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Scottish Social Attitudes 2015: Attitudes to discrimination and positive action

EQUALITY, POVERTY AND SOCIAL SECURITY

social research

Contents

Key findings

This report presents findings from the Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA) study of public attitudes to discrimination and positive action in Scotland. As this is the fourth time that SSA has included questions on attitudes to discrimination it also provides valuable insights into how public attitudes have changed over time.

The main aims of the questions included in SSA 2015 were:

- To measure the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland in 2015 – including comparing attitudes to different groups and in different contexts
- To explore the extent of support for positive action to try and achieve equality for different groups, and
- To examine how attitudes have changed over time

General attitudes to prejudice

In 2015 nearly 7 in 10 (69%) felt that 'Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice'. This figure has remained relatively stable between 2002 and 2015. However, the proportion of people who felt that sometimes there was a good reason to be prejudiced fell from 28% in 2010 to 22% in 2015.

There appears to be a trend towards people in Scotland holding more positive attitudes to diversity. Between 2010 and 2015, there was a 10 percentage point decline, from 43% to 33%, in the proportion of people who said that they would rather live in an area 'where most people are similar to you'. Rather more, amounting to nearly a half (47%), said they would prefer to live in an area 'with lots of different kinds of people'.

In 2015, 4 in 10 (40%) agreed that 'people from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place', a significant increase from 2010 when around 3 in 10 (33%) held the same view. Compared with 2010, people in 2015 were also less likely to agree that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims, people from Eastern Europe or black or Asian people came to live in Scotland.

However, in contrast, people were still as concerned as they have been previously about the impact of immigration on the labour market. In 2015, around a third (30%) agreed that 'people who come to Scotland from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland' and around a quarter (26%) said the same for people from ethnic minorities. While this represents a significant decline on the figures for 2010, it simply represents a return to levels previously recorded in 2006. For example, in 2006, 32% agreed that people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from people in Scotland, this increased to 37% in 2010% before declining to 30% in 2015.

Discriminatory attitudes have been shown to be associated with whether or not people know someone from a group who share certain protected characteristics. Between 2010 and 2015, the proportion of people who did not know anyone who is gay or lesbian, has a mental health problem or is a Muslim declined. However, a

higher proportion of people did not know someone who is Muslim (41%) than did not know someone who has a mental health problem (19%), someone from a different racial or ethnic background (19%), or someone who is gay or lesbian (15%).

In 2015, just under a fifth (18%) of people believed that 'sexual relations between two adults of the same sex' were wrong. The proportion who say that same sex relationships are wrong has been declining steady over time since 2000 when nearly half (48%) believed that same sex relationships were wrong.

Personal relationships and employment

Relationships

Respondents were asked if they would be happy or unhappy if a close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with someone from one of nine different groups of people who share certain protected characteristics. People were most likely to say they would be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone who cross-dresses in public (39% said they would be unhappy) followed by someone who has undergone gender reassignment (32%) and a Gypsy/Traveller (31%). These were the same groups of people about which negative attitudes were most likely to be expressed in 2010. However, there was a decline between 2010 and 2015 in the proportion who said they would be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone from these three groups. There was a decline of 17 percentage points with regards to someone who has undergone gender reassignment (49% to 32%) though there was only a more modest 6 percentage point decline in the proportion who said they would be unhappy about a close relative marrying a Gypsy/Traveller.

Equity and participation in the labour market

Respondents were asked how suitable or unsuitable they thought someone from one of seven groups of people who share certain protected characteristics would be as a primary school teacher. Gypsy/Travellers were viewed as the group least suited to being a primary school teacher, with around a third (34%) saying they would be unsuitable. Similar proportions felt that someone aged 70 (31%) and someone who experiences depression from time to time (29%) would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Concern was least likely to be expressed about a black or Asian person, with only 3% saying that they would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher.

The four groups that attracted the highest levels of discriminatory attitudes in 2010 remained the same in 2015: Gypsy/Travellers, someone aged 70, someone who experiences depression from time to time and someone who has undergone gender reassignment. However, there has been a decrease between 2006 and 2015 in the proportion of people who thought that someone from these four groups would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. In the case of a Gypsy/Traveller attitudes towards their suitability as a primary school teacher had remained the same between 2006 and 2010. But between 2010 and 2015 the proportion who thought a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher

declined from 46% to 34%. In contrast, there has been a steady decline since 2006 in the proportion saying that someone aged 70, someone who experiences depression from time to time and someone who has undergone gender reassignment would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher.

Why are attitudes changing?

Discriminatory views about someone marrying a close relative have declined most with regards to people who cross-dress, someone who has undergone gender reassignment and lesbian and gay people. This appears to be, in part, related to a longer-term decline in the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes towards lesbian and gay people. Those who said that same sex relationships were ‘rarely’ or ‘not at all wrong’ were not only much less likely to say that they would be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone of the same sex, but were also much less likely to say they would be unhappy about a relative marrying someone who cross-dresses or who has undergone gender reassignment.

Discriminatory attitudes towards a close relative marrying someone with certain protected characteristics have declined across all subgroups in Scotland, though, on occasion, the views of some groups have changed more markedly than others.

For example, in 2010 and 2015 those who were 65 or older and those with no formal educational qualifications were more likely, than younger people and those with any level of educational qualification, to be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone of the same sex. Between 2010 and 2015 the proportion of people aged 65 or over who said they would be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone of the same sex declined by 26 percentage points, greater than the decline in the proportion who held this view among those aged 18 to 29 years old (14 percentage points). So in this case, while attitudes have changed most amongst both older and younger people, the age gap in attitudes has narrowed.

Similarly between 2010 and 2015, there was a decline of 33 percentage points in the proportion of people with no formal educational qualifications who said they would be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone of the same sex compared with a smaller, 9 percentage point decline among those educated to degree level. So again attitudes changed in all groups, but more so amongst those who previously were more likely to express a discriminatory attitude.

However, with regards to other groups, for example, someone who has undergone gender reassignment, views have changed the most among those who already held the most positive views. In 2010, 39% of those aged 18 to 29 years old said they would be unhappy if a close relative married someone who had undergone gender reassignment compared with 13% in 2015, a decline of 26 percentage points. In comparison there was only a 14 percentage point decline in the proportion of those aged 65 or over who said they would be unhappy.

Fewer people in 2015 felt that someone from any of the seven groups with certain protected characteristics included in the survey would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. The decline in discriminatory attitudes was most marked among those who were already less likely to regard people as unsuitable, most notably

younger people and those with higher levels of educational qualifications. For example, there was a 22 percentage point decline in the proportion of 18 to 29 year olds who said that a Gypsy/Traveller was unsuitable as a primary school teacher compared with only a 12 percentage point decline among those aged 65 or over.

Overall, the views of those who were more accepting of diversity, for example those who would prefer to live in an area 'with lots of different kinds of people' changed no more and no less than the attitudes of those who were less accepting of diversity. However, in relation to believing that Gypsy/Travellers were unsuitable as primary school teachers, the proportion who thought they were unsuitable declined more among those who knew someone from a different ethnic background than among those who did not (13 percentage point decline compared with a 3 percentage point decline).

Employment

Social networks

SSA 2015 asked people's views on the use of existing social networks for job recruitment. Over three-quarters (78%) said that a joiner should be free to employ a friend whereas only 57% said that a Polish hotel owner should be free to employ other Polish immigrants. Conversely, twice as many people felt that the Polish hotel owner should advertise the job so that anyone could apply (43%) than thought that the joiner should advertise for the job (22%). Those who were more likely to think that the joiner should be free to employ a friend were men, those in the highest income group and employers, managers and professionals. In contrast, those who were more likely to think that the Polish hotel owner should be free to employ people from Poland were those who disagreed that 'people from Eastern Europe are taking jobs away from other people in Scotland'.

Parental leave

A higher proportion of people thought that mothers should have the right to up to six months paid time off work after their child is born than thought that fathers should have the same right (85% compared with 55% respectively). However, there was a significant increase, from 46% in 2010 to 55% in 2015, in the proportion who thought that fathers should have the right to six months paid parental leave. Those more likely to support paid paternity leave were people under 65 years old, women and those living in the least deprived areas of Scotland. Although many still did not support paternity leave, there were much higher levels of support for fathers to have 5 days paid leave a year to look after a child under 5 when they are ill. Around 9 in 10 (89%) thought that fathers should have this right, similar to the 94% who thought that mothers should have this right.

Age and employment

In 2015, around 1 in 5 (21%) felt that 'older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups' whereas three-quarters (76%) felt that 'it is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age'. These figures have remained unchanged since 2005. People aged 65 or over, those who were retired and those who felt they were living comfortably on their present income

were all more likely to think that people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups.

Attitudes to religious dress and symbols

In 2015,only a minority thought that an employer should be able to insist a Sikh man should take off his turban at work (20%), a Christian woman should take off her crucifix (15%) and a Muslim woman should take off her headscarf (18%). There has been a small but significant decline, from 23% in 2010 to 18% in 2015, in the proportion who believe that an employer should be able to insist a Muslim woman removes her headscarf at work. However, a sizeable majority (65%) thought that an employer should be able to insist that a Muslim woman remove her veil while at work. Older people, those who prefer to live in an area where people are similar to them and those who agreed that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland' were all more likely to think that an employer should be able to insist that a Muslim woman remove her veil at work.

Equal opportunities and positive action

Equal opportunities

Respondents were asked whether attempts to promote equal opportunities have gone too far, or not gone far enough, for women, black people and Asians, and lesbian and gay people. The most commonly held view in 2015 was that attempts to give equal opportunities were 'about right'. However, since 2010 there has been a decline in the proportion who felt that 'attempts to promote equal opportunities' have gone too far for all three groups. For example, in 2010, 1 in 5 (20%) said attempts to give equal opportunities to lesbian and gay people had gone too far, but this figure declined to 10% in 2015. Those more likely to think that equal opportunities had gone too far, both for black people and Asians and for lesbian and gay people were older people, those with lower levels of, or no, formal qualifications, those in the lowest income group and those living in the most deprived areas. Being less accepting of diversity and not knowing someone from a group who share certain protected characteristics were also associated with the view that attempts to give equal opportunities had gone too far.

Attitudes towards promotion and equal pay

Respondents were asked to assess if a woman who had taken a year off after having a baby was less deserving of promotion than a woman who had not. Nearly 9 in 10 (89%) felt that both women were equally deserving of a promotion. In addition, two scenarios explored attitudes towards equal pay. First, around 9 in 10 (92%) felt that it was wrong for a man to be paid more than a woman for moving and lifting boxes around a warehouse. Second, 65% said that it was wrong for an employee to get paid more than another employee with a disability who received a grant to support him at work. Those more likely to think that it was right for the employee to get paid more than the employee with a disability were men, those with no formal qualifications and those who prefer to live in an area where people are similar to themselves.

Positive action

The majority of people thought women (65%) and black and Asian people (57%) should have extra opportunities to get training and qualifications in companies where they are under-represented in senior jobs. However, only 40% thought that someone with a disability should automatically get an interview for a job and 20% thought that it was fair for a company to only interview women for a new job. However, the proportion who thought it was unfair to give women and black and Asian people extra training and to give an automatic interview to a disabled person declined slightly between 2010 and 2015. For example, in 2010, 63% thought it was unfair to give a disabled person an automatic interview compared with 58% in 2015. At the same time, though, the proportion who thought that a woman-only shortlist was unfair remained stable at 78%. Those most likely to oppose these measures of positive action were men, younger people, those educated to degree level, those in the highest income group and employers.

1. Introduction

This report presents findings from the 2015 Scottish Social Attitudes survey (SSA). It provides a detailed picture of the current state of public attitudes to discrimination and positive action in Scotland. As this is the fourth time SSA has included questions on attitudes to discrimination (following previous studies in 2002, 2006 and 2010), this report also provides valuable insight into how public attitudes have changed over time.

In 2015, SSA included questions on general attitudes to prejudice, personal relationships, equality of opportunity in the labour market, parental leave, religious dress and symbols, positive action and discrimination in the workplace. These questions were funded jointly by the Scottish Government and the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC).

Definitions

Discriminatory attitudes

The definition of a 'discriminatory attitude' employed in this report was first developed as part of the 2002 SSA discrimination module. A 'discriminatory attitude' is defined as:

> '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.'

This definition was not designed to reflect any particular legal definition of discrimination. Rather, it encompasses any attitude that indicates a reluctance to allow someone who belongs to a particular group to participate in an activity that would not be denied to (most) other people, irrespective of whether or not it is currently illegal to deny people such opportunities.

This report focuses on discriminatory attitudes as opposed to discriminatory behaviour – that is, behaviour by individuals and institutions 'that either deliberately or inadvertently excludes particular groups from enjoying the rights, dignity, services and resources available to others' (Ormston et al, 2011). Although it is possible for such behaviour to occur in the absence of individual discriminatory attitudes (for example as a result of bias in institutional procedures), in practice discriminatory attitudes often underpin discriminatory behaviour. If people believe that members of a particular group in society should not be entitled to the same rights and resources as others, they may be more likely to express this through actions that exclude individuals from that group. Even where discriminatory attitudes do not translate into particular discriminatory behaviours, reducing the prevalence of such attitudes may be seen as an important part of building and maintaining positive relationships across society.

Policy context

In the thirteen years since SSA first included questions on discrimination, there have been extensive changes to equality legislation and considerable public and media debate about equality and discrimination (see Figure 1.1 for a summary of some of the key changes over this period). At the same time, the structure of our society has changed. Older people now account for around 18% of the Scottish population (NRS, 2015), with the number of households headed by people aged 65 and over projected to increase by around 54% between 2012 and 2037.[1] The size of Scotland's non-white ethnic minority population doubled from 2% in 2001 to 4% in 2011, with 16% of households in Scotland including multiple ethnic groups.[2] The EHRC's recent report 'Is Scotland Fairer?' (EHRC, 2016) notes a continued rise in public acceptance of LGB lifestyles across Britain, suggesting that some minority groups that were once more hidden, such as transgender people, may now feel more confident about publicly expressing their identity (EHRC, 2010).

The Scottish Government has made a commitment to promoting equality of opportunity:

> 'No one should be denied opportunities because of age, disability, gender identity, race, religion or belief, or sexual orientation. This principle underpins all the work of the Scottish Government'.[3]

Whilst significant progress has been made in tackling inequality, the Scottish Government recognises that there is still much work to be done to achieve a fully inclusive society. In addition to explicitly recognising the wider importance of challenging discriminatory attitudes in Scotland, the Scottish Government has also made specific commitments to improving the working conditions of pregnant women and those on maternity leave,[4] implementing a framework for promoting race equality,[5] supporting organisations aimed at promoting interfaith dialogue and religious cohesion, producing a strategy to allow disabled people to have the same equality and human rights as non-disabled people and encouraging activity to close the gender pay gap in Scotland.[6]

The Scottish Government has also established an Independent Advisory Group on Hate Crime, Prejudice and Community Cohesion, launched a strategy on the prevention and eradication of violence against women and girls, supported activity to tackle LGBTI+ bullying in schools, and is working collaboratively with partners to support the integration of asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland.

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[1] Scottish Government, 2016b http://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/Equality/Equalities/DataGrid/Age/AgePopMig

[2] Scotland's Census, 2016 http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ethnicity-identity-language-and-religion

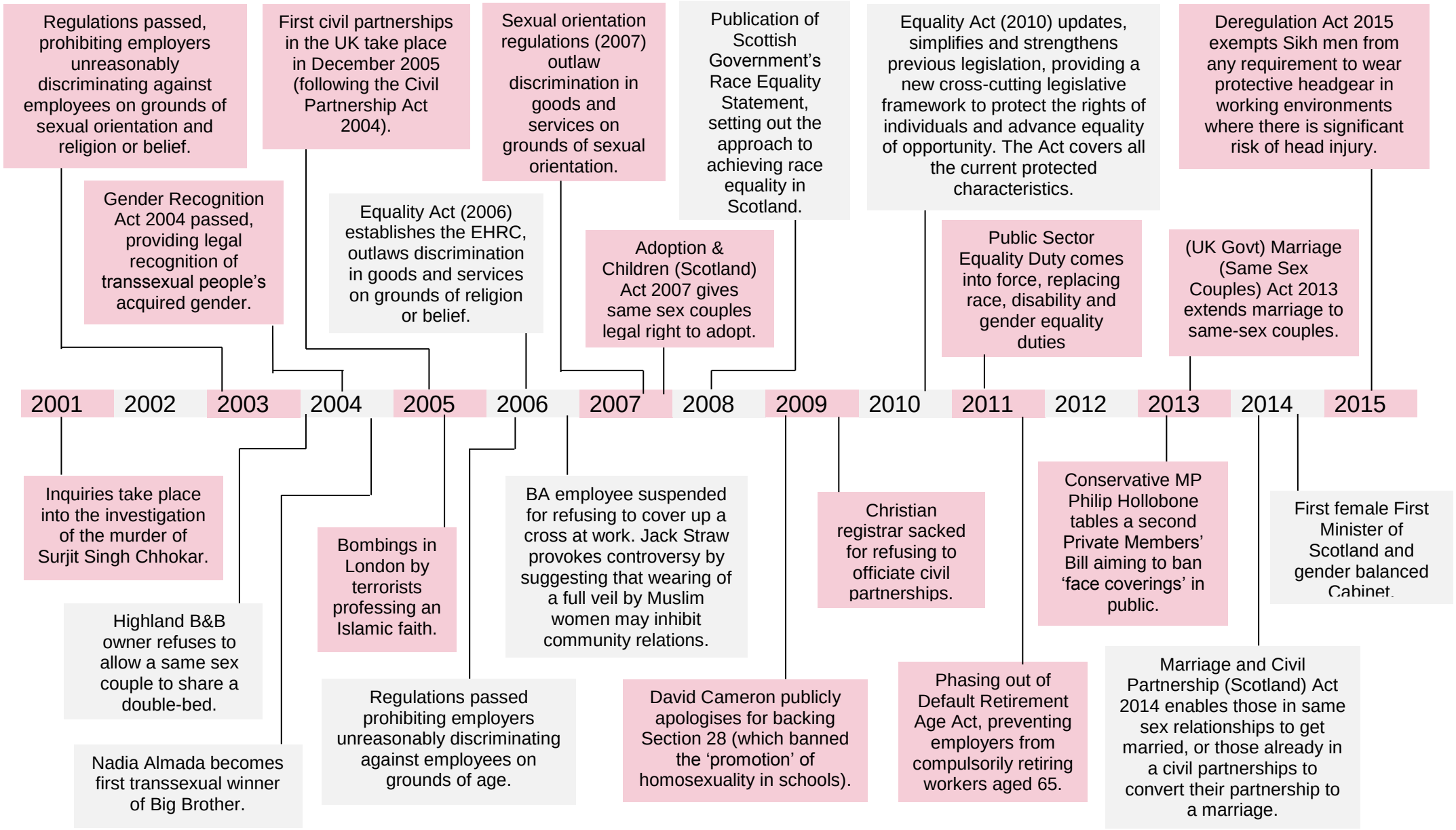
[3] Scottish Government http://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/Equality

[4] Scottish Government http://scottishgovernment.presscentre.com/News/Better-maternity-rights-22db.aspx

[5] Scottish Government, 2016a http://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/Equality/raceequality

[6] Scottish Government, 2013 http://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/Equality/18500/GenderEqualityIssues

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



Equality data and evidence are essential for supporting sound policy making and decision taking. In that context the findings contained in this report contribute to our understanding of the underlying assumptions and attitudes that impact on public views and behaviours.

Positive action

As well as discriminatory attitudes, this report also explores public attitudes to positive action. 'Positive action' has been defined by the Law Society as follows:

> 'Positive action is one way of trying to counteract deep-rooted or historic disadvantage by providing under-represented or disadvantaged groups with help to ensure they have the same chances as others' (Law Society, 2011).

Positive action is lawful under the Equality Act 2010 and is most commonly applied in an employment setting. Positive action can be seen as a mechanism to enable disadvantaged groups to either enter into the workforce or develop and/ or progress through the workplace. The EHRC describes it as an action to 'encourage people from groups with different needs or with a past track record of disadvantage or low participation to take up training, development, promotion or transfer opportunities' (EHRC, 2014).

Positive action on the part of an employer can include providing access to specific schemes to women only, encouraging candidates from minority groups in society to apply for positions within an organisation where those groups are under-represented, and establishing bursaries to support students from disadvantaged backgrounds where such students are under-represented (Law Society, 2011).

The 2015 survey aims

Against this backdrop of legislative and social change, the main aims of the questions on discrimination and positive action included in SSA 2015 were:

- To measure the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland in 2015 – including comparing attitudes to different groups and in different contexts
- To explore the extent of support for positive action to try and achieve equality for different groups, and
- To examine how attitudes have changed over time

As in 2010, the 2015 survey explored attitudes to men and women, people from ethnic minority groups, disabled people, lesbian and gay people, people of different faiths, older people and transgender people. Major additions since the 2010 survey included:

- additional questions about attitudes to maternal and paternal leave after the birth of a child
- questions on attitudes towards recruitment via social networks

It is important to note that in a general population survey there is relatively limited scope for subgroup analysis to explore the views of those with protected characteristics. Although this year's sample of 1,288 is large enough to enable detailed statistical analysis of the views of the Scottish population as a whole and for large subsections of society, like men and women and people of different ages, groups that are small in number in the population as a whole will also constitute a small proportion of the sample, meaning that the sample size is too small to provide statistically significant comparisons.

