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Equality, Diversity and Prejudice in Britain
Results from the 2005 National Survey

Dominic Abrams & Diane M Houston

Report for the Cabinet Office Equalities Review October 2006

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Executive Summary

Britain is an increasingly diverse and multifaceted society. Consequently, manifestations of inequality, prejudice and discrimination are potentially becoming more varied and complex. The meaning of equality itself is a matter of considerable debate. Perceptions, attitudes, stereotypes and emotions permeate social relationships between groups, whether conflictual or harmonious. How are different groups perceived? How do images of different groups map onto prejudice? To what extent do people experience prejudice directed against themselves? There is increasing interest in whether Britain is becoming a more or less tolerant, accepting or indeed coherent society.

This report describes the findings of a survey which employed social psychological methods and measures to assess a range of different aspects of prejudice towards six significant groups in British society – defined by gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality, disability and religion.

The report examines the values people espouse, their experiences, and their expressions of prejudice, the extent that 'political correctness' may affect expressions of prejudice, the social stereotypes underpinning prejudice, whether prejudice is expressed differently towards different types of group, and the extent to which British society is perceived as a cohesive whole or as being formed of distinct and separate groups. It also explores whether prejudice is predominantly an issue of personal attitudes or whether it is rooted more in the relationships between particular social groups.

An omnibus Computer Aided Personal Interview survey with representative sample of 2895 respondents aged 16+ was conducted at the end of May 2005. Respondents were asked about their views on equality and prejudice

generally, and in relation to women, gay men and lesbians, Muslims, people over 70, Black people and disabled people, as well as various other groups.

The main findings are as follows:

Equality and Human Rights

- The vast majority of people value the principles of equality and social justice. Security is also an important value for many.

- There is also strong endorsement of individualism, and strong endorsement of the idea that groups should be free to differ and be treated equally. There is also support for the idea that it is better if people share the same values and way of life.

- People believe that the need to promote equal employment opportunities is greatest in the case of people over 70, disabled people and women, followed by Black people, gay men and lesbians, and Muslims, respectively.

Expressions and Experiences of Prejudice

- Prejudice is expressed differently towards different groups. Overtly negative feelings are expressed by a majority towards illegal immigrants and asylum seekers. A minority of respondents express negative feelings towards Muslims and gay men and lesbians. An overwhelming majority of people express positive feelings towards women, people over 70 and people with disabilities.

- Forty nine percent of respondents report that, over the previous 12 months, they had experienced prejudice against themselves on the basis of at least one group of which they are a member.

- In apparent contrast to the expressions of negative and positive feelings about groups, across the population the most pervasive, if not the most intense, experience of prejudice is ageism, followed by sexism. Experiences of racism and religious prejudice are also reported by over half of the members of the relevant groups.

The Conditions for Prejudice

- People think media portrayals of Muslims and gay men and lesbians are more negative than portrayals of other groups.

- Arabs and Muslims are less likely to be viewed as being accepted as British than are other groups. Acceptance as British is higher when a person is white, a native English speaker and either Judao-Christian or non-religious.

- One third of respondents say they are unconcerned about whether they are prejudiced.

- Political correctness applies more strongly in the case of prejudice against some groups than others. People feel least constrained in admitting to prejudice against gay men and lesbians, Muslims and women.

- It is not the case that some groups are always more prejudiced than others. Different groups direct their prejudice against particular outgroups.

Social Stereotypes that Underpin Prejudice

- Perceptions of stereotypes about different groups show that prejudice can take a patronising form. Older and disabled people are viewed as warm but not competent. Compared with men, women are less likely to be viewed as economically successful. Stereotypes can also be more 'hostile'. Muslim people are viewed as cold and as competing for resources.

- The emotions associated with different groups reflect these stereotypes. Older people and disabled people are more likely to be seen as being pitied, Women are more likely to be viewed as admired, but not envied. Muslims are more likely to be perceived as evoking fear and anger but not pity or envy. Gay men and lesbians are more likely to be perceived as evoking disgust and anger.

Together or Apart?

- People may distance themselves from other groups in different ways. Although some groups are viewed as being very different (e.g. people under 30 and over 70), difference itself does not imply hostility.

- Economic competition from minority groups is viewed with less concern than threats they may pose to culture, health or safety. Muslims, Black people and gay men and lesbians are seen as posing stronger threats culturally and physically. Members of these groups are also less likely to be welcomed as neighbours, employers or in-laws.

- When given a chance to nominate their preferred charities, from a selection of different groups, people strongly favoured more stereotypically dependent groups (older people, disabled people). There was a very low level of support for charities that might

support communities that represented Black, Muslim or gay people.

- Socio-economic status does not relate strongly to positive and negative attitudes towards any particular groups.

Conclusions

- The British population is strongly committed to principles of equality and justice, to the idea that individuals should have opportunities to achieve what they can.

- The majority of the population view themselves as unprejudiced, yet nearly half the population say someone has been prejudiced or discriminatory towards them in the last year.

- Despite support for equality generally, people are more prepared to support some groups than others.

- Prejudice is manifested in different ways towards different groups, some being patronised, others being criticised or disliked.

- The findings provide important benchmarks and a common reference point for tracking and comparing the patterns of prejudice in Britain in the years following the establishment of the CEHR and the associated legislation.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Britain is an increasingly diverse society.   Despite this trend, inequality remains a persistent feature.

Women make up just over 50% of the UK's population but they are represented by only 19.8% of MPs and 11% of FTSE 100 Board Members (EOC, 2006).

Almost 8% of the UK population come from a minority ethnic group, of which 2% are black and 4% of Asian origin (ONS, 2003). Adults from a mixed race or Asian background are more likely than those from other ethnic groups to be victims of crime in England and Wales (British Crime Survey 2001). Among working age people, Pakistani and Bangladeshi people are twice as likely to have no qualifications as other groups, and in 2003 these also had the highest male and female unemployment rates of all ethnic groups (LFS 2002, 2003).

Seventy seven percent of the UK population describe themselves as Christian, but an increasing minority of the UK population (16%) has no religious affiliation, and Muslims represent the largest religious minority at 3% (ONS, 2004). The Metropolitan Police reported 15,610 incidents of racist and religious hate crime and 1,239 incidents of homophobic hate crime during 2001-2, but estimate that up to 90% of such crime goes unreported (Metropolitan Police Authority, 2003).

An ever increasing proportion, now 18.5%, of people in the UK are over pensionable age (Population Trends, Winter 2004). Age Concern England reports that 890,000 people over the age of 50 who are out of work want a job (Harrop, 2005).

Nineteen percent of the population have a long term disability (LFS, 2004). A recent Joseph Rowntree Foundation report finds that one third of people with disabilities are living below the poverty line, double the rate for non-disabled adults (Palmer, North, Carr & Kenway, 2003).

Approximately 5-7% of the UK population is Gay, lesbian or bisexual (Stonewall, 2006). A recent study of attempted suicide rates and mental illness in gay men, lesbians and bisexual men and women suggested an important factor was likely to be

discriminatory victimisation by physical attack and bullying (Warner, J., McKeown, Griffin et al., 2004).

Those with an above average risk of poverty include older pensioner couples, households headed by a member of a minority ethnic group, disabled people, and lone mothers.

The Government has created the Commission for Equality and Human Rights in order to facilitate the creation of a society in which every individual is able to achieve their potential, free from discrimination and prejudice. The Equalities Review is intended to provide a firm foundation for the work of the CEHR. This report contributes to that foundation by establishing a baseline and evidence against which it will be possible to evaluate the extent and forms of prejudice experienced by, and expressed towards different groups in our society in the years ahead.

Equality, Diversity and Prejudice in Britain

There are differences among groups in their appearance, priorities and economic and social status. However, because research on different groups is often conducted using different participants, at different times and using different methods, we have a rather unclear picture of the relative differences in how different groups are perceived, how people interpret them, and their implications for peoples attitudes and feelings about different groups.

Given the pace of demographic and political change it becomes all the more important to establish some clear reference points for measuring how the public views different societal groups. In recent years there has been increasing interest in whether Britain is becoming a more or less tolerant society. Some evidence (e.g. from the British Social Attitudes Survey) suggests a steady decline in prejudice. The current survey was intended to investigate this question more deeply. As well as looking at relatively blatant or overt feelings about different groups, we examine perceptions of discrimination, stereotypes, willingness to engage in relationships and the experience of being a target of prejudice across intergroup boundaries. There is a huge number of groups that could be studied, but the present work considers major groups described by 6 axes that seem especially central: gender, sexuality, age, religion, ethnicity and disability.

A further question is whether prejudice is predominantly an issue of personal attitudes (perhaps some people are simply more prejudiced than others), or whether it is rooted more in the

relationships between different groups, and therefore will differ in strength depending on which group people have in mind.

In this report, the evidence is provided mainly in descriptive terms, for example as percentages of people that agree with a particular view. The purpose is to provide results that are based on well founded measures and that can be used to make informative comparisons about the scale and nature of prejudice. The measures and measurement are based on a social psychological approach that emphases the *processes* responsible for prejudice (Abrams, Marques & Hogg, 2005; Brown, 1995, Hogg & Abrams, 2003). Much of the social psychological evidence consists of experimental studies in which competing hypotheses about the causes of prejudice are tested under controlled conditions. The processes are complex to unravel, would require a much more technical presentation than is appropriate for this report. However, at various points in the report we refer to some of the theory and evidence in the academic research base.

Bases of prejudice

Broadly speaking, whether or not people will be prejudiced and will express prejudice against others can be viewed as resulting from a range of factors. We know that direct conflicts of interest between groups are likely to generate antipathy and mistrust between their members (Sherif, 1966). But there are more basic psychological processes that make people very likely to show preferences for their own groups (ingroups) over others (outgroups) (Esses, Haddock & Zanna, 1993).

Categorisation.   First, the simple categorisation of people into different groups seems to initiate quite automatic psychological preferences for ingroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This happens even if the basis of the categorisation is random and even when we do not really have any personal relationship with any of the individuals in the groups. For example, even when people are told that they are members of temporary categories with arbitrary labels they will give more money to anonymous members of their own category than to members of the other category (Tajfel, 1970).

People apply social categorisations very flexibly. A set of people discussing immigration are likely to view one another mainly in terms of ethnicity. If the same people are discussing promotion or retirement they are likely to view one another mainly in terms of age. Depending on which issues or problems are most focal or pressing, different groups are more or less salient to people. When we see other people and other groups as *sharing* a common identity

with our own, we are likely to show less prejudice towards them (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). It is therefore important to know whether people embrace different social groups in Britain within shared categories.

Stereotypes. There is little nationally representative evidence about the content of stereotypes of different groups in Britain. Even when people have no sense of antipathy towards a group they may make use of a stereotype (e.g. "You don't look your age") that implies a stronger evaluation of one category than another. Some stereotypes contain within them prejudices that are masked by apparently positive or benevolent images (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002). Such stereotypes can have important, even if unintended, consequences for discrimination. Of course it is true that people can be aware of a social stereotype about a group without believing or applying it. People may also view groups in terms of more specific subtypes. For example, stereotypes about rugby players and soccer players might be different even though they both involve sports teams. However, if different groups are stereotyped in different ways it would suggest that they might be subjected to different kinds of discrimination.

Social identity. Group memberships that are longstanding and meaningful contribute to a person's social identity (Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A person's sense of self, its meaning and value are likely to be bound up with the way these groups are valued and treated in society and by other groups. Consequently, people are likely to be motivated to defend, support and promote their own groups in comparison with other groups. This is not something to decry – team and national loyalty, dedication and commitment are all built on this process. However, it can also feed intergroup rivalry and prejudice.

Intergroup threat. People are sensitive to the power, status and size of their groups because their social identity is important to them (Abrams & Hogg, 2001). They want to defend their group's values and the social markers or symbols that are associated with their groups. An important set of questions, therefore, is whether people perceive different societal groups as posing a threat to their own (Stephan, & Renfro, 2002; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). In the present research we concentrate on economic, physical and cultural aspects of these threats. An important issue is how perceptions of intergroup threat may change over time.

Values. Clearly we should expect a society that places a higher value on equality and justice to be less prejudiced than societies that place lower priority on these values. But even within an

apparently tolerant society, the same values can be expressed in different ways. Prejudice is expressed in a variety of forms. For example, blatant racism is not generally considered socially acceptable, but modern forms of prejudice, such as symbolic racism (Sears, 1988) are expressed through opposition to policies that help disadvantaged groups but that some people interpret as infringing other important values such as meritocracy and individualism. Such attitudes are often expressed in terms of beliefs that equality has gone 'too far'.

People may also be ambivalent in their views. So for example, people may resist affirmative action policies because, although the policies promote equality for minorities they also violate the principle of merit and the protestant work ethic. Might it be that people apply these merit principles more strongly in the case of some groups than others?

Prejudice may be expressed even more indirectly. For example, so-called 'aversive prejudice' (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986) occurs when people, who want to think of themselves as non-prejudiced, are swifter to help an ingroup member than an outgroup member (e.g. a motorist who has broken down and needs help) if the person appears to be responsible for their own plight. For example, even people who declare themselves to be non-prejudiced might express hostility to immigrants whose right to reside in the UK is questionable.

Implicit prejudice.   There are other aspects of prejudice that this research was able to examine to some degree. Prejudice can take the form of indirect, unconscious or 'implicit' biases about particular groups. Social psychology has recently developed an impressive array of less direct measures of intergroup bias (Maass, Castelli & Acuri, 2000). We reasoned that people would be more inclined to show their positive preferences to some groups rather than negative attitudes towards others. Therefore, given an option of donating cash to a range of charities, their choices might illuminate something about the extent to which they feel particular groups and causes deserve support. This too may reflect a rather hidden aspect of prejudice and discrimination. People may give advantages to particular groups without intending to harm other groups, but the consequence remains the same, namely the perpetuation of relative disadvantage for some groups.

In summary, prejudice is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. To understand it and to measure it requires an ambitious and detailed methodology. Establishing some clear reference points and baselines against which to evaluate change and progress is one of

the key aims for the present research. For example, if we are to understand whether the terrorist bombings in London on July 7th 2005 affected attitudes towards Muslims and other groups, we need reliable evidence using the same measures before and after that period. This research provides important evidence for that process of evaluation[1].

Aims of the Research

To examine prejudice and discrimination as a set of coherent social processes that can be manifested in a variety of different ways

To apply a theory-driven science-based methodology to obtain a representative picture the British population's views about key aspects of diversity, equality and discrimination

To examine the extent of people's experience of prejudice against themselves, and how this is affected by their membership of particular social groups

To record, and provide benchmark indices of people's beliefs, feelings, attitudes and preferences for engagement with and inclusion of different social groups

For the first time with a British sample, to make systematic comparisons to see how people view groups that represent six axes of inequality and discrimination considered to be central by the Equalities Review and the Commission for Equality and Human Rights: gender, age, ethnicity/race, religion, disability and sexuality.

Issues to be Examined

The principle of equality

An important question is how strongly the British population is likely to back policies and legislation that promote greater equality. A starting point for the survey is to examine the extent to which people support the idea that equality, as a principle, should frame the way we deal with group differences? We asked people about their values, and also the extent to which equality should be promoted specifically in terms of employment opportunities for different groups.

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[1] A follow up survey on this issue was conducted at the end of July 2005 and is the subject of separate report (Abrams, 2006; Abrams & Houston, forthcoming).

The extent of prejudice

This report has, as a starting point, the expectation that people's experiences and expressions of prejudice are diverse and multifaceted. Adoption of a human rights framework involves acceptance of principles that should underpin equality among a diverse array of social groups. Development of legislation and policy in this area needs to be informed by evidence about the nature and extent of prejudice and discrimination. In particular, it is important to understand which aspects of inequality and discrimination faced by different groups face are common to most groups, and which aspects might be distinctive or unique for particular groups.

We begin by examining two questions about the extent of prejudice:

Which groups are most likely to be the target of prejudice, and which people feel they are discriminated against because of their group memberships -- that is, who are the targets of prejudice and how bad is the problem?

The extent of prejudice can be considered in terms of both its generality and its intensity. Prejudice could be viewed as a worse problem if it affects a larger number of people. Additionally, prejudice could be considered as a worse problem if it is manifested in extreme or violent ways, even if it is only directed at a very small number of people. Therefore, it is important to explore both how widespread prejudice is, and how intense it is. Different policies and different features of legislation may be needed to tackle the generality and intensity of prejudice.

Socially shared perceptions of different groups

A further question explored in this research is whether people perceive a social consensus about the standing or value of different groups. For example, we ask whether particular groups are more likely to be accepted as British. We also ask important questions about the structure of stereotypes about different groups. Previous research evidence (Fiske et al., 2002) shows that key elements of these stereotypes tell us much about the esteem in which society holds different groups and the extent to which groups are seen as posing a threat to the opportunities for others. In turn, these perceptions are related to feelings such as envy, anger or admiration that people feel and express towards each group.

We ask about aspects of potential threats that may reside in relationships between different groups. Groups generally dislike one another if they are in direct conflict, but some aspects of prejudice may reflect differences in values or culture, rather than direct competition or conflict between groups. Understanding the nature of the relationships between groups therefore provides insight into how prejudices may form and be expressed. In some contexts, prejudice might be reflected in denial of resources or opportunities to members of a group. In others, prejudice might be reflected more passively in terms of avoiding contact or relationships with members of other groups. We therefore explore the extent to which different groups are seen as posing threats that are economic, material or cultural.

The public expression of prejudice

There are both legal and social constraints on the expression of prejudice. Commentators in the popular media often disparage 'political correctness'. There is a tension between people's right and desire to comment on differences between groups, and the right of people not to be victimised as individuals just because of their membership of a particular group. This tension is likely to be reflected in the extent to which people monitor and adjust their own level of prejudice. The survey examined whether political correctness is general phenomenon, or whether it applies more when people express views about some groups than about others? We also examine whether people who care about the social acceptability of their views are the same people who are less prejudiced – that is, whether people want to appear less prejudiced than they are.

If people apply political correctness selectively in relation to some groups but not others, we may need to look at the relationships between groups, and not just the attitudes of individual people when explaining when and why people express of prejudice.

What is New about the Approach?

A scientifically grounded conceptual framework

There is some valuable research into prejudice and discrimination in Britain that has been conducted by charities and by the Home Office (e.g. ACE, 2005; Green & Farmer, 2004; Stonewall, 2001). These have not shared a common conceptual framework relating to different groups (but see Bromley and Curtice, 2003 for an approach that contrasts economic, sociological and psychological elements). It is difficult to compare evidence from these different

sources because of differences in the extent and quality of the measures used. Some of the more detailed surveys have focussed on one particular group, and have adopted a social psychological approach (e.g. Abrams, Viki, Bardi, Randsley de Moura, Ray & Sopp, 2005;   Heim, Howe, O'Connor, Cassidy, Warden & Cunningham, 2004). However, the larger body of representative evidence from, for example, the British Social Attitudes survey, is very limited and is restricted to the area of race and immigration (Park, Curtice, Thomson, Bromley & Phillips, 2004). There is also informative, but not representative, qualitative evidence in other research evidence (e.g. Valentine & MacDonald, 2004).

The present work is based firmly in a vast literature in social and political psychology that has identified what are likely to be the central elements that should be examined in people's prejudices towards different groups. These elements include values, social stereotypes, perceived threats, emotions, perceptions of the relationships between groups, and the self-regulation of prejudice. These elements and the items chosen to measure them have a very well-established empirical and theoretical base.

Within the constraints of a public survey we had, mainly, to focus on the more manifest aspects of prejudice and discrimination. There are other, 'implicit' measures that can be used too, and we included some more subtle, or indirect measures in the survey.

A coherent and integrated methodological approach

The second, very important, feature of this work is that in studying prejudice towards several groups at the same time we are able to provide more context for the interpretation and analysis of the results. It is possible to trawl different surveys about particular groups and try to make comparisons between the findings. However, different surveys have used different items, or different response scales, or have been administered to different types of sample, and almost always at different points in time. Also, because each survey may focus attention only on one particular group we cannot be certain of the comparative reference points that respondents themselves may have been using. The present work addresses this problem. For example, it is possible to describe the percentage of the population who say they feel negatively about Muslims. Evaluating the meaning of that percentage is easier if we are in a position to compare it with the percentage that feel negatively towards a range of other groups. Moreover, because we are asking questions about different groups using the same format, and at the same time, we can be relatively confident about comparing the answers. In several sections of this report we make

use of this richer context information to help us make sense of the findings.

A reference point and set of benchmarks for evaluating change and progress

The integrated approach to method and measurement described above provides an extremely useful set of benchmarks against which changes can be evaluated.

The benchmarks, and differences relating to different groups will be helpful in the setting of goals or targets to be achieved. It may be that these will be different for different problems or groups, or they may be more general. However, as the government develops its priorities for equality, through the Equalities Review and CEHR, it will have a richer evidence base on which to reach its conclusions about what needs to be done and how.

By conducting repeated research it would be possible to demonstrate whether prejudice as a whole is changing, and whether prejudices towards particular groups or subsections of the population are changing relative to the whole. Therefore, this report provides a valuable reference point for future work and for interpretation of the changing cultural and political landscape of Britain.

Incorporation of a wide range of expertise

The research has involved contributions from a large number of people, with a range and depth of expertise that has been particularly valuable in the development of the project. These include representatives and research officers from The Women and Equality Unit, Stonewall, Age Concern England, Disability Rights Council, Equal Opportunities Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality. We have also benefited from discussing and reading a number of previous reports and surveys, some of which have been referred to already.

The next chapter outlines the methodology used in the survey. The chapters that follow provide details of the results for different parts of the survey. Our interpretation of the implications of the findings is given in the final chapter. The appendices provide the survey items and other technical details.

Chapter 2

Methodology and Definitions

This report describes some key findings from a TNS/Omnimas omnibus survey conducted between 20th May and 1st June 2005. The survey was of a nationally representative sample of 2895 adults aged 16+ from England, Scotland and Wales, using face to face CAPI (computer assisted personal interviews). Much of the interview allowed respondents to answer by self-completion (reading and keying in their own responses). Where aggregate (whole sample) results have been reported these have been weighted by gender, region and socio economic status to reflect the population profile of Britain.

This research was originally commissioned by the Women and Equality Unit which forms part of the Department for Communities and Local Government. It is a DCLG contribution to the work of the Equalities Review. It was designed by a team of researchers in the Centre for the Study of Group Processes at the University of Kent. The items were developed on the basis of current social psychological research in the area of prejudice and intergroup relations (see Hogg & Abrams, 2003) together with a critical analysis of measures used in previous opinion research. Thus, the research was informed by a robust theoretical framework and with a view to improving and adding to previous research evidence from UK surveys.

Definitions and Terminology

Measuring prejudice and discrimination

There is a common wisdom that political correctness may stifle 'true' expressions of prejudice (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Monteith et al., 1998). Previous surveys have sometimes shied away from asking directly whether people feel negative about other groups. A regular question in the British Social Attitudes Survey asks people to describe themselves as 'very prejudiced', 'a little prejudiced' or 'not at all' prejudiced against people of other races. This question implicitly to make a judgement about what 'prejudiced' means. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether the baseline is changing so it is difficult to interpret the meaning of changes over time in responses to this question. It is also problematic because the term prejudice would imply for many people that there is inaccurate and negative bias. It

is difficult to believe that people who say they are 'prejudiced' would also agree that they are wrong. Conversely, it is difficult to believe that all those who claim not to be prejudiced actually have no preferences for some racial groups over others. Surveys also sometimes require analysts to *infer* levels of antipathy towards particular groups. For example, the authors of MORI's 2001 survey of Profiles of Prejudice for Stonewall wrote that 'Almost two thirds of people in England can name at least one minority group against whom they are prejudiced' (p.17). But this is actually an inference based on responses to a more oblique question about 'which of these groups, if any, would you way you feel less positive towards'?. Because the question is asked relativistically (with a list of 20 options), there is probably a strong methodological demand to include at least one group.

In other key surveys such as the BSAS and Home Office Citizenship Survey, people are asked whether they think that prejudice has got better or worse over the preceding 5 year period, and whether it will get better or worse in the next 5 year period. These questions do not tap the respondent's own attitude, and once again invite a response that is rather speculative and prone to all kinds of memory biases. If weather forecasters are reluctant to anticipate the next two weeks, it is perhaps unwise to make too much of people's guesses about patterns of prejudice over a 10 year period. In short, despite considerable interest in prejudice, survey researchers have not been very systematic in their efforts to provide benchmarks against which changes over time are interpretable. For this reason, we asked directly about peoples feelings about relevant societal groups.

