

RACE RELATIONS 2006: A RESEARCH STUDY

This project was commissioned from Ipsos MORI by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in 2006.

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Introduction

The research presented in this report looked at the feelings, attitudes and opinions of people living in Britain today in relation to culture, identity and race relations. It is intended that the findings of this study will contribute to the ever-developing debates around equality, diversity and integration in Britain. The research was conducted by the Ipsos MORI Social Research Institute, on behalf of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE).

Context

This research is particularly salient in the current social and political climate. Much has changed since MORI conducted our first survey on race relation issues for the CRE in 2002 and the findings of the 2006 research reflect people's awareness and perceptions of recent events and debates which have put diversity and integration high up the political agenda. Since 2002, the issues are no longer just about race relations, but are related to an increased focus on the drivers of extremism, the benefits and disadvantages of multiculturalism, UK foreign policy, involvement in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, immigration from EU accession states, the politicisation of religion and the need to prevent terrorism. As a result of these changes, the CRE's own focus has also shifted and there is much more of a concentration on integration-related issues than there has been in previous years.

There are also a number of specific events which took place during the fieldwork period which are likely to have impacted on responses. For example, during the week prior to the qualitative research Jack Straw, ex-Foreign Secretary and MP for Blackburn, received much press coverage for comments he made relating to Muslim women 'wearing the veil' in his surgeries with constituents. In the days following this, Ruth Kelly, Tony Blair and Trevor Phillips also made public statements about this issue. Earlier in the summer, a month prior to the quantitative fieldwork, an alleged terror plot involving planes and liquid explosives was averted at London's Heathrow airport took place, and on 7 July 2005 (following fieldwork for the 2005 wave of research) four bombs were set off on London public transport.

Methodology

The research includes both a quantitative and a qualitative element: a representative quantitative study of 1,068 British adults aged 15 years and over, with another 223 ethnic minority 'booster' interviews conducted across England; and a qualitative study comprising four discussion groups in England and Scotland. The quantitative studies provided statistically robust data to measure the strength of opinion on the issues of equality, diversity and cohesion. The qualitative discussion groups then provided information on the reasons underlying these opinions.

Fieldwork for the general public survey was conducted between 28 September and 3 October 2006 and ethnic boost interviews took place between 15 and 20 November 2006. The boost survey included 223 respondents of black ethnicity (black African and black Caribbean) or Asian ethnicity (Asian Pakistani, Asian Bangladeshi and Asian Indian). Data from both the general public and the ethnic minority samples was weighted to the known national profiles.

The discussion groups for the qualitative study were conducted using topic guides which were agreed with the research commissioners and are appended. The groups were held between 10 and 12 October 2006, and comprised the people shown in Table 1.

Table 1: The composition of the discussion groups

Group	1	2	3	4
Location	London	London	Birmingham	Edinburgh
Ethnicity	Mixed ethnicity (At least 2 Asian, 2 black, 2 mixed race, 2 white)	black	Asian	white
Social Class	ABC1	BC1C2	BC1C2	C2DE
Gender	Even split male/female	Even split male/female	Even split male/female	Even split male/female
Age	20-50 years	20-50 years	20-50 years	20-50 years

This research builds on previous waves of qualitative and quantitative research conducted by Ipsos MORI on similar topics on behalf of the CRE in 2002 and 2005 and is informed by other publicly available information and the CRE’s own research, as well as ongoing public and policy debates.

In 2005, a nationally representative survey of 511 British adults aged 16 years and over was conducted between 12 March and 14 April. In addition to this, 543 ‘booster’ interviews were conducted among ethnic minority groups. This research was not published, however, results from this survey are drawn upon and clearly referenced throughout this report.

In 2002, a nationally representative survey of 822 British adults aged 16 years and over was conducted between 5 April and 1 May. In addition to this, 649 ‘booster’ interviews were conducted among ethnic minority groups. A series of 13 focus groups were also carried out across Britain between 8 and 16 April. A series of 13 focus groups across Britain were also carried out between 8 April and 16 April 2002. The summary of this research was published in 2002.¹ Results from the research are drawn upon and clearly referenced throughout this document.

Presentation and interpretation of data

The percentage figures for the various sub-samples or groups generally need to differ by a certain number of percentage points for the difference to be considered statistically significant. This number will depend on the size of the sub-group sample and the % finding itself (as noted in the appendix).

Where an asterisk (*) appears, it indicates a percentage of less than one, but greater than zero. Where percentages do not add up to 100%, this can be due to a variety of factors, such as the exclusion of ‘Don’t know’ or ‘Other’ responses, multiple responses or computer rounding. Where gaps appear in the figures showing the extent to which respondents agree or disagree with a statement (figure 3-6, 10 and 11), this space represents the proportion who replied ‘neither agree nor disagree’ or ‘no opinion/don’t know/not stated’. The gap in figure 14 represents the percentage who responded ‘made no difference’ or ‘don’t know’

¹ *The voice of Britain: A research study conducted for the CRE by MORI. Executive Summary*, CRE/ MORI, 2002 (<http://www.cre.gov.uk/downloads/moripoll.pdf>)

Reference to the ‘general public’ or ‘all respondents’ refers to answers from the general public sample of 1,068. Where relevant, a comparison will be made between white respondents (from the general public sample) and ethnic minority respondents (from both the general public sample and the booster interviews). In the tables, ‘General public’ refers to the answers from the general public sample of 1,068, and ‘Ethnic minority’ refers to the ethnic minority respondents from both the general public sample and the booster interviews.

When considering the qualitative findings it is important to note two of the key strengths of qualitative research: that it allows issues to be explored in detail; and that it enables researchers to test the strength of people’s opinion. However, it needs to be remembered that qualitative research is designed to be *illustrative* rather than *statistically representative* and therefore does not allow conclusions to be drawn about the extent to which views are held. In addition, it is important to bear in mind that we are dealing with perceptions rather than facts. More detail relating to the interpretation of qualitative information is included in the appendix.

Publication of data

As CRE has engaged Ipsos MORI to provide an objective and representative programme of research, it is important to protect CRE’s interests by ensuring that the research is accurately reflected in any press release or publication of the findings. As part of our standard terms and conditions, the publication of the data in this report is therefore subject to the advance approval of Ipsos MORI. This would only be refused on the grounds of inaccuracy or misinterpretation of the findings.

Acknowledgements

We would like to place on record our thanks for the considerable input and support provided during the study from Jonathan Bamber at the CRE. We would also like to thank the people who took part in the survey and discussion groups.

Summary & implications

General attitudes to diversity and immigration

Data from international studies points to the British public being in some ways among the most positive in Europe when it comes to valuing diversity in general, but the least positive when it comes to immigration and the rights of immigrants.

The European Social Survey 2002/3² found that only a quarter of UK respondents (25%) wished to live in an area where *almost nobody* was of a race, colour or ethnic group different to themselves, compared with far higher proportions in countries like Greece (44%), Belgium (42%), Portugal (39%) and Denmark (37%). In fact, only Germany (22%) and Sweden (20%) were more positive than the UK on this measure. Similarly, the qualitative research for this project highlights that respondents felt diversity was among the key positive attributes of living in Britain today.

On the other hand, our surveys in both 2002 and 2005 found that three in five respondents believed that there were too many immigrants in Britain (61% and 59% respectively) and that respondents from ethnic minority groups were almost as likely to think that as white people (54% compared with 62% among the white population in 2005). Furthermore, according to the European Social Survey 2002/3, only one in nine respondents in the UK (11%) thought that people who came to live here should be given the same rights as everybody else, a far lower proportion than seen in other European countries.³

However, the picture is complex; it is not as simple as saying that the British public are positive about diversity but negative about immigration. The qualitative research shows that in many cases people seemed to conflate people from ethnic minorities (many of whom are of course born in Britain) with immigrants (many of whom who are not ethnic minorities). Concerns about immigration are likely to reflect over-estimations of the extent of immigration to Britain, as well as over-estimates of the proportion of immigrants who are from ethnic minority groups. This research found that people surveyed in the main quantitative survey thought that 22% of the British population were immigrants; the perceived proportion was even higher among ethnic minorities, who put the figure at 32%, four times higher than the actual proportion (8%).

These misperceptions of immigration are significant because they appear to be related to less positive views about ethnic diversity, and integration more generally. It is difficult to ascertain the causal direction of this relationship; that is, whether misperceptions about immigration cause people to be more negative about ethnic diversity, or vice versa. However, the fact that views on these issues are not independent suggests the value of a joint strategy to address concerns about both immigration and race relations.

Further, the qualitative research for this project, and research conducted by the Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr) for the CRE,⁴ highlight the fact that people's explicit concerns relating to

² See the European Social Survey website (<http://ess.nsd.uib.no/>).

³ This compares with Finland (31%), Portugal (25%), Greece (23%), Spain (23%) and Sweden (22%) where the proportions in favour of equal rights for immigrants were at least twice as high

⁴ See *The reception and integration of new migrant communities*, CRE/ippr, forthcoming.

immigration are really more focused on worries about the impact of migration on public services, than anti-immigration sentiment *per se*.

Recent changes in attitudes to diversity and immigration

Attitudes to diversity and immigration seem to have shifted in recent times. The Ipsos MORI Political Monitor shows that in 2006, for the first time, immigration and race relations were considered the *most important* issue facing this country⁵ (by 25% of respondents), above the NHS, education, and defence, foreign affairs and international terrorism. This may reflect ongoing concerns about immigration from EU accession countries and the impact of immigration on public services and employment.

There also appears to have been a subtle but noticeable hardening of attitudes relating to migrants, ethnic minorities and integration and diversity issues. In 2002, we found that a fifth (19%) of people disagreed that it is a good thing for immigrants to maintain the lifestyle and culture of their country of origin; this had risen to a quarter (26%) by 2006. Similarly, while the majority of those surveyed disagreed with the position that to be truly British you have to be white (82%), the proportion who *strongly* disagreed fell from 63% in 2002 to 55% in 2006. The public were also more likely to require commitment from ethnic minorities, in order to consider them truly British, than they were in 2002. Interestingly, in most cases these shifts were apparent among ethnic minorities as well as white residents,⁶ with one exception – the question of whether it is a good thing for immigrants to maintain the culture and lifestyle of their country of origin. In this case, attitudes among ethnic minorities moved in the opposite direction to views among white residents, with 37% of ethnic minorities strongly agreeing that it is a good thing for immigrants to maintain their culture, compared to 29% in 2002.

However, the research also highlights geographic variations within Britain. Respondents living in London and Scotland tended to be less concerned about immigration and race relations than those living elsewhere, and were less likely to have hardened attitudes.⁷ Our qualitative work highlights the fact that, in London, this may to some extent reflect the greater ethnic diversity and higher levels of meaningful social interaction between people from different ethnic groups in the area.

The findings in Scotland are more interesting, as traditionally we tend to find that people living in more ethnically homogeneous areas with little experience of new migrants actually tend to be more negative, rather than more positive. One possible reason for the more positive attitude is the lower consumption of certain tabloid newspapers: Ipsos MORI analysis finds that readers of newspapers like the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Express* and *Sun* are more likely to feel race relations and immigration are an important issue.⁸ Whatever the reasons for the more positive attitudes towards immigration in Scotland, it does not appear to be an anomaly related to this research project; it is a trend which has

⁵ See Ipsos MORI Political Monitor, October 2006 (aggregated data from January to September 2006).

⁶ Two thirds (65%) of ethnic minorities strongly disagreed that to be truly British you had to be white, compared with 72% in 2002. Just under three quarters (74%) of white people and two thirds (68%) of people from ethnic minorities thought that people from ethnic minorities needed to demonstrate a real commitment to this country before they could be considered British compared with 69% among white people in 2002 and 51% among ethnic minorities.

⁷ The Ipsos MORI Political Monitor (aggregated data from January to September 2006) found that just a fifth of people in London (22%) and Scotland (20%) felt immigration and race relations were a key concern compared with the average across Great Britain of 35%.

⁸ See B. Duffy and L. Rowden, *You are what you read?*, Ipsos MORI, 2005.

also been observed in the ippr/CRE research⁹ looking into the reception and integration of new migrant communities, and in the Ipsos MORI monthly Political Monitor.

Ethnic and national identity

Respondents to the 2002 survey were more likely to identify themselves as British than English, Scottish or Welsh (45% compared to 39%). Britishness was felt by many participants in the discussion groups to be a more inclusive identity that could incorporate elements of ethnic minority culture, whereas Englishness, in particular, was felt to be equated with being white. However, the inclusiveness of the British identity was also felt to be part of its weakness. 'Britishness' was felt to be vague and there was no clear consensus about the values, institutions or behaviours constituting it. Despite this lack of clarity, most respondents supported the idea of citizenship classes for immigrants and agreed that new immigrants should be made to learn English. However, people usually justified this in practical and economic terms, rather than in terms of building a common sense of identity.

It is also important to note that there may be some element of political correctness at play when considering ethnic minorities and Britishness. As explored earlier, very few of those surveyed (10%) thought people had to be white to be truly British, but nearly three quarters (73%) of the general population thought that ethnic minority people needed to demonstrate a real commitment to this country before they could be considered British. The feeling, regardless of country of birth, appears to be that 'you don't have to be white to be British, but it helps'.

Experiences and perceptions of discrimination, race relations and integration

Personal experiences of discrimination remained relatively static between 2002 and 2005 (12% of the general public as a whole, and 38% of ethnic minorities, experienced racial prejudice or discrimination in 2005, compared with 14% and 39% respectively in 2002) and this was also reflected in the National Citizenship Survey findings from 2001 to 2005.¹⁰ Similarly, the extent to which respondents thought that there were good relations between people of different ethnic groups in Britain,¹¹ and the extent to which people thought it was important to respect the rights of people from ethnic minorities¹² remained broadly on par with previous years.

However, when people were asked about their perceptions of *change* relating to issues of discrimination, racial prejudice and integration in this country the picture was more complex. In general, the qualitative research shows that respondents recognised that vast improvements had been made over the last 20 to 30 years relating to discrimination, largely as a result of legislation and education, but felt that more subtle forms of prejudice remained to be addressed. This ties in with notions of 'stealth racism' identified by the CRE in 2004.¹³ Interestingly, although white respondents felt that, on balance, there was more mixing between ethnic and religious groups than there had been five years previously (32% felt there was more, 23% felt there was less), the picture

⁹ See *The reception and integration of new migrant communities*, CRE/ippr, forthcoming.

¹⁰ See *2005 Citizenship Survey: Race and faith topic report*, Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006 (<http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1501046>).

¹¹ Three in five (61%) respondents thought that Britain was a place that had good relations between different types of people such as those from different ethnic backgrounds, compared with the same proportion in 2005 (61%) and 59% in 2002.

¹² Nearly four fifths (78%) of respondents thought it was important to respect the rights of minority groups, compared with 84% in 2005 and 78% in 2002.

¹³ See *Annual Report 2004*, CRE, 2004.

is even more positive among ethnic minorities, where 42% felt there was more mixing and 24% felt there was less.

On the other hand, there are indications that the public perceive some issues to have worsened nationally in recent years. In particular, the National Citizenship Survey showed that perceptions of race relations nationally were more negative after the 7 July 2005 bombings, than they had been prior to this event.¹⁴ Qualitative research conducted for this study also highlights the fact that some people felt that current social and political issues (like the 7 July bombings and the Iraq war) had negatively impacted on perceived levels of integration over the last previous few years. However, respondents from ethnic minorities, and Asian respondents in particular, were actually slightly *less* likely to think that the London bombings and recent terror-related events had had a negative impact on racial tolerance (44% of ethnic minorities overall, 39% of Asian people and 53% of black people thought these events had led to less racial tolerance in Britain, compared with 60% among white people).

A perceptions gap and the role of the media

These findings indicate a possible gap between, on the one hand, personal experience, and, on the other, the perception of issues nationally; for example, the research suggests that although personal experience of discrimination has remained static, people perceive racial prejudice to have *increased* in the country in general. Ipsos MORI has also found this pattern in our research on public services – people are more negative about the state of services nationally than about services they actually use in their own area.

This may be related to the tendency of national media to report on topics in a negative way; in the absence of personal experience, people tend to draw on media stories in forming their opinions. It is very difficult to define exactly how the media affects people's attitudes, not least because people will tend to choose media sources that support their existing views. But evidence suggests that there is a real relationship between media consumption and certain attitudes. Those views most affected tend to be where direct experience and knowledge are fairly low. As mentioned above, readers of the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Express* and *Sun* are more likely to feel race and immigration are key issues facing the country than others (and *Guardian* readers are significantly less likely), even after controlling for differences in the demographic profile of readers of these papers.¹⁵ In addition, respondents in the qualitative research spontaneously raised negative media coverage as a factor influencing attitudes, and Asian respondents especially articulated concerns that media reporting fuelled public concern and anti-diversity attitudes. While it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the nature of the relationship between the media and public attitudes towards these issues, it certainly seems likely that the media is having some impact in spreading negative perceptions.

Encouraging integration

The qualitative research found that respondents thought sensationalist media and lack of exposure to other cultures were the key factors underpinning a lack of integration, and people would welcome any policies or activities designed to provide opportunities for different communities to mix in meaningful ways. Support for these sorts of mechanisms echoes the findings from 2006

¹⁴ Just over two in five (44%) people interviewed as part of the National Citizenship Survey prior to 7 July 2005 thought there was more racial prejudice compared with five years previously. This rose to 53% among those interviewed on or after 7 July 2005. It is important to note that this survey was not designed to be representative of the two periods (pre- and post-July bombings), so differences should be treated as indicative only.

¹⁵ See B. Duffy and L. Rowden, *You are what you read?*, Ipsos MORI, 2005.

research conducted by SHM on behalf of the CRE,¹⁶ which found that opportunities for voluntary meaningful interactions between people from different ethnic groups were seen to be the key measure which could help to improve integration.

Additionally, the quantitative research from our survey showed that, on balance, respondents felt that religion acted more as a divider than a unifier within society (73% of the general population felt that religion caused divisions and only 16% thought that religion brought people together). However, this opinion appears to be confined to the white population, with black people on balance feeling neutral and Asian people feeling religion was a unifier.¹⁷ This suggests that the role of religion is very different among different ethnic groups.

In addition, participants from a range of ethnic groups felt constrained by political correctness and felt that it had, in some ways, impeded their ability to talk frankly about race relations. In this way, people felt political correctness had masked racial prejudice, which they believed to still exist, albeit in a more subtle form. Again, this reflects the notion of ‘stealth racism’.

On a more positive note, we found that there *was* interaction between people from different ethnic groups, but that often this was at a surface level. Three in five (62%) respondents mixed socially with people from other ethnic groups at the shops, but only half this number (30%) formed meaningful relationships to the extent to which they were mixing at home at least monthly. While half (49%) mixed with people from different ethnic groups at work, school or college, fewer (41%) chose to mix socially with people from different ethnic groups after work, and a third (32%) mixed with people through hobbies or sports clubs at least monthly.

In nearly all situations, levels of social mixing were found to be much lower among older people and those from socially excluded groups (including those from lower social grades, those who are not in work, those educated to less than degree level, people renting from the council or housing associations, and tabloid newspaper readers – in many cases there are likely to be some overlaps among these people).¹⁸ As such, policy initiatives specifically focused on encouraging mixing among these groups may be useful. There were also some interesting gender variations which future policies may wish to take into consideration. Male respondents were more likely to mix via work, school or college (56% compared to 43% of women), socially outside work (44% compared to 39% of women), and hobbies and sports clubs (38% compared to 26% of women), whereas female respondents were more likely to mix socially at home (32% compared to 27% of men).

We found that respondents from ethnic minorities tended to mix more than white people, although this probably reflects the fact that as minority groups they have more opportunity to mix with white people than vice versa. There did, however, appear to be some key differences within ethnic minority communities, with black people generally reporting that they mixed more regularly than Asian people.¹⁹ This reflects the 2005 National Citizenship Survey findings which showed that

¹⁶ See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE, forthcoming.

