of the recession on attitudes – and provides a reminder for policy makers that external events may impact on public attitudes that otherwise appear to be shifting in a more liberal direction. Policy makers concerned with reducing discriminatory views cannot afford to be complacent, and need to be willing and able to address the specific circumstances that give rise to discriminatory attitudes towards particular groups.
28. Support for positive action varied widely depending on both the action and the group in question, but there appeared to be particularly strong resistance to actions that may violate people's notions of equality of *process*. Moreover, opposition to positive action involving preferential treatment in recruitment or training was strong among those generally *least* likely to express discriminatory attitudes. If policy makers do wish to pursue positive action in particular areas, substantial effort may therefore be required to convince the public – including those generally opposed to discrimination – of the merits of such action in achieving equality of outcome.
29. Finally, the increase in support for same sex marriage since 2006 suggests that a majority of people in Scotland would support same sex relationships being treated in law in the same manner as heterosexual relationships.

1 BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 In 2010, the Scottish Government promoted a year of ‘homecoming’, celebrating Scotland’s contributions to the world and inviting people across the globe to celebrate Scottish culture. To tie in with ‘homecoming’, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the Commission) in Scotland held a public debate in Edinburgh which posed the question ‘Is Scotland worth coming home to?’ It asked how true our image of ourselves as a fair, welcoming and hospitable nation actually is, and how well this image stands up when we look at Scotland’s attitudes to people from different groups.
- 1.2 This report provides the kind of robust data about public attitudes required to answer difficult questions like these. It presents findings from the 2010 Scottish Social Attitudes survey (SSA), providing a detailed picture of public attitudes to discrimination and positive action in 2010. Moreover, as this is now the third time SSA has included questions on attitudes to discrimination (following previous studies in 2002 and 2006) this report also provides valuable insight into how public attitudes in this area are changing over time.
- 1.3 This introductory chapter outlines the rationale and context for the survey, discusses some of the key issues and difficulties in asking questions about discrimination and positive action, and summarises the report structure and conventions. First, however, it explains the definitions of ‘discriminatory attitudes’ and ‘positive action’ used in the rest of this report.

Defining ‘discriminatory attitudes’ and ‘positive action’

- 1.4 In discussing action to tackle discrimination, policy makers are perhaps most often referring to discriminatory *behaviour* – that is, behaviour by individuals and institutions that either deliberately or inadvertently excludes particular groups from enjoying the rights, dignity, services and resources available to others. This report does not explore discriminatory behaviour – data on this is available elsewhere.¹ Rather, the focus is on ‘discriminatory attitudes’. The definition of a ‘discriminatory attitude’ employed in this report and first developed for the 2002 SSA discrimination module is:

‘One that directly or indirectly suggests that some social groups may not be entitled to engage in the full panoply of social, economic and political activities that are thought to be the norm for most citizens. In short, it is an attitude that openly or tacitly legitimates some form of social exclusion.’

- 1.5 Three features of this definition are important to bear in mind when reading the rest of this report. First, as indicated above, it is about attitudes and not behaviour. It is perfectly possible for discriminatory actions to occur in the absence of such attitudes – for example, as a result of bias in institutional procedures or practice. As such, where this

¹ See for example the various data reported in the EHRC Triennial Review (EHRC, 2010).

report states that discriminatory attitudes appear to be uncommon, this does not imply that discrimination itself is uncommon or that a particular group is not likely to experience this. Second, the definition was not designed to reflect any particular legal definition of discrimination. In this report, a discriminatory attitude is any attitude that indicates a reluctance to allow someone who belongs to a particular group to engage in an activity that would not be denied to (most) other people, irrespective of whether or not it is currently illegal to deny people such opportunities. Third, the definition implies no judgement about people's motives or feelings in holding discriminatory attitudes. In some cases, people might hold a discriminatory view because they feel hostile to a particular group. In others, their attitudes may reflect misunderstandings about a particular group's characteristics or capabilities, rather than any active animosity towards that group. However, whatever the underlying reasons, such attitudes nonetheless imply discomfort with particular groups taking part in activities that are the norm for others – and as such, at least tacitly legitimate social exclusion.

- 1.6 In addition to studying discriminatory attitudes, this report also explores attitudes to positive action. The Commission defines 'positive action' as:

*'measures that are designed to counteract the effects of past discrimination and to help abolish stereotyping.'*²

- 1.7 It is most commonly applied in employment settings, and typically involves action to encourage particular groups of people who are under-represented in a workplace to take advantage of training, or to apply for employment in the first place. This could involve, for example, offering training to female employees, or actively encouraging people from ethnic minority groups to apply for a job. This report also explores attitudes to targeting state resources on particular groups to help them access public services or employment.

Why do attitudes to discrimination and positive action matter?

- 1.8 The Scottish and UK Governments have both expressed a commitment to tackling inequality and discrimination on numerous occasions in the last decade. In this context, there are a number of reasons for arguing that they should also be interested in discriminatory attitudes as well as behaviours. First and foremost, attitudes often underpin behaviours. If people believe that members of a particular group should not be entitled to share the same rights and resources as others, then they are more likely to express this view through action that excludes individuals from that group. Second, even where people's attitudes do not translate into specific discriminatory behaviours, it might be argued that reducing the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes is an important part of building good relations between all sections of society. The Commission's vision for 'a society at ease with its diversity'³ suggests a positive vision of society where *both* discriminatory behaviours and attitudes are a thing of

² <http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/advice-and-guidance/your-rights/religion-and-belief/when-does-the-law-allow-religious-discrimination/positive-action/> (Accessed 2 March 2011)

³ See introduction to EHRC (2010).

the past. The importance of challenging discriminatory attitudes has been increasingly recognised in, for example, the Scottish Government's 'One Scotland, many cultures' campaign.

- 1.9 While policy-makers in the UK are generally agreed on the desirability of ending discrimination, the means by which this should be achieved is considerably more controversial. Positive action has been a particular topic of debate in recent years. Those who support positive action argue it is necessary to achieve a more equal society, while those who are opposed argue that it is unfair or even discriminatory. Survey data can help policy makers assess how far any policy to promote positive action chimes with public opinion. It can also inform any strategy intended to persuade people for or against positive action, including identifying which sections of society may require the most convincing.

Previous research

- 1.10 2010 was the third year in which SSA has included a module of questions on attitudes to discrimination. The first module, in 2002, was developed by a collaboration of the Scottish Centre for Social Research with the Disability Rights Commission, the Commission for Racial Equality, the Equal Opportunities Commission, Stonewall Scotland and the Scottish Government. It explored discriminatory attitudes in respect of four groups: women; ethnic minority groups; disabled people; and gay men and lesbians. Although attitudes towards each of these groups had previously been explored in other research, they had rarely been studied in combination and there was little data about attitudes in Scotland. As such, the 2002 study was intended to provide a unique insight into both Scottish public opinion and how discriminatory attitudes vary depending on the group in question.
- 1.11 The findings showed that while only a minority of people in Scotland usually expressed discriminatory views, such attitudes were more common in relation to gay men and lesbians and people from ethnic minority groups and less common in relation to women and disabled people. The study also highlighted the importance of context – even where a particular group attracted a discriminatory response only rarely, it could still be fairly common in particular situations. For example, while relatively few people expressed discriminatory views towards disabled people in other contexts, around a third felt a wheelchair user would be very or fairly unsuitable as a primary school teacher (see Bromley and Curtice, 2003 for full findings).
- 1.12 Attitudes to discrimination were examined for a second time in SSA 2006 (see Bromley et al, 2007 for full findings). Questions were again developed by ScotCen in collaboration with the Scottish Government, the Disability Rights Commission, the Equal Opportunities Commission, the Commission for Racial Equality, Stonewall Scotland, the Equality Network, Age Concern Scotland and Scottish Inter-faith Council. The 2006 survey expanded on the scope of the 2002 survey in two ways. First, anticipating the establishment of the Equality and Human Rights Commission in October 2007 - and their wider remit to tackle discrimination and promote equality in relation to age, religion or belief

and sexual orientation as well as race, disability and gender – the survey was expanded to cover attitudes to a wider set of different groups. Second, given the finding in *SSA 2002* that discriminatory attitudes differed depending on the context, the module included a more systematic comparison of discriminatory attitudes within the contexts of personal relationships, the provision of goods and services, and employment.

- 1.13 The 2006 findings confirmed that, in general, only a minority of people in Scotland held discriminatory attitudes, but that these remained more common with respect to gay men and lesbians and ethnic minority groups. The findings also highlighted that discriminatory attitudes were widespread with respect to Gypsy/Travellers, transsexual people⁴ and Muslims. Since the 2006 survey repeated a number of questions from 2002, these findings offered evidence on how attitudes had changed over time. In particular, the survey demonstrated that attitudes to same sex relationships had become significantly more liberal even in the relatively short time period since 2002. At the same time, there was some evidence of a hardening of attitudes towards Muslims and an increase in the proportion who agreed that ‘people from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland’. Finally, the importance of context was again apparent – for example, in general people were more likely to express unhappiness about a close relative forming a relationship with someone from a particular group than they were to say that someone from that group would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher.
- 1.14 In addition to full modules on attitudes to discrimination in 2002 and 2006, *SSA 2003* also carried a number of questions on attitudes to Muslims, which are also referred to in this report.⁵

The 2010 survey: context and aims

- 1.15 The 2010 *SSA* discrimination module was funded by the Scottish Government and the Commission. In the eight years since the *SSA* first included questions on discrimination, there have been extensive changes to equality legislation and considerable public and media debate about equality and discrimination (see Figure 1.1 for a summary of some of the key changes over this period). At the same time, the structure of our society has changed. Older people account for a greater proportion of the population – in Scotland, the proportion of people of pensionable age increased from 18% in 1999 to 20% in 2009 (and is predicted to increase to 24% by 2033).⁶ The Commission’s Triennial Review *How fair is Britain?* reported that in 2010 nearly 1 in 10 British children were growing up in a mixed race household (EHRC, 2010).

⁴ ‘Transsexual people’ are people who have permanently changed their social gender role. In this report, we use the term ‘transsexual’ when discussing questions about someone who has had a sex change operation. The term ‘transgender’ is an umbrella term for people whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from their birth sex. In this report, we use ‘transgender’ when discussing findings from questions about both someone who has had a sex change operation and someone who cross-dresses in public.

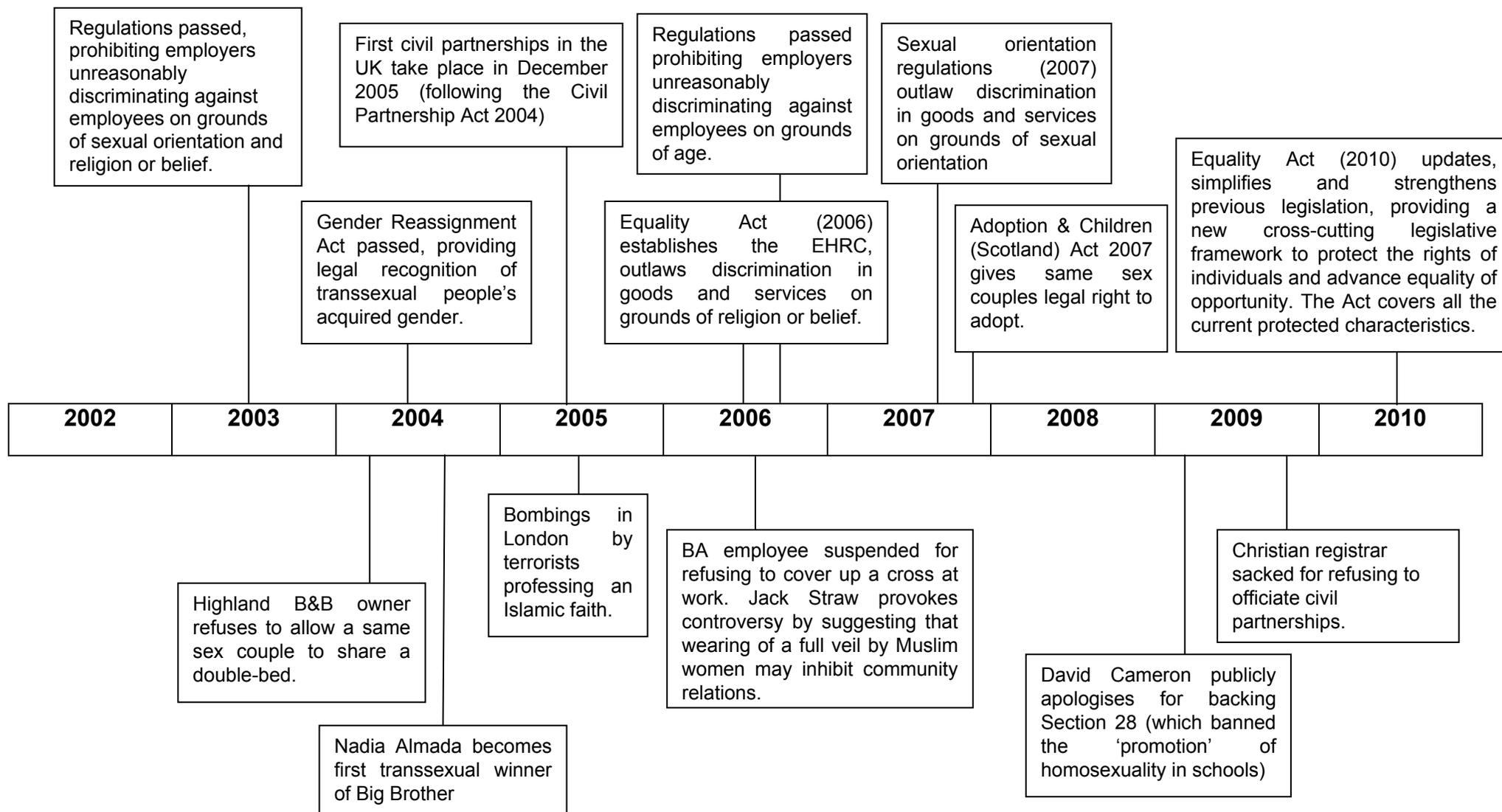
⁵ The 2003 questions were funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. The module was undertaken in collaboration with Professor Bill Miller at Glasgow University.

⁶ Office of the Chief Researcher and Office of the Chief Economic Adviser (2010).

Between December 2005 and December 2009, 40,237 UK couples formed civil partnerships⁷ (ONS, August 2010). The Triennial Review also suggested that some minority groups that were once more hidden – for example, transgender people – have become more confident about expressing their identity in the public sphere in recent years.

⁷ In the UK, a civil partnership is a legally recognised union between two people of the same sex, which confers some of the legal rights associated with marriage.

Figure 1.1 Timeline of key legislative changes and media and other events



1.16 Against this backdrop of legislative and social change, the main aims of the questions on discrimination and positive action included in SSA 2010 were:

- To measure the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland in 2010 – including comparing attitudes to different groups and in different contexts
- To explore the extent of support for positive action to try and achieve equality for different groups, and
- To examine how attitudes have changed over time.

1.17 As in 2006, the 2010 survey explored attitudes to men and women, people from ethnic minority groups, disabled people, gay men and lesbians, people of different faiths, older people and transgender people. Comparing attitudes to different groups of people remained a key aim, as did exploring how people's views vary with context. Major additions since the 2006 survey included:

- more detailed questions about positive action and targeted services – areas of considerable interest and debate among equality activists
- a new set of questions on attitudes to religious dress, which has provided a flashpoint for debate about religious expression and cultural values over recent years, and
- new questions about attitudes to maternal and paternal leave after the birth of a child.

1.18 The 2010 survey also shifted the focus of a number of questions on disability to people with a mental health condition. In the original 2002 survey, it was determined during question development and piloting that framing questions with reference to 'disability' or 'disabled people' in general often made them difficult to answer, since people's views might vary widely depending on the nature of the impairment in question. The 2002 survey therefore focused mostly on physical disability – specifically wheelchair users. The 2006 survey moved on to explore attitudes to people with learning disabilities. However, it did include one question on mental health – how suitable people felt someone who experienced depression from time to time would be as a primary school teacher. A particularly high proportion of people (51%) in the 2006 survey felt that this group would be very or fairly unsuitable as a primary school teacher. It was therefore decided that the 2010 survey should include additional questions to explore attitudes to people who experience depression from time to time.

Methodological challenges in measuring attitudes to discrimination and positive action

1.19 The research team faced numerous challenges in developing the questions, both for the initial survey in 2002 and again in 2006 and 2010. The first challenge was length. With space for 50 questions in 2010, there were inevitably difficult decisions about what to include. The steering group were guided by the central aim of comparing attitudes to all seven protected characteristics. However, this inevitably meant that the extent to which the survey could include more detailed questions

about particular sub-groups (for example, attitudes to people with different kinds of impairment or different ethnic minority groups) was limited.

- 1.20 A second key challenge related to language and terminology. Surveys of the general public work best when the question wording is widely understood and non-technical. This means that the type of language sometimes preferred by equality advocacy groups might not be suitable if it draws on phrases and language which are not in shared use by the general public. At the same time, what constitutes appropriate language in relation to different groups of people is often contested, as illustrated by the ongoing debate over the use of colour classifications such as 'black' and 'white' in the 2011 Scottish Census.⁸ Decisions about the terminology used in the SSA questionnaire were informed both by discussions with the study steering groups in 2002, 2006 and 2010, and by piloting and cognitive testing⁹ to check how particular terms are understood by members of the public. However, we recognise that language does not stand still, and that what was considered appropriate for the 2010 survey may require revising if these questions are repeated in future years.
- 1.21 A third key challenge is how to avoid capturing only 'socially desirable' responses – that is, where people give the answer they feel is socially expected, rather than expressing their 'real' view on an issue. Questions about discrimination are perhaps particularly open to this criticism – people may be concerned about their views being seen as intolerant or objectionable by others. There is no easy way of avoiding such concerns. However, the research team tried to ensure that questions were balanced – so that people could equally express positive and negative views – and that they did not imply that any particular response was 'correct'. Interviewers were also briefed to be alert to any apparent hesitation or concern on the part of respondents, and to remind them that there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and that their individual responses would remain confidential.
- 1.22 A final issue arising from including questions about discrimination in a survey of the general public is the relatively limited scope for analysing the views of particular sub-sections of the population. Although a sample of 1,495 is large enough to allow for some quite detailed statistical analysis of the views of the population as a whole and for large sub-sections, like men and women and people of different ages, groups which are small in number in the population as a whole will also constitute a small proportion of any sample. For example, according to the 2001 census, 2% of Scotland's population identified as belonging to an ethnic minority group (Scottish Executive, 2004). So while our sample is representative of the population as a whole, 2% of a sample of 1,495 is just 30 respondents – too few for comparisons of their views with

⁸ For discussion of the findings from the cognitive testing carried out for the proposed ethnicity question in the 2011 census – and the different views people expressed in relation to the use of terms like 'black' and 'white' – see Homes and Murray, 2008.

⁹ Cognitive testing uses qualitative interviewing techniques to explore how respondents interpret and answer particular questions. It is used to identify problems with question wording that may be 'hidden' in more traditional 'question and answer' pilots.

those of white respondents to be statistically robust. Similarly, the proportions of respondents who identified as gay, lesbian or bisexual and the proportion who said they belonged to a religion other than Christianity were too small to allow for statistically robust comparison of their views with those of others.

About the data

1.23 The *Scottish Social Attitudes* survey (SSA) was established by the Scottish Centre for Social Research (ScotCen), an independent organisation based in Edinburgh and part of the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen), the UK's largest not-for-profit research institute. The survey provides robust data on changing social and political attitudes to inform both public policy and academic study. Around 1,500 face-to-face interviews are conducted annually (1,495 in 2010) with a representative probability sample of the Scottish population. Interviews are conducted in respondents' homes, using computer assisted personal interviewing, where answers are entered directly onto a laptop in response to pre-programmed questions. Around 9 in 10 respondents also complete a pen-and-paper self-completion questionnaire. The survey has achieved a response of between 54% and 65% in each year since 1999 (in 2010, the response was 54%). The data is weighted to correct for over-sampling, non-response bias and to ensure it reflects the sex-age profile of the Scottish population. Further technical details about the survey are included in Annex B.

1.24 All percentages cited in this report are based on the weighted data (see Annex B for details) and are rounded to the nearest whole number. All differences described in the text (between years, or between different sections of society) are statistically significant at the 95% level or above, unless otherwise specified. This means that the probability of having found a difference of at least this size if there was no actual difference in the population is 5% or less.¹⁰ The term 'significant' is used in this report to refer to statistical significance, and is not intended to imply substantive importance. Further details of significance testing and multivariate analysis conducted for this report is included in Annex B.

Report structure and conventions

1.25 The remainder of this report is structured as follows:

- Chapter Two discusses whether or not people think there is sometimes good reason for prejudice. It looks at differences in the kinds of people more or less likely to say that prejudice is sometimes acceptable.
- Chapter Three explores discriminatory attitudes in the context of personal relationships. It compares how happy people would feel about people from different groups forming a long-term relationship with a family member, and also looks at attitudes towards the

¹⁰ Thus significance tests on differences reported in the text produced p-values of ≤ 0.05 . Cases where differences were on the margins of being statistically significant at this level (where p is only slightly above 0.05) are identified in the text or in footnotes.

acceptability of same sex relationships and views about same sex marriage.

- Chapter Four looks at discriminatory attitudes in the context of employment, comparing views of the suitability of people from different groups to be a primary school teacher. It also explores beliefs about maternity and paternity leave and older people working, and perceived labour market competition from different groups of people.
- Chapter Five presents findings from a new series of questions on attitudes towards religious dress and symbols, contrasting attitudes towards Christian, Sikh and Muslim dress.
- Chapter Six focuses on public responses to measures to help particular people access services or employment.
- Chapters Seven and Eight both assess whether and how attitudes have changed over time. Chapter Seven summarises the main areas where attitudes have changed or stayed the same since 2006, while Chapter Eight looks in more detail at whether or not the recent economic recession has had an impact on attitudes.
- Finally, Chapter Nine summarises the main conclusions from across the report.

2 GENERAL ATTITUDES TO PREJUDICE

Introduction

2.1 Before looking at attitudes in the specific contexts of family relationships and employment in Chapters Three and Four, this chapter explores responses to a more general question, designed to tap whether or not people are inclined towards a discriminatory point of view. Responses to this question provide an initial indication of the extent to which people in Scotland may hold discriminatory attitudes and of the sections of Scottish society more and less likely to hold such views.

2.2 The question asked people to choose which of two statements came closest to their own view:

Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice

OR

Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups.

2.3 Choosing the second statement is taken to indicate that, in at least some circumstances, the respondent is prepared to accept that discrimination may be acceptable.

Is prejudice ever acceptable?

2.4 Only a minority of people – 28% in 2010 – considered that there was ever a good reason for prejudice. Two thirds (66%) believed that Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice. However, while viewing prejudice as acceptable is clearly a minority viewpoint in modern Scotland, at almost 3 in 10 it is a view shared by a fairly substantial minority.

How do attitudes to prejudice vary?

2.5 Earlier SSA reports on discrimination have explored in some detail the reasons why some people may be more likely to hold prejudiced views than others. In particular, they explored how attitudes vary with:

- **Sociological factors** – like age and education, which relate to people's position in society and differences in their upbringing that might affect their views.
- **Economic factors** – like income or socio-economic class. People's economic position might impact on their attitudes to prejudice if these attitudes are, at least in part, rooted in a perception that particular groups of people threaten the availability of jobs or resources for others.
- **Psychological factors** – like comfort with diversity. Another reason some people may be more likely to think prejudice is sometimes acceptable is because they are uncomfortable with difference, or feel that diversity is threatening in some way.

2.6 These different factors are not, of course, mutually exclusive – an individual’s views might reflect a combination of their upbringing, their economic position and their level of contact with diverse groups. The remainder of this chapter explores how attitudes to prejudice vary, and considers which of the three types of factors discussed above appear to be best at explaining why people accept or oppose prejudice.¹¹

Sociological factors

2.7 In terms of the ‘sociological’ factors that might impact on people’s views, education is by far the strongest predictor of viewing prejudice as acceptable in some circumstances (Table 2.1). Almost twice as many people with no educational qualifications compared with those educated to degree level thought that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced (38% compared with 20%). This confirms findings from 2002 and 2006 (Bromley and Curtice, 2003 and Bromley et al, 2007), and reinforces findings from elsewhere which show that education is often associated with a more ‘liberal’ and less discriminatory outlook.¹² However, it is also important to note that among those with no qualifications, a majority (56%) nonetheless said that Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice. Indeed, although there are significant pockets of disagreement, the view that prejudice is unacceptable appears to have majority support across most sections of Scottish society.

¹¹ The discussion in the remainder of this chapter is informed by multivariate analysis. This allows for the relationship between different factors to be taken into account, in order to identify those factors most strongly associated with believing that prejudice is, in some circumstances, acceptable. For more detail of the analysis conducted for this chapter, see Annex B, Models 2.1 to 2.4.

¹² As discussed in Bromley and Curtice (2003), there has been some debate over whether graduates are genuinely less prejudiced in their attitudes, or whether they are simply less likely to express their ‘real’ views in a survey because of concern about the social acceptability of these views. While there is no way of completely excluding this possibility, Evans (2002) suggests that the evidence for it is fairly weak, not least because the pattern of views by education tends to be the same both when they are asked face-to-face by an interviewer and when they are included in a self-completion booklet which only the respondent sees. Further, it is not clear that all the questions on which graduates express more ‘liberal’ attitudes in fact have ‘socially acceptable’ answers.

Table 2.1 Attitudes to prejudice by education, age and gender (row %)

	Scotland should get rid of all prejudice	Sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced	(It depends) ^a	Sample size
ALL RESPONDENTS	66	28	4	1495
Highest educational qualification				
Degree/Higher Education	73	20	5	498
Highers or equivalent	75	23	2	267
Standard Grades or equivalent	60	35	5	386
None	56	38	4	337
Age				
18-24	72	21	6	113
25-34	69	25	4	211
35-44	69	27	2	239
45-54	67	27	4	270
55-64	67	27	6	275
65+	57	36	4	386
Gender				
Men	69	26	4	662
Women	63	30	5	833

a – Interviewers were able to code 'it depends' if given spontaneously as a response, though it did not appear on the card shown to respondents. In this context, it could be argued that 'it depends' is similar to choosing 'sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced', since presumably it indicates that their views would vary depending on the group, context, or type of 'prejudice' in question.

2.8 Those in the oldest age group were more likely than younger groups to believe that there is sometimes good reason for prejudice (36% of those aged 65+, compared with 25-27% of those aged 25-54 and 21% of those aged 18-24). However, further analysis suggests that age is less strongly associated with acceptance of prejudice than education.¹³ Although women were slightly more likely than men to say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced (30% compared with 26%), this difference was only marginally significant.¹⁴

Economic factors

2.9 As described above, if people's discriminatory views relate, at least in part, to a perceived 'economic threat' from groups with different characteristics to themselves, we would expect that those in relatively more economically vulnerable positions would be more likely to hold such views. Initial analysis suggests that this is indeed the case. Those in lower supervisory, technical, routine and semi-routine occupations, as well as small employers and the self-employed, were all more likely than employers, managers, professionals and those in intermediate

¹³ Age was not statistically significant after education was taken into account in multivariate analysis, suggesting that this is at least in part a reflection of the fact that the oldest cohort are less likely to have engaged in post-school education. 43% of the sample aged 65+ had no educational qualifications, compared with 7%-15% of those aged 18-54. See also Annex B, Model 2.1.

¹⁴ P = 0.087, indicating that the probability of such a result being found by chance is around 9%. P-values of <0.05 are usually considered highly statistically significant, while p-values of 0.06-0.10 are viewed as marginal.

occupations to say there is sometimes good reason for prejudice (Table 2.2). Those on lower incomes were also more likely than those on high incomes to say this (32-33% of those with household incomes up to £26,000, compared with 23-26% of those with incomes above this level).¹⁵ In terms of employment status, it is retired people who are most likely to say there is sometimes good reason for prejudice – reflecting the findings by age above.

Table 2.2 Attitudes to prejudice by socio-economic class and economic activity (row %)

	Scotland should get rid of all prejudice	Sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced	(It depends)	Sample size
ALL RESPONDENTS	66	28	4	1495
Socio-economic class				
Employers, managers and professionals	73	22	4	519
Intermediate occupations	73	23	3	160
Small employers and own account workers	59	35	3	144
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	63	35	3	166
Semi-routine and routine occupations	60	32	6	459
Household income				
Up to £14,300 per annum	59	33	6	409
Over £14,300, up to £26,000	62	32	5	310
Over £26,000, up to £44,200	72	26	2	263
Over £44,200	73	23	4	259
Current economic activity				
In work/waiting to take up paid work	68	26	5	761
Education/training full time	83	15	2	44
Unemployed	67	30	2	80
Retired	59	34	4	448
Looking after the home	61	30	4	85
Other ¹	68	29	2	77

1 – The 'Other' economic activity category includes people who were permanently sick or disabled and people who said they were doing something else, not included elsewhere on the list.

