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**ATTITUDES TO DISCRIMINATION IN SCOTLAND:  
2006**

***SCOTTISH SOCIAL ATTITUDES SURVEY***

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Scottish Centre for Social Research

Scottish Government Social Research  
2007

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, the authors of the report would like to thank all the respondents who gave up their time to take part in the survey - we hope that one day some of them might come across this report and read about their views with interest.

The *Scottish Social Attitudes* survey is very much a collaborative venture. We owe a huge debt of gratitude to our colleagues in NatCen's operations and computing departments, to Ann Mair at the Social Statistics Laboratory at Strathclyde University, and to our team of interviewers and supervisors for conducting the interviews with such dedication and professionalism.

We would also like to thank the Steering Group for their guidance and support over the course of the project, the group was comprised of representatives of: the Scottish Government Equality Unit, the Scottish Government Equalities Research Team, the Commission for Racial Equality, Disability Rights Commission, Equal Opportunities Commission<sup>1</sup>, Equality Network, Age Concern Scotland, Scottish Inter-Faith Council, Stonewall Scotland, and the Equality and Human Rights Commission.

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

Catherine Bromley  
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<sup>1</sup> The work of these three commissions was brought under the remit of the new Equality and Human Rights Commission on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2007.

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Introduction

1 There have been important developments recently in the efforts made by policy makers to reduce discrimination and promote equality. These include the establishment of three ‘public sector equality duties’, a Discrimination Law Review, and the creation of a new commission, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the ‘commission’) with responsibility for tackling discrimination on the grounds of age, disability, gender, race, religion/belief and sexual orientation.

2 As well as working towards the elimination of discrimination the new commission is also responsible for promoting public understanding of human rights in relation to reserved issues. Meanwhile the Scottish Government and Parliament have power to promote equal opportunities through, for example, undertaking information campaigns. Thus both bodies have an interest in understanding public attitudes towards discrimination in Scotland.

3 This report looks at attitudes towards discrimination on all six of the grounds for which anti-discrimination legislation exists in Great Britain. The evidence comes from a module of questions included on the 2006 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, a high quality survey undertaken annually by the Scottish Centre for Social Research. A representative sample of 1,594 adults was interviewed between August 2006 and January 2007. The work is in part a follow-up to similar research undertaken in 2002 that looked at discriminatory attitudes in respect of four areas, ethnic background, gender, disability and sexual orientation.

4 The analysis in this report addresses two main questions:

1. What is the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland?
2. Why do people hold discriminatory attitudes?

5 The report focuses in particular on attitudes towards three topics, relationships, employment and the provision of goods and services (in the last case focusing on the provision of bed and breakfast). It is anticipated that discriminatory attitudes might be more common in respect of more intimate matters, such as relationships, than in the case

of less intimate ones such as employment and the provision of goods and services. As some of the questions on the 2006 survey were also asked previously in 2002 or 2003, the report is also able to consider whether the incidence of discriminatory attitudes has increased or diminished in recent years.

6 In asking why people hold discriminatory attitudes the report examines in particular whether discriminatory attitudes are only less likely to occur if people do not feel 'different' from members of a particular group, or alternatively whether they may be lessened if people like living in a 'diverse' society. The analysis also considers whether the kind of place in which someone lives affects their attitudes.

### **Attitudes towards prejudice**

7 In response to a question designed to provide an overall indication of the extent to which people in Scotland hold a discriminatory outlook, 29% said that 'sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced'. In contrast 65% agree that 'Scotland should do everything to get rid of all kinds of prejudice'. Evidently only a minority uphold a discriminatory point of view, but equally that minority is not an insubstantial one. Those with fewer educational qualifications are more likely than those with more advanced qualifications to feel that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced. Otherwise the incidence of a discriminatory point of view as measured by this question appears to be more or less evenly spread across Scottish society.

### **Relationships**

8 Respondents to the survey were asked if they would be happy or unhappy if a close relative formed a relationship with someone from a particular group. The answers varied considerably depending on the group in question. As many as half said they would be unhappy if a close relative formed a relationship with someone who had had a sex change operation, while around a third said the same in respect of an asylum seeker, a Gypsy/Traveller, and someone of the same sex. In contrast only around one in ten expressed unhappiness at the possibility that a relative might form a relationship with someone who was black or Asian, Jewish or from a Chinese background.

9 In general those with more educational qualifications are less likely to express unhappiness. So also are younger people. Those who say they know someone who belongs to a particular group are also less likely to say they would be unhappy if a relative formed a relationship with someone from that group. These patterns are, however, largely absent when people are asked about a relationship with someone who has a learning disability.

10 Over half think that sexual relations between two men or between two women are either 'rarely wrong' or 'not wrong at all'. Three in ten feel that they are 'always' or 'mostly' wrong. Similarly, over half agree that same sex couples should have the right to 'marry' while only around one in five disagree. However, attitudes vary significantly from one section of society to another. A majority of those aged 65 and over believe that sexual relations between two people of the same sex are always or mostly wrong. The same is true of those who attend a religious service regularly. In contrast, less than one in five of those aged 18-24 and only around a quarter who never attend a religious service take that view. Men are also less comfortable than women about same sex relationships. The fact that different sections of society have very different views about same sex relationships may help explain why such relationships are frequently the subject of public controversy.

## **Employment**

11 Respondents to the survey were asked how suitable certain people would be for the job of a primary school teacher. Around half said that a person with depression, a Gypsy/Traveller and a person aged 70 would be unsuitable. In the case of the last of these this was despite the fact that three quarters oppose a compulsory retirement age, an indication perhaps that people feel that someone aged 70 might not be able to cope effectively with the particular demands of primary school teaching. In contrast, hardly anyone at all (4%) said that a black or Asian person would be unsuitable, while around 15-20% said the same about a gay man or lesbian or a Muslim person. In general older people, those with few if any educational qualifications and those who say they do not know someone from a particular group are all more likely to say that someone would be unsuitable.

12 Just over one in five feel that a woman is more suitable as a primary school teacher than is a man, an indication that a minority at least are capable of holding stereotypical views about a particular job. A

similar sized minority feel that a woman who takes time off work to have a baby should accept that she may be less likely to be promoted as a result. However, only one in ten do not agree that fathers should be just as able as mothers to take time off work when their children are ill, while one in seven feel that men should be responsible for bringing in an income while women look after the home and family. In each case these views are more common amongst older people, brought up at a time when women were less likely to go out to work.

13 Over a quarter say that the presence of ethnic minorities in Scotland makes it more difficult for other people to find a job. Nearly a third say the same about people from Eastern Europe. Strikingly, this view is particularly high amongst those aged 18-24, perhaps because they are less likely to be in secure employment themselves. Those in working class occupations and on a lower income, as well as those with fewer educational qualifications, are also more likely to be concerned. This again may be a reflection of the fact that they are less likely to be in secure employment.

### **Goods and services: the provision of bed and breakfast**

14 The survey asked whether a person running a bed and breakfast business in their own home should be allowed to refuse a booking from certain groups. In all but one case no more than three in ten felt that a bed and breakfast owner should be able to refuse a booking, ranging from 29% in the case of someone aged 21 to 15% in respect of someone with a learning disability. However, just over half (51%) said it should be permissible for a bed and breakfast owner to refuse a booking to a same-sex couple. Even amongst those who do not think that sexual relations between two persons of the same sex are wrong, as many as two in five feel that it should be possible to refuse a booking from a same sex couple.

15 In general, attitudes towards the right to refuse a booking are not as sharply divided by age, education or whether someone knows someone from a particular group as they are in respect of relationships or primary school teaching. It appears that different or additional considerations affect people's attitudes towards this scenario than they do in the case of the other two.

## **Do circumstances matter?**

16 In general people were more likely to express unhappiness about a close relative forming a relationship with someone from a particular group than they are to say that someone is unsuitable to be a primary school teacher. For example, while 34% say they would be unhappy about a relative forming a same sex relationship, just 21% feel that a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Similarly, the equivalent figures for a Muslim person are 24% and 15% respectively. It appears that discriminatory attitudes are more likely to occur in the private realm of relationships than they are in the public realm of employment.

17 For the most part attitudes towards the right to refuse a bed and breakfast booking are on a par with those about the suitability of people to be a primary school teacher. However, this is clearly not true in the case of a same sex couple. Far more people say that it should be possible to refuse a bed and breakfast booking than express unhappiness about a close relative forming a same sex relationship or feel that a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher.

## **Are attitudes changing?**

18 Events following the attack on the twin towers in New York in September 2001 have often resulted in unfavourable media coverage of Muslims. Meanwhile recent relatively high levels of immigration have resulted in that topic becoming high on the list of the most important issues facing the country. We thus might anticipate that discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims and towards ethnic minorities have become more common.

19 In contrast, recent changes in the legal status of same sex couples, such as the introduction of civil partnerships and the right to apply to adopt a child on the same basis as mixed sex couples, may have been expected to have reduced the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians.

20 Both these expectations are fulfilled. In 2003 38% said that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live here; by 2006 this had increased to 50%. Over the same period there has been a four point increase in the proportion who say they would be

unhappy about a relative forming a relationship with a Muslim person. Meanwhile there also appears to be increased concern about the impact of ethnic minorities on jobs; in the 2006 survey 27% agreed that ethnic minorities take jobs away from others in Scotland compared with 20% in 2002.

21 There has been an eleven point drop since 2003 in the proportion who say that sexual relations between two men, or between two women, are always or mostly wrong. Similarly, the proportion who do not feel that same sex couples should have the right to marry has fallen by eight points over the same period, while there has been a seven point fall in the proportion who feel that a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. These changes are in line with long-term trends in attitudes to same sex relations, and thus recent changes in the legal status of same sex couples are at least as much a reflection of past changes in attitudes as they are a possible cause of such changes.

22 In other respects there seems to have been little or no change in attitudes. In 2002 28% said that women are more suitable than men as primary school teachers, a figure that has now fallen to 22%. On the other hand there has been a small increase (from 11% to 14%) in the proportion supporting the view that a woman's place is in the home. Equally, whereas in 2006 29% said that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced, 26% did so in 2002.

### **Covert discrimination and positive action**

23 It is often argued that people are reluctant to express discriminatory attitudes to an interviewer because they perceive that such attitudes are widely regarded as socially unacceptable. As a result surveys such as the one reported here may underestimate the incidence of discriminatory attitudes. Those attitudes may, however, be uncovered if people are asked their views about the anti-discrimination policies being pursued by government. They may feel less reticent about criticising government policy than they are admitting, for example, that they would feel unhappy if a relative of theirs married someone from a particular group.

24 However, when asked whether attempts to give equal opportunities to women in Scotland have gone too far or not, just 6% said they had. Rather more, around one in five, said the same about attempts to give equal opportunities to gay men and lesbians. This,

though, is little different from the pattern of answers to other questions in the survey about gay men and lesbians.

25 In addition, around one in five said that attempts to give equal opportunities to black and Asian people had gone too far. This is higher than the one in ten who would be unhappy if a relative formed a long-term relationship with a black or Asian person, and the 4% who said such a person would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. On the other hand, 27% did express concern that ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people, while as many as 46% felt that Scotland would lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland. Rather than uncovering evidence of covertly held discriminatory attitudes it may well be that the question on equal opportunities for black and Asian people has, along with these latter questions, revealed that people are more likely to express discriminatory attitudes towards black and Asian people as a group than they are towards them as individuals.

26 Although supported by a majority, substantial minorities feel that it would not be fair if a company provided either women or black and Asian people with extra opportunities to secure training and qualifications in order to increase their chances of gaining promotion. Just over a third thought it would be unfair in the case of women, and two in five in the case of black and Asian people. Meanwhile a majority (57%) feel it would be unfair if a person with a disability were automatically to be interviewed for a job, even if other candidates appear to be better qualified. It looks as though attempts to secure greater equality of outcome may well be resisted if they are regarded as unfair procedurally.

27 The pattern of attitudes to these forms of positive action is different from that of most of the other questions on the survey. It is those with more qualifications and those in middle class jobs who are most likely to feel that these measures would be unfair. Moreover it is those aged 65 and over who are least likely to take that view. It seems that those who already have qualifications or a secure senior post are particularly reluctant to see others helped to obtain the advantages that they already hold.

### **Does place matter?**

28 For the most part, where people live appears to make little difference to the likelihood that they will express a discriminatory attitude. In particular, once the individual characteristics of those who

live there are taken into account, there is no evidence that those who live in an area where there is a relatively large proportion of Muslims, or a relatively large proportion of black and Asian people, are significantly less likely to express discriminatory attitudes towards those two groups.

29 There is some evidence that those who live in neighbourhoods where there are relatively large numbers of graduates are less likely to express discriminatory attitudes. But such evidence as there is is often more consistent with the argument that people who already have certain kinds of views are more likely to choose to live in certain kinds of places (such as near a university campus), than it is with the argument that graduates who hold relatively liberal views influence the attitudes of their neighbours.

30 Those who live in a remote rural part of Scotland are particularly likely to think that someone providing bed and breakfast should be allowed to refuse a booking from a same sex couple. However, in other respects the views of people living in remote rural areas are not particularly distinctive.

### **Why do people hold discriminatory attitudes?**

31 Previous research conducted in 2002 found that people were less likely to express discriminatory attitudes if they said they preferred to live in an area that contains lots of different kinds of people. But at the same time it also found that people were less likely to hold such views towards a particular group if they felt that members of that group had a lot in common with the rest of society. The same was true (and is confirmed by the 2006 survey) if people said they knew someone who belonged to that group.

32 These results raised a conundrum. Is it the case that people will only stop upholding discriminatory views if they are persuaded that people who belong to other groups are much like themselves? Or might people be less inclined to uphold such views so long as they feel comfortable living in a society that contains lots of people who are acknowledged to be different from each other? If the former is the case then it would seem that any attempt to reduce the incidence of discriminatory attitudes is likely to be reliant on measures designed to promote the 'integration' of different groups into society. If the latter is the case then attempts to promote positive images of a diverse society might be effective.



33 Two scales that identify where people stand on these two dimensions were developed from questions included on the survey. One measures perceptions of the degree to which 'other' groups pose a 'cultural threat'; the other scale attempts to tap the degree to which people are comfortable with culturally diverse expressions of difference. The link between where people stand on these two scales and their expression of discriminatory attitudes are extensively analysed.

34 In general, concerns about 'cultural threat' appear to be more strongly linked to the expression of discriminatory attitudes than are attitudes towards 'cultural diversity'. This, however, is more clearly the case in respect of people's attitudes towards relationships than it is attitudes towards the suitability of someone as a primary school teacher. Concerns about 'cultural threat' may thus be particularly important in the realm of private, intimate relationships. Meanwhile, neither scale is particularly effective at identifying who does and does not support the right of a bed and breakfast owner to refuse someone a booking, lending further weight to the suggestion that different or additional considerations affect attitudes on this subject. Equally neither scale appears to be strongly linked to people's attitudes towards positive action.

35 Concerns about 'cultural threat' appear to be more important for some groups than others. They seem to be particularly important in shaping attitudes towards Muslims, and probably also asylum seekers, both of whom are groups that have been the subject of unfavourable publicity in the media in recent years. Meanwhile cultural threat seems to influence attitudes towards black and Asian people as a group, but less so when they are referred to as individuals. In contrast cultural threat seems relatively unimportant in respect of attitudes towards someone with a learning disability. These findings are consistent with those of previous research that suggests there are differences in the images and stereotypes that people hold of different groups, differences that mean different kinds of groups may be subject to different kinds of prejudice.

## **Conclusion**

36 For the most part only a minority uphold a discriminatory outlook. But discriminatory attitudes are more widespread in respect of some groups than others. They are particularly common in respect of Gypsies/Travellers and someone who has had a sex change operation (a description designed to refer to a transgender person). Otherwise, they seem most likely to be expressed in respect of gay men and

lesbians. Thereafter they are most widespread when people are asked about Muslims or about black and Asian people as a group. On the other hand, discriminatory attitudes are relatively infrequent in respect of the roles of men and women, age and disability. Even so, significant minorities can not only still hold stereotypical views about the kinds of work that women do, but may in certain circumstances still express discriminatory attitudes about older or younger people, or about someone with a disability, perhaps because of concerns about their ability to 'cope' with the demands of a particular situation.

37 While discriminatory attitudes towards different groups have many characteristics in common, the creation of an integrated Equality and Human Rights Commission should not be at the expense of an appreciation of what is different about attitudes towards different groups.

# **CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION**

## **Why attitudes to discrimination matter**

1.1 There have been some major developments in recent years in the ways in which policy makers develop strategies and approaches to try to reduce discrimination and promote equality. For example, three 'public sector equality duties' have been introduced in respect of race, disability and gender. Although the detail of these three duties varies, all three have, at their heart, a requirement that public bodies should take steps to eliminate unlawful discrimination and promote equality of opportunity. Furthermore, in October 2007 a new commission, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the 'commission') was established. This body is responsible for the work designed to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, gender and disability that was previously undertaken by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), and the Disability Rights Commission (DRC). In addition, the commission will promote equality and work towards the elimination of discrimination in relation to three additional areas, sexual orientation, religion or belief, and age.

1.2 While these developments have primarily been concerned with reducing discriminatory behaviour rather than influencing attitudes, it is important that those organisations with a key responsibility for developing work to reduce discrimination and promote equality (such as the Scottish Government and the new commission) should have an informed understanding of public attitudes towards discrimination. In part, this is simply because discrimination itself is more likely to occur if people hold views that imply it is acceptable to discriminate against particular groups in certain circumstances. But an informed understanding of public attitudes also helps bodies such as the Scottish Government and the commission to develop and undertake initiatives to promote equal opportunities and challenge discrimination, for example by undertaking public information and education campaigns, such as 'One Scotland, Many Cultures'.

## **Previous research**

1.3 In 2002 the Scottish Social Attitudes survey carried a module of questions on attitudes to discrimination in Scotland (Bromley and Curtice, 2003). Undertaken in collaboration with the support of the then

three existing commissions, Stonewall Scotland and the Scottish Government, it covered four areas of potential discrimination – race/ethnicity, gender, physical disability and sexual orientation. In so doing it aimed to answer three questions:

1. How much discrimination do people think exists in Scotland?
2. What is the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland?
3. Why do people hold discriminatory attitudes?

1.4 One of the principal objectives of the research in addressing these questions was to establish how far the answers were the same or different in respect of the four areas of potential discrimination – the first time that such comparative research had been conducted in Scotland. An understanding of the similarities and differences in the nature of discriminatory attitudes towards different groups seems central to the work of any integrated equalities commission such as the Equality and Human Rights commission. For example, if discriminatory attitudes are more prevalent towards some social groups than towards others, this may indicate that educational work should prioritise some groups more than others. Meanwhile, if the character of discriminatory attitudes towards different social groups varies, then it may be advisable to use different educational strategies in respect of different groups.

1.5 The 2002 research suggested that while avowedly discriminatory attitudes were usually the preserve of a minority, such attitudes were indeed more common in respect of some groups (gay men and lesbians together with ethnic minorities) than others (women and those with disabilities). However, even when a discriminatory attitude towards a particular group was usually only rarely expressed, it could still be relatively common in certain situations. One such example was whether a wheelchair user would be a suitable person to be a primary school teacher. For the most part avowedly discriminatory attitudes were more likely to be expressed by older people and those with lower levels of educational attainment, and most commonly appeared to be stimulated when people felt psychologically different or distant from a group.

## **Possible Changes**

1.6 Since that research was conducted there have been a number of important developments that could have affected the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland. Following on from the

attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11th 2001, subsequent developments such as the London bombings on July 7th 2005 have resulted in extensive debate and controversy about the role of Muslims in British society and appear to have stimulated discriminatory attitudes towards them (Hussain and Miller, 2006). Together with continued debate about asylum seekers and increased immigration to the UK – including most recently from those Central and East European countries that joined the European Union in 2004 - they may also have resulted in greater hostility towards minority ethnic groups (McClaren and Johnson, 2004). Certainly according to MORI's regular monthly surveys, race relations and immigration are now widely regarded as one of the most important issues facing the country. On the other hand, the introduction in 2005 of civil partnerships for same sex couples, together with reforms to family law that pave the way for such couples to apply to adopt children jointly, might have been expected to promote more favourable attitudes towards sexual orientation. These developments suggest there is a need to update the earlier research, which in any event did not cover two of the areas that now fall within the remit of the commission, religion/belief and age.

## **This project**

1.7 Thus in anticipation of the creation of the Equality and Human Rights Commission and bearing in mind its remit, it was decided in 2006 to conduct a further round of survey work, again using the Scottish Social Attitudes survey as a platform. The research was developed in collaboration with representatives from the three predecessor commissions and other groups with interests that fall within the remit of the commission, together with the Scottish Government. The work was funded by the Scottish Government and the former Department for Trade and Industry (the UK Government department then responsible for the establishment of the commission). This report presents the main findings from this second round of research.

1.8 The Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA) survey is an annual high quality social survey that aims both to facilitate the academic study of public opinion and support the development and evaluation of public policy in Scotland. It is conducted by the Scottish Centre for Social Research (ScotCen) located in Edinburgh. ScotCen is part of the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen), the UK's largest independent social research organisation. SSA has a modular structure, and so the questions included on the survey for this research on

attitudes towards discrimination were carried alongside those for other research projects.

1.9 Fieldwork for the 2006 survey was conducted between August 2006 and January 2007 (with over three quarters being completed by the end of October). A total of 1,594 adults aged 18 and over were interviewed face to face using computer assisted interviewing, representing a response rate of around 57%. In addition 90% of those who completed this interview also completed a self-completion paper and pencil questionnaire, on which some of the questions included for this research were administered. The resulting data are weighted to correct for known inequalities in the probability of a respondent being selected for interview, and to ensure that the sample reflects the known age and sex composition of the adult population in Scotland. Full technical details about the survey are included in Annex C.

1.10 The main aim of the new research was to address once again two of the three questions that were the focus of the previous research. These questions were:

1. What is the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland?
2. Why do people hold discriminatory attitudes?

1.11 However, on this occasion we wished to answer these questions with respect to all six of the grounds for which anti-discrimination legislation exists in Great Britain, not just the four considered in the 2002 research. At the same time in revisiting these questions we also wanted to make it possible to chart whether the incidence of discriminatory attitudes has changed in recent years (in either direction), and if so what lessons might be drawn from the changes.

1.12 Meanwhile, although our previous research identified the kinds of individuals who are more likely to hold discriminatory attitudes, it did not consider whether the kind of place in which someone lives makes a difference too. Yet we might anticipate, for example, that those living in less 'cosmopolitan', more 'homogenous' neighbourhoods, where many people have similar social backgrounds and perhaps have limited experience of living in different kinds of place or with different kinds of people, may be more likely to express discriminatory attitudes (Kitchen et al, 2006). Equally, it could be that those living in areas of high social deprivation are more likely to be hostile towards groups such as 'immigrants' whom they think might pose unwanted competition for a job

or social spending by government. Thus one way in which we wanted to extend our previous analysis was to ascertain whether the character of the area in which someone lives makes a difference to their attitudes after taking into account their individual social circumstances.

1.13 In addition we wished to extend our previous analysis of why people hold discriminatory attitudes in two ways. The 2002 work indicated that both those who think that people in other groups are similar to themselves and those who would prefer to live in diverse communities were less likely to exhibit discriminatory attitudes. This appeared to leave open the question of whether the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes would be more likely to be lower if fewer people thought they were different from those belonging to other groups (Saggar and Drean, 2001; Valentine and McDonald, 2004) or whether, instead, their prevalence could fall if more people were persuaded of the merits of living in what they acknowledged to be a diverse community. By adding new material to the survey, we hoped to establish the degree to which acceptance of minority groups is dependent on the perception that they are culturally 'integrated' into the 'mainstream' of Scottish society, or whether in fact such acceptance can be founded on a willingness to 'celebrate diversity'.

### **Defining a discriminatory attitude**

1.14 Of course if we are to ask the questions, "what is the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes" and, "why do people hold such views", we need to have a clear understanding of what we mean by a 'discriminatory attitude'. In the case of this project we have used the same definition as in our earlier research. It reads as follows:

'a discriminatory attitude 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'.

1.15 Two important features of this definition should be noted. First, it is strictly about attitudes, not behaviour. Our project studied *discriminatory attitudes* not *discrimination* itself. While it might be felt that discrimination is more likely to occur when individuals hold discriminatory attitudes, it is perfectly possible for it to happen in the absence of such attitudes, perhaps for example as a consequence of institutional procedures and

practices. In any event where it is suggested in this report that discriminatory attitudes are uncommon, it should not be presumed that we necessarily imply that discrimination itself is uncommon too. Second, *our definition is not embedded in current legal definitions of what constitutes discrimination*. In our case a discriminatory attitude exists whenever someone is willing to deny someone who belongs to a particular social group the ability to engage in an activity that they would not deny to (most) other people, irrespective of whether such denial is currently outlawed or not.

## Measurement

1.16 Such a wide definition of what constitutes a discriminatory attitude has meant of course that in practice we have had to focus our research on certain topics. But at the same time we wanted to try and produce a rounded picture of the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland. The incidence of discriminatory attitudes may well vary from one context to another. In particular, we anticipated that the more personal and intimate an activity, the more likely it is that discriminatory attitudes will be expressed. This is because the sense of psychological ‘threat’ that often appears to underlie such attitudes is greater in these circumstances (Stephan and Renfro, 2002; Abrams and Houston, 2006). Equally while we might feel that people should not encounter discrimination in the economic market place, such as in employment or the provision of goods and services, we might also feel we should be free to decide for ourselves with whom we share a friendship, let alone any more intimate relationship. Thus we decided to focus much of the survey work on three scenarios that we anticipated would be distinguished from each other by the degree of intimacy that they implied.

1.17 The most intimate relationships in our society are usually to be found within the family. So the most intimate scenario that was posed to respondents was how they would feel if a close relative of theirs wanted to marry or form a close relationship with someone from a particular social group. Our least intimate scenario, in contrast, was to ask how suitable someone from a particular background would be as a primary school teacher. Employment is primarily an economic contract, not a personal relationship, though we might note that as primary school teachers have responsibility for relatively young children, they are engaged in a form of employment that involves a particularly high degree of social and personal interaction together with responsibility for



young people. Meanwhile our third scenario was to ask whether a person running a bed and breakfast business in their own home should be allowed to refuse to take a booking from someone from a particular social group. This scenario we anticipated would clearly combine elements of both the personal and the economic. On the one hand what is at stake is purely an economic transaction; on the other hand it involves inviting someone into the intimacy of one's own home.

1.18 For each scenario we asked people exactly the same question in respect of a variety of different groups. For example, in the case of how happy someone would feel about a close relative marrying someone, respondents were asked the question in respect of ten different kinds of people – such as a person of the Hindu faith, someone who was black or Asian, someone who has a learning disability. This means for each scenario we can directly compare the incidence of avowedly discriminatory attitudes towards different groups.

1.19 Our questions about the three key scenarios were supplemented by a small collection of additional questions designed to tap particular discriminatory attitudes in respect of our three foci of intimate relationships, employment and the provision of goods and services. Many of these questions had previously been included in our 2002 survey (or in a separate module of questions on attitudes to Muslims that had been included on the 2003 SSA). Although some of our scenario questions had also been posed in earlier research, these additional questions significantly extend our ability to chart changes in attitudes over time.

1.20 In addition we also asked some questions about people's perceptions of the attempts that had been made so far to increase equal opportunities in respect of various groups and the degree of discrimination that certain groups experience nowadays. Moreover we also asked a few questions about people's attitudes towards possible measures of 'positive action' that might be taken to improve the employment opportunities of minority groups. Our rationale here was twofold. First, it might be the case that people are reluctant to espouse a discriminatory viewpoint (and perhaps especially so in the presence of an interviewer), and as a result there is a danger that our research might underestimate the incidence of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland (Raja and Stokes, 1998; Steffens, 2005). However, they may not feel the same reluctance when asked to talk about government policy or the current extent of discrimination (Sears, 1988). Second, the questions potentially provide some guidance to both the Scottish Government and the

commission as to the likely degree of public support for further measures to reduce discrimination and promote equality.

### **The structure of this report**

1.21 This report falls into two main halves. In the first part (Chapters Two to Eight) we primarily address our first question about the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland. We examine in turn attitudes in respect of families and relationships, employment, and the provision of goods and services. In each case the centrepiece of our analysis comprises the relevant scenario outlined earlier, that is our questions about a close relative marrying, primary school teaching, and the provision of bed and breakfast in one's own home respectively. We then consider what we can learn from comparing the answers we secured across the three scenarios, how far the incidence of discriminatory attitudes has changed over time and to what extent discriminatory attitudes are covert in their nature. In the second part (Chapters Nine to Eleven) we primarily address our second question, that is to explain *why* people hold discriminatory attitudes, looking in particular at whether their incidence also depends on the kind of neighbourhood in which someone lives and how far they appear to be related to feelings about integration and diversity.

## CHAPTER TWO    ATTITUDES TOWARDS PREJUDICE

### Introduction

2.1 Before looking at attitudes in the specific fields of family relationships, employment and the provision of goods and services, we look first at responses to a question designed to tap whether an individual is inclined towards a discriminatory point of view in general. The answers to this question will give us an initial indication of the extent to which a discriminatory outlook appears to be common place in Scotland, and the kinds of people amongst whom such a point of view appears to be more common. In subsequent chapters we will find this question particularly useful in helping us to understand the character of some of the more specific discriminatory attitudes that we examine.

### Is prejudice acceptable?

2.2 The question asked people to choose which of the following two options was closest to their point of 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 In indicating that they feel that sometimes someone might have reasonable cause to be prejudiced against a particular group or groups of people, those who give the latter response are taken to be indicating that they are inclined in some circumstances at least to adopt a discriminatory attitude as defined in the previous chapter.