¹⁷ Three quarters (75%) of white people thought that religion caused divisions and only 14% thought it acted to bring people together, compared with 44% of black people who thought religion caused divisions and a similar proportion (45%) who thought it acted to bring people together. Among Asian people opinion was generally positive, with 58% feeling religion brought people together and only 31% feeling it caused divisions.

¹⁸ These variations existed for all locations with the exception of social mixing at shops, where there were less marked differences between subgroups. This indicates that a superficial level of mixing is occurring even among groups who are less meaningfully integrated.

¹⁹ Four fifths (83%) of black people mixed at least monthly with people from different ethnic groups in a home environment compared with 58% of Asian people and 27% of white people. Three quarters (75%) of black people

black people were considerably more likely to have friends from different ethnic groups than Asian and white people (90% compared with 82% among Asian people and 47% among white people).

Perhaps most interestingly, respondents who said they mixed both within the context of work, school and college and in more social situations were among the most positive about diversity and integration, while people who only mixed at work, school and college were considerably less so. This highlights the fact that it is not just social interaction that is important, but that the nature of interactions between people from different ethnic groups also play a role.

As noted earlier, the qualitative research and the 2002 survey we conducted for the CRE found that most respondents supported the idea of citizenship classes for migrants and agreed that new immigrants should be given opportunities to learn English. However, the qualitative research highlights some unease among the public about the idea of compulsion, and respondents, especially ethnic minority respondents, felt that attempts to improve integration through these sorts of mechanisms should be voluntary. Again this feeling that policies should be voluntary is one that was raised within the CRE research on promoting interaction between people from different ethnic groups.²⁰

Conclusions

- According to our representative survey, the British public value diversity as a strength of this country, but are less positive than other European countries about immigration. There appears to be a relationship between attitudes to immigration and attitudes to diversity more broadly, with people who are negative about migrants also more likely to be negative about diversity and vice versa.
- Race relations and immigration are now coming to be considered as the most important issue facing the country, and there has been a hardening of some attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities over the last few years.
- People living in Scotland and London are less likely to express negative sentiments. The Scotland findings are particularly interesting as traditionally we tend to find that people living in more ethnically homogeneous areas with little experience of new migrants tend to be more negative, rather than more positive.
- Overall growth in concern about race relations and immigration probably reflects the ongoing climate and issues relating to migration from EU accession countries, the impact of terrorism in the UK, and the politicisation of religion.
- However, it should be noted that in many cases explicit concerns about immigration appear to be more focused on the potential impact of new migrants on public service delivery

mixed at least monthly with people from different ethnic groups at work, school or college compared with 64% of Asian people and 47% of white people. Half (52%) of black people mixed at least monthly with people from different ethnic groups through hobbies or sports clubs compared with 34% of Asian people and 30% of white people. Seven in ten (71%) black people mixed at least monthly with people from different ethnic groups socially outside work compared with 59% among Asian people and 39% among white people. Three quarters (76%) of black people mixed at least monthly with people from different ethnic groups at the shops compared with 84% of Asian people and 60% of white people.

²⁰ See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE/SHM, forthcoming.

rather than negativity towards immigrants *per se*, which echoes findings from the CRE/ipp research conducted in 2006.

- Further, people's own experiences of prejudice and discrimination appear relatively unchanged from previous years. As such, the increased concerns about race relations and immigration nationally are likely to reflect, at least in part, the impact of media reporting.
- However, people do feel that it is not just the media which is having a negative impact on integration. People also believe that political correctness is acting to impede meaningful social interaction and, in some cases, is acting to hide underlying 'stealth racism'.
- Although there is public support for formal mechanisms for building a common sense of identity (like English language and citizenship classes) people feel that these should be voluntary and not compulsory.
- Further, both white people and ethnic minorities feel that opportunities for meaningful social interaction between people from different ethnic groups would actually be better at fostering a shared sense of Britishness than more formal means, reflecting the CRE's research in this area.²¹ The data also supports this notion with people who mix socially with others from different ethnic groups in a range of social situations (and not just at work, school or college) are far more positive about all aspects of integration and diversity.

Recommendations

- The fact that views on issues relating to immigration and diversity are not independent suggests the value of a joint strategy from the CRE to address concerns about both issues.
- Given that concerns about new migrants and immigration tend to relate to the impact of immigration on public services it may be useful for the CRE to publicise information about the net contribution of migrants and their actual impact on public services.
- There may be some value in the CRE further exploring the reasons underpinning more positive perceptions in Scotland (an area with comparatively few ethnic minorities and migrants) with a view to extrapolating best practice and highlighting lessons which can be applied nationwide.
- The qualitative research highlights that there is certainly scope for the CRE to further lobby for frank discussions on race relations unimpeded by political correctness.
- The perceptions gap between people's concerns about race relations across the country compared with their own experiences of discrimination and prejudice highlights the importance of any work the CRE can do to lever positive race relations stories through the national media.
- In terms of improving integration people would welcome any policies designed to encourage meaningful, voluntary interaction between different ethnic groups. In particular, focusing on socially excluded groups, where current levels of interaction are low.

²¹ See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE/SHM, forthcoming.

1. Living in Britain

The economy, public services, free speech and diversity were all seen as key positive attributes of life in Britain by participants in the discussion groups. However, people did have concerns, largely relating to their personal and family experiences of job insecurity, cost of living, education, youth culture and loss of community. In common with the CRE's research into new migrant communities,²² race relations and immigration did not tend to be 'top of mind' issues for most people when considering concerns in their own daily life. However, race relations and immigration were, in 2006, for the first time, seen to be the most important issue facing the country.²³ This is likely to reflect the perceptions gap we see across much of our survey work – people do not tend to see something as a problem in their own personal life, but they do feel it is an issue nationally.

This chapter examines people's perceptions of the positive and negative aspects of British life. It then goes on to look at the incongruence between the importance people attach to the issues of immigration and race relations in their own lives, compared to the importance they attach to these issues for the country as a whole. Finally, it considers the issue of class and economic inequality.

Positive aspects of life in Britain

Some participants in the discussion groups for the 2006 survey were proud of Britain's strong economy and good public services.

*We've got a strong, vibrant economy and a good education system I think ...
yeah, there's a lot to be proud of and a lot to praise Britain for*

Male, white, Scotland

However, in general, values, particularly free speech and diversity, were more prominent in participants' accounts of the positive aspects of life in Britain than economic factors or public services. Those in London and Scotland were particularly likely to cite diversity. This sense of positivity in Scotland is also reflected in the CRE's recent research into new migrant communities.²⁴

We live in a multi racial country ... we're just a nice mixed race country, really

Male, white, Scotland

This ties in with European Social Survey 2002/2003 findings that only a quarter of UK respondents (25%) wished to live in an area where *almost nobody* was of a race, colour or ethnic group different to themselves, compared with far higher proportions in countries like Greece (44%), Belgium (42%), Portugal (39%) and Denmark (37%). In fact, only Germany (22%) and Sweden (20%) were more positive than the UK on this measure.²⁵

For some participants in the discussion groups, valuing diversity can just mean observing and appreciating the variety of people around you; it need not involve interacting in a meaningful way with people from different groups.

²² See *The reception and integration of new migrant communities*, CRE/ipp, forthcoming.

²³ See Ipsos MORI Political Monitor, October 2006.

²⁴ See *The reception and integration of new migrant communities*, CRE/ipp, forthcoming.

²⁵ See the European Social Survey website (<http://ess.nsd.uib.no/>).

You walk down Holloway Road, the amount of accents, the amount of languages you will hear, just on this stretch of road, is absolutely amazing and that kind of thing I think is fantastic, the whole melting pot of people coming together

Female, black, London

However, the qualitative research also revealed some feeling, particularly in London, that when thinking about diversity there should not only be a focus on race, but also diversity of attitudes and values. From this perspective, a diverse population was seen as offering greater opportunities for individuals to learn from one another through meaningful interaction. The experience of interacting with people who live differently can, in this way, be seen to be a stimulus to change aspects of an individual's life. This reflects findings from the CRE's research into promoting interactions between people from ethnic groups.²⁶

I love the fact that you can see all different types of people, not just race and class, but just the way that people think ... it educates yourself. Do you know what I mean? I like being around a lot of different types of people, so then as an individual I'm able to make up my own mind of what path I choose

Male, mixed race, London

Freedom of speech was also widely regarded by participants in the discussion groups as a positive feature of British society, especially by those who had experienced more repressive systems.

We can say what we want

Male, black, London

A positive thing is I love to be able to demonstrate, something I couldn't do in Zimbabwe, or to just go out and meet people, have a discussion, ask people to sign petitions, just meet other people who think the same way as you

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

However, although some participants emphasised the intrinsic value of being free to express their point of view, regardless of the outcome, others questioned the value of being able to say what they wanted if decision-makers were not going to listen.

Yeah, the freedom of speech thing ... OK, we can say whatever we want, but they don't listen. Do you know what I mean? How many people demonstrated against the war and everything and like they didn't even bat an eyelid? But like, yeah, we can say what we want to an extent but it doesn't mean anything

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

Some participants also felt that political correctness placed excessive constraints on their freedom of expression, particularly when it came to discussing issues relating to race, and this was a common trend that emerged across all respondent types. This suggests that any work the CRE could do to break down the perceived barriers which political correctness places on discussions of race relations would certainly be welcomed by the public.

Participants' reservations about the extent of free speech and the value of formal free speech were reflected in the language used by some participants.

²⁶ See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE/SHM, forthcoming.

Yeah it's a democratic society; we've got so-called freedom of speech

Male, white, Scotland

Although values were central to how participants described the positive aspects of life in Britain, equality was not spontaneously mentioned as a key feature of British society. Only one participant in the groups mentioned equality as a positive feature of life in Britain, focussing on the progression of gender equality.

Male and female equality seems to be reaching a certain stage now where women have rights equal to men and so there's a progression, there's a development

Male, white, Scotland

Negative aspects of life in Britain

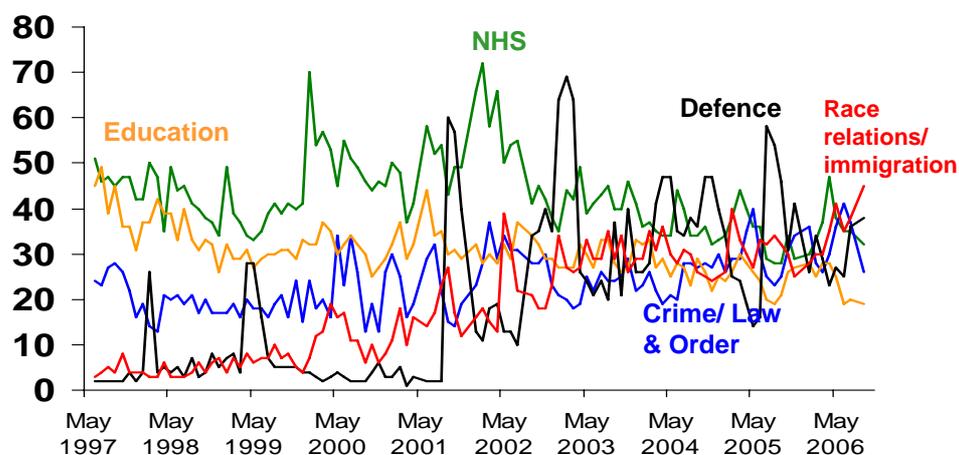
In 2006, for the first time since Ipsos MORI started recording this measure in the mid-sixties, immigration and race relations were considered the *most important* issue facing Britain (see Figure 1).²⁷ A quarter of people spontaneously cited immigration/race relations as the most important issue facing Britain (25%), compared to one in five who identified defence/foreign affairs/international terrorism (20%). Just over one in ten (13%) saw the NHS/hospitals as the most important issue facing Britain, with a similar proportion identifying crime (10%); this is interesting, as these issues are *traditionally* seen as most important.

When asked about *other* important issues facing Britain, the proportion of people mentioning immigration and race relations rose to over 40%. This represents an increase of ten percentage points since October 2005 (when 30% of the general public felt that race relations and immigration were an important issue facing Britain) and also the continuation of a longer-term rise. Half as many people (20%) considered race relations and immigration to be major issues facing Britain in May 2002. At that time, race relations and immigration were still secondary to the NHS.

It is important to understand the key factors underpinning this change in public priorities, and, to this end, further and more detailed research in this area may be useful. However, the qualitative research from this study suggests that these concerns are linked with a range of ongoing public policy issues including migration from EU accession countries and concerns about national security.

²⁷ See Ipsos MORI Political Monitor, October 2006.

**Figure 1: ‘What do you see as the main/other important issues facing Britain today?’
Responses by date (%)**



Base: c. 1,000 British adults 18+

Source: Ipsos MORI

Race relations and immigration not ‘top of the mind’ concerns in daily life

The high salience of race relations and immigration when people were asked for the most important issue facing Britain contrasts with the findings of the discussion groups. Although participants did see race relations and immigration as creating significant challenges for British society, few spontaneously mentioned these issues when asked about their personal concerns about life in Britain today. This trend was also observed in our recent work for the Equalities Review and in the ippr/CRE research²⁸ into new migrant communities, which found that ‘when participants were asked about what they liked or did not like about their community, local concerns over crime and safety, transport and access to services; as well as the environment dominated all discussions. Migration was never mentioned as a top concern’.

Similarly, in our own research, people tended to focus on economic insecurity, high living costs and pressures on public services. Indeed, these sorts of concerns tended to be shared by all people. Quality of education and the impact of negative youth culture were key concerns among parents and younger people, although they were mentioned to some extent by all.

Job insecurity really, a lot of work is being outsourced ... What will there be for them [the next generation] to do? Is there a future for our children when they grow up?

Female, Asian, Birmingham

Well, it just seems like you go to work to pay your bills, they keep inventing more and more bills, your wages don't go up the same as the cost of the bills that they keep inventing. I can't remember being so broke

Female, black, London

Across our local government work we often find that facilities and opportunities for young people are identified as top priority areas for improvement, and this finding was reflected particularly among the London participants in the qualitative research. There was a feeling among respondents

²⁸ See *The reception and integration of new migrant communities*, CRE/ippr, forthcoming.

that young people were alienated from mainstream values and it was difficult to re-engage them. Parents in particular were concerned about their children getting into trouble, and that a lack of opportunities for young people to interact socially in a safe environment fuelled this. More generally, participants were concerned that the negative influence of youth culture meant that many young people failed to realise their potential.

*Young, black, male youth, especially. I have a son of ten years old and I watch young, black, 13 to 17 year olds, who I just think, what planet are you living on? The whole gangster culture scares the **** out of me*

Female, black, London

I worry about the amount of black on black crime that goes on and what happens with my son ... [What] I'm concerned about is he doesn't go out at all ... He'll go out to go to work, he'll go out if he absolutely needs to go out but he will not go out otherwise 'cos he's terrified of the situations he might get into

Female, black, London

I think young people in general have got a lot of pent up aggression, I don't know what it's about and I don't know what the solution is

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

Asian participants in Birmingham expressed particular concerns about loss of community and declining trust within British society, although these concerns were expressed to some extent by all groups in our research. There was a sense that increasing materialism had partially displaced the value of community. Other quantitative research we have conducted shows that pressures on time and geographical mobility were also seen as significant causes of declining community spirit.²⁹ Two in five people (40%) thought that community spirit was in decline because people worked longer hours, 35% cited more time spent watching TV/on the internet, and 20% thought that people moved home more frequently and therefore didn't know their neighbours.

There was more of a community atmosphere, wasn't there?

Female, Asian, Birmingham

I can remember when people used to leave their front doors open in the daytime ... people say ... 'No, it couldn't happen', but it used to happen, people used to leave their front doors open

Male, Asian, Birmingham

I think the values have changed ... they're more materialistic nowadays

Male, Asian, Birmingham

The perceptions gap

One possible reason for the relatively few spontaneous mentions of concerns about race relations and immigrations in the discussion groups is that when participants were asked what worried them about life in Britain, they tended to focus on issues that concerned them in their daily lives. In contrast, when people were asked, in quantitative research, about the most important issue facing

²⁹ MORI Community Questionnaire. 1000 British adults, aged 16+. 28 November – 1 December 2003 (http://www.prospect-magazine.co.uk/article_details.php?id=5835).

Britain, they focused less on their personal experiences, and were more strongly influenced by a wider set of factors, including, in particular, media coverage.

This interpretation of the gap between the quantitative and qualitative research findings is consistent with existing evidence of a perceptions gap in relation to immigration and race relations: many people say that race relations and immigration are significant problems in Britain, but when asked about personal issues, these concerns are less likely to feature. For example, research by Ipsos MORI for the BBC found that 54% of the public agreed that parts of the country did not feel like Britain anymore because of immigration. However, only 12% thought that their local area did not feel like Britain any more because of immigration.³⁰ Indeed, participants in the discussion groups acknowledged that many concerns about immigration were a function of media coverage or second-hand information, rather than the result of personal experience. Bridging this perceptions gap is likely to require a counterbalance to negative media coverage of the issue.

Working class, white, English people have a real misconception of immigrants and the whole immigration thing, it's just, it's so twisted. And that's what you hear on the news and that's what you see in tabloid newspapers

Female, black, London

Similarly, foreign affairs/international terrorism was identified as the second most important issue facing Britain in our quantitative research. However, this did not feature highly as a spontaneous concern in the discussion groups. Participants felt that, although terrorism was a concern, the threat was greatly exaggerated by the media. There was a strong feeling that it was the media coverage of terrorism, rather than terrorism itself, which directly impacted on participants in their daily lives.

Class and economic inequality

Despite discussions about race relations and immigration, some participants felt that divisions between ethnic groups could result in people failing to recognise that their most fundamental problems were shared. Therefore, race relations were seen as a problem to the extent that they could be a barrier to solving more fundamental problems of class and economic inequality.

I think largely, people, whatever colour they are, have all got the same problems. If we're of the same class, and we're on the same wage, we've all got the same problems: we can't pay our poll tax, we've got too much bills, our children, whatever, but while we're all busy blaming each other about the situation, oh, you're taking all my houses, you're taking all my money, you're taking all my this, people haven't got time to talk to each other to do anything about the problems that they're under

Female, black, London

Indeed, many participants mentioned economic inequality and class divisions as greater issues today than divisions along ethnic or racial lines (although the two are inextricably linked given that ethnic minority groups are more likely to live in deprived areas). This finding had not emerged as strongly from our previous qualitative research into diversity and integration.

³⁰ MORI poll for the BBC. 1,004 British adults aged 16+, interviewed by telephone 8th August 2005. Data weighted to match the profile of the general population (<http://www.ipsos-mori.com/polls/2005/bbc050809.shtml>).

2. How immigration is shaping Britain

Most participants in our survey were unaware of the facts about immigration, and a large majority overestimated the proportion of immigrants. These misperceptions are significant because they appear to be related to less positive views about ethnic diversity and integration more generally. It is difficult to ascertain the causal direction of this relationship; that is, whether misperceptions about immigration cause people to be more negative about ethnic diversity, or vice versa. Nevertheless, the relationship suggests the value of a joint strategy addressing concerns about both immigration and race relations.

Most people felt that there were too many immigrants in Britain, with economic factors an important reason underlying this viewpoint, particularly the perception that immigrants took more than they contributed. Interestingly, in line with CRE research conducted by ippr,³¹ concerns relating to immigration were far lower in Scotland, and consequently participants in Scotland felt that migrants contributed more than they took. It may be that there are lessons which can be learned from the Scottish approach to integrating new migrant communities, which could be extrapolated and applied nationwide.

This chapter firstly covers people's perceptions of the size of the immigration issue. It then links perceptions of immigration to perceptions of diversity more generally, and goes on to explore what people really mean when they say they are concerned about immigration. This chapter also considers the extent to which people see migrants as net contributors or net beneficiaries in this country. Finally, it describes the role of the media in shaping these opinions and considers the geography of migration, in particular the extent to which immigration is an issue in specific areas of the country, or particular areas of a city.