The change from 34% to 25% who said they were prejudiced between the 1985 and 2000 BSAS seems to show prejudice is on the decline. There was an upward trend (to 31% in 2000, followed by a further dip to 30% in 2002. Another interpretation is that people are merely becoming more careful to observe 'politically correct' conventions about expressing prejudice. Indeed, the 21st BSAS report states, "We acknowledge the likely problems with political correctness related to this particular survey question. Unfortunately, measuring racial prejudice directly is extraordinarily difficult (if not impossible) in the current day, and so we are dependent on this rather direct approach" (McClaren & Johnson, 2004, p. 198). In the present survey we used items from contemporary social psychological research on prejudice to ask specifically about people's concerns over expressing prejudice, both generally, and towards particular groups.

If political correctness was really at the heart of reticence to express prejudice we would expect it to apply to all prejudices, against all groups. Instead, the starting presumption in the present research is that, where they exist, prejudices towards different groups may take quite *different forms.* That is, as well as positive or negative feelings about different groups, people's prejudices may be reflected in an array of opinions, choices, non-verbal behaviour and even unconscious and automatic associations or reactions to members of those groups (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Within the constraints of a survey we had to focus on aspects of prejudice that are reflected in people's beliefs, stereotypes, values and preferences.

To understand this more complex picture of prejudice we also need to examine the forms it takes toward several different types of group.

A further caveat is that one cannot interpret people's awareness of *differences* between groups as being equivalent to prejudicial or discriminatory attitudes. There is strong evidence in psychology that merely categorising people can result in relatively automatic biases towards people who share our own social categories compared with those we perceive to belong to other categories (Fiske, 2004; Tajfel, 1981). There is also clear evidence that by categorising people we also make generalisations about them – a foundation for stereotypes. However, there are also important contextual and social factors that mean we do not translate these rather automatic reactions into prejudice or discrimination.

We need to distinguish *differentiation* between groups from judgements that make unwarranted assumptions in favour of one group over others. Whereas a person may understand that Muslims have different religious views from Christians, this should not necessarily imply that one is better than the other. It is an empirical question, examined in the present work, whether the perception that groups differ is distinct from prejudice.

Furthermore, prejudice may take other forms such as patronising positivity, or the denial that a disadvantaged group is actually disadvantaged (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Prejudice that is positive in tone but negative in implication has been labelled 'benevolent' prejudice (e.g. Glick and Fiske, 1996). Judgements about whether benevolent attitudes are symptomatic of prejudice are sometimes

difficult to make. For example, people may differ in their views of whether a man who holds a door open for a woman is being prejudiced or just polite. However, in the context of evidence about a broader set of perceptions about the capability or status of a group, it is possible to consider whether indeed such benevolent thoughts could actually underpin discriminatory outcomes for that group.

In the light of the potential complexity of prejudice we chose not to rely on single measure of prejudice. Instead, we focus on the patterning of social perceptions and of preferences for different groups in society. Some of these, to be sure, are blatantly negative, others may be more subtle. The goal, therefore, is to capture these different patterns of prejudice. To do this we sought to understand people's views of stereotypical images of social groups, the portrayal of these groups in the media, the extent to which they are perceived as suffering from prejudice, and their impact on the economy and culture of Britain. We also asked directly about people's values and their views on the desirability of equality in society.

As well as examining attitudes towards other groups we asked respondents whether they had personally been a victim of prejudice or discrimination on the basis of different groups to which they may belong. The Home Office Citizenship Survey (2003) asked whether various public agencies (e.g. doctors, magistrates, the police) 'would treat you' compared with people of other races. It also asks whether they have been turned down for a job in the past 5 years and been treated unfairly at work, and if so whether it was due to discrimination. These are valuable questions but they also have drawbacks. For example, many people may have very limited direct experience of some institutions that are responsible for discrimination. Discrimination can also occur in many settings other than the workplace. Moreover, a 5 year period is very difficult for people to remember (there will be strong tendencies to recall recent or particularly dramatic events), and the question does not address the frequency of discrimination.

Our intention in the current survey was not to identify a hierarchy of discrimination, but instead to understand the prevalence of prejudice directed towards different types of group membership, whatever the source. Consequently we asked people to indicate whether and how frequently they had experienced prejudice from anyone on the basis of each of their different group memberships in the last year.

Finally as a general approach we have avoided the use of categorical – yes/no – response categories, and have not required people to select a limited number of groups from a list (cf. Profiles of Prejudice). Instead we generally employed a response scale with a 5 point range that allowed people to indicate the strength of their agreement or disagreement with each statement. This approach helps to avoid either leading or inhibiting respondents from making any particular type of response.

Terminology

Given the aim of examining issues relevant to the proposed CEHR, we elected to examine prejudice in the context of the six key equality 'strands' – gender, sexuality, religion, age, disability and ethnicity.

Labels are always a matter for debate, and our guiding principle was to use broadly inclusive terms that respondents would recognise and understand. Pilot work involving over 400 participants, and consultations with experts, as well as earlier research, provided the operational terms used in the survey.

For gender, the focus was primarily on women. For sexuality we asked primarily about '*Lesbian Women and Gay Men*'. For religion we decided to focus primarily on *Muslims*, both because they represent the largest religious minority in Britain and because they have greatest contemporary salience. For age we concentrated on '*people over 70*', because this was the age most people consider old age to have been reached (Sopp & Abrams, 2004). For ethnicity we focused primarily on *Black people*, which we defined as of African or Caribbean background. For disability, we used the term '*disabled people*', and defined this as 'people with any disability, whether noticeable or not'.

In places within the survey we also took the opportunity to ask about other groups that make a useful point of comparison, including *white middle class men, Americans, Eastern Europeans, Chinese people, Arabs, Asians, Christians, Hindus, Jews, Sikhs, non-religious people, illegal immigrants, legal immigrants and asylum seekers*.

Versions of the Survey

In order to ask questions relating to the six equality 'strands' of gender, sexuality, age, disability, ethnicity and religion, we made a strategic decision to establish a set of core questions covering six

groups, which all respondents completed. More probing questions about two of these groups were completed by three subsets of the larger sample.

The core questions were asked of all respondents at the beginning of the interview[2]. The fieldwork for the survey was conducted by TNS/Omnimas as part of their omnibus survey between the 20th of May and 1st June 2005. The sample consisted of 2895 respondents.

A randomly allocated subsample of 962 answered additional questions about women and about gay men and lesbians, (Version A), a second subsample of 931 answered parallel questions about people over 70 and Muslims (Version B), and the third subsample of 1002 answered questions about disabled people and Black people (Version C).

We chose these pairings deliberately on the basis that we wanted to avoid confounding age and disability (which could theoretically be the focus of a common prejudice), and we wanted to avoid confounding religion and ethnicity (for the same reasons).

The Sample

The core sample was large enough to enable analysis of differences relevant to each equality strand, our aim being to have a minimum of 100 respondents within any relevant category[3]. Respondents did not always provide full information about their memberships of these categories and therefore the percentages and numbers do not always add up to the 100% or the full sample of 2895, see Table 1.

The classification of respondents was determined as follows. The category, 'non-heterosexual' includes both respondents who identified themselves as gay, lesbian or bi-sexual (3%) and those who indicated they would prefer not to say. This is on the basis that most heterosexual people would not have any objection to stating their sexuality. The classification of 11% as non-heterosexual also appears to be reasonably in line with estimates based on other sources.

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[2] Item rotation and response formats: We retained a fixed sequence for the blocks of questions within the survey. However, the sequence of items within blocks was rotated (e.g. multiple attitude questions, or ratings on multiple characteristics) so that there were no primacy effects. In addition, to avoid response set biases, respondents were randomly assigned to different response scale orderings (e.g. most negative option first versus most positive option first). These were kept consistent within blocks.

[3] For n=100, the 95% confidence intervals are +/- 6% where 90/10% of the sample hold a view, +/-9% where 70/30% hold a view, and +/-10% where 50% hold a view. The comparable confidence intervals for n=1000 are +/- 2%, +/- 2% and +/- 3%.

Some participants who classified themselves as Christian are unlikely to be practising. However, their self-identification as Christian is meaningful in terms of the way they may experience and express differences based on religious groupings. 'Other religions' includes Jewish, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist and other faiths. None of these was cited with sufficient frequency to provide enough respondents to warrant separate analyses. People were classified as non-religious only if they explicitly said they had no religion at all.

Classification of the respondents' ethnicity was based on whether the respondent was exclusively white (white), had any black, African, Caribbean or other Black background ('Black'), or had any central Asian background (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, or other Asian background). Oriental Asians and other groups were in such small numbers that, although they were included in the survey, we did not conduct separate analyses to compare their answers with those of other ethnic backgrounds.

The classification for disability is based on whether the respondent answered affirmatively to a general question 'do you have any long standing illness, disability or infirmity?'. The proportion answering affirmatively is higher than usual estimates of disability levels. However, from the perspective of the research, as with the criteria for religious categorisation, it was important to base comparisons on respondents' *self*-categorisations and therefore this remains a useful and relevant index.

The numbers of disabled people may seem a little high. However in a previous survey conducted in October 2004 (ACE, 2005) respondents were asked to describe their situation in more detail. Twenty four percent described themselves as having a disability, for the following reasons. Thirteen percent said they could do most everyday things but nothing too energetic, 3% said their movements were quite restricted, 5% percent said their movements were fairly restricted, 2% very restricted, and 1% completely housebound. Government statistics from the 2001 Census also report that 18% of the population reported having a limiting long term illness or disability which restricted their daily activities. However, this increases sharply with age. The Census includes children, and therefore the prevalence of disability among 16+ year olds would be expected to be higher. Therefore, we feel reasonably confident that the proportion who self-defined as disabled is a reasonably accurate description of the sample.

Table 1: Numbers and percentages of respondents from different social categories.

	N	% of Sample	British Census 2001 (except *, ***)
Men	1289	44.5	48.6
Women	1606	55.5	51.4
Heterosexual	2568	88.7	*91.9 88.3
Non-Heterosexual	327	**11.3	*8.1 11.7
30-	756	26.1	***23.3
31-69	1715	59.2	***62.8
70+	424	14.6	***13.9
Christian	1950	67.4	71.6
Muslim	128	4.4	2.7
Other religions	159	5.5	2.5
Non-religious	570	19.7	15.5
White	2532	87.5	92.1
Black	140	4.8	2.0
Asian	184	6.4	4.0
Non-disabled	2268	78.3	82.0
Disabled	627	21.7	18.0

*Estimate based on National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles 2000, for men and women, respectively (see www.Avert.org).

** 3% stated that they were gay, lesbian or bisexual.

***Estimate extrapolated from Mid-2004 population estimates from ONS with sample range from 15+.

Chapter 3

Equality and Human Rights

The development of the CEHR is based on agreed principles that have support across government and most of Europe. However, the meaning of equality to lay people is not necessarily the same as that laid down by philosophers, politicians or lawyers. Any review of equality must therefore be cognisant of what most people understand by, and want from, 'equality'.

We wanted to know whether people in Britain subscribe to the equality agenda, and if so, how core values such as equality and social justice stand in comparison with other values that might compete for priority or, under some circumstances, even imply opposing policies. We concentrated on core values such as equality and justice, as well as values of broad mindedness, security, and the preservation of social order or tradition. One question for the research is whether there is a broad consensus about the relative importance of different values, or whether groups differ substantially in their priorities.

Previous research has supported the idea that contemporary forms of prejudice are based on the conflict between two values in particular (Sears 1998; 2004). Values of individualism and freedom (including the protestant ethic) on the one hand suggest that creating a free society means that all individuals will have, in principle, equal opportunities to maximise their own individual potential. Values such as egalitarianism and humanitarianism emphasise instead the prescriptive goal that people *ought* in fact to be equal and should all be given equal rights regardless of their individual efforts or achievements.

Egalitarianism and individualism are values that are held strongly in many western democracies, but perhaps surprisingly they can be used to justify inequality. For example, people who believe in a free society, and who desire equality, may also believe that if certain people (albeit members of certain groups) are disadvantaged, that is due to their own efforts or abilities rather than inherent inequality in society (see also Katz & Hass, 1988; McConahay, 1986). Similarly, it has been suggested that members of minority and majority groups sometimes apply the 'colourblind' theory rather differently. Majority groups may use the idea that because society is equal we should ignore colour, and hence should not treat group-

based disadvantage as a group-based phenomenon, but rather a matter for individuals. The implication is that they may oppose legislation or procedures that actively help disadvantaged groups. Minority groups, however, may see the idea of a colour blind society as meaning that barriers to their progression and equality need to be removed (Levy, West, Ramirez & Karafantis, in press).

One implication is that even if core values are widely shared, their interpretation and implications for support of different policies may differ depending on the groups that people have in mind. For example, research into 'symbolic racism' (Henry and Sears, 2002) shows that contemporary prejudice against Black people in the USA involves four elements: denial of discrimination, criticism of Black's work ethic, resentment about their demands and resentment of 'unfair' advantages given to Black people by broader society. These attitudes are rooted in individualism and ingrained negative feelings about Black people. To explore some of these aspects in Britain context, as well as investigating core values, we also examined attitudes that were more specific to the situation of individuals and groups in Britain.

Core Values

Respondents were asked to indicate to what extent each of 7 relevant core values, based on the Schwartz Values Instrument (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), came close to their own views (using a scale from 'not at all like me' to 'very much like me'. The percentage that endorsed these values is shown in Figure 1. The most strongly supported value (85%) is equality, a part of the 'Universalism' dimension. The related value of justice comes a close second (84%). These are closely followed by and security (82%) and broad mindedness (80%). Rather fewer people (72%) valued social order (desiring a stable government), tradition (60%). Only around half of the population (52%) clearly endorsed obedience.

Figure 1. Percentage who say different values are 'like me' or 'very like me' rank ordered according (value and value types in parentheses)
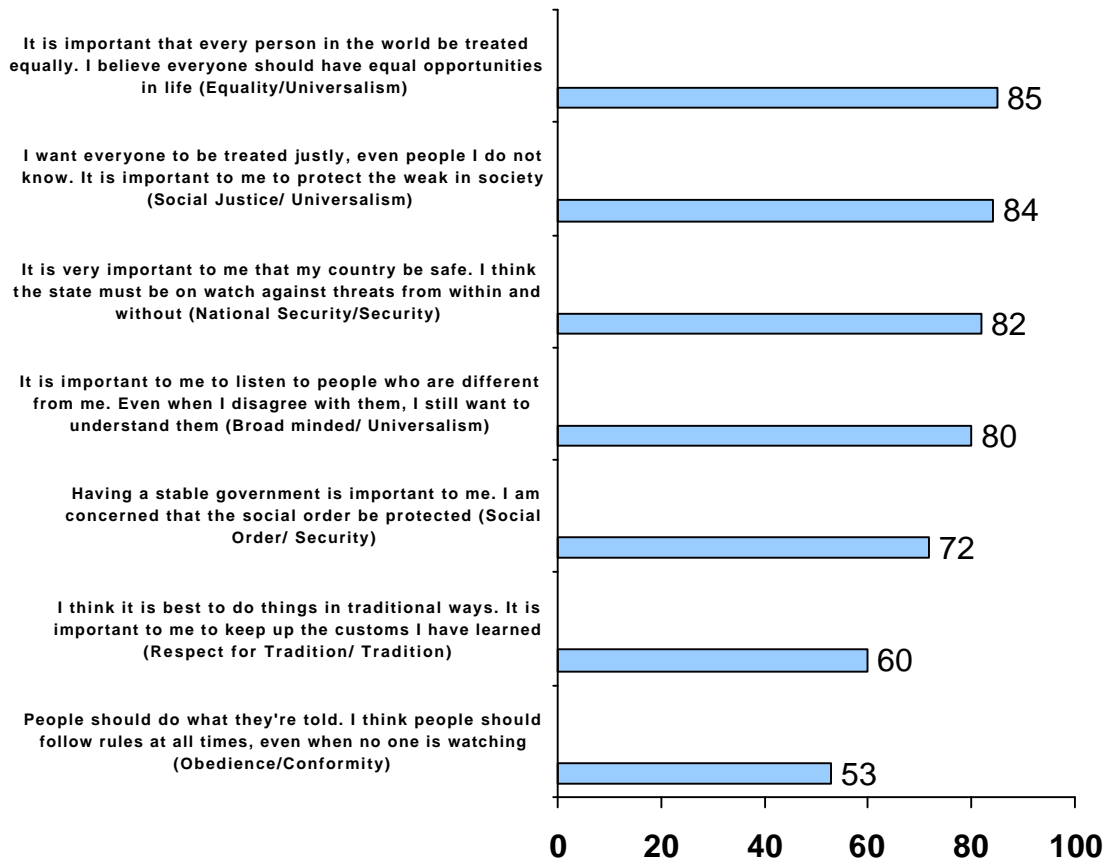
This profile of values conveys quite clearly what people's priorities are: An equal and just society that is secure and reasonably stable. However, they are less concerned with maintaining social order or ensuring conformity and lawfulness. This overall pattern is consistent with a liberal western ideology. The levels of endorsement of security, stability and conformity are actually rather high relative to the pattern that we expected to obtain. We examined differences associated with people's category memberships and found only one that related systematically to any of the values. Older people were more likely to endorse tradition and stability. However, this relationship was not very strong (a correlation of .25). Therefore, the picture is one of widely shared values rather than schism.

A further set of questions asked how strongly respondents disagreed or agreed with the way Britain should be in terms of equality, diversity and outcomes, as shown in Figure 2. There is a very strong endorsement of individualism (92% agree that we

should people should be treated as individuals). The extent to which people believe in a 'Protestant Ethic' is reflected in their endorsement of the idea that achievement is simply a reflection of effort. Only 28% agreed with this perspective, which seems to contradict the idea of individualism. Instead, there was a clear emphasis on achieving equality for all groups (84% agreed), as well as respect for differences between groups (81% agreed). While people were in favour of the idea that minorities should be committed to the way of life of the majority, and that it is better if all values are shared (77% and 63% agreed), they were clearly not in favour of the idea that certain groups should have more power and status than others (only 23% agreed). These views did not differ as a function of people's own category memberships, with the exception of a small relationship (correlation = .23) between age and the idea that minorities should be committed to the majority way of life.

Figure 2. Percent who agree or strongly agree with social attitudes about individualism, equality, diversity and work ethic.
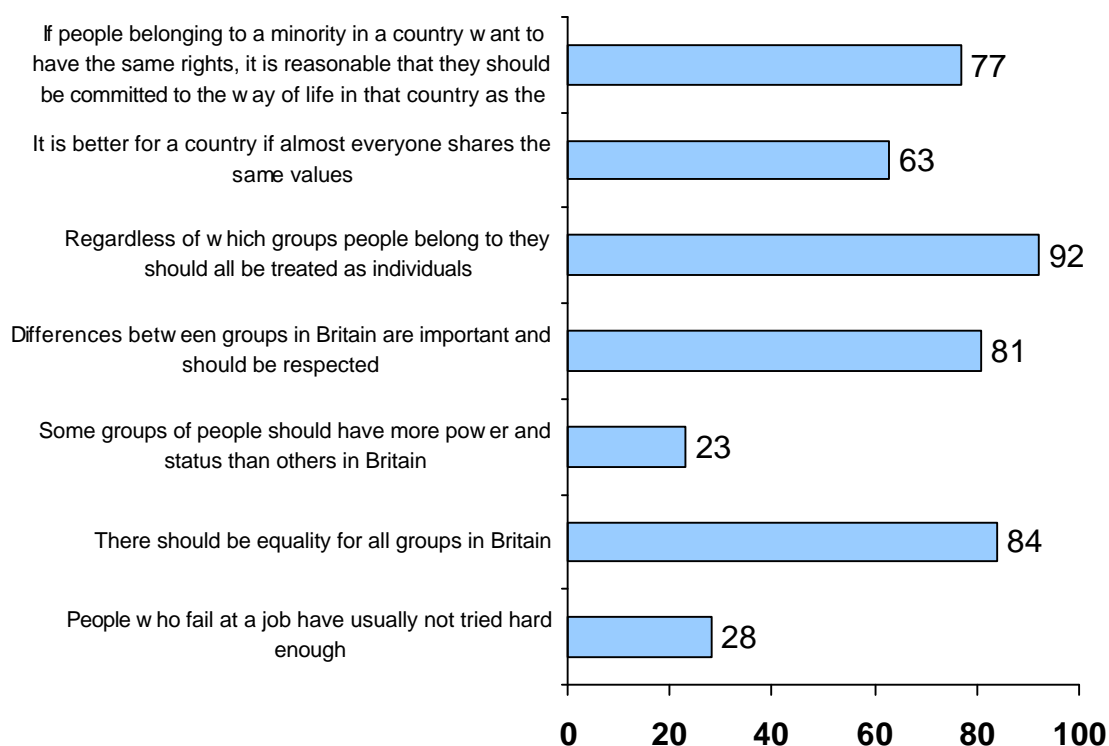
The picture this paints is of a country that strongly values equality as a goal, that respects differences both between groups and individuals, and yet that wants to ensure these values are shared by the country as a whole.

Equality for All?

One block of questions asked about diversity. We stated, 'Not all groups in society want the same thing as the majority. How important do you feel it is that the particular wishes of each of the following groups is satisfied?'. Answers were given on a scale from 1 = not at all important to 5 = very important. As Figure 12 shows, there were some sizable differences in views. Whereas the wishes of women, older people and disabled people were regarded as important by over 80% of respondents, the wishes of Gay and Lesbian people, Muslims, Blacks and legal immigrants were deemed important by between 50 and 65%. However, the wishes of asylum seekers, and especially of illegal immigrants were regarded as important by fewer than half of the respondents.

Figure 3. Percent who believe it is important to satisfy the needs of different groups in society.
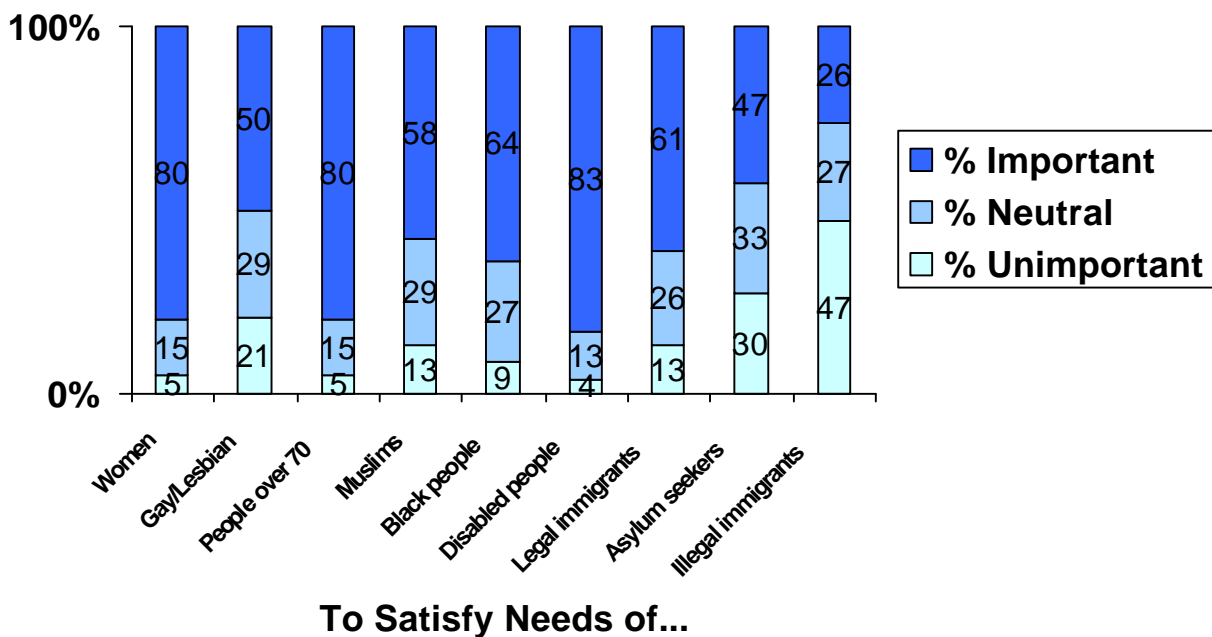
Figure 3 illustrates that the application of equal respect for all members of society is rather different from the general ideal. Half or more of the respondents evidently do not feel there is any need to respond to the needs of gay people or of people who enter the country without full legal status. Around 40% do not think it is important to respond to the needs of Black people, Muslims or Legal Immigrants. It seems likely that this measure reflects the perceived 'legitimacy' of the needs of each group. Those that pose little threat and are viewed as dependent appear to deserve more support than those that are just different, and those that may be classified as 'voluntary' members, respectively.