2.10 However, multivariate analysis which includes these economic factors alongside both education and the more 'psychological' predictors of attitudes discussed below suggests that economic factors are relatively less important in explaining why some people are more accepting of prejudice. In fact, once these additional factors (education and psychological factors) are taken into account, patterns by class, income and economic status are no longer statistically significant, suggesting that these patterns may largely be a reflection of their relationship with education in particular.¹⁶ This reflects findings from earlier analysis of

¹⁵ While multivariate analysis shows that household income is not significant once socio-economic class and current economic activity are taken into account, these differences by household income are significant at the bivariate level (i.e. when the relationship between attitudes to prejudice and income are tested, without including any additional variables).

¹⁶ I.e. it reflects the fact that those on lower incomes and in lower supervisory, technical, routine and semi-routine occupations are less likely to have higher educational qualifications. See Annex B, Models 2.2 and 2.4 for further details of the multivariate analysis.

SSA 2002 data, which suggested that of the three possible models for explaining people's attitudes towards different groups, the economic model appeared to be the least useful (Bromley and Curtice, 2003).

Psychological factors

2.11 'Psychological' explanations of prejudice focus on the relationship between discriminatory attitudes and other views relating to identity and diversity in particular. They argue that discrimination stems from the affective identities people have for themselves and their images of people who are perceived to be different from them in some way (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). SSA 2010 included a number of questions aimed at tapping into people's feelings about diversity. First, people were asked about the sort of area they would prefer to live in. Thirty seven per cent of respondents indicated that they would rather live in an area 'with lots of different kinds of people', while 43% said they would rather live in an area 'where most people are similar to you' (a further 17% said they could not choose). Second, people were asked a number of questions about the impact of immigration from particular groups on Scotland's identity and culture (Table 2.3 - see also Annex A, Tables A.2.1 and A.2.2 for a breakdown of responses to these questions by gender, age, education, socio-economic class, current economic activity and area deprivation).

Table 2.3 Responses to questions about immigration and Scotland's identity (2010, row %)

	Agree strongly/agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree/disagree strongly	Sample size
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland	49	20	30	1495
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe (for example, Poland and Latvia) came to live in Scotland	46	20	33	1495
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland	45	22	31	1495
People from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place	32	41	26	1495

2.12 Agreeing with the first three statements suggests anxiety about the potential cultural impact of immigration from these groups, while agreeing with the latter suggests a more positive attitude to the impact of increased diversity.

2.13 Finally, whether or not people identify as religious might also be considered a psychological factor that may impact on people's views,

since religious belief is often a major part of people's identity.¹⁷ Comparisons in this report are simply between those who professed to be religious (52%) and those who did not (48%), since there were too few people in the sample who belonged to religions other than Christianity to examine their views separately.

- 2.14 Analysis of responses to our 'general prejudice' question suggests that these 'psychological factors' may go further towards explaining the reasons for people accepting or opposing prejudice than either sociological or economic factors (Table 2.4). Those who were most concerned about the impact of immigration on Scotland's culture and identity appeared to be most likely to feel that prejudice is sometimes justifiable. For example, among those who *disagreed* strongly that people from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place, a majority (63%) believed that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced. Similarly, among those who *agreed* strongly that Scotland would lose its identity if more Muslims moved here, over half (52%) felt that prejudice can be justifiable, compared with just 7% of those who disagreed strongly that Muslim immigration would erode Scotland's identity. Those who would rather live in areas where most people were similar to them were 3 times more likely than those who prefer a more diverse area to say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced (42% compared with 14%). These differences are much larger than those based on social or economic differences between respondents. Moreover, multivariate analysis confirms that these factors are more strongly related than either social or economic factors to viewing prejudice as sometimes acceptable.¹⁸

¹⁷ Though of course it could be argued that for some people their religion largely reflects their upbringing, and is thus a sociological factor instead.

¹⁸ See Annex B, models 2.3 and 2.4.

Table 2.4 Attitudes to prejudice by comfort with diversity, beliefs about the impact of immigration on Scotland's identity, and whether religious or not (row %)

	Scotland should get rid of all prejudice	Sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced	(It depends)	Sample size
ALL RESPONDENTS	66	28	4	1495
People from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place				
Agree strongly	89	9	-	54
Agree	80	15	3	397
Neither	65	29	5	629
Disagree	54	41	4	331
Disagree strongly	29	63	8	69
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland				
Agree strongly	43	52	4	286
Agree	58	36	5	478
Neither	71	20	6	299
Disagree	85	12	2	361
Disagree strongly	87	7	2	57
Currently considers self to belong to any religion?				
No	69	25	5	695
Yes	63	31	4	799
Preference for living in an area ...				
With lots of different kinds of people	83	14	2	488
Where most people are similar to you	53	42	5	604

2.15 People's own religious beliefs were less clearly related to acceptance or rejection of prejudice on principle. Those who belonged to a religion (of whatever kind) were slightly (but significantly) *more* likely than those with no religion to say that there is sometimes good reason for prejudice (31% vs. 25%).

Contact with different groups of people

2.16 The finding that people who are more comfortable with diversity are less likely to accept prejudice raises the question of which comes first – comfort with diversity, or rejection of prejudice? Are those who reject prejudice on principle more likely as a result to say that they are happy with a diverse society? Or does experience of a diverse society change people's attitudes to prejudice? While there is no definitive answer to this, we can look at the extent to which attitudes appear to be related to contact with people who are different from the person expressing the view. If contact with diverse groups appears to be related to lower acceptance of prejudice, we might infer that diversity does have an impact in reducing prejudice - although a counter argument would of course be that people who hold prejudiced views deliberately avoid contact with people from particular groups. The idea that diverse social

relationships can help combat discrimination and promote understanding is reflected in the Commission's commitment to promoting 'good relations' between different communities.

2.17 SSA 2010 included a number of questions about people's contact with different groups. Respondents were asked to indicate whether and how they know anyone from each of the groups shown in Table 2.5.¹⁹ In 2010, around three quarters of people in Scotland said they knew someone with a physical disability (73%), someone from a different racial or ethnic background (76%) and someone who is gay or lesbian (75%), whether through family, friends, work or some other route. Fewer people knew someone with a mental health problem (65%) or a learning disability (58%), while under half (45%) said they knew anyone who was Muslim.²⁰

Table 2.5 Contact with different groups of people (column %)

	Anyone who has a physical disability	Anyone who has a learning disability ^a	Anyone who has a mental health problem ^b	Anyone who is from a different racial or ethnic background	Anyone who is gay or lesbian ^c	Anyone who is Muslim ^d
	%	%	%	%	%	%
No, does not know anyone with this characteristic	19	33	25	19	19	46
Yes – a family member	28	19	29	8	12	2
Yes – a friend	26	15	24	36	33	14
Yes – someone they don't know very well	18	13	11	19	20	15
Yes – someone at work	9	7	8	18	15	11
Yes – someone else	12	11	9	15	13	9
Not sure	7	8	9	4	6	9
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1366</i>	<i>1366</i>	<i>1366</i>	<i>1366</i>	<i>1356</i>	<i>1353</i>

NB as respondents could choose more than one response, columns sum to more than 100%. These questions were included on the self-completion element of SSA 2010.

a – 'Learning disability' was defined for respondents as follows: "A person with a learning disability needs help to learn new things and may need support with everyday living. They will have had this disability since childhood. Once known as 'mental handicap', the best known type is 'Downs syndrome'. It is different from a learning difficulty such as dyslexia."

b – The question mentioned depression and bipolar disorder as examples of mental health problems.

c – The base for this column excludes people who themselves identified as gay or lesbian.

d – The base for this column excludes anyone who identified themselves as Muslim.

¹⁹ The questions were worded 'Do you personally know anyone who is ...?' The questions will only capture contact where the respondent is aware of someone's sexual orientation, religion or disability. Many people might know someone who has a mental health problem, for example, but be unaware of this.

²⁰ Note that these figures cannot be read directly from Table 2.4, but were derived by adding together all those respondents who said they knew someone in a particular group either through family, friendships, work, acquaintances or some other route. If a respondent said either that they did not know anyone with this characteristic or that they were not sure, they were not classed as knowing someone from this group.

2.18 Table 2.4 shows that how people come into contact with people who may be different from them also varies depending on the group in question. For example, unsurprisingly people were much more likely to have friends who were gay or lesbian (33%) or from a different racial or ethnic background (36%) than they were to have family members with these characteristics (12% and 8% respectively). Around 3 in 10 people had a family member with a physical disability (28%) or mental health problem (29%), but less than 1 in 10 worked with someone with a disability or mental health problem – which is likely to reflect, at least in part, the lower employment rates among disabled adults compared with the population as a whole.²¹ People were most likely to come into contact with Muslims as friends or acquaintances – just 2% said they had a Muslim family member.

2.19 So are those who have contact with different kinds of people less accepting of prejudice in general? Table 2.6 suggests that this is only partially true. Knowing someone with a physical disability, someone with a mental health problem, or someone who is gay or lesbian does not appear to be significantly associated with being less likely to feel prejudice is sometimes justifiable. However, those who know someone from a different racial or ethnic background, someone with a learning disability or someone who is Muslim were significantly less likely than those who did not to say there was sometimes good reason for prejudice. These findings do not, however, rule out the idea that having more contact with people who are gay or lesbian, for example, might have an impact on people's views about diversity and prejudice. Perhaps how much contact people have and what type of contact makes a difference, and not simply whether or not they know someone from a particular group. Or perhaps contact with particular groups makes a difference to their attitudes to that group, but not their willingness to accept or reject prejudice in general. The relationship between contact with and attitudes towards particular groups is discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

²¹ The EHRC and Department for Work and Pensions reported that the employment rate for disabled adults in Britain in the third quarter of 2009 was 47.8%, compared with 72.9% for the working age population as a whole (EHRC, December 2009).

Table 2.6 Attitudes to prejudice by whether or not know anyone from different groups (row %)

	Scotland should get rid of all prejudice	Sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced	(It depends)	Sample size
ALL RESPONDENTS	66	28	4	1495
Knows anyone with a physical disability?				
Yes	67	28	4	998
No	66	31	2	263
Knows anyone with a learning disability?				
Yes	69	25	4	767
No	62	34	3	468
Knows anyone with a mental health problem?				
Yes	67	28	4	888
No	65	31	3	342
Knows anyone with of a different racial or ethnic background?				
Yes	69	26	4	984
No	58	37	3	291
Knows anyone who is gay or lesbian?				
Yes	69	27	4	982
No	60	33	6	278
Knows anyone who is Muslim?				
Yes	74	23	3	540
No	61	35	4	687

Summary

2.20 While only a minority of people (28%) believe that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups, this is nonetheless a substantial minority. Moreover, the proportion that thinks this varies significantly between different sections of Scottish society. Those with lower levels of educational attainment are more likely to think this, while 'psychological' factors, such as discomfort with diversity and beliefs about the impact of immigration on Scotland's culture and identity are also strongly related to acceptance of prejudice. In subsequent chapters, this general measure of attitudes to prejudice will be used to help identify whether people's views about particular groups and contexts reflect a general tendency towards a discriminatory outlook, or whether they reflect some other, more specific set of concerns.

3 RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

3.1 The last chapter examined the extent to which people in Scotland are prepared to accept that prejudice may be justifiable in some circumstances. The question of which specific groups attract more and less discriminatory responses in which contexts is the focus of this chapter and the next. In this chapter, we assess the extent of discriminatory attitudes towards different groups of people in the context of personal relationships. Chapter Four then examines discrimination in the context of employment.

Personal relationships

3.2 Perhaps the context in which people might be expected to be most likely to express discriminatory views is that of personal relationships – if people are uncomfortable or unsure about a particular group of people, they are unlikely to feel happy about them joining their family circle. *SSA 2010* asked people how they would feel if a close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with:

- someone who is black or Asian
- a Muslim
- a Hindu
- someone who is Jewish
- a Christian
- someone who experiences depression from time to time
- a Gypsy/Traveller
- someone who has had a sex change operation
- someone of the same sex as themselves²², and
- someone who cross-dresses in public.

3.3 Answer categories were: ‘very happy’, ‘happy’, ‘neither happy nor unhappy’, ‘unhappy’ and ‘very unhappy’.²³ Questions about people from particular religions were routed, so that someone who said they currently considered themselves as belonging to that religion were not asked the associated question.²⁴ In the discussion that follows, ‘married’ and ‘formed a long-term relationship with’ are used interchangeably, for the sake of brevity.

3.4 The 2010 survey included, for the first time, a question about people who cross-dress in public. This question was added to find out whether people who cross-dress attract more prejudiced responses than people who have had sex change operations. It was suggested that people who cross-dress might attract more prejudice because they are seen as more

²² Respondents were asked how they would feel about a close relative marrying or forming a civil partnership or long-term relationship with someone of the same sex as themselves.

²³ Full question text is included in Annex C.

²⁴ As data about ethnicity and sexual orientation were collected later in the questionnaire, questions about someone who is black or Asian and someone who is gay or lesbian were asked of everyone. Note that very small numbers of respondents identified as either black or Asian, or gay or lesbian (See Chapter 1, paragraph 1.21).

challenging of the male/female dichotomy, while people who have had sex change operations may be more likely to be accepted in their self-identified gender. The findings suggest that this is indeed the case – 55% said they would be unhappy if a close relative married or formed a relationship with someone who cross-dresses in public (Table 3.1). This was the highest level of unhappiness expressed for any of the 10 groups the survey asked about, although at 49% the proportion that would be unhappy if a close relative married someone who has had a sex change operation was not far behind. The proportion that was unhappy with the idea of a person who has had a sex change joining their family circle was 12 percentage points higher than the proportion that was unhappy with a Gypsy/Traveller doing so (37%). It appears then that transgender people are particularly likely to attract prejudiced attitudes in the context of personal relationships.

Table 3.1 Feelings about different groups marrying/forming long-term relationship with a family member (row %)

	Very happy/ happy	Neither	Unhappy/ very unhappy	Sample size
Someone who cross-dresses in public	19	24	55	1495
Someone who has had a sex change operation	22	26	49	1495
A Gypsy/Traveller	32	28	37	1495
Married/civil partnership ²⁵ with someone of same sex	37	31	30	1495
A Muslim	47	29	23	1477
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	41	35	21	1495
A Hindu	49	32	18	1492
Someone who is Black/Asian	58	31	9	1495
Someone who is Jewish	54	35	9	1495
A Christian	66	31	2	725

3.5 There are clear differences in people’s attitudes towards people from different religions forming a relationship with a relative. Muslims attracted the most discriminatory response, with 23% saying they would be unhappy if a Muslim formed a relationship with a family member, falling to 18% for a Hindu, 9% for someone who is Jewish and just 2% for a Christian.

3.6 1 in 5 people (21%) said they would be unhappy about someone who experiences depression from time to time forming a relationship with a close relative. This was somewhat higher than the 16% who said the same of someone with a learning disability when SSA asked about this in 2006 (see Bromley et al, 2007 for details). This may suggest a somewhat higher level of prejudice against people with mental health problems compared with people with learning disabilities in the context of personal relationships. Alternatively, it may be that some people assume that a person with a learning disability is most likely to marry somebody else with a similar disability. Those with someone in their

²⁵ See definition of ‘civil partnership’ in footnote 7.

family with a learning disability might feel comfortable with this scenario, while those who do not may be answering in the belief that this would be unlikely to occur in their family.

- 3.7 The relatively high proportion of people expressing unhappiness with the idea of someone who experiences periodic episodes of depression marrying into their family raises a further question about what people are thinking when they say they would feel 'unhappy'. Some people may be unhappy because they are suspicious of or uncomfortable with the group in question. However, others may be expressing concerns that the person's characteristics or condition would create particular challenges for the relationship – such as living with depression or dealing with the prejudice of others.

How do attitudes to relationships vary?

- 3.8 Clearly attitudes to a close family member marrying or forming a long-term relationship with someone from particular social groups vary considerably depending on the group in question. But do attitudes vary depending on the respondents' own characteristics? For all of the groups discussed above, the answer is yes, with one notable exception - there were no significant differences between different sections of the Scottish population in the proportions who were unhappy with a relative marrying a Christian. This is unsurprising, given the very low numbers of respondents overall who expressed unhappiness at this prospect. With respect to the other 9 groups, however, the attitudes of different sections of society varied widely.

Gender, age and education

- 3.9 Men were a little more likely than women to be unhappy with the idea of a close relative forming a relationship with someone of the same sex as themselves (52% of men compared with 45% of women), or with someone who has had a sex change operation (35% of men compared with 29% of women).²⁶ Gender differences were not apparent in relation to any of the other groups, suggesting that it is particularly in relation to sexual orientation and gender reassignment that men hold somewhat more discriminatory views than women in this context.
- 3.10 Attitudes to all the groups discussed above (except Christians) varied significantly with age (Table 3.2). For the most part, the views of those aged under 55 were fairly similar to each other.²⁷ Those aged 65 and older held the most discriminatory views, while those aged 55-64 were also more likely to hold discriminatory views compared with younger people. In fact, while overall only cross-dressers attracted a discriminatory response from over half, among those aged 65 and over, more than 6 in 10 were also unhappy with the idea of someone who has had a sex-change operation (72%), a Gypsy/Traveller (63%) or

²⁶ However, there was no significant difference between the attitudes of men and women in relation to feeling unhappy about a close relative marrying someone who cross-dresses in public.

²⁷ One exception to this was views of someone who cross-dresses, where those aged 35-54 were also more likely than younger people to be unhappy.

someone who is gay or lesbian (62%) forming a long term relationship with a close relative. As discussed in Chapter Two, these differences in attitudes between older and younger generations are perhaps unsurprising given the very different social norms governing the upbringing of those born in the period up to the end of the Second World War. The magnitude of some of these differences is nonetheless striking.

Table 3.2 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by age (cell %)

% "unhappy" / "very unhappy" if close relative married/long-term relationship with...	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Someone who cross dresses in public	35	42	50	48	68	80
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	35	36	42	41	57	72
A Gypsy/Traveller	25	23	36	28	39	63
Someone of the same sex as themselves	16	17	20	22	34	62
A Muslim	14	10	18	17	23	45
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	13	13	16	14	27	39
A Hindu	7	11	12	12	19	38
Someone who was black or Asian	3	4	6	5	9	21
Someone who was Jewish	5	6	5	6	10	18
A Christian	2	4	2	1	1	6
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>211</i>	<i>239</i>	<i>270</i>	<i>275</i>	<i>386</i>
<i>Sample size (Muslim question)</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>200</i>	<i>237</i>	<i>270</i>	<i>273</i>	<i>386</i>
<i>Sample size (Hindu question)</i>	<i>112</i>	<i>210</i>	<i>238</i>	<i>270</i>	<i>275</i>	<i>386</i>
<i>Sample size (Christian question)</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>137</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>96</i>

3.11 People with lower levels of educational attainment were also significantly more likely to say they would be unhappy if a close relative formed a relationship with someone from each of these groups (except Christians) (Table 3.3). For example, while only 1 in 20 graduates said they would be unhappy with a black or Asian person marrying into their family, this figure rises to 1 in 5 among those with no qualifications.²⁸ Similar patterns were apparent by income, with those on the lowest incomes most likely to express discriminatory views (see Annex A, Table A.3.1).

²⁸ It is also worth noting that while the 2006 report found little difference by education in attitudes to a family member forming a relationship with someone with a learning disability, with respect to someone who from time to time experiences depression there was a significant difference between the views of graduates and those of people with no qualifications. This may indicate that people with higher levels of education have a better understanding of issues relating to mental health, while no such education gap exists with respect to understandings of learning disabilities.

Table 3.3 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by highest educational qualification (cell %)

% “unhappy” / “very unhappy” if close relative married/long-term relationship with...	Degree/ Higher Educ.	Highers or equivalent	Standard Grade or equivalent	None
Someone who cross dresses in public	47	46	58	75
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	38	38	54	69
A Gypsy/Traveller	29	26	44	54
Someone of the same sex as themselves	19	22	34	52
A Muslim	15	12	27	39
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	17	16	20	36
A Hindu	10	10	20	34
Someone who was black or Asian	4	4	11	20
Someone who was Jewish	4	6	9	21
A Christian	3	2	1	4
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>498</i>	<i>267</i>	<i>386</i>	<i>337</i>
<i>Sample size (Muslim question)</i>	<i>491</i>	<i>262</i>	<i>386</i>	<i>331</i>
<i>Sample size (Hindu question)</i>	<i>497</i>	<i>267</i>	<i>385</i>	<i>336</i>
<i>Sample size (Christian question)</i>	<i>249</i>	<i>149</i>	<i>194</i>	<i>131</i>

General attitudes to prejudice and diversity

3.12 As might be expected, those who believe that in principle Scotland should get rid of all kinds of prejudice are generally less likely to say they would be unhappy about different kinds of people marrying into their family (Table 3.4). However, even among those generally opposed to prejudice, levels of unhappiness with particular groups of people forming a relationship with a relative were still quite high. For example, over half (51%) of those who believed in general that Scotland should get rid of all kinds of prejudice would be unhappy with a close relative marrying someone who cross dresses in public, while 4 in 10 (43%) said the same regarding someone who has had a sex change operation and 3 in 10 (29%) would be unhappy with a relative marrying a Gypsy/Traveller.

3.13 Those who say they prefer to live in more diverse areas (‘areas with lots of different kinds of people’) are generally less likely than those who prefer to live in areas where most people are similar to themselves to express unhappiness with the prospect of a family member forming a long-term relationship with someone from each group. But again, even among those who prefer to live in a more diverse area, a quarter were unhappy with the idea of a Gypsy/Traveller (24%), and over a third with someone who has had a sex-change operation (35%) or someone who cross-dresses in public (43%) marrying into their family circle (see Annex A, Table A.3.2 for full figures). This may again reflect the importance of context – perhaps feeling comfortable with having diverse neighbours is different to feeling comfortable with someone from a particular group joining your family circle.

Table 3.4 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by general attitudes to prejudice (cell %)

% “unhappy” / “very unhappy” if close relative married/long-term relationship with...	Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced
Someone who cross dresses in public	51	68
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	43	62
A Gypsy/Traveller	29	55
Someone of the same sex as themselves	26	39
A Muslim	15	39
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	19	27
A Hindu	12	30
Someone who was black or Asian	6	16
Someone who was Jewish	6	14
A Christian	2	3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>946</i>	<i>451</i>
<i>Sample size (Muslim question)</i>	<i>935</i>	<i>449</i>
<i>Sample size (Hindu question)</i>	<i>943</i>	<i>451</i>
<i>Sample size (Christian question)</i>	<i>471</i>	<i>204</i>

Knowing someone from a particular group

3.14 As discussed in Chapter Two, getting to know someone from a different social group is one mechanism by which people may become less inclined to view people from these groups as ‘other’, and therefore less likely to express discriminatory views towards that group. In the context of personal relationships, it certainly appears that knowing somebody from a particular group is associated with a reduced likelihood of feeling unhappy with the prospect of a relative marrying someone from that group (Table 3.5). Those who know someone who is Muslim, someone who is gay or lesbian, or someone with a mental health problem were less likely to say they would be unhappy with someone from this group marrying into their family. Similarly, people who knew someone from a different racial or ethnic background were less likely than those who did not to say they would be unhappy with a black or Asian person joining their family circle. The difference was particularly striking with respect to same sex relationships – 63% of those who said they did not know anyone who is gay or lesbian would be unhappy with a relative forming a long-term relationship with someone of the same sex, compared with just 21% of those who knew someone who is gay or lesbian.

Table 3.5 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by whether know someone from that group (cell %)

% “unhappy” / “very unhappy” if close relative married/long-term relationship with ...	Yes, knows a person from that group ^a	No, does not know a person from that group
Gay men and lesbians	21	63
A Muslim	16	29
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	17	32
Someone who was black or Asian	6	21
Sample size (gay men/lesbian question)	992	278
Sample size (Muslim question)	540	687
Sample size (question about someone who experiences depression)	888	342
Samples size (question about someone who is black or Asian)	984	291

a – Note that attitudes to someone who is black or Asian were analysed by whether respondents said they knew someone from a different racial or ethnic background, which may or may not mean they know someone from either of these particular ethnic backgrounds.

Religion

3.15 Those who said that they belonged to a particular religion were significantly *more* likely than those who were not religious to express unhappiness about a relative forming a relationship with most of the groups included in this set of questions.²⁹ There were two notable exceptions to this pattern – someone who is black or Asian, and someone who is Jewish (see Annex A, Table A.3.3 for full figures).

Attitudes to same sex relationships

3.16 In addition to asking how people would feel if a close relative formed a relationship with someone of the same sex as themselves, SSA 2010 also asked for views on the acceptability of same sex relationships³⁰ and whether gay or lesbian couples should have the right to marry.

3.17 Respondents were asked whether they viewed sexual relations between two adults of the same sex as always wrong, mostly wrong, sometimes wrong, rarely wrong or not wrong at all. In 2010, half (50%) felt same sex relationships were not wrong at all, while a further 8% thought they were rarely wrong. At the same time, a sizeable minority (27%) thought such relationships were either always or mostly wrong (see Annex C for full results). This figure is broadly similar to the 30% who said they would be unhappy about a family member forming a relationship with someone of the same sex.

3.18 The issue of obtaining equal rights for gay and lesbian couples to marry, and not just to form civil partnerships, has been a subject of significant campaigning by some within the gay rights movement in the UK in recent years. In 2010, 61% agreed or agreed strongly that ‘Gay or lesbian

²⁹ A similar pattern is apparent comparing those who were brought up in a particular religion and those who were not.

³⁰ This question was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council as part of a module on other moral and social issues.

couples should have the right to marry one another if they want to', while just 19% disagreed (see Annex C for full results). These findings certainly suggest that a change in the law would receive support from the majority of people in Scotland.

Summary

- 3.19 The extent to which people express discriminatory attitudes in the context of personal relationships varies depending on the group in question. People who cross-dress in public and people who have had a sex change operation are particularly likely to attract a discriminatory response in the context of family relationships. A smaller, but nonetheless substantial, minority would be unhappy about the prospect of a family member forming a relationship with a Gypsy/Traveller or someone who is gay or lesbian, while around 1 in 5 would be unhappy about a Muslim, a Hindu or someone who from time to time experiences depression joining their family circle. Less than 1 in 10 said the same of a black or Asian person or a Jewish person.
- 3.20 Differences in attitudes to each of these groups by age and education were particularly striking. There is clearly a generational divide between the pre and post-war generations in attitudes to diversity in the family. Views also varied with people's general attitudes to prejudice and diversity. However, it was notable that even among those who express support for getting rid of all kinds of prejudice, certain groups – particularly people who cross-dress in public, people who have had a sex change operation and Gypsy/Travellers – still appear to attract a substantial level of discrimination.
- 3.21 While a majority of people in 2010 think that same sex relationships are either not wrong at all (50%) or rarely wrong (8%), a sizeable minority of around 3 in 10 apparently continue to view such relationships as wrong. Moves to change the law to allow gay and lesbian couples to marry – which might in itself have an impact on attitudes in this area – would be supported by the majority of people in Scotland.

4 EMPLOYMENT

Introduction

4.1 This chapter explores discriminatory attitudes in the context of employment. It examines views on whether different groups of people are equally suitable to a particular employment role (that of primary school teacher) and compares responses to this question with views about these same groups marrying into a person's family (discussed in Chapter Three). It also explores gender stereotyping in attitudes to parental leave, attitudes to older people working and perceived labour market competition from particular groups.

Equity and participation in the labour market

4.2 The self-completion section of SSA 2010 included a set of questions which asked people to say how suitable or unsuitable they felt each of the following would be for employment as a primary school teacher:

- Men
- Women
- Gay men and lesbians
- A black or Asian person
- Someone aged 70
- A Muslim person
- Someone who has had a sex change operation
- Someone who from time to time experiences depression, and
- A Gypsy/Traveller.

4.3 These questions were also included in the 2006 survey (see discussion of change over time in Chapters Seven and Eight). The role of primary school teacher was chosen on the grounds that working with young children may be regarded as a relatively 'sensitive' form of employment and therefore potentially more likely to elicit discriminatory views than, for example, a retail post.