Most people overestimate immigration

As discussed in Chapter 1, evidence from the discussion groups, as well as the ippr research, suggests that immigration is not a 'top of mind' concern for most participants in their personal lives. However, immigration is an issue about which many people have strong opinions. These opinions are formed in the context of widespread misperceptions about the extent of immigration to Britain. In our survey, all ethnic groups continued to overestimate the proportion of the population who are immigrants. In 2001, 8% of the UK population were born overseas,³² but white participants in our survey estimated the proportion, on average, at 22%, and participants from ethnic minorities estimated it as even higher, at 32%. Indeed, the discussion groups suggest that overestimations of the number of immigrants in Britain may be partly driven by the view that current immigration policy is very relaxed, perhaps more relaxed than other countries. This idea is supported by the European Social Survey 2002/3, which found that four-fifths (81%) of British people thought that 'far more people' came to live in Britain compared with other European countries of a similar size. The proportion agreeing with this statement in Britain was greater than in any other country surveyed.³³

³¹ See *The reception and integration of new migrant communities*, CRE/ippr, forthcoming.

³² See 2001 Census, Office for National Statistics.

³³ See the European Social Survey website (<http://ess.nsd.uib.no/>).

*Well, it's a changing world and Britain's really at the forefront of the change ...
We're letting everybody in, I'm not saying that's good or bad, but there's big
changes going to happen in Britain, that's for sure*

Male, white, Scotland

In fact, only one in five people (18%) in our survey had a fairly accurate perception of the number of immigrants in Britain, estimating the proportion to be between 6% and 10% (see Table 2). Interestingly, ethnic minority groups were in fact less likely than white people to have an accurate perception of immigration, with 11% estimating 6-10%, almost the same as in 2002 (10%). Among the general public, Londoners (23%) and those living in Yorkshire and Humberside (28%) were most likely to have an accurate perception. Those living in the East Midlands were most likely to give vast over-estimations (with 29% placing the proportion of immigrants at over 30%).³⁴

Table 2: 'What proportion of the British population do you think are immigrants to this country?' Responses date and group

	2006 general public	2006 ethnic minority 'booster'	2002 general public	2002 ethnic minority 'booster'
Base: All respondents	(1,063) %	(223) %	(822) %	(649) %
Up to 5%	12	5	9	8
6% - 10%	18	11	15	10
11% - 20%	21	12	18	9
31% - 30%	16	13	16	14
31% - 40%	9	16	11	11
41% - 50%	6	6	6	8
Over 50%	6	14	9	8
Don't know	12	23	16	32

Source: Ipsos MORI

Inaccurate perceptions of immigration are significant

Inaccurate perceptions of the number of immigrants matter, because they are linked with less positive attitudes towards diversity more generally. A third (33%) of those who thought that it was important to respect the rights of minority groups had accurate perceptions of immigration (that is, they estimate the proportion of immigrants to be up to 10%) compared to less than one in five (18%) of those who thought that it was not important to respect the rights of minority groups. Similarly, those who thought that Britain was a place that had good relations between people from different ethnic backgrounds were less likely to seriously overestimate the proportion of immigrants in Britain.

³⁴ There was a small base size of 70 respondents in the East Midlands. Absolute percentages should therefore be treated with caution although the findings remain statistically significant.

Interestingly, the view that there are too many migrants remained stable between 2002 and 2005 (59% in 2005, 61% in 2002). However, the proportion of ethnic minorities who felt there were too many immigrants in Britain increased significantly during this period, from 46% to 53%. We are unclear as to the reason for this shift, but it may be linked with perceptions recorded in the CRE/ippr research, which found that negative sentiments towards new migrants are held by white and non-white communities alike.

The relationship between perceptions of immigration and attitudes towards ethnic diversity may be partly a function of misperceptions about the nature of immigration to Britain. Half (53%) of the foreign-born population in Britain in 2001 was white.³⁵ However, two-thirds of the general public thought that most immigrants were of a different ethnic group to the majority of people in Britain³⁶. Some ethnic minority participants in the discussion groups also felt that immigrants were often stereotyped as coming from ethnic minority backgrounds and the significant number of white immigrants from the Antipodes and Western Europe was not widely recognised. New eastern European migrant groups were noted to a far greater extent than encountered in previous qualitative research for the CRE in 2002, although this is to be expected since they only recently joined the EU.

The bigger picture is the Europeans coming into the country

Male, Asian, Birmingham

Therefore, public perceptions of immigration and attitudes towards diversity are not independent. It is not possible to establish causality from these results; for example, it is not clear whether more accurate perceptions of levels of immigration lead to more positive attitudes towards diversity or vice versa. However, the fact that views on these issues are not independent suggests the value of a joint strategy to address concerns about both immigration and race relations.

Concerns about immigration reflect feelings about public services and jobs

Evidence from the discussion groups suggests that concern about the extent of immigration is also driven by perceptions that immigrants are not contributing economically, and by the view that immigration places additional pressures on public services. Although participants in the groups were concerned about the integration of immigrants into British society and culture, these concerns seemed to be secondary to the perceived impact on public services. Indeed, for some participants in the discussion groups, the positive social and cultural effects of immigration were partly negated by additional pressures on public services.

Again, this ties in with the key findings of the CRE/ippr research³⁷ into new migrant communities which concluded 'there has been considerable tension and anxiety around the arrival of new migrant communities centring around jobs and wages; welfare entitlements and housing; impacts in public services; and cultural threats. The greatest hostilities stem from perceived economic injustice'. Indeed, it seems that people's explicit concerns about 'immigration' are actually concerns about access to public services, and it may be useful for the CRE to publicise the net contributions of migrants more broadly as a means of combating negative public opinion.

³⁵ See 2001 Census, Office for National Statistics.

³⁶ See the European Social Survey website (<http://ess.nsd.uib.no/>).

³⁷ See *The reception and integration of new migrant communities*, CRE/ippr, 2007.

It's great for my children to mix with people from other countries, but it's not great for them all to be educated all in one mass together when half the kids don't speak English as their first language, and it just holds the school classes up

Female, white, Scotland

As highlighted, competition over resources tends to be at the heart of public attitudes towards immigration. Some participants in the discussion groups, who were immigrants, detected the feeling among British-born residents that they were in competition for scarce resources. This quote illustrates the complex relationship between attitudes to ethnic diversity and perceptions of immigration: the target of economic resentment may be immigrants, but the resentment can also be experienced by anyone from an ethnic minority group.

They see you as somebody that has come to take their money ... I think that is what is really affecting the relationship, you see a black man or somebody that is an immigrant, you feel they are ... the ones that deprive you

Male, black, London

One of the clearest messages concerning immigration to emerge from the discussion groups is that immigrants must contribute to the British economy. The relationship should be a reciprocal one: if immigrants benefit economically from moving to Britain, they also ought to put something back. The view that immigrants were welcome, as long as they contributed economically, was particularly salient in the Scottish group, where respondents had the most limited contact with ethnic minority groups.

As long as people that are coming here are contributing, do you know what I mean, then I don't think it can be anything but good

Female, white, Scotland

Skills and qualifications, necessary skills and qualifications that are going to serve our society and ... obviously give them back something as well. It's a two way street, of course it is, rather than just completely opening your doors to anybody to come in

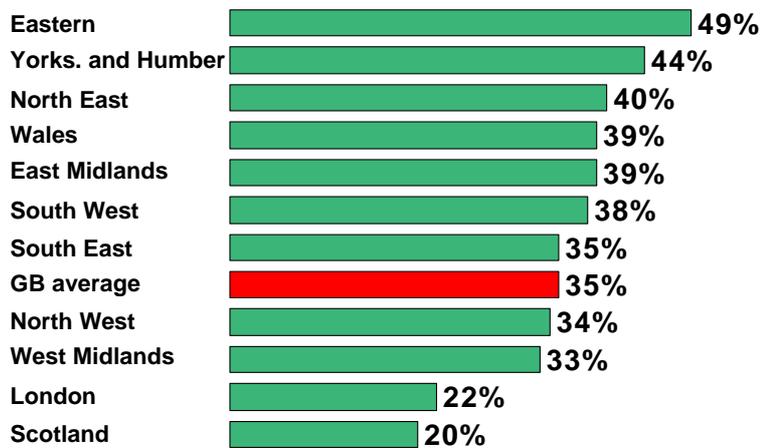
Male, white, Scotland

Interestingly, our aggregated Political Monitor data³⁸ shows that race and immigration is less of a concern in Scotland than in the other English Government Office regions and Wales (see Figure 2), including London, which may explain the more positive views held by participants in Scotland. This trend is also reflected in recent CRE research conducted by ippr³⁹ which found that 'participants from Scottish locations appeared to be the most positive in their reception of new migrants, mainly due to tight labour markets and the perception that migration has impacted Scotland to a lesser degree than England'. Indeed, it appears as though lessons from the Scottish approach to integrating migrants may be usefully applied more broadly across the nation.

³⁸ See Ipsos MORI Political Monitor, October 2006 (aggregated data from January to September 2006).

³⁹ See *The reception and integration of new migrant communities*, CRE/ippr, forthcoming.

Figure 2: ‘What would you say is the most important issue facing Britain today? What do you see as other important issues facing Britain today?’ Percentage of respondents who identified immigration as a key concern, by area



Base: GB Adults aged 18+ years January – September 2006 Ipsos MORI Omnibus c. 9,000

Source: Ipsos MORI

Are immigrants net contributors?

The fact that most participants gave a conditional welcome to immigrants suggests that attitudes towards immigration may become positive with information about the net contribution of immigrants to the British economy. Some participants in the discussion groups already saw immigrants as net contributors. Participants not only valued the economic contribution of skilled migrants, but also felt that unskilled migrant workers were prepared to do jobs that British-born people were unwilling to do. The view that immigrants fulfilled the criterion of reciprocity was particularly strong among black participants in London. Furthermore, many participants felt that immigrants were essential to the success of the British economy and the operation of public services. It is interesting to note that within the context of a group discussion, people tended to focus on legal and illegal economic migrants, rather than asylum seekers or refugees or settled ethnic minority communities. This perhaps reflects public definitions of migrant communities.

I think immigration has made this country stronger

Male, black, London

Every single group you can think about contributes more than what they take out

Male, black, London

People who are recruited from overseas like into the NHS from the Philippines and all of the people who come here and really want to work and want to just do something good with their lives are really contributing a lot to society and it's very valuable. Without the overseas immigrants a lot of things here wouldn't run

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

It's like they say all the Africans are cleaning the Underground. Why? Because they're prepared to work for a pittance when English people aren't. It scares me the way that these white people are like, 'I'm not doing that job because it's beneath me' but yet they're ready to bleed the system. They want to talk about

race and they want to talk about other races but hey, maybe they need to take a good look at themselves

Female, black, London

However, some participants felt that immigrants did not fulfil the criterion of reciprocity. Evidence from the European Social Survey 2002/3 suggests that this view is prevalent.⁴⁰ Respondents were asked whether people who came to Britain took out more than they put in or put in more than they took out. On a scale of 0-10, where 0 means 'generally take more out' and 10 means 'generally put more in', the mean response among the British public was 3.88.

Following on from this, there was some desire among participants in the discussion groups for more restrictive immigration policies in general. This was less of an issue in London, where concerns centred on controlling illegal immigration, rather than reducing immigration *per se*. Outside London, some participants were concerned that there was insufficient discrimination between skilled and unskilled migrant workers, while others felt that access to benefits by immigrants should be restricted. There was also a perception among some Asian participants that the British economy does not need immigrant labour, as it had when their parents moved to Britain after the Second World War. This reinforces the fact that attitudes towards immigration are strongly shaped by beliefs about economic imperatives.

I think Britain has to be more strict with immigration ... people who come into this country have to contribute to Britain. They can't just wander in and just do nothing

Male, white, Scotland

The debate now is that they're not contributing, they're coming over here in their thousands and really there's not any legislation in there to say you're a plumber, you're an electrician you can do this, they're just coming here with no skills whatsoever

Male, white, Scotland

The country cannot sustain the amount of people that's coming in, for the long term anyway ... why don't you stop the Social Security or something like that, and only give it to the people that deserve it in this country, people who work?

Male, Asian, Birmingham

Our fathers came here. But there was a need for it at the time ... Nowadays I think the whole situation is changed ... we haven't got the jobs here any more. But yet, the amount of people coming in the country is probably greater now than at any other time in our history

Male, Asian, Birmingham

Is Britain fulfilling its side of the reciprocal bargain?

Although most participants' concerns centred on whether immigrants were making a positive contribution to the British economy, there was also concern that immigrants were exploited in the British labour market. The quality of life enjoyed by immigrants was not necessarily seen to be

⁴⁰ See the European Social Survey website (<http://ess.nsd.uib.no/>).

better than the life they left behind, and many felt that immigrants were not treated fairly or as equals.

They come over and they're being paid an absolute pittance for building our roads now. It used to be the Irish and now it's the Polish and they're just really put upon. All right, they need a job, but actually because they're so desperate for a job they're just being paid like £2.50 an hour to do really heavy, laborious jobs

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

The way they see it is 'Ah, it's so easy to get money here' but when they come here and they're having to work seven days a week, probably twelve hours a day then they don't, they don't have a better life

Female, Asian, Birmingham

Media representation of immigration

As discussed earlier, media representations are a powerful mediating factor between experiences and perceptions of immigration. This finding is evident in participants' explicit remarks about the power of media coverage, and also reflected in the way they voiced their fears about immigration.

It's this thing of people coming in lorries and stuff like that. We're all terrified of thugs coming in that way. I think that the borders have to be tighter and that they should sort out immigration now

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

Black and Asian participants were particularly concerned that media coverage of immigration was creating hostility towards immigrants within ethnic minority communities. The language in which immigration was described, for example 'flooding', is seen to have a powerful effect.

I've actually seen people like myself, black Brits, standing there talking about Somalian people, saying, 'Oh, they've come over here and taken all our jobs' ... This has come from the media, the way they talk about it, flooding our country

Female, black, London

The media's a powerful thing because, if it's portrayed in the newspapers ... so many thousand people coming in, overcrowding ... if Asians tend to think, 'My God what are we going to do?', can you imagine what the white people think? They probably think, 'Oh my God', and that's [media] where the fear's coming from

Female, Asian, Birmingham

This certainly ties in with the CRE discourse analysis of election media coverage conducted by Loughborough University,⁴¹ which found that the combined issues of race, religion, asylum and immigration had increased in importance since the 1997 general election, and that press coverage of immigration issues was greater in the 2005 election than it had been in the previous two.

⁴¹ M. Billig, J. Downey, J. Richardson, D. Deacon and P. Golding, 'Britishness' in the last three general elections: from ethnic to civic nationalism, Loughborough Centre for Communications Research, Loughborough University, 2006.

The geography of immigration

Participants in the discussion groups also highlighted the importance of the geographical distribution of immigrants to the impact of immigration. This reflects many of the concerns highlighted by Trevor Phillips in his ‘Sleepwalking to Segregation’ speech of September 2005.⁴² Participants in the London groups raised concerns about the effect of the concentration of immigrants in social housing in already deprived areas. Many people described how ‘ghettos’ have been created by ill thought-out housing policy in relation to immigration.

If you're going to build social housing and limited social housing and put immigrants... in certain areas you're creating ghettos

Male, black, London

I think immigration is a great thing and it's very healthy for the country as a whole. However, it's not going to be great when all you're going to do is get immigrants ... and put them in a big tower block in the middle of some ghetto

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

Participants outside London tended to put less emphasis on the role of housing policy and were more likely to see the geographical separation of immigrants as a matter of natural choice. They were mainly concerned about the lack of interaction between existing communities and newly arrived groups, rather than the impact of concentrated immigration on already deprived neighbourhoods. While participants acknowledged that communities may want to ‘stick together’, they now talk in the language of ‘parallel lives’ and ‘ghettos’, in contrast to the qualitative research we conducted for the CRE in 2002.

It's all right diversifying but they don't actually come into Leith, they have their communities and then you get like a ghetto ... They come in and they have an area and they take over, they're all like America, you've got all your different cultures but they're on their own

Male, white, Scotland

A lot of people probably don't speak English when they come over so of course you're going to stick with who you're comfy with ... I'd do that if I went abroad

Female, white, Scotland

I don't think that they've [different ethnic and religious groups] ever really mixed properly, but they get on with each other

Male, Asian, Birmingham

The issue of cultural divisions and parallel lives is explored further in Chapter 5.

⁴² ‘After 7/7: Sleepwalking to segregation’, speech made by Trevor Phillips to Manchester Council for Community Relations on 22 September 2005. (<http://www.cre.gov.uk/Default.aspx?LocID-0hgnew07s.ReflLocID-0hg00900c002.Lang-EN.htm#participation>)

3. Defining identity

Participants in the discussion groups in England tended to feel British than English, whereas for Scottish participants national identity was more powerful than a sense of Britishness. Britishness was generally felt to be a more inclusive identity, which could incorporate elements of ethnic minority culture whereas Englishness was felt to be more likely to be equated with being white. However, the British identity was also felt to be vague, and there was no clear consensus about the values, institutions, or behaviours that constituted it. Despite this lack of clarity, most people supported the idea of citizenship classes for immigrants and agreed that new immigrants should be made to learn English. However, for the most part people justified this in practical and economic terms, rather than in terms of building a common sense of identity. As such, these sorts of classes are unlikely to impact on people's perceptions of whether enough is being done to improve integration and promote a sense of shared identity.

Additionally, it is important to note that there may be some element of political correctness at play when the public considers notions of ethnic identity and Britishness. Only 10% of participants thought that people have to be white to be truly British. But when asked whether ethnic minorities needed to demonstrate a real commitment to this country before they could be considered British, nearly three quarters agreed (73%). The feeling, regardless of country of birth, appears to be that 'you don't have to be white to be British, but it helps'.

This chapter explores the concepts of British, ethnic and national (English/Scottish/Welsh) identity: what these identities mean to people; the degree to which they are static and the extent to which people identify with each. It then goes on to consider how best to foster a shared sense of Britishness and what factors may currently be impeding this.

Ethnic minorities feel multiple identities

Although some participants in the mixed ethnicity group felt comfortable identifying themselves as English, our qualitative research generally revealed that people from ethnic minority groups were more likely to adopt a British than an English identity. However, the research also revealed the fluidity which characterises the identity of many ethnic minority participants. The country of their parents' origin was central to how many second-generation ethnic minority participants described their identity, but their identity was also made up of their ethnicity and where they lived, as well as their Britishness. No third generation migrants were interviewed as part of this research so it is difficult to hypothesise whether country of origin continues to be as important for the next generation. These findings reflect the quantitative research we conducted for the CRE in 2002.

You can't divorce your parents' origins from your own identity. You can't divorce the colour of your skin from your own identity or where you actually live

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

British, 'cos my parents are ... my parents came from British Guyana when it was a colony and it was owned by Britain, so I was British

Male, black, London

It is also interesting to note that identity was not fixed for many participants, but was a function of context. A dual identity can mean adopting one identity in private and personal situations and a

different identity in public situations. In particular, some ethnic minority participants felt that their ethnic identity was strongest when they were at home with family or in the area where they lived, while their British identity was dominant at work or school, or when socialising with white friends. This reflects what Trevor Phillips referred to as an 'identity spike', where one aspect of identity is seen to take precedence over other elements.⁴³

I think when I was a kid it was a complete divide in the middle. Half the day I was Asian and half the day I was British

Male, Asian, Birmingham

However, this fluidity of identity is not accepted by some white participants. The feeling that ethnic minorities privilege their national identity over their ethnic identity only part of the time can be a source of resentment.