Within each subsection of the survey we asked specifically about employment opportunities for the relevant two groups. An item that is partly a measure of 'modern' or 'subtle' prejudice is whether people think equality policies to support a particular group have gone too far. Given that, as we showed earlier, equality is a principle that almost everyone endorses very strongly, and given that equality can only be achieved, not surpassed, people who think equality has gone too far are indirectly expressing prejudice or resentment towards that group.

Figure 4 below shows that support for further equality opportunities are strongest for people over 70 and disabled people (over 33%), and lowest for Muslims, gay and lesbian people, and Blacks (under 22%).   Twenty seven percent believe equal employment opportunities for women have not gone far enough.

Figure 4. Percentage of people who believe attempts to give equal employment opportunities to each group in Britain have gone too far/much to far, are about right/don't know, or have not gone far enough/ not gone nearly far enough.
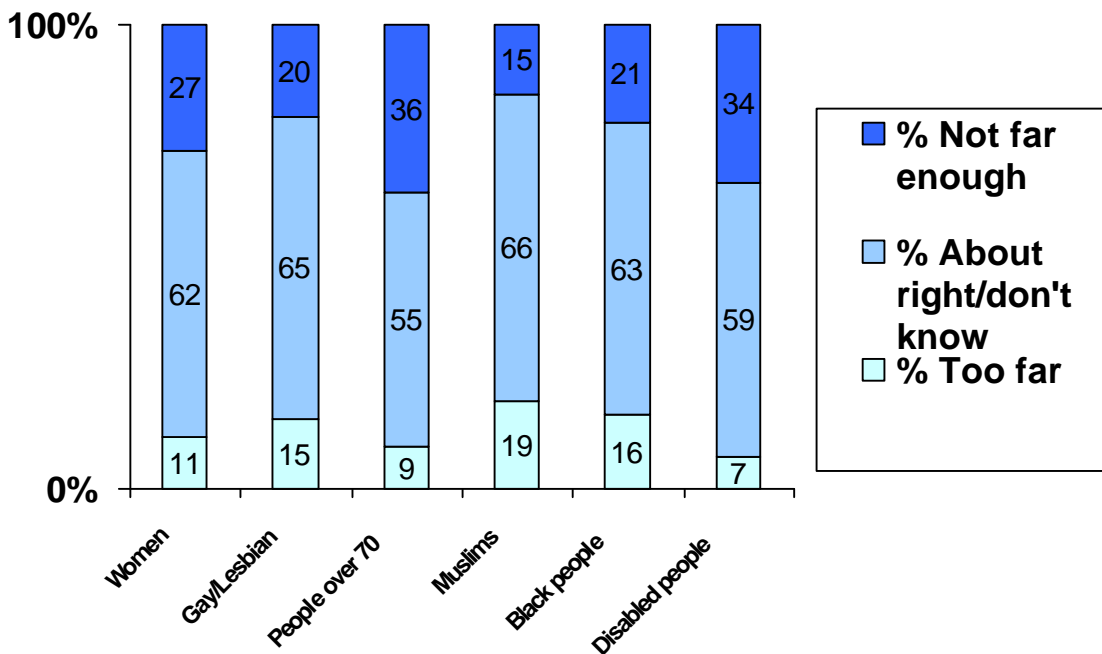
Finally, analyses to explore whether members of different groups differed in their answers showed only that each group was more supportive of its own members than the sample as a whole. However, there was no evidence that any particular group was less supportive about any other specific group. There were also no

substantial effects associated with respondents' socio-economic status.[4]

Summary and Conclusions

The evidence on values and equality issues suggests mixed conclusions. First, it is striking that such a high proportion of respondents, regardless of their own group memberships, prioritise equality and social justice. These are strong indicators that there should be a high level of public support for, or at least acceptance of a broadly and generally applicable conception of equality. This suggests that the mission of the Equalities Review and the concept of the CEHR are also likely to be well received in principle.

It is also clear that security has become a significant issue and value for large numbers of people. This inevitably poses a question of how the different values may be reconciled when they imply conflicting courses of action or policy (e.g. security may limit the possibility of treating all people equally or applying justice in consistent ways).

Second, accompanying these values is strong endorsement that people should all be treated as individuals. This is accompanied by the belief that differences between groups should be respected and groups should be treated equally. People do not agree that some groups should have more power than others, and they do not generally subscribe to the idea that inequality is based on effort. There is quite high support for the idea that it is better if people share the same values and way of life. Again, these views did not vary as a function of people's group membership. Thus, we have a picture of a nation that is both highly committed to the idea of individuality, but also highly committed to the idea of equality between groups. It is not easy to reconcile some of the inconsistencies except that the overall perspective might be regarded as liberal.

Third, when people are asked to consider the *application* of equality, in terms of responding to the needs of different groups, it is evident that they are more restrictive than their general values would imply.

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[4]   Specifically, Muslims were more likely than non-Muslims to think employment opportunities should be improved for Muslim people (r=.136), Women were more likely than men to think employment opportunities for women should be improved (r=.128), but less likely to say opportunities for lesbian and gay people should be improved (r=-.127). Older people felt there should be improvement in opportunities for people over 70 (r=.10), for lesbian and gay people (r=.127) and for Black people (.107).

Conclusion

Despite the fact that the large majority of people endorsed equality as a core value in general, they did not feel that inequality was a pressing a concern for all groups. The employment opportunities of some groups (women, older people and disabled people) were prioritised over those of others. More tellingly, the majority thought that policies for equal employment opportunities are about right for all of these groups. Given substantial objective inequalities in terms of economic, health and educational outcomes, this suggests either that people are unaware of problems such as the gender gap in part time pay (Manning & Petrongolo, 2004), or that they consider the existing inequalities to be acceptable, and that disadvantaged groups do not deserve further opportunities. For example, between a sixth and a quarter of the population think attempts to give equal employment opportunities have gone too far in the case of Gay and Lesbian, Black and Muslim people. Therefore, although equality appears to be a principle that has very wide support, the majority of people do not believe that inequality is a problem in the area of employment opportunities.

Chapter 4

Expressions and Experiences of Prejudice

We asked about people's own feelings towards different groups. Emotions about groups have been shown, in experimental research, to be reliable predictors of subsequent actions (Mackie, Devos & Smith, 2000; Smith, 1999). To the extent that people feel more negatively towards some groups than others it is likely that they would also give lower priority to the needs and concerns of those groups.

Another set of questions asked about people's experiences as a target of prejudice or discrimination from others. Questions of this sort are rather rarely asked in contemporary surveys, in part because there may be difficulties in assessing whether people answer truthfully or accurately. However, they do serve as a useful barometer of changes over time.

Feelings About Different Groups

The research literature shows very clearly that there may be strong social norms that prevent people from showing prejudice toward some social groups. For example, until the advances of the civil rights movement in North America racial prejudice and discrimination were widely accepted as 'normal' among the white majority. Redneck racism has become much less widely endorsed and less socially acceptable. However, many scholars argue that racism has not disappeared but has changed its form to become more subtle or implicit. For example, rather than expressing an overtly negative feeling toward Black people, Whites may express 'principled' opposition to their demands for equal rights (Sears, 2004). On the other hand there are social categories (e.g. 'fat' people) against whom overt prejudice seems to be less restrained (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). There could be various reasons for differences in overtly negative expressions about groups, including whether the group is perceived as being in direct conflict with the rest of society, whether the behaviour of its members is seen as under their own control, and whether people believe the group is claiming a status that it does not merit, or demanding resources that it does not deserve. The fact that 'old fashioned' racism may be on the decline (see also Park et al, 2004) is obviously an important

sign of progress. However, the notion that prejudice is a generalized phenomenon is clearly flawed. Even if people describe themselves as 'un-prejudiced' in general, this does not mean they will show tolerance of all groups or all differences. And prejudices can take different forms, ranging from explicit statements of dislike to more subtle forms such as objections to equal rights for particular groups, patronizing stereotypes, unwillingness to enter into relationships, or just unwillingness to offer support. These expressions of prejudice are more indirect. They may be manifested as positive treatment of members of ones own, or other favoured, groups rather than active rejection of other groups. However, the social effects can be just as consequential.

We decided it would be important and informative to include a very basic measure of direct prejudice as well as other, indirect, measures. The measure, which we call direct prejudice, is akin to the so-called 'feeling thermometer' that has been used in previous work (see Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). This is sometimes presented as a picture of a thermometer (ranging from 0 to 100 degrees), on which people are asked to indicate how they feel toward a social group by marking a position on the temperature scale. The measure used in the present research is a simplified version on a 5 point scale that asks, even more directly, 'How do you feel about each of the following groups'? Respondents answered using a 5 point scale from very negative (-2) to very positive (+2). We also allowed 'don't know' and 'unsure' responses. The measure informs us about the extent to which different groups in society may be the target of explicit antipathy. It may also tell us about the social conventions governing whether people feel able to express antipathy openly.

 A simple index to illustrate the findings is the percentage that expressed a negative feeling about of each of the six minority categories. This is depicted in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Percentage of respondents that expressed negative, positive or neutral feelings to different groups in Britain
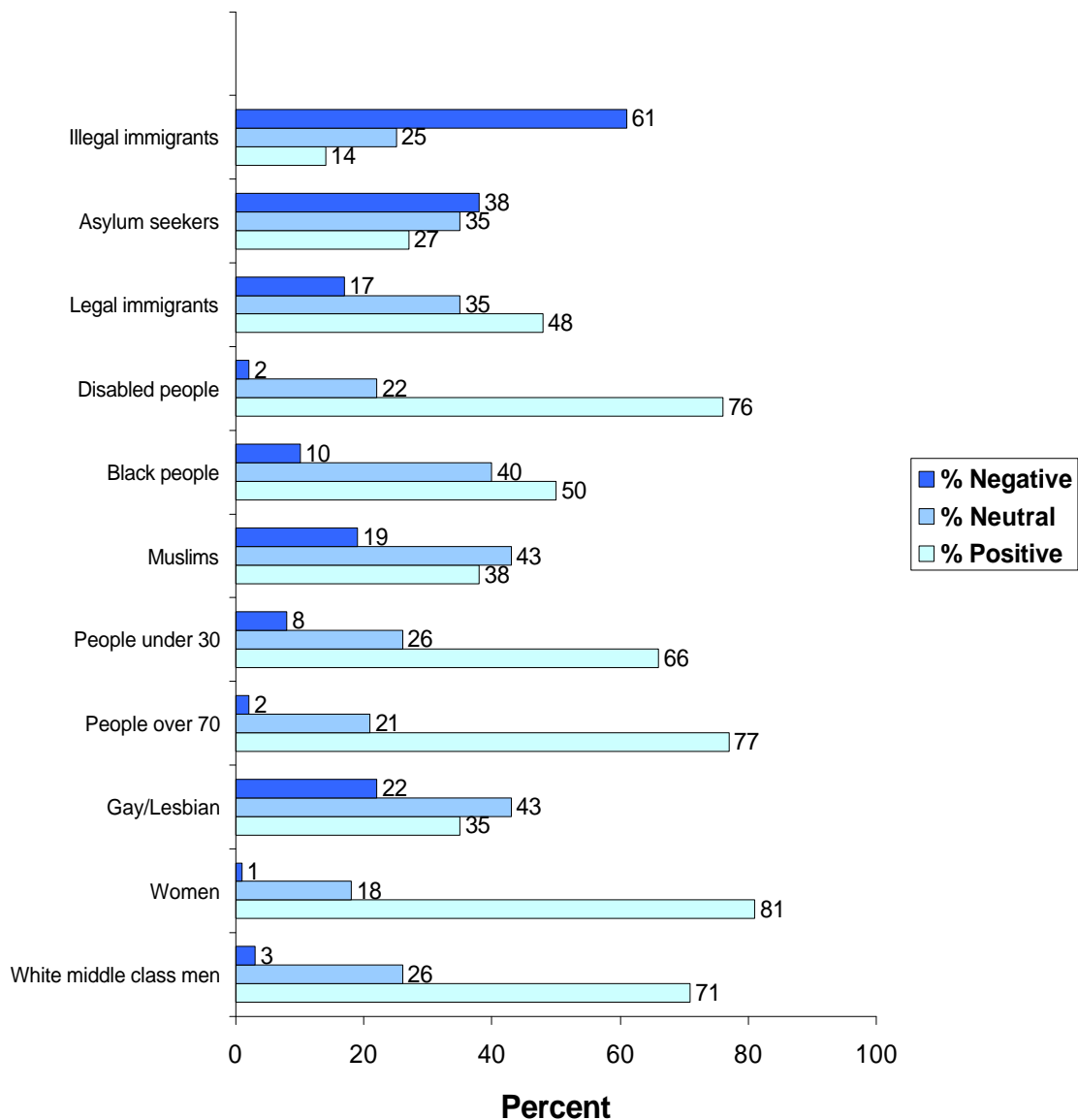
Thirty six percent of respondents expressed a negative feeling towards at least one of the six groups. However, people appeared to be much more willing to express prejudice against some groups and in favour of others.

Three percent or fewer expressed negative feelings about women, white middle class men, people over 70, or disabled people. At the other extreme, sixty one percent felt negative towards illegal immigrants, which shows that there are groups towards which people have rather little compunction about expressing negative views. Nineteen percent expressed negative feelings about gay and lesbian people, and 22% expressed negative feelings about Muslims.

Expressing a neutral view may reflect genuinely that the respondent felt neither positive nor negative feelings toward the group. An alternative explanation is that respondents may feel ambivalent -- positive about some members of the group, but negative about other members. A third possibility is that a neutral response reflects negative feelings that people feel inhibited from expressing. For example, prejudiced Whites in North America may hide behind "no opinion" responses (Berinksy, 2004). If we were to accept the latter interpretation two groups stand out from the others. Fewer than 40% of the population express positive feelings about gay and lesbian people, and about Muslims.

Prejudice against different categories of immigrants

In the three different versions of the survey respondents were asked about different categories of immigrants to Britain. Respondents had very different views depending on the perceived legitimacy of entry into Britain. In particular, if the status was illegal, people expressed strong negative feelings. If the status was uncertain (asylum seeker) they were more evenly divided between positive and negative feelings. If the status was legal almost half of respondents expressed positive feelings and only 17% were overtly negative Thus perceived legitimacy of the group's right to live in Britain may underpin negative attitudes towards different categories of immigrant.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these findings. First people *are* willing to express negative feelings about some social groups. Second, they distinguish between types of group and are much more likely to be negative about groups that could be characterised as not having a legitimate basis for membership of British society than those that are unfortunate.

Experiences of Prejudice

Reporting experiences of prejudice against oneself is not always an easy thing to do. It may involve acceptance that there is something negative, unworthy, low status, or disliked about a group that one belongs to. Some groups may deny the extent to which they are disadvantaged (Abrams & Emler, 1992; Crosby, 1984; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002), and this may either be because they are unaware of the extent to which their group is economically or socially disadvantaged or or they may prefer to avoid acknowledging this.

Respondents were asked, 'Thinking about your personal experiences over the last year, how often has anyone shown prejudice against you or treated you unfairly because of your..(ethnicity, sex, sexuality, etc)?'.   The extent to which respondents reported experiencing any prejudice versus none is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Percentage who have ever in the last year personally suffered from prejudice or discrimination on the basis of each type of group membership
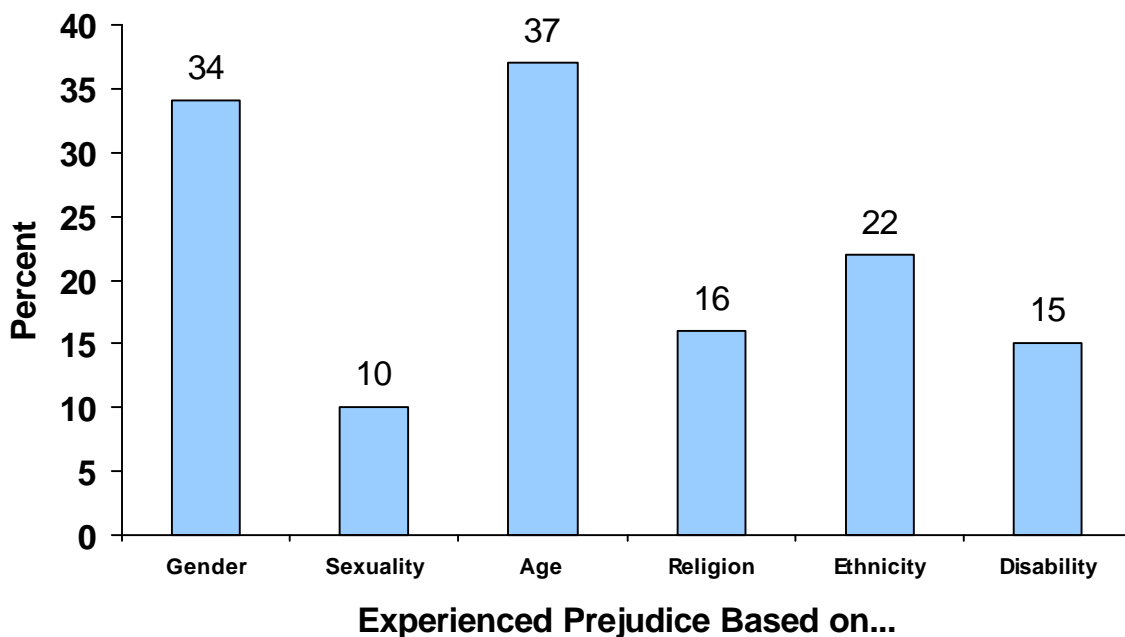
Figure 6 shows that ageism and sexism are the most widely experienced forms of prejudice, with 37% and 34% of the population experiencing them, respectively. This may not be surprising given that all people are potentially vulnerable to prejudice against their own sex or age. For other group memberships, given the small numbers of potential targets, a

substantial proportion of the sample also reported experiencing of prejudice, whether based on ethnicity (22%), religion (16%), disability (15%) or sexuality (10%).

General experience of prejudice.

Forty nine percent of respondents reported experiencing prejudice on the basis of at least one group membership during the last year. When extrapolated to the whole population of 58.8 million in 2001 this would imply that 29 million people in Britain's population experienced prejudice against them in some form. Figure 7 shows that two categories of people are particularly likely to report experiencing prejudice against them. These are people under 30 years of age and Asians. Conversely, people over 70 are less likely to say they have been the victim of prejudice.

Figure 7. Percentage who report having personally suffered from prejudice or discrimination on the basis of any type of group membership
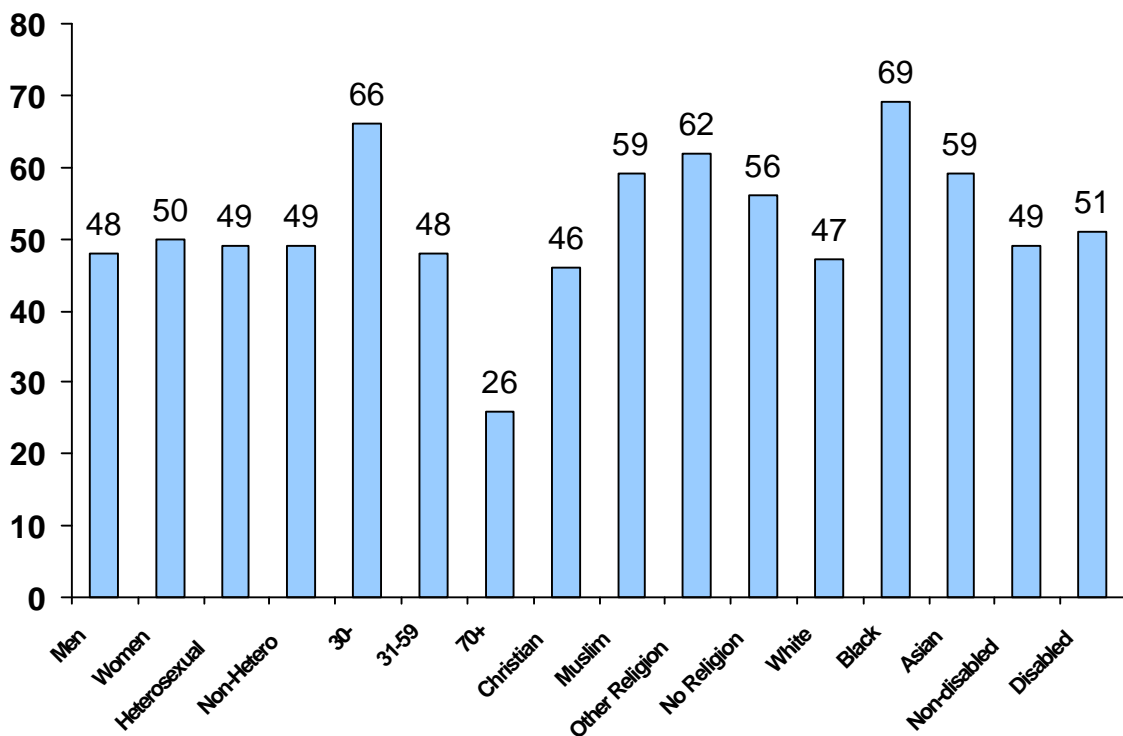
A large proportion of respondents, said they experienced prejudice on the basis of their age (37%) or gender (34%). Twenty eight percent experienced *both* sex and age prejudice. However, apart from experiences of ageism and sexism, there was little sign that

experiences of different types of prejudice overlapped very substantially. For example, only 2 percent experienced sexism plus another other type of prejudice and only 3 percent experience ageism plus another type of prejudice.

Do different minorities suffer from different prejudices?

It seems obvious that members of minority ethnic groups are more likely than the white majority to be victims of racism. But a more subtle question is whether there are differences in experiences of other prejudices, such as sexism or ageism, as a result of ethnic group membership. Similarly, perhaps women and men are targets of differing amounts of ageism. It is therefore important to understand experiences of prejudice that may be particular to different minority groups.

Majorities sometimes experience prejudice, either in terms of hostile reactions directed against them because of their privileged position or they may consider policies that actively encourage equality may put them at a disadvantage.

The six graphs below show how members of each sub-category within our sample reported that prejudice had been directed towards them on the basis of their membership of each of the six key groups examined in this research (i.e. gender, sexuality, age, religion, ethnicity and disability).

Men and Women.

As may be expected, sexism was experienced more by women (37%) than men (28%). However, both genders report that they experience sexism against them. Ageism is the form of prejudice most frequently reported by men and is reported at the same rate as sexism by women. Men report experiencing other forms of discrimination slightly more than women do (the largest difference is 4%).