4.4 Gypsy/Travellers were the group least likely to be considered suitable for primary teaching, with 46% saying they would be unsuitable and just 25% that they would be suitable (Table 4.1). 4 out of 10 people also felt that someone who experiences depression (41%) and someone aged 70 (39%) would be unsuitable to teach in a primary school, while 3 out of 10 said the same of someone who has had a sex change operation (31%). Men and women were the least likely to be viewed as unsuitable - just 2% said men would be unsuitable and less than 0.5% said the same of women. That said, 17% gave responses that suggested that they considered women more suitable than men³¹ – suggesting there remains a tendency to gender stereotyping in relation to this profession.

4.5 It is worth remembering that discriminatory views do not necessarily reflect 'hostility', but may reflect stereotypes or misconceptions about the

³¹ For example, they said women were 'very suitable', but men were only 'fairly suitable'.

capacity of particular people. For example, even though many Gypsy/Travellers live in one place for extended periods,³² cognitive testing for the 2010 SSA highlighted that some people believe that Gypsy/Travellers move around very frequently, and that they had this in mind when deciding how to answer questions about Gypsy/Travellers. Similarly, perhaps some people might feel someone over 70 or someone who experiences depression would be unsuitable because they believe they would not have the energy to work with young children, or that they may be unable to cope with the demands and stresses of the job. Whether based on animosity or misconception, these views nonetheless imply that respondents feel the employment choices open to these groups ought to be limited in a way that they are not for other people.

Table 4.1 Views of the suitability of different people to be a primary school teacher (row %)

	Very/ fairly suitable	Neither	Very/ fairly <u>unsuitable</u>	Can't choose/ not answered
A Gypsy/Traveller	25	23	46	6
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	30	24	41	5
Someone aged 70	30	26	39	6
Someone who has had a sex change operation	37	24	31	8
Gay men and lesbians	56	20	18	6
A Muslim person	55	24	15	6
A black or Asian person	70	18	6	6
Men	85	10	2	4
Women	90	7	*	3

Sample size = 1366 (all respondents who completed a self-completion questionnaire)

How do attitudes vary?

4.6 Do attitudes towards the suitability of particular people as primary school teachers vary along similar lines to those on long-term relationships, discussed in the previous chapter? The answer is yes, at least in relation to 7 of the 9 groups above (there were no significant differences between different sections of society in views towards the suitability of men or women as teachers). In summary:

- Men were more likely than women to think gay men and lesbians, someone who has had a sex change operation, someone who experiences depression and a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable
- Those aged 65 and older were most likely to consider all 7 groups unsuitable. The age gap was particularly pronounced with respect to gay men and lesbians, where 41% of those aged 65 and older felt they would be unsuitable primary teachers, compared with just 8-12% of those aged under 55. However, younger people, aged under 25, were also relatively more likely to think that

³² See EHRC (no date) Gypsy Travellers in Scotland: a resource for the media, available online at: http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/uploaded_files/Scotland/gypsy_travellers_in_scotland_-_a_resource_for_the_media__pdf_.pdf

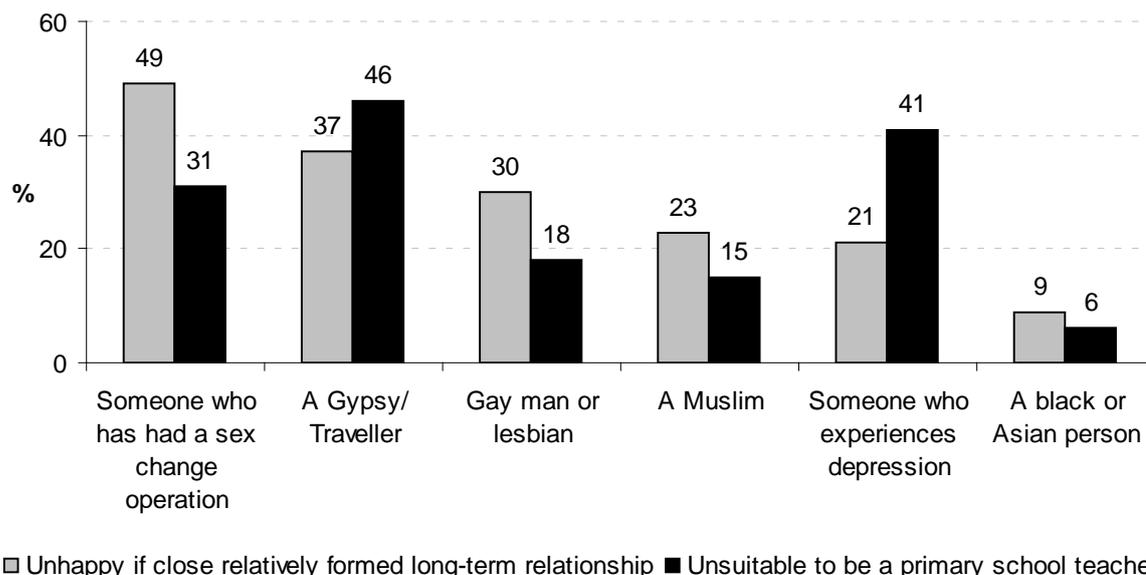
Gypsy/Travellers, someone aged over 70, and someone who experiences depression from time to time would be unsuitable, suggesting that stereotypes about these groups may not be confined to older people.

- Those with lower levels of educational attainment were more likely than those qualified to at least Higher level to say each group would be unsuitable.
- Those on low incomes were more likely to feel that a black or Asian person, a Muslim and gay men and lesbians would be unsuitable (differences by income with respect to other groups were not significant).
- People who were religious were more likely than those with no religious beliefs to view gay men and lesbians and someone who has had a sex change operation as unsuitable – perhaps because they might be viewed as challenging certain religious perspectives on gender and sexual orientation.
- Those who accept that prejudice in general is sometimes justified were more likely than those who reject this position to say each of these groups would be unsuitable, as were those who prefer to live in areas where most people are similar to themselves.
- Finally, knowing someone from a particular group reduces the likelihood of considering them unsuitable for primary teaching.
- (For detailed figures, see Annex A, Tables A.4.1 to A.4.8).

Different contexts, different attitudes?

4.7 As discussed in the introduction, a key reason for asking about different scenarios was to explore whether the incidence of discriminatory attitudes varies with context. Are people more likely to express discriminatory views in the context of their own family relationships than they might be with respect to a more public employment role? Figure 4.1 shows the proportion of people giving a discriminatory response for the six groups who were included in both the set of questions on marriage/relationships discussed in Chapter Three and the primary school teacher questions discussed above. For four of these groups – someone who has had a sex change operation, gay men and lesbians, Muslims and someone who is black or Asian – the more ‘intimate’ family context does indeed appear to prompt a more discriminatory response. More people said they would be unhappy with someone from these groups marrying someone in their family than felt they would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher.

Figure 4.1 Discriminatory views in different contexts



Sample sizes: see Tables 3.1 and 4.1

4.8 However for two groups – Gypsy/Travellers and someone who from time to time experiences depression – a higher proportion believe they would be unsuitable as primary school teachers than would be unhappy with a relative marrying someone from these groups. Nearly twice as many felt someone who experiences depression would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher as would be unhappy if a relative married someone in this group (41% compared with 21%). One possible explanation of this is that people who experience depression attract sympathy on a personal level, but some people nonetheless feel they may be unable to cope with demanding public roles, or with jobs involving the care of young children in particular.

Gender and employment rights

4.9 Parental leave has become a particular focus of debate about gender and employment rights in the UK in recent years. At the time SSA 2010 fieldwork took place, fathers in the UK were entitled to just 2 weeks paid time off after the birth of a child, plus up to an additional 4 weeks per year unpaid parental leave. However, the UK government was already discussing steps to extend this, announcing in January 2010 plans to introduce up to six months paternity leave.³³

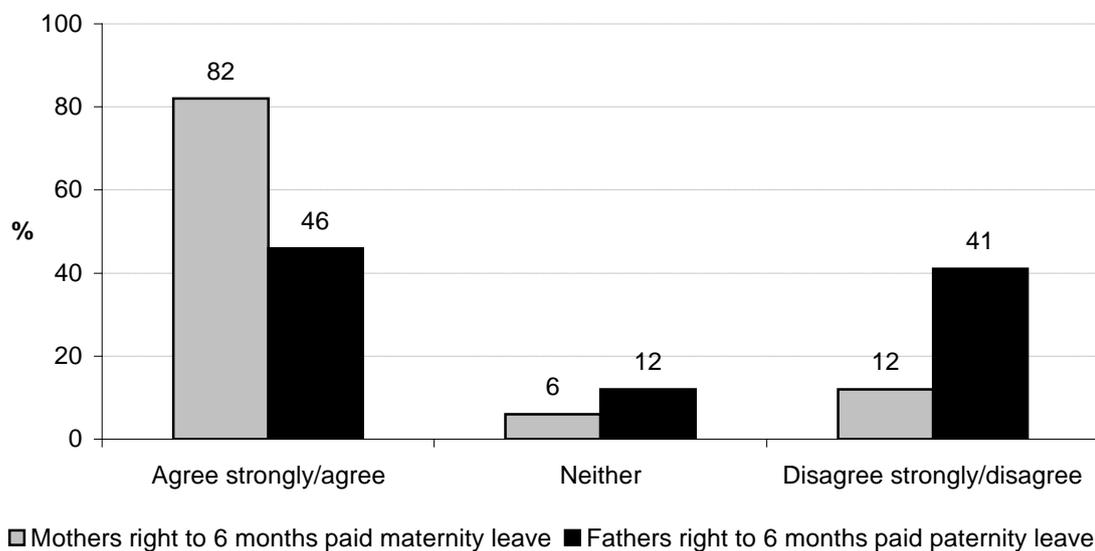
4.10 In spite of changes in the legal entitlement of fathers' to paid parental leave, paternity leave remains a contentious issue in the UK, with those opposed arguing that it creates too great a burden for employers, or that mothers are better placed to look after young children (see, for example, Tebbit (2011), Barnett (2011), Shilling (2005)). SSA 2010 included two

³³ The Additional Paternity Leave scheme, which comes into force in April 2011, will allow fathers to take up to six months paternity leave if the mother decides to return to work within a year of commencing maternity leave. If this leave takes place within the 39 weeks where the mother would have received statutory maternity pay, the father can claim statutory paternity pay at the same rate.

statements designed to tap the level of public support for parental leave. The first asked how strongly people agreed or disagreed that mothers should have the right to take up to six months paid time off work after their children are born. The second asked the same in relation to fathers. The order in which these statements were presented was alternated³⁴ in order to try and negate the impact of question order on responses.

4.11 Figure 4.2 shows clear differences in people’s attitudes towards paid maternity and paternity leave. Just under half (46%) agreed that fathers should be entitled to six months paid leave after having a child - considerably lower than the equivalent figure (82%) for mothers. Moreover, 2 in 5 (41%) disagreed that fathers should have this right, compared with just 1 in 10 (12%) who opposed mothers’ rights to six months paid maternity leave.

Figure 4.2 Views on mothers’ and fathers’ rights to 6 months paid leave after having a child



Sample size: 1495

How do attitudes to maternity and paternity leave vary?

4.12 Are different sections of Scottish society similarly supportive or unsupportive of fathers’ rights to paid paternity leave?³⁵ Table 4.2 shows variations by gender and age. Women were slightly more likely than men to agree that fathers should be able to take six months paid leave (48% compared with 44%, Table 4.2), though in fact this difference was not on

³⁴ I.e. half the sample were asked about leave for mothers first, and the other half about fathers first.

³⁵ Multivariate analysis was used to explore which factors were significantly and independently associated with (a) agreeing that fathers should have a right to six months paid leave after their children are born, and (b) agreeing that mothers should be entitled to 6 months paid maternity leave, but giving a different response with respect to fathers. The tables presented here highlight only those variables that were independently significant in one or both models (see Annex B, Models 4.1 and 4.2 for details).

its own significant.³⁶ More striking variations were apparent by age, with those aged 18-24 more than three times as likely as those aged 65 or older to support fathers' right to paid leave (74% compared with 22%). Younger people were also less likely than older people to give different responses when asked about maternity and paternity leave. As discussed in Bromley et al (2007), the current older generation grew up in an era when women were far less likely to take up paid employment and far more likely to take sole or primary responsibility for childcare, while men rarely took time off after the birth of a child. As such, the difference in attitudes to parental leave by age is perhaps unsurprising. However, the fact that the younger generation are so much more supportive of the principle of paid paternity leave suggests that recent legal changes in the UK are in tune with the attitudes of those most likely to be having children and taking decisions about parental leave in the next two decades – and who might, therefore, be expected to benefit most from these changes.

Table 4.2 Beliefs about paternity leave, by gender and age (cell %)

	Agree/strongly agree fathers should be entitled to 6 mths paid leave	Agree mothers should be entitled to paid leave, but do not agree with this for fathers	Sample size
Gender			
Men	44	18	662
Women	48	18	833
Age			
18-24	74	19	113
25-34	68	25	211
35-44	57	31	239
45-54	36	46	270
55-64	35	44	275
65+	22	44	386

4.13 In terms of socio-economic class, small employers were least likely to agree that fathers should be entitled to six months paid leave (24%, compared with 42% to 53% of other socio-economic groups – Table 4.3). Small employers were also more likely to make a distinction between mothers and fathers – 48% agreed mothers should be entitled to 6 months leave, but did not say the same for fathers. Those in lower managerial and professional occupations, who may be more involved in directly managing staff leave, were also relatively more likely to make this distinction. The particularly strong response from small employers may reflect concerns raised by the Confederation for British Industry that small businesses take on a relatively large administrative and financial burden compared with larger companies in order to cover both maternity and paternity leave and benefits (CBI, 2005).

³⁶ Gender was, however, significant in multivariate analysis (see Annex B, model 4.1). This suggests that gender is significant once you look at it in conjunction with one of the other variables. It may suggest that there are gender differences within age, for example. There is some evidence that this is the case. Although those aged 65+ are least likely overall to agree that fathers should have a right to 6 months paid paternity leave, within this group women were more supportive of paternity leave than men (38% compared with 31%).

Table 4.3 Beliefs about paternity leave, by class, self-rated hardship and household type (cell %)

	Agree/strongly agree fathers should be entitled to 6 mths paid leave	Agree mothers should be entitled to paid leave, but do not agree with this for fathers	Sample size
Socio-economic class			
Employers, higher mgrs and professionals	42	34	148
Lower mgrs & professionals, higher tech & supervisory	44	42	371
Intermediate	48	27	160
Small employers	24	48	144
Lower supervisory & technical	51	31	166
Semi-routine occupations	53	38	264
Routine occupations	47	33	200
Self-rated hardship			
Living really comfortably/comfortably on present income	41	39	797
Neither comfortable nor	50	35	446
Struggling/really struggling on present income	56	29	238
Household type			
Single person	36	42	476
1 adult with children	65	30	96
2+ adults with children	60	26	296
2 adults, no children	37	38	508
3+ adults, no children	50	43	112

4.14 Other significant differences were between people who felt they were struggling or really struggling on their present income and those who felt they were comfortably well off, with the former more likely to support fathers' rights to paid leave (56% compared with 41%). Perhaps those who are more comfortable on their present income are more likely than those who are struggling to feel they could simply take unpaid leave if they were in this situation themselves.

4.15 Finally, people who live in households with no children were more likely to view maternity and paternity leave differently - single person households and people in households with 3 or more adults but no children were more likely than those in households with children to agree mothers should be entitled to 6 months leave while not agreeing that fathers should have the same right. Those who have been more directly affected by parental leave are thus more likely to support gender equality in this area than are those who may not have had a need to use it.

Age and employment

4.16 The age at which people should either be required, or at least able to, retire has been another key area of debate around employment rights in

recent years. The 'default retirement age' (DRA) of 65, at which employers in the UK are legally allowed to require employees to take retirement, has been hotly contested, with the charity Age UK mounting an (unsuccessful) legal challenge in 2009. The Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government subsequently announced plans to abolish the DRA by October 2011.³⁷ At the same time, plans to increase the state retirement age (that is, the age at which people can draw their state pension) introduced by the last Labour government have also been accelerated by the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition in the light of ongoing concern about the cost of providing pensions for an ageing population.³⁸

- 4.17 In the light of these debates about the retirement age, SSA 2010 asked people to choose which of two options came closest to their own view:

It is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age

OR

Older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups.

- 4.18 Three-quarters (75%) said it was wrong to make people retire just because they are older, while just 22% felt that older people ought to be forced to retire to make way for younger people. The UK government's decision to abolish the default retirement age thus appears to be in tune with majority opinion in Scotland.
- 4.19 However, although only 22% feel someone should be made to retire, as many as 39% view someone aged 70 as unsuitable to be a primary teacher. Moreover, even among those who say it is wrong to make people retire when they reach a certain age, 35% felt someone aged 70 would be unsuitable for primary teaching. This is a further example of the importance of context in shaping people's attitudes – while people might oppose the DRA in principle, this does not mean they will view older people as suitable for all types of work.
- 4.20 A majority of people across all age, education, income and class groups were opposed to the idea of making someone retire to make way for the younger generation, suggesting that abolishing the DRA will attract consensus support across society. Interestingly, however, it is those who are themselves aged 65 or over who are the most likely to say that older people should be made to retire to make way for younger people (33%), while those least supportive of forced retirement are those aged 25 to 44 years old (14-16% - see Annex A, Table A.4.9). Perhaps people of this age are already considering the fact that they might have to work past 65 to build up an adequate pension to maintain a reasonable standard of living. There were also some significant differences by education, with 37% of people with no formal qualifications compared with 15% of

³⁷ Certain professions will still be able to insist on retirement at 65 due to the nature of the work but the employer will need to 'objectively justify' the decision to set a retirement age and this will be open to test in a court of law.

³⁸ The state retirement age for women is planned to increase from 60 to 65 in 2018, while the retirement age for both men and women is planned to increase to 66 in 2020,

graduates agreeing that older people should be made to retire (see Annex A, Table A.4.10).

Perceived labour market competition

4.21 The final section of this chapter looks at whether people who might not be considered by everyone as part of the 'indigenous' population of Scotland are viewed as a potentially undesirable source of competition for jobs. The self-completion section of the survey asked respondents to say how much they agreed or disagreed that:

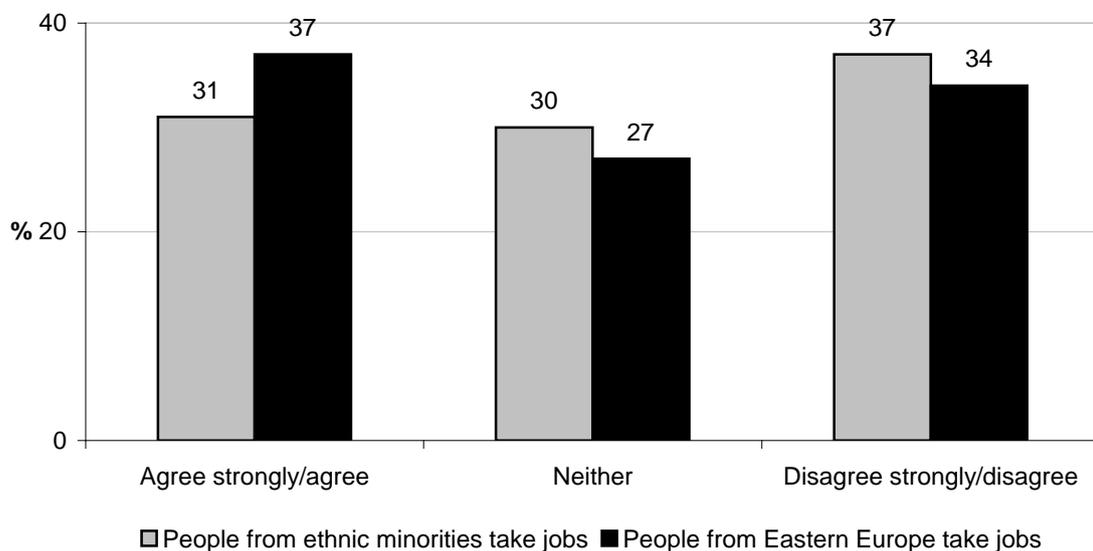
People from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland

And

People who come here from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland

4.22 As shown in Figure 4.3, 37% of people agreed that people who come here from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland – somewhat higher than the 31% who said the same in relation to ethnic minorities in general.

Figure 4.3 Beliefs about whether people from ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland



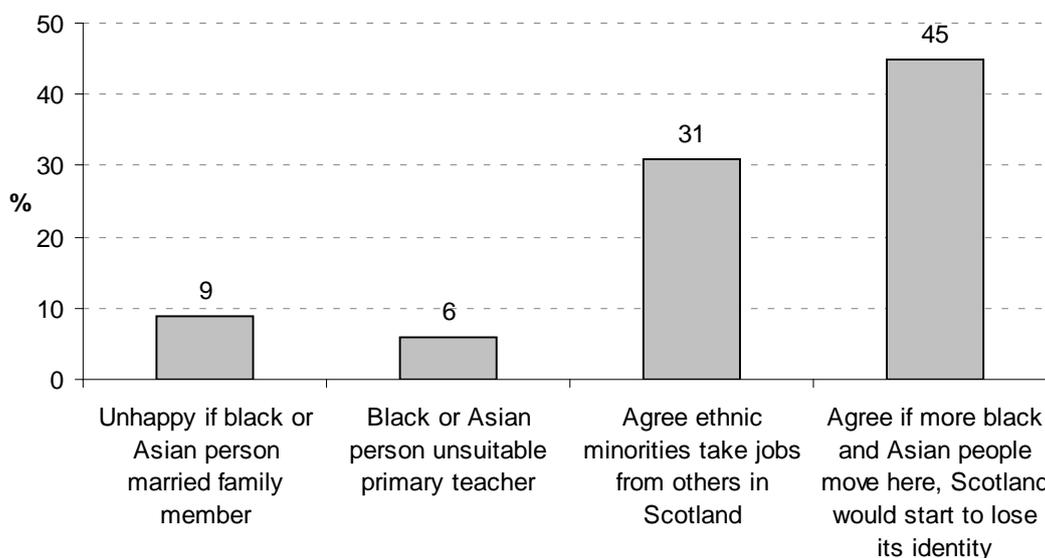
Sample size: 1366 (all respondents who completed a self-completion questionnaire)

4.23 Men and women were similarly likely to believe that each of these groups took jobs away from other people in Scotland, while differences by age were not statistically significant. Views did vary, however, with education, socio-economic class and area deprivation – those with lower levels of educational attainment, those in lower supervisory and technical or routine and semi-routine occupations, and those living in

more deprived areas of Scotland were all relatively more likely to agree with each statement (for full figures, see Annex A, Table A.4.11).

4.24 Comparing responses to the different questions included in SSA on attitudes towards ethnic minority groups reveals some interesting differences (Figure 4.4). Fewer than 1 in 10 people express discriminatory views when asked about a black or Asian person marrying a close relative or becoming a primary teacher. However, rather more people believe that people from ethnic minority groups take jobs from other people in Scotland (31%), and even more feel that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people moved here (45%). These findings perhaps suggest that, while few people hold discriminatory views about *individual* black and Asian people, ethnic minority *groups* – particularly those who are also immigrants – are more commonly viewed as posing a potential threat to Scotland’s culture or resources.

Figure 4.4 Beliefs about black and Asian people and ethnic minority groups



Sample size: bars 1 and 4 = 1495 (all respondents), bars 2 and 3 = 1366 (all respondents who completed a self-completion questionnaire)

Summary

4.25 This chapter highlights that although certain groups – particularly Gypsy/Travellers – attract high levels of discriminatory attitudes in the context of employment as well as personal relationships, context clearly does matter. While people who have had sex change operations, gay men and lesbians and Muslims prompt more discriminatory responses in the more intimate context of personal relationships, the opposite is true for Gypsy/Travellers and people who experience depression from time to time (though discriminatory attitudes towards Gypsy/Travellers were relatively high in both contexts). Similarly, most people reject the idea of a default retirement age, yet 4 in 10 feel that a 70 year-old would not be suited to the job of primary school teacher. Moreover, while questions about an individual black and Asian person appear to attract relatively

low levels of discriminatory response, questions framed in terms of the possible impact of people from ethnic minorities as a group on jobs and on Scotland's cultural identity capture a much higher level of prejudice.

- 4.26 The chapter also showed that views on whether fathers should have the same rights to paternity leave as mothers to maternity leave are divided. However, among the age groups most likely to have children themselves in the next decade, a clear majority support the principle that men should be entitled to six months paid leave after their children are born – suggesting that the change in the legal position on paternity leave is likely to be welcomed by those it will affect most directly.

5 RELIGIOUS DRESS AND SYMBOLS

Introduction

- 5.1 In recent years, the wearing of particular types of religious dress (such as a veil, headscarf or turban) or of religious symbols (such as a crucifix) has provided a focal point for debate about religious and cultural diversity in the UK. The requirement to wear particular religious symbols varies across religions. It is a religious requirement for Orthodox Sikh men to wear a turban. This is recognised in UK law, which exempts Sikh men from wearing helmets on construction sites and from wearing crash helmets when riding motorbikes. However, the wearing of the full veil by Muslim women is more contested, and there appears to be no consensus within the Islamic community over whether wearing the veil is a requirement or a matter of personal choice (Inter Faith Network, undated, Suleaman on BBC news online, 2006). Similarly, the choice of some Christians to wear a cross, a crucifix, or neither reflects differences within the Christian tradition regarding what is necessary or desirable (Inter Faith Network, undated).
- 5.2 People's freedom to express their religious or cultural identity through the way they dress at work has been a particular area of controversy, as reflected in a number of high profile news stories on this topic. In 2008, a Christian British Airways worker lost her case challenging her suspension for refusing to remove a cross at work (Glendinning in *The Guardian*, 2008). Two years earlier, a Muslim teaching assistant was suspended after refusing to take off her veil in the classroom (Knight in *The Times*, 2006). Both cases were reported and discussed extensively in the UK media. While both these claimants lost their cases at employment tribunal, in 2009, a Sikh police officer received compensation after he was ordered to remove his turban for riot training (BBC online, 2009).
- 5.3 The debate about the veil was further fuelled by the revelation that the former Labour foreign secretary Jack Straw had asked female Muslim constituents if they would remove their veils in his constituency surgery, as he was uncomfortable talking to someone whose face he could not see. Straw later described the veil as a "visible statement of separation and of difference" (BBC online, 2006), while the former Prime Minister Tony Blair referred to the veil as a "mark of separation" which could make people from other backgrounds feel uncomfortable (Grice in *The Independent*, 2006). In response to these kinds of comments, those who support the right of individuals to wear religious dress and symbols at work argue that criticism of their doing so can be experienced as an attack on both the individual and their faith, and that the expression of faith in different ways is an intrinsic part of Britain's commitment to religious freedom.

Different symbols, different attitudes?

- 5.4 In order to examine people's attitudes to religious dress and symbols SSA 2010 included four questions about employers' rights to request the removal of religious symbols at work. The questions, included in the self-

completion section of the survey, asked respondents to consider a situation in which a bank is interviewing someone from a particular religion for a job serving customers. They then asked whether the bank should be able to insist that person remove their religious dress or symbol while at work. Answer options ranged from ‘yes, definitely should’ to ‘no, definitely should not’. The questions covered:

- A Sikh man who wears a turban
- A Christian woman who wears a crucifix
- A Muslim woman who wears a headscarf, and
- A Muslim woman who wears a veil.

5.5 The findings (shown in Table 5.1) suggest that attitudes to religious symbols vary not only with the religion in question – with Christian symbols attracting less discomfort than those associated with Sikhism or Islam – but also with the symbol in question.

5.6 People were least likely to accept that a bank should be able to insist that a Christian woman take off a crucifix while at work – just 15% thought they definitely or probably should be able to insist on this. This finding is perhaps unsurprising given that 80% of people in Scotland say they were brought up in a Christian faith and are therefore more likely to be familiar and comfortable with the symbols associated with that religion.

5.7 Around a quarter said a bank should be able to insist a potential employee removes a turban (24%) or a headscarf (23%). However, in spite of the fact both symbols are associated with Islam, the veil attracted a much stronger response than the headscarf – 69% said a bank should be able to insist a Muslim woman removes a veil, compared with 23% who said the same for a headscarf. Moreover, even among those who said the bank definitely or probably should not be able to insist a Muslim woman remove a headscarf, 63% nonetheless thought they should be able to insist they remove a veil.

Table 5.1 Should a bank be able to insist employees remove religious dress or symbols? (column %)

	Sikh man with turban	Christian woman with crucifix	Muslim woman with headscarf	Muslim woman with veil
	%	%	%	%
Yes, definitely should	12	6	10	41
Yes, probably should	12	9	13	28
No, probably should not	35	34	44	14
No, definitely should not	34	46	28	11
Can't choose	6	5	4	4
(Not answered)	1	1	1	1
<i>Sample size</i>	1366	1366	1366	1366

How do views of religious symbols vary?