About the data

The Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA) survey, run annually by ScotCen Social Research since 1999, provides a robust and reliable picture of changing public attitudes over time. SSA is based on face-to-face interviews with a representative random probability sample of those aged 18 and over in Scotland. In 2015 the sample size was 1,288, with fieldwork taking place between July 2015 and January 2016. Data are weighted in order to correct for non-response bias and over-sampling, and to ensure that they reflect the age-sex profile of the Scottish population. Further technical details about the survey are published in a separate SSA 2015 technical report.[7]

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

Report structure and conventions

The remainder of this report is structured as follows:

Chapter 2. Discusses general attitudes to prejudice in Scotland, and looks at differences in the kinds of people who are more or less likely to hold discriminatory views.

Chapter 3. Explores discriminatory attitudes in the context of personal relationships. It compares opinions on people from different groups across society forming a long-term relationship with a family member.

Chapter 4. Looks at discriminatory attitudes in the context of employment, comparing views on the suitability of people from different groups in society as primary school teachers.

Chapter 5. Examines how and why discriminatory attitudes may have changed between 2010 and 2015.

[7] http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0049/00497080.pdf

Chapter 6. Focuses on public attitudes towards paid parental leave, forced retirement and the use of social networks to recruit new employees.

Chapter 7. Explores attitudes to religious dress and symbols, and contrasts views on Christian, Sikh and Muslim dress.

Chapter 8. Discusses attitudes to different kinds of positive action and explores attitudes to equal pay.

Chapter 9. Summarises the main conclusions of the report.

2. General attitudes to prejudice

This chapter explores views on questions that tap into more general attitudes to prejudice. It covers a question that shows how inclined people are towards a more discriminatory point of view, feelings about diversity, views on perceived labour market competition, views on same sex relationships, and the level of contact people have with people from a range of equality groups. How views have changed over time is also examined.

Acceptability of prejudice

In SSA 2015, people were asked to choose which of two statements came closest to their own view:

> 'Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice'
>
> 'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups'.

Choosing the second statement is an indication that, in at least some circumstances, the respondent is prepared to accept that discrimination may be acceptable. In 2015, nearly 7 in 10 (69%) were of the view that 'Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice'. A substantial minority – one in five (22%) – were, however, of the opinion that 'sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups'.

Views on the acceptability of prejudice remained fairly consistent between 2002 and 2010 (see Table 2.1). However, between 2010 and 2015 there has been a small, but significant, decline in the proportion of people who thought that sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced, from 28% in 2010 to 22% in 2015.

Table 2.1: Is prejudice ever acceptable? (2002-2015)

	2002	2006	2010	2015
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	68%	65%	66%	69%
Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups	26%	29%	28%	22%
(Depends)	4%	5%	4%	7%
(Don't know)	1%	1%	2%	2%
(Refused)	-	*	*	*
Bases	1665	1594	1495	1288

Base: All respondents

* less than 1%

Attitudes to diversity

Previous analysis of SSA data has shown that acceptability of prejudice is related to a person's attitudes towards, and level of comfort with, diversity – so called 'psychological factors'. People may be accepting of prejudice because they are uncomfortable with difference, or feel that diversity is threatening in some way. SSA has shown that those who express more positive views about diversity are less likely than others to find prejudice acceptable in any form (see Ormston et al, 2011). A number of questions aiming to tap into people's feelings about diversity have been included in SSA as part of the discrimination module since 2002 and were once again included in SSA 2015.

Respondents were asked about the sort of area they would prefer to live in. In 2015, around half (47%) said they would prefer to live in an area 'with lots of different kinds of people' (see Table 2.2). Attitudes had remained unchanged between 2002 and 2010, but there was a notable 10 percentage point decline in the proportion of people saying that they would rather live in an area 'where most people are similar to you' from 43% in 2010 to 33% in 2015, the lowest ever recorded level. Previously, the proportion who held that view was larger than the proportion who said that they preferred to live with 'lots of different kinds of people', in 2015 the reverse is now the case. Nearly half (47%) said that they would prefer to live with different kinds of people, an increase of ten percentage points since 2010.

Table 2.2 Preference of type of area to live in (2002-2015, column %)

	2002	2006	2010	2015
With lots of different kinds of people	37%	34%	37%	47%
Where most people are similar to you	46%	49%	43%	33%
Can't choose	17%	16%	17%	20%
(Refused)	*	1%	3%	*
Weighted bases	1518	1423	1350	1232
Unweighted bases	1507	1434	1366	1234

Base: All respondents who completed self-complete

* less than 1%

Questions on the impact of immigration from particular groups on Scotland's identity and culture were also included to further explore attitudes towards diversity. Respondents were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following four statements:

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

- 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 (for example, Poland and Latvia) came to live in Scotland
- Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland

Agreeing with the first statement, that 'people from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make it a better place' is indicative of a positive attitude towards increased diversity in Scotland, while agreeing with the latter three statements suggests an anxiety about the potential cultural impact of immigration from the respective groups.

Table 2.3 shows that in 2015, 4 in 10 (40%) agreed that 'people from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place'. This represents a significant increase from 2010 when around 3 in 10 (33%) held the same view, suggesting that the trend is towards people in Scotland holding more positive attitudes to diversity (see Chapter 5, Table 5.1 for full details).

Table 2.3 Whether people agree or disagree that if more people from particular groups moved here, Scotland would begin to lose its identity (2015)

	Agree strongly/ agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree strongly/ disagree
People from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place.	40%	38%	20%
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland.	41%	19%	39%
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe (for example, Poland and Latvia) came to live in Scotland.	38%	19%	41%
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland.	35%	22%	42%

Base: All respondents
'Don't know' and 'Not answered' not shown but are included in the base
See Tables A2.1-A2.4 in Annex A for details.

A similar proportion, around 2 in 5 (41%), also disagreed in 2015 that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims, people from Eastern Europe and black or Asian people came to live in Scotland. And across all of these groups there has been a decrease between 2010 and 2015 in the proportion who believed that more people from that group coming to live in Scotland would mean Scotland would begin to lose its identity. For example, there was an 8 percentage point decline between 2010 and 2015 in the proportion agreeing that Scotland would begin to lose its identify if more people from Eastern Europe came to live in Scotland (46% in 2010 compared with 38% in 2015) (for further discussion on these trends see Chapter 5). So whilst there appears to have been a shift towards greater

acceptance of diversity, a fairly substantial minority still have concerns about the impact of immigration on Scotland's identity.

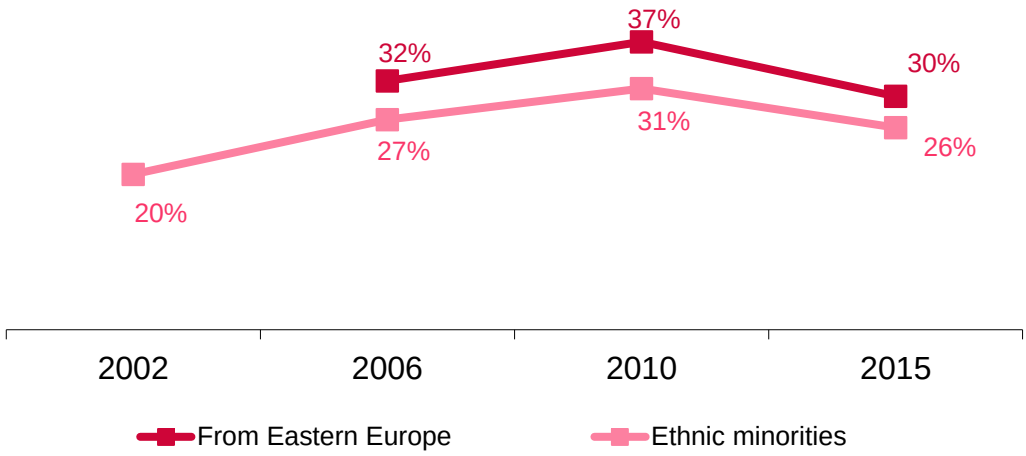
Perceived labour market competition

Since 2002 SSA has included questions designed to explore people's views on the impact of immigration on the Scottish labour market and people's feelings about competition for jobs. In 2015 two questions were asked, one about people from ethnic minorities and one about people from Eastern Europe. Respondents were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

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

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

Figure 2.2 Agreeing that people from Eastern Europe/ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland (2006-2015, %)



Base: All respondents who completed a self-complete
SSA 2002: Weighted=1507, Unweighted=1518; SSA 2006: Weighted=1423, Unweighted=1437
SSA 2010: Weighted=1350, Unweighted=1366; SSA 2015: Weighted=1232, Unweighted=1234

Responses to both questions lend support to the notion that a sizeable proportion of people in Scotland continue to be concerned about the impact of immigration on the labour market. For example, in 2015, 30% 'agreed' or 'agreed strongly' that 'people who come to Scotland from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland'. The equivalent figure for the question on ethnic minorities was slightly lower at 26%.

The proportion of people expressing concerns about the impact of immigration on the Scottish labour market had increased between 2002 and 2010 for both people

from ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe. This has been followed by a significant decline between 2010 and 2015. For example, in 2010, 37% agreed that people from ethnic minorities take jobs away from people in Scotland which declined to 30% in 2015, returning to the levels recorded in 2006. One possible explanation is that this decrease was primarily a result of unusually high levels in 2010 (possibly, at least in part, due to the poor economic situation at the height of the recession). (See Tables A2.5-A2.6 in Annex A for details).

Contact with different groups of people

Previous evidence from SSA shows that people who know someone from an equalities group are less likely to hold discriminatory attitudes towards people in that group. SSA 2015 asked respondents if, and how, they personally knew anyone from four different equalities groups: someone who is gay or lesbian, someone who is Muslim, someone with a mental health problem or someone from a different racial or ethnic background.

Table 2.5 shows that around 8 in 10 (79%) people in 2015 knew someone from a different ethnic background, someone with a mental health problem (76%) and someone who is gay or lesbian (83%). A much smaller proportion, 54%, knew someone who is Muslim. However, there had been a significant decrease between 2010 and 2015 in the proportion who said that they did not know anyone who was a Muslim (46% in 2010 compared with 41% in 2015).[8] There was also a significant decrease in the proportion of people reporting that they did not know anyone with a mental health problem or someone who is gay or lesbian. In 2010, a quarter said they did not know someone with a mental health problem, and this decreased to 19% in 2015.

[8] The difference between the proportion of people who do not know anyone who is Muslim in 2010 and in 2015 was only marginally significant (p=0.088).

Table 2.5 Contact with different groups of people

	Anyone who is from a different racial or ethnic background		Anyone who is gay or lesbian[a]		Anyone who is Muslim[b]		Anyone who has a mental health problem[c]	
	2010	2015	2010	2015	2010	2015	2010	2015
No, does not know anyone with this characteristic	19%	19%	19%	15%	46%	41%	25%	19%
Yes – a family member	8%	12%	13%	21%	3%	3%	29%	32%
Yes – a friend	36%	39%	34%	41%	15%	18%	24%	31%
Yes – someone they don't know very well	19%	25%	20%	20%	15%	19%	11%	16%
Yes – someone at work	18%	27%	15%	17%	11%	16%	8%	9%
Yes – someone else	15%	13%	13%	12%	9%	12%	9%	7%
Not sure	4%	2%	6%	2%	9%	5%	9%	5%
Weighted bases	1366	1232	1366	1210	1366	1219	1366	1232
Unweighted bases	1366	1234	1366	1216	1366	1227	1366	1234

NB as respondents could choose more than one response, columns sum to more than 100%. Base: All respondents who completed a self-complete

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

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

C – In SSA 2015, the following response category was added. 'Yes, I have a mental health problem myself'. This option was selected by 8%.

Attitudes to same sex relationships

In addition to asking people if they knew someone who is gay or lesbian, SSA has also included a question on people's views on whether sexual relations between two adults of the same sex are wrong. In 2015, just under a fifth (18%) believed that such a relationship was 'always' or 'mostly wrong' with around three-fifths (59%) saying that same sex relationships were 'not wrong at all'. Since 2000 there has been a decline in the proportion saying that 'sexual relations between two adults of the same sex' are wrong and an increase in the proportion saying they are 'not wrong at all' and findings in 2015 continued this pattern. For example, the proportion who held the view that same sex relationships are 'not wrong at all' increased from 50% to 59% between 2010 and 2015 (see Table A2.7 in Annex A for details).

3. Relationships

The previous chapter examined the extent to which people in Scotland are inclined towards a more discriminatory point of view. Here, and in subsequent chapters, attitudes to discrimination are explored across a range of specific contexts. This chapter examines the extent to which people hold discriminatory attitudes towards different groups of people in the context of personal relationships. The subsequent two chapters explore discrimination in the context of employment, and if (and why) these attitudes have changed over time.

SSA 2015 included a set of questions which asked respondents: 'How would you feel if a close relative of yours married or formed a long-term relationship with…':[9]

- someone who was black or Asian
- a Muslim
- someone who is Jewish
- a Christian
- someone who from time to time experiences depression
- a Gypsy/Traveller
- someone who has had a sex change operation[10]
- someone of the same sex as themselves, and
- someone who cross-dresses in public.

Possible answer options were: 'very happy', 'happy', 'neither happy nor unhappy', 'unhappy' and 'very unhappy'.[11]

The greatest unhappiness expressed was towards a close relative marrying someone who cross-dresses. In 2015, 4 in 10 (39%) said they would be 'unhappy' or 'very unhappy' about this. Prejudice towards someone who has undergone gender reassignment or a Gypsy/Traveller marrying a close relative was slightly lower, with around a third saying they would be unhappy if someone who has undergone gender reassignment (32%) or a Gypsy/Traveller (31%) married a close relative (see Table 3.1). While there was far greater acceptance of a family member marrying someone from different religious groups, differences across religions were evident. Looking at the proportion who said they would be 'happy' or 'very happy', the most prejudice was shown towards a Muslim with half saying they would be

[9] Most of these questions were also asked in 2006 and/or 2010. The questions about someone who cross-dresses in public and someone who from time to time experiences depression were first asked in 2010. In 2015 a question about a Hindu (which had previously appeared in 2006 and 2010) was not included.

[10] The phrase 'someone who has undergone gender reassignment' will be used to replace the question wording 'someone who has had a sex change operation' throughout the report.

[11] Questions asking about people from a particular religion were not asked of those respondents who identified themselves from that religion.

happy if a family member married a Muslim (49%) compared with 57% who said the same of someone who is Jewish and 68% for a Christian.

Table 3.1: Views on a close relative marrying or forming a long-term relationship with different groups of people (2015)

	Very happy/ happy	Neither	Unhappy/ very unhappy	(Depends/ Don't know/ Not answered)
Someone who cross-dresses	32%	28%	39%	2%
Someone who has undergone gender reassignment	36%	31%	32%	2%
A Gypsy/Traveller	37%	30%	31%	1%
A Muslim	49%	29%	20%	2%
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	45%	34%	19%	2%
Married/ civil partnership with someone of the same sex	52%	30%	16%	1%
Someone who is Jewish	57%	35%	6%	1%
Someone who is Black/ Asian	62%	31%	5%	1%
A Christian	68%	31%	*	1%

Base: All respondents

* less than 1%

How have views towards people from different groups marrying a close relative changed over time?

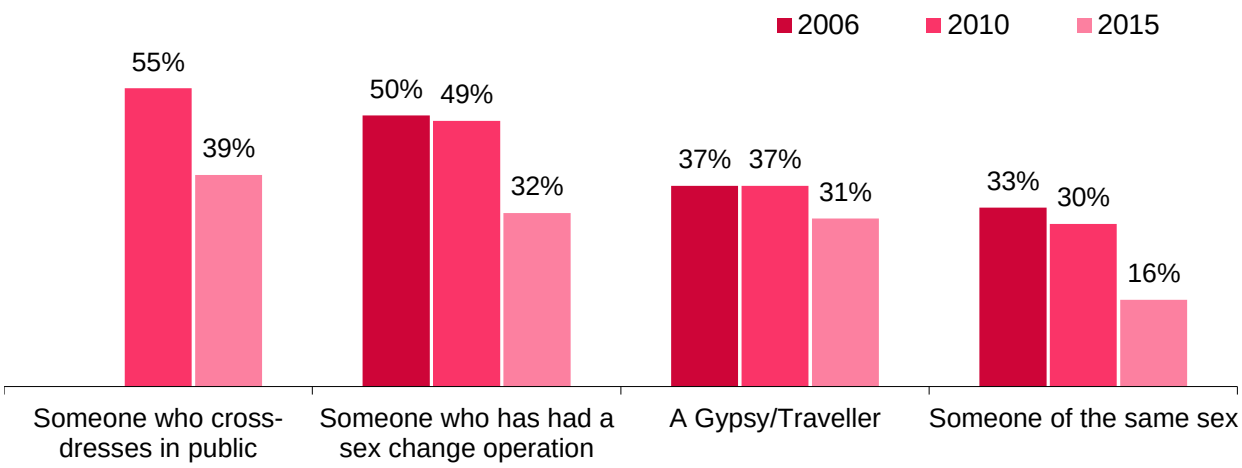
The groups attracting most prejudice with regards marrying a close relative remained unchanged in 2015 – someone who cross-dresses,[12] someone who has undergone gender reassignment and a Gypsy/Traveller. However, the proportion of people expressing negative views towards all three groups declined between 2010 and 2015. Figure 3.2 shows that this was most evident with regards someone who has undergone gender reassignment and someone who cross-dresses. There was a decline of 17 percentage points, from 49% in 2010 to 32% in 2015, in the proportion saying they would be unhappy with someone in their family marrying someone who has undergone gender reassignment and a 16 percentage point decline in the proportion saying that they would be unhappy with someone in their family marrying someone who cross-dresses (55% in 2010 to 39% in 2015). (See Table A3.1 in Annex A for details).

Another notable change since 2010 is the positive shift in attitudes towards a close relative marrying, forming a civil partnership or a long-term relationship with someone of the same sex as themselves. In 2010, 3 in 10 (30%) people said they

[12] This was first asked in 2010 so there is no data for 2006.

would be ‘unhappy’ or ‘very unhappy’ about this; by 2015 this had halved to 1 in 6 (16%).

Figure 3.2: Proportion of people unhappy/very unhappy with a close relative marrying or forming a long-term relationship with different groups (2006-2015)



Base: All respondents

For the remaining five groups – someone experiencing depression, someone who is black or Asian, a Muslim, someone who is Jewish and a Christian[13] – attitudes have remained fairly constant between 2006 and 2015. For example, the proportion of people reporting that they would be unhappy if a close relative married a Muslim did not vary significantly between 2006 and 2015 (24% in 2006, 23% in 2010 and 20% in 2015). Similarly, in both 2010 and 2015, around a fifth of people (21% in 2010 and 19% in 2015) said they would be unhappy if someone who experiences depression from time to time married into their family.[14]

[13] There were small but significant differences between 2010 and 2015 for someone who is Jewish, someone who is black/Asian and a Christian.

[14] This was first asked in 2010 so there is no data for 2006.

4. Equity and participation in the labour market

This chapter is the first of two exploring discriminatory attitudes in the context of employment. Views in 2015 on whether different groups of people are suited to being a primary school teacher are explored alongside a review of whether these views have changed over time.[15] This chapter also explores the role context plays in relation to discriminatory attitudes by comparing views on whether people would be happy with people who share certain protected characteristics marrying someone in their family (discussed in Chapter 3) with views on the suitability of people who share certain protected characteristics as a primary school teacher.

SSA has included a set of questions about how suitable people in different groups are to being a primary school teacher on four occasions.[16] The question asked respondents 'How well do you think people from the following group would be suited to the job of being a primary school teacher?' with a 5-point answer scale ranging from 'very suitable' to 'very unsuitable'. In 2015, respondents were asked this question in relation to the following groups of people who share certain protected characteristics:

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

As highlighted in the 2006 and 2010 reports[17], the example of a primary school teacher was chosen on the grounds that working with young children may be regarded as a relatively 'sensitive' form of employment and, therefore, potentially more likely to elicit discriminatory views than, for example, a post within the retail sector.

Table 4.1 shows that in 2015, Gypsy/Travellers were viewed as the group least suited to the job of being a primary school teacher, with around a third (34%) viewing them as 'very' or 'fairly unsuitable' for the role. Similar proportions felt that someone aged 70 (31%) and someone who experiences depression (29%) was unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Views on the suitability of someone who

[15] Chapter 5 examines possible reasons for changing attitudes in this context.

[16] Questions on the suitability of a range of different groups to being a primary school teacher were included in SSA in 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2015.

[17] In previous years (2006 and 2010) questions about the suitability of men and women being a primary school teacher were also included.

has undergone gender reassignment were more positive with just 1 in 5 (20%) feeling they would be unsuitable for the role. Views on lesbian and gay people and a Muslim person's suitability for the role were even more favourable, with only 13% feeling either of these groups would be unsuitable as primary school teachers. The least prejudice was shown towards black and Asian people with only 3% saying that they would be unsuitable as primary school teachers.