2.4 Only a minority of people in Scotland (29%) support that latter response. Nearly two-thirds (65%) take the view that Scotland should attempt to eradicate all prejudice. It would seem that the majority of people in Scotland do not hold a discriminatory outlook, and that the tenor of Great Britain's anti-discrimination legislation is in tune with majority public opinion north of the border. On the other hand, the minority that does avowedly support the right of people to be prejudiced against certain groups is sufficiently large that we cannot rule out the

possibility that some groups at least may in some circumstances be the objects of quite widespread discriminatory attitudes.

2.5 One characteristic above all stands out as distinguishing between those who are most likely and those who are least likely to say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced (see Table 2.1). Less than one in five (17%) of those who have a university degree say that sometimes there is good reason. In contrast amongst those with no education, more than twice as many support that view.

**Table 2.1 Attitudes to prejudice by highest educational qualification**

		<b>Scotland should get rid of all prejudice</b>	<b>Sometimes good reason to be prejudiced</b>	<i>Sample size</i>
<b>All</b>	%	65	29	1594
<b>Highest Educational Qualification</b>				
Degree	%	79	17	287
Other Higher / Professional Education	%	72	22	192
Higher grade / A Level	%	64	30	280
Standard grade / GCSE	%	60	34	432
None	%	55	36	394

2.6 This finding is not only in line with what we found when we asked this question in the 2002 social attitudes survey (Bromley and Curtice, 2003), but also accords with a wider body of research that finds that the more highly educated someone is, the more likely it is that they are to adopt a 'liberal' attitude to social and moral issues (see, for example, Evans 2002). Higher levels of education both widen the range of experiences that an individual encounters and also foster a 'critical' approach to thinking that probably discourages belief in moral absolutes; both these characteristics would seem more likely to encourage someone to be more 'tolerant' of difference, if not indeed to welcome it.

2.7 Nevertheless, we should note that the higher levels of support for prejudice recorded amongst those with fewer or no qualifications are only relative. Even amongst those with no qualifications at all, a majority

(55%) say that Scotland should try to get rid of all kinds of prejudice. It therefore might be argued that there is something approaching a consensus across Scottish society that prejudice – and by implication discriminatory attitudes – are unacceptable.

2.8 Indeed, in other respects there are few differences in the pattern of response to our question across different sections of Scottish society. As we might anticipate, given that younger people are more likely to have been in receipt of higher education, those in younger age groups (though not those in the very youngest) are for the most part slightly less likely to say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced. The differences though are small; one in four (25%) of those aged between 25 and 44 say that sometimes there is reason to be prejudiced, compared with one in three (33%) of those aged 65 or over. Meanwhile there is no clear evidence that those who attend a religious service regularly (irrespective of religion or denomination) have different views from those who do not. At the same time there is no more than the slightest hint that women may be less likely than men to hold a discriminatory outlook; there is a three point difference between them, but this is not statistically significant, that is we cannot rule out the possibility that it exists in our survey by chance, rather than because men and women in Scotland really do hold somewhat different views.

**Table 2.2 Attitudes to prejudice by age, gender, and religion**

		<b>Scotland should get rid of all prejudice</b>	<b>Sometimes good reason to be prejudiced</b>	<i>Sample size</i>
<b>All</b>	%	65	29	1594
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	%	63	31	108
24-34	%	69	25	222
35-44	%	68	25	325
45-54	%	66	28	270
55-64	%	62	32	270
65+	%	59	33	396
<b>Gender</b>				
Men	%	63	31	701
Women	%	66	28	893
<b>Attendance at religious services/meetings</b>				
At least once a week	%	65	26	229
Practically never or never/no religion	%	64	30	955

## Conclusion

2.9 It appears that only a minority of people in Scotland hold an avowedly discriminatory outlook. However, such an outlook is not particularly the preserve of one section of Scottish society, but rather is held in much the same proportions across all sections of Scottish society. The only clear exception to this is that those who have received less education are noticeably more likely to say that sometimes prejudice is acceptable; though even amongst this group this view is still upheld by only a minority.

2.10 In the chapters that follow, where we look at a wide range of measures of people's attitudes towards particular groups in specific circumstances, we would usually expect to find that those who say that there is good reason to be prejudiced are more likely than those who do not to express discriminatory attitudes. Where that is the case, this will suggest that the attitude in question is in part at least the product of a more general discriminatory outlook. If, however, we should find in some

instances that this is not the case then we might conclude that the character of that attitude is distinctive and perhaps arises for rather different reasons.

2.11 Equally, we would expect to find that those in receipt of less education will usually be particularly likely to express a discriminatory attitude in response to our more specific questions. In contrast, if we find differences of attitude between other kinds of group, it is more likely that they will reflect a specific attitude towards a particular group or set of circumstances. As a result we might conclude that the character of the attitude in question is again at least somewhat distinctive.

### **Key points**

- Only a minority of people – 29% - believe that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups.
- The pattern varies little across most groups in society. The one exception is that the fewer educational qualifications someone has, the more likely they are to say there is sometimes good reason to be prejudiced.
- In later chapters looking at how people's general attitude to prejudice is linked to their views on more specific topics will prove a helpful way of gauging whether their views on those topics are part of an underlying discriminatory outlook or arise for different reasons.

## CHAPTER THREE RELATIONSHIPS

### Introduction

3.1 As outlined in Chapter One, the survey asked several questions designed to tap the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in respect of personal relationships. In particular we asked an extensive range of questions about how people would feel if a close relative of theirs formed a long-term relationship with someone from a particular group. We also included a number of additional questions about attitudes towards same sex relationships in particular. In both cases our questions concern relatively intimate circumstances that perhaps are more likely to evoke discriminatory attitudes.

### Long-term relationships

3.2 People were asked how they would feel 'if a close relative of theirs married or formed a long-term relationship with someone' from a range of different social backgrounds (the full list is presented in Table 3.1 using the terms presented in the questionnaire).<sup>2</sup> They could give one of five answers ranging from 'very happy' to 'very unhappy'. The results in Table 3.1 are presented in order of the proportion who say they would be unhappy or very unhappy about such a marriage or relationship (the order in which they were asked in the questionnaire is detailed in Annex B).

3.3 Feelings about whom a close relative marries or with whom they form a long-term relationship vary considerably depending on the group in question. At one end of the spectrum half (50%) say they would be unhappy about a relative forming a long-term relationship with a transsexual person (described in the survey as 'someone who has had a sex-change operation'<sup>3</sup>). In contrast just one in ten (10%) – a difference

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<sup>2</sup> In the case of someone of the same sex as themselves the question asked respondents how they would feel if a close relative 'married or formed a civil partnership or a long term relationship'.

<sup>3</sup> This description was used in the expectation that it would be more readily understood than the term 'transsexual' amongst the general public. Transsexual people of course comprise only part of the transgender population.



of forty percentage points – say they would be unhappy about a relative marrying someone from a Chinese background.

**Table 3.1 Feelings about long-term relationships**

If close relative formed a long-term relationship with...		Happy/ very happy	Neither happy nor unhappy	Unhappy/ very unhappy
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	%	20	27	50
An asylum seeker	%	29	26	37
A Gypsy/Traveller	%	31	28	37
Someone of the same sex as themselves	%	37	28	33
A Muslim	%	49	26	24
A Hindu	%	50	29	19
Someone who has a learning disability	%	45	34	16
Someone who was black or Asian	%	58	29	11
Someone who was Jewish	%	55	33	10
Someone from a Chinese background	%	59	30	10
<i>Sample size: 1594</i>				

3.4 For many of the groups about which we asked, attitudes are not particularly discriminatory. For example, only one in ten say they would be unhappy about a relative forming a long-term relationship with someone from a Chinese background or someone who was Jewish. Meanwhile hardly any more, 11%, express unhappiness about a relative marrying or forming a long-term relationship with someone who was black or Asian. And while rather more express reservations about a relative forming a relationship with a Muslim, a Hindu<sup>4</sup> or someone who has a learning disability<sup>5</sup>, in each case the proportion who say they

<sup>4</sup> Note that those who identified themselves as Muslim, were not asked about a relative forming a relationship with another Muslim (but were asked instead about a Christian). An equivalent procedure was also applied in respect of those who identified themselves as Hindu or Jewish.

<sup>5</sup> To ensure that all respondents had a common understanding of what was meant by the term, they were provided with the following definition

would be unhappy is still outweighed by those who say they would be happy.

3.5 On the other hand in the case of three groups more people were unhappy than happy about the prospect of a close relative forming a long-term relationship. In addition to a transsexual person, this was also true of both an asylum seeker and a Gypsy/Traveller. Meanwhile, almost as many people said they would be unhappy as said they would be happy about a close relative forming a long-term relationship with someone of the same sex. Evidently there is widespread reluctance to see a close relative introduce someone from these groups into their family network.

### **How do views on relationships vary across groups in society?**

3.6 How far, however, are these discriminatory attitudes more common amongst some sections of Scottish society than others? Certainly, as we would have anticipated from the previous chapter, in general those with fewer educational qualifications are more likely to express such attitudes (see Table 3.2). This, for example, is particularly true of someone forming a long-term relationship with someone of the same sex; over half (54%) of those with no qualifications say they would be unhappy about this compared with only one in five (21%) of those educated to degree or other higher education level. However, there is one group for whom educational background does not appear to make much difference. While one in five (20%) of those with no qualifications say they would be unhappy about a relative marrying or forming a long-term relationship with someone with a learning disability, so also do 16% of those with the highest level of qualifications. This may well be an indication that the character of attitudes towards someone with a learning disability is rather different than in respect of other groups.

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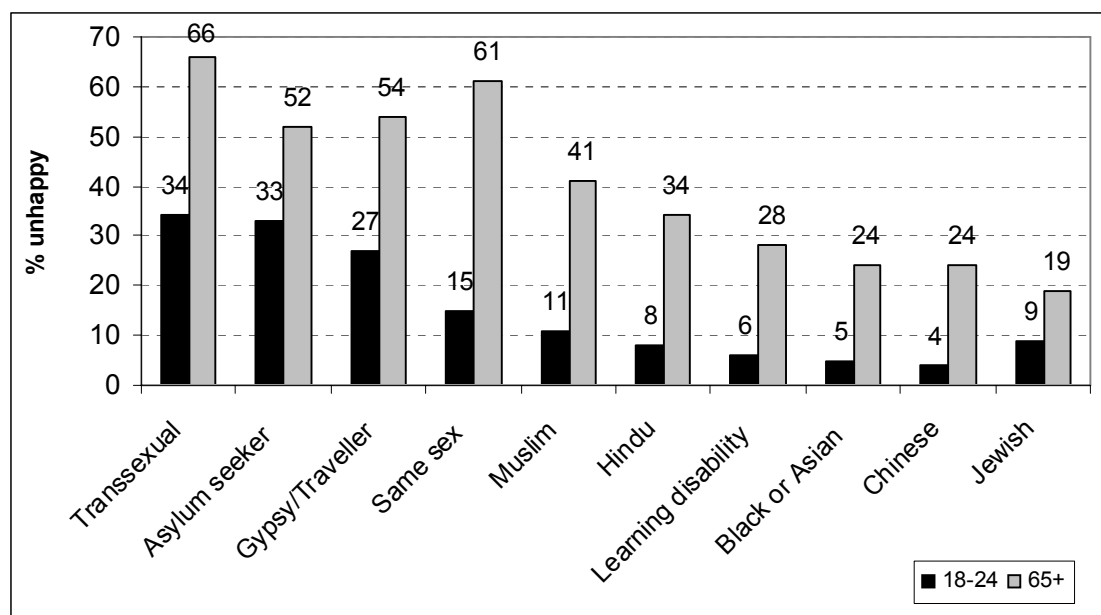
of 'someone with a learning disability' before being asked this question. "A person with a learning disability needs help to learn new things and may need support with everyday living. They will have had this disability since childhood. Once known as 'mental handicap', the best known type is 'Downs syndrome'. It is different from a learning difficulty such as dyslexia."

**Table 3.2 Unhappiness about long-term relationship by gender, education and religious attendance**

	Gender		Education		Attendance at religious services		All
	Male	Female	Degree/HE	None	Once a week or more	Never / practically never	
<b>Would be “unhappy” / “very unhappy” if close relative married/long-term r’ship with...</b>							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	51	48	39	66	58	46	50
An asylum seeker	34	40	23	52	33	38	37
A Gypsy/Traveller	36	38	26	48	41	34	37
Someone of the same sex as themselves	36	31	21	54	52	27	33
A Muslim	22	25	13	41	29	23	24
A Hindu	16	21	9	36	26	17	19
Someone who has a learning disability	13	18	16	20	21	14	16
Someone who was black or Asian	10	13	4	24	13	19	11
Someone from a Chinese background	8	12	4	23	12	9	10
Someone who was Jewish	10	10	4	20	11	10	10
<i>Sample size:</i>	<i>701</i>	<i>893</i>	<i>479</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>229</i>	<i>955</i>	<i>1594</i>

3.7 At the same time, and in contrast to our overall measure of prejudice, there are also some sharp differences between younger and older people. As Figure 3.1 clearly demonstrates, older people are significantly more likely than younger people to exhibit a discriminatory attitude towards each of the groups, including someone with a learning disability. The difference is, again, most striking with regards to a relative forming a long-term relationship with someone of the same sex as themselves - 61% of those aged 65 and over say they would be unhappy about this compared with only 15% of the youngest age group, that is those aged 18-24. There are of course two possible explanations for this pattern. It might be that people become more discriminatory in their attitudes as they get older. Or it could be that those entering adulthood nowadays have formed different views from their elders, some of whom were born and brought up in the immediate post-war period when perhaps attitudes were very different.

**Figure 3.1 Unhappiness about long-term relationship by age group**



Sample sizes: 18-24 108; 65+ 396

3.8 There are also some striking differences between those who attend a religious service regularly and those who do not (see Table 3.2 again). Those who attend a religious service once a week or more are far more likely than those who do not attend at all to express unhappiness about a relative forming a relationship with someone of the same sex. As many as 52% of the former group say they would be unhappy compared with just 27% of the latter. There is also a 12 point difference between the attitudes of these two groups towards a transsexual person. In contrast, there is for the most part only a small difference between them so far as the other groups are concerned, while those who attend a religious service regularly are actually less likely than those who do not attend at all to say they would be unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with an asylum seeker; the figures are 33% and 38% respectively.

3.9 Many religious organisations express conservative views about sexual orientation, and in a number of cases argue that same-sex relationships in particular are ‘wrong’. Evidently these views are reflected to some degree amongst those who actively practise a faith. In contrast the same organisations often take a liberal stance on the position and treatment of asylum seekers, and it seems likely that on this issue too they may well have some influence on their adherents. The role of religion in the formation of discriminatory attitudes evidently depends on the group in question.

3.10 Contrary to what we might have expected from the previous chapter, there is, if anything, a tendency for women to be more likely than men to express unhappiness about the prospect of a close relative forming a long-term relationship with someone who belongs to one of our groups (see also Table 3.2). Indeed, in some cases the difference between them is statistically significant. For example 40% of women say they would be unhappy if a close relative married an asylum seeker compared with 34% of men. It may be that this difference arises because the emotional quality of relationships appears to matter more for women than it does for men (Gove et al, 1983; Knock, 1998). However, it should be remembered that even when they are significant the differences between men and women are usually small. Meanwhile, the position is actually reversed in respect of someone forming a relationship with someone of the same sex (and indeed to a lesser degree a transsexual person). On this subject, men are five points more likely than women to express unhappiness. This is probably a reflection of the common finding that in general men adopt more hostile attitudes than women towards issues of sexual orientation (Kite and Whitley, 1996; Hinds and Jarvis, 2000).

### **Knowledge of groups**

3.11 One of the ways in which people may become less inclined to regard others as ‘different’ from themselves is if they are acquainted with someone from that group. Certainly in our previous research (Bromley and Curtice, 2003; see also Allport, 1955; Hewstone, 2003) we found that those who said that they knew someone who belonged to a particular group were less likely than those who did not to express a discriminatory viewpoint.

**Table 3.3 Attitudes to long-term relationships by knowledge of groups**

Would be unhappy or very unhappy if a close relative married or formed long-term relationship with:		...a person with a learning disability	...a black or Asian person	...someone who is gay or lesbian	...a Muslim	Sample size
All	%	16	11	33	24	1594
<b>Whether knows a person from the group in question</b>						
Does	%	14	8	24	16	960 / 1059 / 1037 / 634
Does not	%	20	22	58	32	447 / 378 / 400 / 795
Knowledge 'gap'		6	14	34	17	

3.12 This finding is largely replicated in people's attitudes towards long-term relationships. Space constraints did not allow us to ask respondents about all of the groups listed in Table 3.1, but we did ask them whether or not they knew someone who has a learning disability, a black or Asian person, someone who is gay or lesbian, or a Muslim. As Table 3.3 shows, in each case those who said they did know such a person were less likely than those who did not to express unhappiness at the prospect of a close relative forming a long-term relationship with someone from that background. This was particularly true of those who said they knew a gay man or lesbian, who were as much as 34 points less likely to express unhappiness about a relative forming a relationship with someone of the same sex. Of course it may be the case that those with more liberal views are more inclined to get to know someone who is gay or lesbian (and vice-versa<sup>6</sup>). However, it also seems to suggest that knowing a gay man or lesbian perhaps discourages discriminatory attitudes on the basis of sexual orientation.

<sup>6</sup> It might also be the case that a gay man or lesbian would be more willing to declare their sexual orientation to someone with more liberal views.

3.13 However, we should note that once again attitudes towards those with a learning disability are somewhat different. Those who know someone with a learning disability are only six points less likely than those who do not to express unhappiness about a close relative marrying such a person. Again it appears that the character of discriminatory attitudes towards this group is somewhat different.

### **General attitude to prejudice**

3.14 As we might expect, for the most part those who say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced are usually much more likely than those who say that Scotland should get rid of all kinds of prejudice to express unhappiness about a close relative marrying someone from any of our groups (see Table 3.4). However, two points should be noted.

3.15 First, even amongst those who say that Scotland should get rid of all kinds of prejudice, well over two in five (44%) say they would be unhappy about a relative forming a long-term relationship with a transsexual person. Meanwhile around three in ten say the same about an asylum seeker (29%) or a Gypsy/Traveller (31%). This would suggest that even if people disapprove of prejudice in general they may, in certain circumstances at least, still be reluctant to see someone from one of these groups being brought into their family network. They may of course not recognise this attitude as being prejudiced or discriminatory. Or perhaps they did not have these groups in mind when they answered our more general question. However, responses suggest that opposition to prejudice in general may still be accompanied by significant evidence of a discriminatory attitude towards some groups in particular.

**Table 3.4 Attitudes to long-term relationships by general attitude to prejudice**

	<b>Scotland should get rid of all prejudice</b>	<b>Sometimes good reason to be prejudiced</b>
<b>If close relative formed a long-term relationship with...</b>	%	%
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	44	61
An asylum seeker	29	57
A Gypsy/Traveller	31	50
Someone of the same sex as themselves	26	48
A Muslim	15	41
A Hindu	11	36
Someone who has a learning disability	14	19
Someone who was black or Asian	6	22
Someone who was Jewish	6	18
Someone from a Chinese background	6	21
<i>Sample size</i>	1035	459

3.16 Second, attitudes towards someone with a learning disability again appear rather different. Those who say that there is sometimes good reason to be prejudiced are only five percentage points more likely than those who say all prejudice should be eliminated to express unhappiness about a relative forming a long-term relationship with someone with a learning disability. It would seem that unhappiness about the formation of such a relationship may not necessarily arise for the same reasons as it does in respect of the rest of our groups. It may be, for example, that some people feel it would be difficult to sustain a relationship with someone who has a learning disability. Others perhaps feel 'protective' towards someone with a learning disability, not least because of low expectations of what they can achieve (Grewal et al, 2002), and as a result are reluctant to expose them to what are seen as the 'risks' and 'demands' involved in forming a close relationship.

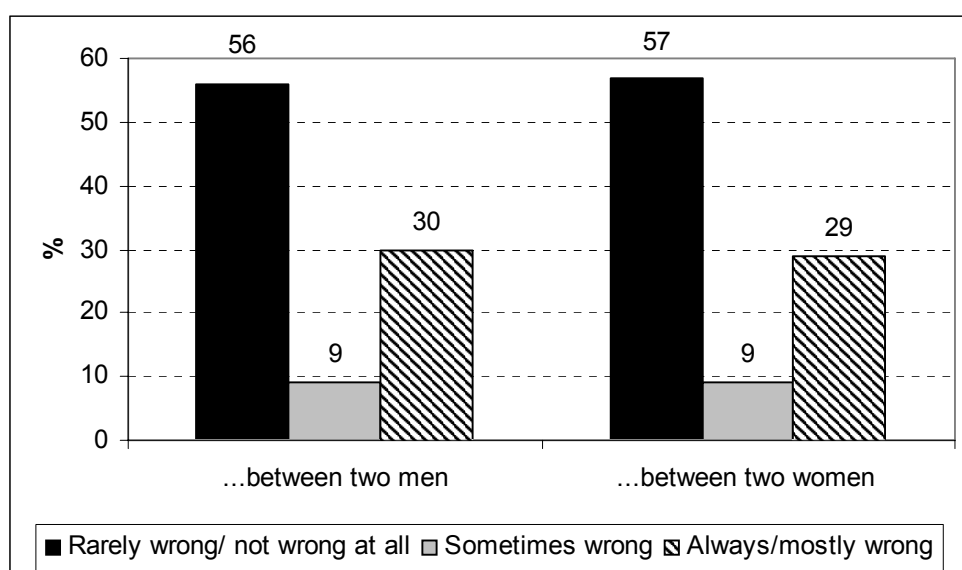


## Attitudes to same sex relationships

3.17 As we noted in Chapter One, there have been some significant changes in the legal position in respect of the legal status of same sex couples. In December 2005 they obtained the right to form legally recognised civil partnerships, while the Adoption and Children (Scotland) Act 2007 will, when implemented, give same sex and unmarried mixed sex couples the right to apply to become joint adoptive parents on the basis previously only available to mixed sex married couples. As a result, we decided to retain in the survey a number of questions about same sex relationships that had been included in the 2002 survey.

3.18 First of all we asked two questions that invited respondents to state whether they thought sexual relations between people of the same sex were 'right' or 'wrong'. We did so separately about relations between two men and two women. As figure 3.2 illustrates, the two questions received almost an identical pattern of answers. Moreover, a clear majority (56% in the case of men, 57%, women) say that same sex relations are either 'not wrong at all' or only 'rarely' so. This group vastly outnumbers those who say that such relations are 'always' or 'mostly wrong' (30% and 29% respectively). Clearly there is a substantial minority who feel morally offended by same-sex relationships, but nowadays at least that feeling is not shared by a majority of people in Scotland.

**Figure 3.2 Attitudes to sexual relations between people of the same sex**



Sample size: 1594

3.19 Attitudes do, however, differ sharply between those in different age groups. A clear majority (57%) of those aged over 65 do believe that sexual relations between two men or between two women are always or mostly wrong (see Table 3.5). This is over three times the proportion amongst those aged 18-24 who adopt that position. Of course we should bear in mind that those aged 65 and over would have been brought up at a time when sex between two men was still illegal in the United Kingdom, and this very different generational experience may well account for their distinctive views.

3.20 Equally, the views of those who practise a religion are also distinctive.<sup>7</sup> Just over half of those who attend services and meetings connected with their religion at least once a week say that same sex sexual relations are always or mostly wrong (52% say this about sex between two men, and 53% about two women). In contrast only around a quarter of those who rarely or never attend a service do so (24% and 23%, respectively). So although opposition to people being gay may only be a view held by a minority, there are significant sections of Scottish society, including older people and those who regularly practise a religion, amongst whom such opposition is a majority view.

3.21 Meanwhile, given the discussion at para. 3.10, men are more likely than women to think that sexual relations between people of the same sex are always or mostly wrong. For example 36% of men say that sexual relations between two men are always or mostly wrong, compared with 24% of women. On the other hand, we should note that once we have taken into account someone's age, their level of educational attainment does not seem to make a significant difference to their views.

3.22 Finally, there is also a clear relationship between knowing someone who is gay and views on this matter. People who do not know someone who is gay are more than twice as likely to say that same sex sexual relationships are always wrong. While it is true that there is also a strong association between knowing a gay person and age - just under

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<sup>7</sup> Those who attend church frequently are, more likely to be older. However, multivariate analysis (not shown) indicates that this does not fully explain why those who practise a religion have distinctive attitudes. Equally older people are still more likely to think that sexual relations between two people of the same sex are wrong even after we take into account the fact that they are more likely to practise a religion regularly.

half (45%) of those aged 65 and over know someone who is gay compared with around eight in ten people aged 18-64 – knowledge is still an influence when age has been taken into account. Too few people in the younger generations do not know someone who is gay to enable us to compare their views with people who do know someone, but amongst those aged 65 and over a clear pattern exists. Just under half (47%) of those aged 65 and over who do know someone who is gay say that sex between two men is always wrong compared with 61% of those of the same age who do not know someone. The corresponding figures for sex between two women are 48% and 61%. So while generation is certainly still a very strong factor here, personal contact also appears to exert some influence.

**Table 3.5 Attitudes to same-sex sexual relations by gender, age, religious attendance and whether knows a gay person**

		Sexual relations		Sample Size
		...between two men always/mostly wrong	...between two women always/mostly wrong	
<b>All</b>		30	29	1594
<b>Gender</b>				
Male	%	36	34	701
Female	%	24	24	893
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	%	17	17	108
65+	%	57	57	396
<b>Attendance at religious services/meetings</b>				
At least once a week	%	52	53	229
Practically never or never / no religion	%	24	23	955
<b>Whether knows a gay man or lesbian</b>				
Does	%	22	21	400
Does not	%	50	48	1037

3.23 The survey also included a question about whether gay men and lesbians should have the right to marry. The question referred explicitly to marriage rather than civil partnerships for two reasons. First, doing so enabled us to ask the same question about this subject that had been

included in the 2002 Scottish Social Attitudes survey<sup>8</sup> before civil partnerships had been created. Second, although the legal implications of civil partnerships and marriage are very similar, the legislation still deliberately maintained a symbolic distinction between the two in order to avoid offending the religious sensibilities of those who regard marriage as the exclusive preserve of mixed sex couples. If this presumption was correct, we would anticipate that some who might accept the right of same sex couples to form a civil partnership would reject their right to get married, and thus a question about marriage was more likely to uncover evidence of discriminatory attitudes.

3.24 In practice over half of people in Scotland (54%) say that same sex couples should have the right to marry, while only just over one in five (21%) disagree. As Table 3.6 shows, however, once again there are some sharp divisions of view between different sections of Scottish society. Only just over a quarter (28%) of those aged 65 and over agree that same sex couples should have the right to marry compared with nearly three quarters (73%) of those aged between 18 and 24. Only a third (32%) of those who attend a religious service regularly agree. Equally, only a third (34%) of those who do not know a gay man or lesbian agree, compared with three in five (60%) of those that do. Meanwhile women are more likely than men to agree (59% compared with 47%). The relationship between attitudes, knowledge and age found in relation to views on sex between people of the same sex is also evident when it comes to marriage, though the association is somewhat weaker. A third (32%) of those aged 65 and over who know someone who is gay support same sex marriage rights compared with a quarter (25%) of those who do not know someone.

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter Seven for a discussion of a comparison of the results in 2002 and 2006.

**Table 3.6 Attitudes to gay men and lesbians' right to marry by gender, age, religious behaviour, general attitude to prejudice and whether knows a gay person**

		<b>Agree/ agree strongly</b>	<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>Disagree/ disagree strongly</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
<b>All</b>	%	54	21	21	1437
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	%	47	24	25	623
Female	%	59	20	17	814
<b>Age</b>					
18-24	%	73	15	11	93
65+	%	28	24	39	353
<b>Attendance at religious services /meetings</b>					
At least once a week	%	32	19	43	207
Practically never or never / no religion	%	58	23	15	864
<b>Whether knows a gay man or lesbian</b>					
Does	%	60	21	15	1037
Does not	%	34	22	35	400

## **Conclusion**

3.25 Our questions about intimate relationships may be thought to have uncovered surprisingly little evidence of discriminatory attitudes. Typically only a distinct minority express unhappiness about the prospect of a relative forming a long-term relationship with someone from a minority ethnic or religious group (including a Muslim). Meanwhile, although attitudes towards same sex relationships seem more equivocal, a majority of people in Scotland see little or nothing wrong with people being gay and believe that same sex couples should have the right to marry.

3.26 On the other hand we have uncovered substantial evidence of discriminatory attitudes towards transsexual people, asylum seekers and Gypsies/Travellers. Moreover such attitudes are even quite common amongst those who generally say that prejudice should be eliminated. This may well be an indication that discriminatory attitudes towards these groups is sufficiently common that it is not regarded as an

‘unacceptable prejudice’ as appears to be the case in respect of most religious and ethnic minorities.

3.27 Equally, we have also uncovered some sharp differences of opinion. In particular, those who regularly practise a religion evidently are particularly concerned about same sex relationships, and probably also those involving transsexual people. A majority of older people also regard being gay as wrong. Meanwhile, there is also a general tendency for older people to be more likely to express unhappiness about the prospect of a close relative marrying someone from any of our groups. This may be an indication that those brought up in an earlier era still bear the imprint of different attitudes that were commonplace at that time. In any event these differences help explain that even when new anti-discrimination measures may be supported by a majority, they may still be the source of considerable controversy.