They're only Scottish when they feel like it. They had loads of them in my school and you'd sit, you'd have school ... and then it's just all of a sudden when something happened, 'Oh we don't want to be with you', and that created a load of resentment

Male, white, Scotland

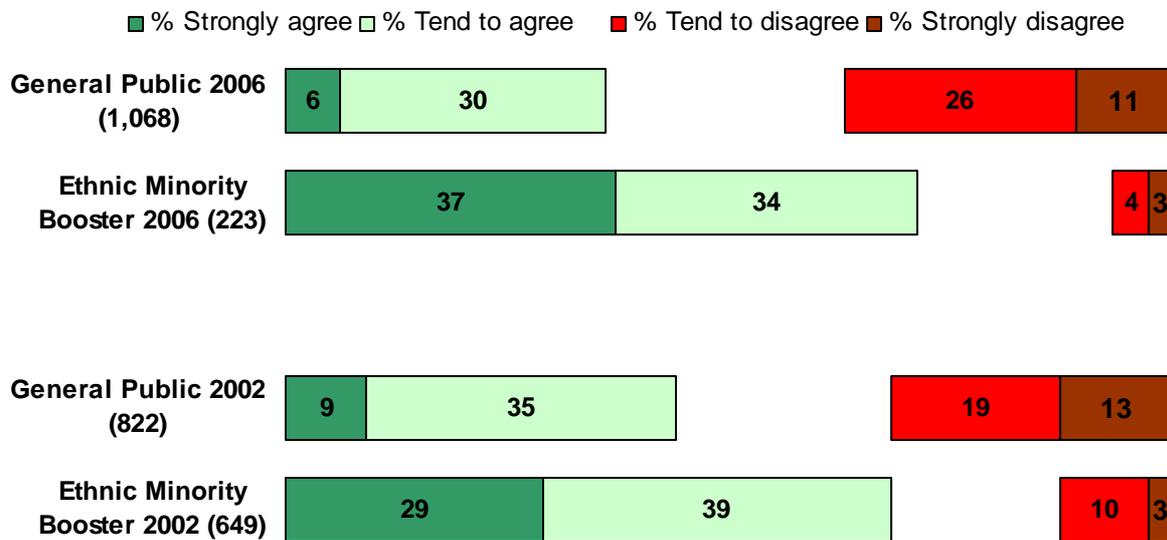
Indeed, opinions among participants were mixed when it came to ethnic minorities being allowed to maintain their own cultural identities; if anything, opinions expressed in the 2006 survey were more negative than attitudes in 2002. In 2002, we found that a fifth (19%) of people disagreed that it is a good thing for immigrants to maintain the lifestyle and culture of their country of origin; this had risen to a quarter (26%) by 2006 (see Figure 3). However, as might be expected, tying in with our qualitative findings, ethnic minorities continued to be positive about immigrants maintaining the lifestyle and culture they had at home, with Asian respondents more likely to be positive about this than black people (81% compared with 53%). In fact, attitudes among participants from ethnic minorities on this issue became more positive between 2002 and 2006; in 2002, 37% strongly agreed that it is a good thing for immigrants to maintain their culture, compared to 29% in 2002. In line with the qualitative research, Londoners (55%) and Scots (51%)⁴⁴ were more positive about this issue than average (36%), while those living in the east of England were least positive (20%). People may answer in the negative for a number of reasons, including concerns about people from ethnic minorities maintaining their own culture at the expense of integrating, and the assumption that diverse cultural identities are incompatible with integration.

⁴³ Speech made by Trevor Phillips at Isaiah Berlin Lecture on 12 July 2006.

(<http://www.cre.gov.uk/Default.aspx?LocID-0hgnew0hn.RefLocID-0hg00900c002.Lang-EN.htm>)

⁴⁴ There was a small base size of 89 respondents. Absolute percentages should therefore be treated with caution, although the findings do remain statistically significant.

Figure 3: ‘I would like you to tell me to what extent you agree or disagree: ‘It is a good thing that immigrants who settle in this country maintain the culture and lifestyle they had at home’.’ Responses by date and group



Source: Ipsos MORI

Some ethnic minority participants, especially mixed race participants, felt that the complexity of their identity was often not recognised. For example, a person may be seen as black, when this is not how they identify themselves, or is only one part of their identity.

I'm a mix of a lot of different things, but because I'm black people just think, 'Oh, he's just black' and ... that's that

Male, mixed race, London

A lot of people class mixed race as just black and white. It could be Chinese and African, but the majority of people just think mixed race is just black and white

Female, mixed race, London

Multiple identities make it difficult for some ethnic minority participants to say whether they would support England or Britain in sports matches. Participants in the discussion groups said they felt that this kind of question, or 'loyalty test', forced them to choose one dimension of their identity, when each was essential.

It's forcing you to take sides. It's forcing you to say, 'Well, I like this side of me better than that side of me' and basically both sides are what make me

Male, mixed race, London

Englishness equated by many with white

The qualitative research also provides some insight into why ethnic minorities are more likely to adopt a British than an English identity. Among most black participants in London, Englishness was regarded as an exclusively white identity, whereas Britishness was felt to be more inclusive.

This is consistent with the findings of our quantitative research and with the CRE's own research conducted in 2005 by Ethnos.⁴⁵

I think English is more geared towards white

Female, black, London

For me, the English people I know, the ones that class themselves as English, are white. They come from a white mother, white father, either parents fought the war or grandparents fought the war

Female, black, London

For many participants, their rejection of an English identity is driven by experiences of discrimination and the feeling that white people do not regard them as English. They feel it would be difficult to adopt an English identity even if they wanted to, as this is not how other people identify them.

I don't think that you can adopt a culture or adopt a nationality when English people will never see you as English if you've got black skin, never

Male, black, London

I was born in Westminster, at the end of the day I really should describe myself, I was born here, I'm English, but you really can't do that because, at the end of the day, you are not accepted as being so

Male, black, London

Well, a lot of people ask me, where are you from? And I say, I'm English...and I usually get, yeah, but where are you really from?

Male, mixed race, London

Ethnic monitoring – is it necessary?

Ethnic minority participants in the discussion groups spontaneously mentioned ethnic monitoring in relation to identity issues. Many black and Asian participants said they resented being asked to state their ethnicity for monitoring purposes. Some participants felt that racial equality required people to be difference-blind; therefore they believed there was no justification for asking people to provide information about their ethnicity. Anecdotally, from this qualitative research and other research we have conducted in this area, it seems that second generation ethnic minorities, who tend to be more aware of equality-related issues, are more likely to articulate these concerns than first generation or new migrants. Concerns in this area highlight the potential need to further publicise the reasons underlying this type of monitoring.

I think it's a bit insulting to ask people what ethnic [background] you are ... Because if you're trying to be fair, why do you need to know what ethnic background? I've never really understood, however many times that's been explained to us, why we have to constantly be bombarded

Female, black, London

⁴⁵ See *Citizenship and Belonging: What is Britishness?*, CRE, 2005. (<http://www.cre.gov.uk/research/britishness.html>). It is, however, worth noting that participants in the mixed ethnicity discussion group were more positive about English identity.

I don't see why we can't just put British cos we've got British passports, we were born here, why do we have to say if we are Asian?

Female, Asian, Birmingham

If colour isn't supposed to make a difference in society, why are they asking the question?

Female, black, London

Ethnic monitoring also has an impact on identity. For some participants, ethnic monitoring constituted a barrier to identifying themselves as English. Not being 'allowed' to adopt an English or British identity on ethnic monitoring forms and instead being required to be seen as a combination of their ethnic and national identity (for instance, British Asian Pakistani) was seen as part of a wider problem of society privileging the ethnic component of people's identity.

Because they always remind us that we're ethnic, even going back to this paperwork, we are always reminded, we can't say that we're just English

Female, black, London

English and Scottish or British?

Most discussion group participants in Scotland identified strongly with being Scottish, and rejected the British identity. This seems to be driven mainly by a desire to distinguish between Scottish and other national identities, particularly English. Scotland is seen as having a distinctive culture and history, which ought to be acknowledged as such.

For me there's a difference between a Scotsman and an Englishman, a Welshman or an Irishman – so I'm Scottish

Male, white, Scotland

We're a small nation, about five million people and we've got a rich history ... We're a Celtic nation, we're not like an Anglo-Saxon nation, it's a different thing, and yeah I think the Scots are a very proud, passionate race of people

Male, white, Scotland

Some Scottish participants felt that their distinctiveness is not adequately recognised by many English people, who saw Scots as a subgroup of England. Again, this is an attitude we have observed in other qualitative work.

There are English people that see Scotland as a kind of colony of England and that's what annoys many, many Scots ... we're England, you're just a wee subsidiary of England, you're Scotland. And that's the mentality, now a lot of English people don't see ... Scotland as a separate nation

Male, white, Scotland

Some participants felt that the distinctiveness of the Scottish identity had displaced any sense of a common British identity in Scotland. This sense of separation among some Scottish participants is a factor which any attempt to forge an inclusive British identity must consider.

We have really lost our British identity really, eventually we're going to go on our own, aren't we? That's the way it's going. We've lost our British identity

Male, white, Scotland

However, although some Scottish participants felt that there was no overarching British identity that united the individual nations, they did not see national divisions as a source of real conflict; a history of conflict, and a distinctive Scottish identity, were not regarded as barriers to friendly relationships between Scottish and English people.

And there is banter, there is, you knock the Welsh or the English or bug against the Welsh or blab, blab, blab. When it comes down to it I would hope anyway that it's just banter

Female, white, Scotland

We've had our wars with the English down the centuries and you let bygones be bygones and you live today as neighbours and friends and as colleagues at work or whatever and that's the way it should be

Male, white, Scotland

A minority of participants in England saw an important distinction between an English and a British identity. Firstly, a few participants in England identified themselves as English and explicitly rejected a British identity, because they felt more affiliation with England on grounds of birth and residency. Secondly, as discussed previously, the English identity was problematic for many black participants. Finally, a few participants in England rejected an English identity because of the implied separation from the other nations, which is the opposite of the attitude observed among many Scottish participants.

I'd say English. And on the forms that you have to fill out it's always British. I don't see myself as British because I'm from England

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

I've got relatives in Scotland, I've got relatives in Wales. So it's bizarre to say English, do you know what I mean? So I'd say English/British if I can say that because of the connection with all, otherwise you separate yourself

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

However, for most other participants in England the distinction between an English and a British identity was not a significant one.

Well, let's say English, but I'm not sure of the difference between England and British

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

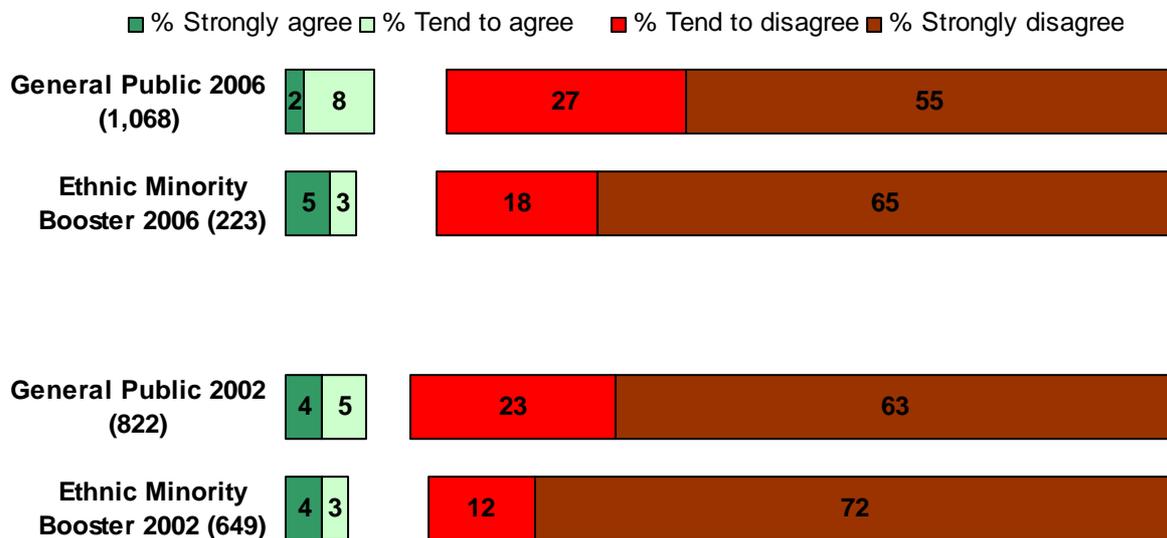
Resentment of fluid and multiple identities, raised in relation to ethnic minorities, occurred again in the context of the relationship between British and English identity. For instance, Scottish participants felt that the English adopted a British identity when they wished to associate themselves with the achievements of Scottish people, but claimed the achievements of English people for England.

If you get somebody who's Scottish that's won an event, they've done it for Britain, and if they're English, they've done it for England and that winds me up

Britishness is not equated with being white in the same way that Englishness is

The view that to be truly British you have to be white was rejected by large majorities of people in all groups. This quantitative finding reinforces the qualitative research that Britishness is a more inclusive concept than Englishness. One in ten (10%) white respondents equated Britishness with being white. A similar proportion (8%) of ethnic minorities felt this way (see Figure 4), although black people were more likely to equate Britishness with being white than Asians (13% compared with 5%). Those living in the North West (15%) and Wales (20%) were most likely to equate Britishness with being white. There also appeared to be a slight hardening of attitudes over time, with far fewer ethnic minorities and white people strongly rejecting this view than in 2002.

Figure 4: ‘I would like you to tell me to what extent you agree or disagree: ‘To be truly British you have to be white.’ Responses by date and group



Source: Ipsos MORI

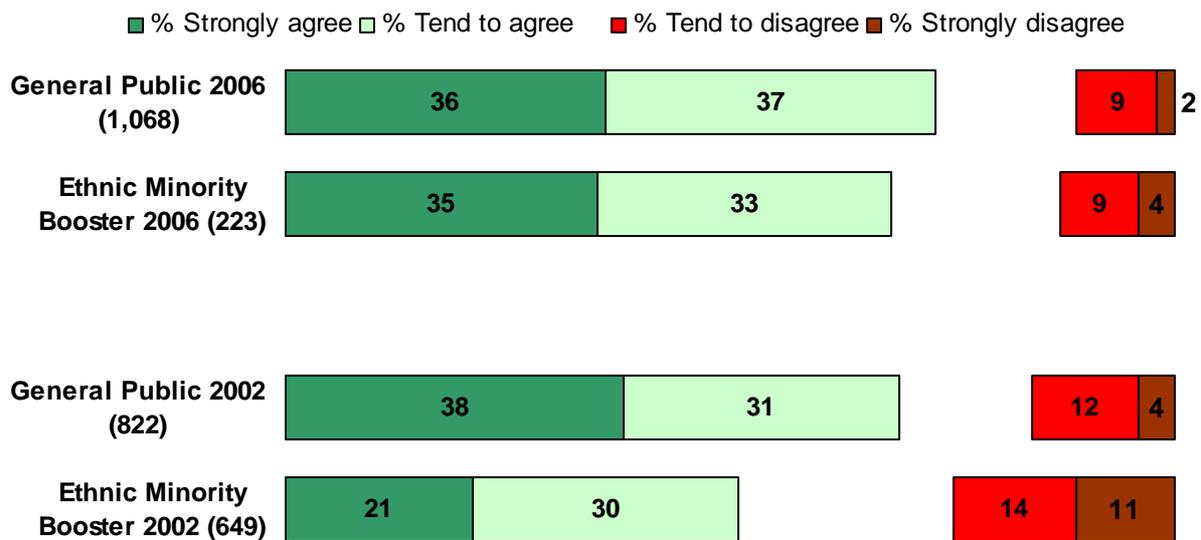
Although large majorities in all groups rejected the view that you need to be white to be truly British, those with positive attitudes towards ethnic diversity and optimistic views about the progress of integration, were significantly more likely to reject an ethnically restrictive view of Britishness.⁴⁶

On the other hand, those who felt that being British is about being white were more likely to think that ethnic minorities’ Britishness is conditional on their demonstrating commitment to the country. The proportion of participants who agreed that ethnic minorities need to demonstrate commitment to the country to be considered British maintained 2002 levels (69% in 2002 to 73%

⁴⁶ Only 8% of those who agreed that it was important to respect the rights of minority groups thought that to be truly British means to be white, compared to 21% of those who disagreed. Only 8% of those who thought that different ethnic and religious groups mixed more than five years ago agreed with the view that to be truly British you must be white, compared to 14% who thought that interaction between different groups was less than five years ago.

in 2006) (see Figure 5). However, it is interesting to note that, among participants from ethnic minorities, opinion became more hard-line between 2002 and 2006, with ethnic minorities now far more likely to feel people need to demonstrate commitment.⁴⁷ There were no significant geographic variations on this measure.

Figure 5: ‘I would like you to tell me to what extent you agree or disagree: ‘People from ethnic minorities need to demonstrate a real commitment to this country before they can be considered British.’ Responses by date and group



Source: Ipsos MORI

These correlations suggest that there is a web of positive relationships between respect for minority groups, optimism about integration and an inclusive view of Britishness. Therefore, the debate about the nature of Britishness cannot be seen independently of a wider set of issues about race relations and integration.

No consensus about what Britishness is

Although there is widespread agreement that Britishness is not defined by ethnicity, our research shows that there is no consensus about what constitutes a sense of Britishness. This is consistent with our findings in 2002 and ties in with the CRE/Ethnos research findings.⁴⁸ There are a number of potential bases for a unifying national identity: a common lifestyle, culture, or values; a shared history or founding myths; shared political institutions; a constitution. However, public opinion about Britishness does not seem to have coalesced around any of these. Furthermore, our qualitative research finds that the debate about the need to build a more explicit common British identity risks alienating some people from ethnic minorities: some participants resented the implication that they needed to be told to be British. Any attempt to forge a stronger sense of Britishness will clearly need to be sensitive to this.

⁴⁷ In 2002, 51% of people from ethnic minorities thought ethnic minorities needed to demonstrate real commitment to the country before they could be considered British; this had increased to 68% by 2006.

⁴⁸ See *Citizenship and Belonging: What is Britishness?*, CRE, 2005. (<http://www.cre.gov.uk/research/britishness.html>)

Everyone's telling us to be British but we didn't think we had to adopt it. I thought we were it

Female, Asian, Birmingham

Some participants in the discussion groups seemed to regard diversity as a barrier to a common national identity; Britishness is seen as a characteristic of an earlier, less diverse era and is no longer viable.

There's no such thing as typically British any more

Male, Asian, Birmingham

Some participants even felt that the cultural diversity of modern British society makes a historical account of the nature of British identity particularly inappropriate.

The Commonwealth, the time when we ruled the waves and we owned Canada, Australia, India, half the world and half of Africa, which I think is sometimes a bit of a problem actually cos I think there's certain people just cannot get that mentality out of their heads. I think some English people still think that

Male, white, Scotland

Our qualitative and quantitative research reveals great complexity in the question of the relationship between cultural diversity, tolerance and Britishness. That is, diversity and tolerance are seen as at once characteristic of Britishness, the antithesis of Britishness and barriers to a common Britishness.

The discussion groups provide further insight into what people think typifies Britishness, as well as the reasons why people find it so difficult to say what Britishness is. As evident in the quantitative research, typically British can mean particular foods ('*Sunday roast*'), character traits ('*sarcasm*'), activities or styles of dress. The difficulty of characterising modern Britishness is evident in the way in which many participants relied on common stereotypes rather than exploring the detail of what a shared British identity might mean in everyday life.

For some ethnic minority participants, because the concept of Britishness is so vague, they were less able to say they were proud of this part of their identity.

[I am] a proud African

Male, black, London

Although participants found it difficult to characterise Britishness, two distinct perspectives on what could unite people in Britain emerged from the discussion groups. Common values, such as fair play, and participation in common activities, such as sports, were both identified as potential bases of unity.

We're very compassionate, aren't we? I think we are

Male, white, Scotland

We've got a sense of fair play. There's a sense of fair play

Male, white, Scotland

Sports, festivals, political discussions

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

At the football ground, Anfield, singing 'You'll never walk alone' with just about everyone else there and nobody looks at your colour

Male, Asian, Birmingham

The current debate about Britishness has largely focused on cultural and religious diversity, both in the case for seeking out unifying British values, and in the reasons why it is difficult to identify such common values. However, participants in the discussion groups also identified class divisions as significant to the debate about Britishness and cohesion. This is an issue which was hardly mentioned by participants in our 2002 research. This suggests that any attempt to build a unifying British identity will need to recognise socio-economic as well as cultural and religious differences.