Table 4.1: Views on the suitability of different people as a primary school teacher (2015)

	Very/ fairly suitable	Neither suitable nor unsuitable	Very/ fairly unsuitable	Can't choose/ Don't know/ Not answered
A Gypsy/ Traveller	36%	26%	34%	4%
Someone aged 70	40%	27%	31%	3%
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	40%	28%	29%	3%
Someone who has undergone gender reassignment	46%	28%	20%	5%
Gay men and lesbians	56%	26%	13%	4%
A Muslim person	55%	26%	13%	5%
A black or Asian person	72%	21%	3%	4%

Base: All respondents who completed the self-complete, weighted=1,232, unweighted=1,234

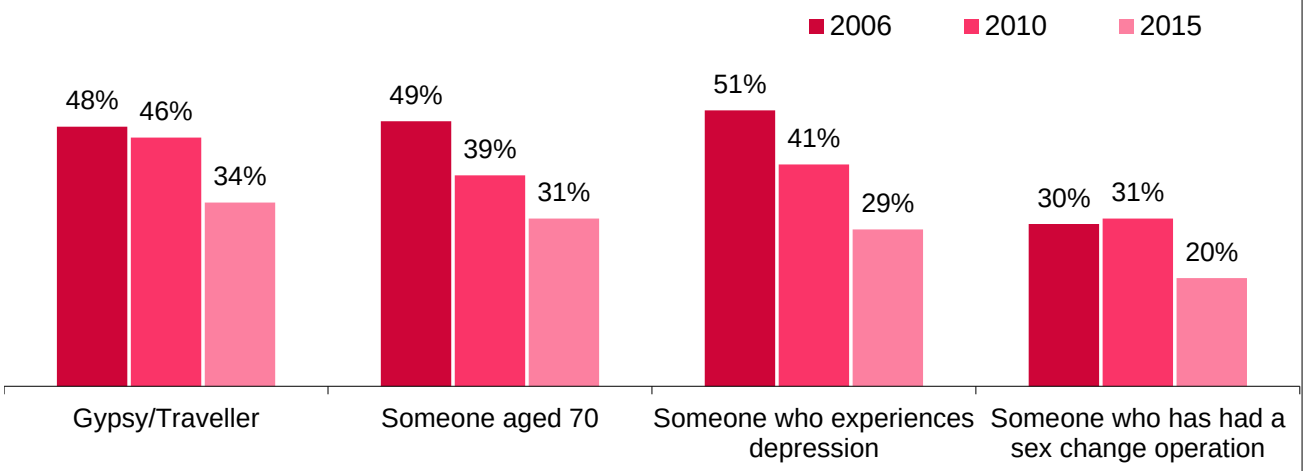
How attitudes have changed over time

The four groups attracting the highest levels of discriminatory attitudes in relation to their suitability to the job of being a primary school teacher has remained unchanged between 2006 and 2015. These groups are: Gypsy/Travellers, someone aged 70, someone who experiences depression from time to time and someone who has undergone gender reassignment. For each of the groups there has, however, been a significant decrease between 2006 and 2015 in the proportion of people in Scotland who think that they are unsuitable as primary school teachers (see Figure 4.1). For three of these groups, those aged 70, those experiencing depression from time to time and lesbian and gay people, there has been a steady decline over time. For example, between 2002 and 2015, the proportion feeling that lesbian and gay people are unsuitable as a primary school teacher has halved from 27% in 2002 to 13% in 2015.

However, attitudes towards Gypsy/Travellers and someone who has undergone gender reassignment remained unchanged between 2006 and 2010 but there has been a decline in discriminatory views towards these groups being primary school teachers between 2010 and 2015. In 2010 nearly half (46%) felt that Gypsy/Travellers were unsuitable as a primary school teacher, but by 2015 the proportion had decreased by 12 percentage points to around a third (34%).

Similarly, whilst in 2010 around 3 in 10 (31%) said that someone who has undergone gender reassignment would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher, this had declined to 2 in 10 (20%) in 2015.

Figure 4.1: Views on who is very/fairly suitable to be a primary school teacher (2006, 2010 & 2015)



Base: All respondents who completed the self-complete
SSA 2006: Weighted = 1423, Unweighted = 1437
SSA 2010: Weighted =1350, Unweighted = 1366
SSA 2015: Weighted = 1232, Unweighted=1234

There have consistently been very low levels of discriminatory attitudes towards the suitability of Muslims and black or Asian people as primary school teachers. From 2006 to 2015 between 13% and 15% said that a Muslim person is unsuitable as primary school teacher and between 3% and 6% said the same of a black or Asian person.[18] (See Table A4.1 in Annex A for details).

Different contexts, different attitudes?

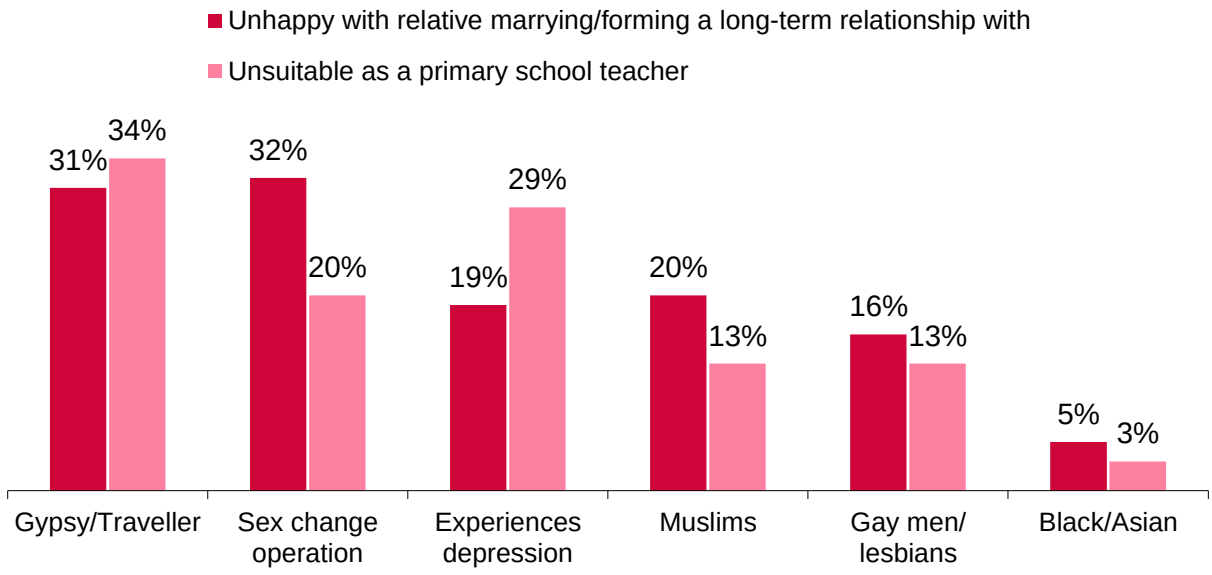
SSA 2015 included questions on six groups of people who share certain protected characteristics in relation to both views on someone marrying into your family and suitability as a primary school teacher. What does this tell us about whether views change depending on the context? Are people, for example, more likely to express discriminatory views in the context of personal relationships than they are in an employment context?

For four out of the six groups – someone who has undergone gender reassignment, a Muslim person, lesbian and gay people and a black or Asian person – discriminatory attitudes were more prominent in the context of personal relationships (see Figure 4.2). That is, the proportion of people who said they would be unhappy with someone from these groups marrying or forming a long-term relationship with someone in their family was greater than the proportion that felt they would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. For example, whereas

[18] Questions on the suitability of a Muslim person and a black or Asian person as a primary school teacher have been asked in SSA in 2006, 2010 and 2015.

around 3 in 10 (31%) said that they would be unhappy with a relative marrying someone who has undergone gender reassignment, only 2 in 10 (20%) thought they would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. Similarly, whilst 20% said they would be unhappy with a Muslim marrying someone in their family, a smaller proportion (13%) said they would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. This suggests that the closeness of the relationship affects people's views. People appear to be more comfortable with people from a group who share protected characteristics being in a position of trust in a work environment than they would be if they became part of their family.

Figure 4.2: Feelings about different groups forming a long-term relationship with a family member and suitability as a primary school teacher (2015, %)



Base: All respondents who completed the self-complete
Weighted bases=1232, Unweighted bases=1234

However, for two groups – Gypsy/Travellers and someone who experiences depression from time to time - the reverse was true, with a higher proportion of people feeling that they were unsuitable for the job of being a primary school teacher than would be unhappy with a relative marrying someone from that group (see Figure 4.2). For example, around 3 in 10 (29%) felt that someone who experiences depression from time to time would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher compared with around 2 in 10 (19%) who would be unhappy if a relative married of formed a long-term relationship with someone in this group.

5. Why are attitudes changing?

As this is the fourth occasion that Scottish Social Attitudes survey has asked questions about attitudes towards discrimination, many of the questions asked in 2015 were also asked on one or more of those previous surveys. This chapter assesses the extent to which discriminatory attitudes have changed over time, as measured by views on someone with certain protected characteristics marrying a close relative and their suitability as a primary school teacher, and explores why these changes may have occurred.

Changes to discriminatory attitudes 2010 to 2015

Between 2002 and 2010 the pattern was broadly one of little or no change in the level of discriminatory attitudes towards people with certain protected characteristics marrying a close relative or being suitable as a primary school teacher. In contrast between 2010 and 2015 there has been a consistent trend towards a reduction in the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes. With barely an exception, fewer people said they would be unhappy about a relative marrying someone who shares certain protected characteristics than was the case in 2010, while the same was true of people's perception of the suitability of specific groups to be a primary school teacher (see Chapters 3 and 4 for full details). In this chapter we consider how this trend might be accounted for.

Trends in psychological and economic outlook

One possible explanation for the decline in discriminatory attitudes towards people with or who share certain protected characteristics is that fewer people are psychologically at odds with living in a diverse society and/or are concerned about the economic consequences of doing so. Chapter 2 discussed the indicators of general prejudice which represent possible psychological influences on discriminatory attitudes, and showed that there had, indeed, been a decline in negative attitudes between 2010 and 2015. These changes could be one reason why views on specific groups have also become less negative over this five year period. Indeed, there is some evidence that both developments have taken place.

Table 5.1 summarises the change in the pattern of responses to the indicators of general prejudice in detail. The proportion of people who would prefer to live in an area where most people are similar to themselves declined by ten percentage points between 2010 and 2015, from 43% to 33%.

At the same time, concern about the cultural consequences of Scotland becoming a more diverse society also declined. The proportion who thought that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland fell by eleven percentage points (45% to 34%), by nine percentage points in the case of Muslims (50% to 41%), and by eight percentage points in respect of people from Eastern Europe (46% to 38%). Whereas previously, nearly half were concerned about the consequences of greater diversity, that view is now clearly a minority one, despite the continuing high profile given to the debate about immigration in the media. We should note that in the case of Muslims at least, the

reduction in concern over the last five years has merely reversed the increase in concern that arose between 2002 and 2006.[19]

Table 5.1 Trends in psychological influences 2002-15

	2002/3*	2006	2010	2015
Prefer to live in an area where most people are similar to you	46%	49%	43%	33%
Agree: Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland	38%	49%	50%	41%
Agree: Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe came to live in Scotland	-	45%	46%	38%
Agree: Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland	-	46%	45%	34%
Unweighted bases	1665/1508+	1594	1495	1288

* The question about the kind of area in which someone preferred to live was first asked in 2002, while that about the impact of more Muslims coming to Scotland was included for the first time in SSA 2003.
+ Sample size in 2002=1665 and in 2003=1508

There have also been further reductions between 2010 and 2015 in the proportion of people who said they do not know someone with or who share certain protected characteristics (see Table 5.2). As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research shows that there is an association between knowing someone with certain protected characteristics and holding less discriminatory attitudes. The only exception is in the proportion who said they do not know someone from a different racial or ethnic background, which remains unchanged at just under one in five (19%). The most marked changes have been seen in relation to people knowing someone who is gay or lesbian. Compared with 2002, less than half as many now say they do not know someone who is gay or lesbian. As many as one in five (21%) in 2015 said a member of their family is gay or lesbian, compared with 6% in 2002, while 41% said they have a friend they know fairly well who is gay or lesbian, an increase from 23% in 2002. Overall a majority of people in Scotland (57%) now have a close friend or family member who is gay or lesbian.

In contrast, although there has been a five percentage point decline in the proportion who said they do not know anyone who is Muslim, as many as two in five (41%) still fall into that category. There is evidently still a sizeable proportion of people with little or no acquaintance with people of the Islamic faith.

[19] Between 2002 and 2006, in the wake of a number of terrorist events associated with people who professed an Islamic faith, together with relatively high levels of immigration, there was a significant increase in the proportion of people who said that Scotland would begin to lose its identify if more Muslims came to live in Scotland (38% in 2002 compared with 49% in 2006). For further discussion of these changes see Ormston et al (2011).

The decline in the level of discriminatory attitudes, as measured attitudes towards people marrying and who is thought to be suitable as a primary school teacher, could at least in part be accounted for by this fall in concern about the cultural consequences of diversity and the increased social interaction with people who share certain protected characteristics.

Table 5.2 Not knowing anyone with certain protected characteristics, 2002-15

% saying do not know anyone who is…	2002	2006	2010	2015
Muslim	-	52%	46%	41%
From a different racial or ethnic background	26%	24%	19%	19%
Has a mental health problem	-	-	25%	19%
Gay or lesbian	32%	26%	19%	15%
Unweighted bases	1665	1594	1495	1288

Another possible explanation for the decline in discriminatory attitudes are economic factors. First, people's perception of the 'economic threat' from groups with different characteristics to themselves and second, people's own economic position. There has been a decline in apparent concern about the impact of ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe on the availability of jobs in Scotland. However, as Table 5.3 shows, the decline in the proportion saying that people from ethnic minorities and people from Eastern Europe 'take jobs away from other people in Scotland' has simply reversed the increase that was recorded in 2010, not long after the recession. For example, in 2006 31% agreed that 'people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland', this increased to 37% in 2010 before declining back to the 2006 level in 2015 (30%). At the same time, at 13%, the proportion who said they are struggling on their current income, is little different from what it was in 2010. Overall the changes in people's economic perceptions and circumstances do not appear to account for the decline in the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes.

Table 5.3 Agreeing that people from ethnic minorities or from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland (2002-15)

% Agree	2002	2006	2010	2015
People from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland	20%	27%	31%	27%
People who comes here from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland	-	31%	37%	30%
Unweighted bases	1507	1437	1366	1232

Another possible explanation for the decline in the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes would be changes in the distribution of people in different demographic groups. People with lower levels of educational qualifications and those who attend church regularly have been shown in previous years of SSA to hold more discriminatory attitudes towards certain groups in society.[20] However, changes in the social structure of a society are inevitably relatively slow. Most people's levels of educational and occupational attainment are largely settled relatively early in life. For example, at 19% the proportion of people without any formal educational qualifications in 2015 is little different from the 20% in 2010. Equally, at 11% the proportion who said in 2015 they attend church at least once a week is only a little lower than it was five years previously. So changes in the distribution of people in different demographic groups are not able to account for the sharp decline in the incidence of discriminatory attitudes.

Relationships

Table 5.4 details the changes that have taken place in attitudes towards a close relative marrying or forming a long-term relationship with someone with certain protected characteristics (see also Chapter 3). With one exception, someone who experiences depression from time to time, the proportion who said they would be unhappy if a close relative married someone from all other groups has fallen noticeably since 2010 (after having been relatively stable between 2006 and 2010). There has been a decline in the proportion who would be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone who is black or Asian or someone who is Jewish, even though it was already the case that fewer than one in ten expressed such a view in 2010.

Some of the changes have, however, been larger than others. The largest have been in respect of relationships where the partner's gender or gender identity might be the reason for a close relative being unhappy about the relationship. As discussed in Chapter 3, there has been a 17 percentage point decline in the proportion who would be unhappy if a close relative married someone who has undergone gender reassignment (from 49% to 32%), a 16 percentage point decline in the proportion who would be unhappy about a relationship with someone who cross-dresses (from 55% to 39%) and a 14 percentage point decline in respect of a same sex partner (from 30% to 16%). In part the fact that the sharpest declines are in relation to these three equalities groups is a reflection of the fact that the proportion who said that they were unhappy in 2010 was relatively high. Yet this is not the whole explanation as the decline in the proportion who would be unhappy about a close relative marrying a Gypsy/Traveller is less (5 percentage points) than the decline seen in respect of a same sex relationship (14 percentage points) even though a higher proportion of people in 2010 were unhappy about a Gypsy/Traveller marrying one of their close relatives.

[20] See Ormston et al (2012).

Table 5.4 Feelings on a close relative marrying or forming a long-term relationship with different groups of people (2006-2015)

% unhappy if a relative married/formed a long-term relationship with…	2006	2010	2015	Change 2010-15
Someone who cross-dresses	-	55%	39%	-16
Someone who has undergone gender reassignment	50%	49%	32%	-17
A Gypsy/Traveller	37%	37%	32%	-5
Someone of same sex	33%	30%	16%	-14
A Muslim*	24%	23%	20%	-3
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	-	21%	19%	-2
Someone who is Black/Asian	11%	9%	5%	-4
Someone who is Jewish*	10%	9%	6%	-3
Unweighted bases	1594	1495	1288	

* note that those who said they were Muslim or Jewish were not asked the relevant question about their religion.

Table 5.5 shows that since 2000 there has been a clear trend of increasing acceptance of same sex relationships (see also Chapter 2). In 2000, nearly half (48%) thought that ‘sexual relations between two adults of the same sex’ were ‘always’ or ‘mostly’ wrong, and they clearly outnumbered those who thought they were ‘rarely’ or ‘not wrong at all’ (37%). But by 2015, this had fallen to less than 1 in 5 (18%). More than two-thirds (69%) now say that a same sex relationship is ‘rarely’ or ‘not at all wrong’.

This change in attitudes towards sexual relations between adults of the same sex is likely to be at least part of the explanation as to why fewer people now say they would be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone of the same sex. But perhaps this change in attitudes towards same sex relationships is also an indicator of a change in attitudes towards groups that challenge traditional thinking about sexuality and gender, such as someone who cross-dresses or someone who has undergone gender reassignment. If so, then this might explain why attitudes towards a close relative marrying a same sex partner have apparently moved in tandem with attitudes towards the formation of a relationship with someone who cross-dresses or has undergone gender reassignment.

Table 5.5 Attitudes towards same sex relationships (2000-2015)

	2000	2004	2005	2010	2015
Always/mostly wrong	48%	41%	40%	28%	18%
Rarely/not wrong at all	37%	44%	44%	58%	69%
Unweighted bases	1663	1637	1549	1495	1288

Table 5.6 shows how views towards a close relative marrying someone who is gay or lesbian, cross-dresses or has undergone gender reassignment are related to views on whether same sex relationships are wrong. Those who said that same sex relationships were 'rarely' or 'not at all wrong' were not only much less likely to say that they would be unhappy about a close relative marrying someone of the same sex, but were also much less likely to say they would be unhappy about a relative marrying someone who cross-dresses or who has undergone gender reassignment. The fact that fewer people in 2015 said they thought same sex relationships were wrong appears to be symptomatic of a wider change in attitudes towards those who might be regarded as an acceptable partner.

Table 5.6 Attitudes towards a close relative marrying someone from different groups by attitudes towards same sex relationships (2010, 2015)

	2010		2015	
	Attitudes towards same sex relationships			
% unhappy if close relative formed relationship with…	**Always/Mostly wrong**	**Rarely/Not wrong at all**	**Always/Mostly wrong**	**Rarely/Not wrong at all**
Same sex partner	77%	9%	57%	4%
Someone who has undergone gender reassignment	81%	33%	72%	18%
Someone who cross-dresses	84%	40%	77%	25%
Weighted bases	410	872	232	887
Unweighted bases	446	831	276	829

However, Table 5.6 also shows that this is unlikely to be the only explanation. There has also been a decline among those who thought that same sex relationships are 'rarely wrong' or 'not wrong at all' who said they would be unhappy with a close relative marrying someone who cross-dresses or has undergone gender reassignment. For example, just 18% of those who said that same sex relations are 'rarely' or 'not wrong at all' in 2015 said that they would be unhappy about a close relative forming a long-term relationship with someone who has undergone gender reassignment, a 15 percentage points decline since 2010 when the figure was 33%. In short, much of the change during the last five years in

attitudes towards prospective partners has occurred independently of changes in attitudes towards sexual relations more generally.

Given that, the explanation for the change in attitudes towards prospective partners may be due instead to changes in people's general attitudes to diversity or to higher levels of contact with people who share certain protected characteristics. As more people are now seemingly comfortable with living in a diverse society, this may account for the changing pattern of attitudes, not only to those who might be thought to challenge traditional views about gender and gender identity, but also more generally.

Table 5.7 Changes in attitudes towards a close relative marrying someone who has undergone gender reassignment by indicators of psychological outlook (2010, 2015)

% unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with someone who has undergone gender reassignment	2010	2015	Change 2010-15
Prefer to live in an area…			
With lots of different kinds of people	36%	20%	-16
Where most people are similar to you	64%	48%	-16
Know someone who is gay or lesbian			
Yes	45%	27%	-18
No	70%	55%	-15
Scotland would lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland			
Agree	62%	47%	-15
Disagree	37%	20%	-17

See Table A5.1 in Annex A for sample sizes

However, analysis shows that this is not the case. Table 5.7 shows that, as expected, those who would prefer to live in an area with different kinds of people are less likely to say they would be unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with someone who has undergone gender reassignment compared with those who say they prefer to live in an area with people similar to themselves (20% compared with 48% respectively). Equally those who said they knew someone who is gay or lesbian were less likely to be unhappy about such a relationship as were those who do not feel that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black people and Asians came to live in Scotland. However, the proportion who were unhappy with a close relative marrying someone who has undergone gender reassignment has declined among all groups shown in the table.

In other words, attitudes towards a relative marrying someone who has undergone gender reassignment have changed irrespective of people's psychological orientation towards diversity. Moreover, similar findings are seen in relation to the change in attitudes towards a close relative marrying someone of the same sex or someone who cross-dresses.

As discussed, the decline in the proportion who would be unhappy if a relative married someone has been less marked for some groups, for example Gypsy/Travellers, a Muslim and someone who is black or Asian. Are these declines in levels of unhappiness accounted for by the seemingly greater psychological acceptance of diversity? Again, this proves not to be the case. Table 5.8 shows the example of attitudes towards a close relative marrying a Gypsy/Traveller. Once again we find the proportion who said that they would be unhappy about such a relationship has fallen both among those who said they prefer to live in an area with similar kinds of people (a 6 percentage point decline) and among those who prefer to live in an area with lots of different kinds of people (a 3 percentage point decline). Equally the level of unhappiness has also declined irrespective of whether people did or did not know someone from a different ethnic background or whether they felt that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe came to Scotland.