Figure 8. Percentage of men and women who have personally suffered from prejudice or discrimination on the basis of each type of group membership
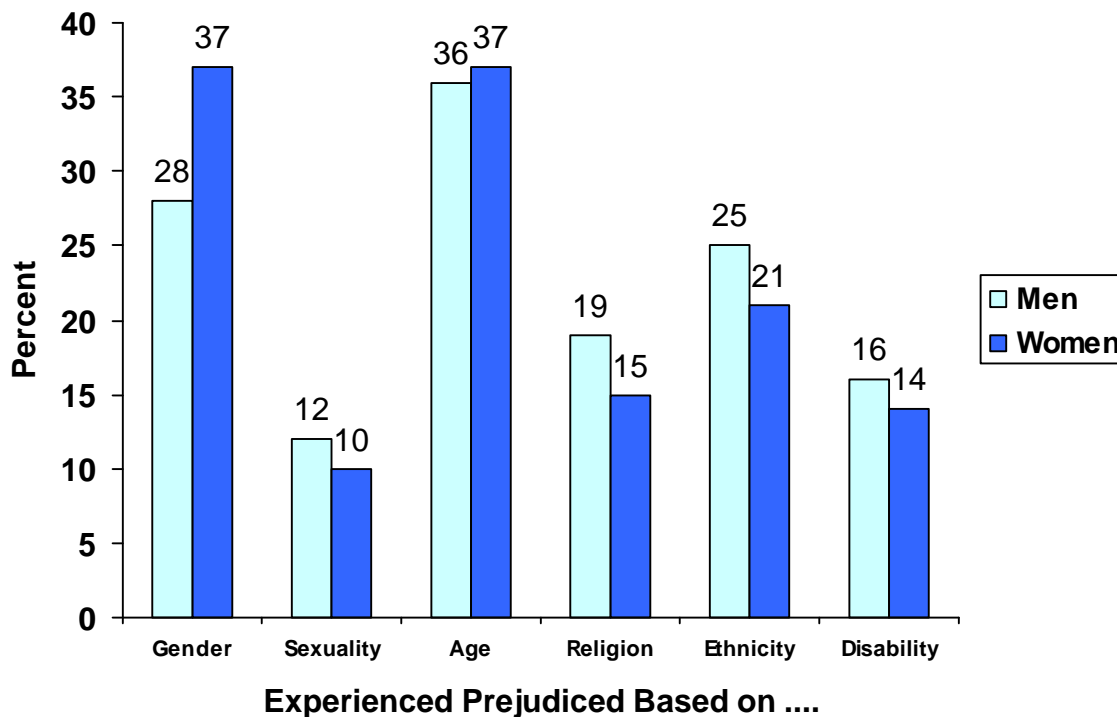

Heterosexual and non-heterosexual people.

Heterosexual people are far less likely to suffer prejudice based on their sexuality (9%) than non-heterosexual people (22%). Moreover, heterosexual people are less likely to suffer prejudice on grounds of religion or disability (both 16% and 14% versus 24% and 22%, respectively) or ethnicity (23% versus 28%, respectively less. In contrast, both categories experience ageism and sexism to a similar degree (differences of 2%), and these two forms of prejudice are the most prevalent.

Figure 9. Percentage of heterosexual and non-heterosexual people who have personally suffered from prejudice or discrimination on the basis of each type of group membership
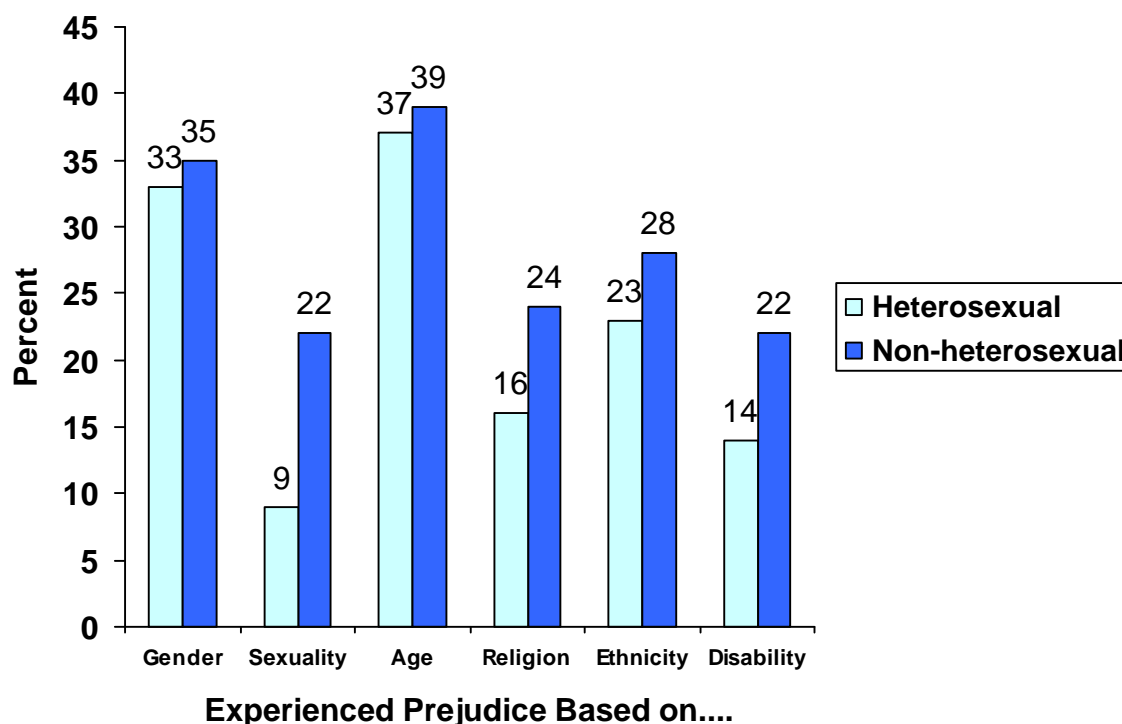
We are conscious that our categorisation of people as non-heterosexual is not precise, and indeed it is likely that some of the 8% who declined to describe their sexuality were heterosexual[5]. Therefore the percentage of gay, lesbian and bisexual people who experience prejudice on the basis of their sexuality is likely to be higher than the figures shown here.

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[5] We conducted a further analysis to compare those who openly described themselves as gay, lesbian or bi-sexual versus those who described themselves as heterosexual, and those who refused to say. Forty two percent of the 90 people who were openly gay or lesbian said they had experienced prejudice against them on that basis. Fifteen percent of the 237 people in the 'refused' category had done so too. Combining the 'refused' category with the gay, lesbian and bisexual category reduces the distinctiveness of that combined category from heterosexuals. However, the combined category does seem likely to include more non-heterosexual people than the gay/lesbian/bisexual category alone, and more than would be included through a random sample of the heterosexual category (if some are covertly homosexual). For example, only 43% of the refused category expressed a positive or negative feeling about gay and lesbian people, compared with 59% of heterosexuals and 72% of openly gay, lesbian and bisexual people. This suggests that people who refused to state their sexuality may also be concerned not to express attitudes that shed light on their sexuality. This would mean that they may also be rather unwilling to say they had been targets of homophobia.

Age ranges

There is a very clear trend for younger people to report experiencing more prejudice of all types than older people do. There may be many reasons for this, including the possibility that older people are less likely to find themselves in situations in which they may be a target of prejudice. However, the general trend should ring some warning bells. If the youngest members of society feel that they are being discriminated against it is likely that they will protest in various ways. Within this trend it is also the case that ageism and sexism are the most commonly experienced forms of prejudice within all three age ranges.

Figure 10. Percentage of people under 31, 31-60 and over 70 who have personally suffered from prejudice or discrimination on the basis of each type of group membership
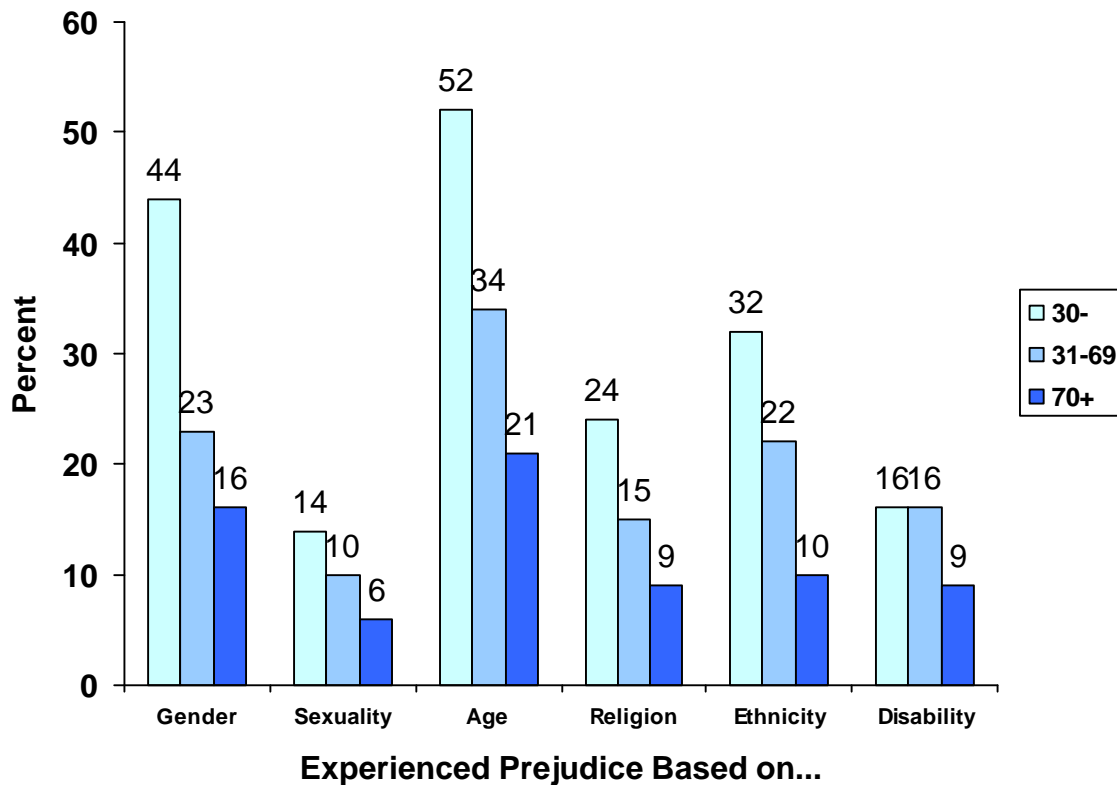
Religion

Among Muslims, discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and religion far outweigh other forms, and they also experience high levels of sexism and ageism. Christians report experiencing less prejudice than Muslims in terms of gender (31% versus 37%), sexuality (9% vs. 15%), ethnicity (19% vs. 56%), and religion (14% vs. 46%). Christians and Muslims do not differ much in terms of experiences of age or disability (both around 34% and 15%), but both experience less ageism than non religious people do (45%). Finally, Christians are also less likely to feel that they have experienced sexism than non-religious people (38%).

Figure11. Percentage of Christians, Muslims, other religions and no religion who personally suffered from prejudice or discrimination on the basis of each type of group membership
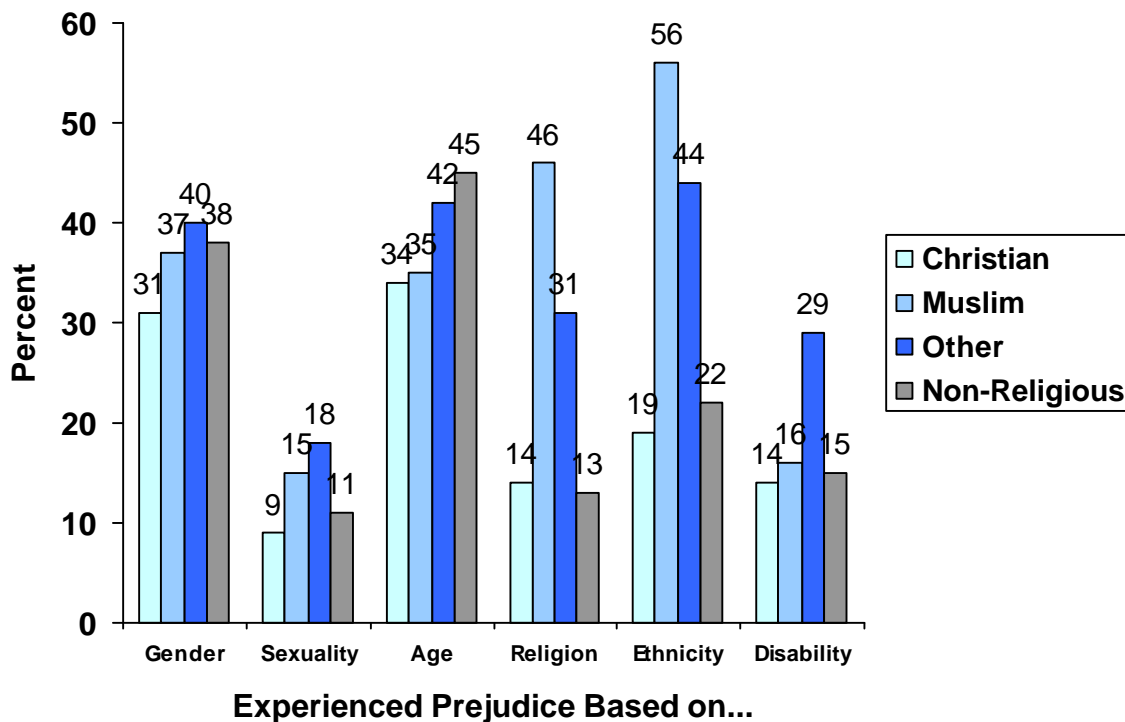
Ethnicity and race

Given the high degree of relatedness between whether a person is Asian and whether they are Muslim (correlation = .66), it is not surprising that the pattern of findings for ethnicity is similar to that for religion. However, there are some important differences too. In particular, Black respondents were predominantly Christian, like the White respondents. While White, Black and Asian respondents experience similar levels of discrimination on the basis of their age or disability, there are marked differences in each of the other strands. Black people experienced more sexism (46%) than Whites and Asians (both around 32%). White people experienced less prejudice against their sexuality (10%) than did Blacks and Asians (17%), and Whites experienced substantially less racism (18% versus 65%). Asians were more likely to suffer religious discrimination (39%) than Blacks (24%) or Whites (14%).

Figure 12. Percentage of 'white', 'black' and 'Asian' people who have suffered from prejudice or discrimination on the basis of each type of group membership
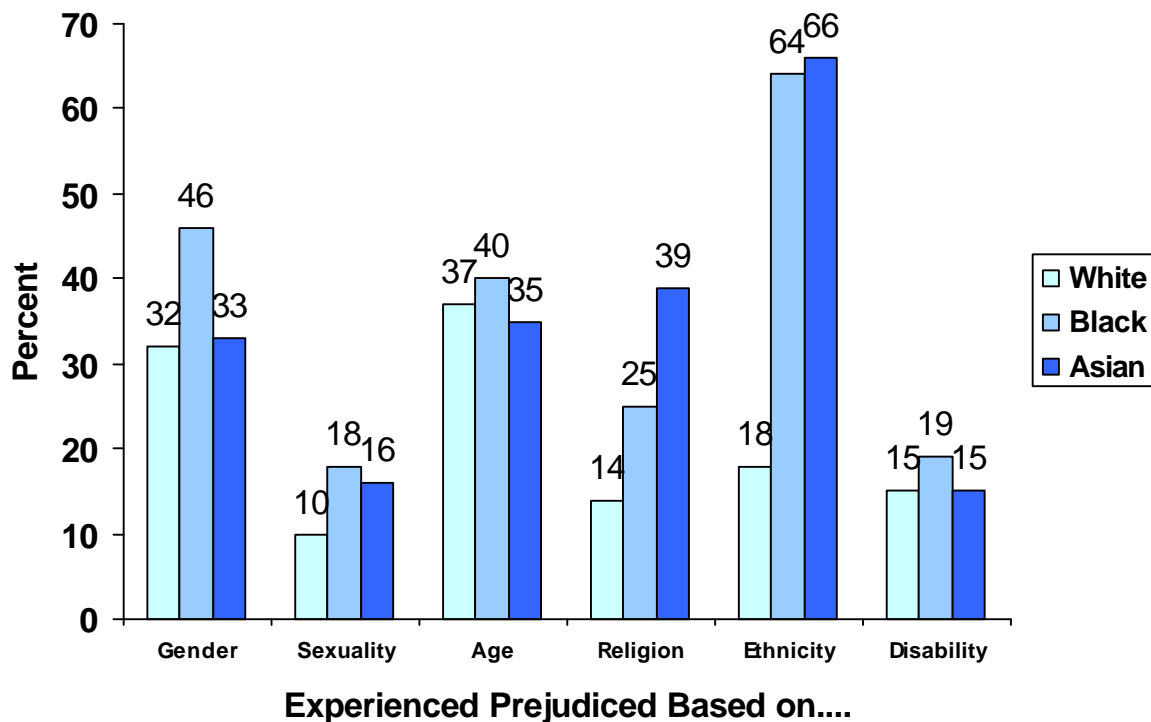
Disability

The contrast between disabled and non-disabled people is very clear. They tend to suffer similar levels of prejudice in terms of all strands except disability itself, where 30% of disabled people and only 11% of non-disabled people report experiencing prejudice based on disability.

Figure 13. Percentage of non-disabled and disabled people who have personally suffered from prejudice or discrimination on the basis of each type of group membership
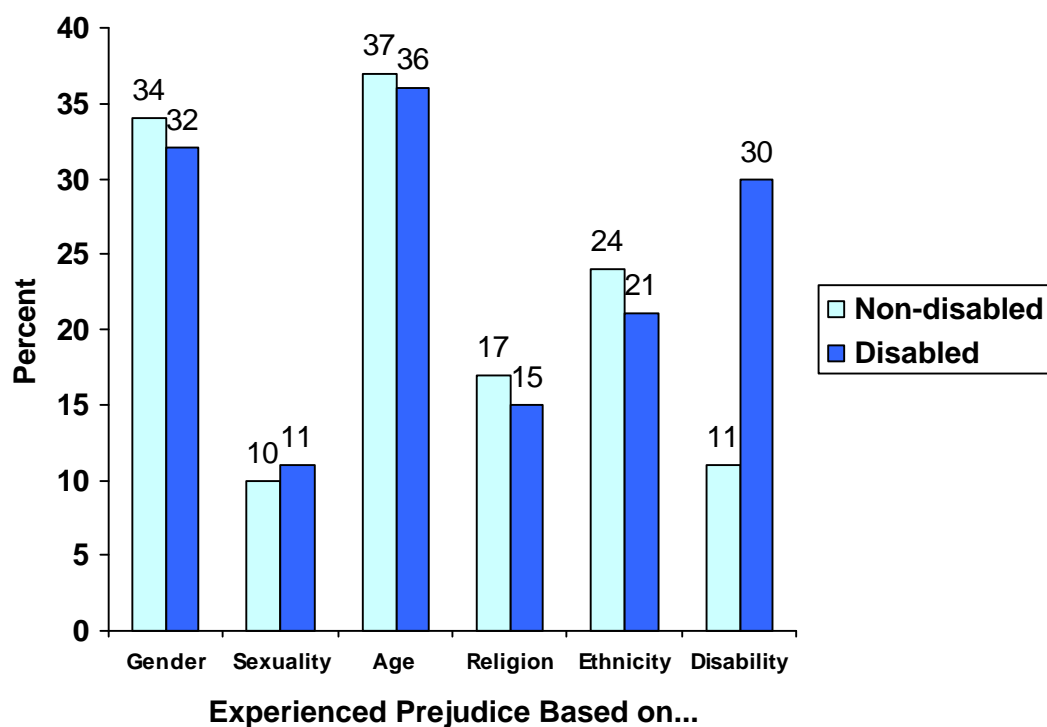
Summary and Conclusions

Expressing negative feelings overtly

The majority of people openly express negative views about certain groups, such as illegal immigrants, and asylum seekers. A substantial minority (around 1/5th) say they feel negatively towards gay men and lesbians and towards Muslims. In contrast almost nobody expressed any negative feelings towards men, women, older people or people with disabilities. Moreover, an overwhelming majority (over 70%) expressed positive feelings towards these groups.

This pattern of results shows that people do not feel inhibited from expressing negative feelings about some social groups. They also select these groups on a predictable basis. For example, hostility towards illegal immigrants is much greater than hostility towards legal immigrants. This shows that people are much more willing to be hostile if they think there is a 'legitimate' basis for their views.

If we were to take these results at face value, we might conclude that British society is free from ageism, sexism, prejudice against disabled people, and that the only serious levels of prejudice are against groups that present a different way of life from the majority or do not have a legal right to live in Britain.

Overt expressions of prejudice are important. They may provide clue to the extent to which groups may be physically victimised *because* of their group membership. For example racial antipathy may underpin racially motivated attacks, and indeed racist motivation is identified as a basis for legal action against the perpetrators of cross-race attacks. Similarly media reports of attacks on gay people are often described as being based on homophobia. In contrast, attacks on older people, disabled people and women are less likely to be attributed as an attack on the person's group membership. Rather they are seen as an assault an an individual who happens to be a member of that category.

Therefore, we think the measure of overt prejudice is informative in that it may reflect antipathies that are based in intergroup attitudes that people recognise as potentially conflictual. However, it is equally important to be aware that these attitudes represent only one element of prejudice and discrimination.

Experiences of prejudice and discrimination

A stark contrast with expressions of prejudice is provided by the findings on experiences of prejudice. The reality is that gender and age discrimination are reported by a very substantial proportion of the population, regardless of people's religion, ethnicity, sexuality or level of disability. On top of this, over half of the members of minority groups including the young, minority religious groups, and minority ethnic groups, say that they have personally experienced prejudice or discrimination because of their membership of that group. People with disabilities share all these burdens and 30% also experience discrimination because of their disability.

There has been discussion in previous reports (e.g. Stonewall, 2001) about the difficulties posed by membership of combined minority categories (e.g. being a black woman is qualitatively different from being just black and just a woman). We do not have sufficient sample size to test these ideas robustly. However, the social psychological literature suggests rather clearly that when people judge one another they tend to use simple, rather than complex, categories (e.g. Crisp, Ensari, Hewstone & Miller, 2003) . The evidence about experiences of discrimination among people with disabilities, and women tend to support this idea. It is also true that members of each minority category report more prejudice against themselves primarily on the basis of that particular membership (rather than other memberships) than do the relevant majority. In general then, the likelihood seems to be that experiences of discrimination are additive, and the more minority groups a person may belong to, the greater are their chances of being a target of prejudice.

The one major exception is the difference in the experiences of younger and older people. Younger people report experiencing more discrimination of all types. The reasons for this may be complex, but one plausible explanation is that younger people are more frequently in situations (including schools, colleges and among peers) and occupying a role or status (e.g. as a junior member of an organisation) in which they may be a target of prejudice. Perhaps suspiciousness or fear about young people is increased further if the person is also a member of another minority group.

Another aspect of these findings that deserves comment is that experiences of prejudice are by no means restricted to minorities. For example, over one in four men, one in five white people, one in eight Christians, one in ten heterosexuals, and one in ten non-disabled people said they experienced prejudice against themselves as members of those groups.

One interpretation of this finding is that some majority members may judge as unfair equality policies that provide support to minority groups at expense of the majority. Another interpretation is that majority members are reporting criticism they feel has been directed towards them without justification by members of minority groups. Either interpretation would imply the presence of intergroup conflict – the perception that the majority and minority group have incompatible interests.

Conclusion

These findings demonstrate substantial and dramatic differences in people's expressions of overtly negative feelings toward different groups, and in their experiences of prejudice against them as a result of membership of different groups. There are also very contrasting patterns in these two measures. This shows that tackling prejudice comprehensively requires attention both to social attitudes about and toward different groups, and to prejudice and discrimination that people say they experience against them.

Reducing discrimination will therefore involve tackling different prejudices as different levels of analysis. Reducing individual instances of hostility to groups such as Muslims is important, but it is equally important to recognise that large numbers of people experience prejudice even when hostility from another individual may not be involved. People may feel discriminated against because of structural or institutional factors that debar them from access to equal opportunities, not just prejudicial attitudes by other individuals. Therefore, to understand prejudice and discrimination we need to be sensitive not just to the amount and negativity of prejudice but also the context in which it arises. Part of that context is provided by the shared cultural values, stereotypes and media imagery that affect judgements of particular groups.

Subsequent chapters explore in greater detail what values, opinions and beliefs might underpin differences in prejudice about different groups. We begin by examining the profile of values that people hold in Britain, and the extent to which people believe that the rights of different groups should be accorded equal importance.

Chapter 5

The Conditions for Prejudice

Social science has often assumed that the media play a significant role in setting both the agenda and the evaluative framework for people's understanding of which social issues are relevant and why (Taylor & Fiske, 1978, see also McClaren & Johnson, 2004 for an argument that attitudes to immigrants are framed by media coverage). To the extent that people think newspapers and television reflect popular views, people may use media messages as a frame of reference for *forming* their beliefs, especially if these concern unfamiliar groups.