**Key points:**

- Only a minority (no more than one in four) express unease about a relative marrying or forming a relationship with someone from a different religion, an ethnic minority group, or a person with a learning disability.
- Slightly more, around one in three, would be unhappy if the person in question was an asylum seeker, Gypsy/Traveller or of the same sex.
- However, half say they would be unhappy if the prospective partner was a transsexual person.
- A majority say that sex between two people of the same sex is ‘rarely wrong’ or ‘not wrong at all’.
- A majority (54%) agree that gay people should have the right to marry while just 21% disagree.
- Older people are more likely than younger people to express unhappiness about a prospective marriage. Equally those with fewer educational qualifications are more likely than those with more qualifications to express unhappiness.
- Those who practise a religion regularly are notably more concerned about same sex and transsexual relationships than the rest of the population.
- In general, those who know someone who belongs to a particular group are less likely to express a discriminatory attitude towards someone who belongs to that group.

## **CHAPTER FOUR EMPLOYMENT AND THE LABOUR MARKET**

### **Introduction**

4.1 The second of the three contexts on which we focussed in our survey was the realm of employment. As we argued in Chapter One, we might expect to find that discriminatory attitudes are less common in this less intimate context than in the case of relationships. Our questions embraced three main topics:

- equity and participation in the labour market;
- gender issues in the workplace; and
- competition for jobs in the labour market.

We consider each of these in turn.

### **Equity and participation in the labour market**

4.2 Our questions about participation in the labour market were designed to establish the extent to which people accept that everyone should have the same rights to seek and secure employment. Our principal method for doing so was to ask about the suitability of different kinds of people for employment as a primary school teacher. This profession was chosen on the grounds that because such teachers have responsibility for the care of younger children, it might be considered a relatively 'sensitive' form of employment and so might be more likely to uncover evidence of discriminatory attitudes. In addition, we also asked a more general question about the participation of older people in the labour market.

*Who is suitable to be a primary teacher?*

4.3 Respondents were asked how suitable or unsuitable each of the following were for employment as a primary school teacher.

- A man
- A woman
- A gay man or lesbian
- 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
- A Gypsy/Traveller

4.4 In most of these cases those who state that someone would be unsuitable are regarded as expressing a discriminatory attitude. However, so far as the first two groups are concerned, that is men and women, our interest is in whether respondents' answers provide evidence of gender stereotyping. Women have long been disproportionately employed as primary school teachers; so anyone who suggests that women are more suitable as primary school teachers than men may be considered to have a stereotypical view of the profession.

4.5 Table 4.1 presents the responses to this question in order of the proportion who said that a group was fairly or very unsuitable. In three cases around half reckoned that such a person was unsuitable, while less than a quarter thought they were suitable. These were a person with depression (51% thought they were unsuitable), a Gypsy/Traveller (49%), and a person aged 70 (48%). Meanwhile, more or less as many people had doubts about the suitability of a transsexual person as did not. Almost a third (32%) thought such a person would be suitable while just slightly fewer (30%) thought they would be unsuitable.

**Table 4.1 Who would make a suitable primary school teacher?**

		<b>Very / fairly suitable</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<b>Very / fairly <u>unsuitable</u></b>	<b>'Suitability gap'</b>
Someone who experiences depression	%	21	21	51	-30
Someone aged 70	%	24	20	49	-25
A Gypsy/Traveller	%	20	23	48	-28
Someone who has had a sex change operation	%	32	28	30	2
A gay man or lesbian	%	48	23	21	27
A Muslim person	%	52	23	15	37
A black or Asian person	%	71	18	4	67
A man	%	84	10	2	82
A woman	%	92	5	*	92
<i>Sample size: 1437</i>					

Note: the suitability gap is the difference between the % who say unsuitable and the % who say suitable



4.6 In contrast, only a handful said that a man or woman would be unsuitable. However, it is clear from the difference between the responses to these two groups that some people do indeed think that women are *more* suited to primary teaching than men, something to which we return below. Meanwhile, only 4% say that a black or Asian person would be unsuitable. Rather more give that response so far as a Muslim (15%) or gay man or lesbian are concerned (21%), but even so these are still clearly minority views.

4.7 Nevertheless, evidently it is widely believed that not all groups in society have an equal right to pursue this particular career, should they wish to do so. In the case of a Gypsy/Traveller, this evidence is consistent with that in the previous chapter, where we saw that the prospect of a close relative marrying someone from this group was particularly likely to evoke unhappiness. Evidently discriminatory attitudes towards Gypsies/Travellers are widely held in Scottish society.

4.8 At the same time, we have apparently uncovered evidence of discriminatory attitudes towards two groups that did not feature in our question about prospective marriage partners, that is someone who occasionally experiences depression and an older person. In both cases we have to bear in mind the possibility that our evidence reflects the particular nature of primary school teaching, rather than just attitudes towards the group in question. For example, it may be felt (however erroneously) that someone who occasionally experiences depression would find being in continuous supervision of children too demanding or might be insufficiently enthusiastic or animated to retain children's attention. It might perhaps even be felt, however erroneously, that a person with depression would be 'unsafe' around children.

4.9 In the case of the 70 year old we can bring some further evidence to bear on this possibility. As detailed further below, we also asked whether people should be forced to retire when they reach a certain age. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, two-thirds (66%) of those who believe that older employees must retire in order to make way for younger age groups say that a person aged 70 is unsuitable to be a primary school teacher. However, at the same time almost half (46%) of those who think it is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age also hold the same view. So, on the one hand those who favour a compulsory retirement age are more likely to state that a 70 year old is unsuitable, suggesting that in part the answers to our question reflect the existence of a discriminatory attitude towards older people in general. But at the same time a sizeable proportion – almost half - of those who

do *not* believe in a compulsory retirement age also express a “discriminatory” attitude on this matter, an indication perhaps that an older person is thought (again however erroneously) to be less likely to make an effective primary school teacher.

4.10 Table 4.2 illustrates how views about primary teaching varied by age, education and people’s general attitudes to prejudice. As we would anticipate, the prevalence of discriminatory views is higher amongst those with no qualifications than it is amongst those with higher education. It is also higher amongst older people than amongst those in a younger age group. We might note in particular that once again there is a large gulf between younger and older people’s attitudes towards a gay teacher. Just nine per cent of those aged 18-24 said a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable whereas four times as many of those aged 65 and over (42%) take that view. Meanwhile, we can also note that in general those who say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced are more likely than those who say all prejudice should be eliminated to state that a member of a particular group would be unsuitable. However, this last statement is least true of a person aged 70. This perhaps underlines the suggestion that in part attitudes on this reflect the fact that someone of that age is thought, however erroneously, to be unlikely to be effective as a primary school teacher, rather than because people object to older people working in general.

**Table 4.2 Who would not be a suitable primary teacher by education, age and general attitude to prejudice**

Would be “fairly” or “very” unsuitable as a primary teacher	Highest educational qualification		Age		General attitude to prejudice		All
	Degree / HE	None	18-24	65+	Never OK	OK some-times	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Someone who experiences depression	41	59	45	64	47	59	51
Someone aged 70	43	53	42	59	48	53	49
A Gypsy/Traveller	42	50	42	61	44	57	48
Someone who has had a sex change operation	22	39	24	39	25	41	30
A gay man or lesbian	11	36	9	42	16	30	21
A Muslim person	6	23	15	24	9	26	15
A black or Asian person	1	7	2	8	2	7	4
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>434</i>	<i>351</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>353</i>	<i>934</i>	<i>421</i>	<i>1437</i>

4.11 We saw in the previous chapter that discriminatory attitudes towards same sex couples were particularly common amongst those who regularly attend a religious service. This finding is replicated here. As many as 31% of those who attend regularly say that a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher, compared with 18% of those who rarely if ever attend. In the case of the remaining six cases in Table 4.2, in contrast, the views of those who practise a religion are not much different from those who do not.

4.12 Contrary to what might be expected there is also some evidence that those who have a primary school age child in the household are *less* likely to say that someone is unsuitable as a primary school teacher. For example, just 7% of those with a child aged between five and ten in their household say that a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable as a primary teacher, compared with 23% of those who do not have a child. Equally, those with a primary school age child are nine points less likely to say that someone who occasionally suffers from depression would be unsuitable. These differences are not simply a

reflection of the fact that parents of primary school age children are generally younger.

4.13 Meanwhile there is also a tendency for women to be less likely than men to regard someone as unsuitable as a primary school teacher. For example, whereas 52% of men feel that a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable, only 45% of women do so. Equally, while 18% of men think a Muslim would be unsuitable, only 13% of women do so. In the previous chapter, in contrast, we usually found that women were more likely than men to express unhappiness about a prospective marriage partner. The contrast perhaps adds further weight to our suggestion there that the particular importance placed on the quality of emotional relationships by women results in them - unusually - being somewhat more likely to express discriminatory attitudes when asked about relationships.

4.14 In line with the findings of the previous chapter, however, those who say they know someone who belongs to a particular group are less likely to express a discriminatory attitude. As Table 4.3 shows, those who say they know someone who is Muslim, gay or lesbian, or who is from a different racial or ethnic background from themselves are all less likely to say that someone who belongs to these groups is unsuitable to be a primary school teacher. Again, this also appears to be particularly important in the case of a gay man or lesbian.

**Table 4.3 Suitability for primary teaching and personal knowledge of specific groups**

Would be unsuitable to be a primary school teacher:		...a gay man or lesbian	...a Muslim person	...a black or Asian person	Sample size
All	%	21	15	4	1437
Whether knows a person from the group in question					
Does	%	13	7	3	1037 / 634 / 1059
Does not	%	39	22	9	400 / 795 / 378
Knowledge 'gap'		26	15	6	

## Gender stereotyping

4.15 As many as 93% of primary school teachers in Scotland are women (Scottish Executive, 2007). Evidently, there is a reluctance on the part of men to become a primary teacher. Part of this reluctance may be due to gender stereotyping; primary school teaching is regarded as “women’s” work. Therefore those who say that women are more suited to the job than men may well be indicating support for a gender division of paid employment that may be regarded as discriminatory towards women.

4.16 By comparing how suitable they said men and women are for the job of primary school teacher, we find that as many as 22% regard women as more suitable than men. Moreover, as Table 4.4 shows, those who belong to groups that are more likely to express discriminatory attitudes in response to many of our other questions are also especially likely to regard women as more suitable. For example, only 12% of those with some experience of higher education say that women are more suitable, whereas 34% of those with no qualifications do so. Much the same difference exists between those aged 18-24 and those 65 and over. Equally, those who say that there is sometimes good reason to be prejudiced are rather more likely than those who say that prejudice should be eliminated to indicate a stereotypical view (by 27% to 21%). Together these findings suggest that in part at least a gender stereotypical view of what constitutes “women’s work” is rooted in the same outlook as many of our other discriminatory attitudes.

**Table 4.4 Gender stereotyping of primary school teaching by age, sex and education**

		Women are more suitable than men	Sample size
<b>All</b>	%	22	1437
<b>Age</b>			
18-24	%	15	93
65+	%	36	353
<b>Gender</b>			
Women	%	18	814
Men	%	26	623
<b>Highest educational qualification</b>			
Degree/HE	%	12	434
None	%	34	351

*Who has the right to participate in the labour market?*

4.17 As mentioned earlier, our survey included a question on compulsory retirement. It read as follows:

*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?*

4.18 The balance of opinion was unequivocal: 76% said it was wrong to make people retire compared with 20% who said that this was acceptable. It seems that most people accept the right of older people to remain in employment in general, even if they have doubts about their suitability as a primary school teacher in particular. Meanwhile, in contrast to most of the questions asked in the survey, the youngest and oldest groups have identical views on this issue: 27% of those aged 18-24 and those aged 65+ believe in a compulsory retirement age. Instead, the groups that stand out as least likely to believe that older people should make way for younger employees are those aged between 25 and 44. Equally, somewhat unusually, attitudes to this question seem to vary by income. Those on the lowest incomes are most likely to think that older people should retire, perhaps because they are especially concerned that they might find it more difficult to find a reasonably well paid job if older people do not retire. On the other hand we also find a more familiar pattern in that those with no educational qualifications (26%) are almost twice as likely as those with experience of higher education (14%) to say that people should be forced to retire early.

**Table 4.5 Attitudes to enforced retirement ages by age, income and area deprivation**

		<b>Older employees must retire to make way for younger people</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
<b>All</b>	%	20	1594
<b>Age</b>			
18-24	%	27	108
25-34	%	14	222
35-44	%	14	325
45-54	%	17	270
55-64	%	25	270
65+	%	27	396
<b>Education</b>			
Degree / HE	%	14	479
Highers / A Level	%	18	280
Standard Grade / GCSE	%	24	432
None	%	26	394
<b>Household income</b>			
£44,000+	%	11	236
£23,000-£43,999	%	16	357
£12,000-£22,999	%	19	314
£11,999 or less	%	26	399
Refused to disclose income	%	28	288

## **Gender issues in the workplace**

4.19 Achieving greater gender equality in the workplace was one of the key tasks of one of the Equality and Human Rights Commission's predecessor bodies, the Equal Opportunities Commission. Indeed, nowadays, women are almost as likely to be economically active as men. While 83% of men in Scotland are economically active, so also are 76% of women (Scottish Executive, 2007). Nevertheless, putting family responsibilities before paid employment is still more common amongst women than men. Family or domestic responsibilities comprise the most common reason why women below pensionable age do not work; in the case of men, in contrast, it is long-term illness. Moreover, four in ten (41%) women workers work part-time compared with just one in ten (10%) men. In practice the position of men and women in the workplace is still unequal (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2007). We therefore

devoted particular attention to attitudes towards the role of men and women at work and how they balance work and family responsibilities.

4.20 We asked respondents how much they agree or disagree with the following three statements:

*A man's job is to earn money, a woman's job is to look after the family*

*Women who take time off to have a baby should accept they are less likely to be promoted as a result*

*Fathers should be just as able as mothers to take time off work when their children are ill*

4.21 The first statement summarises a traditional gendered division of labour, the second states that if women do work they may have to accept unequal promotion responsibilities, while the third suggests that men should be just as able as women to balance work and family responsibilities. We might anticipate that those who agree with the first statement also agree with the second, as both state a discriminatory point of view. In contrast they might be expected to be more likely to disagree with the third statement.

4.22 Believing that a woman's place is in the home is very much a minority view: just 14% agree with this statement while 68% disagree. Support for the traditional male breadwinner role of the family appears largely to be confined to older people; 36% of those aged 65 and over agree compared with fewer than one in ten of those aged under 55, and only 14% even amongst those aged 55-64. Many of those aged 65 and over will of course have been brought up in the immediate post-war era when relatively few married women worked. Their attitudes thus probably reflect the views of a bygone era rather than an indication that as they get older people are more likely to think that women should remain in the home. Support for this interpretation comes from the British Social Attitudes survey, which has asked the same question on a number of occasions over the last two decades. The resulting time trend suggests that older generations of people, who are more likely to support the traditional view, are gradually being replaced by younger generations who have different experiences of women in the workplace and, consequently, different attitudes (Crompton, Brockmann and Wiggins, 2003).



4.23 In a similar vein, relatively few people believe that women who have children should accept that they are less likely to be promoted as a result: just 22% agreed while 68% disagreed. As we had anticipated, the view is more common amongst those who take a traditional view of gender roles (see Table 4.6). As many as 42% of those who agree that a woman's place is in the home agree that women should accept they are less likely to be promoted if they have a baby. In contrast just 15% of those who do not support the traditional view believe that women should accept any reduction in their opportunities for promotion.

**Table 4.6 Attitudes to work life balance issues by support for traditional gender roles**

	<b>Agree women's place is in the home</b>	<b>Disagree women's place is in the home</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Women should accept fewer promotion opportunities if they have children</b>		
Agree	42	15
Disagree	46	77
<b>Fathers should have same ability as mothers to take time off</b>		
Agree	68	92
Disagree	25	4
<i>Sample size</i>	220	938

4.24 Overall the attitudes of men on this issue are similar to those of women. While 22% of men agree that women should accept they might have fewer promotion opportunities, so also do 21% of women. However, men (65%) are slightly less likely than women (70%) to disagree with the proposition. In particular we might note that as many as 82% of women who live in a household that contains at least one child aged 17 or under disagree, compared with just 65% of women who live in a childless household. Meanwhile, the presence of a child in the household appears to make little difference to men's attitudes. In short, it seems that women who themselves have had children are particularly resistant to the idea that women who take time off work to have a child should lose out on promotion opportunities as a result.

4.25 There is overwhelming support for fathers having the same ability as mothers to take time off when their children are sick: as many as 85%

agree they should while just 9% disagree. In line with their more conservative views on gender roles in general, people aged 65 and over are the most likely to disagree – as many as 23% did so compared with just 5% of those aged under 55 and 14% of those aged 55-64. Indeed, as can be seen in Table 4.6, those who believe that it is a man's job to earn money while a woman's role is to look after the family are also less likely to support fathers having time off. Whereas 92% of those who do not support that traditional view agree that fathers should be equally able to take time off, only 68% of those who have a traditional outlook take that view.

### **Labour market competition**

4.26 The final section of this chapter looks at whether those who might not be considered to be part of the 'indigenous' population of Scotland are regarded as an undesirable source of competition in the labour market. The first question asked along these lines was one about ethnic minorities that we had previously asked in 2002. To it we added this time around a parallel question about those coming to Scotland from Eastern Europe, a recent source of relatively high levels of immigration to Scotland. Respondents were asked to say how much they agreed or disagreed that:

*Ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland*

and

*People from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland*

4.27 As Table 4.7 shows, almost a third (32%) register concern that Eastern Europeans are taking jobs away from other people in Scotland. Indeed this proportion was slightly higher than the equivalent figure (27%) in respect of ethnic minorities. By implication this suggests that the labour market consequences of immigration from Eastern Europe are now at least as much a source of concern as are the earlier patterns of immigration to Britain from the Commonwealth. In any event, in both cases concern is more common amongst those who are typically more likely to express discriminatory attitudes. For example, only 12% of those with experience of higher education say that ethnic minorities take jobs away, while 18% say the same about people from Eastern Europe. In contrast the equivalent figures amongst those with no qualifications are 39% and 40% respectively. Equally those who say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced are far more likely to express concern than are those who say that prejudice should be eliminated.

**Table 4.7 Competition in the labour market by age, education and general view of prejudice**

% who agree		<b>Ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland</b>	<b>People from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
<b>All</b>	%	27	32	1437
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	%	38	39	93
25-34	%	24	26	193
35-44	%	23	30	299
45-54	%	26	33	246
55-64	%	29	32	250
65+	%	27	30	353
<b>Highest educational qualification</b>				
Degree / HE	%	12	18	434
Highers / A levels	%	24	29	251
Standard grade / GCSE	%	37	42	397
None	%	39	40	351
<b>General view of prejudice</b>				
All prejudice should be eliminated	%	19	23	934
Sometimes good reason to be prejudiced	%	45	49	421

4.28 In contrast, concern is most likely to be expressed by the youngest age group, who are usually less likely to express discriminatory attitudes, rather than by older people. Meanwhile, as Table 4.8 shows, attitudes also differ depending on a person's social class (as measured by the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification) and household income, two attributes that have not otherwise been prominent in this report. As many as two in five (40%) of those in semi-routine and routine occupations feel that ethnic minorities take jobs away, while slightly more, 42%, say the same about people from Eastern Europe. In contrast, amongst those in professional and managerial occupations the equivalent figures are just 15% and 21% respectively. Similar differences exist between those on low and those on high incomes.

4.29 The fact that younger people, those with low household incomes and people who are not in professional or managerial jobs are most likely to express concern about the competition for jobs posed by ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe is likely to reflect the fact that their labour market position is less secure than that of their older, more affluent and professional counterparts. Moreover, the recent growth in employment of workers from Eastern Europe has been, in part, focused on sectors of the economy that traditionally employed large proportions of young people (the retail and the hospitality industries). While it may be true that these industries have been facing significant recruitment problems, there may still be a perception amongst younger people, together with those in less secure socio-economic positions, that competition for such jobs is increased by the arrival of people from Eastern Europe.

**Table 4.8 Competition in the labour market by socio-economic classification and household income**

		<b>Agree that ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland</b>	<b>Agree that people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
<b>National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification</b>				
Employers, managers & professionals	%	15	21	438
Intermediate	%	24	26	140
Small employers	%	34	44	110
Lower supervisory & technical	%	30	35	232
Semi-routine & manual	%	40	42	405
<b>Household income</b>				
£44,000+	%	15	21	213
£23,000-£43,999	%	20	24	333
£12,000-£22,999	%	26	32	283
£11,999 or less	%	41	44	366
Refused to disclose income	%	33	37	242

## Conclusion

4.30 For the most part, only a minority express discriminatory attitudes about employment. In many cases only a distinct minority felt that someone from a particular group would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Only around one in five appear to have a gender stereotypical view of that profession, few believe that women should not work or accept they may have fewer promotion opportunities if they do work, while the vast majority believe that fathers should be just as able as mothers to take time off work to deal with family responsibilities. Moreover, many of those who do hold these views appear to be older people whose attitudes reflect the values of a past era. By implication such attitudes are likely to become even less common as this older generation passes away.

4.31 On the other hand, there are widespread doubts about the suitability of some people to be primary school teachers. As in the case of relationships, Gypsies/Travellers again emerge as a group about whom discriminatory attitudes are widespread; much the same is true for a transsexual person. In addition, we also uncovered a widespread willingness to bar from primary teaching those who experience episodes of depression and older people, the latter despite the fact most people oppose a compulsory retirement age. It may be that people have doubts about the ability of an older person to cope effectively with the job of being a primary school teacher, rather than that they object in general to older people working. Evidently, even where people may oppose discrimination in the workplace in general, it is still possible for discriminatory attitudes to arise in particular circumstances.

4.32 Meanwhile, although still a minority view, around three in ten do express concern that ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe take away jobs from other people in Scotland. This concern is most common amongst those whose position in the labour market is less secure, including, most strikingly, younger people. Perhaps those younger people will become less concerned as they get older and in most cases more secure in their jobs. On the other hand, the level of concern expressed about the impact of people from Eastern Europe is a reminder that social and economic change can sometimes bring with it potential new sources of discriminatory attitudes.

**Key points:**

- Only a handful of people (4%) think that a black or Asian person would be unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, 15% think this of a Muslim and 21% say the same of a gay man or lesbian.
- Three in ten (30%) express unease about a transsexual person holding such a position while as many as half say that a Gypsy/Traveller, a person who sometimes experiences depression and a person aged 70 would be unsuitable.
- Three-quarters (76%) say that it is wrong to force people to retire at a certain age, so it is possible that views about an older person's suitability for primary teaching are linked to concerns about their ability to cope effectively with such a job.
- People who know someone from a particular group were less likely to say that someone from that group was unsuitable. Parents of primary school aged children were also less likely than people without a child to say that someone was unsuitable.
- Older people, those with no qualifications and those who think that prejudice is acceptable are more likely to regard someone as unsuitable.
- A fifth (22%) adopt a stereotypical viewpoint that women are more suitable than men for primary school teaching, a view more commonly held by older people, men and those with no qualifications.
- Only a minority (14%) say that women should stay at home while men should go out to work, a view most commonly held amongst those 65 and over, and relatively few (22%) believe that women should accept reduced promotion opportunities as a result of having children.
- Around three in ten express concern that people from Eastern Europe and people from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland. This view is most common among younger people and those whose place in the labour market is less secure.

## **CHAPTER FIVE      GOODS AND SERVICES: THE PROVISION OF BED AND BREAKFAST**

### **Introduction**

5.1    The third context on which the survey focused was the provision of goods and services. In particular, we asked a set of questions about whether people who run a bed and breakfast (B&B) business in their own home should be allowed to refuse bookings from particular groups of people. This chapter analyses the responses to these.

5.2    We focused on the provision of B&B in one's own home because of its apparent potential to stimulate discriminatory attitudes. On the one hand, the provision of B&B is a commercial service just like any other. On the other hand when provided by someone in their own home, it is arguably a more intimate transaction than most services. Moreover, most people probably regard it as their right to decide whom to admit into their own home. As a result, perhaps the subject is one that might be particularly likely to uncover discriminatory attitudes. At least one good reason for thinking this is that the issue of bed and breakfast owners turning away potential customers on the grounds of sexual orientation hit the media headlines in the summer of 2004 when a proprietor in the Highlands refused to allow two men in a same sex couple to share a double bed. The proprietor's action was denounced by Scotland's tourist agency, Visit Scotland, who removed the establishment from its official listings. Indeed, from April 2007 (though postdating this survey) such a move is now unlawful under the Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007. Of course while these considerations mean that attitudes towards the provision of B&B in one's own home are of particular interest, it does mean that our findings will not necessarily give us a guide to people's attitudes towards discrimination in respect of other kinds of goods and services.



## Should bed and breakfast owners be allowed to refuse bookings?

5.3 The question we posed was as follows:

*Do you think someone running a bed and breakfast in their own home should be allowed to refuse a booking from [group]?*

5.4 The question was asked about seven different groups. The answer options were 'definitely yes', 'probably yes', 'probably no' and 'definitely no'. Table 5.1 lists the seven groups in the order of the proportion who said 'definitely' or 'probably yes', which is taken to be a discriminatory response.

5.5 In the case of six of the seven groups a clear majority do *not* believe that B&B owners should be allowed to discriminate against members of that group by refusing to take bookings from them. Indeed in each of these cases more than two-thirds took that view, ranging from 69% in the case of someone aged 21 to as many as 83% in respect of someone with a learning disability. But the seventh group clearly stands out. As many as a half (51%) say that B&B owners should definitely or probably be allowed to refuse a booking from a same sex couple. So, the incident of the B&B owner in the Highlands in 2004 did indeed have wider public resonance. Indeed it is a subject upon which public opinion in Scotland appears to be divided down the middle.

**Table 5.1 Should bed and breakfast owners be allowed to refuse bookings?**

		<b>Definitely/probably should be allowed to refuse a booking</b>	<b>Definitely/probably should <u>not</u> be allowed to refuse a booking</b>
Gay or lesbian couple	%	51	46
Anyone aged under 21	%	29	69
Someone from a different ethnic or racial background than themselves	%	23	75
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	%	22	72
Someone who has guide dog	%	19	80
Someone from a different religion than themselves	%	17	81
Someone with a learning disability	%	15	83
<i>Sample size: 1594</i>			

## Who supports the right to refuse?

5.6 In the case of all seven groups attitudes towards the right of an B&B owner to refuse someone a booking exhibit a distinctive characteristic. Support for the view that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking is not necessarily particularly high amongst those social groups who otherwise are more inclined to express discriminatory attitudes. In particular, those with no qualifications are *not* particularly more likely than those who are well qualified to say that it should be possible to refuse a booking. For example, even in the case of the same sex couple, while 54% of those with no qualifications say that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking, 47% of those with a degree express the same view. In some instances, such as someone who has a guide dog, those with a degree are more likely than those without qualifications (26% and 12% respectively) to say that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking.

5.7 Meanwhile age does not always make much difference to attitudes on this subject either (see Table 5.2). Most surprisingly of all, perhaps, those aged 18-24 are no less likely than those aged 65 or over to say that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking from someone under 21. The same is true of someone who has a guide dog, while there are only small and statistically insignificant differences in respect of someone with a learning disability and someone from a different religion. Only in the case of a same sex couple is there a big difference of view between the two age groups. While 62% of those aged 65 or over say that a B&B owner should be able to refuse a booking from a same sex couple, only 33% of those aged between 18 and 24 agree with them. Meanwhile, while there are also differences of view about a transsexual person or someone from a different ethnic background, at 11 and 8 points respectively, those differences are relatively muted.

**Table 5.2 Should bed and breakfast owners be allowed to refuse bookings? by gender and age**

Definitely/Probably should be allowed to refuse a booking	Gender		Age		All
	Male	Female	18-24	65+	
	%	%	%	%	%
Gay or lesbian couple	57	46	33	62	51
Anyone aged under 21	30	27	25	22	29
Someone from a different ethnic or racial background than themselves	26	20	16	24	23
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	26	19	12	23	22
Someone who has guide dog	22	15	14	13	19
Someone from a different religion than themselves	21	14	9	13	17
Someone with a learning disability	18	12	11	16	15
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>701</i>	<i>893</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>396</i>	<i>1594</i>

5.8 Equally, those who regularly practise a religion do not have particularly distinctive attitudes. This is even true in the case of a same sex couple, a subject on which in previous chapters we have seen those who practise a religion are particularly likely to take a distinctive view. Even amongst those who rarely or never attend a religious service, half (50%) believe that a B&B owner should be able to refuse a booking from a same sex couple, only slightly less than the equivalent figure of 57% amongst those who attend regularly.

5.9 Indeed even people who know someone who belongs to a particular group do not have sharply differing views from those who do not know anyone. For example, as Table 5.3 shows, nearly half (49%) of those who say they know someone who is gay or lesbian feel that a B&B owner should be able to refuse a booking from a same sex couple, only eight points less than the equivalent figure amongst those who not know anyone who is gay or lesbian. Much the same is true in respect of someone with a learning disability and someone from a different ethnic or racial background.

**Table 5.3 Whether B&B bookings should be refused by knowledge of groups**

B&B owner should probably or definitely be allowed to refuse a booking to:		...a person with a learning disability	...someone from a different ethnic or racial background	...a gay or lesbian couple	Sample size
All	%	14	23	51	1594
<b>Whether knows a person from this group</b>					
Does	%	14	20	49	960 / 1059 / 1037
Does not	%	16	28	57	477 / 378 / 400
Knowledge 'gap'		2	7	8	

5.10 Finally, as Table 5.4 shows, it is not even always the case that those who say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced are markedly more likely to agree that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking. This is certainly true of someone under 21, someone who has a guide dog, someone with a learning disability, and someone from a different religion. Only in the case of a same sex couple, a transsexual person and someone from a different ethnic background is there much evidence that attitudes are linked to someone's broader attitude to prejudice.