5.8 The findings above indicate that there is no consensus in Scotland in how people view religious symbols or dress, but that views depend on both the religion and the symbol in question. This raises the further question of how attitudes to religious dress vary between different sections of Scottish society. Are similar people more likely to support a bank's right to insist on the removal of *any* of these religious symbols at work, or does this too depend on the religion and/or the symbol in question?³⁹

Demographic differences

5.9 Demographic variations in views of the right of a bank to insist a potential employee remove either a Sikh turban or a Muslim headscarf largely appear to mirror variations in attitudes to religious difference in the context of personal relationships. For example, those most likely to say a bank should be able to insist employees remove each of these items are similar to those most likely to say they would feel unhappy with the idea of a relative marrying a Muslim or Hindu (see Chapter Three) – that is, older people (in particular those aged 65 and over) and those with no educational qualifications (Table 5.2).⁴⁰

5.10 Small employers and own account workers were particularly likely to feel a bank should be able to insist an employee remove a headscarf and, to a lesser extent, a turban. This perhaps reflects particularly strong views among small employers about the rights of employers vis-à-vis their employees. However, it is worth noting that this view does not apparently extend to the crucifix – small employers are no more likely than those in lower supervisory and technical or routine occupations to feel a bank should be able to insist an employee remove a crucifix while at work.

³⁹ The discussion in the remainder of this chapter is informed by multivariate analysis (see Annex B, Models 5.1 to 5.4 for details).

⁴⁰ Note that differences between men and women's views of the turban were at best marginally significant ($p = 0.079$). Differences by gender were not significant for the headscarf ($p = 0.146$).

Table 5.2 Attitudes to religious dress and symbols by demographic factors (cell %)

% yes, definitely / probably should be able to insist they remove	Christian woman with crucifix	Sikh man with turban	Muslim woman with headscarf	Muslim woman with veil	Sample size
ALL	15	24	23	69	1366
Gender					
Men	16	26	25	73	597
Women	13	22	22	65	769
Age					
18-24	18	22	19	52	101
25-34	20	27	23	60	191
35-44	15	22	22	66	216
45-54	12	19	17	63	257
55-64	13	20	21	83	258
65+	12	31	35	83	343
Education					
Degree/HE	13	18	18	68	463
Highers/A-levels	15	22	20	66	245
Standard Grades / GCSEs	16	27	26	71	362
None	15	31	34	71	294
Socio-economic status⁴¹					
Employers, managers & professionals	10	17	18	70	482
Intermediate occupations	10	15	19	66	149
Small employers & own account workers	17	36	40	81	129
Lower supervisor & technical	22	32	29	76	155
Semi-routine & routine	17	29	26	65	414

5.11 If views about the rights of individuals to wear a turban or headscarf appear to divide people along similar lines to views about a Muslim marrying a close relative, attitudes to the veil and crucifix appear more widely shared across Scottish society (Table 5.2). A majority of people across most sections of society – men and women, younger and older people, those with and without educational qualifications, managers and routine workers – said a bank should be able to insist a Muslim employee remove a veil. Equally, the idea of asking a Christian woman to remove a crucifix received relatively little support across most sections of society.

5.12 That said, there were nonetheless some significant differences in attitudes to both the veil and the crucifix between different sections of

⁴¹ Note that multivariate analysis for all four religious symbols was carried out using the 7 category version of the standard National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC). This separates 'employers, managers and professionals' into 'employers in large organisations; higher managers & professionals' and 'lower professionals & managers; higher technical & supervisory', meaning we could investigate any possible differences in the views of those higher and lower up the managerial hierarchy (who might be expected to differ in their attitudes to the rights of employers vis a vis their employees). Since no significant differences between these two groups were in fact found, this table shows the more succinct 5 category version of NS-SEC.

society. First, while a majority of people of all ages felt a bank should be able to insist on the removal of a veil, this view was still more common amongst older people (83% of those aged 55 and over, compared with 52% of those aged 18-24). Men were also significantly more likely to support this position than were women (73% compared with 65%).

- 5.13 In terms of education, there was much less variation in attitudes to the veil than in attitudes to the headscarf – 71% of those with no qualifications supported a bank’s right to ask for a veil to be removed, little higher than the 68% of graduates who did so. Moreover, while employers, managers and professionals were less likely than those in routine occupations to feel it is acceptable for a bank to ask a female Muslim employee to remove a headscarf at work (18% compared with 26%), they were marginally *more* likely to say the bank should be able to insist they remove a veil (70% compared with 65%). It appears that while the well-educated middle classes are more comfortable than others with the headscarf, they are equally likely to express discomfort with the veil.
- 5.14 In contrast to the other three scenarios, support for a bank’s right to ask an employee to remove a crucifix is highest among those aged under 35 (18-20%) and lowest among those aged over 45 (12-13%). This is perhaps because younger people are less likely to identify with Christianity or any other religion.⁴² Perhaps while older people are more likely to hold particular views about religions they may be more unfamiliar with, younger people are more critical in their views of religion in general.

Attitudes to prejudice and diversity

- 5.15 Chapters Three and Four showed that those who were less comfortable with diversity and more accepting of prejudice in general were significantly more likely to express unhappiness at the idea of someone from a different religion marrying into their family, and to feel that someone who is Muslim is unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Similarly, those who prefer living in an area where most people are similar to themselves were more likely to say that a bank should be able to insist that an employee removes items of religious dress (Table 5.3). And those who believe that there is sometimes good reason for prejudice were more likely than those who felt Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice to say this.
- 5.16 However, even among those who on other measures express support for diversity and ending prejudice, only a minority appear to think Muslim women should have a right to wear a veil at work. For example, almost two thirds (64%) of those who feel that in general Scotland should do everything it can to end prejudice nonetheless feel that a bank should be able to insist an employee remove a veil while at work. Thus even among those who are otherwise comfortable with diversity and opposed to prejudice, relatively few would defend a Muslim woman’s right to wear a veil at work against her employer’s wishes.

⁴² Although not significant in multivariate regression analysis, in bivariate analysis those with no religion were significantly more likely to say that an employer should be able to ask an employee to remove a crucifix (17% compared with 12%).

Table 5.3 Attitudes to religious dress and symbols by attitudes to prejudice and diversity (cell %)

% yes, definitely / probably should be able to insist they remove	Christian woman with crucifix	Sikh man with turban	Muslim woman with headscarf	Muslim woman with veil	Sample size
ALL	15	24	23	69	1366
General attitudes to Prejudice					
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	12	18	18	64	870
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	20	38	36	81	420
Preference for living in an area...					
...with lots of different kinds of people	11	13	13	58	488
...where most people are similar to you	17	34	33	82	604

Attitudes towards and contact with Muslims

5.17 Religious dress is a particularly public way of expressing religious identity. It might, therefore, be supposed that people who are more concerned about the impact of diverse religious identities on our culture will be less likely to support people's rights to express religious difference in this way. Conversely, those who know people affiliated with minority religions (in the UK context) may be more familiar and comfortable with such dress.

5.18 As discussed in Chapter Two, SSA 2010 asked people how strongly they agreed or disagreed that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland'. Table 5.4 shows the proportion of people who felt a bank should be able to insist a Muslim woman remove a veil or headscarf at work by their responses to this question. It also shows views of asking a Sikh man to remove his turban broken down by people's views of the impact of Muslim immigration on Scotland's cultural identity. We have included this analysis because there have been reports of 'Islamophobia' directed against people who are in fact Sikhs (e.g. Verkaik in *The Independent*, 2005), and because this question arguably taps into more general sentiments relating to how comfortable people feel with religious diversity.

5.19 This analysis shows perceptions of the veil, headscarf and turban are indeed related to views of the potential impact of Muslim immigration on Scotland's cultural identity. Eighty-four per cent of those who agreed strongly that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland' felt it was acceptable for a bank to ask a Muslim employee to remove a veil, compared with 49% of those who disagreed strongly with this statement. Similarly, 40% of those who agreed strongly compared with 9% of those who disagreed strongly felt

a bank would be justified in asking a Muslim employee to remove a headscarf. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the two questions relate to different religions, 47% of those who agreed strongly that more Muslims would threaten Scotland's identity compared with 9% of those who disagreed strongly felt that a bank should be able to insist a Sikh employee remove his turban. It appears that people's attitudes to the cultural impact of increasing religious diversification (at least with respect to Islam) and their views about whether people should have a right to wear either Muslim or Sikh dress at work are strongly related.

Table 5.4 Attitudes to religious dress and symbols by contact with Muslims and attitudes to impact of Muslim immigration on Scottish identity (cell %)

% yes, definitely / probably should be able to insist they remove	Sikh man with turban	Muslim woman with headscarf	Muslim woman with veil	Sample size
ALL	24	23	69	1366
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland				
Agree strongly	47	40	84	266
Agree	28	27	78	434
Neither agree nor disagree	14	14	60	276
Disagree	12	18	58	328
Disagree strongly	9	9	49	54
Know anyone who is a Muslim?				
Yes	17	16	65	553
No	30	30	75	687

5.20 People who know someone who is Muslim were less likely to think that a bank should be able to ask a Muslim employee to take off her headscarf –16% of those who knew someone who was Muslim felt this, compared with 30% of those who did not. However, knowing someone who was Muslim was less strongly related to attitudes to the veil.⁴³ This again suggests that attitudes to the veil are not a straightforward reflection of attitudes to Islam – rather, they may reflect discomfort with a particular symbol, even among those who would otherwise be comfortable with the expression of diverse religious identities. It may also reflect the fact that even people who know people who are Muslim might still be relatively unfamiliar with seeing women wearing a veil in Scotland.

Summary

5.21 The findings in this chapter indicate that most people do not hold a single view about religious dress and symbols; rather, their views depend on a combination of the religion and the particular symbol in question.

⁴³ And was not significant after other factors were taken into account - see Annex A, regression Model 5.3.

- 5.22 People are most likely to feel that individuals should have a right to wear Christian symbols at work. However, findings by age provide some tentative evidence of a greater questioning of such public expressions of Christianity among the younger generation.
- 5.23 People are less likely to feel that people should have a right to wear religious dress associated with Islam and Sikhism at work. However, in relation to Islamic headscarves and Sikh turbans at least, a majority (over 7 in 10) would still in principle support their right to do so. Attitudes to these two forms of religious dress appear to be strongly related to acceptance of prejudice and comfort with diversity more generally. It is the same sections of society who, for example, are least happy with idea of people from other religions marrying into their family, or who feel that there is sometimes good reason for prejudice, who are most likely to feel that it is acceptable to ask people to remove a turban or headscarf at work.
- 5.24 In contrast, attitudes to the veil are less clearly a simple reflection of comfort with religious diversity. Even among those who are otherwise comfortable with diversity and opposed to prejudice, a majority of people feel a bank should be able to ask an employee to remove a veil at work. Perhaps people view the veil as primarily a cultural, rather than a religious symbol, and associate it with a particular set of cultural values with which they do not understand or share. Or perhaps it is simply that people feel uncomfortable with the idea of not being able to see someone's face when they are being served by them – and that for them this consideration overrides any arguments over freedom of expression of religious identity.

6 PROMOTING EQUALITY AND POSITIVE ACTION

Introduction

6.1 So far, this report has explored whether people believe prejudice is acceptable and the extent to which they hold views towards specific groups which may be described as discriminatory. This chapter now turns to attitudes to positive action. The Commission define 'positive action' as:

'measures that are designed to counteract the effects of past discrimination and to help abolish stereotyping.'

6.2 Arguments for positive action are most commonly applied to employment settings. In this context, positive action consists of action to encourage particular groups of people who are under-represented in a workplace to take advantage of training, or to apply for employment in the first place.⁴⁴

6.3 Those opposed to positive action typically argue that it confers unfair advantage on the groups it targets. Such action, it is argued, is not only unfair on those who do not share these characteristics (white males, for example), it may also be damaging for those who apparently benefit from it, since their subsequent career success may be attributed by others to these 'unfair advantages' rather than their own merits. Those who support positive action respond by claiming that treating people differently is justified as a result of historical and current injustices suffered by particular groups. Moreover, they argue that greater equality and diversity in particular areas is unlikely to be achieved, at least in the short term, without some form of positive action. Whether or not they are aware of these arguments, it seems likely that public responses to different types of positive action will reflect at least some of these considerations.

6.4 This chapter explores public reactions to a range of scenarios involving some kind of positive action by the public and private sector, to try and improve outcomes for particular groups. It also explores views of attempts to promote equal opportunities in general, and of other

⁴⁴ Note that while the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably, 'positive action' is different from 'positive discrimination'. Positive discrimination is generally used to refer to employing one person over another on grounds of that individual's characteristics (such as gender or ethnicity). Positive discrimination is generally illegal in UK employment law, although there are exceptions relating to, for example, 'genuine occupational requirement'. Positive action involves measures to improve equality for people who share a protected characteristic. For such action to be lawful, an employer must reasonably think that people who share that characteristic experience disadvantage related to that characteristic, have needs that are different from the needs of those who do not share that characteristic, or have disproportionately low participation in an activity compared with others who do not share that characteristic. If these conditions apply, an employer may take any action which is proportionate to meet the aims of enabling people who share that characteristic to overcome or minimise disadvantage, meet those needs, or participate in that activity. For more detailed explanations of 'positive discrimination', 'positive action' and the law, see EHRC (2011) *Equality Act 2010: Statutory Code of Practice*.

measures that attempt to promote greater equality for particular groups. Questions included in SSA 2010 covered targeted action:

- To promote accessibility of services for disabled people and people who do not speak English as their first language
- To help people with particular characteristics find employment through state funded, targeted employment support services
- To help people with particular characteristics obtain employment or promotion through companies providing additional training or improved chances of being selected for interview.

6.5 In considering people's responses to these scenarios we consider not only how views vary depending on the group and scenario in question, but the extent to which people's views on positive actions to assist these groups diverge from or mirror discriminatory views *against* them, as explored in Chapters Three and Four. It is important to bear in mind, however, that opposition to positive action may or may not be related to prejudice against a particular group. While some people may reject specific types of positive action because they view particular groups as 'undeserving', based on prejudiced views about this group, others may oppose positive action on entirely different grounds.⁴⁵

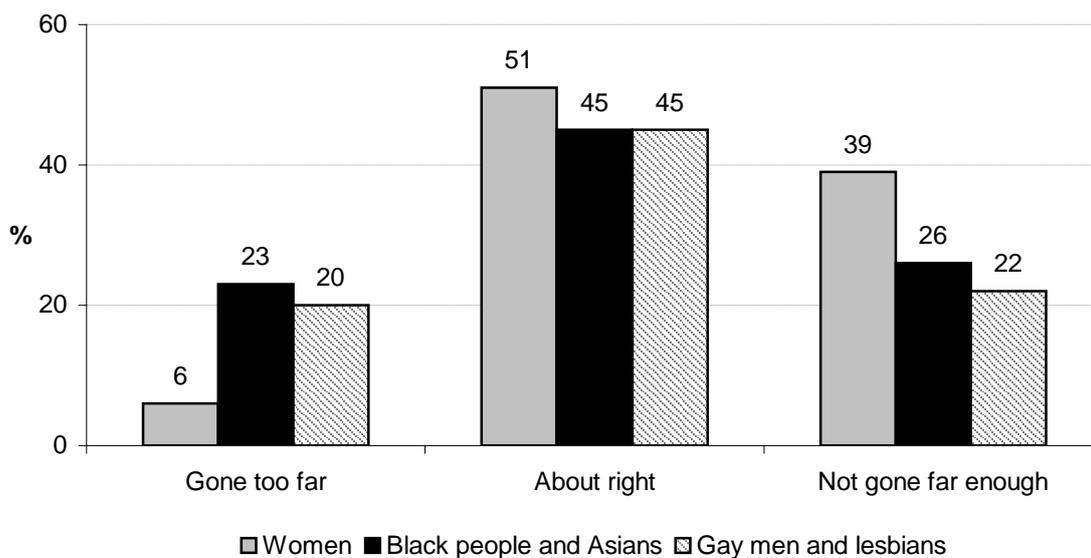
Equal opportunities

6.6 SSA 2010 asked people to say whether they thought attempts in Scotland to promote equal opportunities had gone too far or not gone far enough in relation to women, black people and Asians, and gay men and lesbians.⁴⁶ As shown in Figure 6.1, relatively few people (only around 1 in 20) felt that attempts to promote equal opportunities for women had gone too far, while 4 in 10 felt they had not gone far enough. People were far more likely to say that attempts to promote equal opportunities for black and Asian people (23%) and for gay men and lesbians (20%) had gone too far. However, just as many people (26% for black and Asian people and 22% for gay men and lesbians) thought equal opportunities for these two groups had not gone far enough.

⁴⁵ For example, because they view any targeting of services or benefits on particular groups as itself 'discriminatory' and unfair to other groups, or because they are unaware of key facts about the continuing inequalities experienced by particular groups, and therefore think there is no need for positive action to address inequality.

⁴⁶ These three groups were included on the basis that questions about them had been included in earlier years of SSA, enabling analysis of change in attitudes to attempts to promote equal opportunities over time.

Figure 6.1 Attitudes to attempts to promote equal opportunities⁴⁷



Sample size: 1,495 (all respondents)

6.7 In their discussion of the (broadly similar) findings from the 2006 SSA survey, Bromley et al (2007) noted that more people believed attempts to promote equal opportunities for black and Asian people have gone too far than expressed 'overt' prejudice towards ethnic minority groups on the measures discussed in Chapters Three and Four. The same pattern is apparent in 2010 – while just 9% said they would be unhappy if a relative married someone who is black or Asian and just 6% felt they would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher, almost a quarter thought attempts to promote equality for this group have gone too far.

6.8 Bromley et al (2007) suggest that these findings indicate that some people who are unwilling to express 'overtly' discriminatory views towards ethnic minority groups may nonetheless hold views that are covertly discriminatory. Alternatively, although few people hold prejudiced views towards *individual* black and Asian people, perhaps more people hold discriminatory views towards people from ethnic minorities as a *group*, particularly where questions of resources come into play – an issue we return to below. A third possibility is that some people are simply unaware of the extent of the inequalities still experienced by many black and Asian people in Britain, and therefore feel that current attempts to promote equality for this group are unnecessary.

6.9 In terms of the sections of society most likely to feel that attempts to promote equality for black and Asian people and for gay men and lesbians have gone too far, findings follow the same broad patterns seen in Chapters Three and Four (for full details of the figures discussed in this paragraph, see Annex A, Table A.6.1).

- Those with fewer educational qualifications were more likely to think this⁴⁸ as were those on lower incomes⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ For more detailed figures, see Annex C.

- Attitudes to attempts to promote equality for black and Asian people were also divided along class lines. Employers, managers and professionals and those in intermediate occupations were less likely than those in lower supervisory, technical or routine occupations to feel attempts to promote equality have gone too far.
- In relation to gay men and lesbians, men and older people were more likely to think attempts to promote equal opportunities have gone too far (23% of men compared with 17% of women, and 40% of those aged 65 and over compared with just 3% of those aged 18-24).
- Those who knew someone who is gay or lesbian were less likely to feel attempts to promote equal opportunities for this group had gone too far (16% compared with 29% of those who do not know anyone who is gay).⁵⁰

Accessibility of services and information

6.10 One way of promoting equality is to ensure that the services that we all use are equally accessible to all kinds of people. This might take the form of removing physical barriers – for example, ensuring that offices, banks and shops are wheelchair accessible. Or it might involve removing barriers relating to knowledge and information about services – for example, by providing translations for those for whom English is not their first language.

6.11 People in Scotland appear strongly committed to the principle of ensuring equal access for disabled people. A clear majority (76%) agreed that shops and banks should take action to reduce barriers to disabled people using their services, even if this might result in higher prices for customers (Table 6.1). An even bigger proportion (93%) said that providing information about public services in easy read formats, designed to be more easily understood by people with learning disabilities, was a good use of public money (Figure 6.2).

⁴⁸ 36% of those with no qualifications thought attempts to promote equal opportunities for black people and Asians had gone too far, compared with 14% of graduates. The equivalent figures in relation to gay men and lesbians were 35% and 15%.

⁴⁹ 29% of those with annual household incomes up to £14,300 thought attempts to promote equal opportunities for black people and Asians had gone too far, compared with 17% of those earning £44,200 or more. The equivalent figures in relation to promoting equal opportunities for gay men and lesbians were 24% and 16%.

⁵⁰ The relationship between knowing someone from a different racial/ethnic background and believing attempts to promote equal opportunities for black and Asian people have gone too far was not significant, however.

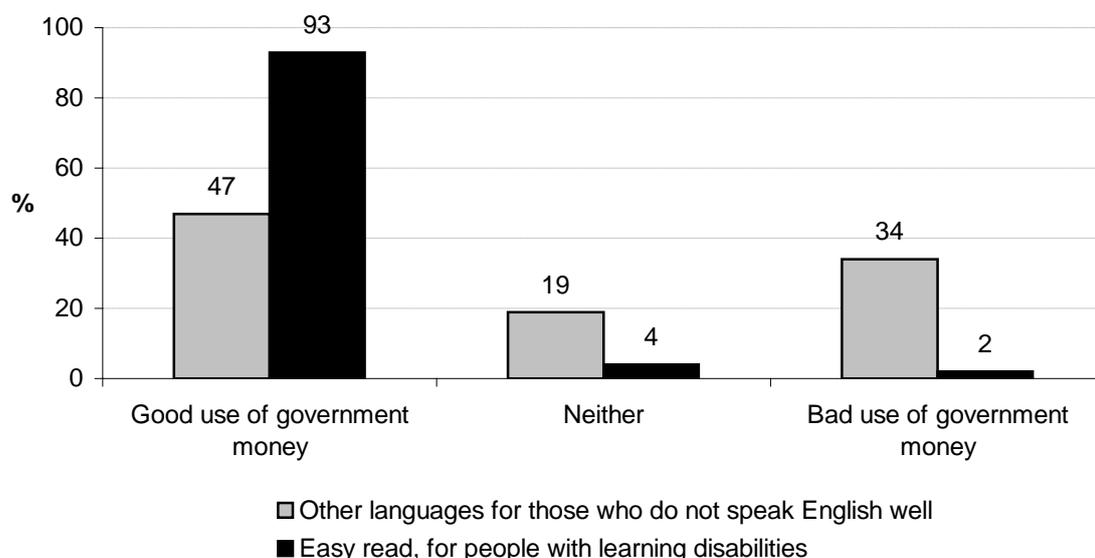
Table 6.1 Agree/disagree ‘Shops and banks should be forced to make themselves easier for disabled people to use, even if this leads to higher prices’ (column %)

	%
Agree strongly	23
Agree	53
Neither agree nor disagree	15
Disagree	6
Disagree strongly	1
Can't choose	1
(Not answered)	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1366</i>

Base: All respondents who completed a self-completion questionnaire

6.12 However, attitudes to providing translations of information about public services for people who do not understand English well were more divided. While almost half (47%) agreed that providing translations was a good use of public money, a third (34%) thought it was a bad use of state funding, and a further 1 in 5 were undecided (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Attitudes to providing information about public services in alternative formats⁵¹



Sample size: 1,495 (all respondents)

6.13 There were relatively few significant demographic differences in the kinds of people who were most and least likely to view providing translations of information about public services as a bad use of government money (Table 6.2). Men were a little more likely to think this than women (37% compared with 30%), as were people in lower

⁵¹ For detailed figures, see Annex C.

supervisory and technical occupations and small employers compared with those in other socio-economic groups.⁵²

6.14 Much bigger differences in attitudes to providing translations were apparent by people's general attitude to prejudice. Forty seven per cent of those who thought there was sometimes good reason for prejudice felt that providing translations of information about public services was a bad use of government money compared with 27% among those who thought Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all forms of prejudice. Even more strikingly, 58% of those who agreed strongly that Scotland would start to lose its identity if more black and Asian people moved here felt providing information in translation was a bad use of government money, compared with just 16% of those who disagreed strongly with this statement. While it is not necessarily the case that immigrants will require translations of information, these findings indicate that views about spending state resources on providing information to non-English speakers are strongly related to views about the cultural impact of immigration in general. Although this is perhaps unsurprising, it is a reminder of the strong relationship people perceive between language and culture. This relationship may in turn help explain why some people are resistant to investing resources in supporting people who speak languages not traditionally associated with a particular country and its culture.

⁵² Views did not vary significantly with age, education or income, so these are not reported here.

Table 6.2 Attitudes to using government money to provide information about public services in other languages for people who do not understand English well, by various factors (row %)

	Very good/good use	Neither good nor bad use	Bad/very bad use	Sample size
All	47	19	34	1495
Gender				
Men	46	16	37	662
Women	48	22	30	833
Socio-economic class				
Employers, managers and professionals	53	16	31	519
Intermediate occupations	42	25	32	160
Small employers and own account workers	38	20	41	144
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	39	15	47	166
Semi-routine and routine occupations	47	21	32	459
General attitudes to prejudice				
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	53	19	27	946
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	35	18	47	451
Scotland would start to lose its identity if more black and Asian people move here?				
Agree strongly	28	13	58	231
Agree	38	22	39	481
Neither	48	25	26	327
Disagree	60	15	24	387
Disagree strongly	72	12	16	58

Targeted funding for employment support

6.15 The Commission's recent report, 'How fair is Britain?' (EHRC, 2010) showed that some groups of people continue to be under-represented in the UK labour market and face particular barriers to accessing and maintaining employment. For example, in Britain as a whole:

- 45% of disabled people in their early 20s are not in employment, education or training (NEET)
- Only 23% of people with depression are in employment
- Only 1 in 4 Bangladeshi and Pakistani women work
- Muslim people have the lowest rate of employment of any religious group
- Women hold just 1 in 3 managerial jobs in Britain
- Lesbian, gay and bisexual people are twice as likely to report experiencing unfair treatment, discrimination, bullying or harassment at work compared with other employees.

6.16 A number of organisations offer targeted employment support to specific groups to try and overcome barriers that may not always be adequately

addressed by more generic employment services. In SSA 2010, this idea was introduced to respondents as follows:

Some organisations focus on helping particular groups of people find work, for example by helping them develop interview skills and building their confidence.

6.17 Respondents were then asked to say whether in general they thought that giving money to organisations that focus on helping a particular group find work is a good or a bad use of government money, on a five point scale ranging from 'very good use' to 'very bad use'. This question was asked in relation to six different groups of people:

- Black and Asian people
- People over 50
- Muslims
- People who experience depression from time to time
- Gypsy/Travellers, and
- Gay men and lesbians.

6.18 As Table 6.3 shows, support for targeting this kind of support was much greater in respect of some groups than others. People were least likely to feel that giving money to organisations that support Gypsy/Travellers to find work was a good use of public money – just 31% said this. Slightly more, but still well under half, said the same in relation to targeted employment support for gay men and lesbians (38%), Muslims (39%) and black and Asian people (43%). In contrast, three quarters of people felt that giving money to organisations that support people aged over 50 (75%) or people who experience depression from time to time (74%) to find work was a good use of public money.

Table 6.3 Views on giving money to organisations that help particular groups find work (row %)⁵³

		Very good/ good use of govt money	Neither good nor bad use	Bad/very bad use of govt money	Sample size
Gypsy/Travellers	%	31	25	42	1495
Gay men and lesbians	%	38	30	30	1495
Muslims	%	39	28	32	1495
Black and Asian people	%	43	28	28	1495
People who experience depression from time to time	%	74	18	7	1495
People over 50	%	75	16	9	1495

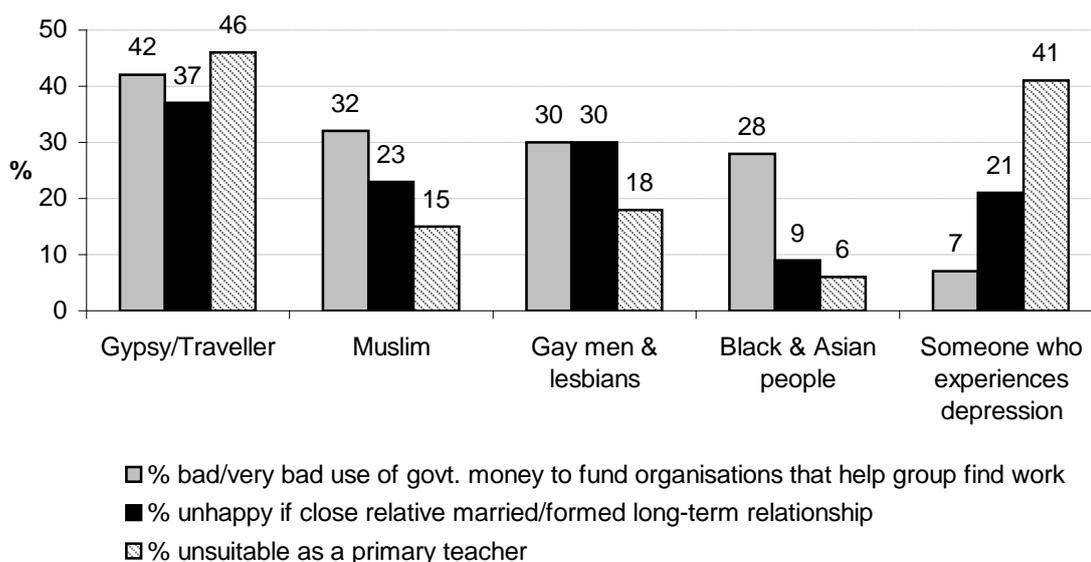
6.19 As noted earlier, there are potentially multiple reasons for people opposing targeting of resources to support particular groups. It may reflect prejudice against a particular group or it may simply be an indication that people cannot see why a particular group would need additional help in a particular sphere. However, the fact that the different groups above do attract very different responses does at least suggest

⁵³ See Annex C for more detailed breakdown.

that people do make distinctions. It is not simply the case that people either support this kind of targeted action or not.