We examined three elements of the conditions that may generate problematic relationships between social groups. We asked how positively or negatively the media portray different groups, the extent to which each group is currently suffering from prejudice or discrimination, and the extent to which each group is accepted as British by the majority. Each of these questions provides some insight into how much members of these groups are included when people think of Britain as a whole. The answers also give insight into whether people think some groups may be more eligible for 'equal' treatment than others. People's impressions of whether different groups are included or excluded into the majority culture tell us about the social constraints on positive engagement between majority and minority members. For example, people may be unlikely to resist what they think is the majority viewpoint about whether a particular group is accepted as part of British society.

A further examination of these constraints is to explore the extent to which people regard political correctness to be a factor that inhibits their personal willingness to express prejudice. When taken together with perceptions of social norms, the answers to these questions can inform us about the ways that personal views and societal conventions each affect the expression or inhibition of prejudice against different groups.

A Culture of Prejudice?

Respondents were asked 'Thinking back over the last year, how much do you think the images and stories about these groups in TV and newspapers has been negative or positive?'. They answered on a scale from 'almost all positive' to 'almost all negative'. Figure 14 shows that nearly half of respondents thought images of Muslims were mostly or nearly all negative. Over a quarter also thought images of gay men and lesbians and of black people were predominantly negative. None of these perceptions was statistically related to respondents' own group membership, indicating that it is highly unlikely that answers reflected self-interest or biases

Figure 14. Percentage of people who think media coverage of each group has been negative or almost all negative in the last year.
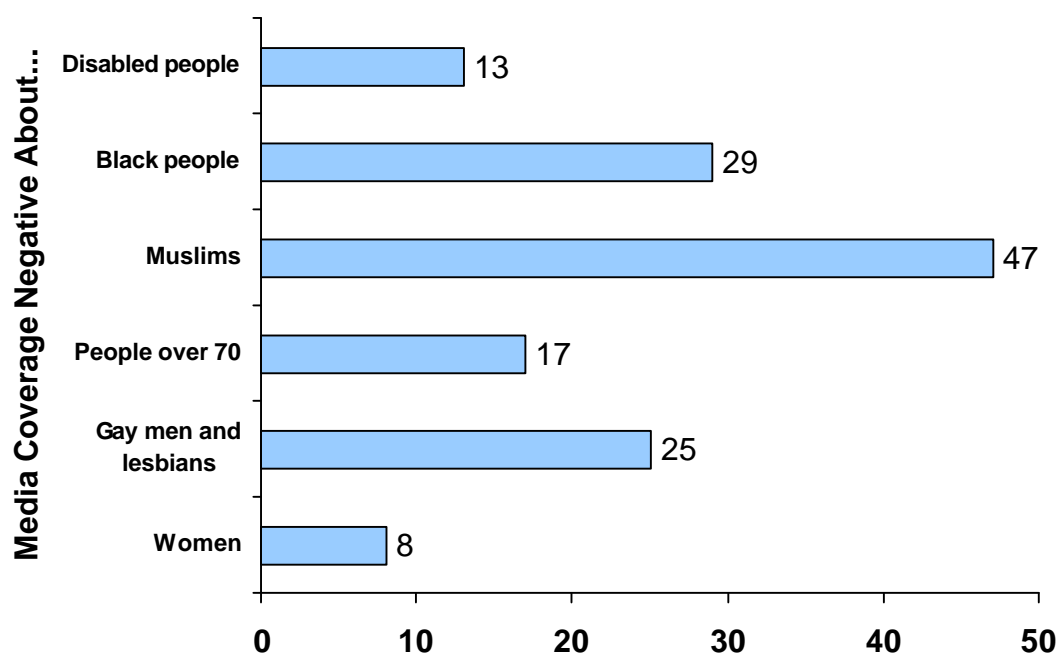
Ethnicity and Britishness.

Respondents were asked to what extent they believed various ethnic and, in a separate question, religious groups living in Britain are accepted as British by the majority.

People may base their expectations about inclusion of ethnic groups on a simple criterion, such as skin colour, or language, or culture. However, as Figure 15 shows, the pattern is more subtle, and it is not the case that just one of these criteria dominates the others.

Over 40% of respondents viewed Americans and Western Europeans are mostly or completely accepted, presumably on the basis of being both white and native English speaking. However, being white does not appear to be a sufficient criterion. Fewer people thought Eastern Europeans (examples given were Russian and Romanian) are accepted as British than are people with an Oriental background (examples were Chinese, Japanese). Only around a quarter of respondents believed that Asians, West Indians and Africans are well accepted, but the fewest number of people (14%) thought Arabs would be accepted (the examples were Iraqi and Saudi Arabian).

Figure 15. Percentage who believe members of different ethnic or racial groups living in Britain are mostly or completely accepted as British by the majority of people in Britain.
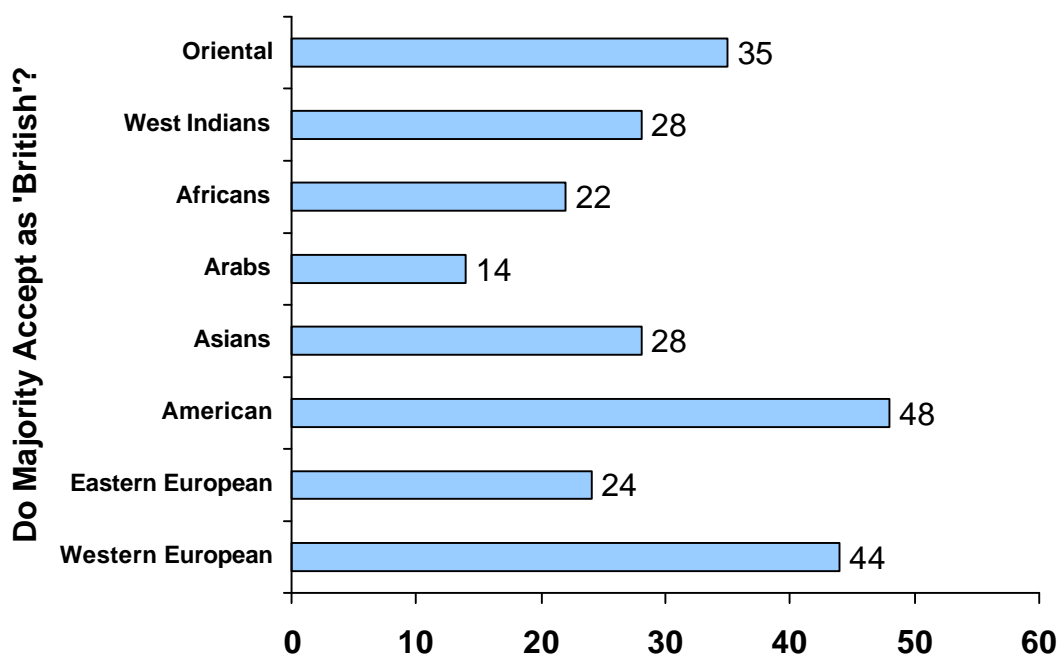
Religion and Britishness.

When the same question is posed about religious groups there is a clearer divide in views of groups that are Judao-Christian or non-religious versus others. Whereas 84% of respondents thought that the majority of British people accept Christians as British, and over 50% thought Jews and non-religious people are accepted as British, fewer than one third thought Hindus and Muslims as accepted as British.

Figure 16. Percentage who believe followers of different religions in Britain are mostly or completely accepted as British by the majority of people in Britain.
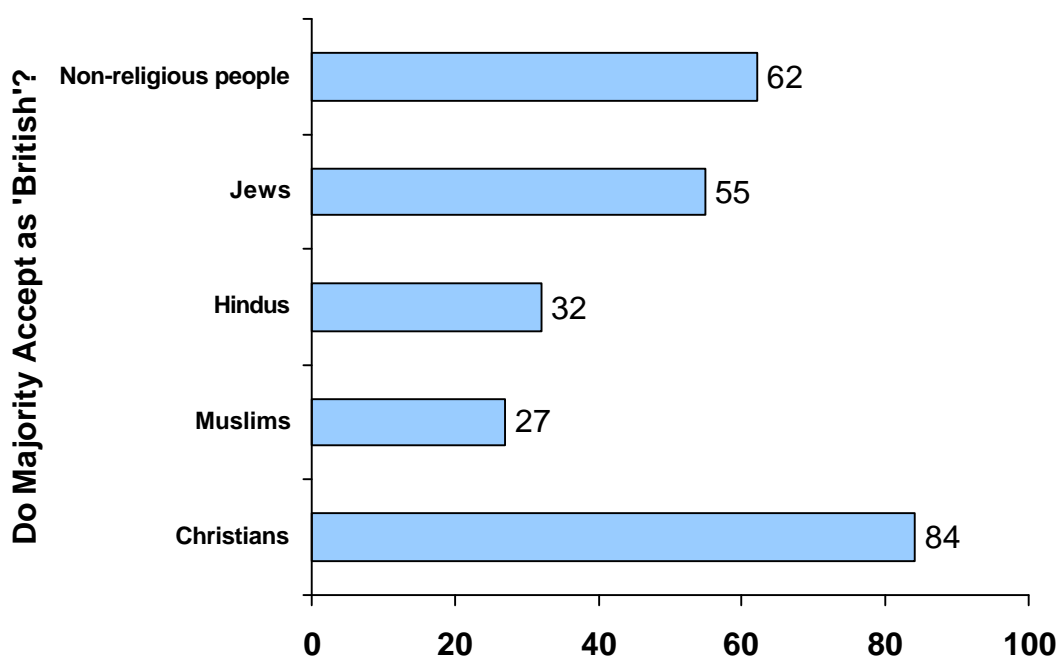
Political Correctness.

At a general level, there are clear social norms against expressing prejudice. For example, in previous BSA suveys over the last 20 years a clear majority (between 65 and 75%) said they were not at all racially prejudiced.

In fact, social psychological research shows that people's internal, or personal concern about *being* prejudiced is generally fairly distinct from their external, or social, concern about being *perceived* as prejudiced (Monteith et al, 1998, Plant & Devine, 1998).[6]

In the present research, sixty eight percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that with the personal motivation that, 'I try to behave in non-prejudiced ways because it is important to me'. Moreover, 41% agreed with the more social motivation that, 'I act in non-prejudiced ways to avoid disapproval from others'.

In line with previous research, these two motivations were only weakly related to each other (correlation = .13). This means that it is possible to further divide respondents into categories based on their answers to these questions. As shown in Table 2, among those who are personally motivated to be unprejudiced, half (34% of the sample) are also concerned not to appear prejudiced. Of the remaining 32%, who feel no compunction about *being* prejudiced, three quarters (25% of the sample) do not care whether others are aware of their views.

Table 2: Political correctness: Percentage with personal and social motivations to be unprejudiced

		Social Motivation to be Unprejudiced	
		Low	High
Personal Motivation to be Unprejudiced	Low	25	7
	High	34	34

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[6] Plant and Devine (1998) label these constructs 'internal' and 'external' control over prejudice. We used two key items that to measure these constructs. These were selected on the basis of factor analyses of pilot study data involving over 400 British participants. The items are the most central (highest loading) items on the internal and external factors, from those in the devised by Plant and Devine (1998).

Therefore, in line with social psychological research, it appears that personal and social motivations are both independently important processes and that minimizing societal levels of prejudice may involve strategies that address both elements.

Do groups differ in their levels of personal and social motivation to control prejudice?

Psychology and sociology have often pitted different explanations for prejudice against one another. On the one hand prejudice might be to do with individuals' personality. Some people may be bigoted or xenophobic, others may be tolerant and open-minded. However, there are also many social structural reasons why some groups and individuals are less motivated to be unprejudiced. If groups perceive a strong conflict with other groups in society, or that they have been unjustly treated by those groups, they will be likely to express negative attitudes to those groups and behave in ways that favour their own groups. In addition, some categories of people are consensually regarded as reprehensible (e.g. criminals, addicts), and as 'legitimate' targets for criticism. Finally, people are largely motivated to evaluate any group to which they belong more highly than an outgroup that it is compared with. This positive sentiment towards ingroups does not always imply that people derogate outgroups, but it does mean that they are likely to give preference to their own groups when it comes to expressions of support.

Personal motivation. The level of personal motivation to be unprejudiced did not differ greatly between different groups. Over 65% of men, women, and people of different ages, levels of disability, ethnic backgrounds or religious orientation said they were motivated to be unprejudiced. Fewer of the people we classified as non-heterosexual said they were motivated 54% to be unprejudiced[7].

For social motivation, that is the desire not to *appear* prejudiced, a slightly different pattern arises. Around 40% of all groups say they want to avoid appearing prejudiced. However, this figure is notably higher among either Muslims (56%) or Asians (52%). This appears to be a factor related primarily to religion rather than ethnicity because Blacks do not show the same trend (42%). Thus, it seems that Muslims share the personal motivation to avoid being prejudiced, but are also more concerned than others not to be seen as being prejudiced.

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[7] This should be interpreted with caution. Sixty six percent of those who were openly gay, lesbian or bisexual said they were motivated not to be prejudiced, but only 50% of those who refused to state their sexuality said they were motivated not to be prejudiced.

Willingness to express prejudice against particular groups.

We also asked about expressing prejudice specifically against each of the groups most relevant to the survey. We asked whether respondents never felt, sometimes felt but were unwilling to show, or did not mind coming across as prejudiced against these groups. The question therefore indicates whether the respondent claims to be high in personal control over prejudice (regardless of social control), low in personal control but high in social control, or low in both forms.

These questions were presented only within the relevant subsets of the surveys (e.g. Respondents to Version A were only asked about willingness to express prejudice towards women and towards gay men and lesbians), resulting in a lower sample size.

Figure 17 shows that, in line with the explicit measure of how people feel toward each group described in Chapter 4, very substantial majorities say they never feel any prejudice towards disabled people and people over 70. Just over a fifth of respondents harbour feelings of prejudice against women and a quarter against Black people. Just over one third say they either feel or would express prejudice against Muslims, and one third say they feel or would express prejudice against gay men and lesbians.

Figure 17. Percentage who claim no prejudice, who feel but do not express prejudice, or who are willing to express prejudice against each group
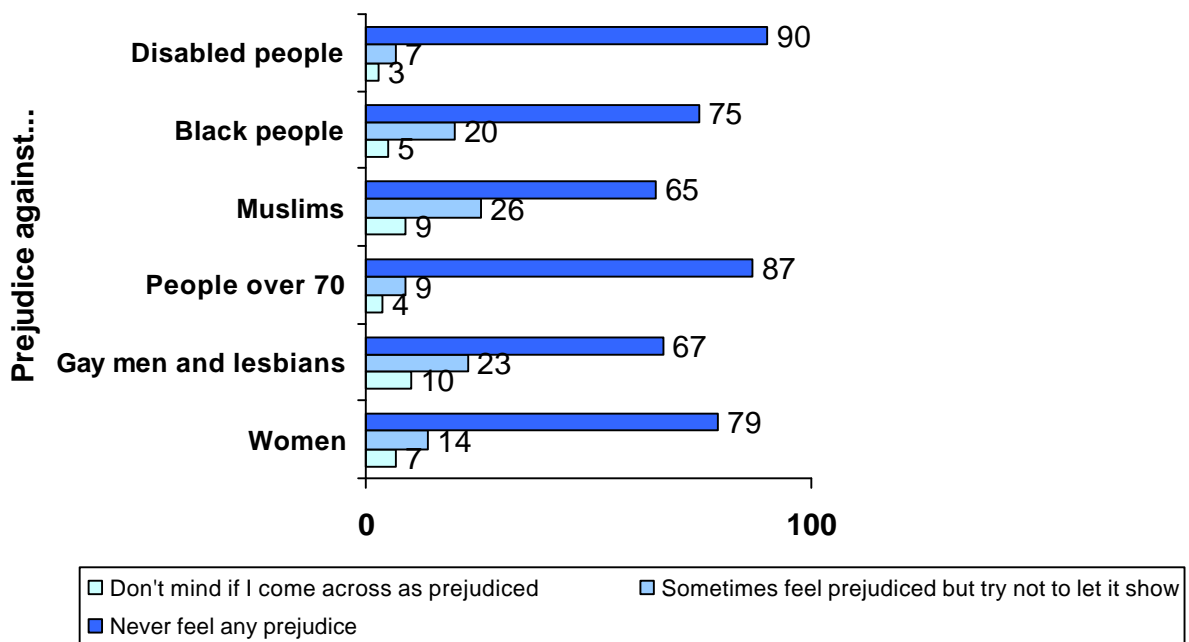
Do members of different social categories differ in whether they admit to feeling prejudiced? If we find that members of different groups are selective about which other groups they feel prejudiced against, this would imply that the reasons lie in the *relationships* between groups rather than the personalities of the members.

To preserve sufficient numbers for reliable comparisons we aggregated across Black and Asian, and across non-Christian religious respondents, to ensure there are more than 100 respondents. This has only been done where the aggregated categories also show similar patterns of response. The figures below describe the percentages that said either they did not mind coming across as prejudice or that they sometimes feel prejudice but try not to let it show.

Prejudice against women[8]. White respondents were less prejudiced (19%) than Black or Asian respondents (33%). Christian respondents were less prejudiced (16%) than non-Christian respondents (26%).

Prejudice against gay men and lesbians. Men (41%) were more prejudiced than women (33%), the over 70s were more prejudiced (41%) than the under 70's (32%). White respondents were less prejudiced (31%) than Black and Asian (60%) respondents. Prejudice was also lower among Christian and non-religious people (30%) than among other religions (59%).

Prejudice against people over 70. Prejudice against older people was generally lower than 15%, but was higher among the under 30s (19%) than other age groups (10%). It was also lower among Christian respondents (9%) than others (19%).

Prejudice against Muslims. Responses were similar across gender, sexuality and age groups. However, Whites were more prejudiced (37%) than Blacks and Asians (21%).

Prejudice against black people. Prejudice was higher among Whites (27%) than among Blacks and Asians (9%). It was also higher among Christians and non-religious people (26%) than among Muslims and other religions (20%). Disabled people were

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[8] For this analysis there were not sufficient numbers of gay, lesbian and bisexual people to make reliable comparisons with heterosexuals. However, inspection of the proportions that said they felt no prejudice against women and against lesbian women and gay men showed they were within 4% of the proportions among heterosexuals. We chose not to aggregate with respondents that had refused to indicate their sexuality (at the end of the interview) because a lower proportion of these (51% said they never felt any prejudice against lesbian women and gay men.

more prejudiced against Blacks (34%) than non-disabled people (23%).

Prejudice against disabled people.   There were no group differences in prejudice against disabled people.

In summary, it appears that prejudices do correspond to intergroup differences of interest or perspective. Younger people are more prejudiced against older people, but not against women, homosexual people, Muslims or black people. Men are more prejudiced than women against homosexuals, but men and women do not differ in their ethnic prejudice. Whites are more prejudiced than other ethnicities against Muslims and black people, but they are less prejudiced against women. These findings suggest that prejudice is, to some extent, rooted in particular aspects of intergroup relationships rather than being a trait of particular individuals or of particular groups of people.

Summary and Conclusions

Nearly half of respondents thought Muslims were portrayed in a predominantly negative way by the media. A quarter of respondents also thought that black people and gay men and lesbians were portrayed mainly in a negative way. This pattern maps onto the pattern of personal attitudes, for example that these are also the groups who deserve less priority in terms of their needs and equal opportunities (see Chapter 3).

We also found that acceptance as British seems to hinge on being White, a native English speaker and either Judao-Christian or non-religious. Well under half of respondents thought any group outside these categories was accepted as British by the majority. Illustrating the cultural and ethnic fault lines most clearly is the fact that Arabs are the ethnic/racial group, and Muslims are the religious group least likely to be accepted as British.

The direct measures of feelings toward each group, reported in Chapter 4, suggested that concerns with political correctness may apply more strongly in the case of some groups than others. When we asked about expressing prejudice it emerged that a third of the population do not feel motivated to avoid being prejudiced, and three quarters of these are not worried about being seen to be prejudiced. This resonates with our earlier suggestion that there are certain groups against which people feel that 'prejudice' is justifiable.

When looked at on a group by group basis, black people, Asians, and religious non-Christians, and non-religious people were most likely to say they felt prejudiced against women, and also against gay men and lesbians (who were also disliked more by older people). The under 30's and non-Christians were most likely to admit to prejudice against the over 70's. White people and disabled people were most likely to report feeling prejudiced against Muslims, and Black people.

Conclusions

These findings underline that prejudiced attitudes are not characteristic only of some groups in society. Members of all the minority groups represented by the six equality strands admitted to holding prejudices against other groups. This illustrates that prejudice arises in the context of intergroup relationships, i.e. the tensions between particular pairs of groups, and is not best understood as resulting from a pathological attitude structure or personality problem for particular individuals. The fact that the same individual can hold very positive and non-prejudicial attitudes about one minority group, but negative or prejudicial attitudes towards another means that a substantial component of these prejudices are founded on beliefs, attitudes and feelings that should be open to change. Chapter 6 examines the perceptions of the social stereotypes about each group to see what might provide the basis of different prejudices.

Chapter 6

Social Stereotypes that Underpin Prejudice

A stereotype is a shared image of a social category or group that is applied and generalised to members of the group as a whole regardless of their individual qualities. It may or may not be accurate. An important part of this research used the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, et al., 2002) to examine the central elements of stereotypes about each of the minority groups.

The Stereotype Content Model

The stereotype content model distinguishes among qualitatively different types of prejudice based on the relative status and perceived cooperative/competitive interdependence between the relevant groups. The model has received support from numerous national and international studies involving a very large number of different groups. Stereotypes of groups can be distinguished on two key dimensions, warmth and competence. This results in four combinations (warm and competent, warm and incompetent, cold and competent, cold and incompetent). Each of the patterns is typically associated with different emotions.

Groups that are stereotyped as cold and incompetent are usually those that are derogated and they attract emotions such as contempt. Examples in American research include poor minority ethnic group members such as Latinos, examples in Europe include Gypsies. Groups whose disadvantage is viewed as avoidable or self-inflicted also invite contempt and sometimes anger.

Groups that are stereotyped as cold but competent are usually rich, professionals. These often include subgroups of minority members who have succeeded (e.g. Jews, Asians, gay people). Although viewed as worthy of respect, these groups are still disliked. Their success may be viewed as unjustified, and these groups they may be envied.

Groups stereotyped as warm and incompetent are usually those that are seen as harmless and as having disadvantages that are not their own fault. They invite paternalistic emotions such as pity. Although they may be admired, these groups, usually the elderly, disabled, tend to be lower status.

Finally, groups stereotyped as warm and competent are usually ingroups, and often members of the cultural majority (Cuddy, Fiske, Kwan et al, in press). They usually attract emotions such as admiration.

These different combinations of stereotypes have implications for prejudice and discrimination. Warmth attracts help and protection, whereas competence attracts cooperation and inclusion. Therefore groups stereotyped as warm and competent attract help and cooperation whereas those stereotyped as cold and incompetent are potential targets of harm and exclusion. Groups that are competent but cold may be cooperated with for reasons of expedience, but will not be defended or liked. Conversely, groups seen as incompetent but warm, may be helped, but not actively included in mainstream society.

Many groups, therefore are targets of both positive and negative imagery, and the nature of that imagery tells us something about the forms of discrimination the groups may endure.

We asked respondents about 3 groups. All respondents were asked four questions about white middle class men. This provided a reference category for questions about two other groups, about which we asked the same 4 questions and a series of others. Depending on which subset of the survey they answered, the other groups were either women and then lesbians and gay men, or people over 70 and Muslims, or Black people and Disabled people.

Respondents were asked how each group is viewed by people in general, using a scale from 1 (extremely likely to be viewed that way) to 5 (not at all viewed that way).

Warmth and Competence

Figure 18 shows how each group was rated, on average, in terms of its competence and warmth. These terms are a little technical so, after consultation with Fiske and Cuddy, we used the more familiar, and statistically highly related terms 'capable' and 'friendly', respectively. In the figure, groups located to the right are viewed as stereotypically more capable (competent), and groups located more to the top are viewed as stereotypically more friendly (warm). It is not so much the absolute positions of these groups that matters, but more the relative position, and in particular the comparison against the position accorded to white middle class men.