**Table 5.4 Should bed and breakfast owners be allowed to refuse bookings by general attitude to prejudice**

Definitely/Probably should be allowed to refuse a booking	General attitude to prejudice		All
	Never OK	OK sometimes	
	%	%	%
Gay or lesbian couple	47	60	51
Someone under 21	28	31	29
Someone from a different ethnic or racial background than themselves	18	32	23
Someone who has had a sex-change operation	19	29	22
Someone who has guide dog	18	19	19
Someone from a different religion than themselves	16	20	17
Someone with a learning disability	14	17	15
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1035</i>	<i>459</i>	<i>1594</i>

5.11 In fact the only consistent difference of attitude we have been able to uncover is that men are *more* likely than women to say that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking (see Table 5.2 again). True, as we might expect from the evidence of previous chapters, at nine points the difference is greatest in respect of a same sex couple. Nevertheless, as in the case of the primary school teacher, but not in respect of relationships, women generally prove to be a little less likely to adopt a discriminatory view than men.

### **Why are attitudes towards a same sex couple so distinctive?**

5.12 Attitudes towards refusing a booking do not then vary between different kinds of people as much as we might expect. Moreover this is a quality that attitudes towards refusing a booking from a same sex couple have in common with the other six groups covered in the survey. But they clearly are very different so far as the proportion of people who believe that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking.

5.13 One potentially important feature of the survey question that we posed is that whereas in the case of the other groups the question referred to an individual from that group, in the case of someone in a same sex relationship we asked about a *couple* rather than an *individual*. It might have been the case that if, for example, we had

asked whether a B&B owner should be able to refuse a booking from a group of people aged under 21 rather than just one individual, rather more people might have said definitely or probably yes. Our reason for asking about a same sex couple was, of course, that during their stay a couple might engage in sexual activity to which an owner might object, whereas the same view would not be taken of a single person.

5.14 However, in practice it is far from clear that objection to sexual relations between adults of the same sex does account for the number of people who feel that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking from a same sex couple. For even those who otherwise do not appear to hold discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians do support the right of refusal. Only 5% of those who think that sex between two men is rarely wrong or not wrong at all say that a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Similarly only 8% of the same group say they would be unhappy if a close relative formed a long-term relationship with someone of the same sex. However, 41% believe that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking from a same sex couple. In short even those who regard sex between adults of the same sex as acceptable do not necessarily feel that a B&B owner should be required to admit a same sex couple into their own home.

## **Conclusion**

5.15 Evidently, for the most part people feel that owners of a bed and breakfast business should *not* be free to act in a discriminatory manner in deciding from whom they take a booking. But many make a clear exception in the case of a same sex couple. At the same time, we have found that across the board, the pattern of who does and who does not adopt a discriminatory attitude is not as clear as it commonly was in the previous two chapters.

5.16 That latter pattern suggests that for some people at least somewhat different or additional considerations are thought to be at stake on this issue as compared with the question of either a prospective relationship partner or who would make a suitable primary school teacher (or indeed, perhaps, the provision of other kinds of goods and services). Perhaps, for example, for some people what they regard as their right to decide whom to admit into their own home overrides an otherwise anti-discriminatory point of view. In any event the apparent distinctiveness of the pattern of attitudes towards the provision of B&B is a subject to which we return in Chapter 11.

**Key points:**

- Only between one in six and one in four think that someone running a bed and breakfast business in their own home should have the right to turn away guests on the basis of their ethnic or religious background, disability or transsexual status. Slightly more, three in ten, say that it is acceptable to refuse a booking to someone under 21.
- In contrast, as many as half (51%) say a B&B owner should definitely or probably be allowed to refuse a booking to a same sex couple. Even amongst those who say that sex between two men is 'rarely wrong' or 'not wrong at all', as many as 41% say that a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking from a same sex couple.
- The kind of person who is most likely to express discriminatory attitudes about relationships or employment is not necessarily particularly likely to say that a B&B owner should be able to refuse a booking. It appears that attitudes towards refusing a B&B booking are influenced by different or additional considerations than in the case of relationships or employment.

## CHAPTER SIX DO THE CIRCUMSTANCES MATTER?

### Introduction

6.1 The previous three chapters discussed separately the character of discriminatory attitudes towards particular groups in respect of relationships, employment and the provision of bed and breakfast accommodation. We now briefly bring together some of the threads of those three chapters by comparing the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards each group in each of these three sets of circumstances. To what degree does the incidence of discriminatory attitudes vary according to circumstance? In particular, is it the case, as suggested in Chapter One, that discriminatory attitudes are more common in intimate settings than in less intimate ones?<sup>9</sup>

### Comparing circumstances

6.2 We were not able to ask about exactly the same set of groups across all three sets of circumstances. In part, this was because of restrictions on the length of the questionnaire. But equally, sometimes it did not seem sensible or appropriate to ask about a particular group in a particular context. For example, people were not asked about the suitability of a person with a learning disability for the job of a primary school teacher. Meanwhile, where we have asked about a group more than once, there were sometimes differences in the way questions were worded. For example, we asked about an *individual* gay man or lesbian's suitability to be a primary school teacher, but whether a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking from a gay or lesbian *couple*.

6.3 However, as Figure 6.1 demonstrates, some of the differences between contexts in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes are so pronounced that it is unlikely they can be explained by variations in question design and wording alone. For example, as many as 50%

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<sup>9</sup> It might be noted that we pose a relatively severe test of this hypothesis because our examples of employment and the provision of goods and services, viz. primary school teaching and the provision of bed and breakfast in one's own home are relatively 'intimate' or 'sensitive' examples of such activities. Our evidence may thus well understate the differences between more and less intimate contexts.



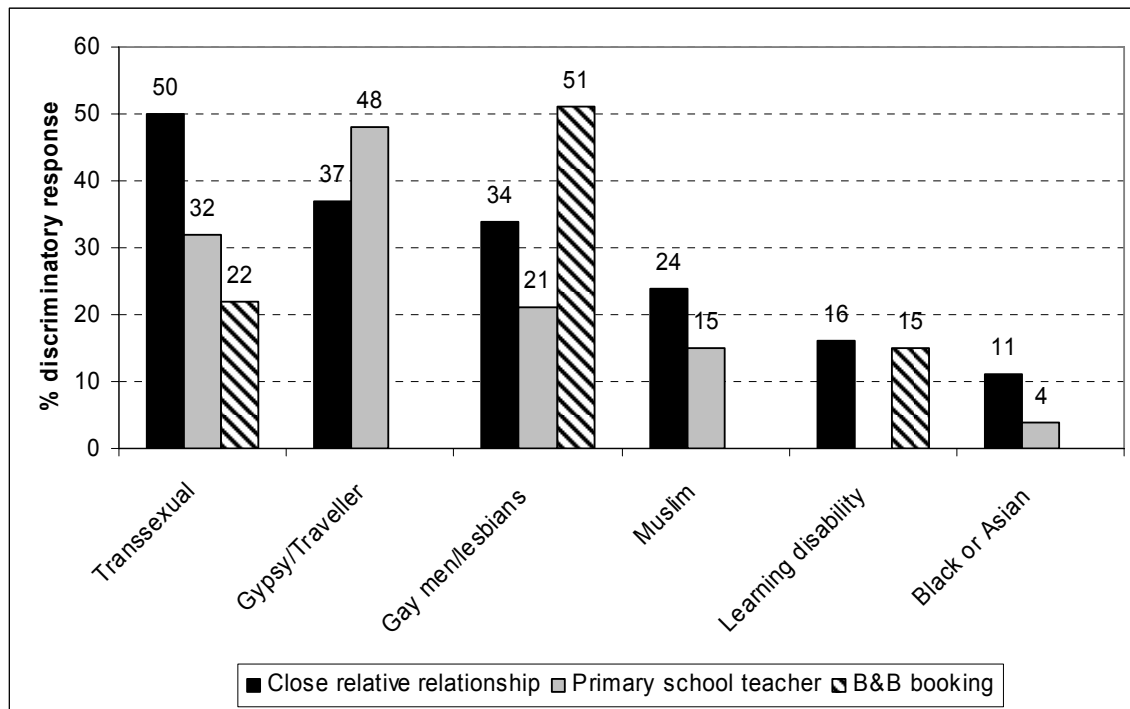
express unhappiness about the prospect of a close relative having a relationship with a transsexual person, whereas only 32% consider such a person unsuitable for employment as a primary school teacher. Moreover, and importantly, on the eight occasions where we can make the comparison<sup>10</sup> in five cases the incidence of discriminatory attitudes is higher in respect of a possible long-term relationship than it is a primary school teacher or a B&B booking. This suggests that discriminatory attitudes are indeed rather more likely to be held about intimate matters than those less intimate. It seems that the closer that someone might touch us, the greater the danger we might (mentally at least) recoil.

6.4 There are, however, three exceptions that should be noted. First there is one case where more people express a discriminatory attitude about someone being a primary school teacher than they do about a close relationship. Nearly half (48%) say that a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher while only just over a third (37%) say they would be unhappy about a relative forming a close relationship with a Gypsy/Traveller. One possibility is that people are under the misapprehension that all Gypsies/Travellers frequently move from place to place and might therefore be unable to hold down a permanent job.

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<sup>10</sup> The eight comparisons that can be made between possible long-term relationships and other contexts are as follows: transsexual – with primary school teacher and B&B; gay men/lesbians - with primary school teacher and B&B; Gypsy/Traveller - with primary school teacher; Muslim - with primary school teacher; learning disability - with B&B; Black or Asian person - with primary school teacher.

**Figure 6.1 Discriminatory responses to different groups across contexts**



Sample size: 1,594 (relationships & B&B booking); 1,437 (primary teaching)

6.5 Second, as we have already had reason to highlight, our bed and breakfast scenario clearly evinced the highest level of discriminatory attitudes so far as gay men and lesbians are concerned. We remarked in the previous chapter that the bed and breakfast question seemed to raise different or additional considerations in people’s minds; whatever they may be those considerations clearly had particular force in the case of a same sex couple. Meanwhile, in the case of someone with a learning disability the proportion of people who say that a bed and breakfast owner should be allowed to refuse a booking is much the same as the proportion who say they would be unhappy in the event of a close relative forming a long-term relationship.

## Conclusion

6.6 The incidence of discriminatory attitudes does not simply depend on the group in question. It also apparently depends on the circumstances. In particular the evidence suggests that the more intimate the relationship, the more likely discriminatory attitudes are to be expressed. Or to put it differently, a society that accepts that people

should not be discriminated against in the public realm, such as in employment, need not necessarily be one in which people do not feel able to discriminate in what they consider to be private business. Here it seems is a potentially important barrier to any attempt to secure full inclusion.

**Key points:**

- The incidence of discriminatory attitudes varies according to both the circumstances and the group in question.
- In general, more intimate settings, such as family relationships, are more likely to evoke discriminatory attitudes than less intimate ones, such as employment.
- Just because discriminatory views are not expressed about a group in one setting does not necessarily mean that such views will not manifest themselves in a different one.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN ARE ATTITUDES CHANGING?**

### **Introduction**

7.1 So far we have simply looked at the incidence and pattern of attitudes as revealed by our 2006 survey. But how far is the picture we have painted consistent with previous findings? Fortunately, we are in a position to address this question, as a number of the questions included in our survey were either previously included in our 2002 research on attitudes to discrimination, or else in research conducted in 2003 on Islamophobia in Scotland (Hussain and Miller, 2006).

7.2 Long-term social changes in attitudes often occur at a gradual, if not indeed glacial, pace (Park et al, 2003). They may in part at least be occasioned by a process of 'generational change' – older people with one set of views are replaced by younger generations of people with rather different views. Four years is of course too short a period to uncover such gradual long-term changes. However, attitudes can sometimes shift over a shorter period, in reaction to particular events and developments. For example, public attitudes towards nuclear power became more cautious than they had been previously in the wake of the major nuclear disaster in Chernobyl in 1986 (Heath and McMahon, 1992). Equally, there was an increase in the proportion of people who said sex between people of the same sex was wrong in the wake of the initial discovery of AIDS/HIV (Heath and McMahon, 1992).

7.3 As suggested in Chapter One, some recent developments may well have influenced the incidence of some of the discriminatory attitudes considered in this report. Terrorist attacks linked to members of the Islamic faith may have meant that people have become more inclined to express discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims. The relatively high levels of immigration into the UK in recent years might have had the same effect on attitudes towards ethnic minorities in general. In contrast, the recent changes in the law in respect of same sex couples, including most notably the introduction of civil partnerships in December 2005, might have helped reduce discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians.

7.4 This chapter therefore begins by looking at recent trends in attitudes towards Muslims and ethnic minorities as revealed by our 2006 survey. It then examines attitudes towards gay men and lesbians. It

finally considers attitudes towards the role of women, and towards prejudice in general, where we do not necessarily expect much change to have occurred.

## Trends in attitudes towards Muslims and ethnic minorities

7.5 Our 2006 survey included two questions about attitudes towards Muslims that were previously carried on the 2003 Scottish Social Attitudes survey. The first of these was whether someone would be unhappy if a close relative formed a long-term relationship with a Muslim, a question we introduced initially in Chapter Three. The second is one that we will consider in more detail in Chapter Nine. It asked whether people agreed or disagreed with the following statement:

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

**Table 7.1 Trends in discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims and ethnic minorities**

	<b>2003</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>Change</b>
% unhappy if close relative formed long-term relationship with a Muslim	20	24	+4
% agree Scotland would lose its identity if more Muslims came to Scotland	38	50	+12
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1,508</i>	<i>1,594</i>	
	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>Change</b>
% agree people from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland	20	27	+7
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1,665</i>	<i>1,594</i>	

7.6 As Table 7.1 shows, it appears that there has indeed been an increase in discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims. This is most evident in respect of concerns about what would happen to Scotland's identity if more Muslims were to come to live in the country. As many as half (50%) now feel that such a development would threaten Scotland's identity, compared with fewer than two in five (38%) in 2003. Meanwhile there has been a smaller, but still notable, four point increase in the proportion who say they would be unhappy if a close relative formed a

long-term relationship with a Muslim. It seems likely that recent developments have indeed resulted in an increase in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims.

7.7 Meanwhile the question that we first discussed in Chapter Four about whether or not ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland was also asked in 2002. It appears from this measure at least that there is increased concern that competition from members of Scotland's ethnic minority communities is having an adverse impact on the labour market position of other sections of Scottish society. Now over a quarter (27%) say that ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland, compared with a fifth (20%) in 2002. The increase has been particularly marked – as much as 16 points - amongst those aged 18-24. It therefore seems likely that recent debates about immigration have affected attitudes on this subject, and particularly so amongst younger people who are far less likely to have a secure job. This is despite the fact that, of course, many of those who belong to one of Scotland's ethnic minority communities are not recent migrants to the country, if indeed they are migrants at all.

### **Trends in attitudes towards gay men and lesbians**

7.8 Four of the questions about gay men and lesbians included in our 2006 survey were previously asked in 2002. These consist of two questions about whether same sex sexual relations are or are not 'wrong', one about whether same sex couples should have the right to marry, and one about the suitability of a gay man or lesbian to be a primary school teacher. All have already been introduced in previous chapters.

**Table 7.2 Trends in discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians**

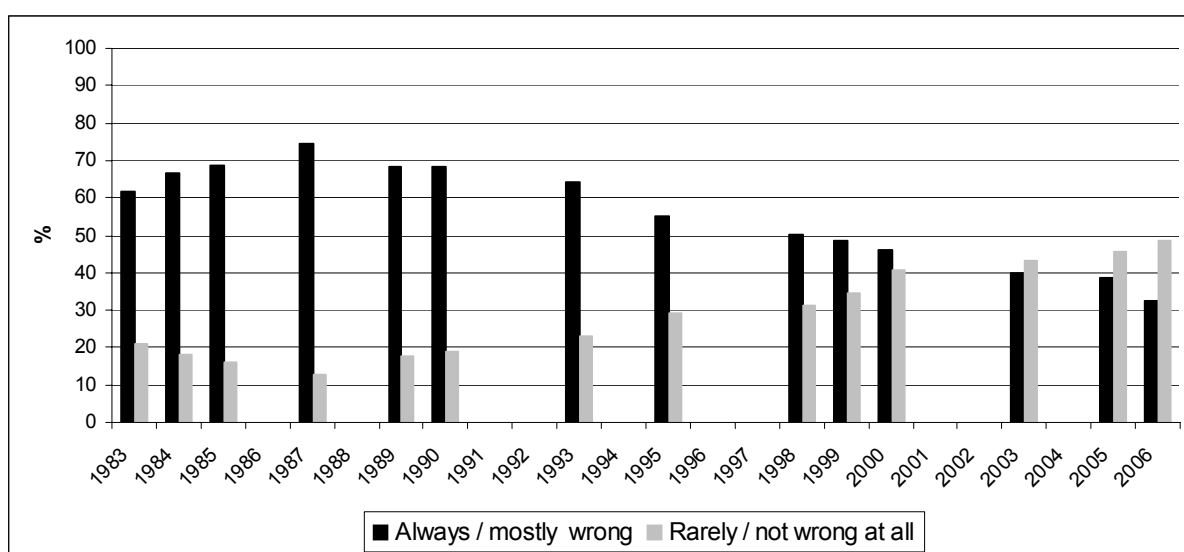
	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>Change</b>
% say 'always' or 'mostly' wrong:			
Sex between two men	41	30	-11
Sex between two women	40	29	-11
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1,665</i>	<i>1,594</i>	
% disagree gay and lesbian couples should have right to marry	29	21	-8
% say a gay man or lesbian unsuitable as primary school teacher	27	21	-7
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1,518</i>	<i>1,423</i>	

7.9 Table 7.2 reveals that on each and every measure the incidence of discriminatory attitudes is lower now than it was four years previously. In particular, there has been an eleven point drop in the proportion of people who think that sexual relations between two men, or between two women, are 'always' or 'mostly' wrong. Irrespective of the gender of the relationship, in 2002 slightly more people thought that same sex relations were 'always' or 'mostly' wrong than thought they were 'rarely' or 'not wrong at all'. Now, in contrast the latter group clearly outnumbers the former (see Figure 3.2 above). Meanwhile there have also been clear, if less dramatic, drops in the proportion of people who disagree that gay men and lesbians should have the right to marry (a drop of eight points), and in the proportion who say that a gay man or lesbian would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher (a drop of seven points).

7.10 It would therefore seem that recent legislative developments may have helped to change attitudes towards gay men and lesbians. However, we should bear in mind that there has been a long-term trend towards less discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians. This can be seen in Figure 7.1, which shows trends in attitudes towards sexual relations between people of the same sex (the gender is not specified in these questions) in British Social Attitudes surveys conducted since 1983. Attitudes have clearly changed very sharply indeed since concern about HIV/AIDS was at its height in 1987. Then nearly three quarters (74%) felt that sex between people of the same sex was 'always' or 'mostly' wrong, compared with just under two in five (39%) just before the introduction of the civil partnership legislation in 2005. Although these data are for Great Britain as a whole, it seems likely that much the same trend has occurred in Scotland. This suggests

that some of the change we have observed in Scotland since 2002 may well have occurred anyway. However, the British data also show that in 2006, after the introduction of civil partnerships, there was a further drop in the proportion saying that same sex relations were always or mostly wrong to just 32%. This strongly suggests that much of the change between 2005 and 2006 observed in Table 7.1 could indeed be a consequence of the introduction of civil partnerships.

**Figure 7.1 Attitudes to same sex sexual relations, 1983-2006, Great Britain**



Source: British Social Attitudes survey, National Centre for Social Research

### Trends in attitudes towards gender roles and prejudice in general

7.11 Two sets of questions in our 2006 survey that tap the degree to which people have traditional or stereotypical views about gender roles were also included in our earlier research conducted in 2002. The first of these asks whether people feel that it is a man’s job to earn money while women should look after the home and the family. The second taps people’s perceptions of whether men and women are suitable as primary school teachers, and in particular the degree to which people feel that women are more suitable for that job than men. There is no particular reason to believe that either measure should have moved in a particular direction over recent years.

7.12 In practice, as Table 7.3 shows, trends on the two questions are contradictory. On the one hand there has been a six point drop in the



proportion who say that women are more suitable than men as primary school teachers. On the other hand there has been a three point increase in those who agree that women should look after home and the family. Perhaps the most we can say is that gender stereotyping of those women who are in employment may have declined somewhat, but that this has not been accompanied by any decline in support for the already decidedly minority view that women should not go out to work at all.

**Table 7.3 Indicators of gender stereotyping, 2002 and 2006**

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>Change</b>
% who agree that a woman's place is in the home	11	14	+3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1,665</i>	<i>1,594</i>	
% who say that women are more suitable than men to be a primary school teacher	28	22	-6
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1,518</i>	<i>1,423</i>	

7.13 Finally, our overall measure of a discriminatory outlook first discussed in Chapter Two - that is, whether Scotland should get rid of all prejudice or whether sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced - was also asked in 2002. As we have already seen, in 2006 29% said that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced. That figure is a little higher than the 26% recorded four years earlier, though the difference is not statistically significant. We certainly cannot argue from this that a discriminatory outlook is gradually becoming less commonplace in Scotland.

## **Conclusion**

7.14 As we had anticipated, there is some evidence of an increase over the last four years in discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims and, perhaps, ethnic minorities, while they have declined in respect of gay men and lesbians. Both trends suggest that events and legislative initiatives can have an impact on the incidence of discriminatory attitudes. The decline of discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians is though a continuation of a well established long-term trend, and may in part at least have occurred anyway. As a result, we should not exaggerate the impact of recent legislative change in respect of same sex couples. But at the same time, the apparent increase in

discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims and, perhaps, ethnic minorities is a reminder that however low the incidence of discriminatory attitudes might appear to be at any one point in time, there is no guarantee that this will always remain the case.

**Key points:**

- Discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims and, perhaps also, ethnic minorities have become more common in recent years.
- For example, in 2003 38% said that Scotland would lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland; by 2006 50% said this. The proportion who say that ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland increased from 20% in 2002 to 27% in 2006.
- It is likely that concerns about immigration and international terrorism have affected views about Muslims and ethnic minorities.
- Discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians have, in contrast, declined since 2002. For example, the proportion who say that sex between people of the same sex is 'always' or 'mostly wrong' dropped by 11 points from around four in ten in 2002 to just three in ten in 2006.
- At the same time the proportion who disagree that same sex couples should have the right to marry fell from 29% to 21%.
- Although recent legislative changes, such as the introduction of civil partnerships, are likely to have had an influence, discriminatory attitudes towards gay people have been in decline for some time.
- There was no significant change between 2002 and 2006 in the proportion who say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced, so it cannot be argued that a discriminatory outlook is gradually becoming less commonplace in Scotland.

## CHAPTER EIGHT COVERT DISCRIMINATION AND POSITIVE ACTION

### Introduction

8.1 So far, our principal strategy in attempting to uncover the existence of discriminatory attitudes has been to consider the responses given to questions that ask people directly about their attitudes towards particular groups. In so doing we have presumed that people would be willing to acknowledge that, for example, they would be unhappy about a relative of theirs forming a long-term relationship with a Muslim or that a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher.

8.2 However, such a strategy is open to challenge. People may feel that prejudice and discriminatory attitudes are now widely regarded as unacceptable, and may as a result be reluctant to express their true feelings about certain groups. In consequence it may be felt that our approach so far has understated the incidence of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland today.

8.3 As we argued in Chapter One, one possible solution to this potential problem is that instead of asking people how they feel about particular groups, we ask them what they feel about the help that may be given to particular groups to overcome the effects of discrimination (Sears, 1988). People may feel able to criticise what government or other organizations may have done or might do to help particular groups, even if they are reluctant to espouse discriminatory views directly. Meanwhile, asking questions about what might be done to help particular groups also helps give an indication of public attitudes towards certain strategies designed to overcome discrimination and disadvantage. For even if people do not themselves hold discriminatory attitudes it does not necessarily follow that they will support any measure designed to reduce discriminatory behaviour.

8.4 In this chapter we therefore look at two types of question. The first asks people about their attitudes towards the attempts that have been made so far to secure equal opportunities for various groups. Our primary interest here is in whether many people feel such attempts have 'gone too far' and whether this constitutes evidence of attitudes that are covertly discriminatory. The second kind of question asks people about their attitudes towards various possible forms of positive action that

employers might take. Such action might take the form of providing additional training for members of hitherto under-represented groups; it does not encompass 'positive discrimination', such as for example, giving preference to someone from an under-represented group in selecting someone for a job, a practice that would be unlawful in the UK. As well as ascertaining the overall level of support for such action, we are particularly interested in whether those who oppose positive action tend to be the same kind of people whom we have found elsewhere in this report to be particularly likely to hold discriminatory views.

## **Equal opportunities**

8.5 To ascertain people's attitudes towards the attempts that have been made so far to secure equal opportunities for various groups, we asked:

*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?*

followed by

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

and

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

Respondents could give one of five answers ranging from 'gone much too far' to 'not gone far enough', with the middle option labelled 'about right'.

**Table 8.1 Attitudes to Equal Opportunities**

	<b>Gone too far</b>	<b>About right</b>	<b>Not gone far enough</b>
<b>Attempts to give equal opportunities to...</b>	%	%	%
...black people and Asians	22	44	23
...gay men and lesbians	21	48	17
...women	6	56	34
<i>Sample size: 1,594</i>			

8.6 As Table 8.1 shows, people were far more likely to say that attempts to give equal opportunities had gone too far in respect of both black and Asian people together with gay men and lesbians than they were in the case of women. Around a fifth said that opportunities for black and Asian people (22%) have gone too far, while the same is true of gay men and lesbians (21%). In contrast just 6% said that opportunities for women have gone too far. Conversely, as many as a third said that opportunities for women have not gone far enough (34%), compared with only around a fifth in the case of black and Asian people (23%) and gay men and lesbians (17%).

8.7 Evidently, this line of questioning does not uncover prima facie evidence of covertly discriminatory attitudes in respect of women. It appears that there is widespread support for the measures that have been taken so far, and an acceptance by many at least that yet more might be achieved. Meanwhile, that a fifth say that equal opportunities for gay men and lesbians have gone too far reflects the incidence of discriminatory attitudes that our more direct line of questioning has uncovered.

8.8 The same cannot though be said about attitudes towards equal opportunities for black and Asian people. We have seen, for example, that only 11% say they would be unhappy if a relative of theirs formed a long-term relationship with a black or Asian person, while just 4% thought such a person would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Now we have uncovered a much higher figure. Here perhaps is a group about whom discriminatory attitudes are perhaps more covertly held.

**Table 8.2 Attitudes to equal opportunities by age, education, and attitude to prejudice**

<b>Attempts have gone too far for...</b>		<b>...women</b>	<b>...black people and Asians</b>	<b>...gay men and lesbians</b>	<i>Sample size</i>
<b>All</b>	%	6	23	21	1594
<b>Age</b>					
18-24	%	4	18	8	108
24-34	%	8	16	11	222
35-44	%	5	18	13	325
45-54	%	5	25	19	270
55-64	%	9	30	30	270
65+	%	5	29	36	396
<b>Education</b>					
Degree / HE	%	7	15	16	479
Highers / A Levels	%	4	19	18	280
Standard grade / GCSE	%	6	26	22	432
None	%	7	34	28	394
<b>Attitude to prejudice</b>					
Should get rid of all prejudice	%	3	14	14	1035
Sometimes good reason to be prejudiced	%	12	43	33	459

8.9 Certainly the character of attitudes towards equal opportunities for black and Asian people follows a by now familiar pattern. For example, Table 8.2 shows that just 15% of those with experience of higher education say that such opportunities have gone too far, compared with as many as 34% of those with no qualifications. Equally, older people are more likely to express that view than younger people. Above all, 43% of those who say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced feel that equal opportunities for black and Asian people have gone too far, compared with just 14% of those who say that all prejudice should be eliminated. On this evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that our question does indeed tap a discriminatory outlook towards black and Asian people, rather than simply an assessment of the success or otherwise of equal opportunities policies for black and Asian people (and indeed it appears that much the same can be said too in respect of attempts to secure equal opportunities for gay men and lesbians).

8.10 There are perhaps two possible interpretations of this evidence. One is that indeed, people are now aware of the social (and legal) unacceptability of avowedly racist views, and that as a result the full extent of discriminatory attitudes towards black and Asian people is only fully uncovered when a more indirect line of questioning is used. But perhaps an alternative interpretation is that while there is little evidence of discriminatory attitudes towards individual black or Asian people - as evidenced by a willingness to accept them as a prospective marriage partner or primary school teacher – as a group they can still evoke hostility. Moreover, perhaps this is particularly so in respect of competition for jobs and other resources. We did after all also ascertain earlier that as many as 27% were concerned that ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland, and perhaps similar concerns were in people’s minds when they were asked about ‘equal opportunities’.

8.11 We saw in Chapter Seven that the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians has declined over the last four years. There is not, however, any sign of a decline over the same period in the proportion of people who feel that equal opportunities for gay men and lesbians have gone too far. If anything, as Table 8.3 shows, there has been a slight increase in that proportion, as indeed there has also been in respect of black and Asian people. Nevertheless, as the same table also demonstrates, the proportion who nowadays think that equal opportunities for gay men and lesbians have gone too far is little more than half what it was in the early 1990s. This decline is perhaps all the more notable given that the legal status and rights of same sex couples have been considerably enhanced during the intervening period. Evidently those changes have reflected a trend in public opinion rather than stirred a reaction against them.

**Table 8.3 Trends in Attitudes towards Equal Opportunities**

	<b>1992</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>Attempts have gone too far for...</b>	%	%	%
...black people and Asians	20	18	23
...gay men and lesbians	38	18	21
...women	4	7	6
<i>Sample size</i>	974	1,665	1,594

Note: 1992 source: Scottish Election Study.