Table 5.8 Changes in attitudes towards a close relative forming a relationship with a Gypsy/Traveller by indicators of psychological outlook (2010, 2015)

% unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with a Gypsy/Traveller	**2010**	**2015**	**Change 2010-15**
Prefer to live in an area…			
With lots of different kinds of people	24%	21%	-3
Where most people are similar to you	53%	47%	-6
Know someone from a different ethnic background			
Yes	33%	27%	-6
No	59%	50%	-9
Scotland would lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe came to live in Scotland			
Agree	48%	46%	-2
Disagree	26%	19%	-7

See Table A5.2 in Annex A for sample sizes

So, although attitudes towards a close relative marrying someone from a range of groups who share certain protected characteristics are related to people's psychological orientation towards diversity, and although it seems that more people

in Scotland now have a positive orientation towards diversity, it appears that the latter development does not account for the changes in attitudes towards marrying someone from these groups. Instead the change in attitudes towards relationships appears to have occurred irrespective of people's psychological orientation.

Meanwhile, we have already noted that there has been little change in the demography of Scotland during the course of the last five years, and so this cannot be considered as a possible explanation for the decline in discriminatory attitudes. But perhaps the decline in discriminatory attitudes has occurred primarily among those in particular social groups. We might hypothesise, for example, that those who belong to social groups that previously have been most likely to be unhappy about a relative marrying someone who challenges traditional conceptions of sexuality and gender have been influenced by the wider change in social attitudes in this area, and consequently have become particularly likely to have changed their views.

Table 5.9 shows how attitudes to a close relative marrying someone who has undergone gender reassignment have changed since 2010 across a range of demographic factors (gender, age, education and religious affiliation) that previously have been associated with holding different views on the subject. It reveals one instance where the pattern we are looking for is in evidence. Previously those with no formal educational qualifications have been more likely to say that they would be unhappy at the prospect of such a relationship. Between 2010 and 2015 the level of unhappiness among those with no formal educational qualifications has fallen more than among those with at least some level of educational qualifications. However, in terms of religious identity, the decline in the level of unhappiness is much the same among those who claim a religious identity as it is among those who do not. Meanwhile, it is actually among younger people (particularly those aged 18 to 29), who were already relatively unlikely to report unhappiness, that the level has fallen most.

Much the same pattern is in evidence in respect of a relationship with someone who cross-dresses. As in the case for someone who has undergone gender reassignment there is a greater decline in the reported level of unhappiness among those with no formal educational qualifications. But at the same time, there is no sign that unhappiness has fallen more among older people than younger people or among those who claim a religious identity as opposed to those who do not.

Table 5.9 Changes in attitudes towards a close relative forming a relationship with someone who has undergone gender reassignment by socio-demographic factors (2010, 2015)

% unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with someone who has undergone gender reassignment	2010	2015	Change 2010-15
Gender			
Male	52%	32%	-20
Female	45%	31%	-14
Age			
18-29	39%	13%	-26
30-39	34%	21%	-13
40-64	47%	30%	-17
65+	72%	58%	-14
Highest educational qualification			
Degree	38%	23%	-15
Higher or equivalent	37%	27%	-10
Standard grade or equivalent	55%	39%	-16
None	69%	45%	-24
Religion			
Has a religious identification	57%	38%	-19
Has no religion	39%	23%	-16

See Table A5.3 in Annex A for sample sizes

If we look instead at views towards same sex relationships, we find some sign of our expectation being fulfilled. Table 5.10 shows the differences in views on whether people would be unhappy with a close relative marrying someone of the same sex by socio-demographic factors. Here we can see that the greater decline in levels of unhappiness have occurred in particular among older people and those with no formal educational qualifications. There is, in truth, one important reason why this is the case. In many of the categories of the table the proportion that reported being unhappy at the prospect of a close relative entering into a same sex relationship was already relatively low and therefore it was less likely to decline a lot further. Even so, the pattern is a reminder that if, and when, a discriminatory attitude becomes relatively rare, those groups which previously have been more inclined to hold that view inevitably begin to become less distinctive in their attitudes.

Table 5.10 Changes in attitudes towards a close relative forming a same sex relationship by socio-demographic factors (2010, 2015)

% unhappy about a close relative marrying someone of the same same sex	2010	2015	Change 2010-15
Gender			
Male	35%	18%	-17
Female	26%	15%	-11
Age			
18-29	17%	3%	-14
30-39	15%	12%	-3
60-64	26%	12%	-14
65+	64%	38%	-26
Highest educational qualification			
Degree	19%	10%	-9
Higher or equivalent	22%	12%	-10
Standard grade or equivalent	33%	22%	-11
None	52%	29%	-33
Religion			
Has a religious identification	39%	22%	-17
Has no religion	21%	11%	-10

See Table A5.3 in Annex A for sample sizes

Indeed, this pattern is also evident in respect of a number of the other possible relationships where overall the expression of unhappiness was already uncommon in 2010 and is now even more so. So, for example, the proportion who said they would be unhappy if a close relative married a Gypsy/Traveller has fallen most among those aged 65 and over and among those who either have no formal educational qualifications or no more than Standard grade-level qualifications. The same is true of attitudes towards a relative marrying a black or Asian person.

Employment as a primary school teacher

Table 5.11 shows the change between 2010 and 2015 in the proportion who said that people from a group which shares certain protected characteristics would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher. It shows that without exception people are less likely to think that someone from any of these groups are unsuitable as primary school teachers, although in some cases the decline is only a small one where the

proportion who thought someone from that group was unsuitable was already low in 2010. The more likely a group was to be thought of as unsuitable five years ago, the larger the decline in the proportion who thought they were unsuitable between 2010 and 2015. For example, nearly half of people in 2010 thought a Gypsy/Traveller was unsuitable as a primary school teacher in 2010 and the proportion declined by 14 percentage points in 2015 to 34%.

Table 5.11 Perceptions of Suitability to be a Primary School Teacher 2006-15

% say unsuitable to be a primary school teacher	2006	2010	2015	Change 2010-15
A Gypsy/Traveller	48%	46%	34%	-14
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	51%	41%	29%	-12
Someone aged 70	49%	39%	31%	-8
Someone who has undergone gender reassignment	30%	31%	20%	-11
Gay men and lesbians	21%	18%	13%	-5
A Muslim person	15%	15%	13%	-2
A black or Asian person	4%	6%	3%	-3

Weighted and unweighted bases as at Figure 4.1.

As shown in relation to views on someone marrying a close relative, it also appears that this decline in negative attitudes cannot simply be accounted for by the fact that more people in Scotland now appear to be at ease with diversity. Table 5.12 shows, for example, that the proportion of people who said that a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher fell similarly among those who would prefer to live in an area with similar kinds of people (9 percentage point decline) and among those who would prefer to live in an area with lots of different kinds of people (11 percentage point decline). The same is observed in respect of whether people felt that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe came to live in Scotland. And while the decline was greater among those who said they know someone from a different ethnic background than it was among those who said they did not, again the fact that there was a decline within both groups means that the overall decline in the proportion who said that a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable cannot simply be accounted for by the fact that more people are now acquainted with someone from a different ethnic background.

Table 5.12 Change in perceptions of the suitability of a Gypsy/Traveller as a primary school teacher by indicators of psychological outlook (2010, 2015)

% say a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable as a Primary School Teacher	2010	2015	Change 2010-15
Prefer to live in an area…			
With lots of different kinds of people	32%	21%	-11
Where most people are similar to you	61%	52%	-9
Know someone from a different ethnic background			
Yes	42%	29%	-13
No	59%	56%	-3
Scotland would lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe came to live in Scotland			
Disagree	33%	22%	-11
Agree	56%	46%	-10

See Table A5.2 in Annex A for sample sizes
8.

Indeed, this pattern is replicated if we look at some of the other groups for whom the decline in the proportion who considered them to be unsuitable has been particularly marked. Table 5.13, for example, undertakes the same analysis for someone who has undergone gender reassignment. Again those of any given psychological orientation are less likely to regard such a person as unsuitable now than they were five years ago. For example, there was a 9 percentage point decline (between 2010 and 2015) in the proportion who said that someone who has undergone gender reassignment would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher among those that agreed that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to Scotland. However, there was also a 7 percentage point decline among those who disagreed that more black and Asian people would mean Scotland would begin to lose its identity.

Table 5.13 Change in perceptions of suitability of someone who has undergone gender reassignment to be a primary school teacher by indicators of psychological outlook, 2010-15

% say someone who has undergone gender reassignment would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher	2010	2015	Change 2010-15
Prefer to live in an area…			
With lots of different kinds of people	21%	13%	-8
Where most people are similar to you	44%	36%	-8
Know someone who is gay or lesbian			
Yes	27%	16%	-11
No	48%	45%	-3
Scotland would lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland			
Agree	40%	31%	-9
Disagree	20%	13%	-7

See Table A5.1 in Annex A for sample sizes

But has the fall in the proportion who considered someone with any given characteristic to be unsuitable to be a primary school teacher occurred primarily among those who belong to one or more particular demographic group? In particular, is there any sign that the decline has been most marked for those demographic groups that previously have been most likely to say that someone was unsuitable. Table 5.14 shows the pattern of change over time for key demographic groups in relation to views on a close relative marrying a Gypsy/Traveller which suggests that this is not the case. Instead, the fall appears to have been greater among groups that were already less likely to regard a Gypsy/Traveller as unsuitable, most notably younger people and those with higher levels of educational qualifications. Much the same pattern is found if we look at the other groups where there has been considerable decline in the proportion saying they were unsuitable, such as someone who has undergone gender reassignment or someone who experiences depression from time to time. It seems that on this issue, as opposed to feelings of happiness or unhappiness about someone marrying a close relative, some of the demographic differences in perceptions of the suitability of someone to be a primary school teacher have become greater rather than weaker.

Table 5.14 Change in perceptions of the suitability of a Gypsy/Traveller as a primary school teacher by socio-demographic factors (2010, 2015)

% say a Gypsy/Traveller would be unsuitable as a Primary School Teacher	2010	2015	Change 2010-15
Gender			
Male	51%	36%	-15
Female	41%	32%	-9
Age			
18-29	45%	23%	-22
30-39	42%	24%	-18
40-64	41%	35%	-6
65+	60%	48%	-12
Highest educational qualification			
Degree	38%	23%	-15
Higher or equivalent	46%	30%	-16
Standard grade or equivalent	51%	42%	-9
None	51%	51%	-0

See Table A5.3 in Annex A for sample sizes

6. Employment

Introduction

This is the second of two chapters exploring discriminatory attitudes in the context of employment. Chapter 4 examined views on whether different groups of people would be suited to the job of being a primary school teacher. This chapter continues to explore discriminatory attitudes related to employment, focusing on the use of social networks for recruitment, attitudes to parental leave and whether older people should be made to retire.

Recruitment using existing social networks

SSA 2015 included two scenarios to explore attitudes in different contexts to using existing social networks for recruitment rather than advertising for a job so that anyone has the chance to apply.[21] The two scenarios were:

> 'A self-employed joiner employs a couple of people to help him. A vacancy has arisen for one of these jobs. The joiner meets an old friend who has worked for him before and says he would love to do the job. The joiner decides to take him on.'

> 'A small hotel owner who has come to Scotland from Poland needs to take on some more cleaning staff. He asks amongst his Polish friends whether they know anyone who might like the job. They tell him of two people who have also come to Scotland from Poland and who have done hotel cleaning before. He gives them both a job.'

For each scenario respondents were asked to choose one of the following two statements:

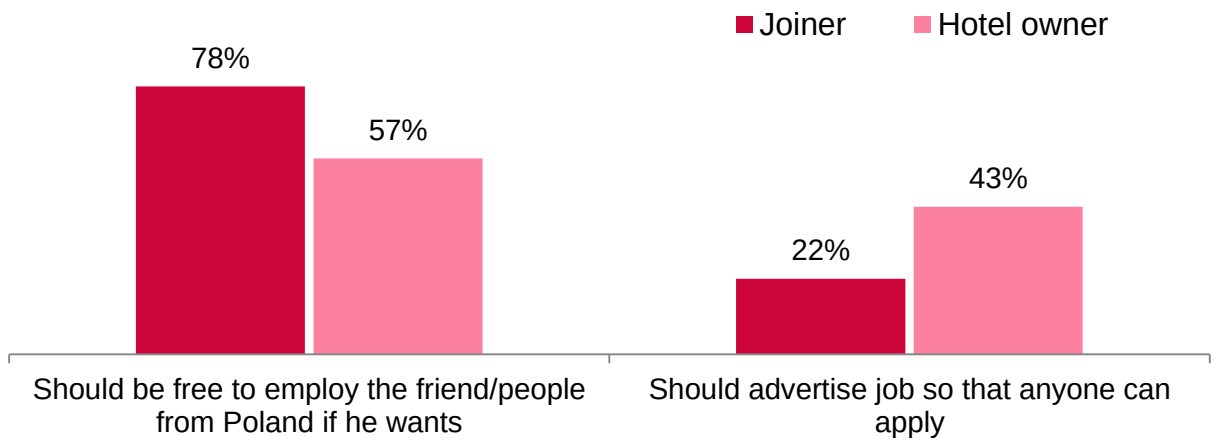
> 'The [joiner/hotel owner] should be free to employ [the friend/the people from Poland] if he wants.'

> 'The [joiner/hotel owner] should advertise the job so that anyone has a chance to apply.'

People were far less in favour of the hotel owner from Poland using his networks to employ other Polish immigrants, than they were of the joiner employing his friend. Figure 6.1 shows that over three-quarters said that the joiner should be free to employ the friend (78%) compared with just over half who said that the hotel owner should be free to employ people from Poland (57%). Conversely, twice as many people felt that the Polish hotel owner should advertise the job so that anyone could apply than felt that the joiner should advertise for the job (43% compared with 22% respectively).

[21] These questions were new to SSA in 2015 so no time series is available.

Figure 6.1: Views on recruiting using existing social networks (2015, %)



Base: All respondents who completed the self-complete
Weighted base=1232, Unweighted base=1234

How do attitudes vary between groups?

The findings discussed in this section are informed by regression analysis that ascertained which factors were significantly and independently associated with believing the joiner or hotel owner 'should be free to employ the friend/people from Poland if he wants'. The following factors were explored:

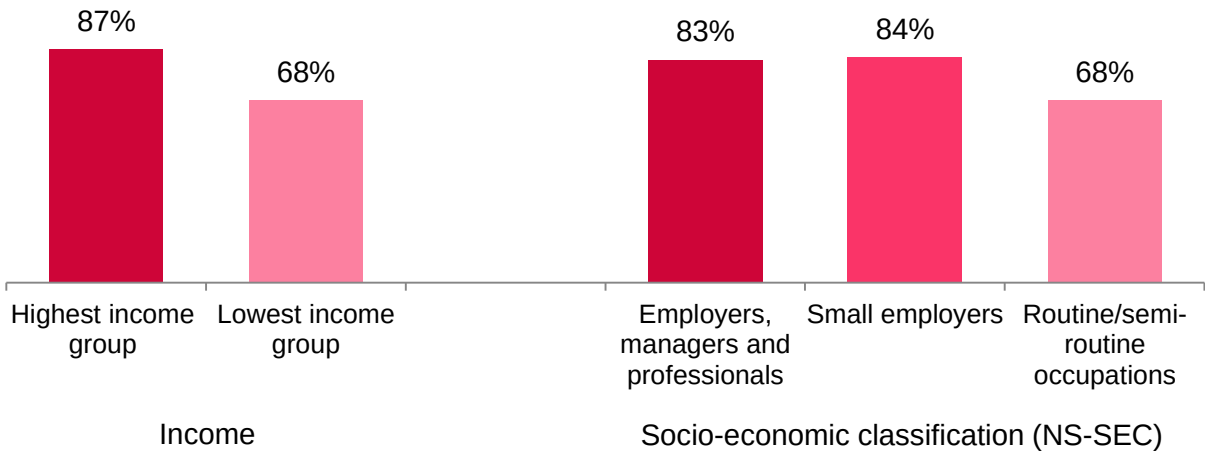
- Gender
- Age
- Income
- Employment status (working, retired, unemployed etc.)
- Socio-economic class (NS-SEC)
- General attitudes to prejudice[22]
- Whether people think that people who come here from Eastern Europe are taking jobs away from other people in Scotland

The factors associated with thinking that the joiner 'should be free to employ the friend if he wants' were gender, household income and socio-economic class. Men were more likely than women to say that the joiner 'should be free to employ the friend' (82% compared with 73% respectively) as were those in the highest income group (87%) compared with those in the lowest income group (68%). Employers, managers and professionals (83%) as well as small employers (84%) were more likely than those in routine and semi-routine occupations (68%) to think that the joiner 'should be free to employ the friend'. This suggests that those who are most

[22] Whether people think that 'Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all forms of prejudice' or whether 'sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups'. See Chapter 2 for full details.

likely to be involved in recruitment are more likely to support the use of existing social networks. Those who are more likely to be employees are less supportive of existing social networks being used for recruitment as they might feel that the use of social networks could exclude them from job opportunities. (See Table A6.1 in Annex A for details).

Figure 6.2 The joiner should be able to employ the friend if he wants by income and socio-economic classification (2015, %)



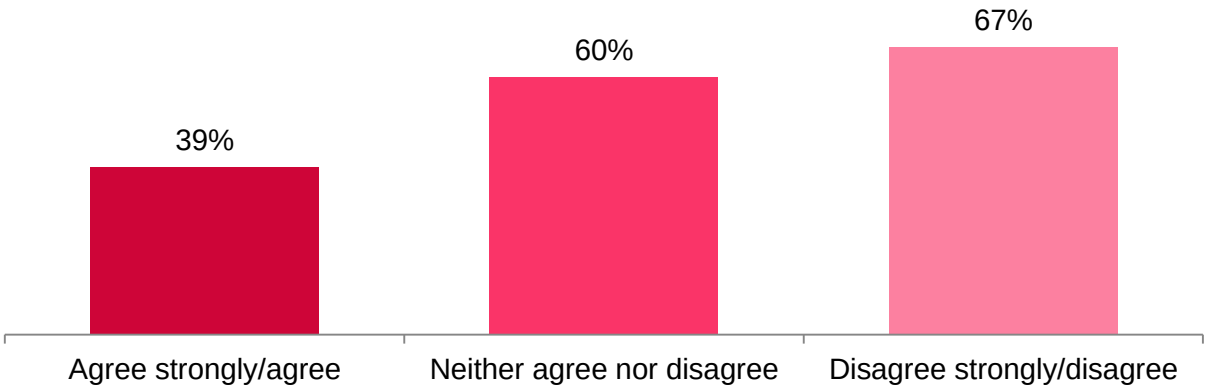
Base: Respondents who completed the self-complete
Weighted bases: Highest income group= 284; Lowest income group= 222; Employers= 473; Small employers=95; Routine/semi-routine occupations =345
Unweighted bases: Highest income group=254; Lowest income group= 267; Employers=466; Small employers=112; Routine/semi-routine occupations=346

In contrast, socio-economic factors were not associated with thinking that 'the hotel owner should be free to employ the people from Poland if he wants'. Only people's attitudes to whether people who come here from Eastern Europe are taking jobs away from other people in Scotland were significant. Perhaps unsurprisingly, those who agreed that 'people who come here from Eastern Europe are taking jobs away from other people in Scotland' were less likely to think that the hotel owner should be free to employ the people from Poland (39%) compared with those who disagreed that people from Eastern Europe take jobs away from people in Scotland (67%) (see Figure 6.3).

This suggests that views on the Polish hotel owner using social networks to find employees are less about people's own position in the labour market and more about attitudes to immigration and employment. To explore this further, we looked at the views of those who thought that the joiner should be free to employ who he wants but that the hotel owner should not be free to employ who he wants. Gender and views on whether Eastern Europeans take jobs away from other people in Scotland were associated with thinking that the joiner should be, and the hotel should not be, free to employ who he wants. A quarter of men compared with 19% of women held this view. Those who agreed that people from Eastern Europe are taking jobs away from other people in Scotland (34%) were more likely than those who disagreed (15%) to think that the joiner should be able to use his social

networks but that the hotel owner should not. (See Table A6.2 in Annex A for details).

Figure 6.3 'Hotel owner should be free to employ the people from Poland if he wants' by whether people agree or disagree that 'people who come here from Eastern Europe are taking jobs away from other people in Scotland' (2015, %)



Base: Respondents who completed self-complete.
Weighted bases: Agree strongly/agree=370; Neither agree nor disagree=256; Disagree strongly/disagree=593
Unweighted bases: Agree strongly/agree=388; Neither agree nor disagree=264; Disagree strongly/disagree=568

Gender and employment rights

Parental leave entitlement has changed considerably in recent years. In April 2010 the Additional Paternity Leave Regulations came into force which allowed fathers or partners to take up to six months' additional parental leave if the mother or primary carer returned to work. In December 2014 the Shared Parental Leave and Pay legislation replaced the previous regulations and provides further flexibility to parents in how they choose to care for their child. Parents are able to share up to 50 weeks of leave following the birth or adoption of their child which they can take during their child's first year, either at different times or by taking the leave together.

SSA 2015 included questions to assess levels of support for two different types of parental leave. The first asked how strongly people agreed or disagreed that 'fathers or mothers should have the right to take up to 6 months paid time off work after their children are born'.[23] This question was also included in SSA 2010. In 2015 respondents were asked for the first time whether 'fathers or mothers of children under 5 should or should not be able to take up to 5 days paid leave a year to look after their child when they are ill'.