- 6.20 If we compare responses to these questions with responses to the more overtly discriminatory questions discussed in Chapters Three and Four, we find that attitudes to funding targeted employment support do not follow the same patterns (Figure 6.3). Views are most similar in relation to Gypsy Travellers – this is the group people are most likely to object to funding targeted employment support for. They are also one of the groups people would be least happy about marrying into their family circle and are the group most likely to be viewed as unsuitable as a primary teacher. In contrast, while few people would be unhappy about a black or Asian person marrying into their family circle (9%), or feel they would be unsuitable as primary school teacher (6%), a much higher proportion (28%) oppose the idea of funding employment support for black and Asian people. As discussed above, this may be an indication of ‘covert’ discrimination against black and Asian people or it may reflect a belief that it is either inappropriate or unnecessary to target employment support on the basis of ethnicity.
- 6.21 With respect to people who experience depression, the pattern observed for black and Asian people is reversed. Four in ten (41%) people think people who experience depression would be unsuitable as a primary teacher, while 1 in 5 would be unhappy about them marrying a family member, but only 7% would be opposed to the government funding targeted employment support to this group. Perhaps depression attracts sympathy – and therefore support for targeted services to overcome barriers – while at the same time some people are concerned about people with depression taking on demanding or sensitive employment roles, like teaching. In any case, what is clear from these figures is that rejecting overtly discriminatory attitudes towards a particular group does not necessarily mean people will support targeting public funding on help for that group. Conversely, the existence of high levels of apparently discriminatory attitudes in the context of relationships or a specific employment scenario does not necessarily mean that people will reject the idea of targeting support on a particular group.

Figure 6.3 Discriminatory attitudes and attitudes to positive action targeting different groups (%)



Sample size: questions on use of government money and marriage long-term relationship = 1,495 (all respondents); questions on suitability as primary school teacher = 1,366 (all respondents who completed a self-completion questionnaire).

6.22 Tables 6.3 to 6.5 show how views of funding targeted employment support for different groups vary by demographic and economic characteristics and with respect to people's general attitudes to prejudice and diversity.⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, given the high degree of support for funding employment services targeting people who experience depression and those over 50, there was no significant variation in attitudes to funding these services by gender, age or education. In contrast, views about funding targeted employment support for Gypsy/Travellers, Muslims, gay men and lesbians and black and Asian people varied significantly with age and education, following the by now familiar pattern – older people and those with lower levels of educational attainment were more likely to feel supporting these services was a bad use of government money (Table 6.3).⁵⁵ Views also varied by gender, with women less likely than men to view targeting spending on employment services for Muslims, black and Asian people and particularly gay men and lesbians as a bad use of government money.

⁵⁴ The decision as to which factors to include in these tables was informed by multivariate regression analysis, reported in Annex B (Models 6.1 to 6.6). All the variables included in these tables were significant in the models for at least one of the groups covered.

⁵⁵ Note that although age and education were not significant in multivariate analysis of viewing targeted employment support for black and Asian people and Muslims as a bad use of government money, they were nonetheless significant at a bivariate level. Similarly, although education is not significant in the model for targeting employment support towards gay men and lesbians, it is significant at a bivariate level.

Table 6.4 Bad/very bad use of government money to give money to organisations that help different groups find work, by gender, age and education (cell %)

% bad/very bad use of government money	Gypsy/ Travellers	Muslims	Gay men & lesbians	Black & Asian people	People who exp. Depression from time to time	People over 50	Sample size
All	42	32	30	28	7	9	1495
Gender							
Men	44	34	34	31	7	9	662
Women	41	29	26	26	7	8	833
Age							
18-24	28	19	8	19	1	7	113
25-34	37	29	28	26	8	8	211
35-44	39	27	27	23	9	8	239
45-54	39	32	25	30	6	7	270
55-64	48	31	35	32	6	11	275
65+	56	43	47	36	9	9	386
Highest educational qualification							
Degree/Higher Education	34	28	29	23	7	8	498
Highers or equivalent	36	24	22	22	6	7	267
Standard Grades or equivalent	46	31	29	31	7	8	386
None	58	45	41	39	9	12	337

6.23 Retired people, rather than those who are themselves in work are most likely to feel that it is a bad use of government money to provide support finding work to particular groups (Table 6.4).⁵⁶ This in part reflects the age profile of retired people, since as discussed above, older people were more likely to say that providing government funding for targeted employment services was a bad use of money.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ The 'other' economic activity group, which includes those who are permanently sick or disabled and those who say they were doing else not listed, were also slightly more likely to think that targeted employment support was a bad use of government money – though given the relatively small sample size for this group some caution is required in interpreting this finding.

⁵⁷ Note, however, that being retired was significantly and independently associated with viewing funding for organisations that help Muslims and black and Asian people find work as a bad use of government money even after age was taken into account - See Annex B, Models 6.1 and 6.3.

Table 6.5 Bad/very bad use of government money to give money to organisations that help different groups find work, by current economic activity (cell %)

% bad/very bad use of government money	Gypsy/ Travellers	Muslims	Gay men & lesbians	Black & Asian people	People who exp. Depression from time to time	People over 50	Sample size
All	42	32	30	28	7	9	1495
Current economic activity							
In work/waiting to take up paid work	39	28	25	27	6	8	761
Education/training full time	17	17	17	8	-	4	44
Unemployed	38	25	21	18	6	14	80
Retired	53	42	45	36	8	9	448
Looking after the home	45	29	26	24	10	6	85
Other	48	42	32	38	12	10	77

6.24 The one factor that was significantly related to viewing funding targeted services as a bad use of government money across all 6 groups the survey asked about was people's general attitude to prejudice. Those who felt that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced were significantly more likely to oppose such targeting, even for people who experience depression from time to time and people over 50 (Table 6.5). So although opposition to targeted services does not necessarily reflect a more prejudiced outlook, this finding suggests that the two may often be related.

6.25 People who are less comfortable with diversity also appear to be more opposed to targeting government spending on Gypsy/Travellers, Muslims, gay men and lesbians and black and Asian people – though people's preferences for living in a diverse or homogenous area had no bearing on their attitudes to targeting employment support on those who experience depression or people over 50 (Table 6.5).

Table 6.6 Bad/very bad use of government money to give money to organisations that help different groups find work, by general attitudes to prejudice and diversity (cell %)

% bad/very bad use of government money	Gypsy/ Travellers	Muslims	Gay men & lesbians	Black & Asian people	People who exp. Depression from time to time	People over 50	Sample size
All	42	32	30	28	7	9	1495
General attitudes to prejudice							
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	35	24	25	22	5	6	946
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	58	48	41	41	10	13	451
Preference for living in an area...							
...with lots of different kinds of people	31	22	22	19	6	8	488
...where most people are similar to you	54	39	38	35	7	9	604

Positive action by companies

6.26 Finally, we turn to four questions exploring attitudes to ‘positive action’ as an approach to promote equality of outcome for different groups of (potential and actual) employees. Respondents were asked to consider four scenarios, and to say for each whether they thought it was ‘definitely fair’, ‘probably fair’, ‘probably unfair’ or ‘definitely unfair’. The first two scenarios describe forms of positive action currently permissible by law in the UK⁵⁸:

- *Say a company had fewer women than men in senior jobs and decided to give its women employees **extra** opportunities to get **training and qualifications***
- *And say a company had few black and Asian people in senior jobs and decided to give black and Asian people it employed **extra** opportunities to get **training and qualifications**.*

6.27 The next scenario relates to a more direct, but again legal, form of positive action, aimed at improving the chances of disabled people being selected for interview:

- *Say several people apply for a job, including someone with a disability. They all meet the necessary requirements for the job. Do*

⁵⁸ The questions did not include any reference to the legal status of any of these actions – respondents were simply presented with the scenarios and asked to say whether they felt they were fair or unfair.

*you think it would be fair or unfair to **automatically** give the person with a disability an interview for the job even if other candidates appear to be better qualified?*⁵⁹

6.28 The final scenario describes a situation which is currently illegal in the UK (with the exception of shortlists for political candidates):

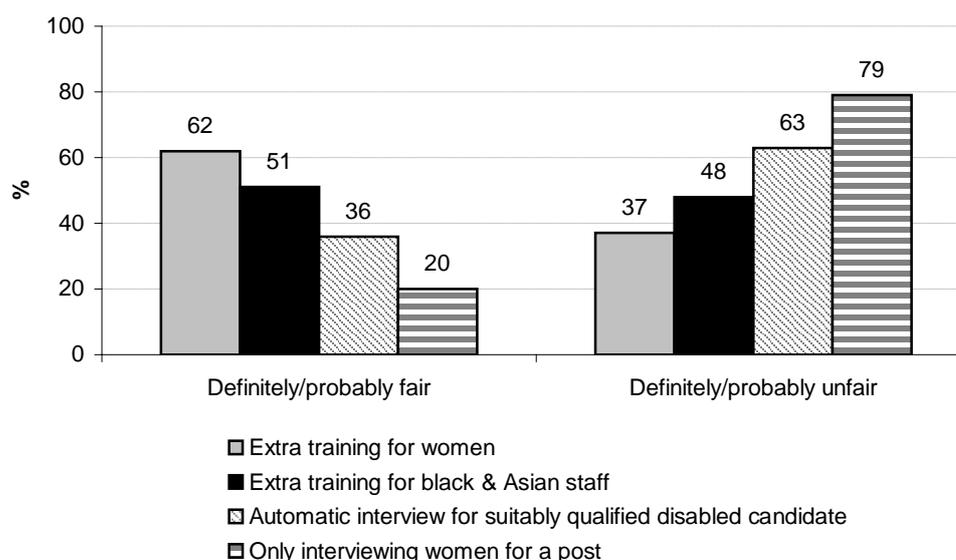
- *Say a company has very few women in senior jobs. They are about to recruit a new senior manager and decide they want to appoint a woman. Do you think it would be fair or unfair for the company to **only** interview women for the new job?*

6.29 Figure 6.4 shows that positive action is controversial – and the more direct the action, the more controversy it attracts. While only 37% thought that positive action to increase training opportunities for women would be unfair, as many as 79% felt it would be unfair to only interview women for a job. Attitudes to giving a suitably qualified disabled person an automatic interview for a job are almost as critical as views of all women shortlists – 63% said this would be probably or definitely unfair.

6.30 Views of positive action also clearly vary depending on the group being targeted. While 62% felt that positive action to improve training opportunities for women would be fair, only 51% said targeting black and Asian staff in the same way would be fair. It is notable that responses to the two scenarios differ in spite of the fact that the questions explicitly state that both groups are under-represented in senior positions in the companies in question. As such, it is difficult to argue that the difference in responses reflects greater public awareness of the ‘glass ceiling’ for women compared with differences in the chances of people from ethnic minority groups reaching senior positions.

⁵⁹ The Statutory Codes of Practice under the Equality Act 2010 state that it is lawful to ask someone, at the time of applying for a job, if they are disabled so that positive action measures can be implemented. Notably, employers can offer automatic interview when a disabled applicant meets the minimum requirements of the job. Also, in situations where two candidates – one disabled and one not – are judged after interview as being equally suited to the job, the employer can offer the job to the disabled candidate to increase representation of disabled people in their workforce.

Figure 6.4 Perceptions of fairness of different kinds of positive action by companies (%)⁶⁰



Sample size: 1,495 (all respondents)

6.31 It is also striking that in relation to these questions, the pattern of responses by age and education is reversed from that seen elsewhere in this report.⁶¹ Those who are typically less likely to hold discriminatory views – younger people and graduates – were more likely to object to positive action across all four measures (Table 6.6). For example, while just 25% of those aged 65 and over felt it would be unfair to offer women extra training opportunities in a company where they are under-represented at a senior level, 39-48% of 18-54 year-olds said this. Similarly, while 44% of those with no qualifications felt giving a suitably qualified disabled person an automatic interview would be unfair, this rose to 71% among graduates.⁶² Perhaps working-age people, and particularly those who are better qualified and may hold more senior posts, are most likely to feel they personally would lose out from these types of positive action targeting groups to which they do not belong. This is arguably also why men are particularly less supportive of offering more training opportunities to women (42% of men compared with 32% of women said this would be unfair).

⁶⁰ See Annex C for full figures.

⁶¹ Note that the discussion in this section is again informed by multivariate analysis – see Annex B, Models 6.7 to 6.10 for details.

⁶² Note that while education was only significant in the multivariate model for giving a disabled person an automatic interview, differences by education were significant at a bivariate level for all four questions. Similarly, while age was independently significant in multivariate analysis for the two training questions, differences by age were significant at a bivariate level for all four questions.

Table 6.7 View positive action as unfair, by gender, age and education (cell %)

% probably/ definitely unfair	Extra training for women	Extra training for black & Asian staff	Automatic interview for disabled candidate	Only interviewing women for post	Sample size
All	37	48	63	79	1495
Gender					
Men	42	51	64	77	662
Women	32	45	62	80	833
Age					
18-24	41	49	76	87	113
25-34	48	56	72	77	211
35-44	42	51	64	81	239
45-54	39	50	60	80	270
55-64	31	41	58	79	275
65+	25	41	54	71	386
Highest educational qualification					
Degree/Higher Education	46	53	71	84	498
Highers or equivalent	41	51	72	79	267
Standard Grades or equivalent	35	46	61	79	386
None	22	38	44	70	337

6.32 This suggestion is further reinforced by findings by class (Table 6.7). It was employers, managers and professionals and those in intermediate occupations, all of whom are already more likely to be in relatively senior posts, who were most likely to view positive action for women – whether extra training or all women shortlists – as unfair.⁶³ And in terms of people’s own current activity, it was those who were themselves in paid work who were most likely to view women only shortlists as unfair.

⁶³ Small employers were also relatively more likely than those in routine/semi-routine occupations to say this in relation to providing extra training for women, and those in intermediate occupations were relatively more likely to consider all-women shortlists unfair (see Annex B, Models 6.7 and 6.10). The pattern of attitudes by class towards giving a disabled person an automatic interview is less clear-cut, but it appears that small employers are the group most likely to view this as unfair (71%, compared with 57% of those in routine/semi-routine occupations).

Table 6.8 View positive action as unfair, by socio-economic class and current economic activity (cell %)

% probably/ definitely unfair	Extra training for women	Extra training for black & Asian staff	Automatic interview for disabled candidate	Only interviewing women for post	Sample size
All	37	48	63	79	1495
Socio-economic class					
Employers, managers and professionals	42	51	65	84	519
Intermediate occupations	45	50	62	81	160
Small employers and own account workers	41	51	71	74	144
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	38	54	67	80	166
Semi-routine and routine occupations	29	41	57	74	459
Current economic activity					
In work/waiting to take up paid work	42	52	68	83	761
Education/training full time	35	40	78	77	44
Unemployed	36	42	42	79	80
Retired	26	40	53	73	448
Looking after the home	32	43	64	63	85
Other ¹	29	56	59	76	77

1 – The ‘Other’ economic activity category includes people who were permanently sick or disabled and people who said they were doing something else, not included elsewhere on the list.

6.33 Finally, it is worth noting that while for many of the other questions discussed in this report, one of the strongest predictors of people’s answers was their response to our question about general acceptance or rejection of prejudice (discussed in Chapter Two), this was not significantly associated with any of the four questions on positive action. Those who felt Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of prejudice were no less likely than those who felt prejudice was sometimes justified to view each of these kinds of positive action as unfair.⁶⁴

6.34 These findings highlight that equality campaigners will need to convince a very different section of society of the rationale for positive action from those they may wish to target with anti-discriminatory messages. It cannot be assumed that those who reject discrimination and prejudice on principle will be any more supportive of positive action to promote equality than those who do not.

⁶⁴ Attitudes to living in a diverse area – again another strong predictor of responses to many of the other questions discussed in this report – was clearly and significantly related to just one of the questions on positive action, that relating to extra training opportunities for black and Asian people. In this case, views did follow the ‘usual’ pattern, with those who prefer living in an area where most people are similar to them more likely than those who prefer living in an area with lots of different kinds of people to view this type of action as unfair (50% compared with 40%).

Summary

- 6.35 People in Scotland appear strongly committed to the principle of equalising access to services and information for people with disabilities, at least with respect to improving the physical accessibility of shops and banks and the accessibility of public information for people with learning disabilities. However, the issue of spending money on making information about public services accessible to people who do not speak English well is considerably more divisive.
- 6.36 Attitudes to providing government funding for employment support services that target specific groups depend very much on the group in question. Most people did not appear to be wholly opposed to this kind of targeting on principle, but for specific groups – notably Gypsy/Travellers – a substantial proportion felt it was a bad use of government money.
- 6.37 People are more likely to express reservations about action to promote equal opportunities for black and Asian people than they are to express explicitly discriminatory views towards black and Asian individuals in the contexts of relationships and employment. However, the opposite was true of people who experience depression from time to time, for whom three quarters supported state funding for targeted employment support.
- 6.38 Positive action by employers to try and make the profile of their workforce more representative was very contentious. The more direct the form this action takes, the more likely people are to feel it is unfair, with a majority saying this about giving a suitably qualified disabled person an automatic interview and only interviewing women for a job. The former finding is perhaps particularly striking given that some employers already offer guaranteed interview schemes for disabled people.
- 6.39 This chapter has also shown that the sections of society who were most likely to feel positive action by companies was unfair did not match those who were most likely to express discriminatory views in other contexts or to say that prejudice was sometimes acceptable. The challenge for advocates of positive action is thus to convince those who are opposed to prejudice in general, but appear unconvinced of the case for this kind of action to achieve equality in practice.
- 6.40 In doing so, they may wish to reflect on findings from another recent Equality and Human Rights Commission study, which explored public understandings of fairness, equality and good relations (Dobbie et al, 2010). This qualitative study highlighted public concern that in order to achieve equality, the needs of the majority would be overlooked and resources would become too focused on the minority. It also emphasised the need for policy makers and activists to be aware of two very distinct understandings of fairness and equality: treating everyone the same regardless of who they are, or treating people differently according to their need. It is this latter view that underpins the arguments for positive action – and it is this view which the public needs to be convinced of if it is to support such schemes.

7 ARE ATTITUDES CHANGING?

Introduction

7.1 As discussed in Chapter One, this report highlights findings from the third study of the incidence of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland. Previous studies were undertaken as part of the 2002 and 2006 SSA surveys (Bromley and Curtice, 2003, Bromley et al., 2007). In addition, some questions about attitudes towards Muslims were included on the 2003 survey (Hussain and Miller, 2006). By comparing the results of SSA 2010 with those for previous years, we can ascertain whether the incidence of discriminatory attitudes has changed in recent years.

Trends between 2002 and 2006

7.2 Two main trends were evident between 2002 and 2006 (see Bromley et al, 2007, for details). First, in the wake of a number of terrorist events associated with people who professed an Islamic faith, together with relatively high levels of immigration into the UK, more people were of the view that Scotland would lose its identity if more Muslims came to Scotland. In addition, more people agreed that ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland. There was also a small increase in the proportion who said that they would be unhappy if a close relative were to form a long-term relationship with a Muslim.

7.3 Second – and in sharp contrast to the first trend - the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians fell between 2002 and 2006. Fewer people said that sex between two men or between two women was ‘always’ or ‘mostly wrong’, while fewer people felt that a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable as a primary teacher. There was also a drop in the proportion who disagreed with the proposition that gay and lesbian couples should have the right to marry. This change in public attitudes towards gay men and lesbians followed the passage and implementation of legislation on civil partnerships for same sex couples in the UK.

7.4 Meanwhile, there was no significant difference between the 2002 and 2006 surveys in the proportion who felt that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced.

7.5 In short, it was not possible to argue that there had been either a consistent increase or a consistent drop in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes, only to highlight trends that were specific to particular groups.

Why might attitudes have changed between 2006 and 2010?

7.6 There are a number of reasons why we might anticipate that the incidence of discriminatory attitudes might have declined since 2006, either in general or amongst particular sections of society. To begin with, both the UK government and the Scottish Government have actively pursued equalities policies. The UK Government passed two major Equality Acts and established the Equality and Human Rights

Commission, while the Scottish Government has continued to be active in promoting equal opportunities. It might be anticipated that this activity may have influenced public attitudes across the board.

7.7 It is often argued that, in certain circumstances at least, people are less likely to hold discriminatory attitudes toward a particular group if they know someone from that group (Pettigrew, 1998, Hewstone et al., 2006). Findings reported in Chapters Three and Four uphold that expectation. Meanwhile, Table 7.1 shows that, in respect of some groups at least, people are now more likely to say they know someone from that group. In particular, there has been a nine point increase since 2006 in the proportion who know someone who is gay or lesbian, and no less than a 25 point increase since 2002. This, in part at least, reflects the fact that in recent years more gay men and lesbians have felt able to be open about their sexual orientation. At the same time there has also been an eight point increase in the proportion of people who know someone from a different racial or ethnic background from themselves and a similar increase in the proportion who know someone who is Muslim. This gives us grounds for anticipating that there might have been some decline in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards these groups.

Table 7.1 Acquaintance with people from different groups, 2002-10

% who know anyone	2002	2006	2010	Change 2006-10
Who is gay or lesbian	50	66	75	+9
From a different racial/ethnic background	60	68	76	+8
Who is Muslim	-	38	45	+7
Who has a learning disability	-	52	58	+6
With a physical disability	74	77	73	-4
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>	

Those who said they were not sure whether they knew someone who belonged to a particular group are regarded as not knowing someone from that group.

7.8 Data from the British Social Attitudes survey (Ross and Sacker, 2010) suggest that the decline in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians evident in Scotland between 2002 and 2006 was part of a much longer-term trend. In 1987, nearly three-quarters (74%) of people across Great Britain thought that sexual relations between two adults of the same sex were 'always' or 'mostly wrong'. By 2006 that proportion had fallen to around a third (32%). We might anticipate then that the social changes that have brought about this dramatic change of attitudes may have had a further impact during the last four years.

7.9 Changes in the country's age structure, together with pressures on both public finances and pension schemes, have meant that there has been considerable discussion in recent years about both encouraging and requiring people to work longer. As discussed in Chapter Four, decisions have already been made to increase the retirement age, while, at the same time, the right of all employers to require people to retire at age 65 is to be removed. We might expect this debate to have affected attitudes towards older people working.

- 7.10 However, we can also identify potential pressures that might have helped increase the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards some groups. First, media reporting and the pronouncements of some politicians,⁶⁵ both in the UK and elsewhere, would seem likely to have reinforced the association in the public mind between Muslims and various forms of terrorism and 'extremism', thereby making it more likely that Muslims are regarded as 'other'.
- 7.11 Second, continued concern about immigration in Britain may well have affected attitudes towards ethnic minority groups, given the apparent connection that exists in many people's minds between immigration and Britain's ethnic minority population.⁶⁶ Ipsos MORI reported that in June 2010 29% of people across Britain as a whole felt that immigration and race relations was one of the most important issues facing Britain today, making it the second most common issue to be mentioned.⁶⁷ The Transatlantic Trends Immigration Surveys conducted in eight North American and West European countries on three occasions between 2008 and 2010 have consistently found a higher proportion of people in the UK than elsewhere believing that levels of immigration were too high.⁶⁸ Attitudes towards the cultural and economic impacts of immigration on Scotland might therefore be expected to have become more negative, while this concern might also express itself in a higher incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards ethnic minority groups.
- 7.12 The financial crisis of 2008 and the ensuing economic recession has resulted in an increase in unemployment⁶⁹ and affected living standards more generally. As a result people might be less tolerant of competition for jobs and resources from those who they regard as 'other'. They might also be less willing to support measures designed to reduce discrimination that have an apparent financial cost. Thus we might anticipate that the incidence of discriminatory attitudes has increased in particular in respect of economic issues, and especially the labour market. Moreover, we might anticipate that any such increase will have occurred above all amongst those who might be considered particularly economically vulnerable.

⁶⁵ For example, concern about 'Islamic extremism' was (and still is) a common theme in the speeches of Tony Blair, UK Prime Minister until June 2007. See, for example, his speech at the Labour Party Policy Forum, 16 July 2005, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4689363.stm>, and his speech entitled, 'A Battle for Global Values', published in *Foreign Affairs*, 86:1 (2007), 79-90. Meanwhile, David Cameron, then Leader of the Opposition, caused controversy in November 2009 when he alleged that an organisation that was responsible for running two Muslim schools and was in receipt of public funding was a front for an extremist Islamic organisation. See 'David Cameron condemns £113,000 award to schools linked to 'extremist' Muslim group', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 Nov. 2009.

⁶⁶ For example, in a review of the survey evidence on attitudes towards immigration and ethnic minorities, Shamit Saggat has written, 'There is...confusion in public opinion about ethnic minorities, immigrants and asylum seekers, all of whom are frequently viewed as a single undifferentiated group.' See Saggat (2003)

⁶⁷ <http://www.ipsos-mori.com>

⁶⁸ <http://www.gmfus.org/trends/immigration/2010/about.html>

⁶⁹ Unemployment increased from 4.6% of the working age population in mid 2007 to 8.5% in the third quarter of 2010 (ONS 2007 and 2010).

7.13 We consider this last possibility in the next chapter. Here, we examine whether any of our expectations about changes in attitudes towards particular groups are supported by the survey findings.

What changes have occurred since 2006?

Gay men and Lesbians

7.14 Since 2005/2006, there has been a further, consistent fall in discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians. This is most evident in respect of attitudes towards the acceptability of same sex relationships where, uniquely, we have a time series dating back to 2000. A general question about people's views of the acceptability of same sex relationships has been asked in SSA on 4 occasions – in 2000, 2004, 2005 and 2010.⁷⁰ As Table 7.2 shows, ten years ago, nearly half (48%) of people in Scotland thought that sexual relations between two adults of the same sex were 'always' or 'mostly' wrong. Now half say that there is nothing wrong at all about such relationships. Much of this shift in attitudes has occurred during the last five years – that is, since the introduction of civil partnerships in December 2005, which thus appears to have had a considerable impact on attitudes.

Table 7.2 Trends in attitudes towards same sex relationships, 2000-10.

	2000	2004	2005	2010
	%	%	%	%
Always/mostly wrong	48	41	40	27
Sometimes wrong	8	8	10	9
Rarely wrong	8	7	9	8
Not wrong at all	29	37	35	50
<i>Sample size</i>	1663	1637	1549	1495

7.15 As Table 7.3 illustrates, this change in attitudes has occurred amongst all sections of society, both those where discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians were previously high and those where discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians were already relatively low. However, the decline in discriminatory attitudes has been much sharper amongst those who only attend a religious service occasionally than it has been amongst those who attend regularly. As a result the views of the latter have now become particularly distinctive.

⁷⁰ This question was not funded as part of the Scottish Government Discrimination module but has been self-funded by ScotCen or funded by the Economic and Social Research Council on the 4 occasions it has been asked. Most recently, in 2010 it was asked as part of a module of questions in SSA about social and political attitudes, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

Table 7.3 Trends in attitudes towards same sex relationships by gender, religious attendance and age group, 2005-10.