Figure 18. Perceived stereotypical warmth (friendliness) and competence (capability) of different social groups.
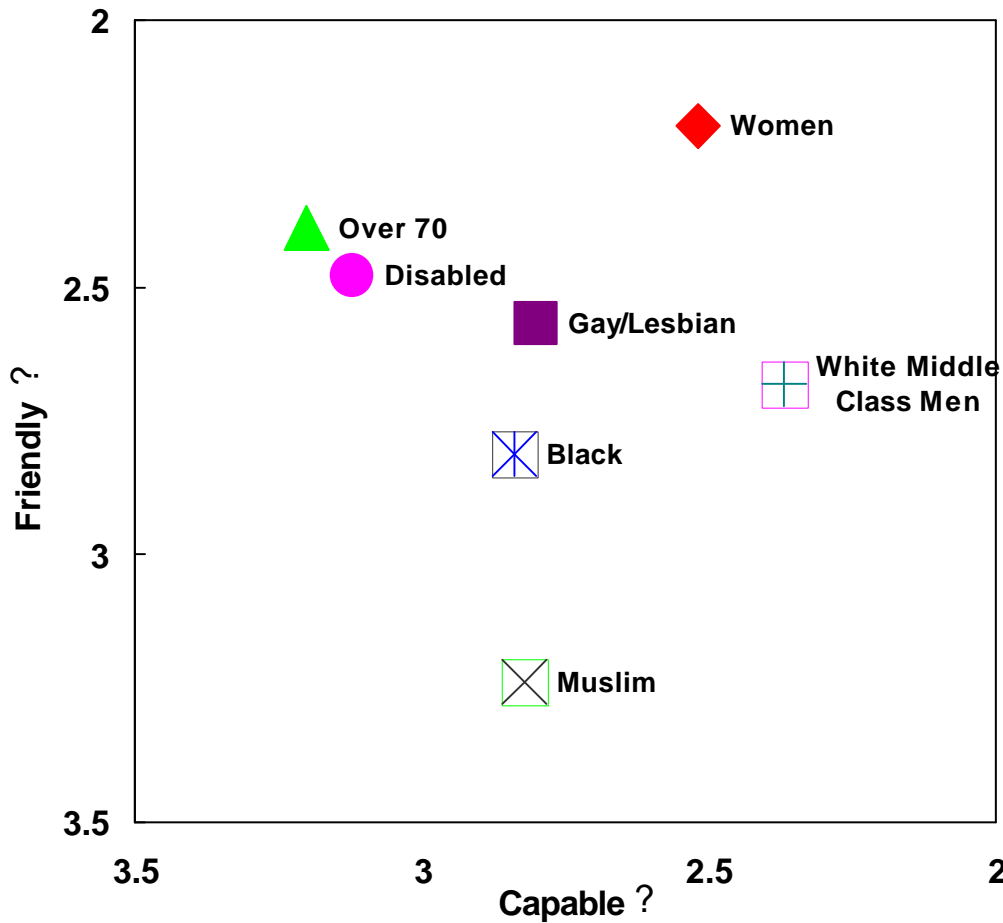
Figure 18 shows clearly that the groups stereotyped as least capable are people over 70 and disabled people. Thos stereotyped as most capable are white middle class men, and women. Those stereotyped as friendliest (warmth) are women, people over 70 and disabled people. Those stereotyped as unfriendliest are Muslims.

Competition and Status

It is instructive to map these images on to the extent to which each group is seen as economically successful, and as competing for resources. The latter concept was measured by asking to what extent the group is seen as receiving special treatment from

employers or government, which makes things more difficult for others in Britain.

Figure 19. Perceived stereotypical competitiveness and economic status of different social groups
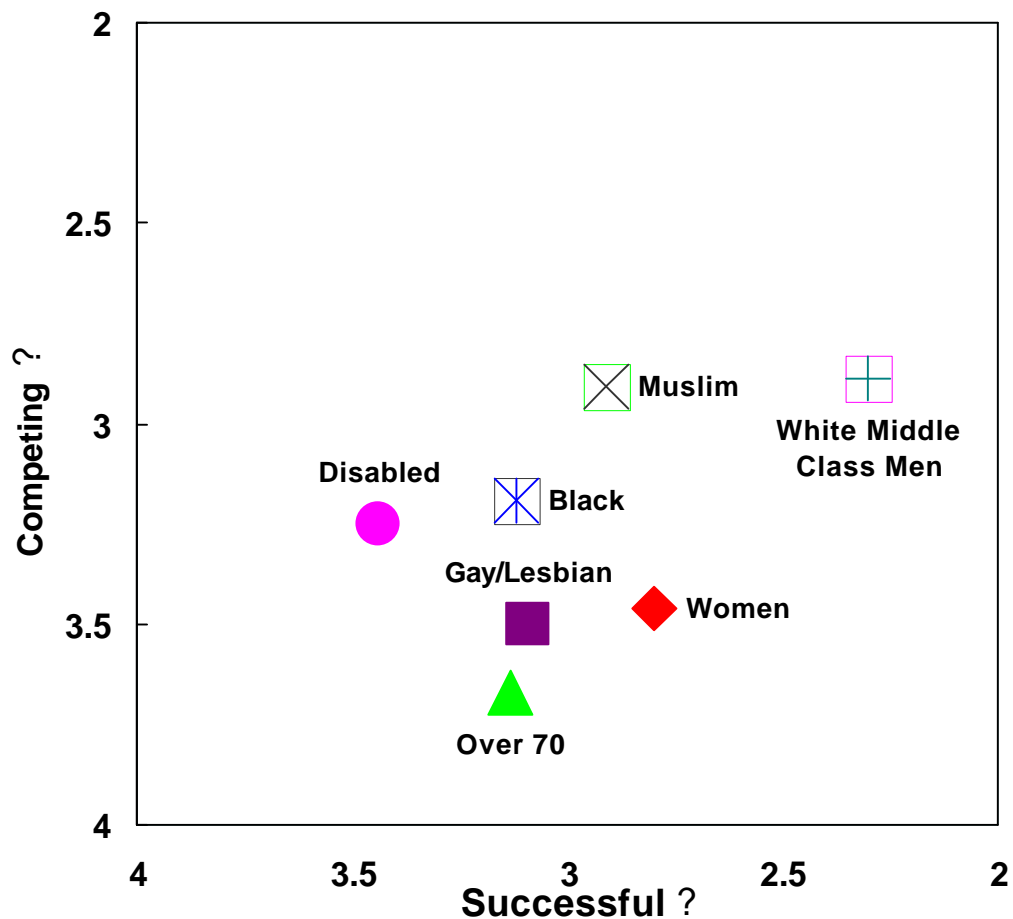
Figure 19 shows that the groups most likely to be viewed as successful are white middle class men, then women and Muslims. Those least likely to be viewed as successful are disabled people. Those most likely to be viewed as gaining special treatment are white middle class men and Muslims. Those least likely to be advantaged by such treatment are people over 79, women and gay and lesbian people.

Emotions About Different Groups

What then, are the emotions that correspond to these stereotypes and perceptions of status? The figure below shows to what extent each group is viewed with admiration, pity, envy anger and fear.

Figure 20. Percentage that believe each group attracts each kind of emotion (very much or extremely)
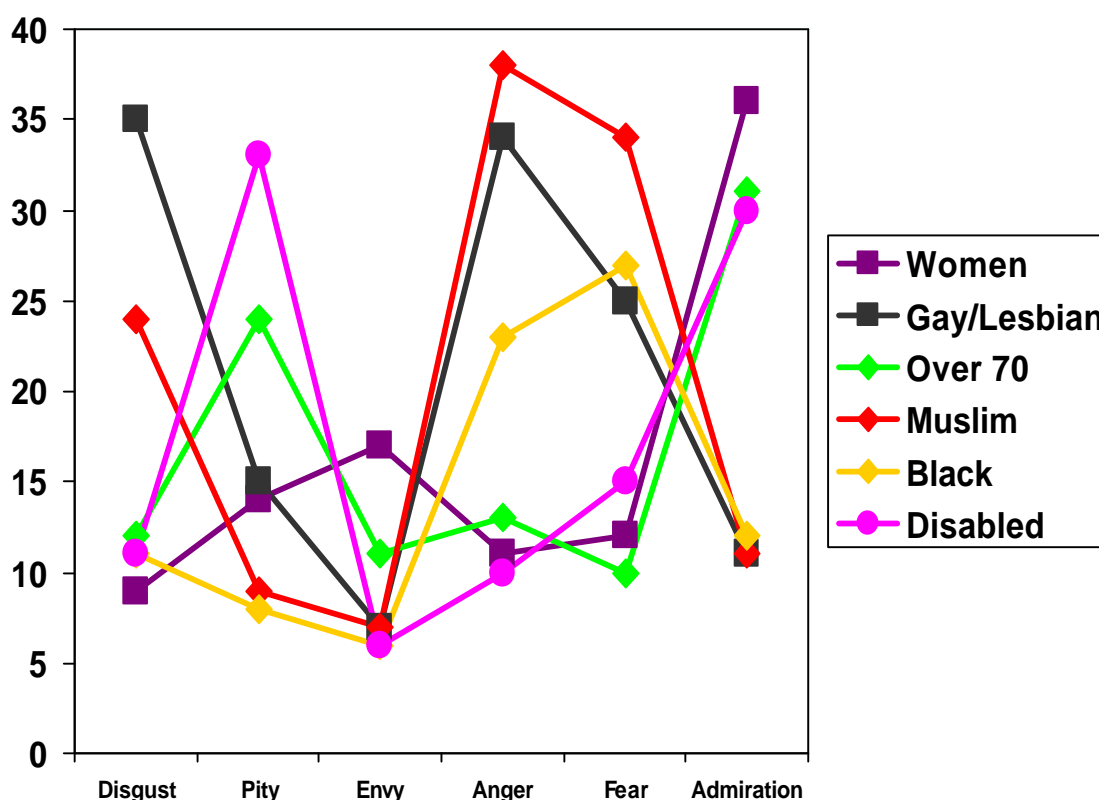
Figure 20 shows very substantial differences for each group. Women are highly likely to be viewed with admiration, but no other emotions. Gay and Lesbian people are likely to be viewed with disgust and anger, as well as some fear, but with very little pity, admiration or envy. People over 70 and disabled people share a mixture of being pitied and admired. Muslims, and to a lesser extent Black people are likely to be viewed with anger and fear. Along with with gay men and lesbians, Muslim and Black people are least likely to be admired.

The results from these measures show that each group has a distinctive profile in terms of the images and the feelings that are likely to be directed towards them. Therefore, the content and form of prejudice against each group is likely to differ.

Summary and Conclusions

We observed that all groups were judged to be stereotypically less competent that white middle class men, but women were judged to be stereotypically warmer than men and more competent than the remaining groups. Consistent with the model, women were judged to be perceived as quite successful, but not as competing for resources. People think women are viewed with admiration rather than envy.

The groups rated as being stereotyped as high warmth but low competence groups were older and disabled people. Older people were also judged least likely to be perceived as getting special favours, and disabled people least likely to be successful. These two groups also were viewed as more pitied than any others.

None of the low warmth groups, aside from white middle class men, was judged to be stereotypically competent. Consistent with the stereotype content model, white middle class men were also judged to be viewed as highly successful.

The two groups rated stereotypically lowest on warmth were Black people, and more distinctively, Muslims. Muslims are judged to be moderately successful but to be competing with the majority for resources. People think Muslims attract higher levels of anger and fear than other groups, and quite a high level of disgust, but low levels of envy, pity or admiration than other groups.

A puzzling anomaly is gay men and lesbians. This group was judged to be intermediate in terms of stereotypical warmth, competence and success, and to be non-competitive. Nonetheless, the group was seen as invoking substantial levels of disgust and anger as well as a degree of fear.

Conclusion

The picture to emerge from these stereotypical images substantiates the findings reported previously. Different groups are likely to be subject to prejudices based on different types of presumptions.

Women are admired, but are not taken as seriously as men in terms of the capacity or potential to compete.

More extreme forms of paternalistic or more precisely patronising prejudice are associated with older people and disabled people, both of which are pitied at the same time as being admired.

Black people are viewed less extremely than some other groups, but are still more likely to be viewed with fear and anger than envy or admiration.

Muslims, and gay and lesbian people are more likely to be disliked and feared than others, perhaps a reflection of the idea that they adopt a lifestyle that seems more different from the mainstream of society.

These findings show that tackling prejudice against different groups will require tackling different elements of stereotypes and different types of emotions about those groups. If groups are perceived as posing a particular threat to the rest of society, the fearful, and perhaps angry emotions may well fuel discriminatory or even violent acts against those groups. These emotions cannot be eliminated simply by telling people not to be prejudiced. Instead, the stereotypes and perceptions that underpin the emotions will need to be challenged directly. Because these stereotypes and perceptions are different in relation to different minorities, they will have differing implications for intervention and different implications for monitoring and anticipating future discrimination.

Given the differences in the content of stereotypes that may underpin prejudice it becomes relevant to ask about the way people see the *relationship* between different groups in society. Chapter 7 explores people's willingness to be in a relationship with an individual member of each type of group, and also the extent to which the group as a whole is viewed as being a threat, and as sharing a common identity, with other groups in society.

Chapter 7

Together or Apart?

In this chapter we examine to what extent people view different groups as part of the same society, the extent to which they are comfortable with social relationships between groups and whether they have contact.

Social Distance

In common with many previous surveys, we examined 'social distance' – the extent to which people would be comfortable with various degrees of closeness of relationship with members of different groups. People were asked to what extent they would feel comfortable if a member of the relevant group (depending on survey version) was their boss, moved in next door to them, or married (or formed a civil partnership – see appendix for details) with a close relative.

Figure 21: Percent who say they would feel comfortable or very comfortable if a member of the relevant minority was close to them as an in-law, boss or neighbour.
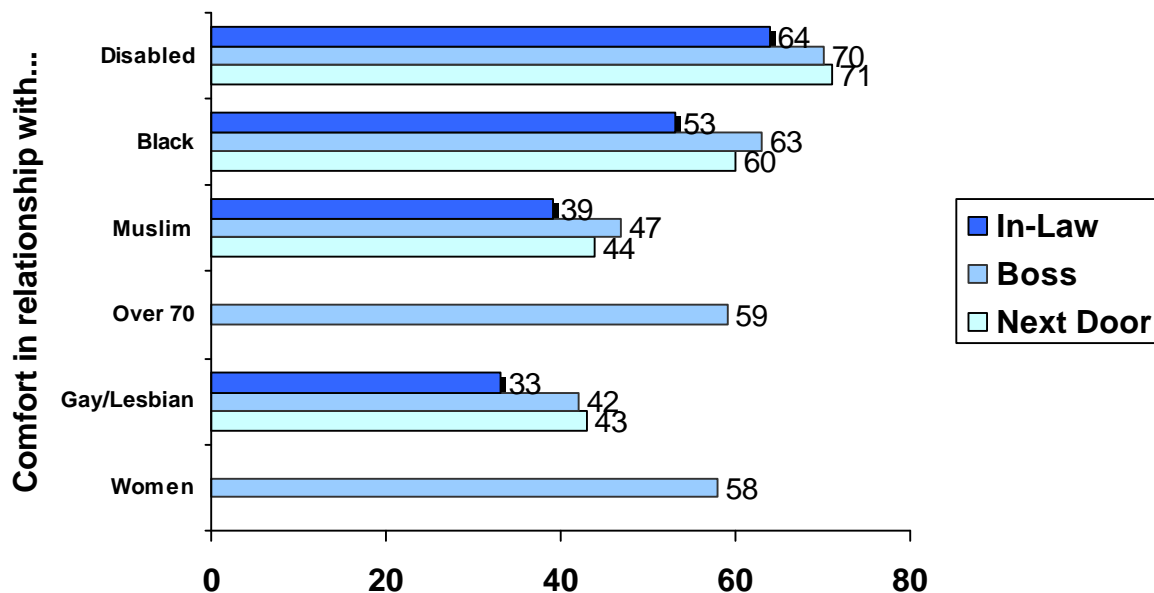
The figure illustrates a fairly consistent pattern for all groups. As would be expected, people are more comfortable with the idea of a person being their boss than their neighbour or in-law, respectively. People are also more comfortable with a disabled person being in any of these relationships with them than they are with members of other categories. Only a minority of people are comfortable with Muslims and gay and lesbian people, particularly as a relative. It is also worth noting that, compared with having a disabled person as a boss (70% comfortable), only just under 60% are comfortable with a woman or person over 70 as their boss. This illustrates that there are prejudicial attitudes towards these groups too.

Threat

We asked respondents about the way different minority groups were affecting other people in Britain. These questions were answered using 5 point scales, but it us useful to describe the answers in terms of the percentage who think the group creates a net loss or threat.

We asked about economic threat by asking "On balance, do you think that [group] take out more from the economy than they put in/put in more than they take out?" . We asked about physical threat by asking "how do you think the current situation for [group] in this country affects things like the safety, security or health of other people in Britain?" We asked about cultural threat by asking "how do you think [group] are affecting the customs, traditions or general way of life of other people in Britain?".

Figure 22. Percent who perceived 'threats' of different types from different minority groups within Britain.
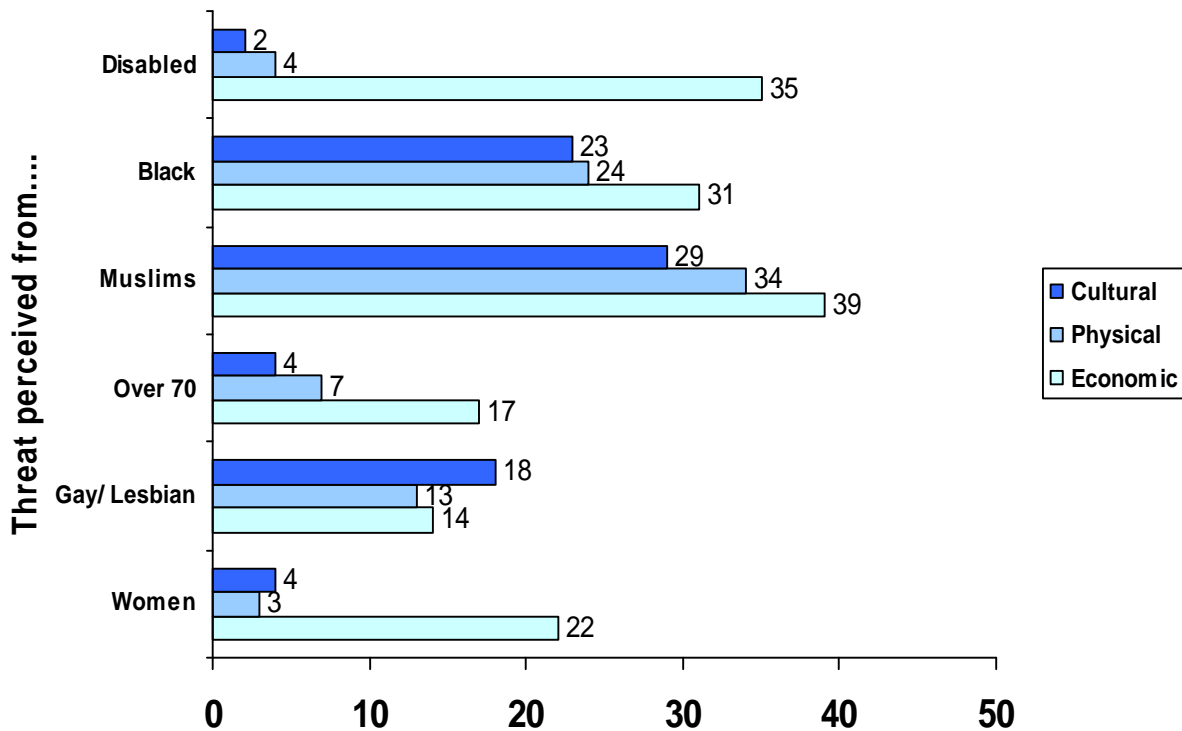
The results from these questions are very striking. More people felt most groups (apart from gay men and lesbians) place economic demands rather than posing other threats. However, whereas fewer than 8% of people regarded women, disabled people and people over 70 as posing either cultural or physical threats, nearly a third believed Muslims posed these threats, a quarter believed Black people pose these threats and nearly a fifth believed that gay men and lesbians posed a cultural threat.

These findings suggest further reasons why the basis and content of prejudice against different groups is likely to take different forms. They also provide further clues about the basis of the stereotype content described in the previous chapter.   Groups that are economically dependent but not a physical or cultural threat (e.g. Disabled people, older people) may invite contempt, pity and some resentment. People may feel that these groups do not deserve more help or that they should willingly accept their low status and be grateful. They are likely to suffer from paternalistic, or so-called 'benevolent' forms of prejudice.

Those groups that pose a degree of cultural threat but are not economically dependent (e.g. gay men and lesbians) may invite disgust and envy, but not, perhaps, anger.

Groups that pose both an economic and a cultural and physical threat (e.g. Muslims and Black people), seem likely to be regarded with contempt, anger, resentment and fear – a combination that seems likely to result in more overtly hostile prejudicial and discriminatory treatment.

Common Identity

To what extent are different groups seen as having a common identity in Britain? We asked respondents the extent to which they viewed members of each group and a relevant comparison group (e.g. women and men, Muslims and non-Muslims, Black people and other people) either as a common group, as separate groups, as individuals, or as separate groups within a common group.

Figure 23. Perceptions of individuality and collective group membership between members of contrasting categories in Britain (Percentage choosing each option)
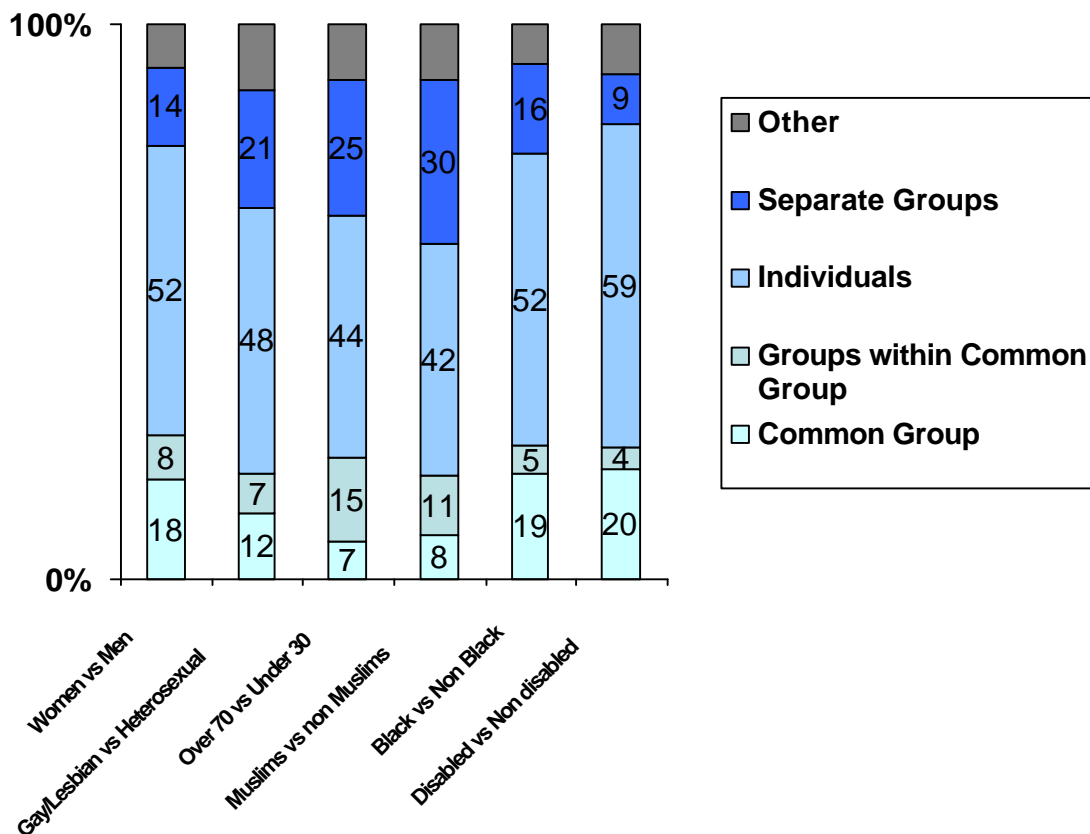
The two figures of greatest interest are the proportions who see the groups either as a common group or as separate. More people view women, Black people and disabled people as part of a common group than as separate groups (vis a vis men, White people, and

non-disabled people, respectively). In contrast, more people view gay men and lesbians (versus heterosexuals), people over 70 (versus under 30) and Muslims (vs. non-Muslims) as being separate groups than viewed them as sharing a common group.