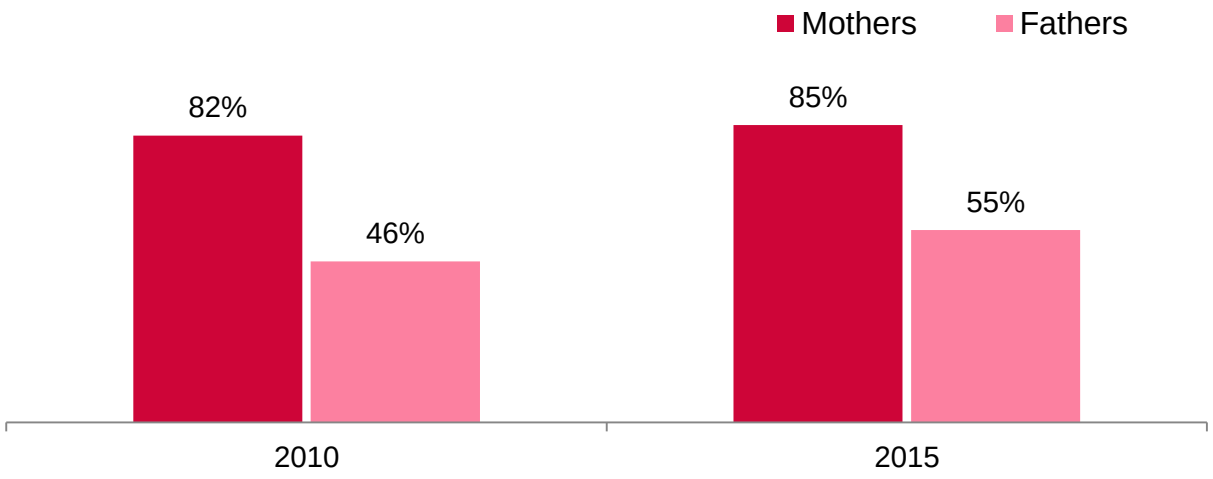
In 2015, differences in people's attitudes to maternity leave and paternity leave for six months after the birth of a child were evident. Over 8 in 10 agreed that mothers should have the right to six months paid leave (85%) compared with just over half agreeing that fathers should have the same right to six months paid leave (55%).

[23] The order in which these questions were asked was alternated (half the sample were asked about fathers first, and the other half were asked about mothers first).

Although attitudes to mothers having six months paid leave had not changed significantly since 2010, there had been a significant increase in support for paternity leave since 2010. In 2010, 46% agreed that fathers should have the right to six months paid leave compared with 55% in 2015 (see Figure 6.4). (See Table A6.3 in Annex A for details).

There were much higher levels of support for fathers taking up to 5 days paid leave a year to look after a sick child. Nearly 9 in 10 (89%) thought that fathers of children under 5 'definitely' or 'probably should' be able to take up to 5 days paid leave a year to look after their child when they are ill. This was similar, though slightly lower, than the equivalent figure for mothers (94%). (See Table A6.4 in Annex A for details).

Figure 6.4: 'Agree strongly' or 'agree' mothers/fathers should have the right to up to six months paid time off work after their children are born (2010, 2015, %)



Base: All respondents

How do attitudes to maternity and paternity leave vary?

This section explores whether attitudes towards up to 6 months paid parental leave varied between subgroups. Regression analysis was conducted to explore which factors were significantly and independently associated with two different points of view. These were, first, whether fathers should have the right to up to six months paid leave following the birth of a child and second, whether mothers should be entitled to up to 6 months paid leave but that fathers should not have the same rights.[24] The following factors were explored:

- Gender
- Age
- Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC)
- Self-rated hardship
- Household type

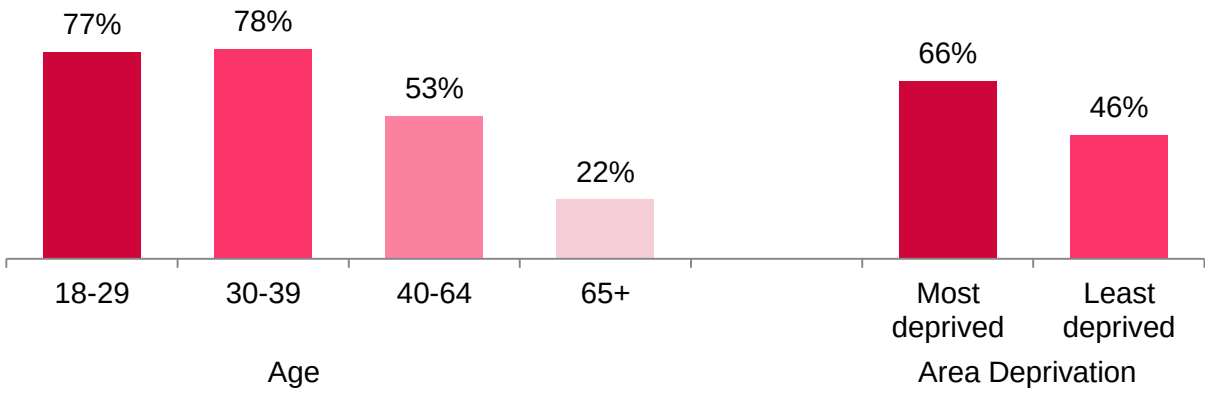
[24] The tables and figures presented here highlight only those variables that were independently significant in these models (see Table A6.5 in Annex A for details).

- Education
- Income
- Current working status
- Area deprivation (as measured by the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation, SIMD)[25]

Younger people, aged 18-39, were more than three times as likely as those aged 65 and over (77% and 22% respectively) to say that fathers should have the right to take 6 months paid leave after their children are born. This level of support from those under 40 suggests that these changes are in tune with the attitudes of those most likely to be having children and making decisions about parental leave in the coming years (see Table A6.5 in Annex A for details). Women (58%) were more likely than men (52%) to say that fathers should be entitled to 6 months paid leave[26] and people living in the most deprived areas (66%) were more likely than those living in the least deprived areas (46%) to think that fathers should be entitled to paid leave (see Figure 6.5).

In 2010 gender and age were also significantly related to people's attitudes to parental leave. However, while self-rated hardship, socio-economic class and whether there were children in the household were related to people's attitudes in 2010, in 2015 these were not significant.

Figure 6.5: 'Agree strongly' or 'agree' fathers should have the right to 6 months paid time off work after their children are born by age and area deprivation (2015,%)



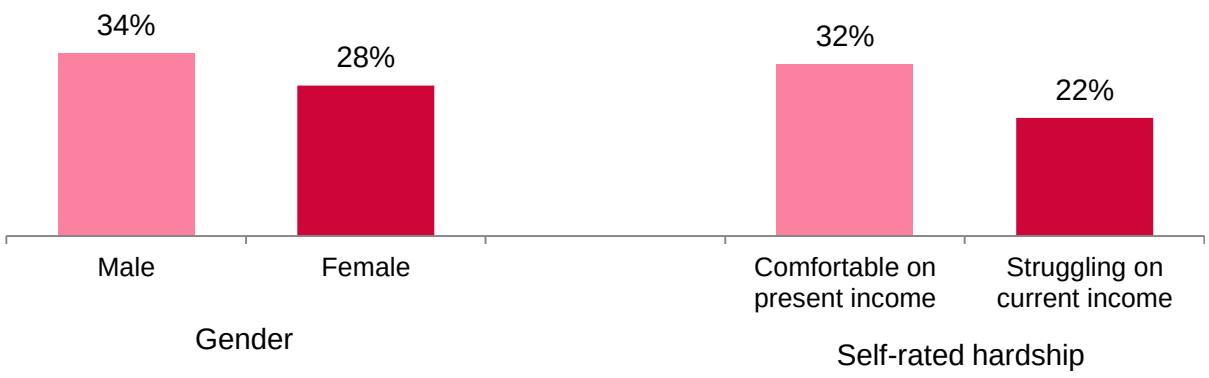
Base: All respondents
Weighted bases: 18-29=239, 30-39=227, 40-64=533, 65+=288, Most=224, Least=242.
Unweighted bases: 18-29=143, 30-39=193, 40-64=582, 65+=368, Most=178, Least=212.

[25] Measured by the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). SIMD 2012 measures the level of deprivation across Scotland – from the least deprived to the most deprived areas. It is based on 38 indicators in seven domains of: income, employment, health, education skills and training, housing, geographic access and crime. The SIMD variable is divided into quintiles with the 1st quintile being the most deprived areas and the 5th quintile being the least deprived areas. See also Scottish Social Attitudes 2015: Technical Report for full details. Available at: http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0049/00497080.pdf

[26] Gender was significant in the multivariate analysis but was only marginally significant in the bivariate analysis (p=0.82).

Exploring which factors were associated with agreeing that mothers should have the right to take 6 months paid leave but disagreeing that fathers should have this right showed that gender, age and self-rated hardship were significant. Men (34%) were more likely than women (28%) to agree that mothers should have the right to take up to 6 months paid time off work but to disagree that fathers should, as were those aged 65 and over (50%) compared with younger people (for example, 16% of those aged 18-29) (see Figure 6.6). People who felt they were living comfortably on their current income (32%) were more likely than those who felt they were struggling on their present income (22%) to agree that mothers should, but disagree that fathers should, be able to take 6 months paid parental leave after their children are born.

Figure 6.6: 'Agree strongly' or 'agree' that mothers but not fathers should have the right to up to six months paid time off work after their children are born by gender and self-rated hardship (2015, %)



Base: All respondents.
Weighted bases: Male=617, Female=670, Comfortable=734, Struggling=172.
Unweighted bases: Male=582, Female=706, Comfortable=750, Struggling=166.

Age and employment

The age at which people should be required, or be able, to retire has continued to be an area for debate in recent years. Since 2011, employers in the UK can no longer lawfully force employees to retire simply because they reach a certain age (formerly 65).[27] However, the state retirement age (i.e. the age at which people can draw their state pension) is continuing to rise. At present the retirement age for men is 65 and since April 2016 it has been 63 for women.[28]

[27] The is due to the Default Retirement Age Act being phased out in 2011. However if employers can objectively justify that the nature of the job requires it, they can lawfully retire an employee (ACAS, 2011).

[28] The state retirement age for women was 60 in 2010. From 2018 the state pension age for both men and women will start to rise to reach 66 by October 2020 and then rise to 67 between 2026 and 2028.

In light of these continuing debates about the retirement age, SSA 2015 asked people to choose which of the following two statements is closest to their own view:[29]

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

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

In 2015, around 1 in 5 people (21%) felt that ‘older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups’, a proportion that has not changed since 2005. And around three-quarters said ‘it is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age’ (76%).[30]

So whilst in 2015 only around 2 in 10 (21%) said ‘older people should be made to retire to make way for younger groups’, over 3 in 10 (31%) felt that someone aged 70 would be unsuitable as a primary school teacher;[31] once again highlighting the importance of context in shaping attitudes. Around a quarter (24%) of those who said ‘it is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age’ still felt that someone aged 70 was unsuited to the job of being a primary school teacher. However, this has reduced since 2010, where the equivalent figure was 11 percentage points higher at 35%.

How do attitudes vary between groups?

The majority of people across all socio-economic groups said it is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age. However, among those who thought that ‘older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups’ there were significant differences by age, current working status and self-rated hardship.[32] Interestingly those who were already retired or of retirement age (65 or over) were more likely to think that people should be made to retire than people who are currently working or younger people. Figure 6.7 shows that around a third of those aged 65 and over (30%) said that people should be made to retire compared with 12% of those aged 18-29. And similarly around a third of retired people (32%) compared with 16% of those currently in work thought people should be made to retire. Those living ‘really comfortably’ or ’comfortably’ on their present income were also more likely to think people should retire than those who are ‘struggling’ or ‘really struggling’ on their present income (21% compared with 14% respectively).

In SSA 2010, age was also significantly related to people’s attitudes to making older people retire, with older people more likely than younger people to say that

[29] These questions were also asked in SSA 2005 and SSA 2010.

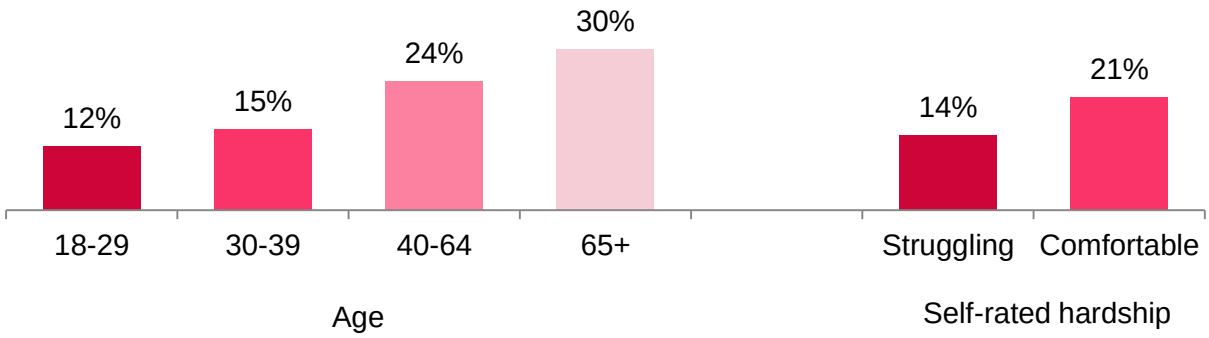
[30] See Table A6.6 in Annex A for details.

[31] See Chapter 4 for further details.

[32] Multivariate analysis was used to explore which factors were significantly and independently associated with thinking that older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups. The model included: age, education, income, socio-economic classification, current working status and self-rated hardship (see Table A6.7 in Annex A for details).

people should be made to retire. There were also significant differences by education in 2010; however in 2015 education was not a significant factor.

Figure 6.7: Believing that 'it is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age' by age and self-rated hardship (2015, %)



Base: All respondents
Weighted bases: Weighted bases: 18-29=238, 30-39=227, 40-64=533, 65+=288, Comfortable=734, Struggling=172.
Unweighted bases: 18-29=143, 30-39=193, 40-64=582, 65+=368, Comfortable=750, Struggling=166.

7. Attitudes to religious dress and symbols

The requirement to wear particular religious dress and symbols varies across different religions, and is often heavily embedded in personal, social and cultural context. There is discussion within the Sikh (Jacobsen and Myrvold, 2016), Muslim (Bribosia and Rorive, 2014) and Christian (Barrett, 2012) faiths (amongst others; see for example Dizik, 2015) surrounding the wearing of particular religious symbols, with people's freedom to express their religious or cultural identity through the way they dress at work representing a particular area of controversy. The wearing of religious dress and symbols in the UK has often become a channel for a more general discussion about religious and cultural diversity in an increasingly multicultural society (Ormston et al, 2011), with Beybrooke (2011) arguing that a key issue in this debate is the striking of a balance 'between allowing faith communities a proper freedom and affirming our shared life together'.

The right of a Sikh man to wear a turban in the workplace is recognised by the Employment Act 1989, which exempts Sikh men from wearing helmets on construction sites. The Deregulation Act 2015 extends this provision to cover all workplaces, with the result that Sikh employees are now exempt from any requirement to wear protective headgear in working environments where there is significant risk of head injury.

The right of employees to wear other religious dress or symbols in the workplace is less clear-cut. It is unlawful under the Equality Act 2010 for an employer to have a policy which someone of a particular religion is less likely to be able to meet than others, thereby placing them at a disadvantage. However if the employer can demonstrate that there are genuine reasons for the policy that are not connected with the employee's religion, the policy will not be viewed as discriminatory.[33]

There have been some high-profile legal cases[34] which have fuelled the political debate on religious dress, particularly in relation to the wearing of the full veil by Muslim women. From Conservative MP Philip Holloborne's introduction of a private members bill to ban 'face coverings' in public, to the then home secretary Theresa May's statement that it 'is for a woman to make a choice' whether or not to wear a

[33] For further information on guidance for employers in relation to religion or belief in the workplace see: https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/advice-and-guidance/religion-or-belief-guidance-employers

[34] For example, in Farrah v Global Luggage Co Ltd [2012] ET/2200147/2012 an employee's claim for constructive unfair dismissal was upheld when she was forced to resign by her employer who considered that her wearing of a headscarf went against the company's projected 'trendy' image (Farrah v Global Luggage Co Ltd). However, in another case an employer was held not to have discriminated against a Muslim teacher who was asked to remove her veil while teaching children (Azmi v Kirklees MBC [2007] IRLR 434 (EAT)). In Eweida v United Kingdom [2013] ECHR 37, the European Court of Human Rights held that an employer's uniform policy had breached an employee's human rights by requiring her to conceal a Christian cross visible over her clothing. The court held that the employer had failed to strike a fair balance between their desire 'to project a certain corporate image' and the employee's wish 'to manifest her religious belief', and stated that 'a healthy democratic society needs to tolerate and sustain pluralism and diversity'.

veil (Grierson, 2013), the issue continues to generate vigorous debate (Brems, 2014).

Attitudes towards different religious symbols

To examine people's attitudes to religious dress and symbols, four questions about whether employers should have the right to request the removal of religious symbols at work were included in SSA 2015. These questions were also previously asked in 2010, making it possible to identify whether any change in attitudes towards religious dress and symbols has occurred during the last five years.

The questions asked whether a bank should be able to insist employees take off their religious dress or symbol while at work with answer options ranging from 'yes, definitely should' to 'no, definitely should not'. The questions covered:

- A Sikh man who wears a turban[35]
- A Christian woman who wears a crucifix[36]
- A Muslim woman who wears a headscarf[37], and
- A Muslim woman who wears a veil[38]

Table 7.1 shows that attitudes towards religious dress and symbols varied according to both the religion a particular symbol is connected to, and the symbol itself. The veil was the only religious symbol that a majority of respondents felt an employer should be able to insist that an employee remove, with around two thirds (65%) saying that a bank should be able to insist that a Muslim woman remove her veil while at work. People were much less likely to think that the bank should be able to insist that people remove any of the other three religious symbols. People held similar views about a Christian woman wearing a crucifix, a Sikh man wearing a turban and a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf. Around 1 in 5 said the bank should be able to insist a Muslim woman should take off her headscarf (18%) and that a Sikh man should take off his turban (20%). A slightly lower proportion (15%) said that the bank should be able to insist that a Christian woman take off her crucifix while at work.

As shown in Table 7.1, attitudes towards a woman wearing a headscarf and a woman wearing a veil differed considerably, despite both items being connected with Islam. The vast majority (82%) of people were of the view that a bank 'probably' or 'definitely should not' insist that a Muslim woman remove a headscarf whereas, just over a third (35%) said the same of a Muslim woman with a veil.

[35] 'Say a bank interviews a Sikh man for a job serving customers. The man wears a turban. Should the bank be able to insist the man takes his turban off while he is at work?'

[36] 'And say a bank interviews a Christian woman for a job serving customers. The woman wears a crucifix which would be visible to customers. Should the bank be able to insist the woman takes off her crucifix while she is at work?'

[37] 'What if they interviewed a Muslim woman who wears a veil that covers her face? Should the bank be able to insist the woman takes off her veil while she is at work?'

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

Nearly 3 in 5 (58%) of those who said that a bank should not be able to insist that a Muslim woman remove a headscarf nevertheless felt that a bank should be able to insist that a woman removes her veil, further illustrating the differing views to the two religious symbols.

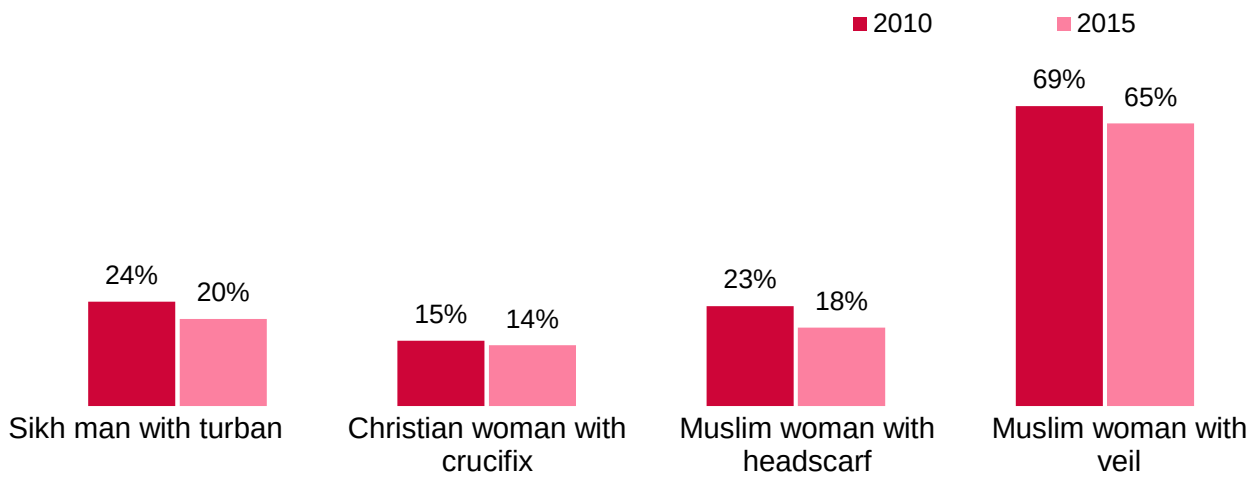
Table 7.1 Whether a bank should, or should not, be able to insist an employee removes religious dress or symbol at work (2010, 2015)

	Sikh man with turban		Christian woman with crucifix		Muslim woman with headscarf		Muslim woman with veil	
	2010	2015	2010	2015	2010	2015	2010	2015
Yes, definitely should	12%	9%	6%	6%	10%	7%	41%	34%
Yes, probably should	12%	11%	9%	9%	13%	11%	28%	31%
No, probably should not	35%	40%	34%	38%	44%	42%	14%	19%
No, definitely should not	34%	40%	46%	47%	28%	40%	11%	16%
Can't choose	6%	1%	5%	1%	4%	*	4%	1%
(Refused)	1%	-	1%	-	1%	*	1%	*
Unweighted bases	1366	1234	1366	1234	1366	1234	1366	1234

How have attitudes to religious symbols changed over time?