% say same sex relationships always/mostly wrong	2005	2010	Change 2005-10	Sample Size 2005	Sample Size 2010
All	40	27	-13	1549	1495
Gender					
Male	47	34	-13	658	662
Female	34	21	-13	891	883
Attend religious service					
At least once a week	64	57	-7	222	188
Less than once a week but at least once a month	48	24	-24	122	114
Less often	46	24	-22	260	194
Never/No religion	32	25	-7	932	994
Age Group					
18-34	27	13	-14	306	324
35-54	31	19	-12	579	509
55 and over	60	46	-14	663	661

7.16 There have also been small falls between 2006 and 2010 in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians in respect of three other measures on our survey – feeling unhappy at a close relative forming a relationship with someone of the same sex, disagreeing that gay or lesbian couples should have the right to marry and regarding a gay man or lesbian as unsuitable to be a primary school teacher (see Table 7.4). However, although consistent one with another, none of these differences are individually statistically significant.

Table 7.4 Trends in attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, 2002-10.

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Unhappy at close relative forming a relationship with someone of the same sex	-	33	30
Disagree that gay or lesbian couples should have the right to marry	29	21	19
Regard a gay man or lesbian as unsuitable to be a primary school teacher	-	21	18
Sample size (row 1)	-	1549	1495
Sample size (rows 2 and 3)	1507	1437	1366

7.17 Arguably, however, Table 7.4 does not fully capture the change in attitudes towards gay men and lesbians that has occurred on these other measures during the last four years. If we look at the incidence of *positive* attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, in two out of three cases we uncover sharp increases that are statistically significant. In particular, no less than 61% now agree that gay or lesbian couple should have the right to marry, up from 53% in 2006 (and 41% in 2002), while

56% now believe that a gay man or lesbian would be suitable to be a primary school teacher, compared with 48% in 2006.⁷¹

7.18 The increase in favourable attitudes towards same sex marriage and towards gay men and lesbians being employed as primary school teachers can partly – though only partly – be accounted for by the increase in the proportion of people who know a gay man or lesbian (Table 7.5). If the increase in favourable attitudes towards gay marriage and a gay man or lesbian becoming a primary teacher were *wholly* accounted for by the increase in the proportion who know someone who is gay or lesbian, attitudes *within* each of these two sections of society would have been unchanged between 2006 and 2010. This is *not* what Table 7.5 shows. There was an increase, albeit not necessarily a significant one, in support for gay marriage and the belief that a gay man or lesbian would be a suitable primary teacher, both among those who did know someone who is gay or lesbian and those who did not.

Table 7.5 Attitudes towards same sex marriages and gay men and lesbians as primary school teachers by whether know a gay man or lesbian, 2006 and 2010.

	Know gay man/lesbian			Do not know gay man/lesbian		
	2006	2010	Change	2006	2010	Change
	%	%		%	*	
Agree gay men and lesbians should have the right to marry	64	69	+5	33	36	+3
Regard a gay man or lesbian as suitable to be a primary school teacher	61	63	+2	24	32	+8
<i>Sample size (row 1)</i>	<i>374</i>	<i>517</i>		<i>992</i>	<i>920</i>	

7.19 However, in the case of three of the four comparisons in Table 7.5, the increase in favourable attitudes was less than the eight point increase (on both questions) in the population as a whole (see paragraph 7.17 above). This suggests that *part* of the overall increase in favourable attitudes towards gay marriage and a gay man or lesbian becoming a primary teacher certainly was the result of the increase in the proportion of people who know someone who is gay or lesbian.

Transsexual people

7.20 Since 2006, there has been little change in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards someone who has had a sex change operation. In 2006 30% thought that someone who had had a sex change operation would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher; the figure in 2010 was 31%. Meanwhile, 49% now say they would be unhappy at the prospect of a close relative forming a relationship with someone who had had a sex change operation, little different from the 50% who expressed that view in 2006.

⁷¹ See Annex C for full figures for these questions.

Older People

7.21 There has been a marked drop in the proportion of people who feel that someone aged 70 would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Almost half (49%) expressed that view in 2006, but the figure had fallen to 39% by 2010. However, attitudes towards the principle of a default retirement age have changed little, perhaps because the idea of requiring people to retire at a certain age was already very unpopular. In 2006, only 21% said that 'older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups'. In 2010 the figure was almost identical, at 22%.

Religious groups

7.22 There has been no significant change in discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims since 2006, which thus remain somewhat more prevalent than they were in 2003. Just under half (49%) now agree that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland', almost identical to the 50% who were of that view in 2006, but well up on the 38% who supported the proposition in 2003. Similarly, if less dramatically, 23% now say they would be unhappy if a close relative were to form a relationship with a Muslim, compared with 24% in 2006 and 20% in 2003. Meanwhile, 15% now say that a Muslim would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher, exactly the same proportion as in 2006.

7.23 There also appears to have been no change in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards other minority religious groups. In 2010, 18% said that they would be unhappy if a close relative were to form a relationship with a Hindu – a figure not significantly different from the 19% that said this in 2006. Meanwhile, 9% expressed unhappiness at the prospect of a close relative entering into a long-term relationship with someone who is Jewish, again little different from the 10% that did so in 2006.

Ethnic Minority groups

7.24 Despite current concerns about immigration and the reported tendency of some people to associate immigration and ethnic minority groups (see paragraph 7.11, above), there is also little sign that the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards people from ethnic minority groups has changed in any consistent manner during the last four years. The proportion who thought that a black or Asian person would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher has changed little, edging up from 4% to 6%, while the proportion who said they would be unhappy if a close relative formed a relationship with a black or Asian person has eased back slightly from 11% to 9%. Meanwhile, at 45%, the proportion who in 2010 agreed that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland' was almost exactly the same as the 46% who did so in 2006.

7.25 There is equally no sign that concern about the implications of immigration from Eastern Europe for Scotland's identity has increased. In 2010 46% expressed such concern, compared with 45% in 2006. This

is consistent with there being no significant change in the balance of responses to the proposition, 'People from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place'. In 2006 33% agreed with this statement, while 25% disagreed. In 2010 the equivalent figures were 32% and 26% respectively.

7.26 On the specific question of attitudes to the impact of perceived competition from different minority groups on jobs, however, the picture since 2006 is somewhat different, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Other Groups

7.27 This predominant finding of little or no change since 2006 in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes is also reflected in other findings. At 47%, the proportion that believes that a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher is much the same as the 48% who held that view in 2006. Meanwhile the proportion who say they would be unhappy if a close relative entered into a long-term relationship with a Gypsy/Traveller is unchanged at 37%.

7.28 It should come as little surprise then that the responses to the summary measure of discriminatory attitudes was much the same in 2010 as it had been in 2006. In 2010, 28% said that 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups', much the same as the 29% who expressed that view in 2006 and the 26% who did so in 2002.

7.29 However, there are two further, specific exceptions to the general picture of little or no change. First, there has been a sharp drop, from 51% to 41%, in the proportion who feel that someone who from time to time experiences depression would be unsuitable for employment as a primary school teacher. Second, the proportion who regard a woman as more suitable than a man to be a primary school teacher now stands at 17%, compared with 22% in 2006 and 28% in 2002.

Summary

7.30 For the most part there appears to have been little change during the last four years in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland. Attitudes towards transsexual people, Muslims, ethnic minority groups, and Gypsy/Travellers are all largely unchanged since 2006. There has also been no significant change in the proportion who say that there is sometimes good reason to be prejudiced. So while discriminatory attitudes are usually only expressed by a minority, there is no evidence that their prevalence is systematically in decline. There are though a few, if limited exceptions to this statement. Most notably, more people seem to be willing positively to embrace the position of gay men and lesbians in Scottish society. Even here, though this willingness does not necessarily extend to the idea of a close relative being involved in a same sex relationship, while the proportion that adopt an explicitly discriminatory attitude has not shown much decline. Apart from this limited change in attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, we have some evidence of a decline in stereotypical perceptions of primary

school teaching as a woman's job, and in discriminatory attitudes towards the employability of older people and those with depression.

- 7.31 However, we have not as yet examined one major development to have occurred between 2006 and 2010 that we suggested might have had an impact on the incidence of discriminatory attitudes – the onset of recession. This is the task to which we turn in the next chapter.

8 HAS THE RECESSION HAD AN IMPACT?

- 8.1 The previous chapter suggested that the recession that followed the onset of the banking crisis in the autumn of 2008 might have had an impact on the incidence of certain kinds of discriminatory attitudes. In particular, it was argued that such attitudes might have become more common in respect of economic issues and especially the labour market. People might be less willing to accept competition for jobs from those whom they regard as outsiders when jobs are apparently less secure and relatively scarce (Curtice and Park, 2010). Equally, people may be less willing to support measures designed to reduce discrimination that bring with them an apparent economic cost.
- 8.2 Any such trends might be expected to be particularly in evidence amongst those who might be thought to be more likely to have suffered adversely from the recession or who would appear more at risk of doing so. This might include those in less secure routine or semi-routine occupations, those who are currently unemployed and/or are living primarily on benefits, those living in more deprived areas, those on low incomes or who report that they are struggling to cope on their current income, together with those who feel that Scotland's economy as a whole has got weaker in recent months.

Labour market issues

- 8.3 Table 8.1 shows the trends over time on five questions about labour market issues that were included on both the 2006 and the 2010 surveys. The questions in the first two rows refer specifically to the perceived impact on jobs brought about by the presence in the country of two minority groups who are, or who might be thought to be, immigrants to Scotland – people from Eastern Europe and those who belong to an ethnic minority group. Responses to these two questions suggest that people were somewhat more likely to express concern in 2010 than they were in 2006. There was a five point increase in the proportion who thought that people who come to Scotland from Eastern Europe take jobs away from others. There was also a four point increase in the proportion who said the same about people from ethnic minority groups. Although this latter increase is not quite statistically significant⁷² it comes on top of a six point increase between 2002 and 2006 in the proportion expressing that view (Table 8.1). Thus the increase in the proportion saying that people from ethnic minorities take jobs from others in Scotland was 10 points between 2002 and 2010.

⁷² The z-score for the difference between the two proportions (taking into account the clustered nature of the sample design) is 1.61, just below the value of 1.65 required for the score to be significant at the 5% level in a one tailed test.

Table 8.1 Trends in attitudes towards labour market issues, 2002-10.

	2002	2006	2010
% agree			
People from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland	21	27	31
People who come here from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland	-	32	37
% unfair			
Give women employees extra opportunities to get training and qualifications	-	35	37
Give black and Asian people extra opportunities to get training and qualifications	-	41	48
Automatically give a person with a disability an interview for the job	-	57	63
<i>Sample size (rows 1 and 2)</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>
<i>Sample size (rows 3-5)</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1495</i>

Notes: The base for rows 1 and 2 is all those who completed a self-completion questionnaire. The base for rows 3-5 is all respondents.

- 8.4 These increases are in contrast to the findings on attitudes towards black and Asian people and towards people from Eastern Europe reported in the previous chapter. There we reported little or no change in the proportion who felt that the increased presence of black and Asian people or people from Eastern Europe would have a negative impact on Scottish identity. It appears that over the last four years there has been a very specific increase in concern about the perceived labour market consequences of a more diverse population.
- 8.5 Table 8.1 also shows that there has been a 7 point increase in the proportion who consider positive action designed to enhance the ability of black and Asian people to secure promotion as unfair. There has also been a 6 point increase in the proportion who think it is unfair automatically to give a job interview to a suitably qualified disabled person. Here too there appears to be evidence that the willingness of people to accept measure that aim to secure a more diverse labour force has been affected by the development of a more difficult labour market. However, there has not been a significant change in the proportion who feel that positive action on behalf of women would be unfair, perhaps because there is less opposition to their playing a full role in the labour market in the first place.
- 8.6 There is, however, no consistent evidence that these changes in attitudes on labour market issues have occurred to a greater extent amongst those who might be thought to be more vulnerable economically. There is no evidence of a particularly sharp increase in concern about job losses or positive action amongst those whose current or last job was a routine or semi-routine occupation, those who are unemployed, those living primarily on state benefit, or those living in deprived areas.

8.7 There are some apparent differences by income, but as Table 8.2 shows, these are not consistent. Although concern about positive action has increased most amongst those on lower incomes, concern about people from ethnic minority groups and from Eastern Europe taking jobs away from others has grown less amongst those on the lowest incomes compared with those on higher incomes.⁷³ There is thus little reason to place any weight on these findings, which, if anything, may simply suggest some tendency for concern to increase most in those income groups where it was less prevalent in 2006.⁷⁴

Table 8.2 Trends in attitudes towards labour market issues by income, 2006-10.

	Income Quartile			
	Lowest	Second	Third	Highest
% agree				
People from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland				
2006	41	26	20	14
2010	41	35	26	21
Change 2006-10	0	+9	+6	+7
People who come here from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland				
2006	44	32	24	21
2010	45	43	29	28
Change 2006-10	+1	+11	+5	+7
% unfair				
Give black and Asian people extra opportunities to get training and qualifications	-	41	48	
2006	32	36	48	54
2010	43	47	50	51
Change 2006-10	+11	+11	+2	-3
Automatically give a person with a disability an interview for the job				
2006	47	52	61	73
2010	53	62	69	72
Change 2006-10	+6	+10	+8	-1
<i>Sample size (1st 2 items) 2006</i>	366	283	333	213
<i>2010</i>	379	288	249	243
<i>Sample size (last 2 items) 2006</i>	399	314	357	236
<i>2010</i>	409	310	263	259

Income Quartiles based on reported household income and defined as follows: 2006: Lowest; up to £11,999 pa; Second; £12,000 - £22,999 pa; Third; £23,000-£43,999 pa; Highest: £44,000 and over. 2010: Lowest: up to £14,300 pa; Second: over £14,300, up to £26,000 pa; Third: over £26,000, up to £44,200 pa; Highest: over £44,200 pa.

⁷³ Note that much the same pattern is evident among those who say they are struggling on their current income.

⁷⁴ For example, in 2006 concern that people from ethnic minorities take jobs away from others was lower amongst those in one of the three higher income groups than it was amongst those in the lowest quartile. Since 2006, however, it has been amongst those three higher income groups that concern has subsequently increased.

Accessibility of Shops and Banks

- 8.8 One question in our survey allows us to consider whether the onset of recession has made people less willing to support measures designed to reduce discrimination if those measures might cost them money. There is no evidence from that measure that it has. Just 7% said that they disagreed with the proposition that 'shops and banks should be forced to make themselves easier for disabled people to use, even if this leads to higher prices', little different from the 5% who expressed that view in 2006 or the 7% who did so in 2002.

Summary

- 8.9 There has been a small increase in concern about the possibility that people from ethnic minorities and from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland since 2006. There has also been some increase in the proportion who feel that positive action in support of the promotion opportunities of black and Asian people would be unfair. Although these changes have not been dramatic, they have occurred at a time other measures in the survey do not show any evidence of an increase in discriminatory attitudes towards these two groups. This contrast suggests that the onset of recession has resulted in some increase in concern about the role of people from these two groups in the labour market in particular. It remains to be seen whether this concern grows yet further should the recovery from the recession prove slow or is even halted. However, it should be borne in mind that, even though it has not increased, the proportion who express concern about the implications for Scotland's identity of more black and Asian people or more people from Eastern Europe coming to Scotland remains (at 45% and 46% respectively) much greater than the proportion who express concern about the perceived impact of people from these groups on the labour market. That suggests that, despite the recession, concerns about identity remain potentially a more important source of discriminatory attitudes than do concerns about the economic consequences of immigration.

9 CONCLUSIONS

- 9.1 This chapter reflects on the key findings of this report, and suggests some broad lessons for policy makers and others involved in action and campaigning to attempt to reduce discrimination in Scotland.

The extent and nature of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland in 2010

- 9.2 This report has shown that, for the most part, only a minority of people in Scotland hold attitudes that could be described as discriminatory. Moreover, given that such views are strongly related to age, education and knowing someone from a particular group, all other things being equal, we might expect such attitudes to become even less common in the future. As more highly educated younger generations replace the older generations, and as people come into contact with more people who are different from themselves through work, family and other routes, we can expect that prejudiced views will continue to decline.
- 9.3 However, this report also includes numerous findings that should warn policy makers that this process is not inevitable.
- 9.4 First, while it is true that for the most part only a minority express discriminatory views, that minority is not always a small one. Some groups – particularly Gypsy/Travellers and transgender people – appear to be the subjects of fairly widespread discriminatory attitudes.
- 9.5 Second, discriminatory attitudes towards a *group* of people with particular characteristics often appear more common than discriminatory attitudes towards *individual* members of that group. In this survey, this appeared to be particularly the case with respect to attitudes to people from ethnic minority groups. Perhaps groups of people with characteristics that may be perceived as different trigger concerns about cultural diversity and economic competition in a way that individual members of that group may not.
- 9.6 Finally, the incidence of discriminatory views is not evenly spread across Scottish society – there remain certain sections (for example, older people and those with lower levels of educational attainment) that are relatively more likely to express such views. Neither are individual people's views towards a particular group necessarily constant – our data suggests that attitudes may vary widely depending on the specific scenario involved.
- 9.7 Thus although the findings in this report show Scotland in many respects to be a relatively liberal society, policy makers cannot afford to be complacent, and need to be willing and able to address the specific circumstances that may give rise to discriminatory attitudes towards particular groups.

Attitudes towards positive action

- 9.8 This report shows that the extent of support for positive action to promote equality of access and outcome varies widely depending on both the action and the group in question. In particular, with respect to

positive action in employment, there is considerable resistance to forms of positive action that may violate people's notions of equality of *process* in the interests of attaining a more equal outcome. Moreover, opposition to all-women shortlists, automatic interviews for disabled candidates and enhanced training opportunities for women and ethnic minority groups was particularly strong among those who are generally *least* likely to express discriminatory attitudes, including younger people and graduates.

- 9.9 Perhaps these people are more likely to view positive action as a challenge to their own 'meritocratically' earned career success. Alternatively, perhaps they simply lack a detailed awareness of the level and scale of inequality that still exists in Scotland, or of the scale and impact of individual and institutional discrimination still experienced by some groups. Whatever the reason, these findings highlight the fact that policy makers cannot simply assume that a low (and declining) incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards a particular group will ensure that introducing positive action will be generally acceptable to the public. If policy makers do wish to pursue positive action in particular areas, substantial effort may be required to convince the public of its merits. Where such policies are introduced, building public understanding may also be important in terms of avoiding any possibility of positive action undermining public support for other policies designed to achieve equality for particular groups.

Changing attitudes

- 9.10 The biggest and most rapid change in discriminatory attitudes in the last decade has been in views of gay men and lesbians. Attitudes to both individual gay men and lesbians and to same sex relationships appear to have become substantially more liberal across most sections of Scottish society, including those brought up in an era where male same sex relationships were illegal. The increase in support for same sex marriage since 2006 suggests that a majority of people in Scotland now agree that gay and lesbian relationships should be treated in law in the same manner as heterosexual relationships.
- 9.11 The main area where there appears to have been a small, but statistically significant, increase in discriminatory views since 2006 is in the proportion who agreed that people from ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland. This shift highlights the impact that external events – such as economic recession – can have on attitudes. Similarly, the shift in attitudes to Muslims recorded between 2002 and 2006 highlighted the apparent impact that terrorist incidents in the UK in 2005 had on views towards people of that religion. Both findings highlight the need for policy makers to remain alert to the potential impact that specific events and circumstances may have on attitudes that otherwise appear to be moving in a more liberal direction.

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ANNEX A – ADDITIONAL TABLES

Notes on tables

- ‘*’ indicates less than 0.5 percent but greater than zero
- ‘-’ indicates no respondents gave this answer
- All figures are rounded to the nearest whole number (from 2 decimal places, such that 0.49 rounds down and 0.51 up)

Chapter 2 additional tables

Table A.2.1 Agree that if more people from particular groups moved here, Scotland would start to lose its identity, by gender, age, education, class, economic activity and area deprivation (2010, cell %)

% Agree strongly/agree	Muslims	Eastern Europeans	Black & Asian people	Sample size
All	49	46	45	1495
Gender				
Men	47	44	44	662
Women	51	49	47	833
Age				
18-24	58	55	51	113
25-34	38	37	35	211
35-44	40	38	35	239
45-54	42	43	40	270
55-64	48	45	44	275
65+	67	59	65	386
Highest educational qualification				
Degree/Higher education	36	33	32	498
Highers or equivalent	45	41	40	267
Standard Grades or equivalent	60	57	54	386
None	62	59	61	337
Socio-economic class				
Employers, managers and professionals	38	34	34	519
Intermediate occupations	53	52	47	160
Small employers and own account workers	59	50	52	144
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	54	50	48	166
Semi-routine and routine occupations	56	55	54	459
Current economic activity				
In work/waiting to take up paid work	41	40	38	761
Education/training full time	51	45	43	44
Unemployed	50	48	44	80
Retired	64	58	61	448
Looking after the home	55	54	48	85
Other	55	53	53	77
Area deprivation (SIMD quintiles)				
Most deprived	62	60	60	237
2	53	52	51	290
3	48	44	44	339
4	49	43	41	350
Least deprived	36	34	33	279

Notes to table:

Differences in the proportion who agreed with each statement by gender are not significant. Differences by all the other factors shown in the table – age, education, socio-economic class, economic activity and area deprivation – are all highly statistically significant ($p = 0.000$).

Table A.2.2 Disagree that people from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make it a better place, by gender, age, education, class, economic activity and area deprivation (2010, cell %)

	% Disagree/disagree strongly	Sample size
All	26	1495
Gender		
Men	26	662
Women	26	833
Age		
18-24	28	113
25-34	19	211
35-44	25	239
45-54	25	270
55-64	25	275
65+	32	386
Highest educational qualification		
Degree/Higher education	14	498
Highers or equivalent	19	267
Standard Grades or equivalent	36	386
None	41	337
Socio-economic class		
Employers, managers and professionals	15	519
Intermediate occupations	21	160
Small employers and own account workers	29	144
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	37	166
Semi-routine and routine occupations	36	459
Current economic activity		
In work/waiting to take up paid work	23	761
Education/training full time	12	44
Unemployed	33	80
Retired	31	448
Looking after the home	27	85
Other	38	77
Area deprivation (SIMD quintiles)		
Most deprived	42	237
2	29	290
3	26	339
4	21	350
Least deprived	14	279

Notes to table:

Differences in the proportion who disagreed with this statement by gender and age are not significant. Differences by all the other factors shown in the table – education, socio-economic class, economic activity and area deprivation – are all highly statistically significant ($p = 0.006$ or lower).

Chapter 3 additional tables

Table A.3.1 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by income (cell %)

% "unhappy" / "very unhappy" if close relative married/long-term relationship with...	Up to £14,300	Over £14,300 to £26,000	Over £26,000 to £44,200	Over £44,200
Someone who cross dresses in public	59	61	50	49
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	57	49	46	43
A Gypsy/Traveller	44	40	32	32
Someone of the same sex as themselves	37	33	22	22
A Muslim	31	25	17	14
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	26	22	16	16
A Hindu	26	20	14	8
Someone who was black or Asian	15	10	4	4
Someone who was Jewish	16	9	4	4
A Christian	7	2	1	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>409</i>	<i>310</i>	<i>263</i>	<i>259</i>
<i>Sample size (Muslim)</i>	<i>404</i>	<i>304</i>	<i>262</i>	<i>258</i>
<i>Sample size (Hindu)</i>	<i>409</i>	<i>310</i>	<i>263</i>	<i>257</i>
<i>Sample size (Christian)</i>	<i>197</i>	<i>151</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>137</i>

Table A.3.2 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by preferences for type of area live in (cell %)

% "unhappy" / "very unhappy" if close relative married/long-term relationship with...	Prefer to live in an area with lots of different kinds of people	Prefer to live in an area where most people are similar to you
Someone who cross dresses in public	43	72
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	35	64
A Gypsy/Traveller	24	52
Someone of the same sex as themselves	19	42
A Muslim	12	34
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	16	27
A Hindu	7	29
Someone who was black or Asian	2	17
Someone who was Jewish	4	13
A Christian	2	2
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>488</i>	<i>604</i>
<i>Sample size (Muslim)</i>	<i>478</i>	<i>601</i>
<i>Sample size (Hindu)</i>	<i>486</i>	<i>603</i>
<i>Sample size (Christian)</i>	<i>272</i>	<i>265</i>

Table A.3.3 Unhappy with different groups forming long-term relationship with a close relative, by religious affiliation (cell %)

Would be “unhappy” / “very unhappy” if close relative married/long-term r’ship with...	Religious	No religion
Someone who cross dresses in public	65	44
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	57	39
A Gypsy/Traveller	44	30
Someone of the same sex as themselves	39	21
A Muslim	28	17
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	28	14
A Hindu	22	12
Someone who was black or Asian	10	8
Someone who was Jewish	10	8
A Christian	20	1
<i>Sample size</i>	799	695
<i>Sample size (Muslim)</i>	781	695
<i>Sample size (Hindu)</i>	796	695
<i>Sample size (Christian)</i>	30	695

Chapter 4 additional tables

Table A.4.1 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by gender (cell %)

% "Very unsuitable" or "fairly unsuitable" as a primary school teacher	Men	Women
A Gypsy/Traveller	51	41
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	50	32
Someone who is 70	38	39
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	40	22
Gay men and lesbians	24	13
A Muslim	16	14
Someone who was black or Asian	6	5
Men	2	1
Women	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>597</i>	<i>769</i>

Table A.4.2 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by age (cell %)

% "Very unsuitable" or "fairly unsuitable" as a primary school teacher	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
A Gypsy/Traveller	51	37	39	36	50	60
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	45	40	34	31	39	54
Someone who is 70	39	33	35	31	42	50
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	21	24	27	27	37	43
Gay men and lesbians	8	9	10	12	22	41
A Muslim	6	8	9	17	16	28
Someone who was black or Asian	1	2	4	6	7	11
Men	-	1	1	3	1	3
Women	-	-	-	*	1	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>191</i>	<i>216</i>	<i>257</i>	<i>258</i>	<i>343</i>

Table A.4.3 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by education (cell %)

"Very unsuitable" or "fairly unsuitable" as a primary school teacher	Degree/ HE	Highers	Standard Grade	None
A Gypsy/Traveller	38	46	51	51
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	34	39	44	47
Someone who is 70	34	35	37	54
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	25	25	37	37
Gay men and lesbians	14	11	20	30
A Muslim	8	8	21	27
Someone who was black or Asian	2	2	8	12
Men	1	3	2	2
Women	*	*	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	463	245	362	294

Table A.4.4 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by income (cell %)

% "Very unsuitable" or "fairly unsuitable" as a primary school teacher	Up to £14,300	Over £14,300 to £26,000	Over £26,000 to £44,200	Over £44,200
A Gypsy/Traveller	49	50	39	43
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	44	41	38	38
Someone who is 70	44	43	32	38
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	34	31	30	29
Gay men and lesbians	26	19	12	16
A Muslim	23	16	13	9
Someone who was black or Asian	10	6	4	3
Men	2	1	3	1
Women	*	-	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	44	41	38	38

Table A.4.5 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by current religion (cell %)

% "Very unsuitable" or "fairly unsuitable" as a primary school teacher	Religious	Not religious
A Gypsy/Traveller	45	47
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	41	40
Someone who is 70	41	37
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	33	28
Gay men and lesbians	22	14
A Muslim	15	14
Someone who was black or Asian	6	5
Men	2	2
Women	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	721	645

Table A.4.6 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by general attitudes to prejudice (cell %)

% "Very unsuitable" or "fairly unsuitable" as a primary school teacher	Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced
A Gypsy/Traveller	41	56
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	37	48
Someone who is 70	35	46
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	26	42
Gay men and lesbians	15	24
A Muslim	9	28
Someone who was black or Asian	3	11
Men	1	3
Women	*	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>870</i>	<i>420</i>

Table A.4.7 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by preference for type of area live in (cell %)

"Very unsuitable" or "fairly unsuitable" as a primary school teacher	Prefer to live with lots of different kinds of people	Prefer to live with similar kinds of people
A Gypsy/Traveller	32	61
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	31	52
Someone who is 70	30	50
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	21	44
Gay men and lesbians	10	28
A Muslim	5	26
Someone who was black or Asian	1	11
Men	2	2
Women	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>488</i>	<i>604</i>

Table A.4.8 Believe person unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, by whether knows someone from that group (cell %)

"Very unsuitable" or "fairly unsuitable" as a primary school teacher	Yes, knows a person from the group in question	No, does not know a person from the group in question
Gay men and lesbians	13	38
A Muslim	8	23
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	33	58
Someone who was black or Asian	4	12
<i>Sample size (Gay/lesbian)</i>	<i>992</i>	<i>278</i>
<i>Sample size (Muslim)</i>	<i>687</i>	<i>553</i>
<i>Sample size (Experiences depression)</i>	<i>888</i>	<i>342</i>
<i>Samples size (black or Asian)</i>	<i>984</i>	<i>291</i>

Table A.4.9 Views on compulsory retirement age, by age (column %)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
	%	%	%	%	%	%
It is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age	76	81	83	74	75	63
Older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups	20	16	14	22	22	33
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>211</i>	<i>239</i>	<i>270</i>	<i>275</i>	<i>386</i>

Table A.4.10 Views on compulsory retirement age, by education (column %)

	Degree/ HE	Highers	Standard Grade	None
	%	%	%	%
It is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age	82	76	79	57
Older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups	15	21	19	37
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>498</i>	<i>267</i>	<i>386</i>	<i>337</i>

Table A.4.11 Agree people from ethnic minorities / people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland by gender, age, education, class, economic activity and area deprivation (2010, cell %)

% Agree strongly/agree	People from ethnic minorities	People from Eastern Europe	Sample size
All	31	37	1366
Gender			
Men	29	35	597
Women	33	38	769
Age			
18-24	41	46	101
25-34	30	37	191
35-44	27	30	216
45-54	31	37	257
55-64	28	32	258
65+	33	40	343
Highest educational qualification			
Degree/Higher education	19	24	463
Highers or equivalent	31	36	245
Standard Grades or equivalent	41	47	362
None	39	45	294
Socio-economic class			
Employers, managers and professionals	20	25	482
Intermediate occupations	27	36	149
Small employers and own account workers	34	38	129
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	45	50	155
Semi-routine and routine occupations	39	44	414
Current economic activity			
In work/waiting to take up paid work	28	34	711
Education/training full time	20	31	41
Unemployed	46	50	72
Retired	34	40	402
Looking after the home	38	35	71
Other	33	38	69
Area deprivation (SIMD quintiles)			
Most deprived	42	50	208
2	36	42	264
3	33	38	321
4	24	29	319
Least deprived	22	28	254

Notes to table:

The sample size is based on all those who completed a self-completion questionnaire.