## Positive action

8.12 We included three questions in our survey about possible forms of positive action. The first two asked whether it would be fair to give more training opportunities to those employees who were underrepresented in senior positions. They read as follows:

*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?*

*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?*

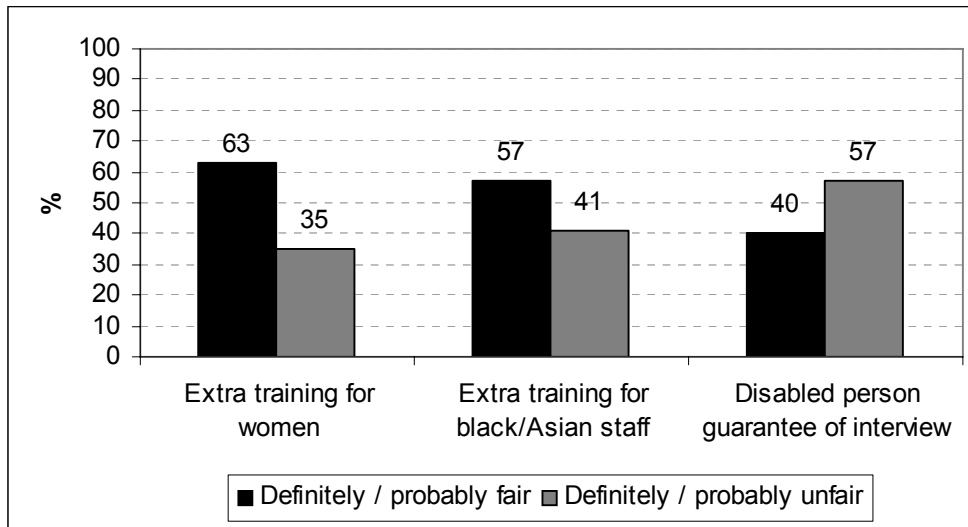
8.13 The third, in contrast, referred to a more specific and direct form of positive action, that is whether someone with a disability who applied for a job should be guaranteed an interview. It asked:

*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?*

8.14 A majority feel that offering more training to those who belong to groups that are underrepresented in senior positions is 'fair' (see Figure 8.1). As many as 63% state that view so far as women are concerned, while only slightly less, 57% do so in respect of black and Asian people. Still, given that 35% and 41% respectively feel that such action would be unfair, such a practice is certainly far from being wholly uncontroversial.



**Figure 8.1 Attitudes to positive action for women and black or Asian staff, and job applicants with a disability**



8.15 Thus, perhaps it is not surprising that a majority (57%) actually feel that our more direct form of action, that is guaranteeing an interview to a person with a disability who meets the requirements of the job, would be 'unfair'; whereas only 40% believe that this would be 'fair'. It looks as though attempts to secure greater equality of outcome may well be resisted if they are regarded as unfair procedurally.

8.16 Moreover, in all three cases it should not be presumed that opposition to positive action is simply being voiced by those who are more likely to hold discriminatory attitudes. Table 8.4 shows that this is far from being the case. It is those with most educational qualifications and those in higher status jobs who are most opposed to positive action, not those with fewest qualifications or those in routine occupations. For example, 44% of those with experience of higher education feel that it would be unfair to provide extra training opportunities for women, compared with 32% of those with no qualifications. It may be that those who are better qualified and those who already hold relatively senior jobs feel that they are most likely to lose out if women or black and Asian people were to be given extra training to help them climb the career ladder. Doubtless this may also help explain the greater level of opposition too amongst men, not least towards providing more training opportunities for women; as many as 43% of men feel this would be unfair, compared with just 28% of women.

8.17 Meanwhile, we should note also from Table 8.4 that in the case of training opportunities for women and guaranteeing a disabled person a job interview the views of those who say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced differ little from those who say that all prejudice should be eliminated. Only in the case of training for black and Asian people is there much of a gap. Clearly it cannot be presumed that those who do not hold discriminatory views will necessarily support positive action.

**Table 8.4 Positive action by age, gender, education, socio-economic status and attitude to prejudice**

Definitely / probably unfair to:		...provide extra training for women staff	...provide extra training for black or Asian staff	...guarantee a disabled person a job interview if meet criteria	Sample size
<b>All</b>	%	35	41	57	1594
<b>Age</b>					
18-24	%	37	38	69	108
65+	%	23	31	44	396
<b>Gender</b>					
Men	%	43	48	61	701
Women	%	28	35	53	893
<b>Education</b>					
Degree / HE	%	44	48	66	479
None	%	23	32	37	394
<b>Socio-economic status</b>					
Employers & managers	%	46	51	65	482
Semi-routine & routine	%	30	38	53	453
<b>Attitude to prejudice</b>					
Should get rid of all prejudice	%	33	37	56	1035
Sometimes good reason to be prejudiced	%	38	50	58	459

## Conclusion

8.18 Those who express dissatisfaction with attempts to secure equal opportunities do indeed often seem to be reflecting the discriminatory attitude that they hold. However, for the most part asking people their opinion about attempts to secure equal opportunities for various groups does not appear to uncover evidence of discriminatory attitudes that our more direct line of questioning could not. Only in the case of black and Asian people was that clearly not the case. However, in this instance this may be because our equal opportunities question, alongside others in our survey, helps demonstrate that while discriminatory attitudes are rarely expressed about black and Asian people as individuals, they are more common in respect of them as a group – both overtly and covertly.

8.19 Those who are inclined to regard positive action as unfair are not, however, typically those who express discriminatory views. Indeed, if anything the very opposite is the case. In particular, such measures are most likely to be opposed by the well qualified and those in senior jobs who typically are less likely to uphold discriminatory views – perhaps because they fear that positive action measures might threaten their status and security. More generally the relatively high level of opposition to positive action may well suggest that, for some people at least, perceptions of procedural fairness override any desire to secure equality of outcome. In any event it is clear that such measures will not necessarily secure the support of those who otherwise might be expected to support anti-discrimination measures. Positive action clearly has the potential to be the subject of considerable controversy.

**Key points:**

- Some argue that people may be unwilling to express discriminatory attitudes towards a group when questioned directly, but feel more comfortable doing so if they are instead asked questions about measures to counter discrimination.
- However, hardly anyone (just 6%) says that attempts to secure equal opportunities for women have gone too far, while only around one in five say the same about black and Asian people (22%) or gay men and lesbians (21%).
- Nevertheless, rather more people said that equal opportunities for black and Asian people had gone too far than might have been expected given the incidence of overtly discriminatory attitudes uncovered by some of our other lines of questioning. It looks as though people are more likely to express concerns about black and Asian people as a group than they are about black or Asian people as individuals.
- As many as 35% say that it is unfair for companies to provide additional training for their female employees, while 41% say the same about black and Asian employees.
- A majority (57%) say it is unfair to guarantee a job interview to a candidate with a disability who meets the basic criteria for the post.
- Opposition to positive action tends to be greatest amongst people in senior management jobs and those with higher education, perhaps because they are most likely to feel that their status and security would be put at risk by such measures.

## CHAPTER NINE DOES PLACE MATTER?

### Introduction

9.1 So far we have identified the kinds of individuals who seem more inclined to express discriminatory attitudes and some of the underlying psychological orientations that are associated with the expression of discriminatory viewpoints. But we should not necessarily assume that the source of discriminatory attitudes simply lies in the characteristics and backgrounds of individuals. The type of community in which they live could make a difference too.

9.2 There is one obvious way in which this might be true. If someone lives in an area where many people hold discriminatory attitudes, it seems more likely that they will hear such views expressed in conversations with neighbours. As a result, not only might any discriminatory attitudes that they may already hold be reinforced by such conversations, but they may also be persuaded to align their opinions with those of their neighbours. Certainly, the existence of such a process has repeatedly been suggested – and sometimes demonstrated – in previous research on political attitudes and behaviour (Curtice, 1995).

9.3 For example, we have repeatedly seen in this report that younger people and those who have received a university education are less likely to hold discriminatory attitudes. So someone who lives in an area where there is a relatively large number of younger people or a large number of graduates would seem more likely to meet people who express 'liberal' views on many of the subjects covered by our survey. We thus might anticipate that someone living in such an area is less likely to express a discriminatory point of view, irrespective of their own age or level of education.

9.4 However, where someone lives may not only affect how likely it is that they are exposed to a liberal or a discriminatory point of view, but also their chances of knowing someone who belongs to one of the groups about whom discriminatory attitudes might be expressed. For example, we might anticipate that those who live in an area with a relatively high ethnic minority population might be more likely to know someone who belongs to an ethnic minority. And as we have already seen throughout this report, those who know someone who belongs to a particular group are less likely to express a discriminatory attitude towards that group. Much the same argument can be made, for

example, with respect to attitudes towards older people, Muslims and those who adhere to other non-Christian religions.

9.5 Indeed, one might anticipate more generally that those who live in a socially mixed neighbourhood are less likely to express discriminatory attitudes than are those who live in a more socially homogenous environment. We have after all found that those who say they prefer to live in an area that has different kinds of people are less likely to express discriminatory attitudes. If someone actually lives in a socially and culturally diverse environment we might anticipate that they have become used to and perhaps even appreciate living amongst different kinds of people. For this reason we might expect those who live in an area where people come from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds, or perhaps even in an area with a mix of social classes, to be less likely to hold discriminatory views.

9.6 We might expect too that those living in urban environments are more likely to come into contact with a broad range of people. In such an environment a large number of people live and/or work close by, while there is also likely to be access to a wide range of cultural activities. In contrast those living in remote rural communities may well only have a limited circle of people living close by while relatively few people visit their area. As a result we might anticipate that urban environments are more likely to promote a 'cosmopolitan' culture that thrives on the presence of people who come from different backgrounds and who engage in a variety of social and cultural behaviours.

9.7 Finally, we might note that social deprivation could play a role too. We have seen in Chapter Four that when it comes to issues of labour market competition at least, those from less affluent, more working class backgrounds are more inclined to express a discriminatory attitude. It therefore seems possible that, irrespective of their own social position, those living in socially deprived areas are more likely to express discriminatory attitudes – at least when the subject matter concerns finance or economics. Those living in a socially deprived area might be particularly concerned about the impact that immigrants to Scotland are thought to have on the availability of jobs or housing, because they feel that the arrival of immigrants makes it less likely that people in their area will see an improvement in their housing or job prospects.

## Data sources

9.8 To analyse these possibilities we need data on the character of the area in which someone lives. We were able to acquire these data from a number of sources, the most important of which was the 2001 Census. As we knew the postcode of each respondent to the 2006 SSA, we were able to identify the 2001 Census ‘output area’ in which they lived. Output areas are the smallest geographical area for which census data are normally published. In Scotland, the typical output area contains no more than 50 households. These areas thus provide a very finely grained measure of the social geography of Scotland. Indeed they are sufficiently finely grained that all of our respondents either live in a different output area from any other respondent, or only share the same area with one other respondent.<sup>11</sup>

9.9 We derived a number of key indicators from the census data. These included the age profile of each respondent’s output area together with the proportion belonging to an ethnic minority, saying they are Muslim, with a degree, in a professional or managerial occupation, and saying they are in good health (an indicator of social deprivation). As we did not wish to assume a simple linear relationship between any of these variables and the chances of expressing a discriminatory attitude we then used these census statistics to categorise each area in which a respondent lived as one with a relatively large number or a relatively small number of people with that characteristic. Further details about the construction of these variables are to be found in Annex A.

9.10 In addition to these indicators derived from the 2001 census, we also had access to two further measures. The first is the 2006 version of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation. Based on 37 different measures, ranging from income and health to employment and housing, this index gives an overall deprivation score for each of the 6,505 ‘data zones’ in Scotland. With a median population size of 769, data zones are rather larger than ‘output areas’, but are still reasonably finely grained. Typically, only a handful of our respondents are in the same data zone, and at most no more than eight are. Each respondent has been placed in one of five categories according to whether the data zone

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<sup>11</sup> This has the advantage that it means our indicators of the kind of place in which our respondents live are based on a large number of different, independent measures, rather than a small number of estimates shared in common by many respondents, thereby strengthening the power and robustness of our analysis.

in which they live is amongst the 20% most deprived data zones, or the next 20% most deprived, etc.

9.11 Our second additional measure is the Scottish Government Urban Rural Classification<sup>12</sup> an indicator of how remote and rural an area is. This is based on both the population size of a 'settlement' and, in the case of smaller settlements, how long it would take to drive to a settlement of at least 10,000 people. It is a six-fold classification that ranges from large urban areas to remote rural ones.

## **Interpretation**

9.12 We do, however, have to bear in mind that there are two very different reasons why those living in different kinds of area might have different views. Given that, for example, by definition those areas with relatively large numbers of graduates contain more people with degrees, we would expect the incidence of discriminatory attitudes in such areas to be relatively low anyway. That does not demonstrate that people's views are influenced by those of their neighbours. To do that, we have to show that people living in places with relatively large numbers of graduates are less likely than those living elsewhere to express discriminatory attitudes even after we have taken into account whether they themselves are graduates or not. This is best undertaken using multivariate analysis, and such analysis informs all of the commentary that follows. Here, however, we simply illustrate the main findings with some indicative percentages. Fuller details of some of the more pertinent multivariate analyses are given in Annex A.

9.13 Even after undertaking such analysis, we still have to exercise some care in interpreting the results. Many people have at least some choice about where they live. And those, for example, who hold a prejudicial view towards ethnic or religious minorities may be disinclined to live in an area with a relatively large ethnic minority population or Muslim population. Those in contrast who value diversity may opt to live in a socially mixed area. So we have to bear in mind that, even if we find that those who live in a particular kind of area are less likely to express a discriminatory attitude even after we have taken into account their individual characteristics, this may reflect a tendency for people who are less prejudiced to live in that kind of area, rather than a tendency for those who live there to be influenced by the views of those around them.

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<sup>12</sup> See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2006/07/31114822/0>



## Findings

9.14 From the variety of analyses that we have undertaken, one clear pattern does emerge. Those who live in areas with large numbers of graduates are particularly *unlikely* to say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups. Thus, as we can see in Table 9.1, around three in ten graduates who do *not* live in an area where there is a relatively large number of other graduates say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced. In contrast, amongst those graduates who live alongside lots of other graduates, only 15% endorse that view.

**Table 9.1 University Hotspots?**

% say sometimes reason to be prejudiced	Live in area where % of graduates is			
	Low	Low to Medium	Medium to High	High
Highest Qualification				
Degree / HE	29	29	27	15
None	42	43	44	38
<i>Bases</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>140</i>
	<i>153</i>	<i>117</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>51</i>
% prefer to live with similar kinds off people	Live in area where %of graduates is			
	Low	Low to Medium	Medium to High	High
Highest Qualification				
Degree / HE	41	42	35	32
None	60	65	62	68
<i>Bases</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>135</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>133</i>
	<i>139</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>43</i>

Note: % of graduates classification is derived from 2001 Census data on % of people aged 16-74 with a degree. Low = less than 8%; Low to Medium = 8 to 16%; Medium to High = 16% to 28%; High = 28% and above.

9.15 Even so, we should note that we do not observe anything like the same pattern amongst those at the other end of the educational spectrum. Rather, (the relatively limited number of) people without any qualifications who have a high number of graduates as their neighbours are barely distinguishable in their views from those lacking qualifications who live elsewhere. This casts some doubt on the suggestion that those living in places with high numbers of graduates are influenced in their views by their neighbours. Instead it seems more likely that areas with large numbers of graduates - which are often near universities – prove to

be attractive places to live for those graduates who are inclined anyway towards a liberal view on discrimination.

9.16 We might note too from Table 9.1 a not dissimilar, if not quite as striking, pattern in respect of whether someone would prefer to live with similar or different kinds of people. Graduates who live amongst relatively large numbers of other graduates are somewhat more inclined to say they prefer to live with different kinds of people. On the other hand, the presence of graduates appears not to make any difference to the attitudes of those without any qualifications. Again this inclines us to the view that the pattern, such as it is<sup>13</sup>, reflects the prior relatively liberal attitudes of those who opt to live in areas popular with other graduates.

9.17 Moreover, when we look at many of the other more specific measures of discriminatory attitudes included in our survey, we find only a weak, if any association with the number of graduates in a neighbourhood. Nor are the patterns of association that do exist necessarily the same as those as in Table 9.1. For example, those with no qualifications living in areas with a high number of graduates are ten percentage points less likely than those living in areas with relatively few graduates to say they would be unhappy about a close relative of theirs marrying a Muslim. They are also seven points less likely to say the same about an asylum seeker. Here perhaps is evidence that the views of non-graduates are being influenced by their graduate neighbours. However, there is no equivalent pattern amongst graduates themselves. In any event on many other measures that we have examined, including all those where the incidence of a discriminatory viewpoint is particularly high and/or strongly related to the measures of psychological orientation further explored in Chapter Ten, there is no statistically significant association at all with the number of graduates in an area.

9.18 Meanwhile, there is little, if any, evidence in support of most of the other propositions outlined at the beginning of this chapter. True, those who live in one of the 20% most socially deprived parts of Scotland are somewhat keener to live with similar kinds of people – but even so, overall, they are only seven points more likely to say this than are those living in one of the least socially deprived parts of the country. Equally, those who live in an area with large numbers of people in poor health

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<sup>13</sup> Indeed we should note that in our formal modelling (see table A.3 in Annex A) the pattern is somewhat better captured by the percentage of people in professional and managerial occupations that live in an area rather than the percentage of graduates.

are as much as fifteen points more likely than those who live in an area where most are in good health to say that older people should retire – perhaps because they are more likely to be concerned about their chances of securing employment if older people do not retire. But in no other case have we found any statistically significant evidence that those living in more socially deprived parts of Scotland are distinctive in their views – one way or the other.

9.19 Equally, we failed to uncover any evidence at all that those living in areas with relatively large numbers of people from an ethnic minority are different in their views. The same is true of those living in areas with relatively large numbers of Muslims. This even applies to questions that tap attitudes towards those belonging to an ethnic or religious minority. Those who live in an area of ethnic minority concentration are more likely to report that they know someone from a different ethnic background from themselves (83% say they do, as opposed to 74% elsewhere), while a similar pattern holds in respect of knowing someone who is Muslim. But evidently the degree of increased social interaction between those belonging to different ethnic and religious groups that is occasioned by living in an area with relatively large numbers of ethnic minorities or Muslims is not sufficient to have a discernible impact on the incidence of discriminatory attitudes.<sup>14</sup>

9.20 There is, however, one difference of note between those living in remote rural parts of Scotland and those living elsewhere. Refusal to take a bed and breakfast booking from a gay or lesbian couple has been the subject of particular controversy in parts of rural Scotland, where a number of well publicised instances of refusal have occurred. It appears that this was no accident of geography. As many as 70% of people living in a remote rural part of Scotland felt that someone should be allowed to refuse a booking from such a couple – compared with just a half of those living elsewhere. However, this pattern is the exception rather than the rule. On no other question, including other questions about attitudes towards sexual orientation, did we uncover any evidence that those living in remote rural Scotland were significantly more likely to express a discriminatory point of view. Moreover, even those living in more accessible but rural parts of the country have much the same views about being allowed to refuse a bed and breakfast booking as do those living in the country's largest urban centres.

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<sup>14</sup> Equally there is no evidence that living in an area that is neither predominantly middle or working class has an impact either.

## Conclusion

9.21 It seems that, in general, local neighbourhoods neither foster nor inhibit the formation of discriminatory attitudes. Once we have taken into account someone's individual characteristics, where they live appears to make little difference to their chances of expressing a discriminatory point of view. Moreover such evidence as we have uncovered of those living in certain kinds of area espousing distinctive views is more plausibly accounted for as evidence that those of a similar frame of mind opt to live in similar places, rather than as evidence that people's views are influenced by those of their neighbours. At least as far as the subjects covered by this survey are concerned, places are little more than the sum of the individuals living in them, and not in themselves a source of distinctive attitudes.

### Key points:

- In general, neighbourhoods do not appear to foster or inhibit the formation of discriminatory attitudes.
- Once someone's individual characteristics are taken into account – for example their level of education or household income - where they live appears to make little difference to their chances of expressing discriminatory attitudes.
- There is some evidence to suggest that those with similar views may opt to live in similar kinds of places.

## **CHAPTER TEN      EXPLAINING DISCRIMINATORY ATTITUDES – CULTURAL THREAT AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY**

### **Introduction**

10.1 In the first part of this report we described the character of apparently discriminatory attitudes in Scotland and examined how these attitudes have changed in recent years. In this and the next chapter we look at possible explanations of why people hold such attitudes. In particular, we describe a number of questions that were included in the survey in order to assess the validity of certain social psychological explanations, look at the relationship between them and examine how well they enable us to understand people's attitudes towards prejudice in general. In the next chapter we examine how far the answers to those questions enable us to account for people's attitudes towards specific groups in each of the three contexts addressed by our research.

### **Background**

10.2 In our previous work, based on the 2002 Scottish Social Attitudes survey, we argued that who is and who is not most likely to express a discriminatory viewpoint is best explained by a 'psychological' account (Bromley and Curtice, 2003). Such an account argues that people's views are influenced by the affective identities to which they adhere and their images of those who do not share the same identities as themselves (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Those who have a strong sense of belonging to a particular social group and, at the same time, have negative images of those who belong to other social groups are expected to be particularly likely to profess discriminatory viewpoints (Stephan and Renfro, 2002). For example, those who have a strong sense of national identity (such as 'British' or 'Scottish') and who feel that those who belong to an ethnic minority support cultural values that threaten what they regard as 'the British (or Scottish) way of life' are thought particularly likely to express discriminatory attitudes towards ethnic minorities.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Of course, while negative images of 'other' groups may be held by individuals, those images are socially rather than individually constructed.

10.3 Our emphasis on the psychological basis of discriminatory attitudes was echoed by Abrams and Houston (2006) in work on prejudice they conducted for the Cabinet Office Equalities Review. They argued that ‘what sets the most negatively perceived groups apart is the higher levels [sic] of cultural and physical threats that they pose’ (p. 77) – in short, prejudice is most prevalent when a group is imbued by others with a negative image or stereotype that arouses negative emotions such as fear or disgust.

10.4 One of our key pieces of evidence for our claim about the importance of a psychological explanation was that our 2002 survey found people were far more likely to say that ‘sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups’ if they stated they preferred to live in an area where most people are similar to themselves, than if they said they liked to live in a neighbourhood containing lots of different kinds of people.<sup>16</sup> This pattern is replicated in our current study. Just 17% of those who say they would prefer to live with different kinds of people also say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced. In contrast, 41% of those who said that they preferred to live with people similar to themselves expressed that view.

10.5 However, at the same time, our previous research also ascertained that people were less likely to express a discriminatory attitude towards a particular group if they felt that members of that group had a lot in common with the rest of society – or indeed if they simply knew someone who belonged to that group. As noted in previous chapters that latter finding is also replicated in our current study.

10.6 In combination, these findings could be regarded as contradictory. On the one hand, discriminatory attitudes are less common among people who prefer to live amidst diversity; on the other, it seems they are also less likely to occur amongst people who do not consider others to be different from themselves. In this chapter, we try to examine whether it is possible to ascertain which of these perspectives is the more important in accounting for attitudes towards prejudice.

10.7 We do so by developing measures of ‘cultural threat’ and ‘cultural diversity’. The first of these is designed to tap the fears that people may

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<sup>16</sup> The full text of the question is ‘*Would you rather live in an area with lots of different kinds of people, or where most people are similar to you?*’. In 2006 49% gave the latter answer, 34% the former. This compares with figures of 46% and 37% respectively in 2002.

have about the impact on ‘their’ culture of the presence of people who are seen as ‘different’. It is intended to help us tap the fears that people may have when they do not feel that a group has something in common with themselves. The second is intended to capture the degree to which people feel at ease when exposed to public displays of cultural practices that they may regard as ‘alien’ or ‘unusual’. Our aim here is to capture the degree to which people feel emotionally at ease in the presence of what they may consider to be ‘difference’. By comparing the relative importance of these two orientations in accounting for discriminatory attitudes, we hope to cast some light on whether such attitudes are more likely to be reduced if people are persuaded to embrace difference, or whether instead this is more likely to happen if people are encouraged to feel they have something in common with members of other groups.

### **Measuring perceptions of ‘cultural threat’ and ‘cultural diversity’**

10.8 In order to try and tap these two potentially somewhat separate aspects of the psychological basis of discriminatory attitudes we developed a number of questionnaire items that were not included in our earlier research. Three of these items addressed directly the degree to which those in different groups were perceived to pose a ‘cultural threat’. These were:

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

*Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe came to live in Scotland*

and

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

While a more positively worded item was:

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

10.9 The answers these items secured certainly suggest there is a widespread perception that certain groups could pose a cultural threat. As we have already seen in Chapter Seven, as many as 50% agree that

Scotland would lose its identity if more Muslims were to come to live in the country; only 31% disagree. At 45% and 34% respectively, the equivalent figures for people from Eastern Europe are not dissimilar. Equally, they are also much the same in respect of black and Asian people (46% and 35% respectively). On the other hand a rather less negative view is taken of the claim that people from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place. Only 25% *disagree* with this statement while 34% agree. Nevertheless, 40% neither agree nor disagree, suggesting that most people regard such immigration, at best, as a mixed blessing.

10.10 Meanwhile, we also developed two items that were designed to tap people's affective or emotional reaction to being exposed to cultural practices that they might regard as 'alien' or 'unusual', and thus might tap how far people felt comfortable living in a culturally diverse environment. The first of these two measures was:

*Some people say they feel comfortable if they see a woman breastfeeding her child in public. Others say they feel uncomfortable. How comfortable or uncomfortable does it make you feel if you see a woman breastfeeding her child in public?*

10.11 Respondents were asked to answer using a five point scale ranging from 'very comfortable' to 'very uncomfortable'. Our second item was worded similarly except that it referred to:

*A Muslim woman with her face covered*

10.12 This latter practice is of course a highly visible and distinctive symbol of adherence to the Muslim faith. It thus makes highly visible an apparent cultural difference between Muslims and both adherents of other faiths and those who do not practice any religion at all. Meanwhile, recently the practice has been the subject of some debate and controversy. In particular the discomfort it appears capable of evoking was demonstrated when a senior member of the UK government, Jack Straw, indicated in October 2006 that he asked Muslim women who attended his constituency surgery to take off their veil on the grounds that it acted as a barrier to effective face to face communication.

10.13 In contrast, under the terms of the Breastfeeding etc (Scotland) Act 2005, it is now illegal in Scotland to debar a woman from breastfeeding in public. This might be thought to mean that such a practice is now widely culturally accepted and that thus lack of discomfort with the



practice hardly constitutes evidence of acceptance of an ‘unusual’ cultural practice. However, the fact that Holyrood has recently felt it necessary to pass such a law is an implicit recognition of the fact that some people do still object to the practice. In any event its social acceptability may be considered relatively recent in origin, a reflection of both more liberal mores about the public exposure of women’s breasts and the promotion of breastfeeding by the medical profession. Thus we should not be surprised if some people (and perhaps particularly those of an older generation) do in fact feel uncomfortable with a practice that for them is associated with a set of cultural values (in particular about sexuality and nudity) which they regard as ‘different’ (Li et al, 2002; Li et al, 2004). In this respect attitudes towards breastfeeding may be regarded as an indicator of feelings about difference; the question of whether, in combination with attitudes towards the veil, it helps to provide a reliable measure of feelings about cultural diversity in general is discussed further in para 10.23 below.

10.14 As we might expect, of the two practices, that of a Muslim woman covering her face in public is more likely to evoke discomfort. Just over one in five (22%) say they feel uncomfortable seeing a Muslim woman wearing a veil, while just one in ten (10%) say the same about a mother breastfeeding. Nevertheless, even in the case of the Muslim woman more people – 31% – say they feel comfortable with the practice of using a veil than say they are uncomfortable. Still, with as many as 45% saying they feel neither comfortable nor uncomfortable, we might surmise that use of the veil is not necessarily a practice with which many people in Scotland feel entirely comfortable (although of course such a response could also simply indicate indifference). In contrast, two-thirds of people in Scotland (67%) say they actually feel comfortable about seeing a woman breastfeeding in public.

10.15 Meanwhile, we also included one further item that was intended to tap views about the relative importance of, on the one hand, protecting minority cultures and, on the other hand, promoting the ‘majority’ culture. Respondents were presented with a ‘show card’ (displayed below) containing five boxes and were then asked:

*Some people say it's much better if people who move to Scotland from other countries keep their own distinct customs and traditions. They would place themselves in box B on this scale. Others say it's much better if people who move here adapt and blend into the larger society. They would place themselves in box K. Others have views that are somewhere in between. Which box best describes your view?*

Much better  
for society if  
groups  
maintain their  
distinct  
customs and  
traditions

Much better  
if groups  
adapt and  
blend into  
larger  
society

<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>K</b>
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10.16 We anticipated that those who favoured the former view, denoting support for the maintenance of minority cultures, would be less likely to express discriminatory attitudes than those who took the latter position that emphasises the importance of everyone being part of the majority culture. In the rest of this report we refer to this scale as the minority vs. majority culture scale.

10.17 There is far more support for the proposition that migrants to Scotland should 'adapt and blend into the larger society' than there is for the argument that they should 'keep their own distinct customs and traditions'. As many as 33% put themselves in the box that indicated the strongest level of support for 'adapt and blend', while another 21% placed themselves in the box adjacent to that. In contrast just 5% professed strong support for maintaining distinct customs and traditions, while only 7% put themselves in the box next to that. It is worth noting, however, that a third put themselves in the middle box, suggesting a reasonable degree of support for a position which recognises the value and interests of both minority and majority cultures.