There's different morals and different views on things and the way people see the world on that side of class than there is on this side of class and because of that there's clashes in the middle

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

Potential bases of unity and barriers to cohesion are discussed further in Chapter 5.

Can immigrants become British?

Respondents expressed a range of views when asked whether immigrants could become 'British'. Participants believed that legally it was relatively easy for people to become British and to acquire British passports, and this is a finding also reflected in the CRE/Ethnos study of Britishness.⁴⁹ However, respondents noted that it was somewhat more difficult to be considered by Brits as 'one of them'. Indeed, some participants from ethnic minorities also said that they did not wish to become British, as they felt in some way this would require them to discard their previous or other identity.

A lot of people, immigrants that come here, don't want to integrate, they don't want to learn to speak the language, they don't want to be part of the culture. Whatever the British culture is they don't want to be part of it, they want to stay segregated in a little section of wherever they are, they want to be with their own, they don't want to mix

Female, black, London

But should you have to? ... You can still live in this country and still have all your things from other countries, do you know what I mean, without being made to feel really bad

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

How can we encourage a sense of Britishness?

Quantitative research we conducted for the CRE in 2002 showed widespread support for making English lessons compulsory for immigrants (77% support) and in the qualitative discussion groups many thought lack of English was a key barrier preventing people from integrating.

⁴⁹ See *Citizenship and Belonging: What is Britishness?*, CRE, 2005. (<http://www.cre.gov.uk/research/britishness.html>)

Evidence from our qualitative research suggests that support for teaching English is driven more by a concern to help immigrants to succeed in the job market, than a desire to foster a shared sense of Britishness. Participants emphasised the practical benefits of immigrants learning to speak English, rather than the view that a common language could help to build a common identity and bind a society together.

I do think for their own benefit, [migrants should learn to speak English]

Female, Asian, Birmingham

Although the quantitative research from 2002 showed that a large majority of people were in favour of making immigrants learn English, the 2006 qualitative research reveals some reservations about compulsion, as also found by the CRE's qualitative research, which explored enablers of interaction between different ethnic groups.⁵⁰ This was evident in the language some participants used when discussing teaching immigrants English, which expressed a desire to 'help', make teaching 'available' and even provide 'choice', rather than 'making' people learn English.

I think that people could be offered help in mastering their English. A class should be available within the NHS, in schools, in places where those people are necessary, but need to be trained better in English, if they can be offered a choice and helped to do it

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

Our research reveals a more complex pattern of public attitudes towards citizenship lessons. The 2002 results show the same percentage of the general public supported citizenship lessons as agreed that immigrants should learn English (both 77%). However, although 76% of ethnic minority respondents supported compulsory English lessons, only 58% of minorities supported citizenship classes.

The 2006 discussion groups offer some insight into why people tend to support citizenship lessons, as well as some of the reservations about citizenship teaching. Some participants felt that citizenship lessons were necessary because they thought many immigrants to Britain didn't prepare themselves by learning about Britain and British culture.

'Cos they come and they don't know what they're coming to. When we go abroad we know where we're going, we do wee researches to see is it hot, cold ... they don't do anything

Male, white, Scotland

However, others felt that although citizenship lessons were a positive idea on the whole, real cultural learning was not something that could be achieved in a classroom setting. In order to learn about a culture, it is necessary to mix with the people. Therefore, some participants saw citizenship lessons as an inadequate substitute for meaningful interaction between different cultural groups. Again, this is a key finding of the CRE's 2006 research on interaction between people from different ethnic groups.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE/SHM, forthcoming.

⁵¹ See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE/SHM, forthcoming.

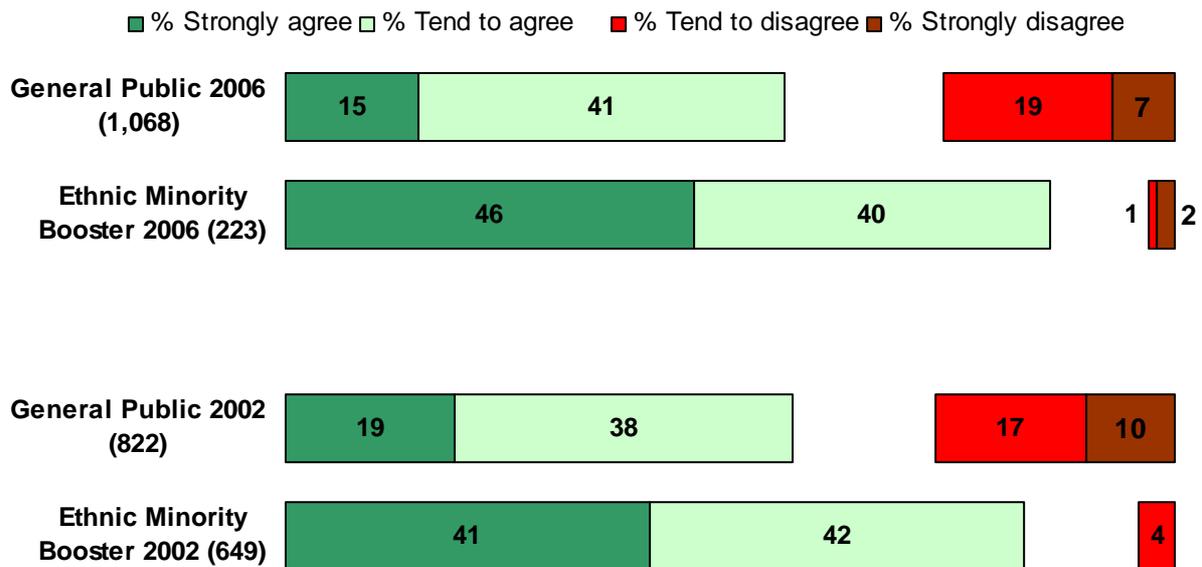
I think it's a good thing but I don't think our country's culture or any country's culture can be taught in one lesson, I think it's something you've got to intermingle with the people and experience the places to know about it

Male, white, Scotland

However, it is positive to note that white Britons in our survey did not expect the burden of integration to lie solely with new migrant groups. Our quantitative research shows that over half (56%) of the general public felt they should do more to learn about the systems and cultures of the ethnic groups in this country, maintaining levels of support for inter-ethnic learning recorded in 2002 (57%) (see Figure 6). Scots were most likely to support inter-ethnic learning (69%), with the lowest levels of support found among those living in Yorkshire and Humberside (47%), the East (49%), North East (49%) and Wales (49%).⁵²

Following the pattern recorded in 2002, support for learning about different ethnic groups was much higher among ethnic minority groups than it was in the white population, with younger ethnic minorities particularly enthusiastic about inter-ethnic learning (93% of 16-34 year old ethnic minorities agreed).

Figure 6: 'I would like you to tell me to what extent you agree or disagree: 'We should do more to learn about the systems and cultures of the ethnic groups in this country.'
Responses by date and group



Source: Ipsos MORI

⁵² There were small base sizes of 89 respondents in Scotland, 42 in the North East and 62 in Wales. Absolute percentages should therefore be treated with caution, although the findings remain statistically significant.

4. Prejudice and discrimination

The picture of discrimination in this country is complex. While participants in our survey recognised that vast improvements have been made over the last 20 to 30 years, largely as a result of legislation and education, some felt that more subtle forms of racial prejudice, now exist. Further, it seems as though people felt, particularly over the last couple of years, that explicit discrimination and more subtle forms of prejudice have been increasing, especially against Muslims. Asylum seekers and refugees were also recognised as being a key groups suffering from discrimination.

However, personal experiences of discrimination and racial prejudice remained relatively static – again, probably reflecting the ‘perceptions gap’ between the personal and the national picture. Sensationalist media and lack of exposure to other cultures were felt to be the key factors underpinning this trend and people said they would welcome policies or activities designed to give people from different communities an opportunity to mix.

This chapter covers perceptions of current levels of discrimination and prejudice, how this is felt to have changed over time and whether people have personally experienced discrimination. It also details the groups people think are most discriminated against, the reasons underlying this and the factors which might enable discrimination and prejudice to be reduced.

Mixed picture on whether discrimination and racial prejudice is improving or getting worse

In 2005, two in five (40%) members of the general public, and three in ten (29%) ethnic minorities felt that there was generally more racial prejudice in Britain than ten years ago. This reflects an improved picture from previous years.⁵³

However, findings from the National Citizenship Survey (2005, 2003 and 2001) show the opposite trend to be the case, with more negative perceptions increasing,⁵⁴ although, like our research, the National Citizenship Survey did find that ethnic minority groups were more positive than the general public. The disparity between the CRE research and the Citizenship Survey is likely to be due to the differences in the fieldwork periods in 2005. Our 2005 survey was conducted prior to the London bombings on 7 July, whereas the majority of fieldwork for the Citizenship Survey was conducted after this event. Indeed, the Citizenship Survey findings noted that interviews conducted prior to 7 July were more positive about cohesion than those conducted afterwards. This is also a trend we observed in local authorities where we were interviewing over that period.

Among the general public in 2005, women (47%) and working-class people (C2DEs⁵⁵ – 45%) were more likely to think there was more racial prejudice than the public on average (40%). This reflects

⁵³ In 2002 nearly half (47%) of the general public and a third (34%) of ethnic minority groups felt that racial prejudice had increased.

⁵⁴ The Citizenship Survey found that around half (48%) of the general public believed that racial prejudice had increased over the previous five years, up from 47% in 2003 and 43% in 2001.

⁵⁵ For information on the social grade definitions, see the Appendix.

patterns observed across this and other research⁵⁶ where older working-class people are more negative about race relations. Similarly, among ethnic minorities, more Muslims (35%) thought there was more racial prejudice than ethnic minorities as a whole (29%). This, again, reflects patterns observed in the Citizenship Survey and in other Ipsos MORI research.⁵⁷

Qualitative research conducted as part of this project, and qualitative research we conducted on behalf of the Equalities Review, show a similarly complex picture of change. On the one hand participants recognised that there had been significant improvements in equality.

I think it's pretty staggering to see what's happened like in the last 30 years because if we carry on at this speed it'll be incredible, like in 30 years time I'll feel very lucky that there's my children having the world that they're going to be in that kind of society.

Equalities Review Research 2006
Female, white, London

On the other hand, there was a feeling that over the previous couple of years things had worsened, and this was felt by respondents to be caused in particular by the threat of terrorism. As mentioned above, it seems as though the 7 July bombings have been a significant contributor to these perceptions.

Come back 6, 7, 8 years ago ... everyone settled down and we felt as though we belonged, and then suddenly it's reappeared, that fear [of discrimination/ racial prejudice] has

Female, Asian, Birmingham

If you'd asked me about two years ago I'd have said it [discrimination/ racial prejudice] was less, but now it seems to be building up again

Male, white, Scotland

Previous to 2001 there was no terrorism except in Ireland. That was the only ones we knew and that was it. And since then, since 2001 ... probably had 16 or 17 major cases. It's amazing what can happen in six years

Female, Asian, Birmingham

Refugees and asylum seekers continue to be perceived to be the group most discriminated against

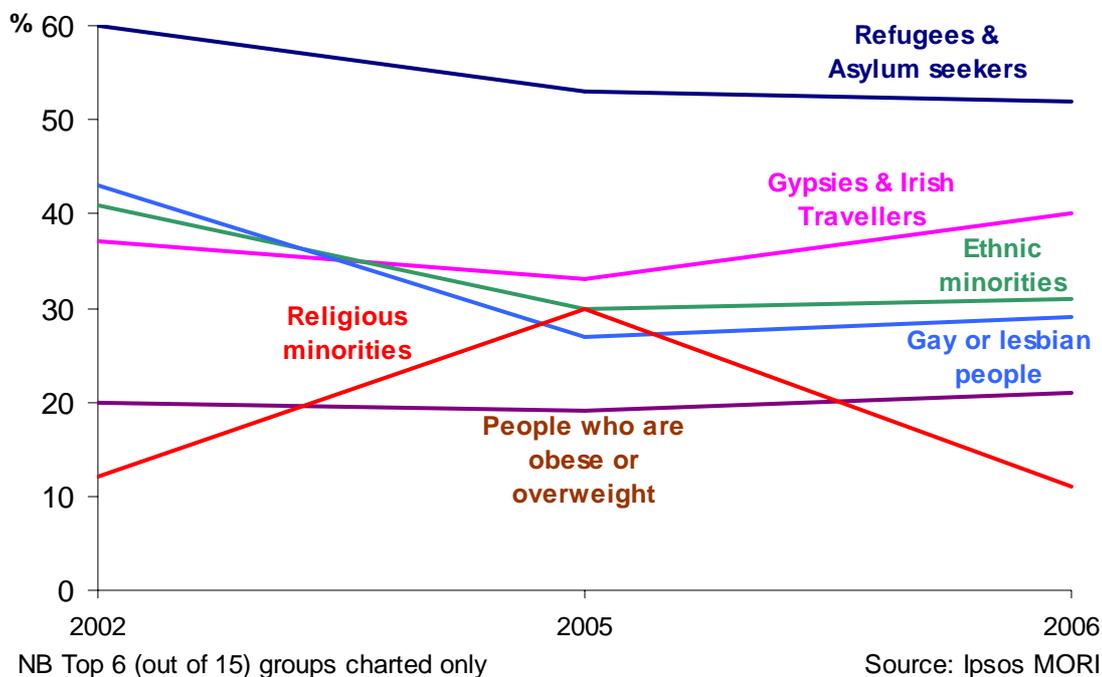
Perceived levels of discrimination against all groups, with the exception of religious minorities and Gypsies and Irish Travellers, were very similar in 2005 and 2006 (see Figure 7). It should be noted that the higher percentage of people who perceived discrimination against religious minorities in 2005 is likely to be due to the fact that in that wave of the survey the wording was slightly different

⁵⁶ See the 2001, 2003 and 2005 Citizenship Surveys (<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/citizensurvey.html>), British Social Attitudes (<http://www.britisocat.com/Body.aspx?control=BritSocAtHome>), and Ipsos MORI BBC Multiculturalism Survey (<http://www.ipsos-mori.com/polls/2005/bbc050809.shtml>).

⁵⁷ Including qualitative research for the CJS Race Unit on Perceptions of inequitable treatment by the CJS, and work for the Equalities Review looking at Equality in Britain today. (<http://www.ipsos-mori.com/polls/2005/cjs.shtml> and <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/polls/2006/theequalitiesreview.shtml>)

– we asked about ‘Muslims or other religious minorities’, whereas this year and in 2002 we asked about ‘religious minorities’ generally.

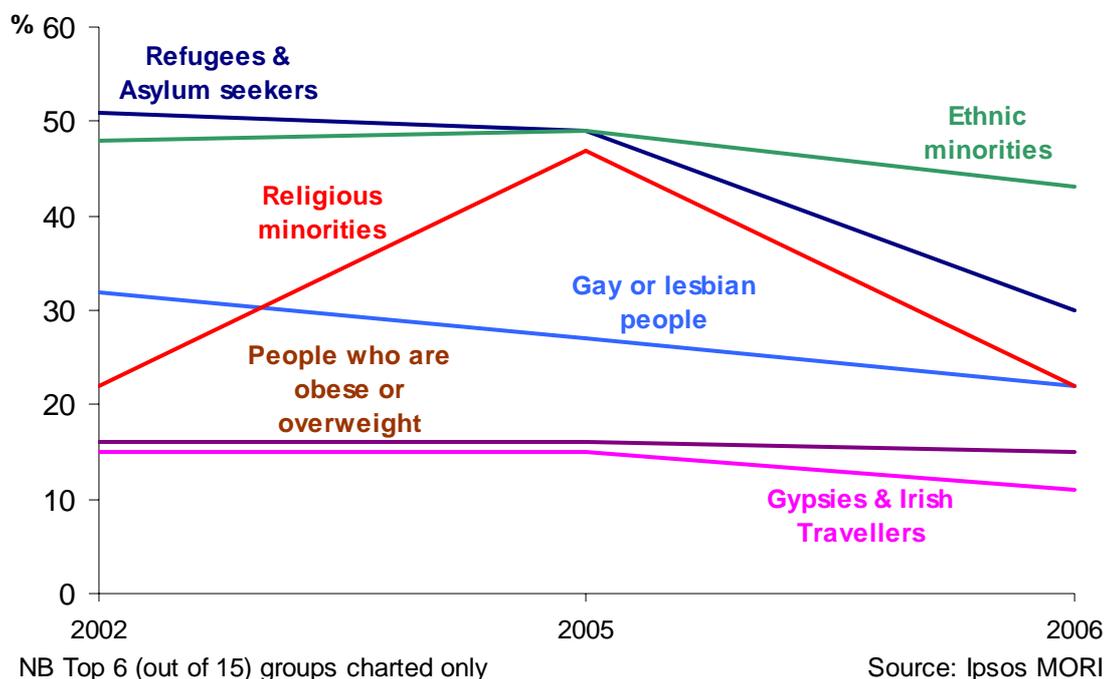
Figure 7: ‘Which two or three of these, if any, do you think are the most likely to experience prejudice and discrimination in Britain?’ Responses from the general public, by date



In 2006, as previously, most participants identified refugees and asylum seekers as the group which experienced most prejudice and discrimination (see Figure 7). This is in line with other research we have conducted.⁵⁸ In 2005, younger people in the general population were more likely to think discrimination against refugees and asylum seekers was a problem, but in 2006, concern was greatest among 25-44 year olds (60% compared with 52% overall). As previously, it was also more likely to be recognised as an issue among middle-class people (55% compared with 49% among C2DEs).

⁵⁸ This work includes research for Stonewall, 2001. (http://www.stonewall.org.uk/about_us/16.asp)

Figure 8: ‘Which two or three of these, if any, do you think are the most likely to experience prejudice and discrimination in Britain?’ Responses from people from ethnic minorities, by date



Participants from ethnic minorities also identified people from ethnic minorities as a group suffering significant discrimination (see Figure 8). However, there was an interesting contrast in ethnic minority opinion between 2005 and 2006. In 2005, equal proportions of participants from ethnic minorities identified refugees and asylum seekers and ethnic minorities as among the groups most likely to suffer from discrimination (49% for each group). In 2006 ethnic minority respondents were far more likely to identify ethnic minorities (43% compared with 30% for refugees and asylum seekers).

Asian people were more likely to feel that ethnic minorities were discriminated against (47% compared with 34% among black people), contrasting with the picture in 2005, when black Africans (72%) and black Caribbeans (61%) were more likely to feel this way.

Experiences of discrimination relatively static

Personal experience of discrimination remained static between 2002 and 2005, with greater levels being experienced by ethnic minorities than by the general public. Two in five (39% and 38%) ethnic minorities in 2002 and 2005 said they had experienced racial discrimination, compared to 14% and 12% respectively among the general public (see Figure 9). This also reflects the trend recorded by the 2005 National Citizenship Survey where the same proportions of people felt they had been racially discriminated against at work as was found in 2003 (50% compared with 46% in 2003). The Citizenship Survey also asked whether people would expect to be treated differently than those of other races by a series of public service organisations. Again, there were no significant changes in perceptions of equitable treatment over time indicating that experience remained unchanged over those years.⁵⁹ This ties in with qualitative findings from the 2006 research, where

⁵⁹ See *2005 Citizenship Survey: Race and faith topic report*, Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006 (<http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1501046>).