Differences in the proportion who agreed with each statement by gender and age were not significant. Differences by education, social class and area deprivation were highly statistically significant ($p = 0.000$). Differences by economic activity were significant with respect to agreeing that people from ethnic minorities take jobs from other people in Scotland, but not with respect to thinking the same about people from Eastern Europe.

Chapter 6 additional tables

Table A.6.1 Attempts to give equal opportunities to different groups gone too far, by demographic and economic factors, 2010(cell %)

% too far/much too far	Women	Black people and Asians	Gay men and Lesbians	Sample size
All	6	23	20	1495
Gender				
Men	7	20	23	662
Women	5	25	17	833
Age				
18-24	3	16	3	113
25-34	7	18	10	211
35-44	7	25	16	239
45-54	7	26	18	270
55-64	3	20	22	275
65+	7	28	40	386
Highest educational qualification				
Degree/Higher education	5	14	15	498
Highers or equivalent	6	21	11	267
Standard Grades or equivalent	5	24	20	386
None	8	36	35	337
Household income				
Up to £14,300 per annum	5	29	24	409
Over £14,300, up to £26,000	6	23	21	310
Over £26,000, up to £44,200	5	18	16	263
Over £44,200	7	17	16	259
Socio-economic class				
Employers, managers and professionals	6	17	19	519
Intermediate occupations	7	19	20	160
Small employers and own account workers	5	23	28	144
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	5	28	17	166
Semi-routine and routine occupations	6	28	20	459
Current economic activity				
In work/waiting to take up paid work	6	21	14	761
Education/training full time	3	13	6	44
Unemployed	6	22	14	80
Retired	6	26	37	448
Looking after the home	3	29	17	85
Other	15	27	19	77
Knows someone from different racial ethnic background/who is gay or lesbian?				
Yes	NA	21	16	278
No	NA	25	29	992

ANNEX B – TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE SURVEY

The Scottish Social Attitudes series

1. The Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA) survey was launched by the Scottish Centre for Social Research (ScotCen) in 1999, following the advent of devolution. Based on annual rounds of interviews with around 1,500 people drawn using probability sampling (based on a stratified, clustered sample)⁷⁵, it aims to facilitate the study of public opinion and inform the development of public policy in Scotland. In this it has similar objectives to the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey, which was launched by ScotCen's parent organisation, the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen) in 1983. While BSA interviews people in Scotland, these are usually too few in any one year to permit separate analysis of public opinion in Scotland (see Park, et al, 2010 for more details of the BSA survey).
2. SSA has been conducted annually each year since 1999, with the exception of 2008. The survey has a modular structure. In any one year it typically contains four or five modules, each containing 40 questions. Funding for its first two years came from the Economic and Social Research Council, while from 2001 onwards different bodies have funded individual modules each year. These bodies have included the Economic and Social Research Council, the Scottish Government and various charitable and grant awarding bodies, such as the Nuffield Foundation and Leverhulme Trust.

The 2010 survey

3. The 2010 survey contained modules of questions on:
 - Government and public services in Scotland (funded by the Scottish Government Office of the Chief Researcher from 2004-2007 and again in 2009 and 2010)
 - Constitutional change (funded by the Nuffield Foundation)
 - Social and political attitudes (funded by the Economic and Social Research Council), and
 - Attitudes to discrimination and positive action (funded by the Scottish Government and the Equalities and Human Rights Commission).
4. Findings from modules funded by the Scottish Government will be available in reports published on their website (www.scotland.gov.uk), while separate programmes of dissemination are planned for each of the other modules. This technical annex is designed to accompany Scottish Government reports based on SSA 2010. It covers the methodological

⁷⁵ Like many national surveys of households or individuals, in order to attain the optimum balance between sample efficiency and fieldwork efficiency the sample was clustered. The first stage of sampling involved randomly selecting postcode sectors. The sample frame of postcode sectors was also stratified (by urban-rural, region and the percentage of people in non-manual occupations) to improve the match between the sample profile and that of the Scottish population. For further details of the sample design, see para 5 below.

details of the survey as well as further discussion of the analysis techniques used in the reports.

Sample design

5. The survey is designed to yield a representative sample of adults aged 18 or over, living in Scotland. The sample frame is the Postcode Address File (PAF), a list of postal delivery points compiled by the Post Office. The detailed procedure for selecting the 2010 sample was as follows:
 - I. 102 postcode sectors were selected from a list of all postal sectors in Scotland, with probability proportional to the number of addresses in each sector for addresses in urban areas and a probability of twice the address count for sectors in rural areas (i.e. the last 3 categories in the Scottish Government's 6 fold urban-rural classification). Prior to selection the sectors were stratified by Scottish Government urban-rural classification⁷⁶, region and percentage of household heads recorded as being in non-manual occupations (SEG 1-6 and 13, taken from the 2001 Census).
 - II. 30 addresses were selected at random from each of these 102 postcode sectors
 - III. Interviewers called at each selected address and identified its eligibility for the survey. Where more than one dwelling unit was present at an address, all dwelling units were listed systematically and one was selected at random using a computer generated random selection table. In all eligible dwelling units with more than one adult aged 18 or over, interviewers had to carry out a random selection of one adult using a similar procedure.

Response rates

6. The Scottish Social Attitudes survey involves a face-to-face interview with respondents and a self-completion questionnaire, completed by around nine in ten of these people (91% in 2010). The numbers completing each stage in 2010 are shown in Table 1. See Bromley, Curtice and Given (2005) for technical details of the 1999-2004 surveys, Given and Ormston (2006) for details of the 2005 survey, Cleghorn, Ormston and Sharp (2007) for the 2006 survey, Ormston (2008) for the 2007 survey and Ormston (2010) for the 2009 survey.

⁷⁶ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/07/29152642/7> for details.

Table 1: 2010 Scottish Social Attitudes survey response

	No.	%
Addresses issued	3060	
Vacant, derelict and other out of scope ¹	303	9.9
Achievable or 'in scope'	2757	
Unknown eligibility ²	20	0.7
Interview achieved	1495	54.2
Self-completion returned	1366	49.5
Interview not achieved		
<i>Refused</i> ³	941	34.1
<i>Non-contacted</i> ⁴	136	4.9
<i>Other non-response</i> ⁵	165	6.0

Notes to table

1 This includes empty / derelict addresses, holiday homes, businesses and institutions, and addresses that had been demolished.

2 'Unknown eligibility' includes cases where the address could not be located, where it could not be determined if an address was residential and where it could not be determined if an address was occupied or not.

3 Refusals include: refusals prior to selection of an individual; refusals to the office; refusal by the selected person; 'proxy' refusals made by someone on behalf of the respondent; and broken appointments after which a respondent could not be re-contacted.

4 Non-contacts comprise households where no one was contacted after at least 6 calls and those where the selected person could not be contacted.

5 'Other non-response' includes people who were ill at home or in hospital during the survey period, people who were physically or mentally unable to participate and people with insufficient English to participate.

Sample size for previous years

7. The table below shows the achieved sample size for the full SSA sample (all respondents) for all previous years.

Table 2: Scottish Social Attitudes survey sample size by year

Survey year	Achieved sample size
1999	1482
2000	1663
2001	1605
2002	1665
2003	1508
2004	1637
2005	1549
2006	1594
2007	1508
2009	1482
2010	1495

Weighting

8. All percentages cited in this report are based on weighted data. The weights applied to the SSA 2010 data are intended to correct for three potential sources of bias in the sample:

- Differential selection probabilities
- Deliberate over-sampling of rural areas
- Non-response.

9. Data were weighted to take account of the fact that not all households or individuals have the same probability of selection for the survey. For example, adults living in large households have a lower selection probability than adults who live alone. Weighting was also used to correct the over-sampling of rural addresses. Differences between responding and non-responding households were taken into account using information from the census about the area of the address as well as interviewer observations about participating and non-participating addresses. Finally, the weights were adjusted to ensure that the weighted data matched the age-sex profile of the Scottish population (based on 2009 mid-year estimates from the General Register Office for Scotland).

Fieldwork

10. Fieldwork for the 2010 survey ran between early June and early October 2010, with 80% of interviews completed by the end of July and 96% by the end of August. An advance letter was sent to all addresses and was followed up by a personal visit from a ScotCen interviewer. Interviewers were required to make a minimum of 6 calls at different times of the day (including at least one evening and one weekend call) in order to try and contact respondents. All interviewers attended a one day briefing conference prior to starting work on the study.
11. Interviews were conducted using face-to-face computer-assisted interviewing (a process which involves the use of a laptop computer, with questions appearing on screen and interviewers directly entering respondents' answers into the computer). All respondents were asked to fill in a self-completion questionnaire which was either collected by the interviewer or returned by post. Table 1 (above) summarises the response rate and the numbers completing the self-completion in 2010.

Fieldwork procedures and equality

12. NatCen is committed to providing support and assistance to potential survey respondents that would enable them to take part. This is important in terms of producing a sample that incorporates the diversity of the Scottish population. Training given to interviewers for work across all of NatCen/ScotCen surveys covers dealing with respondents with disabilities. Specific instructions on what measures could be taken by interviewers on SSA 2010 to assist people taking part were given both in written project instructions issued to each interviewer and verbally during the face to face briefing given by members of the research team. Interviewers are encouraged to find out whether there are any other measures that would make it possible to conduct the interview, and NatCen will take any reasonable steps to make it possible to conduct the interview.
13. The letter sent in advance of interviews to all potential respondents stated 'If there is anything we can do to make it easier for you to take part, just let us know and we will do our best to help', to try and encourage people who might need additional support to speak to us about this. Interviewers were briefed on a range of different issues which might affect participation and on what support might be offered to those with literacy issues, hearing difficulties, communication or speech difficulties or where English is not

their first language. We offer to arrange British Sign Language translation for any respondent who requires this to enable them to take part.

Analysis variables

14. Most of the analysis variables are taken directly from the questionnaire and to that extent are self-explanatory. These include age, sex, household income, and highest educational qualification obtained. The main analysis variables requiring further definition are set out below.

National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC)

15. The most commonly used classification of socio-economic status used on government surveys is the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC). SSA respondents were classified according to their own occupation, rather than that of the 'head of household'. Each respondent was asked about their current or last job, so that all respondents, with the exception of those who had never worked, were classified. The seven NS-SEC categories are:

- Employers in large organisations, higher managerial and professional
- Lower professional and managerial; higher technical and supervisory
- Intermediate occupations
- Small employers and own account workers
- Lower supervisory and technical occupations
- Semi-routine occupations
- Routine occupations.

16. The remaining respondents were grouped as 'never had a job' or 'not classifiable'.

Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)

17. The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)⁷⁷ 2009 measures the level of deprivation across Scotland – from the least deprived to the most deprived areas. It is based on 38 indicators in seven domains of: income, employment, health, education skills and training, housing, geographic access and crime. SIMD 2009 is presented at data zone level, enabling small pockets of deprivation to be identified. The data zones are ranked from most deprived (1) to least deprived (6,505) on the overall SIMD 2009 and on each of the individual domains. The result is a comprehensive picture of relative area deprivation across Scotland.

18. The analysis in this report used a variable created from SIMD data indicating the level of deprivation of the data zone in which the respondent lived in quintiles, from most to least deprived.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/> for further details on the SIMD.

⁷⁸ These variables were created by the ScotCen/NatCen Survey Methods Unit. They are based on SIMD scores for all datazones, not just those included in the sample – so an

Analysis techniques

19. Regression analysis aims to summarise the relationship between a 'dependent' variable and one or more 'independent' explanatory variables. It shows how well we can estimate a respondent's score on the dependent variable from knowledge of their scores on the independent variables. This technique takes into account relationships between the different independent variables (for example, between education and income, or social class and housing tenure). Regression is often undertaken to support a claim that the phenomena measured by the independent variables cause the phenomenon measured by the dependent variable. However, the causal ordering, if any, between the variables cannot be verified or falsified by the technique. Causality can only be inferred through special experimental designs or through assumptions made by the analyst.
20. All regression analysis assumes that the relationship between the dependent and each of the independent variables takes a particular form. This report was informed by logistic regression analysis – a method that summarises the relationship between a binary 'dependent' variable (one that takes the values '0' or '1') and one or more 'independent' explanatory variables. The tables in this annex show how the odds ratios for each category in significant explanatory variables compares to the odds ratio for the reference category (always taken to be 1.00).
21. Taking Model 2.1 (below) as an example, the dependent variable is based thinking that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups. If the respondent chose this option at the relevant question, the dependent variable takes a value of 1. If not, it takes a value of 0. An odds ratio of above 1 means that, compared with respondents in the reference category, respondents in that category have higher odds of saying that sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups. Conversely, an odds ratio of below 1 means they have lower odds of saying this than respondents in the reference category. The 95% confidence intervals for these odds ratios are also important. Where the confidence interval does not include 1, this category is significantly different from the reference category. If we look at education in Model 1, we can see that people educated to degree level have an odds ratio of 0.40, indicating that they have lower odds of saying sometimes there is good reason for prejudice compared with those with no qualifications (who are the reference category). The 95% confidence interval for those educated to degree/HE level (0.27-0.58) does *not* include 1, indicating that this difference is significant.
22. The significance of each independent variable is indicated by 'P'. A p-value of 0.05 or less indicates that there is less than a 5% chance we would have found these differences between the categories just by chance if in fact no such difference exists, while a p-value of 0.01 or less indicates that there is a less than 1% chance. P-values of 0.05 or less are generally considered to indicate that the difference is highly statistically significant, while a p-value of 0.06 to 0.10 may be considered marginally significant.

individual who lives in the most deprived quintile of Scotland will also be included in the most deprived quintile in the SSA dataset.

23. It should be noted that the final regression models reported below were in some cases produced following several stages, with initial models using forward stepwise analysis to identify significant factors from a longer list of possible variables. The models below are the final models for each variable, produced using the Complex Survey command (CS Logistic) in SPSS 15.0. Unlike forward stepwise models, CS Logistic models can account for complex sample designs (in particular, the effects of clustering and associated weighting) when calculating odds ratios and determining significance. The models shown below include only those variables found to be significant after the regression models were run using CS logistic.

Regression models

Chapter 2 regression models

24. In order to explore the different explanations for holding prejudiced views discussed in Chapter 2, 4 regression models were created. The first three models examined factors that might be associated with the sociological, economic and psychological explanations separately. The final model combined all those factors found to be significant in one of these three models, to establish which factors were most strongly related to believing that prejudice is sometimes acceptable.

25. The relative importance of psychological explanations can be seen from the fact that the Nagelkerke R-squared is significantly higher for model 3 (23%) than for either model 1 or 2 (5% and 4% respectively). This indicates that the more 'psychological' factors, associated with identity and comfort with diversity, included in model 3 explain more of the variation in people's answers to the general question about acceptance of prejudice than do their social or economic characteristics. Moreover, in the final model, no 'economic' factors were significant, while education was only marginally significant (possibly because of the relationship between education and developing the kinds of psychological attitudes measured by the other factors included in the model).

Model 2.1: 'Sociological' factors associated with believing prejudice is acceptable

Dependent variable encoding 1 = 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups' 0 = NOT 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups'	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.063)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	1.28	0.99-1.67
Highest educational qualification (p = 0.000)		
None (reference)	1.00	
Degree/Higher Education	0.40	0.27-0.58
Highers or equivalent	0.47	0.30-0.73
Standard Grades or equivalent	0.88	0.58-1.31

Nagelkerke R² = 5%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: Age, whether or not people were brought up in any religion, and whether or not a person has a long-standing health problem or disability.

Model 2.2: 'Economic' factors associated with believing prejudice is acceptable

Dependent variable encoding 1 = 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups' 0 = NOT 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups'	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Socio-economic class (p = 0.001)		
Semi-routine/routine (reference)	1.00	
Employers, managers and professionals	0.54	0.40-0.72
Intermediate occupations	0.57	0.37-0.87
Small employers and own account workers	1.03	0.68-1.57
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	1.01	0.61-1.68
Current economic activity (p = 0.032)		
In work/waiting to take up paid work (reference)	1.00	
Education/training full time	0.42	0.19-0.94
Unemployed	1.03	0.60-1.78
Retired	1.51	1.10-2.06
Looking after the home	1.31	0.75-2.30
Other	0.98	0.55-1.75

Nagelkerke R² = 4%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: household income (quartiles), area deprivation (SIMD quintiles), self-assessed hardship (whether people considered themselves to be living comfortably or struggling on their present income).

Model 2.3: 'Psychological' factors associated with believing prejudice is acceptable

Dependent variable encoding 1 = 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups' 0 = NOT 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups'	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Preference for living in an area ... (p = 0.000)		
With lots of different kinds of people (reference)	1.00	
Where most people are similar to you	2.33	1.55-3.52
Can't choose	1.64	1.02-2.64
People from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place (p = 0.002)		
Agree strongly (reference)	1.00	
Agree	1.16	0.40-3.39
Neither	2.11	0.72-6.23
Disagree	2.52	0.88-7.33
Disagree strongly	5.25	1.39-19.77
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland (p = 0.000)		
Disagree strongly (reference)	1.00	
Agree strongly	5.73	1.55-21.29
Agree	3.79	1.04-13.78
Neither	2.11	0.53-8.35
Disagree	1.43	0.41-4.99
Currently considers self to belong to any religion? (p = 0.052)		
Not religions (reference)	1.00	
Religious	1.13	1.00-1.72

Nagelkerke R2 = 23%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: whether agreed or disagreed that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe came to live in Scotland'; whether agreed or disagreed that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland', and whether or not the respondent knows anyone who is: from a different ethnic background; gay or lesbian; Muslim; who has a physical disability; has a learning disability; or has a mental health problem (each of these were included as separate variables).

Model 2.4: All factors associated with believing prejudice is acceptable

Dependent variable encoding 1 = 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups 0 = NOT 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups'	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.045)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	1.38	1.01-1.88
Highest educational qualification (p = 0.085)		
None (reference)	1.00	
Degree/Higher Education	0.62	0.40-0.96
Highers or equivalent	0.57	0.34-0.95
Standard Grades or equivalent	0.77	0.49-1.23
Preference for living in an area ... (p = 0.000)		
With lots of different kinds of people (reference)	1.00	
Where most people are similar to you	2.39	1.57-3.64
Can't choose	1.69	1.06-2.70
People from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place (p = 0.008)		
Agree strongly (reference)	1.00	
Agree	1.09	0.37-3.17
Neither	1.91	0.64-5.64
Disagree	2.09	0.72-6.08
Disagree strongly	4.32	1.14-16.43
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland (p = 0.000)		
Disagree strongly (reference)	1.00	
Agree strongly	5.83	1.49-22.82
Agree	3.95	1.04-15.07
Neither	2.16	0.53-8.89
Disagree	1.53	0.43-5.46

Nagelkerke R2 = 24%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: whether or not currently considers self to belong to any religion; socio-economic class; and current economic status.

Chapter 4 regression models

26. In order to explore different attitudes towards whether fathers should be entitled to six months paid leave after their children are born in Chapter 4, 2 regression models were created. The first model examined factors that might be associated with agreeing or strongly agreeing that fathers should be entitled to six months paid leave and included individual, income, class, area and household related factors. The second examined which of the same factors were associated with agreeing that mothers should be entitled to six months paid leave, while either disagreeing or neither agreeing nor disagreeing that fathers should be entitled to six months paid leave.

Model 4.1: Factors associated with agreeing, or strongly agreeing that fathers should be entitled to six months paid leave after their children are born

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Agree/agree strongly that fathers should be entitled to six months paid leave 0 = NOT agree	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.030)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	1.34	1.03-1.74
Age (p = 0.000)		
18-24 yrs (reference)	1.00	
25-34 yrs	0.787	0.40-1.55
35-44 yrs	0.530	0.28-1.01
45-54 yrs	0.230	0.12-0.44
55-65 yrs	0.211	0.12-0.38
65 yrs +	0.116	0.07-0.20
Socio-economic class (p=0.045)		
Routine occupations (reference)	1.00	
Employers, higher managers and professionals	0.754	0.41-1.38
Lower mgrs & profs and lower tech & supervisory	0.831	0.49-1.40
Intermediate occupations	0.959	0.58-1.59
Small employers and own account workers	0.369	0.19-0.73
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	1.073	0.60-1.91
Semi-routine occupations	1.016	0.56-1.86
Self-rated hardship (p=0.072)		
Struggling/really struggling on present income (reference)	1.00	
Living really comfortably/comfortably on present income	0.718	0.48-1.07
Neither comfortable nor struggling on present income	0.959	0.65-1.42

Nagelkerke R2 =0.194%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: education, income, area deprivation, household type and economic activity.

Model 4.2: Factors associated with agreeing that mothers should be entitled to six months paid leave but not agreeing that fathers should be entitled to six months paid leave after their children are born

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Agree/agree strongly mothers should be entitled to 6mths paid leave AND disagree/disagree strongly/neither agree nor disagree that fathers should be entitled to 6mths paid leave 0 = All other response combinations	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Age (p = 0.003)		
18-24 yrs (reference)	1.00	
25-34 yrs	1.70	0.83-3.50
35-44 yrs	2.06	1.05-4.06
45-54 yrs	3.42	1.75-6.68
55-65 yrs	3.20	1.71-6.00
65 yrs +	3.00	1.61-5.59
Socio-economic class (p=0.056)		
Routine occupations (reference)	1.00	
Employers, higher managers and professionals	1.08	0.64-1.82
Lower mgrs & profs and lower tech & supervisory	1.44	0.89-2.35
Intermediate occupations	0.74	0.45-1.22
Small employers and own account workers	1.68	1.01-2.78
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	1.01	0.59-1.74
Semi-routine occupations	1.30	0.82-2.06
Household type (p=0.051)		
Single person household (reference)	1.00	
1 adult with children	0.73	0.42-1.28
2+ adults with children	0.61	0.43-0.87
2 adults (no children)	0.84	0.64-1.09
3+ adults (no children)	1.26	0.80-1.99

Nagelkerke R2 =0.078%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender, education, income, area deprivation, whether struggling on present income and economic activity.

Chapter 5 regression models

Model 5.1: Bank should be able to insist Sikh man removes turban by demographic and measures related to: Islam; general acceptance of prejudice; diversity

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Probably/definitely should 0 = Probably/definitely should not, can't choose	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC) (p = 0.0015)		
Routine (reference)	1.00	
Semi-routine	0.85	0.52-1.40
Lower, supervisory & technical	1.10	0.59-2.08
Small employers & own account workers	1.32	0.70-2.51
Intermediate occupations	0.44	0.23-0.86
Lower professionals & managers	0.61	0.33-1.14
Employers in large organisations	0.80	0.40-1.64
Current religious affiliation (p = 0.037)		
No religion (reference)	1.00	
Religious	0.68	0.47-0.98
More Muslims threaten Scottish identity (p = 0.001)		
Agree strongly (reference)	1.00	
Agree	0.50	0.33-0.78
Neither agree nor disagree	0.24	0.14-0.42
Disagree/Disagree strongly	0.23	0.14-0.38
R know anyone who is a Muslim (p = 0.057)		
Yes (reference)	1.00	
No	1.337	0.99-1.80
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.002)		
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced (reference)	1.00	
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	0.58	0.44-0.78
(Depends)	0.67	0.33-1.36
Preference for living in an area... (p = 0.046)		
...where most people are similar to you (reference)	1.00	
...with lots of different kinds of people	0.58	0.35-0.94
Can't choose/NA	0.64	0.43-0.97

Nagelkerke R² = 20%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender, age, education, religion brought up in.

Model 5.2: Bank should be able to insist Muslim woman removes headscarf by demographic and measures related to: Islam; general acceptance of prejudice; diversity

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Probably/definitely should 0 = Probably/definitely should not, can't choose	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC) (p = 0.007)		
Routine (reference)	1.00	
Semi-routine	0.89	0.55-1.44
Lower, supervisory & technical	1.13	0.59-2.15
Small employers & own account workers	1.80	1.02-3.20
Intermediate occupations	0.69	0.93-1.22
Lower professionals & managers	0.61	0.35-1.04
Employers in large organisations	1.39	0.78-2.74
More Muslims threaten Scottish identity (p = 0.004)		
Agree strongly (reference)	1.00	
Agree	0.62	0.42-0.91
Neither agree nor disagree	0.35	0.20-0.62
Disagree/Disagree strongly	0.52	0.32-0.86
R know anyone who is a Muslim (p = 0.034)		
Yes (reference)	1.00	
No	1.44	1.03-2.01
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.003)		
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced (reference)	1.00	
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice (Depends)	0.57	0.42-0.78
	0.63	0.34-1.18
Preference for living in an area... (p = 0.008)		
...where most people are similar to you (reference)	1.00	
...with lots of different kinds of people	0.49	0.31-0.76
Can't choose/NA	0.74	0.49-1.12

Nagelkerke R2 = 15%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender; age; education; religion brought up in; current religion.

Model 5.3: Bank should be able to insist Muslim woman removes veil by demographic and measures related to: Islam; general acceptance of prejudice; diversity

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Probably/definitely should 0 = Probably/definitely should not, can't choose	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.001)		
Men (reference)	1.00	
Women	0.59	0.43-0.79
Age (p = 0.001)		
18-24 (reference)	1.00	
25-34	1.53	0.89-2.64
35-44	1.90	0.99-3.64
45-54	1.73	0.96-3.13
55-64	4.83	2.73-8.55
65+	4.17	2.31-7.51
Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC) (p = 0.002)		
Routine (reference)	1.00	
Semi-routine	1.11	0.62-2.00
Lower, supervisory & technical	1.96	1.12-3.45
Small employers & own account workers	2.33	1.13-4.80
Intermediate occupations	1.31	0.73-2.35
Lower professionals & managers	2.00	1.09-3.65
Employers in large organisations	2.52	1.35-4.69
Current religious affiliation (p = 0.013)¹		
No religion (reference)	1.00	
Religious	0.64	0.45-0.91
More Muslims threaten Scottish identity (p = 0.001)		
Agree strongly (reference)	1.00	
Agree	0.76	0.45-1.30
Neither agree nor disagree	0.39	0.21-0.73
Disagree/Disagree strongly	0.31	0.17-0.56
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.079)		
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced (reference)	1.00	
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	0.62	0.41-0.94
(Depends)	0.75	0.32-1.76
Preference for living in an area... (p = 0.001)		
...where most people are similar to you (reference)	1.00	
...with lots of different kinds of people	0.47	0.32-0.70
Can't choose/NA	0.47	0.29-0.76

Nagelkerke R2 = 23%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: education, religion brought up in; respondent not knowing someone who is a Muslim.

1 – while stating an affiliation with any religion was significantly associated with being less likely to think a bank should be able to insist on an employee removing a veil in multivariate analysis, this pattern was not evidence in bivariate analysis, so has not been included in the discussion in Chapter 4.