Figure 7.1 shows that the views on whether a bank should be able to insist that an employee remove a crucifix, a turban or a veil at work have remained fairly stable between 2010 and 2015. However, there has been a significant decline in the proportion saying that a bank should be able to insist that a Muslim woman removes a headscarf at work from 23% in 2010 to 18% in 2015.

Figure 7.1 Believing a bank 'probably' or 'definitely should' be able to insist that an employee removes religious dress/symbol at work (2010, 2015, %)



Base: All respondents who completed the self-complete
SSA 2010: Weighted= 1350, Unweighted = 1366; SSA 2015: Weighted = 1232, Unweighted = 1234

How do attitudes vary between groups?

This section explores whether attitudes to religious dress and symbols vary between different groups. Regression analysis was conducted to explore which factors were significantly and independently associated with saying that a bank 'probably' or 'definitely should' be able to insist an employee removes a turban, crucifix, headscarf or veil. The following factors were explored:[39]

- Gender
- Age
- Education
- Income
- Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC)
- Area deprivation (as measured by SIMD)
- Religious affiliation
- General attitude to prejudice
- Preference for living in a homogenous or diverse area
- Whether agree that more Muslims in Scotland means that Scotland loses its identity
- Whether agree that ethnic minorities are taking jobs away from other people in Scotland
- Whether respondent knows anyone who is a Muslim
- Whether respondent knows anyone from a different ethnic background

Age, gender, education

The socio-demographic factors that were associated with saying that a bank should be able to insist that an employee removes a religious symbol at work were gender, age and education (see Table 7.2). Men were more likely than women (20% compared with 15%) to say that a Muslim woman should take off her headscarf at work. There was, however, no significant relationship between gender and attitudes towards the turban, crucifix or veil.

Older people were more likely than younger people to say that an employer should be able to insist that a Muslim woman removes her veil, a Sikh man removes his turban and that a Christian woman removes her crucifix at work. For example, over 4 in 5 people aged 65 or over (82%) said an employer should be able to insist a Muslim woman removes her veil compared with only around 2 in 5 of those aged 18-29 years old (43%). Age was not significantly related to attitudes towards the headscarf.

[39] All factors that were significant in the regression models are discussed below. The following factors were not significant in any of the four models: socio-economic classification (NS-SEC), area deprivation (SIMD), religious affiliation, whether respondent knows anyone who is a Muslim and whether respondent knows anyone from a different ethnic background.

Table 7.2 Socio-demographic factors associated with saying that a bank should be able to insist an employee removes a religious symbol at work (2015)

	Christian	Sikh	Headscarf	Veil
All	14%	20%	18%	65%
Gender				
Men	15%	20%	20%	68%
Women	14%	20%	16%	62%
Age				
18-29	18%	19%	17%	43%
30-39	18%	22%	17%	59%
40-64	14%	18%	18%	69%
65+	9%	23%	20%	82%
Education				
Degree/Higher education	10%	12%	12%	60%
Highers/A-levels	12%	19%	18%	55%
Standard grades/GCSEs	20%	25%	18%	74%
None	21%	34%	33%	78%

Education was associated with people's views on whether a bank should be able to insist that a Sikh man removes his turban at work and whether a Muslim woman should be required to remove her headscarf. People with no formal educational qualifications were more likely than those educated to degree level to say that a bank should be able to insist that a Sikh man take off his turban (34% compared with 12%) and to say that a Muslim woman should be required to remove her headscarf (33% compared with 12% respectively).[40] How attitudes vary by general attitudes to prejudice, diversity and identity

People's views on whether prejudice is sometimes acceptable and on diversity were related to their views on religious dress. Those who felt that 'sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced' (84%) were more likely than those who felt that 'Scotland should do all it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice' (59%) to say that a Muslim employee should be required to remove her veil at work. Those who felt that 'sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced' were also more likely to say that a Sikh employee should be required to remove his

[40] Income was also found to have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards the turban. However, the nature of this relationship was unclear.

turban and that a Christian woman should be required to remove her crucifx at work.[41]

Table 7.3 Believing that an employer should be able to insist an employee removes a religious symbol by general attitudes to prejudice and diversity

	Christian	Sikh	Headscarf	Veil	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
All	14%	20%	18%	65%	1232	1234
General attitudes to prejudice						
Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	10%	13%	12%	59%	862	867
Sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced	28%	38%	34%	84%	264	266

Those who would rather live in an area where most people are similar to them (82%) were also significantly more likely to say that a bank should have the right to insist that a Muslim woman remove her veil than those who would rather live in an area 'with lots of different kinds of people' (50%). This pattern is also evident with regards to attitudes towards both the headscarf (27% compared with 10%) and the turban (32% compared with 10%).[42] (See Table A7.1 in Annex A for details).

People's attitudes to the veil were associated with views on whether 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland'. Around 8 in 10 who agreed with this statement (81%) said that a bank should be able to insist that a Muslim woman removes her veil compared with less than half of those who disagreed that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland' (48%).[43] No significant relationship was observed between attitudes towards Muslims in Scotland and views on the crucifix, turban or the headscarf.

[41] The relationship between whether people feel that 'sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced' and whether a Muslim woman should be asked to remove her headscarf at work was marginally significant (p=0.061) (See Table A7.1 in Annex A for details).

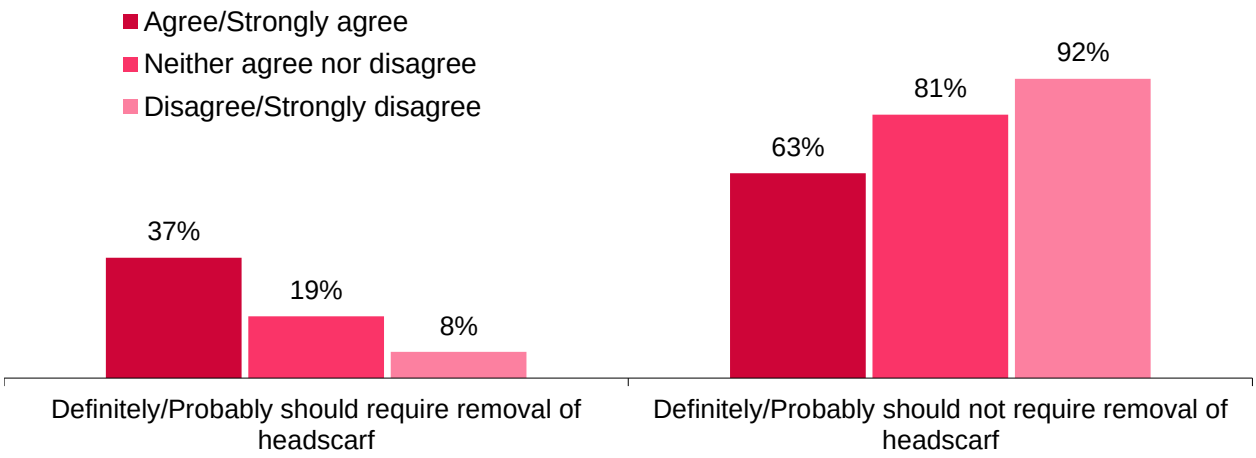
[42] No significant relationship was observed between attitudes to living in a diverse area and attitudes towards the crucifix.

[43] 66% who neither agreed nor disagreed that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland said that a bank should be able to insist that a Muslim woman removes her veil at work.

Perceived labour market competition

People who agreed that 'ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland' were over four times as likely to say that a bank should be able to insist that a Muslim woman remove her headscarf than those who disagreed (37% compared with 8%). However, perceived labour market competition from ethnic minorities was not found to be significantly related to attitudes towards the crucifix, veil or turban.

Figure 7.2 Whether agree/disagree that an employer should be able to insist a Muslim woman removes her headscarf, by whether 'ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland'



Base: All respondents who completed the self-complete
Weighted= 1232, Unweighted= 1234

8. Equal opportunities and positive action

This chapter explores views on whether promoting equal opportunities for different groups has gone too far, whether people think that everyone has the right to equal pay and promotion opportunities regardless of gender or whether someone has a disability and attitudes to positive action.

Positive action is a set of practices which ensure that particular groups, which are disadvantaged in an employment context, gain equal access to employment or training opportunities. Under the Equality Act (2010) it is lawful for an employer to offer particular groups additional training or promotion if, for example, the number of employees from this particular group is low in their organisation. An employer can take the protected characteristics into account in recruitment if the candidates who are considered for the job are equally qualified.

Equal opportunities

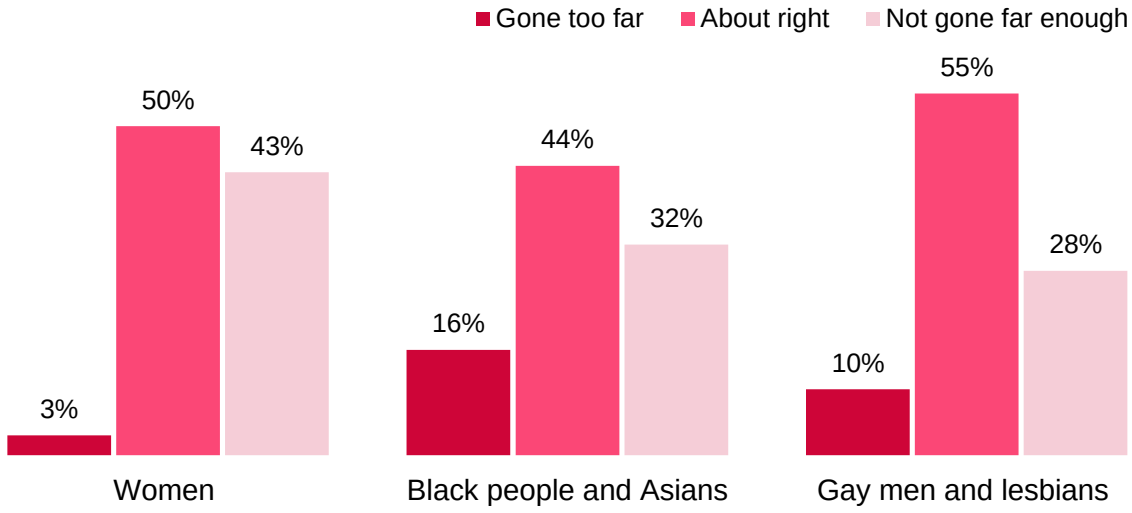
SSA 2015 included questions, asked in SSA since 2002, on whether people feel that 'attempts to give equal opportunities' to different groups in Scotland have gone too far, not gone far enough or whether they are about right.[44] The three groups in question were women, 'black people and Asians' and 'gay men and lesbians'.

Overall, the most commonly held few was that 'attempts to give equal opportunities' were 'about right'. Fifty-five percent felt that attempts to give equal opportunities to lesbian and gay people were 'about right', 50% felt this about equal opportunities for women and 44% in relation to black people and Asians (see Figure 8.1).

The proportion who felt that equal opportunities have not gone far enough varied depending on the group in question. Around 4 in 10 (43%) felt 'attempts to give equal opportunities to women in Scotland' had not gone far enough and around 3 in 10 felt this with regard to black people and Asians (32%) and lesbian and gay people (28%). A small minority of people displayed negative attitudes towards promoting equal opportunities towards these three groups. Sixteen percent felt that 'attempts to give equal opportunities to black people and Asians' have gone too far and 10% expressed this view with regard to lesbian and gay people. The equivalent figure for women was only 3%. (See Tables A8.1-A8.2 in Annex A for details).

[44] 'Gone too far' combines two answer categories 'gone much too far' and 'gone too far'. 'Not gone far enough' combines two answer categories 'not gone far enough' and 'not gone nearly far enough'.

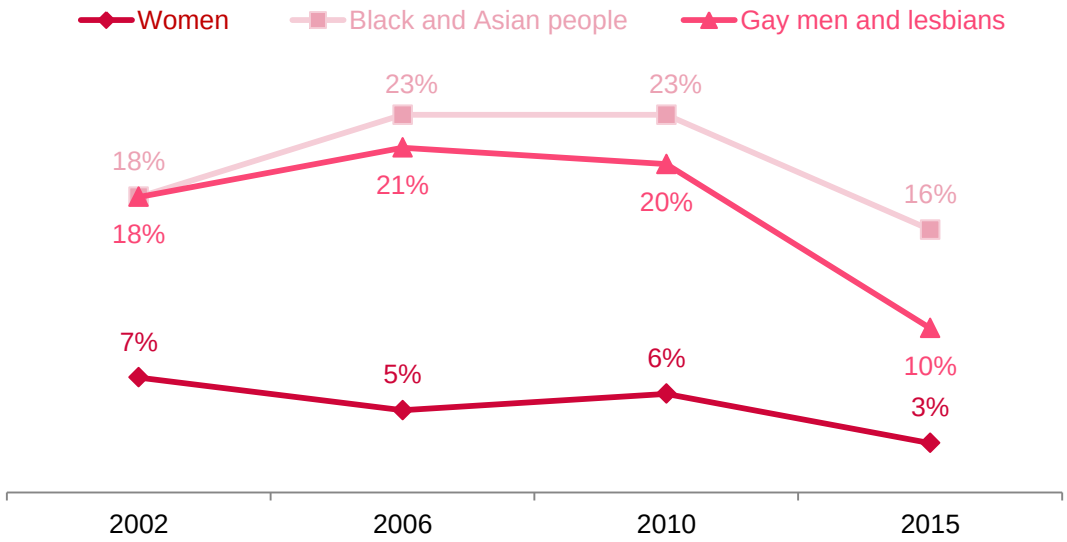
Figure 8.1 Attitudes to attempts to give equal opportunities (2015)



Base: All respondents

The proportion of people who felt that attempts to give equal opportunities have gone too far has decreased significantly since 2010 for all three groups. The most notable decrease was among those who felt attempts have gone too far for lesbian and gay people which declined from 20% in 2010 to 10% in 2015. And a similar pattern is seen with regard to views on equal opportunities for black people and Asians. However, the proportion of people who felt attempts have gone too far 'to give equal opportunities to gay men and lesbians' and 'black people and Asians' has not decreased steadily over time. Rather, as Figure 8.2 below shows, the proportion who felt equal opportunities for lesbian and gay people and black people and Asians have gone too far increased between 2002 and 2006, then remained at a similar level between 2006 and 2010 before decreasing in 2015.

Figure 8.2 Attempts to give equal opportunities to different groups in Scotland have gone too far (%, 2002-2015)



Base: All respondents. 2002=1665, 2006= 1549, 2010= 1495, 2015=1288

How do attitudes to promoting equal opportunities vary between groups?

Views on whether attempts to give equal opportunities to black people and Asians and lesbian and gay people have gone too far varied by socio-demographic factors, attitudes to diversity and knowing someone from a different racial or ethnic background.[45] (See Tables A8.3-A8.4 in Annex A for full details).

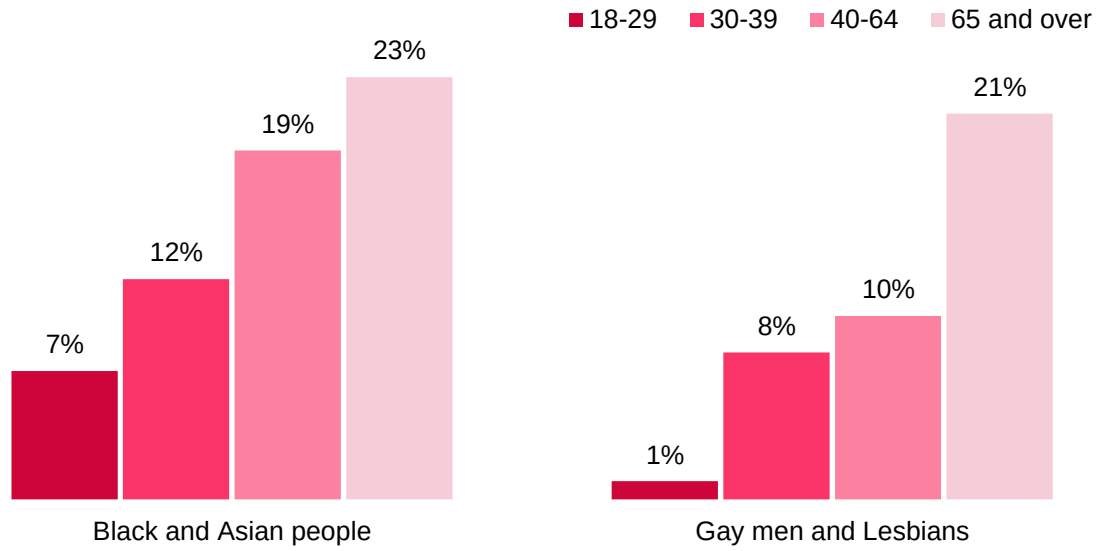
Gender, age, education, income and area deprivation

There were differences by age, education, income and area deprivation in views on whether attempts to give equal opportunities to black people and Asians and lesbian and gay people have gone too far. Gender was only significantly related to views on equal opportunities for black people and Asians. Specifically:

- Women were slightly more likely than men to think that equal opportunities for black people and Asians had gone too far (18% of women compared with 14% of men)
- Older people were more likely than younger people to think equal opportunities had gone too far for both black people and Asians and lesbian and gay people. For example, 21% of those aged 65 and over thought equal opportunities had gone too far for lesbian and gay people compared with only 1% of those aged 18-29.
- Those with lower levels of, or no, formal qualifications were more likely to think attempts to give equal opportunities had gone too far for both groups. For example, 31% of those with no formal qualifications thought equal opportunities for black people and Asians had gone too far compared with 11% of those educated to degree level.
- Those in the lowest income groups were also more likely than those in the highest incomes groups to think that equal opportunities had gone too far for both black people and Asians and lesbian and gay people. For example, 17% of those in the lowest income group compared with 7% in the highest income group thought that equal opportunities for lesbian and gay people had gone too far.
- Those living in the most deprived areas of Scotland were more likely than those in the least deprived areas to think that equal opportunities had gone too far for black people and Asians (29% compared with 10% respectively). The same was not evident with regard to views on lesbian and gay people.

[45] The factors explored were: age, gender, education, income, area deprivation, current religious affiliation, whether people prefer to live in an area with different kinds of people, whether people think Scotland would lose its identity if more Black people and Asians came to live here and whether people knew anyone from certain groups who share protected characteristics.

Figure 8.3: Whether attempts to give equal opportunities to different groups went too far by age (2015)



Base: All respondents

Religious affiliation

People's current religious affiliation was associated with more negative views about equal opportunities for lesbian and gay people, but not with regard to equal opportunities for black men and Asians. People who said they belonged to a particular religion were more likely to think that attempts to give equal opportunities to lesbian and gay people had gone too far (15%) compared with only 6% of those with no religious affiliation.

Attitudes to diversity and knowing someone from an equalities group

Two questions that explored people's general attitudes to diversity were also related to views on equal opportunities. Those who preferred to live in an area with people similar to themselves were more likely than those who preferred to live in an area with different kinds of people to think that attempts to give equal opportunities had gone too far for both black people and Asians and lesbian and gay people. For example, 19% of those who prefer to live in an area 'where most people are similar to you' thought equal opportunities for lesbian and gay people had gone too far compared with only 5% of those who prefer to live in an area 'with lots of different kinds of people'.

Similarly, those who thought that Scotland would lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live here also held more negative attitudes about attempts to give both groups equal opportunities. For example, a third of those who agreed that Scotland would lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live here said that equal opportunities had gone too far for black people and Asians compared with just 5% of those who disagreed.

Knowing someone from these two equalities groups was also associated with holding less negative views about attempts to give equal opportunities. For

example, 8% of those who knew someone who is gay or lesbian thought that equal opportunities for lesbian and gay people had gone too far compared with 23% of those who did not know someone who is gay or lesbian.

Attitudes towards equal pay

SSA explored people's attitudes to equal pay for different groups of people living in Scotland. Women continue to be paid less than men, and disabled people are paid less than non-disabled people. In 2015, the median hourly earnings (excluding overtime) for men was £13.09 compared with £10.89 for women[46], and disabled people earned £1.20 per hour less than non-disabled people.[47]

To explore people's views on equality in the work place SSA included two different scenarios, describing two different employees and asking respondents to decide whether one of them is more deserving of promotion or extra pay.

In the first scenario, respondents were asked to assess whether a woman who took a year off for maternity leave is equally deserving of a promotion as a female employee who had not taken any additional time off.

> 'Say that two women are being considered for promotion to a more senior position at work. Both have the skills needed for the job and both have worked for the company for five years. During that time one of the women took a year off work after having a baby.'

Nearly 9 in 10 (89%) thought that both women were equally deserving of a promotion. Only 1 in 10 people thought that the woman who had not taken a year off for maternity leave was more deserving of a promotion. Only 1% of people thought that the woman who had taken time off for maternity leave was more deserving of promotion.

SSA 2015 included two further scenarios exploring views on equal pay. The first described a woman working in a warehouse, a typically male-dominated workplace and the second described a man with a disability. Respondents were asked whether people felt it was right or wrong for these employees to be paid less than others. The two scenarios were:

> 'Say that a company employs two people full time to move and lift boxes of goods around a warehouse. One is a man, the other is a woman. The man is paid more than the woman. Do you think it is right or wrong that the man gets paid more than the woman?'