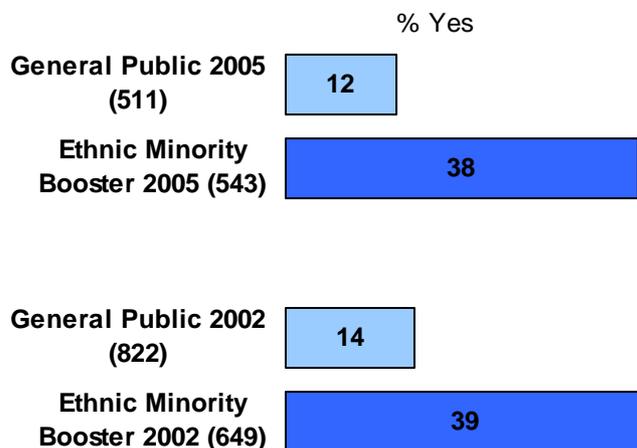
we found that people’s personal experiences of discrimination were relatively limited, although they believe that discrimination in society in general is increasing. This reflects the issue relating to the perceptions gap, which is discussed earlier.

I’ve never actually experienced racism or anything like that

Male, Asian, Birmingham

The 2006 qualitative research found that more middle class participants were more likely to talk about these issues. This certainly ties in with other qualitative research, which shows that middle class ethnic minorities are more familiar with equality legislation⁶⁰ and the 2005 CRE study which found that, among ethnic minorities, more 35 to 59 year olds (43%), middle class residents (48%), graduates (48%), and broadsheet readers (52%) said they had experienced discrimination. Similarly, this trend was identified in the 2002 survey,⁶¹ where ethnic minority graduates were more likely to report personal discrimination.

Figure 9: ‘Have you personally experienced any prejudice or discrimination because of your ethnic background, or not?’ Responses by date and group



Source: Ipsos MORI

Ignorance, lack of understanding and lack of personal interaction is driving discrimination

The discussion groups also explored the drivers of prejudice and discrimination. One of the main issues highlighted by respondents was the link between upbringing, lack of meaningful interaction between people from different groups and racism.

Once they get to know you, they’re fine with you ... once they can connect as a person

Male, Asian, Birmingham

⁶⁰ See ‘What does equality mean in Britain today’, presentation given to the April Equalities Review Panel meeting by Rebecca Eligon, MORI, 20 April 2006 (http://www.theequalitiesreview.org.uk/upload/assets/www.theequalitiesreview.org.uk/mori_focus_group_presentation.ppt).

⁶¹ See *The Voice of Britain: A research study conducted for the CRE by MORI, CRE, 2002.*

I think it begins at home, I think it [prejudiced views] begins with parenting

Male, white, Scotland

This certainly ties in with the key findings of the CRE's 2006 research on interaction between people from different ethnic groups,⁶² which highlighted the fact that those interactions which seek to broaden an individual's identity and values (called 'Growth interactions') are among the most successful mechanisms in shaping outlooks and overcoming stereotypes. Indeed, the CRE/SHM research finds that, 'At the community level, it is growth interactions that hold out the clearest potential to build real understanding and interaction between different ethnic groups and a genuine appreciation of the diversity in British society'.

Our 2002 research for the CRE also found ignorance was the most frequently mentioned factor blamed for racial prejudice (32%), followed by a lack of understanding of different cultures (27%). Among participants from ethnic minority groups, these figures rose to 42% and 31% respectively. A lack of experience of different cultures and people from different backgrounds was also highlighted as a cause. In further analysis of the 2002 data the biggest factor that contributes to good race relations is the extent to which people mix with those from a different ethnic backgrounds: the less they mix the more likely they are to be racially prejudiced.

This ties in with the Trevor Phillips' view that we are 'sleepwalking to segregation'.⁶³ Indeed, many respondents noted that while integration was to be desired, it was also important to recognise that ethnic and religious minority groups would want to maintain their cultural and other differences – sometimes this was perceived as a lack of integration.

Integration will very rarely happen, and the reason why – a person will always feel comfortable with their own people

Male, Asian, Birmingham

Racism and prejudice were felt to be most prevalent, in our 2006 research for both this study and for the Equalities Review, in education and employment.

Asian schools are underachieving ... no one really makes much of a fuss, they just let them underachieve

Female, Asian, Birmingham

While the 2002 research found that most common perceived causes of racial prejudice were similar among the white population and ethnic minority groups, the latter were more likely to highlight issues such as negative media stereotypes (13% compared with 7% among the overall population). The role of the media in perpetuating racial prejudice was a key issue raised within all of the discussion groups and did not appear to be particularly confined to participants from ethnic minorities.

I think, like it or not, we're all influenced by what we read or on telly. If things are constantly hitting you ... you're going to be going, 'Aye, well that's just the way it is'

⁶² See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE/SHM, forthcoming.

⁶³ See 'After 7/7: Sleepwalking to segregation', speech made by Trevor Phillips to Manchester Council for Community Relations on 22 September 2005 (<http://www.cre.gov.uk/Default.aspx?LocID=0hgnew07s.RefLocID-0hg00900c002.Lang-EN.htm#participation>).

Male, white, Scotland

The papers, the media, are playing such a terrible part in separating Christians, Muslims, Jews. I think that we've got to ... stop them advertising all these different groups and how radical they are

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

Reducing discrimination and racial prejudice

While education and legislation were felt by participants to be the key drivers for reducing discrimination,⁶⁴ many felt that more subtle forms of racism still existed and that these would be difficult to legislate against.

There are these laws now, so you can't really discriminate any more ... if those policies weren't in place possibly Asians or people of ethnic minority wouldn't have a chance

Female, Asian, Birmingham

I think, since political correctness, racism has gone underground. In the sixties people would come up in your face and say, 'You black bastard', you knew who they were, where they were, and what their feelings were. But now ... you don't know cos people can't say those things. People might be feeling those things and they might be treating you that way but it's all implied so it's a lot harder to put your finger on it

Female, black, London

These perceptions ties in with the notion of 'stealth racism' which was identified by the CRE in 2004.

By that phrase [stealth racism] I mean a series of small, apparently insignificant decisions, incidents or encounters, none of which by themselves could be the subject of court proceedings, but all of which are to the disadvantage of ethnic minority employees or clients

Trevor Phillips, CRE Annual Report 2004

Additionally, people from both white and ethnic minority groups were sceptical about the value of setting targets and quotas to reduce discrimination in the workplace and elsewhere.

Positive discrimination, that's the worst kind of discrimination. I think it's ridiculous

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

People were, however, positive about having more opportunities for different groups to mix in a meaningful way and to get to know each other better through cultural events, festivals and open days, which celebrate diversity and serve to educate people about the customs and behaviours of

⁶⁴ See 'What does equality mean in Britain today', presentation given to the April Equalities Review Panel meeting by Rebecca Eligon, MORI, 20 April 2006 (http://www.theequalitiesreview.org.uk/upload/assets/www.theequalitiesreview.org.uk/mori_focus_group_presentation.ppt).

other groups. These are the sorts of ‘Growth interactions’ which are highlighted as delivering potential positive benefits in the recent CRE/SHM research.⁶⁵

To educate people, cultural nights at some community centre or something like that would be good

Male, white, Scotland

⁶⁵ See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE/SHM, forthcoming.

5. Integration and Race Relations

As mentioned in Chapter 1, people value the diversity of Britain. However, it was widely recognised among participants that we need to do more than just appreciate diversity and that there needs to be meaningful interaction between groups in order for integration to be achieved. It is interesting that, in the main, people did not distinguish between concepts of multiculturalism, cohesion, integration and diversity and that they were all seen to be closely interlinked. However, it is worth noting that there were two different understandings of these concepts: the first is that integration requires assimilation into white British culture and abandonment of ethnic identity, and the second is that integration is actually about valuing diversity and accepting difference. People perceived integration in much the same way throughout the four years of the study. Social mixing was seen as the key enabler of integration, with the politicisation of religion, the threat of terrorism and current UK foreign policy all seen to be barriers.

This chapter explores people's understanding of the concept of integration, perceptions of race relations and enablers of and barriers to integration.

Varied understanding of integration

Most participants accepted that Britain was becoming increasingly diverse, and for most part (at least in the situation of a group discussion), this was considered to be positive.

Each culture surely enriches the other one

Female, Asian Birmingham

I love the fact that you can see all different types of people [in Britain]

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

However, diversity without integration and mixing was not desired and people wanted to feel as though they lived in communities which mixed well and got on together.

If we're going to open our gates to people ... we want everyone to live harmoniously together. If you get a certain culture or religion of people isolating themselves it just creates tensions, suspicions and distrust and that can lead to other things

Male, white, Scotland

Additionally, it is important to note, when talking about issues of cohesion, integration, social mixing and multiculturalism that these were not perceived by participants as separate concepts, but rather as elements of a single concept. There seemed to be two key interpretations of this concept which it will be important to bear in mind when considering future communications relating to these issues. On the one hand, integration is equated with assimilation into white British culture and abandonment of individual ethnic and national identities. On the other, integration is seen as actually about respecting and valuing diversity and accepting difference. Based on the four discussion groups conducted as part of this research, there did not appear to be any ethnic variation when it came to these perceptions; ethnic minorities were just as likely to hold each of these views as white people.

You were using the word integration before, and then you started using the word acceptance. They both mean the same to me

Male, Asian, Birmingham

It's about being able to hold onto your own cultural identity in parallel with other people's cultural identities. It's not about letting yourself go and losing your identity in a greater culture

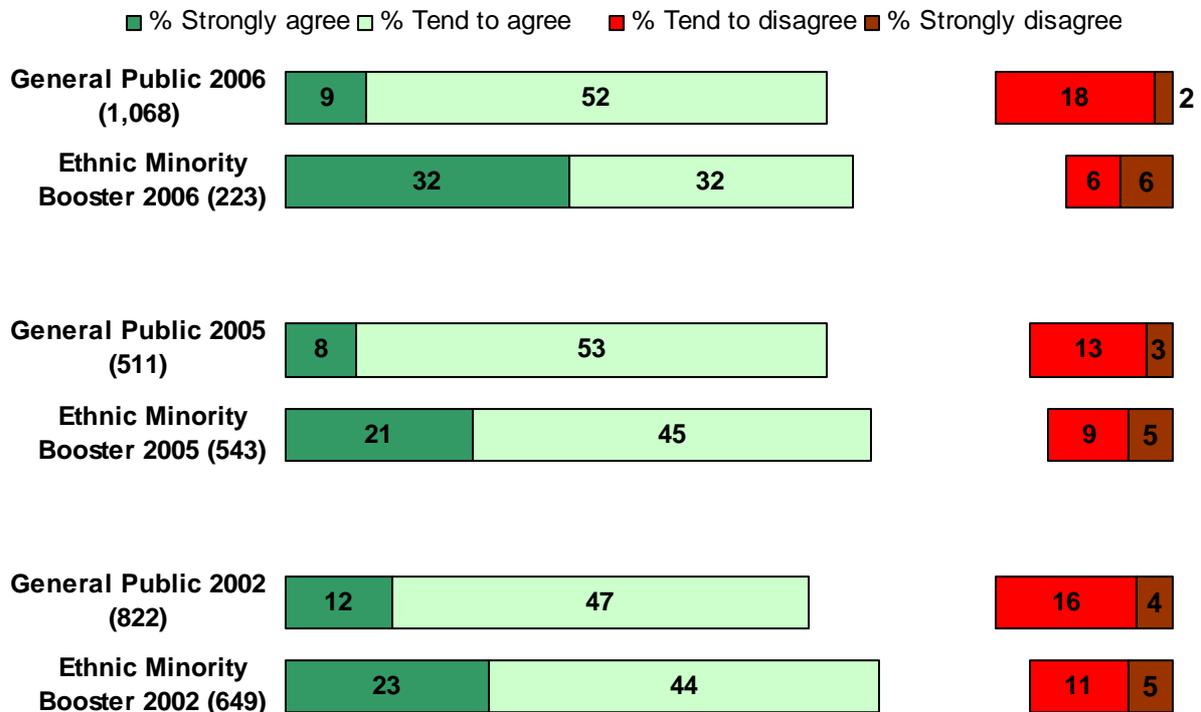
Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

Stable levels of race relations

The findings of this survey also reflect stable levels of race relations with around three in five (61%) thinking that Britain was a place that had good relations between people of different backgrounds, broadly in line with findings from 2002 and 2005 (see Figure 10). Men (64%) were most likely to feel this way and participants from ethnic minorities were slightly more likely to be positive about race relations than white people (64% compared with 60%), repeating trends recorded in 2002 and 2005. Interestingly, the proportion of ethnic minorities who strongly agreed increased significantly between 2005 and 2006 (32% in 2006 compared with 21% in 2005).

Similarly, according to the government's measure, cohesion has remained stable and high over the last few years. The 2005 Citizenship Survey found that four-fifths (80%) felt that they lived in an area where people of different backgrounds got on well together, the same proportion as in 2003. They also found a positive relationship between the ethnic diversity of an area, community cohesion and respect for ethnic differences. People who lived in more diverse areas were more likely to agree that people of different backgrounds got on well together and respect ethnic differences.

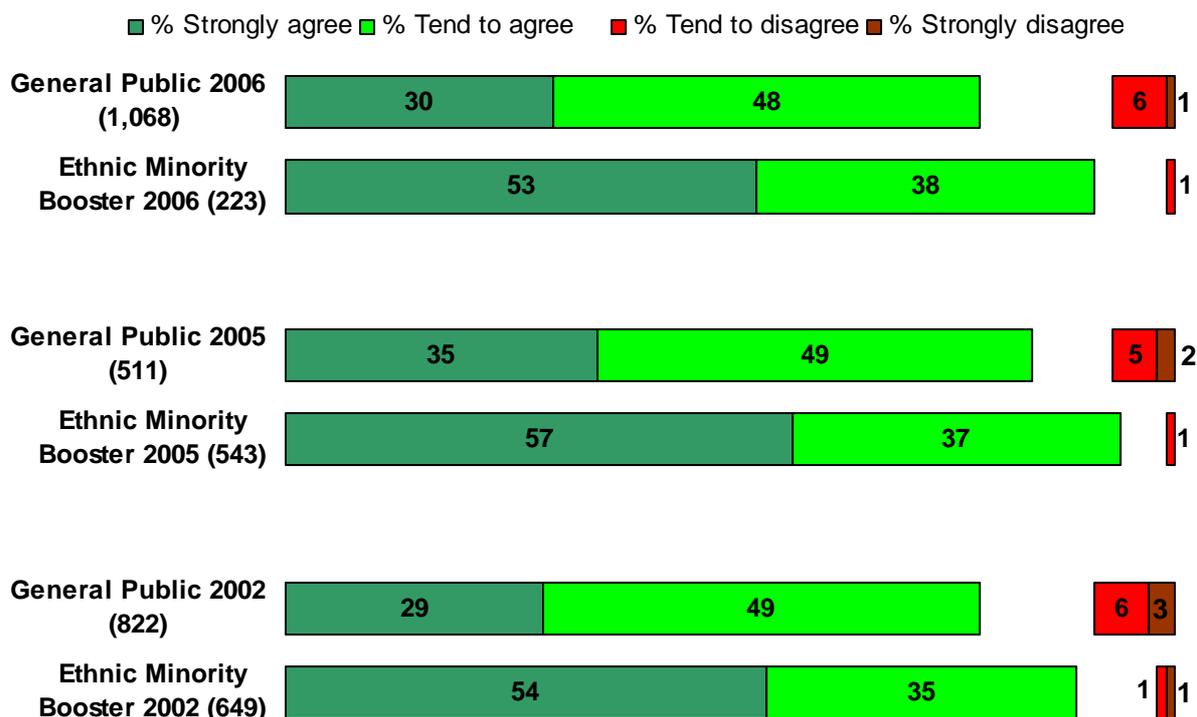
Figure 10: ‘I would like you to tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with: ‘Britain is a place that has good relations between different types of people such as those from different ethnic backgrounds’.’ Responses by date and group



Source: Ipsos MORI

Similarly, while the majority still felt that it was important to respect the rights of minority groups, there were some indications that people were less likely to feel this in 2006 than in 2005, although the 2006 figures were similar to those recorded in 2002 (see Figure 11). This change of public opinion between 2005 and 2006 may be related to press coverage, ongoing at the time of fieldwork, relating to the human rights of suspected terrorists, and the alleged averted terrorist plots at London Heathrow airport. As found previously, there were no differences between ethnic minority groups in the way they felt about this issue, with Asian and black groups recording similar results on this measure.

Figure 11: ‘I would like you to tell me to what extent you agree or disagree: ‘It is important to respect the rights of minority groups.’ Responses by date and group



Source: Ipsos MORI

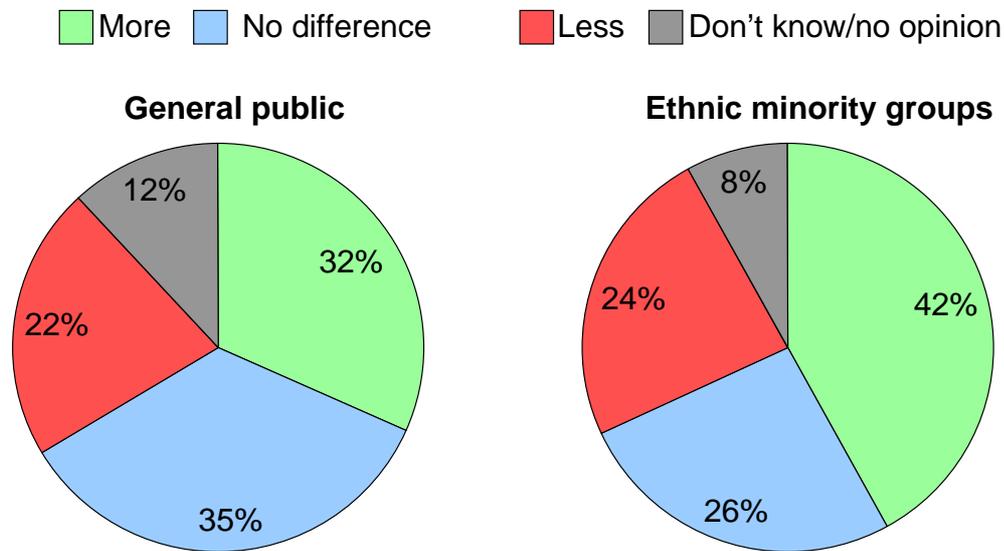
Personal interactions as an enabler of integration

As we noted earlier, social opportunities to enable people from different backgrounds to interact were widely supported by people in the discussion groups as a means to combat discrimination and prejudice and develop integrated communities. This was also a key finding of the CRE research conducted by SHM earlier this year⁶⁶.

On balance, white people felt that there was more interaction between religious and ethnic groups than there had been five years previously, and people from ethnic minority groups were even more positive about the progress of integration, with two in five (42%) feeling that people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds mixed more than five years previously and only a quarter (24%) feeling that they mixed less (see Figure 12). Among ethnic minorities, black people were more likely than Asian people to feel that the amount of social mixing between different groups had changed. A higher proportion of black people felt that there was *less* mixing (30% compared with 21% of Asian people). A higher proportion also felt that there was *more* mixing (47%, compared with 40% among Asian people), although this difference is not significant. It is likely that these differences reflect the fact that black people are more likely to mix with other ethnic groups than Asian people (as explored later in this chapter), and so feel better able to respond.

⁶⁶ See *Promoting Interactions Between People of Different Ethnic Backgrounds*, CRE/SHM, forthcoming.

Figure 12: ‘Compared with five years ago, do you think that different ethnic and religious groups mix with each other more or less or do you think there is no difference?’ Responses by group



Base: GB residents 15+ years (1,068). Fieldwork: 28 September – 3 October 2006
 Ethnic minority groups: England residents 16+ years (223). Fieldwork 15-22 November 2006

Source: Ipsos MORI

Three in five (62%) respondents said they mixed socially with people from other ethnic groups at the shops, but only half this number (30%) formed meaningful relationships to the extent that they were mixing at home with people from different ethnic backgrounds to themselves at least monthly (see Table 3). While half (49%) mixed with people from different ethnic groups at work, school or college, fewer (41%) chose to mix socially with people from different ethnic groups after work, and a third (32%) mixed with people through hobbies or sports clubs at least monthly. As might be expected, people from ethnic minorities were far more likely to mix with white people than vice versa. However, it is interesting to note that black people were more likely to report mixing at least monthly on all measures with the exception of at the shops. This ties in with the Citizenship Survey finding that black people were more likely than other ethnic groups to have friends from different ethnic groups to themselves.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Nine in ten (90%) black people say they have friends from different ethnic groups compared with 82% among Asian people and 47% among white people.