Two results are especially striking. First, the fact that the pattern for Blacks and Muslims differs suggests that ethnic separation is not a general phenomenon but is based around particular differences. Second, it is surprising perhaps that perceived differences between the young and old are not dissimilar in magnitude from those between Muslims and non-Muslims or heterosexual and non heterosexual people. This suggests that the perceived separateness of the groups has something to do with lifestyle and active self-segregation (either by the majority or minority). A further important point is that perceived separation does not map directly on to other attitudes about the groups.

Choices

We wanted to obtain a measure of prejudice that came closer to actual behaviour, but yet was not a direct or overt question. To do this we presented respondents with a list of ostensibly real and plausible charities. We asked, if you had two lots of £5 that we asked you to donate to charity, which two from the following list would you choose?

In all versions of the survey we included four reference categories. These were: The Equality forum, the Society for Constitutional Reform of the Houses of Parliament, The Homelessness Provision Service, and the Ancient Building Preservation Society. We considered that these would provide opportunities for people to recommend donations in a socially desirable or politically correct manner and therefore give them psychological space to decide whether or not they would also like to support charities associated with the two equality strands within each sub-set of the survey. We embedded these within the overall list. These were the Women's Career Institute and the Gay Communication Network (Version A), the Age Alliance and the Muslim Open Community Fund (Version B), or the Black Community Cohesion Fund and the Disability Guidance Council (Version C).

The charities question was positioned away from the other measures in the survey so that respondents did not make an obvious connection between them. Order of presentation of the options was also varied systematically.

Figure 24 Preferences for which two charities would receive £5 donation (Percent nominated). NB: Grey = presented in all versions, other colours = presented only in subset of the survey
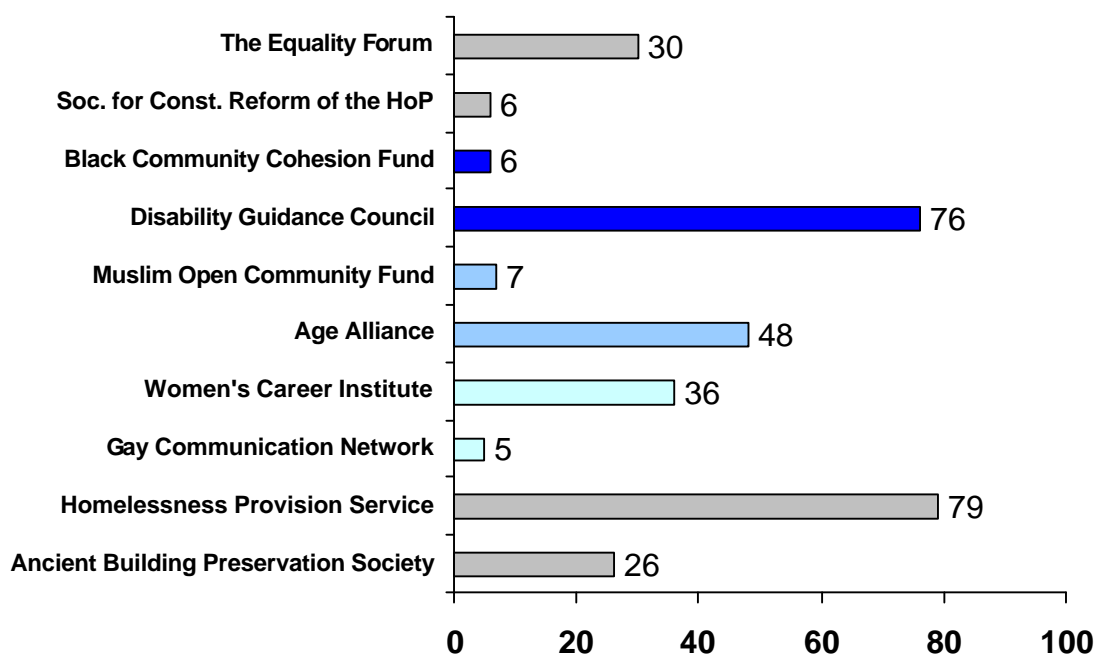
In Figure 24 we have presented the aggregate percentages that would donate to the four common charities (in grey), and then the percentage within each sub-sample who elected to donate to the two other charities listed. If people expressed preferences at chance level we would expect to see around 33% choosing each option. However, strongly different preferences emerge very clearly. Within the four common (reference) charities, people were much more inclined to support homeless people (79%) than buildings. However, 30% supported a forum devoted purely to the general concept of equality.

When offered the opportunity to contribute to the equality strands, two fare much better than chance: disability (76%) and age (48%). In stark contrast, fewer then 8% wanted to support minorities based on sexuality, religion or ethnicity.

A clue to what may be driving these decisions emerges from closer inspection of the pattern of decisions within each subsection of the survey. Which categories benefit at the expense of others?

Figure 25. Charitable choices within Version A of the survey (gender and sexuality).
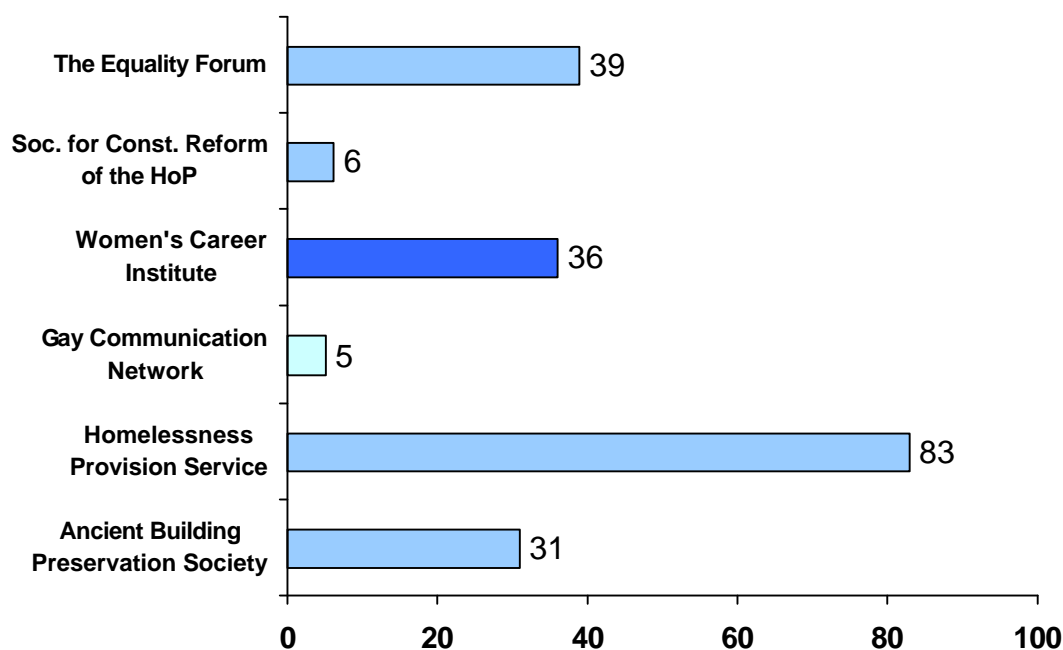
Relative to the overall sample, respondents reacted to the presence of the Gay Communication Network and Women's Career Institute by choosing to support the Equality Forum (39%) as well as women.

Figure 26. Charitable choices within Version B of the survey (age and religion).
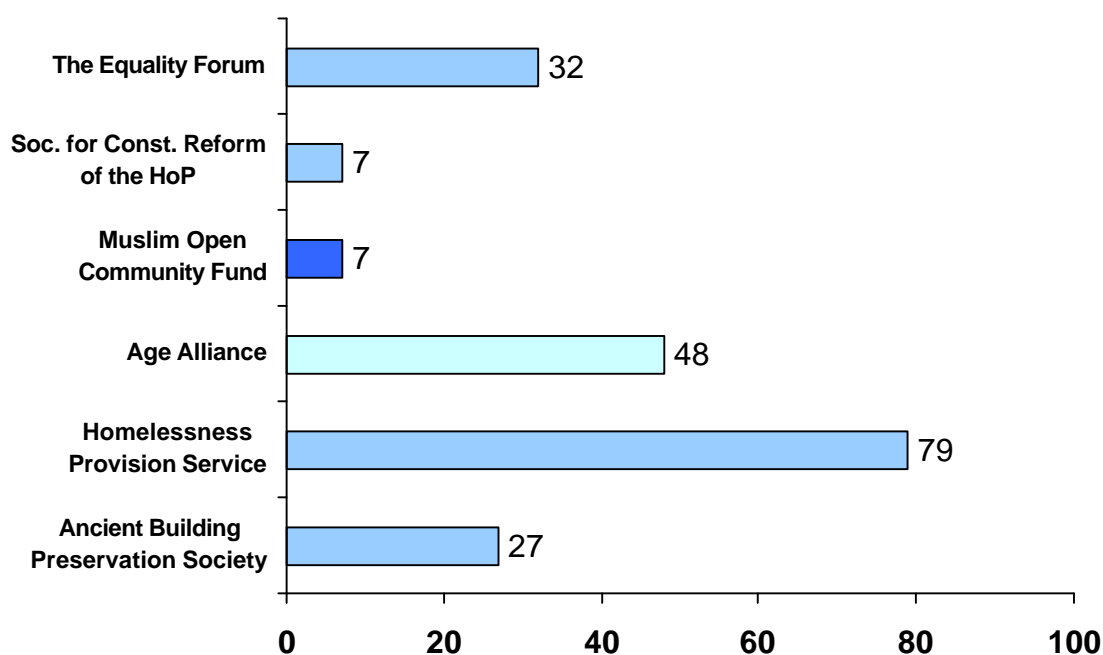
Relative to the overall sample, respondents reacted to the presence of the Muslim Open Community Fund and Age Alliance by supporting Age, but not Muslims. Fewer respondents supported ancient buildings.

Figure 27. Charitable choices within Version C of the survey (ethnicity and disability).
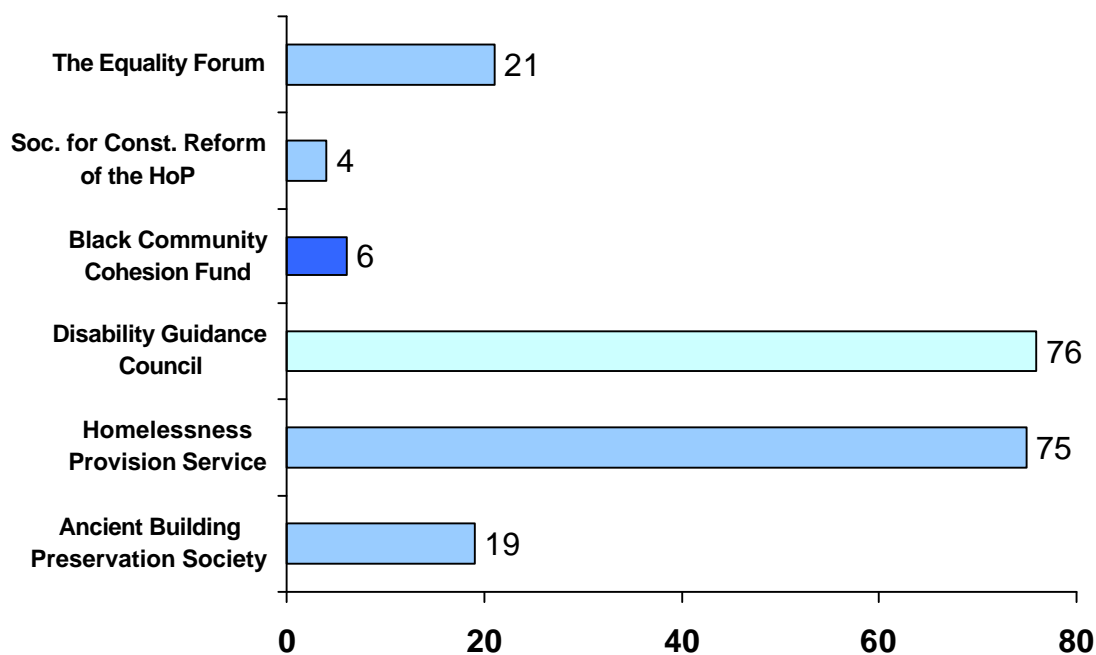
Finally, when offered the chance to donate to the Disability Council, and the Black Community Cohesion Fund, respondents prioritised disability in relation to all sources, particularly ancient buildings, equality and even homelessness.

Comparisons of donations from members of different groups

We inspected the percentage donation rate from members of different groups. The first question to examine was whether they differed in support for the Equality Forum. Figure 28 shows that between 24% and 37% of most groups supported this charity. Black and Asian respondents were most likely to say they would donate to the Equality Forum (51% and 42%, respectively).

Figure 28. Percentage of different group members that would donate to different charities unrelated to their own membership
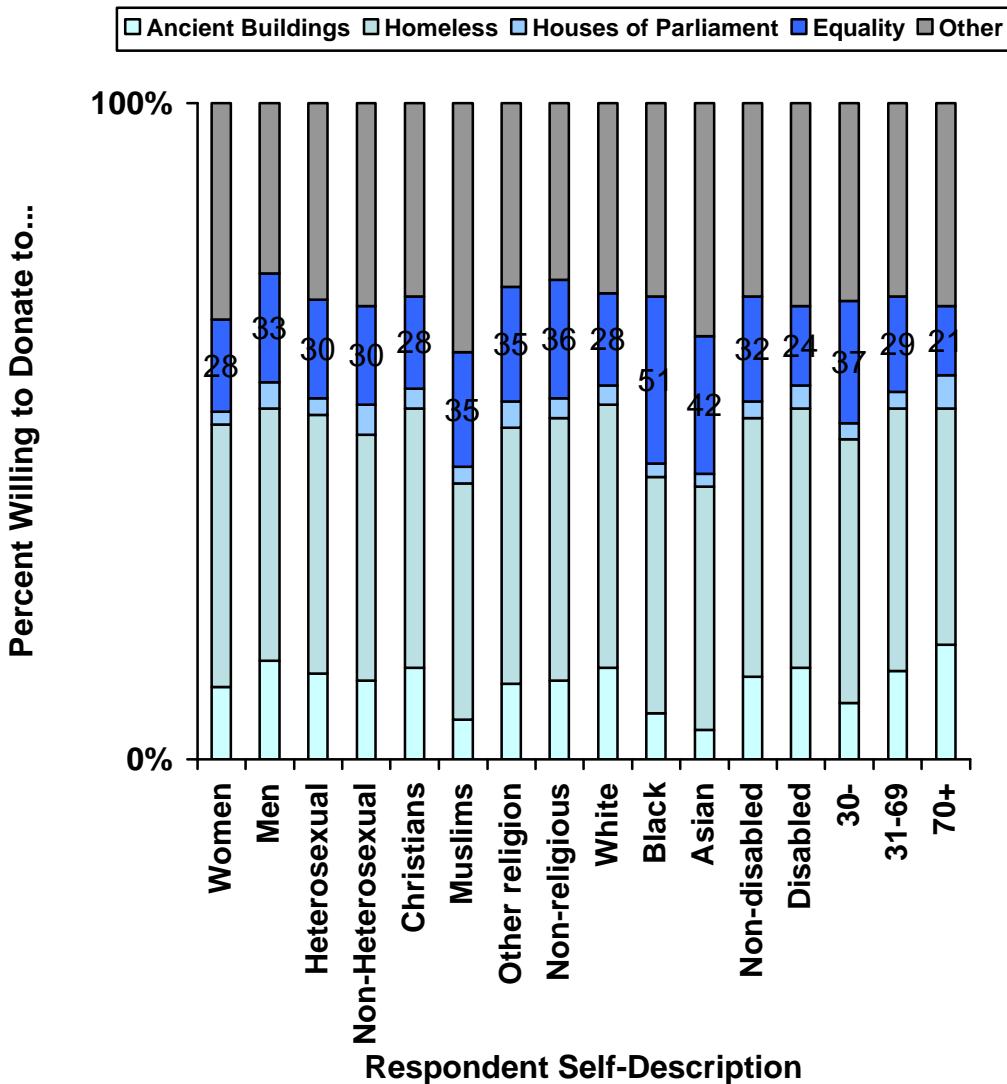
The pattern of results for charitable donation also illustrates a strong tendency for ingroup favouritism.

Figure 29 shows that men and women and heterosexual and non-heterosexual people prioritised their ingroup charities differently.

Figure 29. Percentage of men and women, heterosexual and non-heterosexual people who chose to give to charities for women, gay people or others.
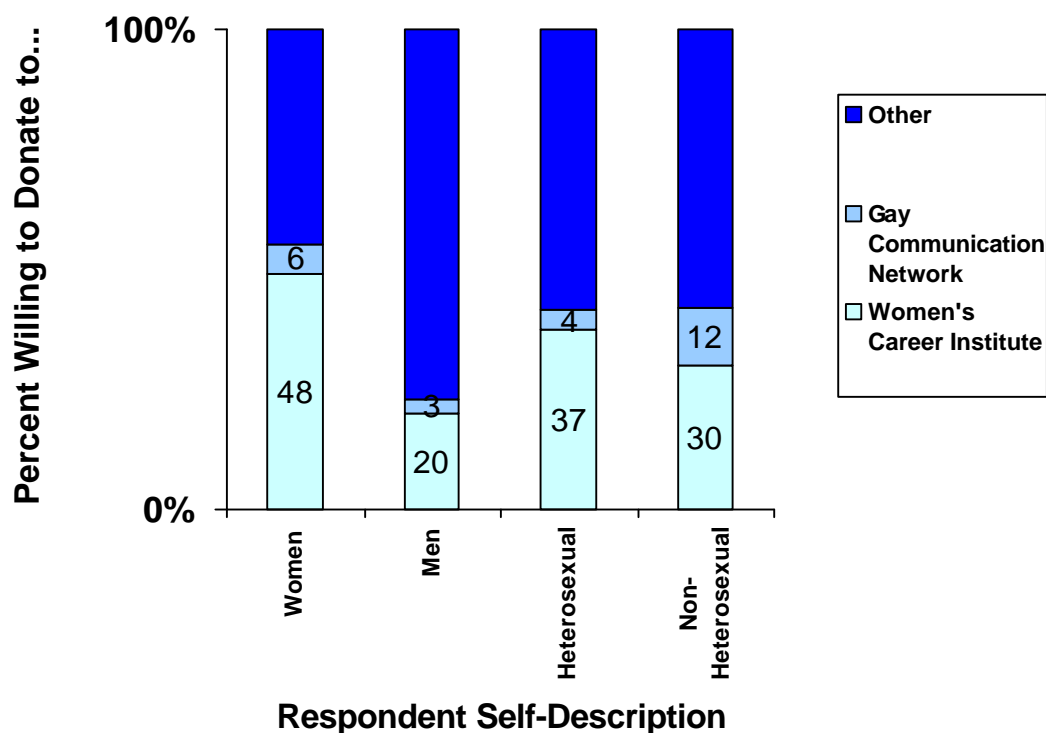
Figure 29 shows that women were more than twice as likely as men to support a women's charity. Heterosexual people were half as likely to support the Gay Communication Network as non-heterosexual people were. However, it is also notable that men were less likely to support either of these charities than other groups.[9]

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[9] Overtly gay and lesbian people were more likely to support the Gay Communication Network (19% of 43 people) than were 'Refused' people (8% of 75 respondents).

A similar picture emerges for donations to Muslim and age related charity. Figure 30 shows that the over 70's were one and a half times more likely to donate to the Age Alliance than the under 30's. Muslims were ten times more likely to donate to the Muslim Open Community Fund than were people of any other religion.

Figure 30. Percentage of people of different ages and faiths who chose to give to charities related to age or Muslims[10].

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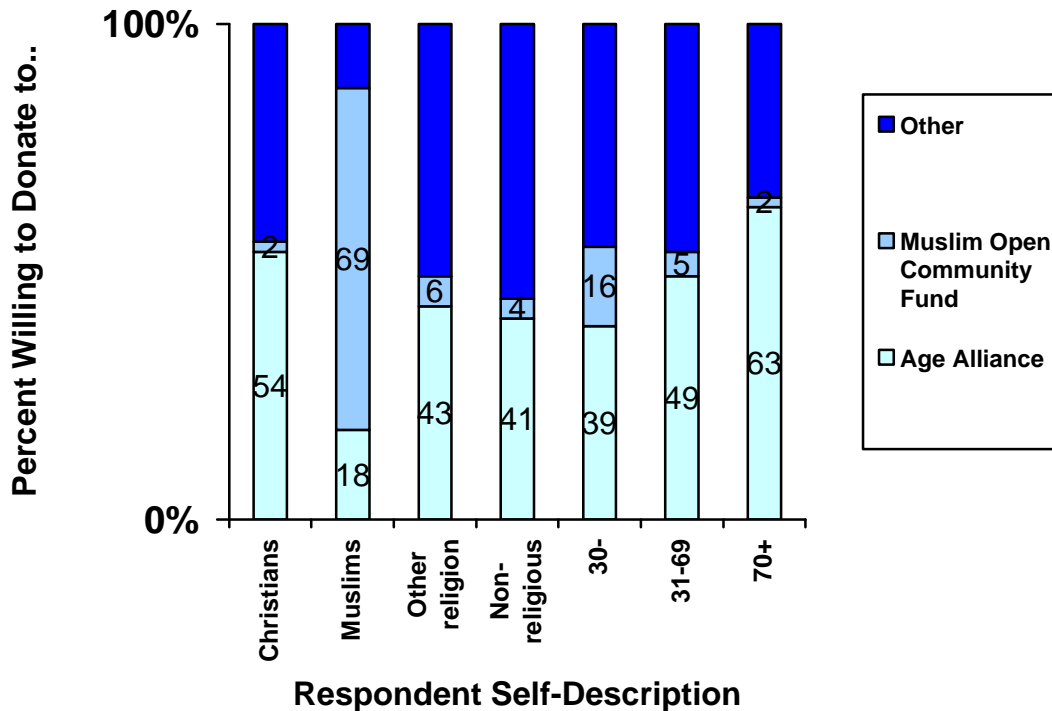
[10] Among respondents to this version of the survey there were 597 Christians, 62 Muslims, 54 other religion, 198 non-religious respondents. There were 262 under 30 years of age, 550 between 30 and 69 and 119 who were 70 or older.

The pattern is no less dramatic in the case of donation to charities for black and disabled people. Whereas 44% of Black people chose to donate to the Black Community Cohesion Fund, only 5% of White people and none of the Asians chose this charity. Even though most people prioritised the Disability Guidance Council over other options, disabled people were twice as likely as non-disabled people to do so.

Figure 31. Percentage of people of different ethic background and disability who chose to give to charities for Black people and disabled people[11].

Summary and Conclusions

One manifestation of prejudice is people's willingness to include, rather than exclude, members of minority groups from important relationships. In general, and in line with previous research findings, people were less comfortable with close personal relationships than with impersonal ones, such as having a person from a minority group as a neighbour or boss. However, on all of these measures at least 30 percent did not say they would be comfortable, and for Muslims and gay men and lesbians around 60 percent did not say they would be comfortable.

Economic theory would highlight the level of economic interdependence as a likely cause of antipathy towards particular groups. For example, 'hostile' prejudices such as dislike of feminists for pushing for women's rights at the expense of men's, or dislike of illegal immigrants for taking employment away from the indigenous population, could be viewed as reflections of direct conflicts of interest. However, current evidence and theory takes a wider view of the potential threats posed by different groups (see Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998), and economic threat does not appear to be linked clearly to prejudice in the present research. Even though disabled people and women were viewed as imposing a substantial economic burden people did not express hostile prejudice against them. Conversely, gay men and lesbians were viewed as posing low levels of economic threat but still are the target of negative judgements.

In fact, what sets the most negatively perceived groups (Black people, Muslims, and gay men and lesbians) apart from the others (women, people over 70 and disabled people) is the higher levels of cultural and physical threats that they pose. The congruence between the pattern of results for social distance (acceptance of a person as a neighbour, boss or in-law) and threat suggests that cultural and physical threat may also be an important basis of interpersonal distancing between members of different groups.