> 'Say that a company employs two men who do the same full time job. One has very poor eyesight, and he gets a grant from the government to pay someone to support him with doing things at work that are difficult due to his eyesight. The

[46] Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2015 - Scottish Government Analysis http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Labour-Market/AnalyticalPapers/ASHESGAnalysis

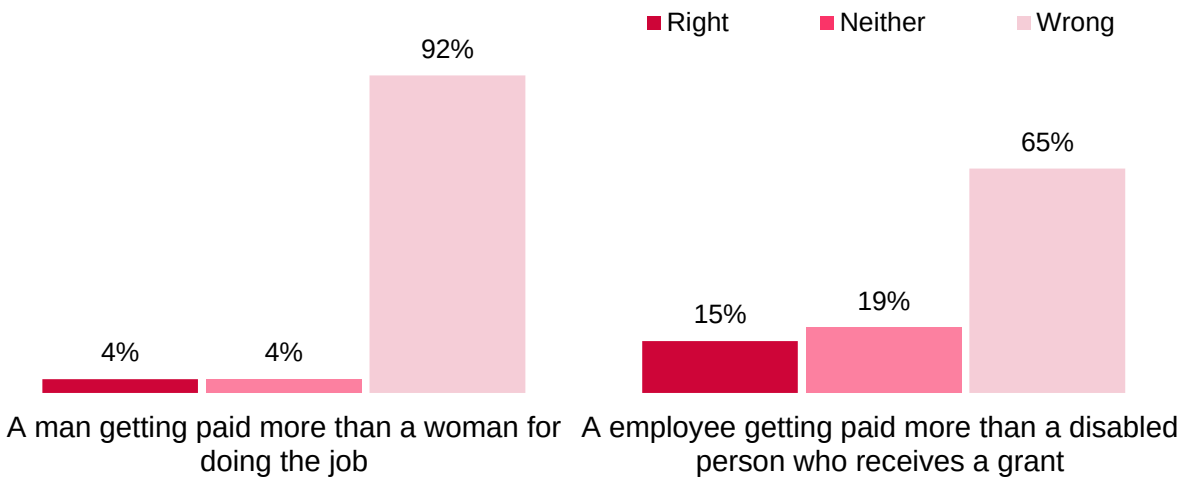
[47] Source: Annual Population Survey estimates. The official source for earnings is the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings. However, this does not contain information on disabilities.

other man does not have poor eyesight and does not get such support. This other man gets paid more than the man with poor eyesight. Do you think it is right or wrong that the other man gets paid more than the man with poor eyesight?'

Figure 8.4 shows that over 9 in 10 (92%) considered it 'definitely' or 'probably wrong' that a man should be paid more than a women for moving and lifting boxes around a warehouse. Four percent said this was neither right nor wrong and a further 4% felt that it was 'definitely' or 'probably right' for the man to get paid more.

The majority of people also believed that it would be wrong if an employee without a disability was paid more than one with poor eyesight, just because the disabled employee received a government grant to pay someone to support him at work (65%). However, compared with views on the previous scenario where a woman was paid less than a man for doing the same job, a much greater proportion of people thought that it was right that the man without a disability is paid more. Nearly 1 in 7 (15%) thought that it was right that the other man gets paid more that the man with poor eyesight and a further 1 in 5 (19%) thought it was neither right nor wrong.

Figure 8.4: Attitudes to equal pay



Base: All respondents

How do attitudes to equal pay vary between groups?

Although there were no significant differences between subgroups in relation to thinking that a man should get paid more than a woman, there was some variation with regard to those who were more likely to think that it is right for an employee to get paid more than another employee who has poor eyesight and is in receipt of a government grant (see Table A8.5 in Annex A for details). In particular, those who were more likely to hold this view were:

- Men (21% of men felt that it was right that an employee should get paid more than another employee with poor eyesight compared with 11% of women)

- Those with no formal qualifications (21% compared with 13% of those educated to degree level)
- Those who prefer to live in an area where people are similar to themselves (22% compared with 11% of those who would like to live with lots of different kinds of people)

Positive action

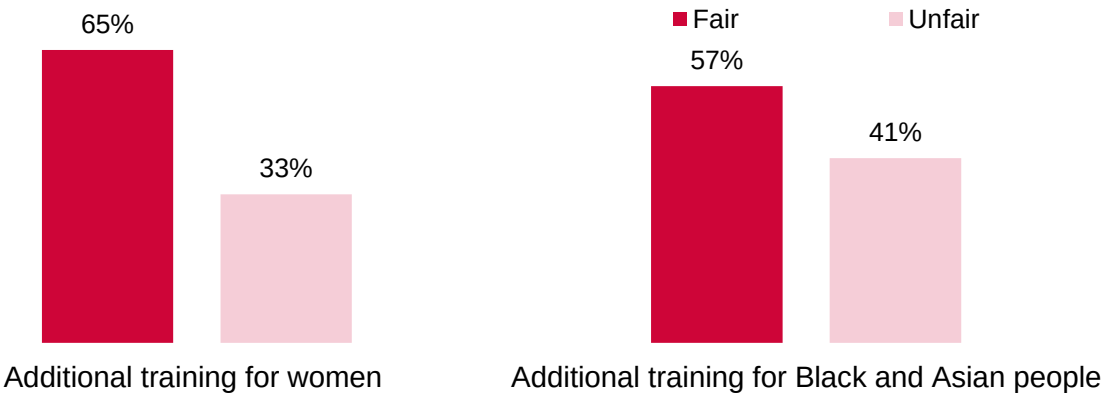
The Equality Act (2010) states that employers can, in certain situations, take steps to help specific disadvantaged groups access employment or training. This is referred to as positive action. Positive action is distinct from positive discrimination, which is unlawful.

SSA 2015 examined people's attitudes to whether it is fair or unfair to offer extra training opportunities to groups under-represented in senior jobs. It asked specifically about two groups - women and black and Asian people:

> '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?'

Overall, the majority of people were supportive of the idea of offering extra training opportunities to these groups if they were under-represented in senior jobs. Nearly two-thirds (65%) thought that it would be 'definitely' or 'probably fair' to offer women extra training opportunities and 57% were of the same opinion with regard to black and Asian people (see Figure 8.5).

Figure 8.5: Attitudes to women and black and Asian people being given extra opportunities to get training and qualifications



Base: All respondents

A considerable proportion of people, however, held a contrary view. A third of people (33%) thought that it would be unfair to offer female employees extra

training opportunities if they were under-represented in senior jobs and two in five (41%) held this view in relation to black and Asian people

SSA also asked people their views about certain recruitment practices. First, they were asked what they thought about a person with a disability being automatically offered a job interview. Respondents were asked:

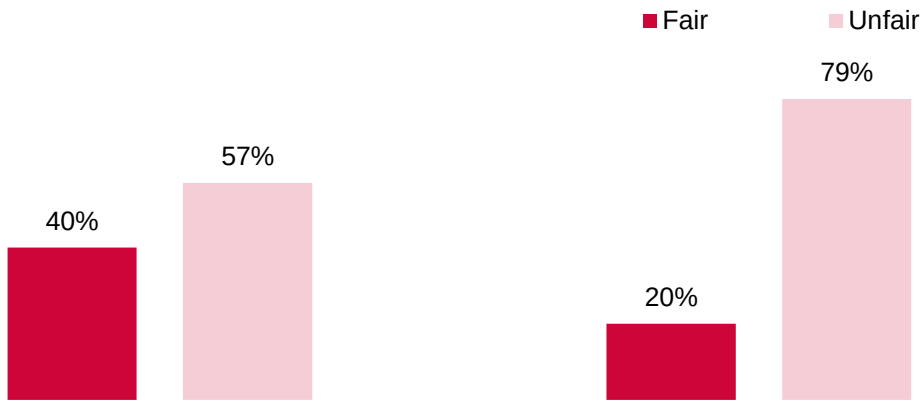
> 'Say several people apply for a job, including someone with a disability. They all meet the necessary requirements for the job. Do you think it would be fair or unfair to automatically give the person with a disability an interview for the job even if other candidates appear to be better qualified?'

Second they were invited to consider women-only shortlists, based on a description of what is currently illegal practice in the UK (women-only shortlists for political candidates are not, however, illegal):

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

Figure 8.6 shows that people in Scotland were less supportive of positive action in recruitment than they were of providing extra training opportunities. Overall, only 2 in 5 felt that it would be 'definitely' or 'probably fair' to grant an automatic job interview to a disabled person and only 1 in 5 thought it would be fair to only interview women for a new job in a company where there were not enough women in senior jobs. (See Tables A8.6-A8.7 in Annex A for details).

Figure 8.6: Attitudes to positive action in recruitment - granting an automatic job interview for a disabled person and shortlisting only female candidates

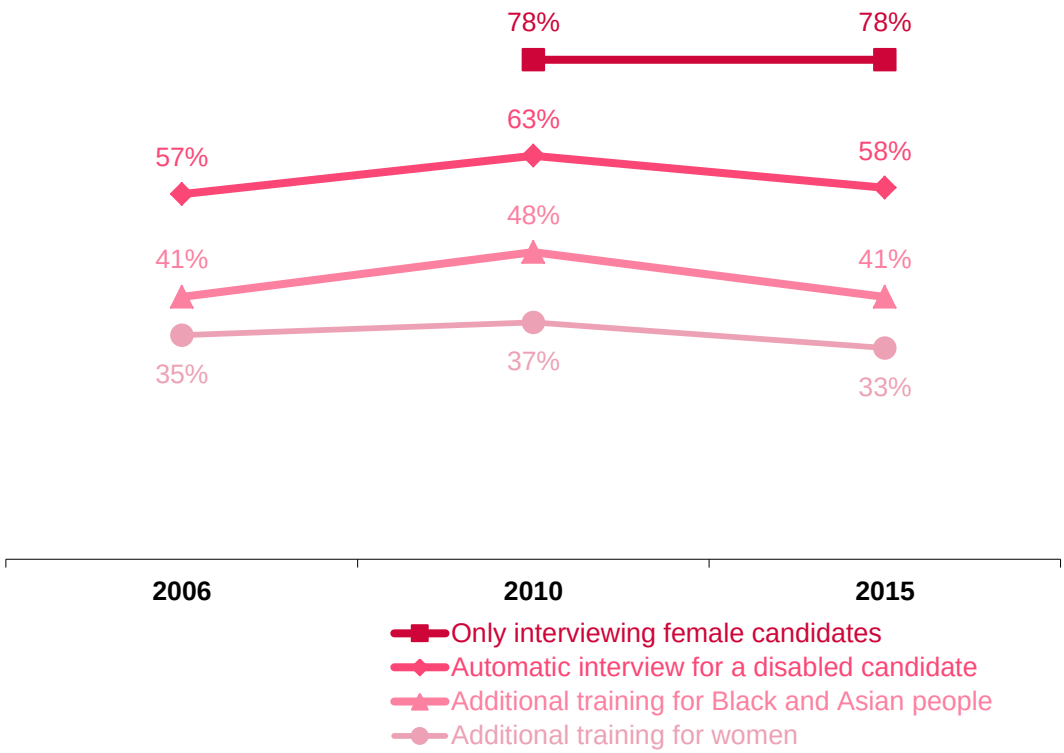


Base: All respondents

Previous chapters have shown considerable change over time, with more positive attitudes being recorded in 2015 than ever before. However,people's attitudes to positive action have remained almost unchanged since the questions were first asked in 2006.

As Figure 8.7 shows, in 2010 it seemed that people's attitudes towards positive action were becoming more negative. For example, the proportion of people who felt that it was unfair to offer black and Asian people extra training and qualifications increased from 41% in 2006 to 48% in 2010. However, the proportion declined in 2015 to the same proportion as held this view in 2006 suggesting that people's views in 2010 might have been influenced by the economic recession and increased competition for jobs.[48]

Figure 8.7 Believing it is 'definitely' or 'very unfair' to have a policy of positive action in relation to certain groups (2006-2015)



Base: All respondents

How do attitudes to positive action vary between groups?

The groups who were more likely to oppose positive action measures differ from those who have been shown to hold discriminatory views in the preceding chapters of this report. Those who were more likely to say that offering extra training opportunities to women and black and Asian people was 'definitely' or 'probably unfair' included men, younger people (particularly those aged 18-29), people educated to degree level and those in the highest income group. In addition employers were less supportive of giving extra training to women (45% of employers compared with 23% of those in semi-routine and routine occupations) as

[48] A similar trend, however, was not observed in relation to women. The proportion of people who thought that giving extra opportunities to female employees was unfair remained fairly stable between 2006 and 2015.

were people in work (45%) compared with those who are retired (34%).[49] (See Table A8.8-A8.9 in Annex A for details).

Views on whether it was unfair to offer extra training to black and Asian people also varied by measures that highlighted a more general prejudice against black and Asian people. Around half (47%) of those who agreed that if more black and Asian people came to Scotland it would begin to lose its identity thought that offering black and Asian people extra training was unfair compared with 37% who disagreed that Scotland would lose its identity. And those who would prefer to live in an area with less diversity were also more likely to say it was unfair to give black and Asian people extra training opportunities. Forty-five percent of those who preferred to live in an area where people are similar to themselves said it was unfair to give black and Asian people extra training opportunities compared with 38% who preferred to live in an area with lots of different kinds of people.

Those more likely to think that granting an automatic interview to a person with a disability was unfair included people aged 18-29, those educated to degree level, those in work, those in the highest income group and those living in the least deprived areas (see Table A8.10 in Annex A for details).[50] In particular, those who were more likely to say that it was 'definitely' or 'probably unfair' to automatically give a person with a disability an interview for a job were:

- People aged 18-29 (70% compared with 43% of those aged 65 and over)
- People educated to degree level (62% compared with 43% of those with no formal qualifications)
- People in the highest income group (61% compared with 51% in the lowest income group)
- People living in the least deprived areas (64% compared with 47% of those in the most deprived areas)
- People in work (63% compared with 44% of those who are retired)
- People who do not have a disability (60% compared with 53% of people with a disability)

[49] There were no significant differences by socio-economic class or employment status in relation to views on whether women should be given extra training opportunities.

[50] Only income was significantly related to whether people thought that only interviewing female candidates for a job was unfair. 83% of those in the highest income group thought this was unfair compared with 69% of those in the lowest income group.

9. Conclusions

Since 2002 when SSA first included questions on discrimination, a range of new equality legislation has been introduced and there has been considerable media and public debate on some specific equalities issues, most notably the campaign for equal marriage rights for same sex couples. The period has also seen changes in the composition of Scottish society, with a higher proportion of people now aged 65 or over, and an increase in the ethnic diversity of the country.

However, between 2002 and 2010, the overall pattern shown in SSA surveys was one of little or no change in the majority of discriminatory attitudes measured. There were two notable exceptions to this. First, discriminatory attitudes towards lesbian and gay people declined, markedly fewer people thought that sexual relations between two adults were wrong and there was an increase in the proportion who thought that a gay man or lesbian would be suitable as a primary school teacher. This appeared to represent the latest stage of a long-term trend towards more liberal attitudes towards lesbian and gay people.

Second, between 2002 and 2006, in the wake of a number of terrorist attacks associated with people who professed an Islamic faith, there had been an increase in discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims. More people felt that 'Scotland would lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland', while there was also a small increase in the proportion who said they would be unhappy if a close relative married a Muslim. This increase was maintained but did not grow bigger between 2006 and 2010.

Changes between 2010 and 2015 showed a very different pattern. The predominant trend was one of discriminatory attitudes declining across a wide range of measures and towards a wide range of people with or who share certain protected characteristics. There was a decline in the proportion of people who felt that 'sometimes there is a good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups' and an increase in the proportion who would prefer to live in an area 'with lots of different kinds of people', suggesting a greater acceptance of diversity.

In particular, the proportion of people who said they would be unhappy about someone from one of nine groups of people who share certain protected characteristics marrying a close relative declined in all but one of these groups. The largest changes were seen in attitudes towards those groups that had been subject to the most prejudice in 2010, that is someone who cross-dresses, someone who has undergone gender reassignment and lesbian and gay people. Smaller changes were seen in views towards those groups who already only elicited low levels of discriminatory attitudes, for example someone who is black or Asian or a Muslim.

There were two groups for whom the pattern was more negative, Gypsy/Travellers and someone who experiences depression from time to time. Although there was a decline between 2010 and 2015 in the proportion who said they would be unhappy about a Gypsy/Traveller marrying a close relative, the decline was considerably less than that recorded towards other groups. This suggests that attitudes towards this group are changing more slowly than towards other groups, most notably those

associated with sexual orientation and gender identity. And, in relation to whether people thought a Gypsy/Traveller was suitable as a primary school teacher, as in 2010 Gypsy/Travellers were still the group that people were most likely to think were unsuitable as primary school teachers.

There was no significant decline in discriminatory attitudes between 2010 and 2015 towards someone who experiences depression from time to time marrying a close relative. However, people's views on the suitability of someone who experiences depression from time to time as a primary school teacher did become more positive, although they were still the group that elicited the third highest level of discrimination.

Since 2002 SSA has shown that those who are more likely to hold discriminatory attitudes are older people, those with no formal education and those with a religious affiliation (in relation to attitudes to gender identity, sexual orientation and Muslims). People who were less comfortable with diversity also hold more discriminatory attitudes as do those who are less likely to know someone from a group who share certain protected characteristics. This suggests that policies and campaigns that particularly target discriminatory attitudes held by people in these groups might be one way to further reduce the levels of discriminatory attitudes in Scotland.

The decline in discriminatory attitudes between 2010 and 2015, however, was seen across all groups in Scottish society. So, although older people are still more likely to hold discriminatory attitudes, levels of discrimination among people aged 65 or over have still become more positive over this five year period. The same is also true for those with no formal educational qualifications and those with a religious affiliation. Overall levels of contact with people from groups who share certain protected characteristics have increased and this partly explains the decline in levels of discrimination. However, as levels of discrimination towards someone with certain protected characteristics have declined both among those who know someone, and among those who do not know someone from that group, this can only account for some of the decline.

Attitudes between 2010 and 2015 have changed the most with regards to lesbian and gay people, people who have undergone gender reassignment and people who cross-dress. The level of media debate and high profile campaigns, for example for same sex marriage, are likely to have been influential in these changes. Certainly, attitudes to all three groups seem to be linked, with those who are less likely to hold discriminatory attitudes towards lesbian and gay people, also being less likely to hold negative attitudes towards transgender people.

However, attitudes have not changed significantly in relation to all measures. Views on the acceptability of an employer asking someone to remove a religious symbol or item of clothing have remained stable between 2010 and 2015. People are still most likely to think it is acceptable for an employer to ask a woman wearing a veil that covers her face to remove it at work and least likely to think that a Christian woman should be asked to remove a crucifix at work.

SSA 2015 also asked people about their views on potential measures that can be used to promote equality, particularly in relation to employment. Overall, more people in 2015 believed that attempts to give equal opportunities to women, black people and Asians and lesbian and gay people have not gone far enough. And more people in 2015 are now in favour of fathers being able to take six months paid leave after the birth of a child.

However, when asked about specific 'positive action' measures people in Scotland remained wary and support varied depending on the specific measure. The majority of people did not support women-only shortlists or automatic interviews for disabled candidates. There is, however, majority support for offering women or black and Asian people additional training where these groups are under-represented in senior positions in an organisation. Those who are the least supportive of these measures are people educated to degree-level and those on high incomes - who, arguably, have been successful under the current system and may see positive action as a threat to that position. Over three-quarters of people thought that a joiner should be free to employ his friends to work with him without the need to advertise the job. However, less than 3 in 5 said a Polish hotel owner should be able to employ people from Poland who had been recommended by a friend without the need to advertise the jobs.

Views on equal pay varied depending on the context. The vast majority of people thought that men and women should be paid the same for the same job. However, just over half of people thought it was wrong if a man without a disability was paid more than a person with a disability who received a grant that paid for someone to support him carry out his job.

SSA 2015 shows that both in the context of personal relationships and employment people's views are becoming more positive towards a wide range of different people who share certain protected characteristics. However, certain groups are still subject to much higher levels of prejudice than others, in particular, transgender people and Gypsy/Travellers. Attitudes towards Gypsy/Travellers and those who experience depression from time to time also seem to either be remaining the same or not moving as quickly in a positive direction as views towards other groups. Specific policy measures which are designed to try to promote equal opportunities are not as yet widely accepted. There is still some way to go to persuade people in Scotland that 'positive action' is an acceptable way to provide equality of opportunity and redress the imbalance for people who share certain protected characteristics.

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Annex A – Detailed tables

Notes on tables

- '*' indicates less than 0.5 percent but greater than zero
- '-' indicates no respondents gave this answer
- All figures are rounded to the nearest whole number

Chapter 2 detailed tables

Table A2.1: (How much do you agree or disagree) People from outside Britain who come to live in Scotland make the country a better place?

	2006	2010	2015
Agree strongly	3%	5%	8%
Agree	31%	28%	32%
Neither agree nor disagree	40%	41%	38%
Disagree	22%	22%	17%
Disagree strongly	3%	4%	3%
(Don't know)	1%	1%	1%
(Not answered)	-	*	-
Bases	1594	1495	1288

Table A2.2: 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?

	2002	2006	2010	2015
Agree strongly	9%	14%	18%	13%
Agree	29%	35%	32%	28%
Neither agree nor disagree	17%	19%	20%	19%
Disagree	36%	27%	25%	27%
Disagree strongly	5%	4%	5%	12%
(Don't know)	3%	1%	1%	1%
(Not answered)	*	*	*	*
Bases	1508	1594	1495	1288

Table A2.3: (How much do you agree or disagree) Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe (for example, Poland and Latvia) came to live in Scotland?

	2006	2010	2015
Agree strongly	11%	15%	11%
Agree	34%	31%	27%
Neither agree nor disagree	20%	20%	19%
Disagree	30%	27%	30%
Disagree strongly	4%	6%	11%
(Don't know)	1%	1%	1%
(Not answered)	-	*	*
Bases	1594	1495	1288

Table A2.4: (How much do you agree or disagree) Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland?