### **The structure of perceptions**

10.18 Our immediate interest in the seven new survey questions we have just described is not, however, in how many people adopt a particular viewpoint. Rather we are concerned to establish whether they do in fact identify two distinct psychological orientations of 'cultural

threat’ and ‘cultural diversity’ – and whether both those orientations are linked to the key psychological measure in our 2002 research, that is the kind of area in which people would prefer to live. In order to establish this we undertook a factor analysis of all seven items, together with that question on the kind of area in which people say they would like to live. Factor analysis is a statistical technique that identifies which of a set of variables is closely associated with which other variables, and with which less so. (Two statements can be said to be ‘closely associated’ if those who agree with one statement are either particularly likely to agree or particularly likely to disagree with the other.) Where two or more variables are closely associated with each other they are said to form part of a single underlying ‘factor’ or dimension. If it is the case that our seven new items tap two rather different psychological orientations, both of which are reflected in people’s attitudes towards the kind of area in which they live, we would expect to uncover two different dimensions, and that both of these are associated to some degree with people’s views about the kind of area in which they would prefer to live.

**Table 10.1 Dimensions of psychological orientations**

	Dimension	
	I ‘Cultural Threat’	II ‘Cultural Diversity’
Prefer to live with similar people	*	*
More Muslims threaten identity	*	-
More East Europeans threaten identity	*	-
More black and Asian people threaten identity	*	-
People who come to Scotland don’t make it better	*	-
Uncomfortable breastfeeding in public	-	*
Uncomfortable face covered in public	-	*
Immigrants should adapt and blend	(*)	-

10.19 Table 10.1 provides a simple summary of the results of our analysis (full details can be found in Annex A). It shows the dimensions that were identified by the factor analysis, and which questions belong to each dimension. We can see that for the most part our expectations are upheld. The analysis uncovered two dimensions, largely corresponding to our ‘cultural threat’ and ‘cultural diversity’ orientations. Meanwhile both of these orientations are associated with people’s preferences for the kind of place in which they live.

10.20 The first dimension includes the three items on the threat that an increase in the number of people from a particular social group would pose to Scotland's identity. It also includes our question on whether those who come from outside Britain to live in Scotland make the country a better place to live. Moreover this dimension is associated with people's attitudes towards the kind of community in which they would prefer to live. Those who feel that more Muslims, Eastern Europeans or black and Asian people would pose a threat to Scotland's identity are also more likely to say that they prefer to live alongside people who are similar to themselves. The same is true of those who do not feel that immigrants make the country a better place.

10.21 The second dimension includes how comfortable people feel with seeing a woman breastfeeding in public and how comfortable they are seeing a Muslim woman with her face covered. Those who say they are uncomfortable about seeing a Muslim woman with her face covered are also somewhat more likely to say that they are uncomfortable seeing a woman breastfeeding in public.<sup>17</sup> At the same time this dimension is also associated with the kind of place in which people would prefer to live. Those who are comfortable with both of these practices are more likely to say that they feel comfortable living in an area with different kinds of people. However, those who express discomfort about seeing breastfeeding or the veil in public are not particularly more likely to feel that more Muslims, Eastern Europeans or black and Asian people would pose a threat to Scotland's identity. Thus, for example, 44% of those who feel comfortable seeing a woman breastfeeding in public agree that having more Eastern Europeans in Scotland would threaten the country's identity, only a little lower than the equivalent figure of 57% amongst those who do not feel comfortable. This is why our factor analysis has placed these two sets of questions in different dimensions.

10.22 We thus appear to have unpacked somewhat the psychological orientation that our previous research suggested is an important source of discriminatory attitudes. Some of our survey questions appear primarily to tap the degree to which people feel that those who might be considered 'outsiders' to Scotland are thought to pose a 'cultural threat' to existing Scottish society. In contrast, other survey questions appear

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<sup>17</sup> Only a half of those who are uncomfortable seeing a Muslim woman with her face covered are comfortable seeing a woman breastfeeding in public. In contrast, as many as 83% of those who are comfortable with the use of the veil are comfortable about breastfeeding in public.

primarily to help tap the degree to which people feel emotionally comfortable living in a diverse society.

10.23 Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that our second dimension is based on just two items. This inevitably means that it encompasses a very limited range of cultural practices, while both those that it did cover focus specifically on the role of women. It is thus possible that, as a result of limitations on questionnaire space, the survey was less successful in securing a reliable measure of cultural diversity than it was of cultural threat. This possibility needs to be borne in mind when assessing the results in this and the subsequent chapter.

10.24 Meanwhile, our five point scale question about the relative importance that should be assigned to minority and majority cultures does not appear to fit in particularly well with either of our dimensions. While the factor analysis does suggest that those who think that migrants to Scotland should adapt and blend into the wider society are somewhat more likely to express attitudes that signify concern about cultural threat, the pattern is not a strong one. (This is why we have placed a bracket around its entry on the first dimension.) At the same time responses to the scale do not appear to be associated with our second dimension at all. We will return to why this might be the case shortly (see para 10.32).

10.25 In the meantime we appear to have the basis to construct two scales. First, to form a cultural threat scale we add together respondents' 'scores' on each of the three items about whether Scotland's identity might be threatened, together with the question on whether immigrants make Scotland a better place to live. In each case respondents could give one of five answers, and we have scored these so that for each question the answer signifying the lowest level of cultural threat has a score of one, and the answer indicating the greatest concern a score of five. We then sum each respondent's score across all four questions and divide the result by four, thereby giving each respondent an average 'cultural threat' score. The higher that score the more a respondent is thought to be concerned about 'cultural threat'. For presentational purposes we have then simplified this scale by bringing together into one group all those with an average score of less than two and a half (that is those who feel least threatened), into a second group those with a score of more than three and a half (the most threatened), while those with a score in between those two bands comprise a third category (the moderately threatened).

10.26 The second scale measuring cultural diversity is constructed in much the same manner, but is based on our questions on breastfeeding and use of the veil in public. In both cases those who are ‘very comfortable’ with a practice have a score of one, those who are ‘very uncomfortable’ a score of five. Thus the higher someone’s score, the more discomfited they are by displays of cultural diversity. In this case the resulting average scores are divided into four groups, those with a score of one (the very comfortable), those with a tally of more than one but no more than two (the mostly comfortable), those with a rating of more than two but no more than three (the neither comfortable nor uncomfortable), and finally those with a score of more than three (the uncomfortable).

**Table 10.2 Distribution of views on Cultural Threat and Cultural Diversity Scales**

<b>Cultural Threat</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Cultural Diversity</b>	<b>%</b>
Least threatened	33	Very comfortable	11
Moderately threatened	29	Mostly comfortable	28
Most threatened	38	Neither	45
		Uncomfortable	16
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1,537</i>		<i>1,385</i>

10.27 The distribution of positions on the two scales is shown in Table 10.2. The cultural threat scale discriminates between people quite effectively. A third fall into the ‘least threatened’ category, and they are almost equally balanced by just over a third (38%) who fall into the ‘most threatened’ group. In contrast nearly half (45%) fall into the ‘neither comfortable nor uncomfortable’ category on the cultural diversity scale, while little more than around one in ten or one in six belong to either end. This scale is evidently less successful than the cultural threat scale at distinguishing between people’s views. This may be because, as indicated above, it is based on only two items.

## Which perception matters most?

10.28 But how well do our two scales account for the incidence of discriminatory attitudes? In order to obtain a first answer to this question we can use our overall measure of a prejudicial outlook first introduced in Chapter Two, that is whether someone feels that ‘sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups’. Are those who feel less threatened culturally less likely than those who do feel threatened to express this view? Are those who are less comfortable about diversity more likely to do so than those who feel more comfortable?

10.29 We can see from Table 10.3 that both patterns are apparent. Half of those who are most concerned about cultural threat say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced. In contrast no more than one in eight (13%) of those who feel least threatened culturally support that view. Table 10.4 highlights that much the same pattern is found in respect of the cultural diversity scale. Nearly half (47%) of those who feel uncomfortable say there is sometimes good reason to be prejudiced, compared with only around one in six (16%) of those who feel very comfortable. However, the gap between those in the first and last categories on the cultural diversity scale is somewhat smaller than that on the cultural threat scale (31 points rather than 37).<sup>18</sup> It would seem that the cultural threat scale is rather better than its cultural diversity counterpart at accounting for who takes a prejudicial viewpoint.

**Table 10.3 Incidence of overall prejudice by concern about cultural threat**

	Cultural Threat		
	Least threatened	Moderately threatened	Most threatened
% say sometimes reason to be prejudiced	13	22	50
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>474</i>	<i>451</i>	<i>592</i>

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<sup>18</sup> Note that this is despite the fact that there is a bigger difference in underlying scale scores between the first and last categories of the cultural diversity scale than there is between the two end points of the cultural threat scale.

**Table 10.4 Incidence of overall prejudice by feelings about cultural diversity**

	<b>Cultural Diversity</b>			
	<b>Very comfortable</b>	<b>Fairly comfortable</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<b>Un-comfortable</b>
% say sometimes reason to be prejudiced	16	22	31	47
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>149</i>	<i>391</i>	<i>613</i>	<i>218</i>

**Table 10.5 Incidence of overall prejudice by minority versus majority culture scale**

	<b>Minority v. Majority Culture Scale</b>				
	Keep traditions				Adapt & Blend
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
% say sometimes reason to be prejudiced	33	17	19	24	43
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>504</i>	<i>334</i>	<i>554</i>

10.30 Meanwhile Table 10.5 also shows us how the level of support for prejudice varies according to the answer given on the minority vs. majority culture scale. Those who placed themselves in the box labelled 'keep their own customs and traditions' are on the left hand side of the table, and have been given a nominal score of '1'. Those who placed themselves in the nearest adjacent box to this comprise the group with a nominal score of '2', while those who placed themselves in the middle box are those with a score of '3', and so on.

10.31 We can see that there is a distinctive pattern. As we might expect, those who believe that migrants should adapt and blend into the wider society are most likely to express a prejudicial viewpoint; as many as 43% do so. But thereafter the group that is next most likely to state that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced are those who say that migrant groups should keep their own distinct customs and traditions – as many as 33% take that view. It is those who place themselves somewhere in between our two poles who are least supportive of prejudice.



10.32 This analysis helps us to understand why our scale did not clearly form part of either of the two dimensions that emerged from our factor analysis at Table 10.1. above. In undertaking that analysis we assumed that the outlook of those who placed themselves in the ‘keep traditions’ box contrasted most sharply of all with the views of those who put themselves in the ‘adapt and blend’ box. This is evidently not the case. Rather than necessarily indicating positive support for a diversity of cultures, it appears that some of those who placed themselves in the ‘keep their own customs and traditions’ box were saying that migrant groups should *confine* themselves to those customs and traditions and should not be allowed to become part of wider Scottish society. Those who placed themselves in the middle, in contrast, may well have been indicating that migrant groups should be able to become part of wider society without necessarily having to lose (all of) the distinctive customs and traditions of the society from which they have migrated.

10.33 We are still left with one important question – are the three patterns that we have found in Tables 10.3, 10.4 and 10.5 separate from each other? For example, once we know where someone stands on our cultural threat scale, does their attitude towards whether immigrant groups should keep their customs or adapt and blend tell us anything more about their likelihood of adopting a prejudicial viewpoint? And most importantly for our main purpose, can we confirm which of our scales is the best predictor of someone’s chances of supporting a prejudicial viewpoint?

10.34 We can answer these questions by undertaking multivariate analysis. In undertaking this we examine for each of our three scales the strength of the association between someone’s attitude to prejudice and their scale score, while simultaneously taking into account the association between their attitude to prejudice and their score on the other two scales. The results of the analysis (shown in Annex A to this report) are relatively straightforward. By far the best predictor of someone’s attitude to prejudice is their score on the cultural threat scale. Although both the cultural diversity scale and the minority vs majority culture scale also have a small if statistically significant association with a prejudicial outlook, in both cases the association is clearly much weaker than it is in the case of the cultural threat scale.

## Conclusion

10.35 So from this initial analysis it would appear that the psychological orientation that better accounts for the incidence of discriminatory attitudes is fear of cultural threat, rather than discomfort with the existence of cultural diversity. Fear that a social group to which one does not belong poses a threat to the maintenance of one's own culture and identity appears to be a potent wellspring of prejudice. On its own, acceptance of cultural diversity seems to play a more minor role in discouraging discriminatory attitudes (though we have to bear in mind the limitations of our measure of that concept). Indeed, as we have seen, apparent support for the distinctive traditions of those who move to Scotland may in fact be associated with a wish to maintain cultural separation, rather than a positive endorsement of the culture of others. Instead it appears to be those who feel that the culture of migrant groups should be respected, but that such groups should also have access to the culture of the wider society who seem least likely to uphold a discriminatory outlook.

10.36 The importance of perceived cultural threat as a source of discriminatory attitudes uncovered in this analysis clearly echoes the findings of Abrams and Houston (2006). However, they also argued that cultural threat was more important in understanding attitudes towards some groups, such as gay men and lesbians or black and Asian people, than it was in respect of other groups such as older people or people with disabilities. Equally, as we suggested in the introduction to this report, it may be a more important source of discriminatory attitudes in more intimate contexts than in less intimate ones (see also Abrams and Houston, 2006: 65). In the next chapter therefore we try to chart whether there are important differences between different groups or different contexts in the degree to which cultural threat appears to be a source of a discriminatory point of view.

**Key points:**

- This chapter attempts to uncover the psychological orientations underlying discriminatory attitudes. It suggests two possibilities. The first is a concern that those who might be considered 'outsiders' to Scotland pose a threat to the culture of the existing society. The second is discomfiture about living in a society that is culturally diverse.
- Discriminatory attitudes appear to be underpinned by concerns about cultural threat more than they are about concerns over cultural diversity.
- In some cases it also appears that apparent support for the distinctive traditions of those who come to Scotland reflects a desire to maintain a distance from people with different cultural practices, rather than a willingness positively to endorse other cultures.

## **CHAPTER ELEVEN      DIFFERENT CONTEXTS, DIFFERENT GROUPS, DIFFERENT PREJUDICES?**

### **Introduction**

11.1 In the previous chapter we concluded that concern about cultural threat appears to be the most potent source of discriminatory views in general, while feeling uncomfortable about cultural diversity seems to play a rather lesser role. In this chapter, we examine how far this picture holds when we look at specific groups in particular contexts. Does, for example, concern about cultural threat underlie discriminatory attitudes towards someone with a learning disability as much as it does attitudes towards an asylum seeker? And is cultural threat just as important in accounting for discriminatory attitudes in less intimate contexts, such as the workplace, as it is in more intimate ones such as family relationships or the home?

11.2 To answer these questions we look in this chapter at how far the incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards specific groups varies according to where people stand on each of the three scales – cultural threat, cultural diversity and minority versus majority culture – we introduced in the previous chapter. We do so by looking at attitudes in three different contexts. We begin with family relationships, looking primarily at attitudes towards prospective partners for marriage or a long-term relationship. We then subsequently consider, in turn, attitudes towards employment and the provision of services, focusing primarily on perceptions of the suitability of different kinds of people as a primary school teacher and on the provision of bed and breakfast within one's own home.

### **Family relationships**

11.3 Table 11.1 shows for each of the three categories on the cultural threat scale the proportion who would be unhappy if a close relative of theirs were to marry someone who belonged to a particular group. Note that the groups are listed in the table in order of the total proportion who said that they would be unhappy about such a marriage or relationship (see Table 3.1 in Chapter Three). Table 11.1 also shows, in the final column, the difference between the proportion of those most concerned

about cultural threat who would be unhappy and the equivalent proportion amongst those who are least concerned.

**Table 11.1 Unhappiness about potential long-term relationships by concern about cultural threat**

% unhappy if close relative married / formed long-term relationship with:	Cultural Threat			Gap
	Least threatened	Somewhat threatened	Most threatened	
Someone who has had a sex change operation	32	48	66	34
Gypsy/Traveller	20	36	52	32
Asylum seeker	18	32	59	41
Someone of same sex	19	29	48	29
A Muslim	8	17	42	34
A Hindu	5	14	36	31
Someone who has a learning disability	11	14	21	10
Someone who was black or Asian	2	8	22	20
Someone from a Chinese background	2	8	21	19
Someone who was Jewish	5	6	20	17
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>477</i>	<i>456</i>	<i>604</i>	

Note: Gap = difference between those who are least and most concerned about cultural threat.

11.4 In each case those who are most concerned about cultural threat are clearly most likely to express unhappiness about the relationship in question. For example, as many as two-thirds of those most concerned about cultural threat would be unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with a transsexual person, compared with slightly less than a third (32%) of those who are least concerned – a ‘gap’ of 34 points. It would appear that the prospect of relationships with members of these groups is particularly likely to evoke the fears that underlie concern about cultural threat.

11.5 Broadly speaking the greater the overall level of expressed unhappiness about a particular kind of relationship, the bigger the percentage point difference between the attitudes of those with high and low cultural threat scores. Thus whereas there is a difference or ‘gap’ of 34 points in respect of a transsexual person (the group about whom unhappiness was most likely to be expressed overall), the equivalent

figure for a Jewish person (about whom unhappiness was least likely to be expressed) is just half that – 17 points. This would seem to suggest that the overall incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards close relationships depends significantly on the degree to which a particular group evokes concern about cultural threat. This, however, is a point to which we will return below.

11.6 In any event, even those least concerned about cultural threat are more likely to express unhappiness about a close relative forming a relationship with someone from one of the groups in the top half of our table than they are those in the lower half. For example, while just 5% of those least concerned about cultural threat express unhappiness about a relationship with a Jewish person, as many as 32% say the same about a transsexual person. Thus, the high level of unhappiness expressed by the public in general about the prospect of a close relative having a relationship with a transsexual person – or indeed someone from any of the groups in the top half of the table - cannot simply be explained by the existence of greater antagonism towards such relationships amongst those who are most concerned about cultural threat; unhappiness about such relationships is also relatively high amongst those least concerned about cultural threat.

11.7 We should also note that feelings about a relative marrying or forming a relationship with someone with a learning disability are not particularly strongly related to concerns about cultural threat. The ‘gap’ score in Table 11.1 is just ten points, lower than in respect of any other group. The basis of unhappiness towards such a prospect is evidently somewhat different than is true of a marriage involving any of the other groups in our table.

11.8 Table 11.2 undertakes the equivalent analysis of attitudes towards marriage and relationships involving a close relative by position on the cultural diversity scale. Many of the patterns we identified in respect of the cultural threat scale are true of this scale too. Those who embrace cultural diversity are less likely to express unhappiness about any particular kind of relationship. This is especially so where the overall level of unhappiness about a relationship with someone from that group is relatively high. So, for example, nearly half (49%) of those who are uncomfortable about cultural diversity would be unhappy about a close relative marrying or forming a relationship with an asylum seeker, whereas only just over a quarter (26%) of those who are very comfortable with diversity express that view.

11.9 However, even those who are the most comfortable with cultural diversity are more likely to express unhappiness about a potential partner who belongs to one of the groups in the top half of our table than to one in the bottom half. For example, while 26% of those who are very comfortable about cultural diversity are unhappy about a relationship with an asylum seeker, just 7% say the same about a black or Asian person.

**Table 11.2 Unhappiness about potential long-term relationships by feelings about cultural diversity**

% unhappy if close relative married / formed long-term relationship with:	Cultural Diversity				Gap
	Very comfortable	Fairly comfortable	Neither	Uncomfortable	
Someone who has had a sex change operation	34	47	51	64	30
Gypsy/Traveller	22	34	38	49	27
Asylum seeker	26	32	40	49	23
Someone of same sex	24	30	33	43	19
A Muslim	14	19	23	38	24
A Hindu	10	16	19	33	23
Someone who has a learning disability	9	14	17	24	15
Someone who was black or Asian	7	7	11	18	11
Someone from a Chinese background	6	8	10	18	12
Someone who was Jewish	7	7	10	17	10
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>149</i>	<i>395</i>	<i>620</i>	<i>221</i>	

Note: Gap = difference between those who are least and most comfortable with cultural diversity.

11.10 So the pattern of association between attitudes towards relationships with members of different groups and feeling about cultural diversity is much the same as the association with cultural threat. Those who are uncomfortable about cultural diversity are more likely to express unhappiness about each possible kind of relationship, just as those who are most concerned about cultural threat are more likely to do so. But are the two associations equally strong? Judging by the level of the gap between those with a high and those with a low score on each scale, the answer appears to be, 'No'. For example, the gap in respect of an asylum seeker is 41 points on the cultural threat scale, but only 23 points

on the cultural diversity one. Only in one instance does this pattern not hold, that is feelings about marriage to someone with a learning disability. Overall it would seem that, as in the case of our analysis of attitudes towards prejudice overall, fears about perceived cultural threat are generally the more important source of discriminatory attitudes in respect of family relationships.

11.11 Meanwhile, Table 11.3 shows how attitudes towards different kinds of partners vary according to where people stood on our minority vs. majority culture scale. As we might anticipate from the analysis in the previous chapter, those who feel that migrants to Scotland should adapt and blend into the majority culture are most likely to express a discriminatory viewpoint, but that thereafter it is those who feel they should keep their customs and traditions who are next most likely to do so. In general it is those in one of the middle categories of our scale who are least likely to express unhappiness. So, for example, 51% of those who place themselves at the 'adapt and blend' end of the scale, express unhappiness about a relationship with a Gypsy/Traveller, as do 41% of those at the 'keep traditions' end, whereas only 27% of those who put themselves exactly in between the two do so. However, inspection of the results indicates that the scale discriminates less well between those who do and do not express unhappiness, than does either our cultural threat or our cultural diversity scale.



**Table 11.3 Unhappiness about potential long-term relationships by minority vs majority culture scale**

% unhappy if close relative married / formed long-term relationship with:	Minority vs Majority Culture Scale Score				
	1	2	3	4	5
Someone who has had a sex change operation	57	31	39	50	63
Gypsy/Traveller	41	28	27	33	51
Asylum seeker	47	26	31	33	48
Someone of same sex	42	16	25	27	47
A Muslim	20	12	14	19	38
A Hindu	22	13	12	15	30
Someone who has a learning disability	19	15	11	15	21
Someone who was black or Asian	12	7	6	8	19
Someone from a Chinese background	13	10	5	7	18
Someone who was Jewish	16	11	6	7	14
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>511</i>	<i>337</i>	<i>564</i>

11.12 We can, however, establish the relative strength of the association between our three scales and feelings about the various prospective marriage partners more firmly by undertaking multivariate analysis in much the same way as that reported towards the end of the previous chapter. Such analysis not only enables us to estimate how strongly attitudes are associated with perceptions of cultural threat while taking into account feelings about cultural diversity, but also to take a more subtle approach to measuring the strength of an association than one based on percentage point differences (whose size is, of course, limited by the overall incidence of a viewpoint and which do not take account the full range of responses from 'very comfortable' to 'very uncomfortable').

11.13 One clear and important finding emerges from this analysis (details of which are to be found in Table C.1 in Annex A). Although in each case, cultural threat and cultural diversity are both significantly associated with feelings about a prospective marriage partner, in each case also it is the cultural threat score that is better able to account for how someone feels. Thus, just as in the case of prejudice in general, unhappiness about the possibility of a close relative marrying or forming

a relationship with someone from our various groups is clearly linked primarily to concern about perceived cultural threat.

11.14 However, we should also note a few further points. First, perceived cultural threat appears to be particularly linked to feelings about relationships with a Muslim, a Hindu or an asylum seeker. Of course, we should bear in mind that a specific question about Muslims provides one of the items from which our cultural threat scale is derived, and this perhaps might explain why that scale is particularly strongly associated with feelings about a relative marrying a Muslim. On the other hand, the same reasoning cannot be used to explain why our cultural threat scale is particularly strongly associated with feelings about an asylum seeker or a Hindu. Rather it seems more reasonable to conclude that these three groups particularly evoke the fears of those who are apparently concerned about perceived cultural threat. Of course two of them – Muslims and asylum seekers – have been the subject of particularly unfavourable publicity in recent years and this may well help explain why perhaps these groups are particularly likely to be regarded as ‘different’ or ‘outsiders’. Meanwhile, as Hinduism is also an Asiatic religion it may be linked in people’s minds with the Muslim faith.

11.15 Second, contrary to what appears to be the case from looking at the percentage point gaps in Table 11.1, cultural threat appears to be just as important in understanding differences in attitudes towards those about whom overall unhappiness is less common (e.g. someone who was Jewish or Chinese) as it is attitudes towards those about whom unhappiness is more common (e.g. a Gypsy/Traveller). The same is true of cultural diversity.

11.16 Third, the multivariate analysis confirms that it is those in the middle of our minority vs majority culture scale who are least likely to express unhappiness. Moreover, this pattern is still statistically significant even when we take into account both someone’s cultural threat and cultural diversity scores. The strength of the pattern varies somewhat however; it is, for example, relatively weak in the case of asylum seekers but relatively important in respect of a same sex partnership. Meanwhile the views of the relatively small group of people who say that migrants should keep their customs and traditions are usually not significantly different from those who say migrants should adapt and blend into the larger society.

11.17 Finally, as we have already had reason to suspect (see Chapter Three, especially para 3.16), attitudes towards the prospect of a

relationship with or marriage to someone with a learning disability are rather different in character. As compared with all of the other groups about whom we asked, cultural threat appears to be a far less important source of professed unhappiness in this case. Again, this suggests that not all discriminatory views necessarily arise for exactly the same reason.

11.18 As discussed in Chapter Three, we also asked in our survey a range of further questions about attitudes towards sexual orientation. Tables 11.4, 11.5 and 11.6, which show how the answers to these questions varied according to where people stood on our three scales, suggest that both concern about cultural threat and feelings about cultural diversity influence people’s responses. However, multivariate analysis (see Table C.2 in Annex A) indicates that cultural threat appears to be the more important source of discriminatory attitudes. At the same time it also indicates, as we remarked earlier was true about attitudes towards a prospective same-sex relationship, that whether or not someone puts themselves in the middle of our minority vs majority culture scale is particularly important in accounting for attitudes towards sexual orientation. This may be an indication that discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians arise not just because they are thought to constitute a cultural threat, but also because they are regarded by some as a group that does not conform to the social mores of the bulk of society.

**Table 11.4 Attitudes towards same-sex relationships by concern about cultural threat**

	Cultural Threat			Gap
	Least threatened	Somewhat threatened	Most threatened	
% say it is always / mostly wrong for...				
...two men to have sexual relationship	20	29	42	22
...two women to have sexual relationship	19	29	41	20
% who disagree that gay / lesbian couples should have the right to marry	11	20	32	21
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>477</i>	<i>456</i>	<i>604</i>	

Note: Gap = difference between those who are least and most concerned about cultural threat.

**Table 11.5 Attitudes towards same-sex relationships by feelings about cultural diversity**

	Cultural Diversity				Gap
	Very comfortable	Fairly comfortable	Neither	Uncomfortable	
% say it is always / mostly wrong for...					
...two men to have sexual relationship	22	28	30	45	23
...two women to have sexual relationship	19	28	28	44	23
% who disagree that gay / lesbian couples should have the right to marry	16	19	19	38	22
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>149</i>	<i>395</i>	<i>620</i>	<i>221</i>	

Note: Gap = difference between those who are least and most comfortable with cultural diversity.

**Table 11.6 Attitudes towards same-sex relationships by minority vs majority scale scores**

	Minority vs Majority Culture Scale Score				
	1	2	3	4	5
% say it is always / mostly wrong for...					
...two men to have sexual relationship	36	22	22	27	43
...two women to have sexual relationship	35	20	22	25	43
% who disagree that gay / lesbian couples should have the right to marry	23	26	14	17	32
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>511</i>	<i>337</i>	<i>564</i>

## Employment

11.19 We now turn to attitudes towards employment. How far are the patterns we uncovered with respect to close family relationships replicated in this less intimate context? We begin in Table 11.7 by examining how far attitudes towards the suitability of various kinds of people for the job of primary school teacher vary according to someone's score on our cultural threat scale. In similar vein to the equivalent tables in the previous section we list the various kinds of teacher in order of the overall proportion that deemed such a person unsuitable. Meanwhile, bearing in mind the traditional gender stereotyping of primary school teaching as a "woman's job", we also show the proportion who think that women are more suitable than men for such a position.

11.20 Two points are immediately evident. First in all cases those who are most concerned about perceived cultural threat are more likely to state that someone is unsuitable for the post of primary school teacher. So, for example, as many as 63% of those who are most concerned about cultural threat feel that someone who has occasional episodes of depression would be unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, compared with just 38% of those who are least concerned. Evidently cultural threat helps account for discriminatory attitudes in this less intimate context too. Second, the difference of attitude between those least and most concerned about cultural threat is much the same in all but one instance. In general the ‘gap’ statistic in Table 11.7 is around 20 points. The one clear exception – whether a black or Asian person would be suitable as a primary school teacher - is one where the percentage point gap is clearly constrained by the low overall proportion (just 4%) who feel that such a person would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher.

**Table 11.7 Attitudes to possible teachers by concern about cultural threat**

% feel unsuitable to be a primary school teacher:	Cultural Threat			Gap
	Least threatened	Somewhat threatened	Most threatened	
Someone with depression	38	49	63	25
Someone aged 70	40	47	59	19
Gypsy/Traveller	37	46	60	23
Someone who has had a sex change operation	18	27	41	23
A gay man or lesbian	13	20	33	20
A Muslim	3	13	27	24
Someone who was black or Asian	1	3	9	8
% who think women are more suitable than men	14	22	29	15
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>431</i>	<i>409</i>	<i>548</i>	

Note: Gap = difference between those who are least and most concerned about cultural threat.