Model 5.4: Bank should be able to insist Christian woman removes crucifix by demographic and general acceptance of prejudice factors

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Probably/definitely should 0 = Probably/definitely should not, can't choose	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Age (p = 0.034)		
18-24 (reference)	1.00	
25-34	1.27	0.67-2.40
35-44	0.88	0.43-1.77
45-54	0.63	0.29-1.33
55-64	0.68	0.35-1.34
65+	0.52	0.26-1.07
Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC) (p = 0.028)		
Routine (reference)	1.00	
Semi-routine	0.49	0.22-1.09
Lower, supervisory & technical	0.90	0.42-1.92
Small employers & own account workers	0.74	0.36-1.52
Intermediate occupations	0.39	0.18-0.84
Lower professionals & managers	0.35	0.17-0.70
Employers in large organisations	0.45	0.21-0.99
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.011)		
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced (reference)	1.00	
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	0.58	0.41-0.83
(Depends)	0.56	0.22-1.43

Nagelkerke R² = 7%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender; education; current religion; religion brought up in; preference for living in an area where most people are similar.

Chapter 6 regression models

Model 6.1: Factors associated with thinking it is a bad use of government money to fund organisations that help black and Asian people find work

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Bad/very bad use of government money 0 = NOT bad use	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.001)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	0.67	0.54-0.84
Current economic activity (p = 0.002)		
In work/waiting to take up paid work (reference)	1.00	
Education/training full time	0.26	0.10-0.70
Unemployed	0.66	0.31-1.40
Retired	1.46	1.02-2.08
Looking after the home	1.23	0.60-2.55
Other	1.87	0.93-3.75
Preference for living in an area ... (p = 0.001)		
With lots of different kinds of people (reference)	1.00	
Where most people are similar to you	1.72	1.29-2.30
Can't choose	1.67	1.08-2.57
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.000)		
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice (reference)	1.00	
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	2.28	1.64-3.18
(Depends)	1.80	0.84-3.85

Nagelkerke R2 = 11%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: age, education, household income, area deprivation, self-assessed hardship, socio-economic class, and whether know someone from a different racial or ethnic background.

Model 6.2: Factors associated with thinking it is a bad use of government money to fund organisations that help people over 50 find work

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Bad/very bad use of government money 0 = NOT bad use	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.000)		
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice (reference)	1.00	
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	2.44	1.60-3.73
(Depends)	3.15	1.33-7.44

Nagelkerke R2 = 4%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender, age, education, household income, current economic activity, area deprivation, self-assessed hardship, socio-economic class, preference for living in diverse/homogenous area, and whether know someone from a different racial or ethnic background.

Model 6.3: Factors associated with thinking it is a bad use of government money to fund organisations that help Muslims find work

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Bad/very bad use of government money 0 = NOT bad use	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.004)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	0.67	0.51-0.88
Current economic activity (p = 0.003)		
In work/waiting to take up paid work (reference)	1.00	
Education/training full time	0.61	0.22-1.69
Unemployed	0.91	0.47-1.78
Retired	1.80	1.23-2.63
Looking after the home	1.55	0.82-2.91
Other	2.22	1.18-4.17
Preference for living in an area ... (p = 0.007)		
With lots of different kinds of people (reference)	1.00	
Where most people are similar to you	1.56	1.19-2.05
Can't choose	1.44	0.93-2.23
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.000)		
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice (reference)	1.00	
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	2.69	1.98-3.67
(Depends)	2.30	1.15-4.60

Nagelkerke R2 = 13%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: age, education, household income, area deprivation, self-assessed hardship, socio-economic class, and whether know someone from a different racial or ethnic background.

Model 6.4: Factors associated with thinking it is a bad use of government money to fund organisations that help people who from time to time experience depression find work

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Bad/very bad use of government money 0 = NOT bad use	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.002)		
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice (reference)	1.00	
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	2.08	1.33-3.24
(Depends)	2.75	1.32-5.74

Nagelkerke R2 = 2%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender, age, education, household income, current economic activity, area deprivation, self-assessed hardship, socio-economic class, preference for living in diverse/homogenous area, and whether know someone from a different racial or ethnic background.

Model 6.5: Factors associated with thinking it is a bad use of government money to fund organisations that help Gypsy/Travellers find work

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Bad/very bad use of government money 0 = NOT bad use	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Age (p = 0.041)		
18-24 (reference)	1.00	
25-34	1.61	0.90-2.87
35-44	1.56	0.85-2.84
45-54	1.71	0.93-3.17
55-64	2.19	1.22-3.91
65+	2.37	1.39-4.03
Highest educational qualification (p = 0.005)		
None (reference)	1.00	
Degree/Higher Education	0.52	0.37-0.74
Highers or equivalent	0.63	0.40-0.98
Standard Grades or equivalent	0.74	0.54-1.03
Preference for living in an area ... (p = 0.000)		
With lots of different kinds of people (reference)	1.00	
Where most people are similar to you	1.94	1.50-2.51
Can't choose	1.39	0.98-1.98
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.000)		
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice (reference)	1.00	
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	1.97	1.47-2.64
(Depends)	1.46	0.85-2.53

Nagelkerke R2 = 13%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender, household income, current economic activity, area deprivation, self-assessed hardship, socio-economic class, and whether know someone from a different racial or ethnic background.

Model 6.6: Factors associated with thinking it is a bad use of government money to fund organisations that help gay men and lesbians find work

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Bad/very bad use of government money 0 = NOT bad use	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.005)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	0.65	0.49-0.87
Age (p = 0.000)		
18-24 (reference)	1.00	
25-34	4.26	2.01-9.02
35-44	4.03	1.77-9.19
45-54	4.08	1.83-9.07
55-64	5.73	2.58-12.74
65+	8.66	4.11-18.26
Preference for living in an area ... (p = 0.014)		
With lots of different kinds of people (reference)	1.00	
Where most people are similar to you	1.62	1.17-2.24
Can't choose	1.45	0.93-2.26
General attitude to prejudice (p = 0.000)		
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice (reference)	1.00	
Sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced	1.88	1.39-2.54
(Depends)	1.65	0.85-3.20

Nagelkerke R2 = 13%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: age, household income, current economic activity, area deprivation, self-assessed hardship, socio-economic class, and whether know someone from a different racial or ethnic background.

Model 6.7: Factors associated with thinking it is definitely/probably unfair to give women extra training opportunities

Dependent variable encoding 1 = probably/definitely UNFAIR 0 = NOT unfair	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.000)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	0.60	0.47-0.76
Age (p = 0.000)		
18-24 (reference)	1.00	
25-34	1.55	0.90-2.67
35-44	0.92	0.52-1.65
45-54	0.87	0.50-1.50
55-64	0.62	0.38-1.03
65+	0.46	0.26-0.80
Area deprivation (SIMD quintiles) (p = 0.004)		
Most deprived quintile (reference)	1.00	
Least deprived	1.90	1.22-2.96
2 nd	1.42	0.81-2.48
3 rd	1.02	0.60-1.75
4 th	1.39	0.88-2.22
Socio-economic class (p = 0.008)		
Semi-routine/routine (reference)	1.00	
Employers, managers and professionals	1.62	1.11-2.37
Intermediate occupations	2.10	1.33-3.33
Small employers and own account workers	1.90	1.20-3.00
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	1.29	0.82-2.02
Preference for living in an area ... (p = 0.020)		
With lots of different kinds of people (reference)	1.00	
Where most people are similar to you	1.35	0.97-1.88
Can't choose	1.79	1.19-2.69

Nagelkerke R2 = 11%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: education, household income, self-assessed hardship, current economic status, and general acceptance of prejudice.

Model 6.8: Factors associated with thinking it is definitely/probably unfair to give black and Asian staff extra training opportunities

Dependent variable encoding 1 = probably/definitely UNFAIR 0 = NOT unfair	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Gender (p = 0.056)		
Male (reference)	1.00	
Female	0.79	0.61-1.00
Age (p = 0.027)		
18-24 (reference)	1.00	
25-34	1.65	1.02-2.66
35-44	1.14	0.69-1.87
45-54	1.32	0.79-2.21
55-64	0.83	0.54-1.29
65+	0.72	0.42-1.23
Preference for living in an area ... (p = 0.000)		
With lots of different kinds of people (reference)	1.00	
Where most people are similar to you	1.69	1.27-2.26
Can't choose	1.80	1.24-2.60

Nagelkerke R2 = 5%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: education, household income, area deprivation, socio-economic class, self-assessed hardship, current economic status, general acceptance of prejudice, and whether know anyone from a different racial/ethnic background.

Note that although gender is significant (albeit marginally) in the overall model, the difference between men and women in the model is not. This may mean that gender only makes a difference when age is also taken into account – the difference is not apparent when gender is examined on its own.

Model 6.9: Factors associated with thinking it is definitely/probably unfair to give a suitably qualified disabled person an automatic interview

Dependent variable encoding 1 = probably/definitely UNFAIR 0 = NOT unfair	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Highest educational qualification (p = 0.000)		
None (reference)	1.00	
Degree/Higher Education	3.16	2.16-4.64
Highers or equivalent	2.62	1.64-4.20
Standard Grades or equivalent	1.81	1.28-2.56
Socio-economic class (p = 0.043)		
Semi-routine/routine (reference)	1.00	
Employers, managers and professionals	0.78	0.55-1.09
Intermediate occupations	0.86	0.55-1.33
Small employers and own account workers	1.56	1.02-2.36
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	1.24	0.81-1.91
Current economic activity (p = 0.043)		
In work/waiting to take up paid work (reference)	1.00	
Education/training full time	1.33	0.52-3.38
Unemployed	0.36	0.21-0.62
Retired	0.72	0.53-1.01
Looking after the home	0.96	0.61-1.51
Other	0.91	0.50-1.66

Nagelkerke R² = 8%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender, age, household income, area deprivation, self-assessed hardship, current economic status, general acceptance of prejudice, preference for living in a diverse or homogenous area, and whether know anyone with a learning disability, physical disability or mental health problem.

Model 6.10: Factors associated with thinking it is definitely/probably unfair to only interview women for a post

Dependent variable encoding 1 = probably/definitely UNFAIR 0 = NOT unfair	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Socio-economic class (p = 0.003)		
Semi-routine/routine (reference)	1.00	
Employers, managers and professionals	1.72	1.30-2.28
Intermediate occupations	1.44	1.00-2.07
Small employers and own account workers	1.15	0.72-1.84
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	1.55	1.03-2.35
Current economic activity (p = 0.001)		
In work/waiting to take up paid work (reference)	1.00	
Education/training full time	0.73	0.33-1.65
Unemployed	0.42	0.23-0.78
Retired	0.56	0.44-0.72
Looking after the home	0.49	0.27-0.87
Other	0.50	0.26-0.96

Nagelkerke R² = 6%

Other factors included in initial stepwise modelling but which were not significant after other factors and the complex sample design were accounted for were: gender, age, highest educational qualification, household income, area deprivation, self-assessed hardship, current economic status, general acceptance of prejudice, and preference for living in a diverse or homogenous area.

References in technical annex

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ANNEX C – FULL QUESTION TEXT AND RESPONSES

Notes on tables

- ‘*’ indicates less than 0.5 percent but greater than zero, and ‘-’ indicates no respondents gave this answer
- All figures are rounded to the nearest whole number (from 2 decimal places, such that 0.49 rounds down and 0.51 up)
- All data are weighted
- Fieldwork ran from June to early October 2010
- Findings appear in the order they were included in the questionnaire.

CAPI questions (asked face-to-face, by an interviewer)

[EqOppWm]

Now I want to ask you about some changes that have been happening in Scotland over the years. For each one I read out please use this card to say whether you think it has gone too far or not gone far enough.

First, attempts to give equal opportunities to women in Scotland?

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Gone much too far	1	1	1
Gone too far	6	4	5
About right	48	56	51
Not gone far enough	39	31	36
Not gone nearly far enough	3	2	3
(Don't know)	4	5	4
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[EqOppBA]

(Has it gone too far or not gone far enough)

Attempts to give equal opportunities to black people and Asians in Scotland?⁷⁹

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Gone much too far	3	4	5
Gone too far	15	19	18
About right	32	44	45
Not gone far enough	38	19	24
Not gone nearly far enough	3	3	2
(Don't know)	9	11	7
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

⁷⁹ NB in 2002, this question was worded slightly differently – “And have attempts to give equal opportunities to people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds in Scotland, such as black people and Asians, gone too far or not gone far enough?”

[EqOppGay]

(Has it gone too far or not gone far enough)

Attempts to give equal opportunities to gay men and lesbians in Scotland?

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Gone much too far	4	5	6
Gone too far	14	16	14
About right	38	48	45
Not gone far enough	24	15	21
Not gone nearly far enough	3	2	2
(Don't know)	17	14	13
(Not answered)	*	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[InfoNEng]

I'm now going to ask you about some things which some people think are a good use of government money and others think are a bad use of government money.

Information about public services in Scotland is sometimes provided in other languages for people who do not understand English very well. Do you think this is a good or a bad use of government money?

[InfoLD]

Some people with learning disabilities find it difficult to read. 'Easy read' is designed to help them by making words simpler and using pictures. Do you think it is a good or a bad use of government money to provide information about public services in 'easy read' formats for people with learning disabilities?

	Info in other languages	Info in 'Easy read'
	%	%
Very good use of govt money	3	23
Good use of govt money	44	70
Neither good nor bad use	19	4
Bad use of govt money	29	2
Very bad use of govt money	4	*
(Don't know)	*	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1495</i>

[OrgBIA]
READ OUT:

Some organisations focus on helping particular groups of people find work, for example by helping them develop interview skills and building their confidence.

First, using this card, please tell me whether, in general, you think giving money to organisations which focus on helping **black and Asian people** find work is a good or a bad use of government money?

[Org50pl]
What about giving money to organisations which focus on helping **people over 50** find work? In general, do you think this is a good or a bad use of government money?

[OrgMus]
What about giving money to organisations which focus on helping **Muslims** find work?
(In general, do you think this is a good or a bad use of government money?)

[OrgDep]
What about giving money to organisations which focus on helping **people who experience depression from time to time** find work?
(In general, do you think this is a good or a bad use of government money?)

[OrgGypT]
And what about giving money to organisations which focus on helping **Gypsy/Travellers** find work?
(In general, do you think this is a good or a bad use of government money?)

[OrgGML]
And what about giving money to organisations which focus on helping **gay men and lesbians** find work?
(In general, do you think this is a good or a bad use of government money?)

Views on giving money to organisations that help particular groups find work

	Very good use of govt money	Good use of govt money	Neither good nor bad use	Bad use of govt money	Very bad use of govt money	(Don't know)	(Not answered)	Sample size
Black and Asian people	4	39	28	25	4	1	*	1495
People over 50	12	63	16	8	*	1	-	1495
Muslims	4	34	28	25	7	2	-	1495
People who experience depression from time to time	12	62	18	7	*	1	-	1495
Gypsy/Travellers	3	28	25	33	9	2	-	1495
Gay men and lesbians	3	34	30	23	7	2	-	1495

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[Fath6mth]⁸⁰

Fathers should have the right to take up to 6 months paid time off work after their children are born.

[Moth6mth]

Mothers should have the right to take up to 6 months paid time off work after their children are born.

	Fathers	Mothers
	%	%
Agree strongly	15	34
Agree	31	48
Neither agree nor disagree	12	6
Disagree	30	10
Disagree strongly	11	2
(Don't know)	*	*
(Not answered)	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1495</i>

[WomOpps]

Say a company had fewer women than men in senior jobs and decided to give its women employees **extra** opportunities to get **training and qualifications**. Do you think this would be fair or unfair? Please choose a phrase from this card.

	2006	2010
	%	%
Definitely fair	25	25
Probably fair	38	37
Probably unfair	26	25
Definitely unfair	9	12
(Don't know)	1	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

⁸⁰ The order of [Fath6mth] and [Moth6mth] was randomised. Half the sample (odd serial numbers) were asked [Fath6mth] first then [Moth6mth] and half (even serial numbers) were asked [Moth6mth] first then [Fath6mth].

[BIAsOpps]

And say a company had few black and Asian people in senior jobs and decided to give black and Asian people it employed **extra** opportunities to get **training and qualifications**. Do you think this would be fair or unfair? Please choose a phrase from this card.

	2006	2010
	%	%
Definitely fair	17	14
Probably fair	40	36
Probably unfair	29	31
Definitely unfair	12	17
(Don't know)	2	2
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[DisIntw]

Say several people apply for a job, including someone with a disability. They all meet the necessary requirements for the job. Do you think it would be fair or unfair to **automatically** give the person with a disability an interview for the job even if other candidates appear to be better qualified? Please choose a phrase from this card.

	2006	2010
	%	%
Definitely fair	10	10
Probably fair	30	27
Probably unfair	40	41
Definitely unfair	17	22
(Don't know)	3	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[WOSlist]

Say a company has very few women in senior jobs. They are about to recruit a new senior manager and decide they want to appoint a woman. Do you think it would be fair or unfair for the company to **only** interview women for the new job?

	2010
	%
Definitely fair	4
Probably fair	16
Probably unfair	35
Definitely unfair	43
(Don't know)	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1495</i>

[PrejOkay]

Which of the statements on this card comes closest to your own view?

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	68	65	66
Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups	26	29	28
(Depends)	4	5	4
(Don't know)	1	1	2
(Not answered)	-	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[IDMus]

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland?

	2003	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Agree strongly	9	14	18
Agree	29	35	32
Neither agree nor disagree	17	19	20
Disagree	36	27	25
Disagree strongly	5	4	5
(Don't know)	3	1	1
(Not answered)	*	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[IDEastern]

(How much do you agree or disagree)

Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe (for example, Poland and Latvia) came to live in Scotland?

	2006	2010
	%	%
Agree strongly	11	15
Agree	34	31
Neither agree nor disagree	20	20
Disagree	30	27
Disagree strongly	4	6
(Don't know)	1	1
(Not answered)	-	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[IDBAsian]

(How much do you agree or disagree)

Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland?

	2006	2010
	%	%
Agree strongly	11	14
Agree	35	31
Neither agree nor disagree	18	22
Disagree	31	27
Disagree strongly	4	5
(Don't know)	1	1
(Not answered)	-	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[MarBIAs]

Some people say they would be happy if a close relative of theirs married or formed a long-term relationship with someone who was black or Asian, while others say they would be unhappy about this even if the couple themselves were happy. How would **you** feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with someone who was black or Asian?

IF NOT 'Islam/Muslim' at religion question

[MarrMus]

And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with a Muslim?

IF NOT 'Hindu' at religion question

[MarrHin]

(And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with) a Hindu?

IF NOT 'Jewish' at religion question

[MarrJew]

(And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with) someone who was Jewish?

IF NOT 'Christian' at religion question

(How would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with) a Christian?

[MarrDep]

CARD F3 AGAIN

(And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with) someone who from time to time experiences depression?

[MarGyp]

(And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with) a gypsy/traveller?

[MarSxCh]

(And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with) someone who has had a sex change operation?

[MarSmSx]

And how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a civil partnership or a long term relationship with someone of the same sex as themselves?

[MarrCros]

And finally, how would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long term relationship with someone who cross-dresses in public - that is, wears clothing of the opposite sex?

Feelings if close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with ...

	Very happy	Happy	Neither	Unhappy	Very unhappy	(It depends)	(Don't know)	(Not answered)	Sample size
Someone who is Black/Asian	17	41	31	7	2	1	1	*	1495
A Muslim	13	34	29	17	5	1	*	*	1477
A Hindu	13	36	32	14	4	1	1	*	1492
Someone who is Jewish	13	40	35	7	2	1	1	*	1495
A Christian	18	48	31	2	*	1	*	*	725
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	8	33	35	20	1	2	1	*	1495
A Gypsy/Traveller	7	25	28	27	10	1	1	*	1495
Someone who has had a sex change op	5	17	26	28	21	1	2	*	1495
Married/civil partnership with someone of same sex	9	27	31	17	13	1	1	*	1495
Someone who cross-dresses in public	5	14	24	33	22	1	1	*	1495

COLLAPSED CATEGORIES – TIME SERIES⁸¹

Feelings if close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with

...

	YEAR	Very happy/ happy	Neither	Unhappy /very unhappy	Sample size
Someone who has had a sex change op	2006	20	27	50	1594
	2010	22	26	49	1495
A Gypsy/Traveller	2006	31	28	37	1594
	2010	32	28	37	1495
Married/civil partnership with someone of same sex	2006	37	28	33	1594
	2010	37	31	30	1495
A Muslim	2006	49	26	24	1594
	2010	47	29	23	1477
A Hindu	2006	50	29	19	1594
	2010	49	32	18	1492
Someone who is Black/Asian	2006	58	29	11	1594
	2010	58	31	9	1495
Someone who is Jewish	2006	55	33	10	1594
	2010	54	35	9	1495

⁸¹ Those who said don't know, it depends or did not answer are not shown here, but are included in the base

[ScotBet]

(How much do you agree or disagree)

People from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place?

	2006	2010
	%	%
Agree strongly	3	5
Agree	31	28
Neither agree nor disagree	40	41
Disagree	22	22
Disagree strongly	3	4
(Don't know)	1	1
(Not answered)	-	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1495</i>

[RetForce]⁸²

Some people say that it is wrong to **make** people retire just because they have reached a certain age. Others say that older people should be **made** to retire to make way for younger age groups. What about you? Which of the statements on this card comes closest to your view?

	2005	2010
	%	%
It is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age	76	75
Older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups.	21	22
(Don't know)	3	3
(Not answered)	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1495</i>

⁸² NB the wording of this question was amended slightly in 2010. In 2006, it read Some people say that it is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age. Others say that older employees must retire to make way for younger age groups. What about you? Which of the statements on this card comes closest to your view?

Views of same sex relationships (asked separately, as part of another set of questions on moral and political attitudes⁸³)

[HomoSex]

CARD B6 AGAIN

What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex?⁸⁴

- 1 Always wrong
- 2 Mostly wrong
- 3 Sometimes wrong
- 4 Rarely wrong
- 5 Not wrong at all
- 6 (Depends/varies)
- 8 (Don't know)
- 9 (Refusal)

	2000	2004	2005	2010
	%	%	%	%
Always wrong	39	30	30	20
Mostly wrong	9	11	10	8
Sometimes wrong	8	8	10	9
Rarely wrong	8	7	9	8
Not wrong at all	29	37	35	50
(Depends/varies)	4	3	3	3
Don't know	2	3	3	2
Not answered	*	*	*	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1663</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1495</i>

⁸³ Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

⁸⁴ Followed a question that asks "Now I would like to ask you some questions about sexual relationships. If a man and woman have sexual relations before marriage, what would your general opinion be?"

Self-completion questions (answered by the respondent on their own)

Please tick one box for each statement below to show how much you agree or disagree with it.

Gay or lesbian couples should have the right to marry one another if they want to.

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Agree strongly	10	17	21
Agree	31	36	40
Neither agree nor disagree	24	21	18
Disagree	17	11	10
Disagree strongly	12	10	9
Can't choose	5	2	1
(Not answered)	1	2	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

Shops and banks should be forced to make themselves easier for disabled people to use, even if this leads to higher prices

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Agree strongly	24	27	23
Agree	53	50	53
Neither agree nor disagree	14	15	15
Disagree	7	4	6
Disagree strongly	*	1	1
Can't choose	2	1	1
(Not answered)	1	3	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

People from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
Agree strongly	5	7	11
Agree	15	20	20
Neither agree nor disagree	32	32	30
Disagree	34	30	24
Disagree strongly	9	7	13
Can't choose	4	2	1
(Not answered)	1	2	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

People who come here from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland

	2006	2010
	%	%
Agree strongly	7	13
Agree	24	24
Neither agree nor disagree	28	27
Disagree	28	22
Disagree strongly	8	12
Can't choose	2	1
(Not answered)	3	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

How well do you think people from the following groups would be suited to the job of being a primary school teacher?

	Very suitable	Fairly suitable	Neither	Fairly unsuitable	Very unsuitable	Can't choose	(Not answered)	Sample size
Men	54	31	10	1	*	1	3	1366
Women	68	22	7	*	*	1	2	1366
Gay men and lesbians	31	25	20	8	10	3	3	1366
A black or Asian person	39	31	18	3	2	2	3	1366
Someone aged 70	10	21	26	26	12	2	3	1366
A Muslim person	31	25	24	8	7	3	3	1366
Someone who has had a sex change operation	18	18	24	15	16	5	3	1366
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	9	20	24	24	16	3	3	1366
A Gypsy/Traveller	12	13	23	21	24	3	3	1366

Suited to being a primary school teacher?
TIME SERIES⁸⁵

	YEAR	Very/ fairly suitable	Neither	Very/ fairly <u>un</u>- suitable	Sample size
A Gypsy/Traveller	2006	20	23	48	1437
	2010	25	23	46	1366
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	2006	21	21	51	1437
	2010	30	24	41	1366
Someone aged 70	2006	24	20	49	1437
	2010	30	26	39	1366
Someone who has had a sex change operation	2006	32	28	30	1437
	2010	37	24	31	1366
Gay men and lesbians	2006	48	23	21	1437
	2010	56	20	18	1366
A Muslim person	2006	52	23	15	1437
	2010	55	24	15	1366
A black or Asian person	2006	70	18	4	1437
	2010	70	18	6	1366
Men	2006	84	10	2	1437
	2010	85	10	2	1366
Women	2006	92	5	*	1437
	2010	90	7	*	1366

⁸⁵ Those who ticked 'can't choose' or did not answer are not shown here, but are included in the base

Would you rather live in an area...

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
With lots of different kinds of people	37	34	37
Where most people are similar to you	46	49	43
Can't choose	17	16	17
(Not answered)	*	1	3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

Say a bank interviews a Sikh man for a job serving customers.

The man wears a turban. Should the bank be able to insist the man takes his turban off while he is at work?

And say a bank interviews a Christian woman for a job serving customers.

The woman wears a crucifix which would be visible to customers.

Should the bank be able to insist the woman takes off her crucifix while she is at work?

What if they interviewed a Muslim woman who wears a veil that covers her face?

Should the bank be able to insist the woman takes off her veil while she is at work?

What if they interviewed a Muslim woman who wears a headscarf which does not cover her face? Should the bank be able to insist the woman takes the headscarf off while she is at work?

	Sikh man with turban	Christian woman with crucifix	Muslim woman with veil	Muslim woman with headscarf
	%	%	%	%
Yes, definitely should	12	6	41	10
Yes, probably should	12	9	28	13
No, probably should not	35	34	14	44
No, definitely should not	34	46	11	28
Can't choose	6	5	4	4
(Not answered)	1	1	1	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1366</i>	<i>1366</i>	<i>1366</i>	<i>1366</i>

Do you personally know anyone who has a physical disability?

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
No, I don't know anyone who has a physical disability	19	23	19
Yes, a member of my family	30	26	28
Yes, a friend I know fairly well	28	24	26
Yes, someone I do not know very well	20	19	18
Yes, someone at my work	9	9	9
Yes, someone else	13	11	12
Not sure	4	4	7
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

Do you personally know anyone who has a learning disability?

	2006	2010
	%	%
No, I don't know anyone who has a learning disability	33	33
Yes, a member of my family	17	19
Yes, a friend I know fairly well	15	15
Yes, someone I do not know very well	16	13
Yes, someone at work	-	7
Yes, someone else	11	11
Not sure	8	8
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

Do you personally know anyone who is from a different racial or ethnic background to you?

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
No, I don't know anyone from a different racial or ethnic background to me	26	24	19
Yes, a member of my family	6	8	8
Yes, a friend I know fairly well	28	28	36
Yes, someone I do not know very well	23	19	19
Yes, someone at my work	18	19	18
Yes, someone else	16	14	15
Not sure	5	5	4
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

Do you personally know anyone who is gay or lesbian?

	2002	2006	2010
	%	%	%
No, I don't know anyone who is gay or lesbian	32	26	19
Yes, a member of my family	6	10	12
Yes, a friend I know fairly well	23	30	33
Yes, someone I do not know very well	21	19	20
Yes, someone at my work	14	13	15
Yes, someone else	13	13	13
Not sure	8	6	6
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

Do you personally know anyone who is Muslim?

	2006	2010
	%	%
No, I don't know anyone who is Muslim	52	46
Yes, a member of my family	2	2
Yes, a friend I know fairly well	11	14
Yes, someone I do not know very well	13	15
Yes, someone at my work	9	11
Yes, someone else	9	9
Not sure	9	9
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1366</i>

Do you personally know anyone who has a mental health problem, like depression or bipolar disorder?

	2010
	%
No, I don't know anyone who has a mental health problem	25
Yes, a member of my family	29
Yes, a friend I know fairly well	24
Yes, someone I do not know very well	11
Yes, someone at my work	8
Yes, someone else	9
Not sure	9
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1366</i>

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