A question raised in the introduction was whether perceptions of *differences* between groups are equivalent to prejudice. In fact the groups that people regarded as most distinct included those over 70 versus under 30. Yet the social segregation implied does not seem to be manifested as strong intergroup prejudice. Moreover, as the evidence in Chapter 7 indicates, the dimensions on which the groups are perceived to differ are not the same in each case, and nor does the tone of the difference. However, the fact that groups are perceived to be quite separate does raise the question of whether this is because they are treated differently in society.

Finally, when given a choice of different groups to support, to whom will people donate their money? Surprisingly, perhaps, a charity for homeless people attracted almost twice the level of support of most other options. The random chances of selecting one of the remaining charities on offer were therefore about 25%. The Equality Forum, women's careers, and the Age Alliance all attracted more support than this. The Disability Rights Council attracted nearly as much support as homelessness. In contrast, charities associated with Black people, gay people and Muslims were consistently avoided. People's interest in supporting reform of the Houses of Parliament was very low. The saying that actions speak louder than words may be apt in this case. People made these decisions publicly – the interviewer recorded them. They clearly felt little compunction about excluding certain groups from charitable donation, while at the same time prioritising other groups. Charity begins at home, but it also appears to be reserved for groups that may be seen as being uncompetitive and dependent rather than those that differ from the majority in terms of choice of lifestyle[12].

Conclusion

Prejudice and distancing from different social groups does not appear to be based on economic threat. Cultural and physical threat play important roles though. Groups that are perceived to be very different from each other are not necessarily those that are most antagonistic. It also appears that it is easier to mobilise support for minority groups that are viewed paternalistically. Those that are viewed with fear or anger are generally not supported either. Thus, the social exclusion of particular groups is exacerbated by negative emotions about those groups. Not only are they feared or disliked, but they are also not accorded the same opportunities to attain equality.

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[12] We recognise that the number of respondents within some of the categories means that we should be hesitant about generalising conclusions about some of the findings.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

This survey provides a coherent and integrated assessment of the pattern of prejudice in Britain. It examined both expressions and experiences of prejudice relating to six key groupings in British society; gender, sexuality, age, religion, ethnicity and disability. By asking a common set of questions relating to each group, and by using measures based on recent academic research the evidence provides a uniquely valuable reference point and set of benchmarks, to judge change attitudes to equality and the patterns of prejudice in Britain in the 21st century[13]. The results provide a picture that is both detailed and clear.

Equality and Other Values

The British population is strongly committed to principles of equality and justice, to the idea that individuals should have opportunities to achieve what they can, but that groups should also be able to be different and still be treated equally. There is also a belief that groups should generally adopt, or perhaps adapt to, mainstream culture. These beliefs are not altogether logically consistent, but perhaps they can be summarised as a combination of openness to diversity and equality tempered with a desire for stability and consensus about values.

On the other hand, we find that the desire to promote equal opportunities is more likely to be supportive in the case of women, older people and disabled people than for Black people, gay and lesbian people and Muslims. This suggests that support for equality may come with conditions. The first three categories are people who are members of every community, and who are not perceived as posing any challenge to values or culture. It is perhaps easier for people to feel that their rights and opportunities should be given priority.

Being a Target of Prejudice

Half the population say someone has been prejudiced or discriminatory toward them in the last year. Across all groups, ageism and sexism are the most prevalent (but not necessarily the

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[13] Some additional non-common questions were asked in different versions of the survey, and these will be reported elsewhere.

most intense) experiences of prejudice. Racism and religious prejudice are experienced frequently by minority ethnic and religious groups.

Expressing Prejudice

In apparent contrast with the pattern of experiences of prejudice, very few people say they feel negative toward older and disabled people and women. A substantial minority feel negatively towards Muslims and gay men and lesbians. But when we asked about immigrants a clear majority expressed negative feelings about illegal immigrants and asylum seekers (but not legal immigrants). These findings show that prejudice, or at least antipathy, tends to be targeted at particular groups. It is also apparent that the groups that people feel negatively towards are the same as those they feel deserve less support in terms of equal opportunities.

The Media

Underlying these values and views there may be a judgement in people's minds that certain groups may be more deserving of support than others. One reason for this may be the extent to which different groups are depicted positively in the media, and are viewed as a part of British society. Muslims and gay men and lesbians are viewed as being portrayed most negatively in the media.

Stereotypes and Emotions

The stereotypes that seem to lie behind these views show that older and disabled people tend to be viewed in a patronising way. They are viewed as friendly but lacking in capability. Stereotypes of Muslims and of gay men and lesbians are relatively more hostile. Compared with other groups, Muslims are likely to be viewed as relatively cold, as competing for economic resources, and as evoking fear and anger. Compared with other groups, gay and lesbian people are likely to be viewed as evoking disgust and anger.

Threats and Inclusion

Economic competition does not seem to be the main aspect of 'threat' that may be posed by minority groups. Muslims, black people and gay men and lesbians are viewed as posing relatively stronger threats both culturally and physically than other groups. They are also less likely to be welcomed as neighbours, employers or in-laws.

Consistent with these attitudes, stereotypes and media images, people feel that the majority are least likely to accept as British Muslims and Arabs living in Britain.

Selective Prejudice

Hostile prejudice does not seem to be a simple product of intergroup similarity or difference. For example, even though people who are under 30 and over 70 years of age are viewed by many as being two quite separate groups, there is not a corresponding level of hostility between those groups. That is not to say that the segregated nature of age-based relationships is unproblematic. Age segregation and age stereotypes have serious implications for equality of opportunity and treatment (Abrams 2006b; Abrams, Eller & Bryant, in press; ACE, 2005).

Prejudice also has distinctive components. More than two thirds of the population describe themselves as non-prejudiced, but only two fifths are concerned whether or not they appear to be prejudiced. The extent to which people feel they must regulate their expression of prejudice depends on which groups are involved. People feel less constrained in admitting to prejudice against gay men, lesbians, women and Muslims than they do against other groups. Different groups also feel differently towards specific other groups. For example, people of different religious faiths differ in their attitudes towards gay and lesbian people.

'Hostile' and 'Benevolent' Forms of Prejudice

To characterise the findings simply, the 6 groups fall broadly into two categories. People with disabilities, people over 70 and (to a lesser extent) women typically are viewed with a patronising or benevolent eye. People who are Muslim, Black or gay or lesbian, are viewed with a more hostile eye. Both types of view can have important consequences.

Hostile prejudice

Groups that are viewed with more hostile prejudice are likely to be treated as unwanted competitors. They may be viewed with suspicion or distrust. Because they evoke emotions such as anger and fear it is these groups that seem likely to be victims of physical attacks and overt expressions of prejudice such as racist or homophobic language. In the context of the 'war against terror' it is perhaps not surprising that people say Muslims are the group most likely to evoke fear and anger.

There is probably a deeper root of hostile prejudices. After all, asylum seekers are unlikely to be a major material threat to the UK but they are viewed negatively. Likewise, there is little basis for thinking that gay men and lesbians pose a significant material threat to the economy. However, these groups do embrace a lifestyle, and sometimes a culture, that is manifestly not the same as the majority. They also form distinct political communities that are more tangible and possibly more unified, than women, older people and disabled people. It seems that negative attitudes, an unwillingness to enter into close relationships and a lack of support for equal opportunities are some of the ways such hostile prejudice is expressed.

'Benevolent' prejudice

Benevolent forms of prejudice are just as consequential as hostile forms because they elicit the disadvantaged group's compliance or at least acquiescence in accepting their lower status. Groups that are viewed with benevolent prejudices are likely to be ignored or passed over for promotion and other opportunities for advancement because of the presumption that they are either incapable or not suitably motivated.

Previous research suggests that benevolent attitudes towards such groups tends to be conditional on their accepting the status quo – as not demanding equal status to more powerful groups in society. When members of these groups behave in ways that challenge patronising assumptions they may be targeted for criticism or blame. For example, benevolent sexist attitudes towards women are associated with higher levels of blame for victims of date-rape (Abrams, Viki, Masser & Bohner, 2003). They may also find themselves excluded from decision making and participation in things that affect their own lives, as well as access to economic resources (e.g. in areas such as pensions, insurance, health).

These forms of discrimination are not based on personal hostility but reflect institutionalised assumptions that are inappropriately generalised to individuals. This is reflected in the finding that very few people said they felt at all negatively towards women or older people but that sexism and ageism are the forms of prejudice that is likely to be experienced by the largest number of people.

Positive prejudice with negative effects

Concretely, the distinction between benevolent and hostile prejudices is illustrated by people's decisions about charitable

donations. Just as respondents were keener to promote equality of employment opportunity for women, older people and disabled people, they were very much more willing to propose a charitable donation to these groups than they were for black people, Muslims and gay and lesbian people. The implications of these differences in people's behavioural inclinations to support different groups are quite important. People who have a very positive attitude about provision of care, support and opportunity in principle could hardly be described as prejudiced. Yet if such support is applied highly selectively to particular groups and not to others the net effect is to perpetuate disadvantages for the latter groups. Obviously there are both personal and political reasons for deciding how resources should be allocated to different groups, but it is important to recognise that positive prejudices to support particular groups can have, often unintended, consequences for other groups. Therefore, members of a group in society may be disadvantaged or discriminated against because of prejudice against it and/or because of prejudice in favour of other groups. Understanding the pattern of prejudice using the approaches adopted in the current research helps to illuminate how and why this can happen.

The Future

This research has established important baseline findings and reference points. Prejudice and discrimination are expressed and experienced differently by and towards different groups. Despite people's comfort with an ideology of equality and a discourse that respects individuality, freedom and diversity, they are resistant to differences that might pose physical or cultural threats. There is a tension between the desire for a coherent and consensual society and the belief that people should be free to differ.

For the Equalities Review and the prospective CEHR, the application of a common framework for researching these issues provides a solid foundation for developing and understanding the implications of policy, as well as future measurement of the impact of policy and practice.

There are other aspects of prejudice that could be investigated in further detail, and we are well aware that there are complex issues to do with prejudice against particular subgroups of people within the major categories that were examined in this research. It is to be hoped that the research provides a useful basis for further tracking of the patterns of prejudice in Britain as well as a basis for more detailed comparative studies involving members of some of the smaller groups and categories.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Questions Asked in the Survey.

The questions were asked as part of Omnimas, the largest weekly consumer omnibus survey in Great Britain. The survey interviews 1000, 2000 or 4000 adults aged 16+ per week. A random location sample, selected to be nationally representative, is interviewed face-to-face in respondents' own homes using the latest CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing) multi-media pen technology. In order to deliver high quality data and to avoid respondent and interviewer fatigue, Omnimas limits the length of each omnibus interview to average no more than 28 minutes. Further details of the TNS Omnimas survey methodology are available from TNS either by viewing the website at www.tns-global.com or contacting Anita Emery, TNS, Kirkgate, 19-31 Church Street, Epsom, KT17 4PF, UK (01372 825800).

Comments or information about questions are provided in square brackets – this is text that did not appear in the question as presented to respondents.

There were three versions of the survey. All questions appeared in all versions unless otherwise specified by a reference in square brackets (e.g. [Version A]). Unless stated otherwise, questions within each version were asked separately about each group (e.g. in Version A there would be an item about women and another item referring to lesbian women and gay men).

Different blocks of questions were presented with different response scales. These are listed at the end of the block of questions. In all cases half the sample were randomly assigned to received a version with the most positive answer appearing first and the other were assigned to receive a version with the most negative answer appearing first.

For items with lists of options the order of presentation was rotated so that an equal proportion of respondents would see each option appearing first on the list.

Most items were answered using self-completion. Those that were not are indicated with [IC].

Overt Prejudice

*In general, how negative or positive do you feel towards each of the following groups in **Britain** ?*

Women
Men
People over 70
People under 30
Muslims
Black people (e.g. African and Caribbean)
Disabled people
Lesbian women or gay men

Legal immigrants [Version A]
Illegal immigrants [Version B]
Asylum seekers [Version C]

     1 ?   Very negative
     2 ?   Somewhat negative
     3 ?   Neither negative nor positive
     4 ?   Somewhat positive
     5 ?   Very positive

Experiences of Prejudice

Thinking about your personal experiences over the past year, how often has anyone shown prejudice against you or treated you unfairly for each of the following:

Because of your:
Gender (male or female)
Age
Race or ethnic background
Any disability you may have
Sexual orientation (being gay, lesbian, or heterosexual, straight)
Religion or religious beliefs.

     1 ?   Almost all of the time
     2 ?   A lot of the time
     3 ?   Sometimes
     4 ?   Rarely
     5 ?   Never
        ?   Does not apply

Core Values

[IC]

Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you. Choose the answer below that shows how much the person in the description is like you.

I think it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. I believe everyone should have equal opportunities in life. [Equality, Universalism]

I believe that people should do what they're told. I think people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching. [Obedience, Conformity]

It is important to me to listen to people who are different from me. Even when I disagree with them, I still want to understand them [Broad minded, Universalism]

It is very important to me that my country be safe. I think the state must be on watch against threats from within and without. [National Security, Security]

I think it is best to do things in traditional ways. It is important to me to keep up the customs I have learned. [Respect for Tradition, Tradition]

I want everyone to be treated justly, even people I do not know. It is important to me to protect the weak in society. [Social Justice, Universalism]

Having a stable government is important to me. I am concerned that the social order be protected. [Social Order, Security]

    1 ?   Very much like me
    2 ?   Like me
    3 ?   Somewhat like me
    4 ?   A little like me
    5 ?   Not like me
    6 ?   Not like me at all

Social Attitudes about Individualism, Equality, Diversity and Work Ethic

[IC]

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

People who fail at a job have usually not tried hard enough.

There should be equality for all groups in Britain.

Some groups of people should have more power and status than others in Britain.

Differences between groups in Britain are important and should be respected.

Regardless of which groups people belong to they should all be treated as individuals.

It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same values

If people belonging to a minority in a country want to have the same rights as the majority it is reasonable that they should be committed to the way of life in that country.

    1 ?   Strongly disagree
    2 ?   Disagree
    3 ?   Neither agree nor disagree
    4 ?   Agree
    5 ?   Strongly agree

Equality for All

Not all groups in society want the same thing as the majority. How important do you feel it is that the particular wishes of each of the following groups is satisfied?

Women
People over 70
Muslims
Black people (e.g. African and Caribbean)
Disabled people (by which we mean people with any disability whether noticeable or not)
Lesbian women and gay men

Legal immigrants (by which we mean immigrants who have a right to live in Britain either as EU members or they have work permit or are the spouses or children of legal immigrants or British citizens) [Version A]

Illegal immigrants (by which we mean immigrants from another country who do not have a legal right to live in Britain).[Version B]

Asylum seekers (by which we mean people who have applied for permission to live in Britain because of persecution or physical danger in their country of origin) [Version C]

    1 ?   Not at all important
    2 ?   Not very important
    3 ?   Neither important nor unimportant
    4 ?   Quite important
    5 ?   Very important

Now we want to ask your personal opinion about some changes that have been happening in this country over the years: Have attempts to give equal employment opportunities to

women/lesbians and gay men [Version A]
people over 70/ Muslims [Version B]
disabled/Black [Version C] people

in this country gone too far or not far enough ?

    1 ?   Gone much too far
    2 ?   Gone too far
    3 ?   About right
    4 ?   Not gone far enough
    5 ?   Not gone nearly far enough

A Cultural Environment of Prejudice

Thinking back over the last year, how much do you think the media coverage of images and stories about these groups in TV and newspapers has been negative or positive?

Women
People over 70
Black people
Disabled people
Lesbian women or gay men
Muslims

    1 ?   Almost all negative stories
    2 ?   Mostly negative stories
    3 ?   Roughly equal amount of negative and positive
    4 ?   Mostly positive stories
    5 ?   Almost all positive stories

Ethnicity, Religion and Britishness

[Version A no items on this section]

[Version B]
To what extent do you think each of the following religious groups living in Britain are accepted as British by the majority of people ?

Muslims
Hindus
Jews
Christians
Atheists and non-religious people

[Version C]

To what extent do you think each of the following ethnic, national or racial groups living in Britain are accepted as British by the majority of people?

Asians (e.g. Pakistanis, Indians)
Arabs (e.g. Iraqi, Saudi Arabian)
Africans (e.g. Nigerians, Kenyans)
West Indians (e.g. Jamaicans)
Oriental (Chinese, Japanese)
Western European (e.g. Germans, French)
Eastern European (e.g. Russian, Romanian)
Americans

    1 ?   Not at all
    2 ?   Slightly
    3 ?   Somewhat
    4 ?   Mostly
    5 ?   Completely

Political Correctness

I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward other groups because it is personally important to me

I try to appear non-prejudiced toward other groups in order to avoid disapproval from others

    1 ?   Strongly disagree
    2 ?   Disagree
    3 ?   Neither agree nor disagree
    4 ?   Agree
    5 ?   Strongly agree

Thinking now of

women/lesbians and gay men [Version A]
people over 70/ Muslims [Version B]
disabled people/Black people [Version C]

which of the statements below comes closest to how you feel ?

    1 ?   I don't mind if I come across as prejudiced against [group]
    2 ?   I sometimes feel prejudiced against [group] but I try not to let it show
    3 ?   I never feel any prejudice against [group]

Social Stereotypes

There are many different groups in this country and we would like to know how you think some of these groups are viewed by people in general. Please use the scale from 1 to 5 to show how you think the group is viewed.

To what extent are <u>white middle class men</u> viewed as:

Capable
Friendly
Economically Successful
Receiving special treatment (e.g. from employers or government) which makes things more difficult for others in Britain

To what extent are <u>women/lesbian women and gay men [Version A], people over 70/ Muslims [Version B], disabled people/Black people [Version C]</u>, viewed:

as Capable
as Friendly
with Disgust
with Admiration
with Pity
with Envy
with Anger or Resentment
with Fear
as Economically Successful
as receiving special treatment (e.g. from employers or government) which makes things more difficult for others in Britain

1	?	Extremely likely to be viewed that way
2	?	
3	?	Somewhat viewed that way
4	?	
5	?	Not at all viewed that way
	?	Don't know

Social Distance

How comfortable or uncomfortable do you think you would feel if a

woman/lesbian or gay man [Version A]
person over 70/ Muslim [Version B]
disabled person/Black person [Version C]

was appointed as your boss

married or formed a civil partnership with one of your close relatives (such as a brother, sister, child or re-married parent [NB Not women for Version A, not people over 70 for version B]

moved in next door to you parent [NB Not women for Version A, not people over 70 for version B]

1	?	Very comfortable
2	?	Comfortable
3	?	Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
4	?	Uncomfortable
5	?	Very uncomfortable

Threat

[Cultural] *How do you think*

women/lesbians and gay men [Version A]
people over 70/ Muslims [Version B]
disabled people/Black people [Version C]

are affecting the customs, traditions or general way of life of other people in Britain?

They are making things..

1	?	Much worse
2	?	Slightly worse
3	?	Has no effect
4	?	Slightly better
5	?	Much better

[Physical] *How do you think*

women/lesbians and gay men [Version A]
people over 70/ Muslims [Version B]
disabled people/Black people [Version C]

*in this country affect things like the **safety, security, or health** of other people in Britain?*

They make things...

    1 ?   Much worse
    2 ?   Slightly worse
    3 ?   Has no effect
    4 ?   Slightly better
    5 ?   Much better

[Economic]: *People who live in this country generally work and pay taxes at some points in their lives. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, do you think that*

women/lesbians and gay men [Version A]
people over 70/ Muslims [Version B]
disabled people/Black people [Version C],

in Britain

    1 ?   Take out a lot more than they put in
    2 ?   Take out a bit more than they put in
    3 ?   Put a bit more in than they take out
    4 ?   Put a lot more in than they take out
    5 ?   None of these

Common Identity

When you think of

women and men/ homosexual (gay men and lesbians) and heterosexual ('straight') people [Version A]
people over 70 and people under 30/ Muslims and non-Muslim people [Version B]
disabled people and non-disabled people/ Black people and White people [Version C]

in Britain, how do you see them?

    1 ?   As one common group
    2 ?   As two separate groups
    3 ?   Each person as a separate individual
    4 ?   As two separate groups that are part of the same community
    5 ?   None of the above

Choices

[IC]

We are interested in which types of charities people prefer. Below is a list of social charities that you may or may not have heard of. Don't worry if you have not heard of them. Imagine that you had two £5 notes to give away. Which two of these charities would you give them to?

    1 ?   The Ancient Building Preservation Society
    2 ?   The Homelessness Provision Service

[Version A]
    3 ?   Gay Communication Network
    4 ?   Women's Career Institute
[Version B]
    3 ?   Muslim Open Community Fund
    4 ?   Age Alliance
[Version C]
    3 ?   Black Community Cohesion Fund
    4 ?   Disability Guidance Council

    5 ?   The Society for Constitutional Reform of the Houses of Parliament
    6 ?   The Equality Forum

Demographic Measures

[The following items were measured in addition to standard measures of socioeconomic status, gender and age, and region]

What is your religion even if you are not currently practising?

      1 ?   Christian
      2 ?   Buddhist
      3 ?   Hindu
      4 ?   Jewish
      5 ?   Muslim
      6 ?   Sikh
      7 ?   Any other religion
      8 ?   No religion at all

Which one of these best describes your sexual preference or orientation? If you do not wish to answer please note there is a REFUSED option.

      1 ?   Heterosexual\Straight
      2 ?   Homosexual\Gay\Lesbian
      3 ?   Bisexual

Q.35B *Which of these best describes your ethnic group ?*
IF NECESSARY: *By this, I mean your cultural background.*

      1 ?   White British
      2 ?   White Irish
      3 ?   Any other white background
      4 ?   White and Black Caribbean
      5 ?   White and Black African
      6 ?   White and Asian
      7 ?   Any other mixed background
      8 ?   Indian
      9 ?   Pakistani
     10 ?   Bangladeshi
     11 ?   Any other Asian background
     12 ?   Caribbean
     13 ?   African
     14 ?   Any other Black background
     15 ?   Chinese
     16 ?   Any other

Do you have any long-standing illness, disability or infirmity? By long-standing I mean anything that has troubled you over a period of time or that is likely to affect you over a period of time.

    1 ?   Yes
    2 ?   No

Please can I ask you what was the last type of school you attended and the level of qualifications you received?

    1 ?   Secondary school up to 16, no GCSEs \ O-Levels \ SCEs
    2 ?   Secondary school up to 16 with GCSEs \ O-Levels \ SCEs
    3 ?   Secondary school \ sixth form college up to 18 with A levels \ SCE Higher
    4 ?   Completed university degree \ postgraduate course
    5 ?   Other college qualification, eg. BTEC, City & Guilds

Other questions...

Political views can be described as more left wing (e.g. traditional labour party) or more right wing (e.g. conservative party). How would you describe your political view?

    1 ?   Definitely left
    2 ?   Left
    3 ?   Centre - Left
    4 ?   Centre - Right
    5 ?   Right
    6 ?   Definitely right

Thinking for a moment about your parents, as far as you are aware, were either one of your parents British Citizens at the time of your birth?

    1 ?   Yes
    2 ?   No

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Appendix 3: Biographical Notes

Dominic Abrams is Director of the Centre for the Study of Group Processes and Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Kent. He is a Fellow of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and an Academician in the Academy of Social Sciences. He has been chair of the Research Board, and a Trustee, of the British Psychological Society. He currently chairs the Joint Committee for Psychology in Higher Education on behalf of the British Psychological Society, the Experimental Psychology Society and the Association of Heads of Psychology Departments. His research interests centre on social inclusion and exclusion of people within and between groups. He recently co-edited a book on *The Social Psychology of Inclusion and Exclusion* (Abrams, Hogg, & Marques, 2005). He is editor of the journal *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, and author of numerous articles in academic journals.

Diane Houston is Professor of Psychology at the University of Kent. She chairs the Social Psychology Section of the British Psychological Society and was formerly chair of the BPS Standing Conference Committee. She is an Academician in the Academy of Social Sciences. Her research, funded by ESRC and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, centres on women's work participation and the way in which men and women manage family roles. She recently edited a book on *Work Life Balance in the 21st Century*, (Houston, 2005) which reported findings from ESRC's Future of Work Programme. She was academic advisor to the Women and Work Commission and has been a research advisor to the CIPD, EOC and DWP. From September 2003 to January 2006 she was seconded to the DTI Women and Equality Unit as the Research and Strategy Advisor.

University of Kent
Canterbury
Kent, CT2 7NZ

www.kent.ac.uk