11.21 From this last pattern an important point follows. Even those who are least concerned about cultural threat are relatively likely to state that certain kinds of person would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. The 38% of this group that believes that someone who experiences depression would be unsuitable – or the 40% who feel someone aged 70 would be – contrasts sharply with the equivalent figure of just 3% in

respect of a Muslim and 13% a gay man or lesbian. Discriminatory viewpoints about the suitability of those in certain groups, such as someone with depression or an older person, are simply more prevalent across society in general.

11.22 Meanwhile, and not least of all, we should note that the percentage point gaps in Table 11.7 are typically rather smaller than those in the equivalent table about prospective partners (Table 11.1). So, for example, whereas in that earlier table the percentage point gap for a Gypsy/Traveller was 32 points, and that for a transsexual person, 34 points, in this table the equivalent figure in both cases is 23 points. So while concerns about cultural threat also matter in this less intimate environment, they apparently have somewhat less force than they do in respect of close family relationships.

**Table 11.8 Attitudes to possible teachers by feelings about cultural diversity**

	<b>Cultural diversity</b>				<b>Gap</b>
	Very comfortable	Fairly comfortable	Neither	Uncomfortable	
Someone with depression	33	48	54	59	26
Someone aged 70	37	47	53	56	19
Gypsy/Traveller	33	47	50	64	31
Someone who has had a sex change operation	19	28	30	42	23
A gay man or lesbian	10	20	25	37	27
A Muslim	6	10	16	30	24
Someone who was black or Asian	3	3	4	13	10
% who think women are more suitable than men	14	21	24	28	14
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>149</i>	<i>395</i>	<i>620</i>	<i>221</i>	

Note: Gap = difference between those who are least and most comfortable with cultural diversity.

11.23 Table 11.8 examines how attitudes towards the suitability of various people as primary school teachers varies according to someone's score on our cultural diversity scale. A familiar pattern emerges. Those who are more accepting of diversity according to our scale are less likely to regard someone as unsuitable as a teacher. Thus, for example, someone who feels uncomfortable about diversity is 26 points more likely to regard someone who experiences depression as

unsuitable. Moreover this gap is much the same for nearly all of the various kinds of people about which we asked.

11.24 Meanwhile, if we compare the results of this table with those of Table 11.2, which performed the equivalent analysis in respect of attitudes towards prospective partners, we find that the percentage point gap figures are typically much the same or even higher in this table than they were in that earlier table. For example, the percentage point gap figure for a Gypsy/Traveller is 31 points here, compared with 27 points in the earlier table. The gap here for a gay man or lesbian is 27 points where it was 19 points earlier. So whereas concern about cultural threat appears less strongly related to attitudes to employment than it does to a prospective relationship, the same is not true of feelings about cultural diversity. Thus, relatively speaking at least, cultural diversity seemingly matters rather more in accounting for discriminatory attitudes in respect of employment than it did in respect of prospective marriage partners. Of course the two underlying items in our cultural diversity scale are both about feelings about certain kinds of behaviour *in public*, and this may help explain why it is relatively better able to tap the existence of discriminatory attitudes in this less intimate situation.

11.25 In contrast, for the most part where someone stands on our minority vs majority culture scale is less strongly associated with perceptions of the suitability of someone as a school teacher than it is with feelings about prospective partners (see Table 11.9). While those who place themselves in the middle boxes are usually somewhat less likely to say that someone is unsuitable to be a primary school teacher, the difference between their attitudes and the views of those who place themselves in one of the two end boxes is usually relatively modest. The biggest such difference is between the 39% of people in the middle box who feel that a Gypsy/Traveller is unsuitable to be a primary school teacher and the 59% of those in the adapt and blend box who take that view.

**Table 11.9 Attitudes towards possible teachers by minority vs majority culture scale**

	Minority vs Majority Culture Scale Score				
	1	2	3	4	5
Someone with depression	63	38	42	52	59
Someone aged 70	56	34	49	51	51
Gypsy/Traveller	57	39	39	48	59
Someone who has had a sex change operation	38	20	24	29	37
A gay man or lesbian	28	16	13	19	30
A Muslim	17	6	9	9	26
Someone who was black or Asian	9	1	2	3	7
% who think women are more suitable than men	12	22	17	23	29
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>511</i>	<i>337</i>	<i>564</i>

11.26 We can again assess the relative impact of our measures of psychological orientation more formally by undertaking multivariate analysis, details of which are shown in Table C.3 in Annex A. One point immediately becomes apparent. Cultural threat is less strongly associated with discriminatory attitudes towards the suitability of someone to be a teacher than it is attitudes towards a prospective marriage partner. The same, however, is not true of the cultural diversity score. Therefore, our interim conclusion that, relatively speaking at least, feelings about cultural diversity are a more important source of discriminatory viewpoints about employment than they are in respect of family relationships is confirmed. Indeed, in accounting for differences in attitude towards who would make a suitable primary school teacher, feelings about cultural diversity matter more or less as much as concerns about perceived cultural threat.

11.27 We should note, however, that when we consider the relationship between all three of our scales and attitudes towards the suitability of someone to be a primary school teacher, their combined ability to account for the incidence of discriminatory attitudes is typically less than it was in the case of attitudes towards a prospective partner. As we have measured it at least, psychological orientation is generally a less strong source of discriminatory attitudes in this less intimate context of primary school teaching.

11.28 One characteristic in particular seems largely unrelated to all of our measures of psychological orientation – that is whether someone aged



70 or over is suitable for the job of a primary school teacher. The feeling that such a person would indeed be unsuitable is evidently shared by many people who would otherwise not be expected to hold a discriminatory point of view. This would appear to confirm our conclusion in Chapter Four that attitudes towards an older person being a primary school teacher may have more to do with perceptions (however erroneous they may be) about their likely effectiveness in the job rather than because they would not be a fit and proper person to be employed. We should note too that the perception that women are more suitable than men to be a primary school teacher also exhibits little relationship with any of our measures.

11.29 It will be remembered from Chapter Four that our survey also included a range of other questions about attitudes towards employment. Two of these are, perhaps unsurprisingly, strongly linked to concern about cultural threat in particular. Those who are most concerned about cultural threat are more than 40 points more likely to say both that people from ethnic minorities and that people who come to Scotland from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland. Evidently concern about perceived cultural threat easily spills over into hostility towards a group on economic grounds.

11.30 In contrast, most of the other questions we asked about employment are only weakly related to our scales. This includes views on whether or not older people should be required to retire, as well as attitudes towards whether fathers should be able to take time off work when their children are ill. However, there is some relationship between the scales – and the cultural threat scale in particular – and whether or not people agree that a man's role is to go out to work to earn money while that of a woman is to look after the home. That very traditional understanding of the roles of men and women does seem to some degree at least to be part and parcel of a tendency towards a discriminatory point of view.

## **Bed and Breakfast**

11.31 We now turn to our third main area of enquiry, that is whether someone running a bed and breakfast business in their own home should be allowed to refuse a booking from certain kinds of people. As we have argued earlier, this situation is a mixture of the intimate and the less personal. On the one hand the scenario refers to what people should be allowed to do in their own home. On the other hand, it also refers to the provision of a commercial service.

**Table 11.10 Attitudes towards Bed and Breakfast bookings by concern about cultural threat**

% say a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking from...	Cultural Threat			Gap
	Least threatened	Somewhat threatened	Most threatened	
A same-sex couple	45	53	55	10
Someone aged under 21	29	29	29	0
Someone from a different ethnic background	18	24	27	9
Someone who has had a sex change operation	19	25	24	5
Someone with a guide dog	20	23	15	-5
Someone from a different religion	16	21	16	0
Someone with a learning disability	16	18	12	-4
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>477</i>	<i>456</i>	<i>604</i>	

Note: Gap = difference between those who are least and most concerned about cultural threat.

11.32 Table 11.10 immediately suggests that the character of attitudes towards this situation is rather different from the two we have considered already in this chapter. As the table shows, where someone stands on our cultural threat score makes relatively little difference to whether or not they think a bed and breakfast owner should be allowed to refuse a booking. Even in the case of a booking from a same-sex couple, where over half as a whole think that it should be possible to refuse a booking, those who are most concerned about cultural threat are only ten points more likely than those who are least concerned to say it should be possible to do so. Meanwhile, in the case of two other situations, someone with a guide dog and someone with a learning disability, it is actually those who are *least* concerned about cultural threat who are a little more likely to say that it should be possible to refuse a booking.

11.33 Equally, much the same is true of our other two scales, neither of which is strongly associated, if at all, with attitudes towards the right to refuse a bed and breakfast booking (analysis not shown). For example, those who are very comfortable with cultural diversity are just 13 points more likely than those who are uncomfortable to say that someone should be allowed to refuse a booking from a gay or lesbian couple, while in the case of someone under 21 there is no difference between the two groups at all. Those who occupy a middle box on the minority vs majority culture scale are a dozen points or so less likely to say that someone should be allowed to refuse a booking from a gay or lesbian

couple, but otherwise there are hardly any differences at all. This of course is in tune with our earlier comment about the relative importance of this scale in accounting for attitudes towards sexual orientation.

11.34 The relative weakness of all three associations is confirmed by multivariate analysis (see Table C.4 in Annex A to this report). While in most cases both our cultural threat and cultural diversity scores are significantly associated with attitudes towards the right to refuse a booking, the relationship is typically much weaker than in the case of family relationships and employment. Meanwhile, only in the case of gay men and lesbians are those in the middle boxes on our minority vs majority culture scale significantly less likely to express a discriminatory point of view.

11.35 In line with the evidence already uncovered in Chapter Five, our questions about refusing a bed and breakfast again appear to have tapped a rather different set of attitudes than did those on family relationships and employment. In part this might be because attitudes are influenced by the feeling that people should be allowed to decide for themselves whom they admit to their own home, albeit as a paying guest. Perhaps, as suggested earlier, some people feel that although they themselves would be happy to have, for example, a gay couple or a younger person staying in their home, they accept that others may not feel that way and believe that those feelings should be respected. In any event, this finding suggests that it should not be assumed that those who themselves do not hold a discriminatory point of view will necessarily always support attempts to outlaw discriminatory behaviour.

### **Covert discrimination and positive action**

11.36 As we indicated in Chapter Eight, it has been argued that discriminatory attitudes may sometimes take a covert rather than an explicit form. Someone might not be willing to state, for example, that they would be unhappy if a close relative of theirs married an individual black or Asian person, but would feel able to indicate that they think too much has been done to help black or Asian people as a group, thereby covertly revealing a discriminatory attitude. In addition, we might also wonder whether a discriminatory point of view would reveal itself in the form of opposition to positive action. In any event, if either suggestion is true, we would anticipate that attitudes towards the opportunities that have been given to various groups or to various forms of positive action would be associated with concern about cultural threat and feelings about cultural diversity.

**Table 11.11 Covert discrimination and attitudes to positive action by concern about cultural threat**

	Cultural Threat			Gap
	Least threatened	Somewhat threatened	Most threatened	
% equal opportunities have gone too far for:				
Black and Asian people	7	20	40	33
Gay men and lesbians	11	19	33	22
Women	3	6	7	4
% being treated unfairly is a thing of the past for:				
Black and Asian people	15	19	28	13
Women	21	30	40	19
% extra training is unfair for:				
Black and Asian people	43	40	38	-5
Women	41	35	29	-12
% guaranteed interview for qualified disabled person is unfair	63	55	51	-12
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>477</i>	<i>456</i>	<i>604</i>	

Note: Gap = difference between those who are least and most concerned about cultural threat.

11.37 Table 11.11 shows the relationship between concern about cultural threat and, first (in the initial five rows of figures), various measures of potentially covertly discriminatory points of view and, second (in the last three rows), forms of positive action. Clearly there is some evidence of an association between concern about cultural threat and our measures of covert discrimination. Those who are most concerned about cultural threat are most likely to state that equal opportunities for both black and Asian people and for gay men and lesbians have gone too far. The gap between the views of the most and least concerned are 33 points and 22 points respectively. Moreover in the case of black and Asian people at least, our question uncovers a particularly negative response amongst those most concerned about cultural threat that was not so evident in the case of attitudes towards relationships or primary school teaching, though was apparent in attitudes towards whether ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people. Here at least it seems possible that this alternative line of questioning has helped uncover potential antipathy towards black and Asian people that our more direct measures of discriminatory attitudes did not always demonstrate. Meanwhile, so far as attitudes towards women are concerned, one of the two lines of questioning at least also seems to have had some success in

uncovering a pattern of association. Those who are most concerned about cultural threat are 19 points more likely than the least concerned to believe that women being treated unfairly is now a thing of the past.

11.38 On the other hand, so far as our three measures of positive action are concerned we do not uncover the pattern of association that by now has become familiar to us. Rather, in each case it is those who are least concerned about cultural threat who are somewhat *more* likely to feel that the form of positive action described by our questions would be unfair. Evidently, as we might have already anticipated from the evidence presented in Chapter Eight, doubts about the use of positive action extend well beyond those who typically are more inclined to express discriminatory points of view.

11.39 The patterns of association with our other two scales (not shown) are much as we would expect. Those who are more comfortable with diversity are in general somewhat less likely to feel that equal opportunities have gone too far (except in the case of women) and that (in the case of women but not black and Asian people) being treated unfairly is not a thing of the past. The relevant percentage point gaps are, however, typically somewhat lower than in the case of our cultural threat scale. In contrast there is little relationship at all between feelings about cultural diversity and attitudes towards positive action. Equally there is little relationship between our minority vs majority culture scale and attitudes towards such action, although on occasion those in the middle boxes are notably less likely to express views that might be thought to provide evidence of covert discrimination.

11.40 Multivariate modelling (see Table C.5 in Annex A) confirms the strength of the relationship between concern about cultural threat and whether equal opportunities for black and Asian people, and for gay men and lesbians, have gone too far. It also indicates a more modest relationship between perceptions of whether unfair treatment of women, together with that of black and Asian people, is a thing of the past. In contrast if anything it is those who are least concerned about cultural threat who are more likely to oppose positive action. The same modelling shows that those in the middle of our minority vs majority culture scale are least likely to think that unfair treatment of black and Asian people, and of women, is a thing of the past, and equally are less likely to think that equal opportunities for gay men and lesbians have gone too far. However, once these patterns are taken into account feelings about cultural diversity matter little, if at all, to either attitudes

towards positive action or the responses given to those questions that might provide covert evidence of a discriminatory point of view.

## **Conclusion**

11.41 As in the case of attitudes towards prejudice in general, it appears that fears of perceived cultural threat appear to be the more important source of discriminatory attitudes towards specific groups in specific contexts. However, the degree to which this is the case varies somewhat. It is most obviously true when people are asked about the prospect of someone from a particular group becoming part of their extended family. It is less true when people are asked who would make a suitable primary school teacher. A willingness to embrace diversity may be relatively more important in the public sphere of employment than it is in the private world of marriage and family relationships. But in both cases it seems that discriminatory attitudes are likely to continue to exist for as long as those who belong to certain groups are regarded as 'other', and having little in common with the rest of society.

11.42 Cultural threat also appears to be more potent in respect of some groups than others. It certainly seems to shape attitudes towards Muslims in particular, and may also play a particularly important role in attitudes to asylum seekers. Both groups have been subjected to highly adverse media publicity in recent years. The same appears not to be true of black and Asian people, minority groups whose position within the UK has perhaps been discussed and debated over a much longer period of time (albeit of course that some black and Asian people are adherents of the Muslim faith). Nevertheless, references to black and Asian people or ethnic minorities in general can still sometimes uncover evidence of particularly negative reactions amongst those most concerned with cultural threat, as evidenced by our questions on whether equal opportunities for them have gone too far or whether they take jobs away from other people.

11.43 Meanwhile, it looks as though neither concern about cultural threat nor feelings about cultural diversity are particularly important sources of discriminatory attitudes towards some groups at all. This certainly appears to be true of someone with a learning disability while it may also be true of attitudes towards both older and younger people and perhaps, also, women. In this our work echoes the findings of Abrams and Houston (2006) who argue that attitudes towards those with a disability and towards older people are the result of a 'patronising' attitude towards such groups rather than a 'hostile' one. However, in contrast to

them we have been able to demonstrate the difference in the character of discriminatory attitudes towards different groups through statistical analysis, rather than simply infer it from differences in the images and stereotypes people have of different groups.

11.44 Meanwhile there is perhaps one further consideration to bear in mind so far as gay men and lesbians are concerned. Attitudes towards this group are particularly more likely to be unfavourable amongst those who place themselves in the 'adapt and blend' box on our minority vs majority culture scale. This may be an indication that for this group at least, discriminatory views arise not only because some people feel that gay men and lesbians constitute a threat to 'their' culture, but also because they are thought by some not to conform to what are regarded as the social or 'moral' norms of society in general.

11.45 In any event whatever lies at the heart of discriminatory attitudes towards particular groups, it appears that the same motivations may not necessarily account for opposition to attempts to overcome the inequalities and discrimination that may be experienced by certain groups. Psychological orientation, be it fear of cultural threat or concern about cultural diversity, plays relatively little role in people's opposition to denying someone who runs a bed and breakfast the right to refuse a booking. It appears to play little role too in accounting for the perception that various forms of positive action might be unfair. Even if they do not themselves hold discriminatory views members of the public will not necessarily endorse particular measures designed to eliminate discrimination or efforts to overcome its effects.

**Key points:**

- This chapter examined whether the association between discriminatory attitudes and both concerns about cultural threat and feelings about cultural diversity is consistent between different groups and across different contexts.
- Overall, fears of perceived cultural threat remain the most important predictor of discriminatory attitudes towards most groups and in most contexts.
- However, it appears that fears about threat are more important in shaping attitudes towards the more private realm of family relationships than they are the less intimate realm of employment.
- Fear of cultural threat seems to affect attitudes to some groups more than others. For example, views about Muslims and asylum seekers are shaped by fears of cultural threat to a greater degree than are those towards black and Asian people. This may be linked to the relatively recent emergence of media concerns about the first two groups.
- Neither cultural threat nor cultural diversity appear to be important sources of discriminatory attitudes towards some groups, for example people with a learning disability, older and younger people, and women.
- In addition, neither fears about cultural threat nor feelings about diversity account for opposition to attempts to overcome inequality and discrimination through positive action measures. Equally neither measure is strongly associated with people's views on whether a B&B owner should be allowed to refuse a booking from certain groups.
- This last analysis further confirms the earlier finding that people who do not typically hold discriminatory views are not always in favour of measures to counter discrimination.



### Introduction

12.1 It will be recalled that our aim in this project was to answer two main questions. These were:

1. What is the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland?
2. Why do people hold discriminatory attitudes?

12.2 In this concluding chapter we bring together the threads of our research and indicate what answers to our questions we have uncovered. We look first at the extent of discriminatory attitudes, who holds those attitudes, and finally why they do so.

### The extent of discriminatory attitudes

12.3 For the most part only a minority of people avowedly express a discriminatory attitude. Only rarely have we ascertained instances where a majority of people, or something close thereto, have supported a discriminatory standpoint. On the other hand it is not uncommon for the minority who do to be a substantial one, constituting around a quarter or third of the people in Scotland – as typified by the 29% of people who say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups.

12.4 It might be thought that our research underestimates the incidence of discriminatory attitudes because people will be unwilling openly to express such attitudes in the presence of an interviewer. However, it should be remembered that some of our questions were administered by a self-completion supplement, not face to face. In particular this included the questions where we asked about the suitability of someone as a primary school teacher, yet these questions did not elicit a particularly high level of discriminatory attitudes. Meanwhile, when we attempted to uncover evidence of discriminatory attitudes covertly, this did not for the most part disturb the picture painted by our more overt measures.

12.5 However, some groups are clearly more likely than others to be the object of discriminatory attitudes. In some circumstances at least, this is certainly true of Gypsies/Travellers and transsexual people. For

example, around half think that a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher, while around half say they would be unhappy about a relative forming a long-term relationship with a transsexual person. Discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians are not uncommon too, and especially so in the case of the right of someone to refuse a bed and breakfast booking from a same sex couple.

12.6 In contrast, discriminatory attitudes on the grounds of religion or ethnic background were less commonly expressed. Gypsies/Travellers aside, in none of our three main scenarios about relationships, primary school teaching or the provision of bed and breakfast did as many as a quarter uphold a discriminatory point of view in respect of these groups. That said, discriminatory views are more likely to be expressed about Muslims than they are any other religious group. Equally, it looks as though while discriminatory views may not commonly be expressed towards individual black or Asian people (as evidenced by our questions on relationships and primary school teaching), such views seem more common when reference is made to black and Asian people as a group. They may also in this instance be somewhat more covertly held. Meanwhile, the presence of religious and ethnic minority groups certainly has the potential to evoke concern; around half express concern about the consequences of their presence for Scotland's 'identity' and around three in ten about the implications for labour market competition. Whatever the current level of discriminatory attitudes on the basis of religion and ethnic background, the underlying potential for such attitudes to appear might be considered relatively widespread.

12.7 Less common still is the expression of discriminatory attitudes in respect of the roles of men and women. Our research on this topic focused primarily on the role of women in the labour market. One in seven say that women should stay at home. Substantial majorities agree that fathers should have the same ability as mothers to take time off work to look after sick children, and state that women's promotion chances should not be affected by taking time off to have a child. Still, stereotypical views of what constitutes "women's work" are evidently held by around one in five, and a similarly sized minority does feel that women should accept that having a baby might affect their promotion opportunities.

12.8 In the case of discrimination on the grounds of disability, we primarily concentrated on learning disability and mental health, areas where other research has shown discriminatory attitudes to be more

common than in the case of physical disability (see, for example, Spiro et al, 1993; National Disability Authority, 2007). In practice on the two measures available to us only around one in six expressed a discriminatory attitude towards someone with a learning disability. On the other hand over half said that someone who occasionally experiences depression would be suitable as a primary school teacher. Even if avowedly discriminatory attitudes towards those with a learning disability or mental health problem are not frequently held, evidently they may arise in particular circumstances, perhaps because of concerns about the ability of someone with such a condition to 'cope'.

12.9 A not dissimilar picture emerges in respect of age. Only one in five support a compulsory retirement age, yet half feel that someone aged 70 would not be suitable as a primary school teacher. It seems that age discrimination too may arise because of perceptions of the ability of someone to 'cope'. Meanwhile the potential for discriminatory attitudes to be expressed towards younger people is indicated by the fact that nearly three in ten say a bed and breakfast owner should be able to refuse a booking to anyone aged under 21.

12.10 However, the pattern we have uncovered is not necessarily an unchanging one. While discriminatory attitudes on the grounds of sexual orientation may still be more common than on many other grounds, its incidence appears to be in decline. It seems that until relatively recently a majority of the public held avowedly discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians. But a long-term shift in attitudes has taken place, a shift that has been reflected in recent changes in the legal position of same sex couples and may well have been boosted yet further by those changes. In contrast recent events appear to have stimulated a greater incidence of discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims, and perhaps also ethnic minorities. This development would appear to reinforce our suggestion that whatever the current level of discriminatory attitudes on the grounds of religion or ethnic background might be, it is still possible for such attitudes to be reignited.

12.11 Meanwhile, although a specific circumstance may evoke the expression of discriminatory attitudes towards one particular group, there also seems to be a more general pattern. In line with our initial expectations, the more intimate the context, the greater the likelihood that a discriminatory attitude will be expressed towards a particular group. It appears that people often find it easier to accept that others are entitled to equal treatment in the public realm of employment or the

provision of goods and services than in the private realm of intimate relationships.

### **Who holds discriminatory attitudes?**

12.12 In general, some sections of society do appear to be more likely to hold discriminatory attitudes than others. Those with higher educational qualifications are usually less likely to express discriminatory attitudes than those with fewer or no qualifications. Often we have found that discriminatory attitudes (together with stereotypical views about gender roles) were more common amongst older people than younger people. Meanwhile, sexual orientation is a particularly strong source of dissensus. Not only are differences of attitude on this subject between different age groups particularly striking, but in addition those who regularly practice a religion are more inclined to hold discriminatory attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, while the same is also true of men. These contrasts perhaps help explain why the position and status of same sex couples continues to be the subject of considerable controversy in Scottish society.

12.13 But to each of these generalisations there is an exception. The potential at least for younger people to express discriminatory attitudes is revealed by the fact that they are particularly likely to express concern about the impact of the presence of ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe on the competition for jobs. Indeed, intriguingly, younger people were *not* less likely to say that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced. So while, as in the case of sexual orientation for example, it appears from Britain-wide evidence that a process of generational change is occurring, with new generations of younger people with relatively 'liberal' attitudes gradually replacing older generations with less 'liberal' views, it should not be presumed that younger people will necessarily always continue to be more liberal in all circumstances or in respect of all groups.

12.14 Equally we found that those with more educational qualifications do not hold particularly distinctive views about the right of a bed and breakfast owner to refuse a bed and breakfast booking. This indeed is but one clue that perhaps attitudes towards this topic do not necessarily have the same character as those evoked by our attitudes towards relationships and primary school teaching. Moreover, we found that those with higher educational qualifications were less likely to support positive action measures. Despite their apparent opposition to

discrimination, it seems that those with advanced education too become more equivocal in their attitudes when their own interests appear to be threatened.

12.15 We have also uncovered one further important pattern. For the most part those who say they know someone that belongs to a particular group are less likely to express discriminatory attitudes towards that group. In part this may be because those who do not hold discriminatory attitudes towards a particular group are more likely to be willing to form a friendship with someone from that group. But equally this evidence is consistent with the argument that contact between members of a minority group and the wider population serves to reduce the impact of discriminatory attitudes (Allport, 1955; Hewstone, 2003). However, it appears to matter more for some groups than others. It seems particularly important in the case of gay men and lesbians; it seems relatively less important in the case of someone with a learning disability. Perhaps in the latter case this may be an indication that discriminatory attitudes may arise because of a wish to 'protect' someone from demands with which it is thought they may not be able to cope.

### **Why do people hold discriminatory attitudes?**

12.16 However, despite this evidence that contact between members and non-members of a group may make a difference to attitudes, for the most part it does not appear that living in a neighbourhood where relatively large proportions of a particular group reside affects the incidence of discriminatory attitudes. In particular we did not uncover any evidence that those who live in an area where there is a relatively large proportion of Muslims or members of an ethnic minority are less likely to express discriminatory attitudes in respect of Muslims or black and Asian people respectively. It may be that there are too few neighbourhoods in Scotland with sufficiently large numbers of Muslims or members of an ethnic minority to make a difference. Alternatively it may be that the kind of contact fostered by geographical proximity does not enable people to get to know each other sufficiently well to make a difference.

12.17 In any event, the impact or otherwise of contact between different groups cannot tell us why discriminatory attitudes arise in the first place. To tap this we have focused in particular on the degree to which such attitudes appear to be associated by concerns about 'cultural threat' or by discomfort in the presence of 'cultural diversity'. In general our analyses suggest that concern about 'cultural threat' is the more

important source of discriminatory attitudes. This is certainly true of attitudes towards prejudice in general, and of attitudes in the intimate more private world of relationships. On the other hand, it is rather less true of the more public realm of who would make a suitable primary school teacher. Overall, it seems that the incidence of discriminatory attitudes is unlikely to be reduced only by encouraging people to embrace diversity; they probably also need to feel that they have something in common with those who belong to a different group from themselves.

12.18 But still we should be wary of assuming that all discriminatory attitudes arise for the same reason. Neither 'cultural threat' nor 'cultural diversity' appear to be particularly important in accounting for whether people believe that a bed and breakfast owner should be able to refuse a booking from someone. Together with the fact that such attitudes towards our bed and breakfast scenario are not associated with educational attainment strongly suggests that views on this subject are influenced by different or additional considerations than is true of our other two scenarios, such as whether people should feel able to decide whom to admit to their own home.

12.19 Equally, concerns about 'cultural threat' appear to matter more for some groups than others. It seems to be particularly important in accounting for discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims. On the other hand it seems to be relatively unimportant in accounting for attitudes towards people with disabilities, at least as evidenced by questions we asked about learning disability and someone who has a guide dog. The same also largely seems to hold for attitudes towards discrimination on the grounds of age and gender. This pattern is consistent with the work of Abrams and Houston (2006) that suggests that perceptions of 'threat' are more important in accounting for prejudice towards some groups, such as religious and ethnic minorities together with gay men and lesbians, than it is for other groups such as older or younger people, people with disabilities and women. The creation of an integrated Equality and Human Rights Commission clearly should not be at the expense of appreciating what is different about attitudes towards different groups as well as what they have in common.

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## **ANNEX A      RESULTS OF MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS**

### **Chapter Nine**

The following tables show the results of some of the key logistic regression analyses (binary or ordinal, as appropriate) we undertook in preparing Chapter Nine. In each case we first of all entered into our models, where significant, a respondent's individual characteristics. The characteristics typically considered for inclusion at this stage were age, gender, education, social class, religious attendance and ethnic origin. Then we allowed to enter into our model whichever of a number of measures of the characteristics of the respondent's area that proved to be significantly associated with the dependent variable. These are level variables comprised the following:

From 2001 Census (output area level data)

- % White, divided into two categories, 97% and above, and less than 97%.
- % Muslim, divided into two categories, less than 2%, and 2% or more.
- % of those aged 16-74 who are graduates, divided into four categories, 8% or less, 8-16%, 16-28%, more than 28%
- % aged 18-24, divided into four categories, 5% or less, 5-7%, 7-10%, more than 10%
- % aged 65 and above, divided into four categories, 7% or less, 7-14%, 14-22%, more than 22%.
- % in good health, divided into four categories, 60% or less, 60-69%, 69-77%, more than 77%.
- % aged 16-74 in professional or managerial occupations, divided into four categories, 13% or less, 13-21%, 21-35%, more than 35%.