Table 3: ‘In the last year, how often, if at all, have you mixed with people from different ethnic groups to yourself [in the followings contexts]?’ Responses by group

	General public	White	Black	Asian
	<i>% mix at least monthly</i>			
Base: All respondents	(1,063)	(996)	(114)	(109)
At the shops?	62	60	76	84
At work, school or college?	49	47	75	64
Through hobbies or at sports clubs?	32	30	52	34
Socially outside work?	41	39	71	59
At your home or their home?	30	27	83	58

Source: Ipsos MORI

In nearly all situations, levels of social mixing were much lower among older people, and those from lower social grades, those who were not in work, those educated to less than degree level, people renting from the council or housing associations, and tabloid newspaper readers.⁶⁸ As such, policy initiatives specifically focused on encouraging mixing among these groups may be useful. There were also some interesting gender variations which future policies may wish to take into consideration. Men were more likely to mix via work, school or college (56%), socially outside work (44%), hobbies and sports clubs (38%), whereas women were more likely to mix socially at home (32%).

Reflecting the proportions of ethnic minorities within these areas, people in London (50%) and the West Midlands (42%) were most likely to say they mixed socially with people from other backgrounds at least monthly, while people living in Scotland (13%) and the South West (15%) were least likely to do so.

Seven in ten people (72%) who mixed with others at work, school or college at least monthly also chose to mix socially in other circumstances, and this was even higher among ethnic minorities (84%). This shows that mixing with others is something people do in both formal and informal social situations. People who mixed in a variety of situations were more likely to be young (28% of them were aged 16-24 compared with 15% overall), read broadsheet newspapers (28% read broadsheets compared with 20% overall) and live in London (20% compared with 13% overall).

Participants who mixed in a variety of social situations were more positive about all measures of diversity and integration; this finding provides further support for policies designed to encourage meaningful social interactions between different ethnic groups (see Table 4). It is, however, worth noting that while there was a certainly a relationship between informal social interactions and more positive attitudes to diversity, it is not possible to say in which direction this relationship lies; do

⁶⁸ These variations existed for all locations surveyed, with the exception of social mixing at shops, where there were less marked differences between subgroups. This indicates that a superficial level of mixing was occurring even among groups who were less meaningfully integrated.

people who are more positive about diversity tend to have broader social interactions, or do broader social interactions lead to more positive attitudes to diversity?

Table 4: The perceptions of participants who mixed in formal environments only, compared with those who mixed in a variety of situations

	Those who mix in a variety of social situations	Those who only mix at school, work or college	Difference
Base	(320) %	(133) %	
Agree we should do more to learn about the systems and cultures of different ethnic groups	71	58	+13
Agree that it's a good thing that immigrants who settle in this country maintain the lifestyle and culture they had at home	47	34	+13
Think there is more mixing between different ethnic and religious groups than five years ago	44	32	+10
On balance, think that religion acts to bring people together	21	11	+10
Think London bombings have created a more racially tolerant Britain	21	11	+10
Agree that Britain is a place that has good relations between different types of people such as those from different ethnic groups	67	57	+10
Agree it is important to respect the rights of minority groups	88	79	+9
Agree people from ethnic minorities need to demonstrate real commitment before they can be considered British	63	74	-11

Source: Ipsos MORI

These findings tie in with our earlier 2002 survey work, which found that although surface level interactions were the most common, a significant minority of people did mix with people from different ethnic backgrounds in informal social situations.

The 2005 Citizenship Survey measure of personal interactions is also quite positive. It found that half of people (50%) had friends from different ethnic groups. Londoners were the most likely to have friends from different ethnic groups to themselves (77%) and those in the North East of England were the least likely (32%). This ties in with our qualitative findings which show that people felt London was more diverse, with more meaningful mixing between ethnic groups. It also reflects the Ipsos MORI Political Monitor,⁶⁹ which showed that people in the North East tended to be more concerned about issues relating to race relations and immigration, despite the fact that they lived in one of the least ethnically diverse areas in the country.

⁶⁹ See Ipsos MORI Political Monitor, October 2006.

There is a culture in north London, particularly of acceptance, but I think when you step outside of that environment integration in the population is a lot more tense

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

I've had discussions with friends and they've said they find people out of London in small towns more closed minded because they haven't travelled around so much and seen people of other cultures and they don't know how to accept them. And they start to believe the things they have been told all their lives about these people without actually knowing the facts

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

Barriers to integration

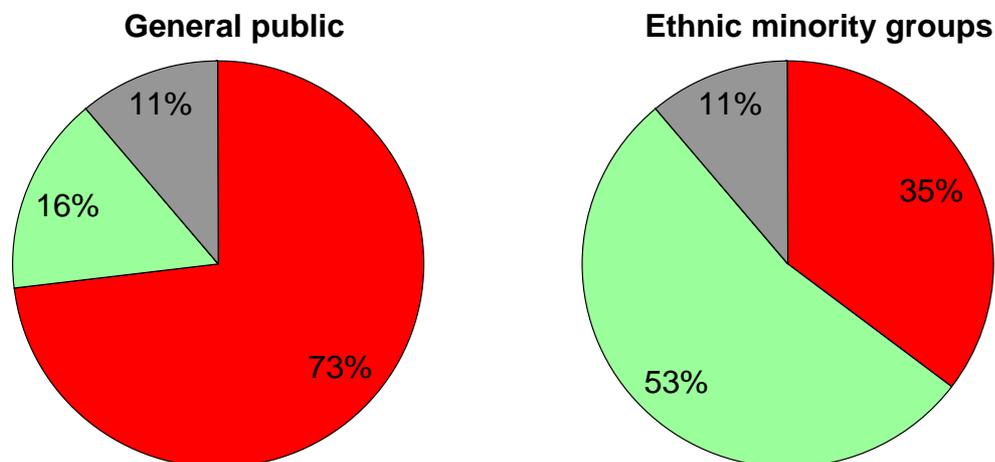
Religion as a barrier to integration

More white respondents felt that religion divided than unified people, but more people from ethnic minorities thought religion unified people (see Figure 13). Asian people were, on balance, more positive and black people were, on balance, neutral.⁷⁰ Again, it is likely that this negative perception among white people was very much a reaction to events happening around the time of fieldwork. Older participants were more positive than younger ones about the role of religion in relation to integration, however they were still more likely to think that religion divided than unified (23% of those aged 65+ saw religion as a unifier, compared to 14% of 35-54 year olds).

⁷⁰ Equal proportions of black people felt religion caused divisions as felt it brought people together (44% and 45% respectively), whereas 58% of Asian people felt religion brought people together and only 31% thought it divided.

Figure 13: ‘Which, if any, of the following statements, comes closest to your view: on balance, religion causes divisions between people; on balance, religion acts to bring people together; don’t know? Responses by group

■ On balance, religion causes divisions between people
 ■ On balance, religion acts to bring people together
 ■ Don’t know



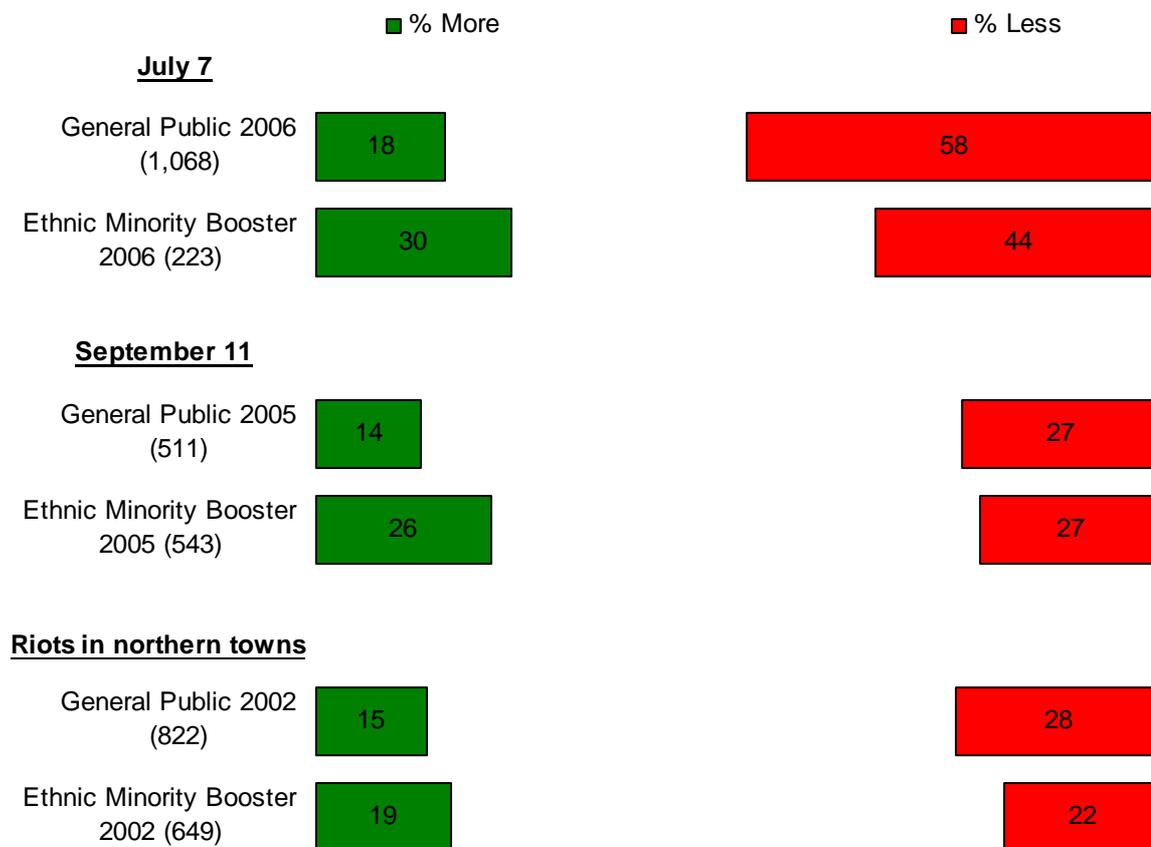
Base: GB residents 15+ years (1,068). Fieldwork: 28 September – 3 October 2006
 Ethnic minority groups: England residents 16+ years (223). Fieldwork 15-22 November 2006

Source: Ipsos MORI

Terrorism and foreign policy as barriers to integration

In 2002 and 2006, we asked about the impact of a recent major event on the level of racial tolerance in Britain. In 2002, we asked about the impact of riots in Northern towns, and of September 11, and in 2006 we asked about the impact of the bombings in London on 7 July 2005. Far more of the 2006 respondents felt that the 2005 bombings had impacted negatively on race relations, than 2002 respondents felt the riots or September 11 had done (see Figure 14). Indeed, concerns relating to the threat of terrorism were spontaneously raised by people in all four 2006 groups as a barrier to integration. Interestingly, black people were far more likely to think recent events had resulted in declining racial tolerance than Asian people (53% compared with 39% among Asian).

Figure 14: ‘Do you think these events have created a more or less racially tolerant Britain, or do you think they have made no difference?’ Responses by date and group



Source: Ipsos MORI

Additionally, the Asian group in Birmingham in particular believed that foreign policy was having a negative impact on the ability and willingness of some ethnic minority groups to integrate.

When you have foreign policy that's so blatantly racist, discriminatory, [how do] you expect people to integrate after that?

Female, Asian, Birmingham

With Asian people, the whole terror thing, people think, well a minority think they're [Asian people] terrorists ... that taints people's opinions

Male, white, Scotland

My own personal view is that things have got a bit worse [regarding race relations]. I think that's mostly to do with the situation in Iraq now and the fact that Muslims are in the news every day

Female, Asian, Birmingham

6. Political extremism

Support for extreme right parties has increased exponentially over the last few years. Support for the BNP, for example, increased by five and a half times between the 1997 and 2005 elections, although this does still represent a very small proportion of the overall vote. Supporters of far right parties are more likely to be working males of social grade C2.

In general, respondents thought that a wide range of factors, including immigration/asylum and racism, contribute to support for far right parties. Ethnic minorities were more likely than white people to identify foreign policy as a reason underlying support for these sorts of parties.

This chapter looks at reasons underlying support for far right political parties and the demographic profile of people who support these organisations.

Perceptions of the causes of extremism

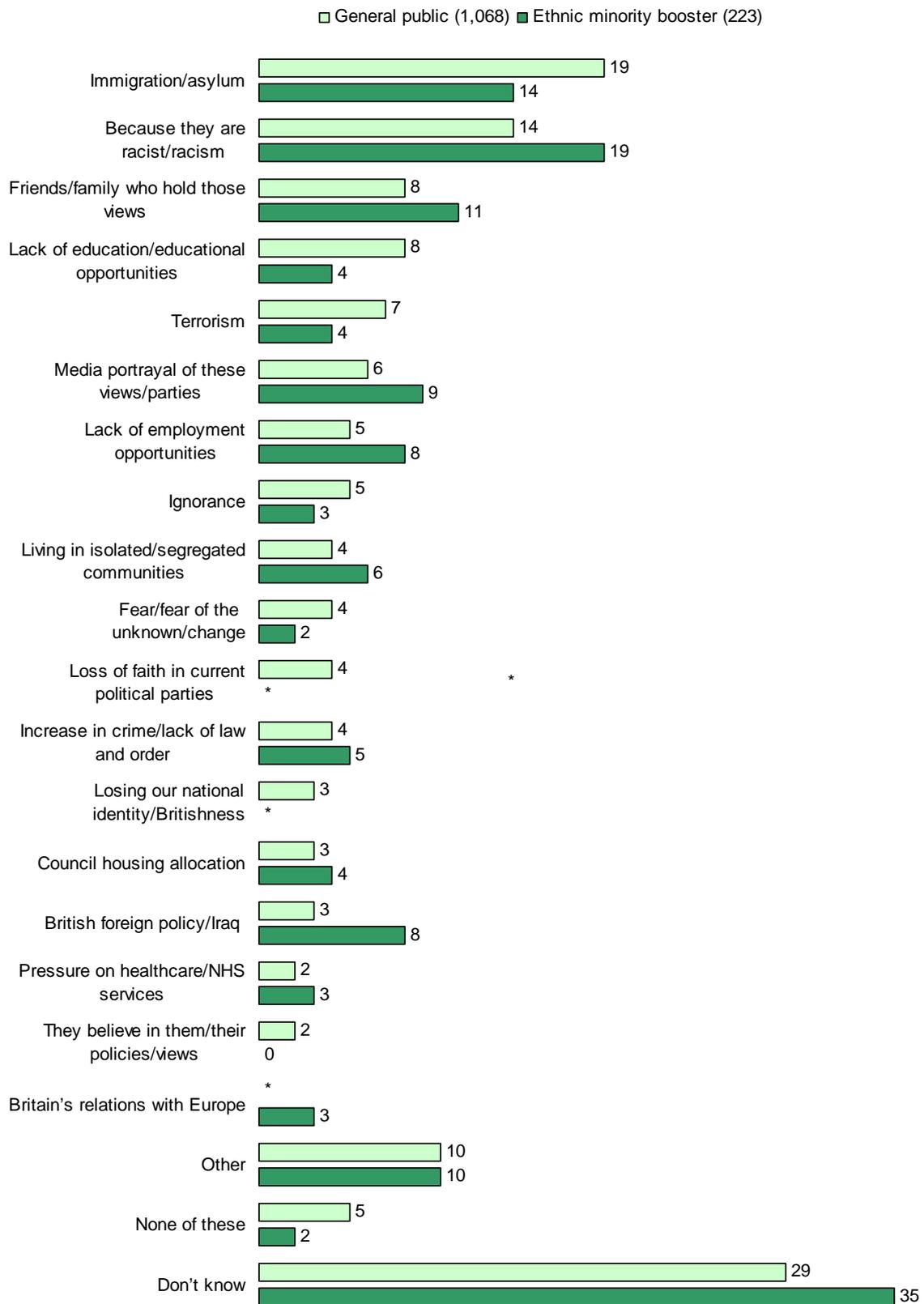
A wide range of reasons were given by respondents to our survey as to the causes of political extremism, but most commonly cited were immigration and asylum (19%), general racism (14%), lack of education, and having friends or family who hold those views (both 8%) (see Figure 15).

The opinions of participants from ethnic minorities broadly reflected the trends recorded among the white population, with immigration/asylum and racism identified as the top reasons by both groups. Ethnic minorities were, however, more likely to feel that foreign policy underlies support for far right parties than white people (8% of participants from ethnic minorities think this is a cause, compared to 3% of white people).

Older people aged over 55 were more likely than young people to link political extremism to immigration/asylum (25% compared with 10% among the under 25s), which may reflect the more liberal attitudes of younger people. People with positive views about ethnic diversity and integration and people who mixed more with those from different ethnic backgrounds were also significantly less likely to blame immigration for political extremism.⁷¹

⁷¹ One in six (17%) of those who agreed that it was important to respect the rights of minorities thought immigration was a reason for extremism, compared to 35% of those who disagreed that it was important to respect minority rights. One in six (16%) of those who thought that different ethnic and religious groups mixed more than five years previously saw immigration as a cause of extremism, compared to a quarter (26%) of those who thought that there was less mixing between different groups. Finally, 13% of those who mixed with people from different ethnic groups at home at least once a month thought immigration was a reason for extremism, compared to a fifth (20%) of those who mixed with people from different ethnic groups less than once a month.

Figure 15: ‘In your view, why do you think some British people support far right political parties and values?’ Responses by group



Source: Ipsos MORI

Support for extreme parties

Given increasing levels of concern about immigration and the widespread view that immigration is a key driver of political extremism, it is perhaps not surprising that support for extreme parties has increased in the past few years. The BNP gained 193,000 votes in the 2005 election, compared to only 47,000 in 2001 and 35,000 in 1997. It increased its share of the vote from 0.2% to 0.7% between 2001 and 2005. This represented an average share of 4.3% of the vote where the BNP fielded candidates in 2005.

There is still a lot of hostility towards the BNP, with 72% of people saying in 2004 that they disliked them, and 47% saying they disliked them a lot. However, there is also significant latent support, with 18% saying they might vote for the BNP in a future election.⁷²

Who supports extreme parties?

It is difficult to establish a reliable profile of supporters of extreme parties, since they constitute a very small proportion of the population. However, between July 2002 and June 2006, Ipsos MORI conducted around 1,000 interviews with people who said they intended to vote BNP or National Front. Of these, seven in ten (69%) were male and a third (32%) were from social grade C2, compared to only 21% of the general population. This suggests that although living in an area of high deprivation is a predictor of BNP success, BNP supporters were not disproportionately likely to be economically excluded. Our findings also showed that far right party supporters were much more likely to be found in Yorkshire and Humberside (20% of BNP/NF supporters live here, compared to 9% of the British population).

⁷² JRF, *State of the Nation*, 2004.

7. Awareness of and attitudes towards the CRE and the CEHR

The CRE is as well known as or better known than its peers and than the new single equalities body, the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR). Several participants in the discussion groups were able to identify Trevor Phillips as a key public figure in the area of equalities. However, awareness levels among participants were still relatively low and people were keen to find out more. It is important to increase awareness because our extensive research on reputation has found that the more familiar people are with an organisation, the more favourable they tend to be towards it.

In our discussion groups, opinions were mixed about the relative merits of a single equalities body like the CEHR. On the one hand, people felt it would be good to consolidate work in this area, and that the CRE as a leading body could help to drive forward progress across all equality strands. On the other hand, there was some concern that there could be a loss of focus on the race equality agenda with the establishment of a joint body.

This chapter details public awareness of the CRE and CEHR, and explores public perceptions of the role of these organisations and how they feel about the idea of a new single equalities body.