	2006	2010	2015
Agree strongly	11%	14%	10%
Agree	35%	31%	24%
Neither agree nor disagree	18%	22%	22%
Disagree	31%	27%	31%
Disagree strongly	4%	5%	12%
(Don't know)	1%	1%	1%
(Not answered)	-	*	*
Bases	1594	1495	1288

Table A2.5: People from ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland

	2002	2006	2010	2015
Agree strongly	5%	7%	11%	9%
Agree	15%	20%	20%	18%
Neither agree nor disagree	32%	32%	30%	25%
Disagree	34%	30%	24%	28%
Disagree strongly	9%	7%	13%	20%
Can't choose	4%	2%	1%	1%
(Not answered)	1%	2%	1%	*
Weighted bases	1518	1423	1350	1232
Unweighted bases	1507	1437	1366	1234

Table A2.6: People who come here from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland

	2006	2010	2015
Agree strongly	7%	13%	10%
Agree	24%	24%	20%
Neither agree nor disagree	28%	27%	21%
Disagree	28%	22%	30%
Disagree strongly	8%	12%	18%
Can't choose	2%	1%	1%
(Not answered)	3%	1%	*
Weighted bases	1423	1350	1232
Unweighted bases	1437	1366	1234

Table A2.7: Sexual relations between two adults of the same sex (column %)

	2000	2004	2005	2010	2015
Always wrong	39%	30%	30%	20%	9%
Mostly wrong	9%	11%	10%	8%	9%
Sometimes wrong	8%	8%	10%	9%	8%
Rarely wrong	8%	7%	9%	8%	10%
Not wrong at all	29%	37%	35%	50%	59%
(Depends/varies)	4%	3%	3%	3%	2%
Don't know	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%
Not answered	*	*	*	1%	1%
Weighted bases	1663	1637	1549	1495	1288
Unweighted bases	1663	1637	1549	1495	1288

Base: All respondents

Chapter 3 detailed tables

Table A3.1: Feelings if close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with …

	YEAR	Very happy/ happy	Neither	Unhappy/very unhappy	Sample size
Someone who cross-dresses in public	**2010**	19%	24%	55%	1495
	2015	32%	28%	39%	1288
Someone who has undergone gender reassignment	**2006**	20%	27%	50%	1594
	2010	22%	26%	49%	1495
	2015	36%	31%	32%	1288
A Gypsy/Traveller	**2006**	31%	28%	37%	1594
	2010	32%	28%	37%	1495
	2015	37%	30%	32%	1288
A Muslim	**2006**	49%	26%	24%	1594
	2010	47%	29%	23%	1477
	2015	49%	29%	20%	1275
Someone who experiences depression from time to time	**2010**	41%	35%	21%	1495
	2015	45%	34%	19%	1288
Married/civil partnership with someone of same sex	**2006**	37%	28%	33%	1594
	2010	37%	31%	30%	1495
	2015	52%	30%	16%	1288
Someone who is Black/Asian	**2006**	58%	29%	11%	1594
	2010	58%	31%	9%	1495
	2015	62%	31%	5%	1288
Someone who is Jewish	**2006**	55%	33%	10%	1594
	2010	54%	35%	9%	1495
	2015	57%	35%	6%	1287
A Christian	**2010**	66	31	2	725
	2015	68	31	*	700

Chapter 4 detailed tables

Table A4.1: Suited to being a primary school teacher (2006-2015)[51]

	YEAR	Very/ fairly suitable	Neither	Very/ fairly un-suitable	Sample size
A Gypsy/Traveller	**2006**	20%	23%	48%	1437
	2010	25%	23%	46%	1366
	2015	36%	26%	34%	1232
Someone aged 70	**2006**	24%	20%	49%	1437
	2010	30%	26%	39%	1366
	2015	40%	27%	31%	1232
Someone who from time to time experiences depression	**2006**	21%	21%	51%	1437
	2010	30%	24%	41%	1366
	2015	40%	28%	29%	1232
Someone who has undergone gender reassignment	**2006**	32%	28%	30%	1437
	2010	37%	24%	31%	1366
	2015	46%	28%	20%	1232
Gay men and lesbians	**2006**	48%	23%	21%	1437
	2010	56%	20%	18%	1366
	2015	56%	26%	13%	1232
A Muslim person	**2006**	52%	23%	15%	1437
	2010	55%	24%	15%	1366
	2015	55%	26%	13%	1232
A black or Asian person	**2006**	70%	18%	4%	1437
	2010	70%	18%	6%	1366
	2015	72%	21%	3%	1232

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

Chapter 5 detailed tables

Table A5.1: Sample sizes for % unhappy about a close relative marrying someone who has undergone gender reassignment by diversity, knowing a gay man or lesbian and whether agree that more black and Asian people mean Scotland loses its identity

% unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with someone who has undergone gender reassignment	2010	2015
Preferred kind of area		
Different kinds of people	488	532
People similar to you	604	443
Know someone who is gay or lesbian		
Yes	1088	1003
No	278	228
More Black and Asian people mean Scotland loses its identity		
Agree	712	471
Disagree	437	516

Table A5.2: Sample sizes for changes in attitudes towards a close relative marrying a Gypsy/Traveller by indicators of psychological outlook (2010, 2015)

% unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with a Gypsy/Traveller	2010	2015
Preferred kind of area		
Different kinds of people	488	532
People similar to you	604	443
Know someone from a different ethnic background		
Yes	1075	971
No	291	260
Scotland would lose its identity if more people from Eastern Europe came to live in Scotland		
Disagree	469	502
Agree	714	509

Table A5.3: Sample sizes for changes in attitudes towards a close relative forming a relationship with someone who has undergone gender reassignment by socio-demographic factors (2010, 2015)

% unhappy about a close relative forming a relationship with someone who has undergone gender reassignment	2010	2015
Gender		
Male	662	582
Female	833	706
Age Group		
18-29	212	143
30-39	218	193
40-64	678	582
65+	386	368
Highest Educational Qualification		
Degree	498	487
Higher or equivalent	267	242
Standard grade or equivalent	386	287
None	337	265
Religion		
Has a religious identification	799	652
Has no religion	695	634

Chapter 6 detailed tables

Table A6.1: % saying joiner/hotel owner should be free to hire his friend/Polish people (2015, row %)

	Joiner	Hotel owner	Wtd bases	Unwtd bases
All	78%	57%	1232	1234
Gender				
Men	82%	58%	556	587
Women	73%	56%	678	646
Socio-economic class				
Employers, managers and professionals	83%	63%	466	473
Intermediate occupations	79%	59%	125	126
Small employers and own account holders	84%	58%	112	95
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	80%	51%	153	152
Semi routine and routine occupations	68%	52%	346	345
Not classified	51%	46%	10	9
Household income (equivalised)				
Lowest income quartile	68%	52%	267	222
2nd	74%	49%	253	238
3rd	79%	57%	268	281
Highest income quartile	87%	67%	254	284
Don't know / refused	77%	57%	192	207
Respondent's main economic activity				
In full time education/training	76%	61%	36	59
In work/waiting to take up work	82%	63%	642	688
Unemployed	68%	47%	67	74
Retired	75%	49%	356	278
Looking after home	69%	43%	55	60
Other, incl. Don't know / Not answered	67%	46%	78	72

	Joiner	Hotel owner	Wtd bases	Unwtd bases
'People from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland'				
Agree/Agree strongly	72%	39%	388	370
Neither agree nor disagree	80%	60%	264	256
Disagree/Disagree strongly	81%	67%	568	593
Can't choose / Don't know / Refused	52%	35%	14	13

Base: All respondents who completed self-complete module

Table A6.2: % saying joiner but not hotel owner should be free to hire his friend/Polish people (2015, row %)

	Joiner but not hotel owner should be free to hire his friend/Polish people	Wtd bases	Unwtd bases
All	22%	1232	1234
Gender			
Men	25%	587	556
Women	19%	646	678
'People from Eastern Europe take jobs away from other people in Scotland'			
Agree/Agree strongly	34%	370	388
Neither agree nor disagree	21%	256	264
Disagree/Disagree strongly	15%	593	568
Can't choose / Don't know / Refused	17%	13	14

Base: All respondents who completed self-complete module

Table A6.3: Whether mothers/fathers should have right to take up to six months' paid parental leave (2010, 2015, column %)

	Mothers		Fathers	
	2010	**2015**	**2010**	**2015**
Agree strongly	34%	46%	15%	21%
Agree	48%	39%	31%	34%
Neither agree nor disagree	6%	6%	12%	14%
Disagree	10%	7%	30%	22%
Disagree strongly	2%	1%	11%	8%
(Don't know)	*	*	*	*
(Not answered)	-	-	-	-
Bases	1495	1288	1495	1288

Base: All respondents

Table A6.4: Whether mothers/fathers should be able to take up to five days' leave to care for sick child (2015, column %)

	Mothers	Fathers
Definitely should	70%	60%
Probably should	24%	30%
Probably should not	3%	7%
Definitely should not	2%	3%
(Don't know)	1%	1%
(Not answered)	-	*
Bases	1288	1288

Base: All respondents.

Table A6.5: Whether mothers/fathers should have right to take up to six months' paid parental leave (2015, row %)

	Fathers should have right	Mothers but not fathers should have right	Wtd bases	Unwtd bases
All	55%	31%	1288	1288
Gender				
Men	52%	34%	617	582
Women	58%	28%	671	706
Age				
18-29	77%	16%	239	143
30-39	78%	19%	227	193
40-64	53%	32%	533	582
65+	22%	50%	288	368
(no information)	71%	-	1	2
Socio-economic class				
Employers, managers and professionals	56%	30%	485	479
Intermediate occupations	54%	25%	129	129
Small employers and own account holders	38%	36%	102	118
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	53%	35%	160	160
Semi routine and routine occupations	59%	30%	364	367
Not classified	38%	29%	15	12
Area preference				
Prefers area where most people similar to you	66%	25%	576	532
Prefers area with lots of different kinds of people	43%	37%	413	443
Can't choose / Don't know / Not answered	54%	32%	244	259

Base: All respondents

Table A6.6: Whether wrong to make people retire simply because of age (2005, 2010, 2015, column %)

	2005	2010	2015
It is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age	76%	75%	76%
Older people should be made to retire to make way for younger age groups.	21%	22%	21%
(Don't know)	3%	3%	2%
(Not answered)	*	*	*
Bases	1594	1495	1288

Base: All respondents.

Table A6.7: % saying wrong to make people retire due to age, by age and attitudes to prejudice (2015, row %)

	It is wrong to make people retire just because they have reached a certain age	Unwt bases	Wtd bases
All	76%	1288	1288
Age			
18-29	86%	143	239
30-39	84%	193	227
40-64	73%	582	533
65+	68%	368	288
(no information)	*	2	1
Attitudes to prejudice			
'Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice'	79%	898	894
'Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups'	70%	390	394

Base: All respondents.

Chapter 7 detailed tables

Table A7.1 Believing that an employer should be able to insist an employee removes a religious symbol by general attitudes to prejudice and diversity

	Christian	Sikh	Headscarf	Veil	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
All	14%	20%	18%	65%	1232	1234
Preference for living in an area…						
…with lots of different kinds of people	8%	10%	10%	50%	576	532
…where most people are similar to you	21%	33%	27%	83%	413	443

Chapter 8 detailed tables

Table A8.1: 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 (2006-2015)

	2006	2010	2015
Definitely fair	25%	25%	30%
Probably fair	38%	37%	35%
Probably unfair	26%	25%	24%
Definitely unfair	9%	12%	9%
(Don't know)	1%	1%	2%
Sample size	1594	1495	1288

Table A8.2: 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 (2006-2015)

	2006	2010	2015
Definitely fair	17%	14%	22%
Probably fair	40%	36%	35%
Probably unfair	29%	31%	28%
Definitely unfair	12%	17%	13%
(Don't know)	2%	2%	2%
(Not answered)			*
Sample size	1594	1495	1288

Table A8.3: Whether attempts to give equal opportunities to black and Asian people have gone too far or not far enough

	Gone too far	About right	Not gone far enough	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
ALL	16%	44%	32%	1288	1288
Gender					
Men	14%	45%	34%	617	582
Women	18%	43%	30%	671	706
Age					
18-29	7%	45%	43%	239	143
30-39	12%	50%	31%	227	193
40-64	19%	42%	30%	533	582
65+	23%	43%	26%	288	368
Household income					
Up to 14,300	25%	40%	30%	236	278
14,300 up to 26,000	22%	44%	26%	248	264
26,000 up to 44,200	15%	40%	37%	285	272
Over 44,200	9%	47%	37%	287	256
DK	8%	61%	20%	86	79
Refused/Not answered	16%	42%	30%	147	139
SIMD 2012 Quintiles					
Most deprived	29%	40%	25%	224	178
2	18%	42%	34%	267	246
3	15%	44%	34%	284	320
4	13%	46%	31%	270	332
Least deprived	10%	49%	32%	242	212
Education					
Degree / HE	11%	44%	37%	491	487
Highers / A-Levels	11%	46%	35%	279	242
Standard Grade / GCSE	18%	45%	30%	274	287
None	31%	42%	19%	239	265

	Gone too far	About right	Not gone far enough	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
Preference to live in a type of area					
Would rather live in an area with lots of different kinds of people	7%	41%	45%	576	532
Would rather live in an area where most people are similar to you	27%	51%	16%	413	443
Knows someone from different racial ethnic background					
Yes	14%	44%	34%	1001	971
No	23%	47%	23%	229	260

Table A8.4: Whether attempts to give equal opportunities to gay men and lesbians have gone too far or not far enough

	Gone too far	About right	Not gone far enough	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
ALL	10%	55%	28%	1288	1288
Gender					
Men	12%	55%	26%	617	582
Women	9%	54%	29%	671	708
Age					
18-29	1%	50%	44%	239	143
30-39	8%	60%	27%	227	193
40-64	10%	56%	27%	533	582
65+	21%	53%	15%	288	368
Household income					
Up to 14,300	17%	51%	24%	236	278
14,300 up to 26,000	12%	57%	24%	248	264
26,000 up to 44,200	8%	55%	32%	285	272
Over 44,200	7%	59%	30%	287	256
DK	7%	51%	26%	86	79
Refused/Not answered	11%	50%	25%	147	139
SIMD 2012 Quintiles					
Most deprived	9%	54%	28%	224	178
2	10%	54%	29%	267	246
3	12%	53%	30%	284	320
4	11%	52%	28%	270	332
Least deprived	10%	60%	22%	242	212
Education					
Degree / HE	8%	55%	31%	491	487
Highers / A-Levels	8%	56%	29%	279	242
Standard Grade / GCSE	14%	54%	26%	274	287
None	14%	53%	22%	239	265

	Gone too far	About right	Not gone far enough	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
Preference to live in a type of area					
Would rather live in an areas with lots of different kinds of people	5%	53%	36%	576	532
Would rather live in an areas where most people are similar to you	19%	58%	16%	413	443
Know someone who is gay or lesbian					
Yes	9%	55%	30%	1046	1003
No	15%	55%	21%	184	228

Table A8.5: Whether it is right or wrong for an employee to get paid more than another employee who has poor eyesight and is in receipt of a government grant

	Right	Neither	Wrong	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
ALL	15%	19%	65%	1232	1234
Gender			%		
Men	21%	20%	59%	587	556
Women	11%	18%	71%	646	678
Education					
Degree / HE	13%	17%	70%	480	475
Highers / A-Levels	15%	17%	67%	276	239
Standard Grade / GCSE	15%	25%	60%	260	275
None	21%	18%	60%	211	238
Preference to live in a type of area					
Would rather live in an areas with lots of different kinds of people	11%	16%	72%	576	532
Would rather live in an areas where most people are similar to you	22%	21%	57%	413	443

Table A8.6: 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? (2006-2015)

	2006	2010	2015
Definitely fair	10%	10%	16%
Probably fair	30%	27%	25%
Probably unfair	40%	41%	40%
Definitely unfair	17%	22%	18%
(Don't know)	3%	1%	2%
(Not answered)			*
Sample size	1594	1495	1288

Table A8.7: Say a company has very few women in senior jobs. They are about to recruit a new senior manager and decide they want to appoint a woman. Do you think it would be fair or unfair for the company to only interview women for the new job? (2006-2015)

	2010	2015
Definitely fair	4%	6%
Probably fair	16%	15%
Probably unfair	35%	41%
Definitely unfair	43%	38%
(Don't know)	1%	1%
(Not answered)		*
Sample size	1495	1288

Table A8.8: Those who were more likely to say that offering extra training opportunities to women

	Fair	Unfair	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
ALL	65%	33%	1288	1288
Gender				
Men	61%	37%	617	582
Women	68%	30%	671	706
Age				
18-29	59%	40%	239	143
30-39	63%	36%	227	193
40-64	63%	36%	533	582
65+	76%	21%	288	368

	Fair	Unfair	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
Household income				
Up to 14,300	78%	22%	236	278
14,300 up to 26,000	69%	29%	248	264
26,000 up to 44,200	58%	42%	285	272
Over 44,200	53%	45%	287	256
DK	79%	20%	86	79
Refused/Not answered	67%	28%	147	139
Main economic activity				
Education/training full time	73%	23%	59	36
In work/wait take up work	57%	42%	707	660
Unemployed	75%	25%	81	69
Retired	74%	23%	303	385
Looking after home	69%	31%	60	55
Other	86%	13%	77	82
NS-Sec				
Employers/ professionals	54%	45%	485	479
Intermediate occupations	68%	30%	129	129
Small employers & own account workers	66%	33%	102	118
Lower supervisory technical occupations	70%	29%	160	160
Semi-routine and routine occupations	74%	23%	364	367
Education				
Degree / HE	58%	40%	491	487
Highers / A-Levels	54%	45%	279	242
Standard Grade / GCSE	74%	24%	274	287
None	81%	16%	239	265

Table A8.9: Those who were more likely to say that offering extra training opportunities to black and Asian people

	Fair	Unfair	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
ALL	57%	41%	1288	1288
Gender				
Men	55%	43%	617	582
Women	60%	38%	671	706
Age				
18-29	58%	42%	239	143
30-39	57%	41%	227	193
40-64	55%	43%	533	582
65+	63%	34%	288	368
Household income				
Up to 14,300	63%	36%	236	278
14,300 up to 26,000	61%	37%	248	264
26,000 up to 44,200	51%	48%	289	272
Over 44,200	50%	49%	287	256
DK	73%	25%	87	79
Refused/Not answered	60%	33%	147	139
Main economic activity				
Education/training full time	60%	37%	59	36
In work/wait take up work	53%	45%	707	660
Unemployed	59%	41%	81	69
Retired	62%	34%	303	385
Looking after home	57%	43%	60	55
Other	73%	26%	77	82

	Fair	Unfair	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
NS-Sec				
Employers/ professionals	52%	46%	485	479
Intermediate occupations	66%	34%	129	129
Small employers & own account workers	54%	45%	102	118
Lower supervisory technical occupations	61%	36%	160	160
Semi-routine and routine occupations	60%	37%	364	367
Education				
Degree / HE	56%	43%	491	487
Highers / A-Levels	50%	49%	279	242
Standard Grade / GCSE	64%	35%	274	287
None	63%	32%	239	265
Preference to live in a type of area				
Would rather live in an areas with lots of different kinds of people	61%	38%	576	532
Would rather live in an areas where most people are similar to you	54%	45%	413	443
Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more black and Asian people came to live in Scotland				
Agree	51%	47%	445	471
Neither	61%	37%	287	290
Disagree	60%	37%	546	516

Table A8.10: Whether fair or unfair to grant an automatic interview to a person with a disability

	Fair	Unfair	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
ALL	40%	57%	1288	1288
Age				
18-29	30%	70%	239	143
30-39	31%	67%	227	193
40-64	42%	56%	533	582
65+	54%	43%	288	368
Household income				
Up to 14,300	45%	51%	236	278
14,300 up to 26,000	43%	55%	248	264
26,000 up to 44,200	38%	60%	285	272
Over 44,200	38%	61%	287	256
DK	43%	55%	86	79
Refused/Not answered	36%	61%	147	139
Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2012 Quintiles				
Most deprived	49%	47%	224	178
2	42%	57%	267	246
3	40%	58%	284	320
4	38%	60%	270	332
Least deprived	34%	64%	242	212
Education				
Degree / HE	36%	62%	491	487
Highers / A-Levels	30%	67%	279	242
Standard Grade / GCSE	48%	51%	274	287
None	53%	43%	239	265

	Fair	Unfair	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
Main economic activity				
Education/training full time	25%	73%	59	36
In work/wait take up work	36%	63%	707	660
Unemployed	42%	57%	81	69
Retired	52%	44%	303	385
Looking after home	42%	55%	60	55
Other	48%	47%	77	82
Disability or long-term illness				
Yes	44%	53%	466	510
No	38%	60%	820	776

Table A8.11: Whether fair or unfair to have women-only shortlists

	Fair	Unfair	Weighted bases	Unweighted bases
ALL	20%	79%	1288	1288
Household income				
Up to 14,300	30%	69%	236	278
14,300 up to 26,000	22%	77%	248	264
26,000 up to 44,200	17%	82%	285	272
Over 44,200	17%	83%	287	256
DK	21%	78%	86	79
Refused/Not answered	15%	84%	147	139
Education				
Degree / HE	19%	80%	491	487
Highers / A-Levels	18%	81%	279	242
Standard Grade / GCSE	20%	79%	274	287
None	26%	73%	239	265
Main economic activity				
Education/training full time	11%	89%	59	36
In work/wait take up work	17%	83%	707	660
Unemployed	19%	81%	81	69
Retired	24%	74%	303	385
Looking after home	35%	65%	60	55
Other	37%	63%	77	82

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