From other sources:

*2006 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation.*

Index Score, divided into five categories:

- 7.7446 or less;
- 7.7472 to 13.5627,
- 13.5640 to 21.0436,
- 21.0521 to 33.6982,
- 33.7252 and above.

*Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification.*

This has six categories defined as follows:

- Large urban areas: settlements of over 125,000 people
- Other urban areas: settlements of 10,000-125,000 people
- Accessible small towns: settlements of between 3,000 and 10,000 that are within 30 minutes drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more.
- Remote small towns: settlements of between 3,000 and 10,000 that are more than 30 minutes drive from a settlement of 10,000 or more.
- Accessible rural areas: settlements of less than 3,000 people that are within 30 minutes drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more.
- Remote rural areas: settlements of less than 3,000 people that are more than 30 minutes drive from a settlement of 10,000 or more.

Table A.1 Logistic Regression of General Measure of Prejudice

<b>Sometimes good reason to be prejudiced versus Scotland should do everything to get rid of all kinds of prejudice</b>	
<b>Individual Level Variables</b>	
<b>Highest Educational Qualification</b>	
Degree / HE	-0.94 (.19) *
Professional	-0.66 (.20) *
Higher Grade	-0.27 (.16)
Standard Grade 1-3	-0.13 (.18)
Standard Grade 4-7	-0.19 (.19)
(None)	
<b>Ethnic Origin</b>	
Non-white	0.64 (.26)*
(White)	
<b>Area Level Variables</b>	
<b>% graduates in area</b>	
Low	0.53 (.17)*
Low to Medium	0.62 (.17)*
Medium to High	0.75 (.13)*
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup> = 7%	

Model: Binary Logistic

\* significant at 5% level

Main cell entries are parameter coefficients; figures in brackets are associated standard errors

Table A.2 Logistic Regression of where prefer to live

<b>Prefer to live in area where most people similar to you versus area with lots of different kinds of people</b>	
<b>Individual Level Variables</b>	
<b>Gender</b>	
Male	0.35 (.13) *
(Female)	
<b>Age</b>	
18-24	-2.03 (.30)*
25-34	-1.15 (.25)*
35-44	-1.35 (.23)*
45-54	-1.20 (.23)*
55-64	-0.61 (.24)*
(65 and over)	
<b>Ethnic Origin</b>	
Non-white	-0.89 (.37)*
(White)	
<b>Area Level Variables</b>	
<b>Index of Multiple Deprivation</b>	
Least Deprived	1.22 (.26)*
Next Least	0.46 (.24)*
Middle	0.28 (.23)
Next Most	0.26 (.21)
(Most)	
<b>% professional and managerial</b>	
Low	0.81 (.25)*
Low to Medium	0.57 (.23)*
Medium to High	0.21 (.20)
(High)	
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup> = 19%	

Model: Binary Logistic

\* significant at 5% level

Main cell entries are parameter coefficients; entries in brackets are associated standard errors

Table A.3 Logistic Regression of Unhappiness at Close Relative marrying / forming long-term relationship with a Muslim

<b>Degree of unhappiness at close relative marrying / having relationship with a Muslim</b>	
<b>Individual Level Variables</b>	
<b>Age</b>	
18-24	-1.26 (.19)*
25-34	-1.21 (.17)*
35-44	-1.15 (.16)*
45-54	-0.83 (.16)*
55-64	-0.33 (.16)*
(65 and over)	
<b>Highest Educational Qualification</b>	
Degree	-1.15 (.17)*
Professional	-0.64 (.17)*
Higher Grade	-0.85 (.16)*
Standard Grade 1-3	-0.26 (.16)
Standard Grade 4-7	-0.04 (.17)
(None)	
<b>Area Level Variables</b>	
<b>Urban/Rural Classification</b>	
Large Urban	0.61 (.19)*
Other Urban	0.81 (.20)*
Accessible small towns	0.98 (.23)*
Remote small towns	0.12 (.29)
Accessible rural	0.68 (.22)*
(Remote rural)	
<b>% graduates in area</b>	
Low	0.29 (.14)*
Low to Medium	0.15 (.14)
Medium to High	0.32 (.13)*
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup> = 18%	

Model: Ordinal Logistic

\* significant at 5% level

Main cell entries are parameter coefficients; entries in brackets are associated standard errors

Table A.4 Logistic Regression of whether older people should have to retire at a certain age

<b>Should have to retire versus wrong to make people retire</b>	
<i>Individual Level Variables</i>	
<b>Age</b>	
18-24	-0.56 (.32)
25-34	-0.93 (.28)*
35-44	-0.82 (.26)*
45-54	-0.54 (.25)*
55-64	-0.12 (.24)
(65 and over)	
<b>Ethnic Origin</b>	
Non-white	1.14 (.36)*
(White)	
<b>Household Income Quartile</b>	
Less than £12,000	0.51 (.26)*
£12,000 but less than £23,000	0.23 (.26)
£23,000 but less than £44,000	0.30 (.24)
(£44,000 or more)	
<i>Area Level Variables</i>	
<b>% in good health</b>	
Low	1.59 (.44)*
Low to Medium	1.10 (.42)*
Medium to High	0.92 (.42)*
(High)	
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup> = 9%	

Model: Binary Logistic

\* significant at 5% level

Main cell entries are parameter coefficients; entries in brackets are associated standard errors

Table A.5 Logistic Regression of Attitudes to Refusal of Bed and Breakfast Booking from same sex Couple

<b>Degree of agreement that should be allowed to refuse booking</b>	
<i>Individual Level Variables</i>	
<b>Gender</b>	
Male	0.47 (.09)*
(Female)	
<b>Age</b>	
18-24	-1.54 (.18)*
25-34	-1.12 (.16)*
35-44	-0.80 (.15)*
45-54	-0.62 (.15)*
55-64	0.15 (.16)
(65 and over)	
<i>Area Level Variables</i>	
<b>Urban/Rural Classification</b>	
Large Urban	-0.60 (.19)*
Other Urban	-0.60 (.19)*
Accessible small towns	-0.37 (.23)
Remote small towns	-0.52 (.29)*
Accessible rural	-0.52 (.22)*
(Remote rural)	
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup> = 10%	

Model: Ordinal Logistic

\* significant at 5% level

Main cell entries are parameter coefficients; entries in brackets are associated standard errors

## Chapter Ten

The following table gives full details of the factor analysis summarised in Table 10.1 of Chapter Ten.

Table B.1 Factor Analysis of Psychological Orientation Questions

	Loading on Factor	
	I	II
Prefer to live with similar people	.46	.34
More Muslims threaten identity	.92	-
More East Europeans threaten identity	.92	-
More black and Asian people threaten identity	.94	-
People who come to Scotland don't make it better	.64	
Uncomfortable breastfeeding in public	-	.84
Uncomfortable face covered in public	-	.74
Immigrants should adapt and blend	.38	
Variance explained	44%	15%
Eigenvalue	3.5	1.2
N=1329		

Note: Only factor loadings above .3 are shown.

Table A.2 Multivariate analysis of attitudes towards prejudice

	Good reason to be prejudiced vs. Do everything to get rid of prejudice	
Cultural threat score		1.00 (.09) *
Cultural diversity score	0.35 (.08) *	
Keep customs vs. adapt and blend scale		
Keep customs		-0.78 (.35) *
Middle boxes	-0.64 (.14) *	
(Adapt and blend)		
Nagelkerke R-squared = 28%		

\* statistically significant at the 5% level.

Note to table:

This table shows the results of a logistic regression of thinking there is sometimes good reason to be prejudiced as opposed to stating that Scotland should do everything to get rid of prejudice. The main cell entries are parameter coefficients while the entries in brackets are the associated standard error. The cultural threat and cultural diversity scales were entered into the regression as interval level variables, using the original scores. The keep customs vs. adapt and blend scale was entered as a categorical variable, with those placing themselves in the adapt and blend box as the reference category. Those who placed themselves in one of the three middle boxes have been combined into a



single category. The coefficients therefore indicate the ‘effect’ being in a particular category as opposed to being in the adapt and blend category.

## Chapter Eleven

The following tables give further details of the multivariate analyses to which reference is made in Chapter Eleven.

Table C.1 Models of Attitudes to Prospective Relationship Partners

%	Cultural Threat Score	Cultural Diversity Score	Keep Customs	Middle	R <sup>2</sup>
Someone who had had a sex change	-.69 *	.28 *	.17	-.44 *	18
Gypsy/Traveller	-.70 *	.25 *	-.14	-.48 *	17
Asylum seeker	-1.00 *	.24 *	.38	-.24 *	25
Someone of same sex	-.64 *	.24 *	-.36	-.74 *	19
Muslim	-.90 *	.33 *	-.54 *	-.67 *	26
Hindu	-.94 *	.31 *	-.13	-.51 *	26
Someone with a learning disability	-.36 *	.24 *	-.18	-.35 *	7
Black or Asian person	-.71 *	.32 *	-.29	-.58 *	21
Someone from a Chinese background	-.75 *	.29 *	-.13	-.52 *	19
A Jewish person	-.77 *	.28 *	.18	-.36 *	19

Note to table:

The entries in the first four columns are the parameter coefficients from an ordinal logistic regression of reported unhappiness with a close relative marrying someone from that group. The latter two of these four columns show the effect of being in that category as opposed to favouring the ‘adapt and blend’ option. The final column shows the Nagelkerke R-squared for that model. In each model the standard error for both the cultural threat and the cultural diversity score was .06. The standard error or ‘keep customs’ was either .25 or .26, while that for those who ticked one of the middle boxes was .11.

\* significant at the 5% level

Table C.2 Models of attitudes towards sexual orientation

% ....	Cultural Threat Score	Cultural Diversity Score	Keep Customs	Middle	R <sup>2</sup>
Right/wrong for two men to have sexual relationship	-.42 *	.20 *	-.38	-.60 *	10
Right/wrong for two women to have sexual relationship	-.40 *	.18 *	-.42	-.63 *	10
Gay/Lesbian couples should have right to marry	-.53 *	.26 *	-.67	-.45 *	13

See note to Table C.1. Dependent variables have been scored so that a low score indicates a less discriminatory attitude.

Table C. 3 Models of Attitudes to Possible Teachers

% ....	Cultural Threat Score	Cultural Diversity Score	Keep Customs	Middle	R <sup>2</sup>
Someone with depression	-.40 *	.30 *	.48	-.61 *	13
Someone aged 70	-.35 *	.21 *	.34	-.13	6
Gypsy/Traveller	-.44 *	.33 *	.00	-.51 *	12
Someone who had sex change operation	-.51 *	.39 *	.17	-.30 *	13
Gay man/lesbian	-.39 *	.42 *	.17	-.49 *	13
Muslim	-.69 *	.47 *	-.13	-.49 *	22
Black/Asian person	-.48 *	.46 *	.30	-.17	13
Women more suitable than men	-.33 *	.13	-.95 *	-.32 *	5

See notes to Tables C.1 and C.2

Table C.4 Models of Attitudes towards Bed and Breakfast Bookings

<b>% law should allow B&amp;B owner to refuse booking from</b>	<b>Cultural Threat Score</b>	<b>Cultural Diversity Score</b>	<b>Keep Customs</b>	<b>Middle</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>
Gay/lesbian couple	-.32 *	.18 *	-.53 *	-.32 *	6
Someone aged under 21	-.14 *	.10 *	.55 *	.09	1
Someone from different ethnic background	-.38 *	.15 *	-.32	-.16	6
Someone who has had sex change operation	-.27 *	.16 *	.01	-.21	4
Someone with a guide dog	.09	.17 *	-.26	.16	1
Someone from different religion	-.19 *	.10	.55 *	.09	1
Someone with a learning disability	-.08	.16 *	.02	-.06	1

See notes to tables C.1 and C.2

Table C.5 Models of Covert Discrimination and Attitudes to Positive Action

<b>% ...</b>	<b>Cultural Threat Score</b>	<b>Cultural Diversity Score</b>	<b>Keep Customs</b>	<b>Middle</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>
Equal Opportunities gone too far for: Black and Asian people	-1.00 *	.15	-.51	-.24	23
Gay men and lesbians	-.67 *	.10	-.68 *	-.54 *	14
Women	-.14 *	.14	.07	.04	1
Treated unfairly thing of the past for: Black and Asian people	-.40 *	.02	.12	-.38 *	5
Women	-.35 *	.15 *	.54 *	-.25 *	6
Extra training unfair for: Black and Asian people	.01	.06	-.57 *	.01	0
Women	.20 *	-.02 *	-.72 *	.17	3
Guaranteed interview unfair for disabled person	.13 *	.05	.14	.27 *	1

See notes to tables C.1 and C.2

## ANNEX B SURVEY QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES, 2002 AND 2006

Notes to this section

1. In tables, '\*' indicates less than 0.5 percent but greater than zero, and '-' indicates zero
2. Figures based on samples sizes of fewer than 50 cases are presented in brackets.
3. The variable names used in the data file are indicated in square brackets before each question, e.g.: [EqOppWm]

[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?

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

[EqOppBA]

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

Attempts to give equal opportunities to black people and Asians in Scotland?<sup>19</sup>

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
Gone much too far	3	4
Gone too far	15	19
About right	32	44
Not gone far enough	38	19
Not gone nearly far enough	3	3
Don't know	9	11
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1594</i>

[EqOppGay]

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

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

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

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<sup>19</sup> 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?"

[PrejOkay]

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

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

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	14
Agree	35
Neither agree nor disagree	19
Disagree	27
Disagree strongly	4
Don't know	1
Not answered	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</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?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	11
Agree	34
Neither agree nor disagree	20
Disagree	30
Disagree strongly	4
Don't know	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</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?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	11
Agree	35
Neither agree nor disagree	18
Disagree	31
Disagree strongly	4
Don't know	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[GayMRel]

Do you personally think it is wrong or not wrong for two **men** to have a sexual relationship? Please choose a phrase from this card.

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
Always wrong	29	22
Mostly wrong	12	8
Sometimes wrong	7	9
Rarely wrong	5	7
Not wrong at all	39	48
(Depends/varies)	3	3
Don't know	4	2
Not answered	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1594</i>

[LesbRel]

And do you personally think it is wrong or not wrong for two **women** to have a sexual relationship? Please choose a phrase from this card.

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
Always wrong	27	20
Mostly wrong	13	9
Sometimes wrong	8	9
Rarely wrong	4	7
Not wrong at all	40	50
(Depends/varies)	3	3
Don't know	4	3
Not answered	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1594</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?

[MarChin]

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

ASK ALL WHO ARE NOT MUSLIMS

[MarrMus]

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

ASK ALL WHO ARE NOT HINDU

[MarrHin]

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



ASK ALL WHO ARE NOT JEWISH

[MarrJew]

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

ASK ALL WHO ARE MUSLIM / HINDU / JEWISH

[MarrChris]

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

[LDisDef]

I am now going to ask you about a person with a learning disability. But first of all I would like to clarify what I am talking about here. 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.

[MarLDis]

How would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with someone who has a learning disability?

[MarAsyl]

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

[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 finally, 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?

**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
Someone who is Black/Asian	19	39	29	10	2	1	1	*	1594
Someone from a Chinese background	18	40	30	9	1	1	*	*	1594
A Muslim	16	33	26	17	7	1	1	*	1579
A Hindu	15	35	29	14	5	1	1	*	1591
Someone who is Jewish	16	39	33	8	2	1	1	*	1593
A Christian <sup>20</sup>	[16]	[33]	[38]	[5]	[5]	[4]	[-]	[-]	[19]
Someone who has a learning disability	11	34	34	14	2	3	2	-	1594
An asylum seeker	7	22	26	29	8	5	2	*	1594
A Gypsy / Traveller	8	24	28	28	9	2	1	-	1594
Someone who has had a sex change operation	5	15	27	26	23	1	2	*	1594
Someone of the same sex as themselves	10	26	28	19	14	1	1	*	1594

<sup>20</sup> Note very small sample size – asked only of those who gave their religious identity as Islam/Muslim, Hindu or Jewish

[WomProm]

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  
Women who take time off to have a baby should accept they are less likely to be promoted as a result?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	2
Agree	20
Neither agree nor disagree	10
Disagree	46
Disagree strongly	22
Don't know	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[FathOff]

(How much do you agree or disagree)

Fathers should be just as able as mothers to take time off work when their children are ill?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	27
Agree	58
Neither agree nor disagree	5
Disagree	8
Disagree strongly	1
Don't know	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[LDisWork]

(How much do you agree or disagree)

People with a learning disability should expect to have to work for a living?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	2
Agree	32
Neither agree nor disagree	33
Disagree	27
Disagree strongly	2
(It depends – on nature/severity of disability)	2
Don't know	2
Not answered	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[ScotBet]

(How much do you agree or disagree)

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

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	3
Agree	31
Neither agree nor disagree	40
Disagree	22
Disagree strongly	3
Don't know	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[UnfBIAs]

(How much do you agree or disagree)

Being treated unfairly because you are black or Asian is a thing of the past?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	2
Agree	19
Neither agree nor disagree	9
Disagree	62
Disagree strongly	6
Don't know	2
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[UnfWom]

(How much do you agree or disagree)

Being treated unfairly because you are a woman is a thing of the past?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	2
Agree	29
Neither agree nor disagree	12
Disagree	51
Disagree strongly	5
Don't know	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[BBGay]

Do you think someone running a bed and breakfast **in their own home** should be allowed to refuse a booking from a gay or lesbian couple?

[BBDog]

And do you think someone running a bed and breakfast **in their own home** should be allowed to refuse a booking from someone who has a guide dog?

[BBEthnic]

And what about someone from a different ethnic or racial background than themselves?

[BBRelig]

And someone from a different religion than themselves?

[BBAge]

Do you think someone running a bed and breakfast **in their own home** should be allowed to refuse a booking to anyone aged under 21?

[BBDis]

Do you think someone running a bed and breakfast **in their own home** should be allowed to refuse a booking to someone with a learning disability?

[BBSxCh]

Do you think someone running a bed and breakfast **in their own home** should be allowed to refuse a booking to someone who has had a sex change operation?

	Definitely yes	Probably yes	Probably no	Definitely no	Don't know	Not answered	Sample size
A gay or lesbian couple	24	27	20	26	2	*	1594
Someone who has a guide dog	7	12	19	60	2	-	1594
Someone from a different ethnic or racial background	8	16	29	46	2	*	1594
Someone from a different religion than themselves	6	11	26	55	2	-	1594

	<b>Definitely yes</b>	<b>Probably yes</b>	<b>Probably no</b>	<b>Definitely no</b>	<b>Don't know</b>	<b>Not answered</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
Anyone aged under 21	9	19	34	35	2	-	1594
Someone with a learning disability	6	9	30	53	2	-	1594
Someone who has had a sex change operation	9	13	30	42	5	*	1594

[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.

	<b>2006</b>
	%
Definitely fair	25
Probably fair	38
Probably unfair	26
Definitely unfair	9
Don't know	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[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.

	<b>2006</b>
	%
Definitely fair	17
Probably fair	40
Probably unfair	29
Definitely unfair	12
Don't know	2
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</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.

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Definitely fair	10
Probably fair	30
Probably unfair	40
Definitely unfair	17
Don't know	3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[CustTrad]

Some people say it's much better if people who move to Scotland from other countries keep their own distinct customs and traditions. They would place themselves in box B on this scale (POINT TO BOX AT FAR LEFT HAND SIDE). Others say it's much better if people who move here adapt and blend into the larger society. They would place themselves in box K (POINT TO THE BOX AT FAR RIGHT HAND SIDE). Others have views that are somewhere in between (POINT AT BOXES C TO G).

Which box best describes **your** view? Please tell me its letter.

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
B – Keep customs/traditions	5
C	7
F	33
G	21
K – Adapt and blend	33
Don't know	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>

[RetForce]

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?

	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
It is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age	76	76
Older employees must retire to make way for younger age groups	21	20
Don't know	3	4
Not answered	*	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1594</i>



## SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONS

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	7
Agree	24
Neither agree nor disagree	28
Disagree	28
Disagree strongly	8
Can't choose	2
Not answered	3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1437</i>

A man's job is to earn money, a woman's job is to look after the family

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2005</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
Agree strongly	3	4
Agree	8	10
Neither agree nor disagree	15	15
Disagree	37	36
Disagree strongly	35	31
Can't choose	2	1
Not answered	1	3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>

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

	<b>Men</b>		<b>Women</b>		<b>Gay &amp; Lesbian</b>	
	%		%		%	
	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>
Very suitable	41	46	67	65	21	25
Fairly suitable	37	38	21	27	22	23
Neither	14	10	9	5	21	23
Fairly unsuitable	3	2	*	*	9	9
Very unsuitable	*	*	*	*	18	11
Can't choose	4	2	2	1	8	5
Not answered	1	2	1	2	1	3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1507</i>	<i>1437</i>

	<b>Black/ Asian</b>	<b>Someone aged 70</b>	<b>A Muslim person</b>	<b>Someone who has had sex change operation</b>	<b>Someone who from time to time exper- iences depress- ion</b>	<b>A Gypsy / Travell er</b>
	<b>2006</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2006</b>
	%	%	%	%		%
Very suitable	36	8	27	15	6	8
Fairly suitable	35	16	26	17	15	12
Neither	17	19	23	28	21	23
Fairly unsuitable	3	31	9	15	30	23
Very unsuitable	1	19	6	15	21	25
Can't choose	4	3	5	6	4	6
Not answered	3	4	4	4	4	4
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1437</i>	<i>1437</i>

Some people say they feel comfortable if they see a woman breastfeeding her child in public. Others say they feel uncomfortable. How comfortable or uncomfortable does it make you feel if you see a woman breastfeeding her child in public?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Very comfortable	32
Fairly comfortable	25
Neither	31
Fairly uncomfortable	7
Very uncomfortable	3
Can't choose	2
Not answered	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1437</i>

Some people say they feel comfortable if they see a Muslim woman with her face covered in public. Others say they feel uncomfortable. How comfortable or uncomfortable does it make you feel if you see a Muslim woman with her face covered in public?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Very comfortable	15
Fairly comfortable	16
Neither	45
Fairly uncomfortable	14
Very uncomfortable	8
Can't choose	2
Not answered	1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1437</i>

Would you rather live in an area...

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

Do you personally know anyone who has a physical disability?

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

Do you personally know anyone who has a learning disability?

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

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

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

Do you personally know anyone who is gay or lesbian?

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

Do you personally know anyone who is Muslim?

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

Which of the following **best** describes how you think of yourself?

	<b>2006</b>
	<b>%</b>
Heterosexual (straight)	95
Gay	*
Lesbian	*
Bisexual	*
Can't choose	1
Not answered	2
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1437</i>

## **ANNEX C –TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE SURVEY**

### **The Scottish Social Attitudes series**

The *Scottish Social Attitudes* (SSA) survey was launched by the Scottish Centre for Social Research (part of the National Centre for Social Research) in 1999, following the advent of devolution. Based on annual rounds of interviews with 1,500-1,600 people drawn using random probability sampling, its aims are 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 the National Centre 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, 2004 for more details of the BSA survey).

SSA is conducted annually and has a modular structure. In any one year it will typically contain 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 each year's individual modules. These bodies have included the Economic and Social Research Council, the Scottish Executive and various charitable and grant awarding bodies, such as the Nuffield and Leverhulme Foundations.

### **The 2006 survey**

The 2006 survey contained modules of questions on:

- attitudes to government and public services in post-devolution Scotland (funded by the Scottish Government Office of Chief Researcher from 2004-2007)
- homelessness (funded by the Scottish Government Housing Directorate)
- attitudes towards young people and youth crime (funded by the Scottish Government Education Directorate)
- views about national identity (in collaboration with David McCrone and Frank Bechhofer at the University of Edinburgh, funded by the Leverhulme Foundation)
- and, this module about discrimination.

Findings from the 2006 modules are reported in separate publications produced by ScotCen and their collaborators. This technical annex accompanies ScotCen-authored reports for the Scottish Government. It covers the methodological details of the 2006 survey as well as further discussion of the analysis techniques used in the reports.

### **Technical details of the survey**

The *Scottish Social Attitudes* survey involves a face-to-face interview with respondents and a self-completion questionnaire, completed by nine in ten of these people (90% in 2006). The numbers completing each stage in 2006 are shown in Table 1. See Bromley, Curtice and Given (2005) for technical details of the 1999-2004 surveys and Given and Ormston (2006) for technical details of the 2005 survey.



**Table 1: 2006 Scottish Social Attitudes survey response**

	Lower		Upper	
	No.	%		%
Addresses issued	3162		3162	
Vacant, derelict and other out of scope <sup>1</sup>	323	10.2	323	10.2
Unknown eligibility <sup>2</sup>	89	3.2	89	3.2
In scope	2839		2750	
Interview achieved	1594	56.1	1594	58.0
Self-completion returned	1437	50.6	1437	52.3
Interview not achieved	1245	43.9	1245	42.0
<i>Refused</i> <sup>3</sup>	916	32.3	916	33.3
<i>Non-contacted</i> <sup>4</sup>	100	3.5	100	3.6
<i>Other non-response</i> <sup>5</sup>	140	4.9	140	5.1

**Notes to table**

The table shows a 'lower' and an 'upper' response rate. The former is calculated on the assumption that all addresses whose eligibility to participate was unknown were in fact eligible to take part. The latter is calculated on the assumption that they were all ineligible (because they were empty/derelict, non-residential, etc). The 'true' response is likely to lie somewhere between the two, since some addresses whose eligibility was unknown are likely to have been 'deadwood' while others may have been eligible. See Lynn et al (2001)<sup>21</sup> for a discussion of treatment of unknown eligibility in calculating response rates.

1 This includes empty / derelict addresses, holiday homes, businesses and institutions.

2 'Unknown eligibility' includes cases where the address could not be located, where it could not be determined if an address was a residence 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 4 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 who with insufficient English to participate.

**Sample design**

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

<sup>21</sup> Lynn, Peter, et al (2001) *Recommended standard final outcome categories and standard definitions of response rates for social surveys*, Institute for Social and Economic Research

Post Office. The detailed procedure for selecting the 2006 sample was as follows:

- I. 88 postcode sectors were selected from a list of all postal sectors in Scotland, with probability proportional to the number of addresses in each sector. Prior to selection the sectors were stratified by region, population density, and percentage of household heads recorded as being in non-manual occupations (SEG 1-6 and 13, taken from the 2001 Census). The list was also stratified using the Scottish Household Survey (SHS) six-fold classification of urban and rural areas (see below for a description of this), and sectors within rural and remote categories were over-sampled.
- II. In order to boost the number of respondents from remote and rural areas 31 addresses were selected in each sector located within the first three SHS urban-rural classifications (the four cities to accessible small towns), while 62 addresses were selected from the sectors within the three most rural categories (remote small towns to remote rural areas). The issued sample size is shown in Table 1.
- 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 also had to carry out a random selection of one adult using a similar procedure.

## **Weighting**

The weights applied to the SSA 2006 data are intended to correct for three potential sources of bias in the sample:

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

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 2005 mid-year estimates from GROS).

Prior to the 2005 dataset, SSA data was only weighted to take account of differential selection probabilities and over-sampling in rural areas. The decision to introduce non-response weighting and 'calibration' weighting to match the sex-age profile of the population was taken following experimentation with the 2004 British Social Attitudes (BSA) dataset. Both BSA and SSA weights now incorporate these new elements, which are designed to reduce non-response bias.

## **Fieldwork**

Fieldwork ran between August 2006 and January 2007 (with 77% completed by the end of October). An advance letter was sent to all addresses and was followed up by a personal visit from a *Scottish Centre for Social Research* interviewer. Interviewers were required to make a minimum of 4 calls at different times of the day (including at least one evening and one weekend call) in order to try and contact respondents, although in practice interviewers often made many more calls than this. All interviewers attended a one day briefing conference prior to starting work on the study.

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 summarises the response rate and the numbers completing the self-completion in 2006.

## **Analysis variables**

A number of standard analyses have been used in the five reports. 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 groups requiring further definition are set out below.

#### *The Scottish Government six-fold urban-rural classification*

The six categories used in this classification are: 1) large urban, 2) other urban, 3) small accessible towns, 4) small remote towns, 5) accessible rural, 6) remote rural. For more details see <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2006/07/31114822/0>.

#### *National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC)*

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

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

#### *Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)*

The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)<sup>22</sup> 2006 measures the level of deprivation across Scotland – from the least deprived to the most deprived areas. It is based on 37 indicators in seven domains of Current Income, Employment, Health, Education Skills and Training, Geographic Access to Services (including public transport travel times for the first time), Housing and, new for 2006, Crime. SIMD 2006 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 2006 and on each of the individual domains. The result is a comprehensive picture of relative area deprivation across Scotland.

The SSA analysis used three variables created from SIMD data indicating the level of deprivation of the data zone in which the respondent lived. The first variable (nsimd06s) indicates which SIMD quintile the respondent lives in (with 1 being the least deprived and 5 being the most deprived); the second (SNIMD15) indicates whether or not the respondent lives in the most deprived 15% of data zones as measured on the SIMD; the third indicates which tertile the respondent lives in (with 1 being the least deprived and 3 being the most deprived). All three variables are based the SIMD scores for all datazones - not simply those included in the SSA sample.

## **Analysis techniques**

### *Regression*

For the more complex analysis in the reports, logistic regression models have been used to assess whether there is reliable evidence that particular variables are associated with each other.

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

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<sup>22</sup> See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/Overview> for further details on the SIMD

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. All regression analysis assumes that the relationship between the dependent and each of the independent variables takes a particular form.

The Scottish Social Attitudes 2006 reports use logistic regression – 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 report 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).

ISSN 0950 2254  
ISBN 978 0 7559 6867 1  
Price £5.00

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RR Donnelley B54061 12-07



ISBN 978-0-7559-6867-1