Awareness of the CRE and the CEHR

Our survey in 2005 found that the CRE was, among both the general public and ethnic minority groups, as well known as or better known than its peers, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) and the Disability Rights Commission (DRC). Over a quarter (27%) of people reported knowing at least ‘a fair amount’ about the CRE, the same as the proportion who said they knew a fair amount about the EOC. The DRC was less well known, with one in five people (19%) feeling they knew at least ‘a fair amount’ about the organisation.

While participants from ethnic minorities were just as likely to know the CRE ‘very well’ or know ‘a fair amount’ about the organisation, they were also significantly more likely to say they had ‘never heard of it’ (27% compared with 15% of the general public as a whole). Among ethnic minority groups, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis were least likely to have heard of the CRE and black Caribbean people were most likely to have heard of it.

The 2005 Public Awareness Survey also measured awareness of the CEHR. Surprisingly, given that it was not yet established, fewer people said they had never heard of the CEHR (23%) than the DRC (32%). One sixth (16%) of both the general public and ethnic minorities reported knowing at least a fair amount about the CEHR. Therefore, although awareness of the CEHR was lower than of the CRE, it was perhaps greater than expected.

There was some awareness of the CRE among participants in the discussion groups in our survey, particularly in London where several participants were able to identify Trevor Phillips as a key public figure. Awareness of the CEHR was unsurprisingly low; a few participants felt the name was familiar, but none were aware of the nature or purpose of the organisation. However, as we commonly find in a discussion group context, most participants were keen to receive more

information about the CEHR and its work, and communicating with the public was seen as central to the role of the new Commission.

Why don't they use the media because I've never heard of them before and I'm sure if I researched it I probably would have found them, but should I have to find them? Shouldn't they find me and help me out, sort of thing?

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

I'd really like the Commission [for Equality and Human Rights] to listen to what we've said today and find different ways, different kinds of powers or ways of communicating to us and telling us what's going on in our community to tackle the big issues and the small issues

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

Attitudes towards the CRE and the CEHR

Levels of awareness are particularly significant to the success of organisations; as other Ipsos MORI research shows,⁷³ there is a strong link between knowing an organisation and being favourable towards it. In 2005, all those who were aware of each organisation in the CRE Public Awareness Survey were asked how favourably they felt towards that organisation. Three in five (60%) of those who were aware of the CRE were at least 'mainly' favourable towards it. However, favourability was less than might have been expected, relative to familiarity. This suggests that the organisation may need to work harder than just furthering public awareness if it is to foster good public opinion.

Although no participants in our discussion groups were aware of the nature and purpose of the CEHR, they were asked what they thought about the principle of establishing a joint body to tackle all dimensions of inequality, rather than having separate organisations focusing on race, disability and gender. No common view emerged from the discussion groups. Some participants felt that the idea of addressing all forms of discrimination together was a positive one, with the potential to produce greater progress in reducing inequalities. They felt that the CRE had been relatively successful compared to organisations dealing with other forms of inequality, so the inclusion of the CRE in a joint equalities body would hopefully push forward the overall equalities agenda.

Well, one of the things about having divided groups is that like the CRE are very powerful or have been historically very powerful and have made many strides over the years for racial equality, particularly within the workplace, yeah? But what's happened is there are other groups who haven't gained the power base that they have, so discrimination laws have been left behind, for example, the age discrimination laws. So what the CEHR would do is they would bring all discrimination laws in line with each other and they would look at discrimination across the board instead of targeting what is the trendy and popular, powerful group at any one time

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

Yeah, they should try and wipe out discrimination in any form

Male, white, Scotland

⁷³ Available from <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/reputation>.

I think it's always good to have something all together because they're all spread out. It's like the police force before they had computers. So many crimes were unsolved because they never got together

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

The participants who were less positive about the CEHR did not tend to express strong opposition to the principle of a joint equalities body, but had practical concerns about the difficulties of coordinating a large organisation with a wide remit. However, some were also concerned that there could be a loss of focus on the race equality agenda with the establishment of the CEHR.

Well, I think if they already do their jobs well in those groups as they are, maybe they could just be linked instead of putting it all together and making it more difficult to manage the different things

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

Well, how effective are they separately? ... Commission for Racial Equality ... I think it might get further watered down if it's teamed up

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

However, most doubts about the value of the CEHR reflected a lack of understanding about its powers and agenda, rather than particular concerns about the effect of unifying formerly independent equalities bodies.

As long as they've got some sort of punch

Male, white, Scotland

Well, if it's going to, you know, what is it going to create? Is it just going to be some organisation that just sits and has discussions?

Female, mixed ethnicity group, London

I'd be interested to know if this company [the CEHR] has any like executive power or any sort of power and how much power they're given by the government ... I want to know what they are able to do, what they can do

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

Participants were also concerned about the representativeness of the body and whether it will reflect the nature of the communities it seeks to help.

I'd like to know like who's working there because I wouldn't like a group of people who doesn't represent the community

Male, mixed ethnicity group, London

Evidence from the discussion groups reinforces the conclusion that clear communications are key to building public support for the CEHR. In particular, there is a need for information about the CEHR's agenda, its powers and its composition to convince people that it will be both effective and representative in the way it tackles inequality and discrimination.

Appendices

Interpretation of the data

Overall

Qualitative research is designed to give deeper insight into feelings than is possible through quantitative research, and to help answer the question ‘why?’ It does not seek to offer statistical validity from a representative sample. It is illustrative and does not allow conclusions to be drawn about the extent to which something is happening.

Qualitative research is intended to shed light on *why* people have particular views and *how* these views relate to demographic characteristics and the experiences of residents concerned. Discussion groups enable a group of people to participate in an informal and interactive discussion, and researchers to test the strength of people’s opinions. This approach, in other words, facilitates deeper insight into attitudes underlying the ‘top of mind’ responses to quantitative studies. It is important to bear in mind that we are dealing with *perceptions* rather than *facts*, although to participants these perceptions *are* facts.

Quantitative research seeks to answer the question of *what* people or organisations think or how they are behaving, by measuring their attitudes on a range of pre-set questions in the context of an interview, rather than holding an in-depth discussion on the issues involved. It provides statistically robust data.

It should be remembered that a sample, not the entire population, has been surveyed. Therefore all results are subject to sampling tolerances, which means that not all differences are statistically significant. A rough guide to statistical reliability follows.

Statistical Reliability

The sample tolerances that apply to the percentage results in this report are given in the table below. This table shows the possible variation that might be anticipated because a sample, rather than the entire population, was interviewed. As indicated, sampling tolerances vary with the size of the sample and the size of the percentage results.

Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels			
	10% or 90%	30% or 70%	50%
<i>Base:</i>	±	±	±
Size of sample on which survey result is based			
1,068	2	3	3
1,000	2	3	3
750	2	3	4
400	3	5	5
300	3	5	6
250	4	6	6
223	5	6	6
200	5	6	7
150	5	7	8
100	6	9	10
50	8	12	14

Source: Ipsos MORI

For example, on a question where 50% of the people in a weighted sample of 1,000 respond with a particular answer, the chances are 95 in 100 that this result would not vary more than three percentage points, plus or minus, from the results of a survey of the entire population using the same procedures.

Tolerances are also involved in the **comparison of results** from different parts of the sample. A difference, in other words, must be of at least a certain size to be considered statistically significant. The following table is a guide to the sampling tolerances applicable to comparisons.

Differences required for significance at or near these percentages			
	10% or 90%	30% or 70%	50%
<i>Base:</i>			
Size of sample on which survey result is based			
1,000 and 1,000	3	4	4
500 and 500	4	6	6
200 and 200	6	9	10
100 and 100	8	13	14
50 and 350	9	14	15
50 and 50	12	18	20

Source: Ipsos MORI

Caution should be exercised when comparing small sub-groups to ensure that the findings are statistically significant.

Social Grade Definition

These are standard classifications used in research, and are based on occupation of the chief income earner. They are defined as follows.

- A** Professionals such as doctors, surgeons, solicitors or dentists; chartered people like architects; fully qualified people with a large degree of responsibility such as senior editors, senior civil servants, town clerks, senior business executives and managers, and high ranking grades of the Armed Services.
- B** People with very responsible jobs such as university lecturers, hospital matrons, heads of local government departments, middle management in business, qualified scientists, bank managers, police inspectors, and upper grades of the Armed Services.
- C1** All others doing non-manual jobs; nurses, technicians, pharmacists, salesmen, publicans, people in clerical positions, police sergeants/constables, and middle ranks of the Armed Services.
- C2** Skilled manual workers/craftsmen who have served apprenticeships; foremen, manual workers with special qualifications such as long distance lorry drivers, security officers, and lower grades of Armed Services.
- D** Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, including labourers and mates of occupations in the C2 grade and people serving apprenticeships; machine minders; farm labourers; bus and railway conductors; laboratory assistants; postmen; door-to-door and van salesmen.
- E** Those on lowest levels of subsistence including pensioners, casual workers, and others with minimum levels of income.

Topline findings

CRE Race Relations Survey 2006 Topline Results

2006 General Public Survey

- Results for the national survey were based on a sample of 1,068 British adults aged 15+ interviewed face-to-face on the Ipsos MORI omnibus
- Fieldwork was conducted from 28 September to 3 October 2006, to quotas set in line with the profile of the general population
- Data was weighted to match the profile of residents in Great Britain.

2006 Ethnic Minority Survey

- Results for the ethnic minority survey were based on a sample of 223 adults, aged 16+ years in England interviewed face-to-face in the street in areas of high penetration
- Fieldwork was conducted from 15 to 20 November 2006, to quotas set in line with the profile of the general population
- Data was weighted to match the known profile of Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, black Caribbean, and black African populations in England.

2005 data

- Results were based on a nationally representative sample of 511 British adults interviewed face-to-face in respondents' homes
- Booster interviews were also conducted with 543 residents from Black Caribbean, Black African, Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani groups
- Fieldwork was conducted from 12 March to 14 April 2005
- Data was weighted by age, work status, gender and population profile.

2002 data

- Results were based on a nationally representative sample of 822 British adults interviewed face-to-face in respondents' homes
- Booster interviews were also conducted among 649 residents from Black African, Black Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese groups. It is important to note that the EMG (ethnic minority group) column for 2002 consists of the booster interviews as well as respondents from these ethnic groups in the national survey.
- Fieldwork was conducted from 5 April to 1 May 2002
- The National Survey Data was weighted to the known population profile in Great Britain
- The Ethnic Minority Data were also weighted to the known population profile in Great Britain, of the specific ethnic groups.

General information

- Where figures do not add up to 100, this is due to multiple coding or computer rounding
- An asterisk symbol (*) indicates more than 0% but less than 0.5% of respondents
- Responses are based on all interviews unless otherwise specified
- The survey was carried out by Ipsos MORI on behalf of CRE
- All participants were adults aged 16+, unless otherwise stated.
- Where a year is not given for data, the findings are from 2006

I am now going to ask some questions about community relations.

Q1. SHOWCARD (R) In the last year, how often, if at all, have you mixed socially with people from different ethnic groups to yourself... SINGLE CODE FOR EACH LINE. RANDOMISE ORDER.

	Daily	Less than daily at least a week	Less than weekly at least monthly	Less than monthly at least once a year	Less than once a year	Don't know/no opinion/not stated	At least monthly	Less than monthly
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
At your home, or their home								
General public (1,068)	8	9	13	13	45	13	30	57
Ethnic minority booster (223)	31	20	14	10	15	9	66	25
At work, school or college								
General public (1,068)	32	12	6	5	25	21	49	29
Ethnic minority booster (223)	53	7	8	2	6	24	68	8
Through hobbies or at sports clubs								
General public (1,068)	6	16	10	9	41	19	32	50
Ethnic minority booster (223)	12	17	11	7	18	35	40	26
Socially outside work								
General public (1,068)	9	17	15	12	32	15	41	44
Ethnic minority booster (223)	19	24	20	9	8	20	63	17
At the shops								
General public (1,068)	24	26	12	6	23	8	62	29
Ethnic minority booster (223)	42	31	9	3	5	10	82	8

Q2. Compared with five years ago, do you think that different ethnic and religious groups mix with each other more or less or do you think there is no difference? SINGLE CODE ONLY

	2006 % General public (1,068)	2006 % Ethnic minority booster (223)
More	32	42
Less	22	24
Made no difference	35	26
Don't know/no opinion	12	8

Q3. Which one, if any, of the following statements comes closest to your view: SINGLE CODE ONLY. READ OUT STATEMENTS.

	2006 % General public (1,068)	2006 % Ethnic minority booster (223)
On balance, religion causes divisions between people	73	35
On balance, religion acts to bring people together	16	53
Don't know	11	11

- Q4. SHOWCARD (R) There are still some groups of people within society who feel they experience prejudice and discrimination. Which two or three of these, if any, do you think are the most likely to experience prejudice and discrimination in Britain? Just read out the letter(s) that apply. MULTICODE OK. CODE UP TO THREE.

	% 2006 General public (1,068)	% 2006 Eth. min. booster (223)	% 2005 Gen. public (511)	% 2005 Eth. min (543)	% 2002 Gen. public (822)	% 2002 Eth. min. (649)
Refugees/Asylum seekers	52	30	53	49	60	51
Travellers/gypsies	40	11	33	15	37	15
People from ethnic minorities	31	43	30	49	41	48
Gay or lesbian people	29	22	27	27	43	32
People who are obese or overweight	21	15	19	16	20	16
Physically disabled people	19	9	22	12	22	14
People with learning disabilities	18	16	19	14	17	16
Older people	13	12	14	16	13	17
Religious minorities ⁷⁴	11	22	30	47	12	22
Younger people	4	10	NA	NA	NA	NA
Women	4	8	NA	NA	NA	NA
Irish, Welsh or Scottish people	2	1	3	5	4	4
Other	2	-	2	1	1	1
None of these	3	6	1	2	1	2
Don't know/not stated	5	10	4	6	3	9

- Q5. Do you think the London bombings on 7 July 2005 and recent terror-related events have created a more or less racially tolerant Britain or do you think they have made no difference? SINGLE CODE ONLY

	2006 % General public (1,068)	2006 % Ethnic minority booster (223)
More	18	30
Less	58	44
Made no difference	20	20
Don't know	4	6

⁷⁴ In 2005, the wording was 'Muslims or other religious minorities'.

Q6. In your view, why do you think some British people support far right political parties and values? PROBE FULLY Is there anything else? MULTICODE OK

	2006 % General public (1,068)	2006 % Ethnic minority booster (223)
Immigration/asylum	19	14
Because they are racist/racism	14	19
Friends/family who hold those views	8	11
Lack of education/educational opportunities	8	4
Terrorism	7	4
Media portrayal of these views/parties	6	9
Lack of employment opportunities	5	8
Ignorance	5	3
Living in isolated/segregated communities	4	6
Fear/fear of the unknown/change	4	2
Loss of faith in current parties	4	*
Increase in crime/lack of law and order	4	5
Losing our national identity/Britishness	3	*
Council housing allocation	3	4
British foreign policy/Iraq	3	8
Pressure on healthcare/NHS services	2	3
They believe in them/their policies/views	2	-
Britain's relations with Europe	*	3
Other	10	10
None of these	5	2
Don't know	29	35

Q7. What proportion of the British population do you think are immigrants to this country? SINGLE CODE ONLY

	2006 % General public (1,068)	2006 % Ethnic minority booster (223)	2002 % General public (822)	2002 % Ethnic minority booster (649)
Up to 5%	12	5	9	8
6% - 10%	18	11	15	10
11% - 20%	21	12	18	9
21% - 30%	16	13	16	14
31% - 40%	9	16	11	11
41% - 50%	6	6	6	8
Over 50%	6	14	9	8
Don't Know	12	23	16	32

Q8-16 I am now going to read a list of statements and I would like you to tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each?

			Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	No opinion /Don't know/ Not stated
Q8.	There are too many immigrants in Britain							
	2005							
		General public (511)	31	28	19	12	7	3
		Ethnic minority booster (543)	19	34	18	15	8	5
	2002							
		General public (822)	32	29	17	12	7	3
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	16	30	18	19	9	7
Q9.	It is important to respect the rights of minority groups							
	2006							
		General public (1,068)	30	48	12	6	1	2
		Ethnic minority booster (223)	53	38	6	1	-	3
	2005							
		General public (511)	35	49	7	5	2	2
		Ethnic minority booster (543)	57	37	3	1	*	1
	2002							
		General public (822)	29	49	10	6	3	2
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	54	35	4	1	1	4
Q10.	Immigrants to Britain who do not speak English should be made to learn English							
	2002							
		General public (822)	47	30	10	7	3	2
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	36	40	12	7	3	2
Q11.	We should do more to learn about the systems and culture of the ethnic groups in this country							
	2006							
		General public (1,068)	15	41	15	19	7	2
		Ethnic minority booster (223)	46	40	6	1	2	4
	2002							
		General public (822)	19	38	13	17	10	2
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	41	42	10	4	*	3
Q12.	People who settle in this country should have citizenship lessons about the British way of life							
	2002							
		General public (822)	37	40	8	9	4	1
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	21	37	16	11	11	4
Q13.	People from ethnic minorities need to demonstrate a real commitment to this country before they can be considered British							
	2006							
		General public (1,068)	36	37	14	9	2	2
		Ethnic minority booster (223)	35	33	13	9	4	5
	2002							
		General public (822)	38	31	13	12	4	3
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	21	30	19	14	11	6

			Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	No opinion /Don't know/ Not stated
Q14. Britain is a place that has good relations between different types of people such as those from different ethnic backgrounds								
	2006							
		General public (1,068)	9	52	18	18	2	2
		Ethnic minority booster (223)	32	32	16	6	6	7
	2005							
		General public (511)	8	53	19	13	3	1
		Ethnic minority booster (543)	21	45	17	9	5	1
	2002							
		General public (822)	12	47	18	16	4	2
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	23	44	14	11	5	3
Q15. It is a good thing that immigrants who settle in this country maintain the culture and lifestyle they had at home								
	2006							
		General public (1,068)	6	30	25	26	11	2
		Ethnic minority booster (223)	37	34	17	4	3	3
	2002							
		General public (822)	9	35	21	19	13	2
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	29	39	15	10	3	4
Q16. To be truly British you have to be White								
	2006							
		General public (1,068)	2	8	7	27	55	1
		Ethnic minority booster (223)	5	3	7	18	65	3
	2002							
		General public (822)	4	5	3	23	63	2
		Ethnic minority booster (649)	4	3	5	12	72	4

HISTORICAL DATA

QA ASKED IN 2005
 SHOWCARD A (R) Please can you tell me from this card how well you feel you know each of the following? First of all...
 READ OUT A – I. ROTATE ORDER. TICK START. SINGLE CODE FOR EACH.

Base: all respondents

	Bases		Know very well	Know a fair amount	Know just a little	Have heard of but know almost nothing about it	Never heard of it	Don't know
Equal Opportunities Commission								
General public	(511)	%	9	18	32	25	16	*
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	9	14	22	17	35	3
Disability Rights Commission								
General public	(511)	%	7	12	23	24	32	2
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	6	11	25	21	34	2
Age Concern								
General public	(511)	%	15	27	36	16	7	0
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	10	17	28	19	23	2
Health Education Authority								
General public	(511)	%	7	15	29	25	22	1
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	9	22	27	20	20	2
Commission for Racial Equality								
General public	(511)	%	8	19	32	25	15	1
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	8	21	23	17	27	3
Stonewall								
General public	(511)	%	1	4	7	10	74	4
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	*	2	2	3	85	8
Fawcett Society								
General public	(511)	%	1	*	1	4	88	5
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	1	*	2	1	87	8
Audit Commission								
General public	(511)	%	4	9	21	26	39	1
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	1	5	11	16	60	7
Commission for Equality and Human Rights								
General public	(511)	%	3	13	31	28	23	1
Ethnic minority booster	(543)	%	5	11	28	23	29	3

QB ASKED IN 2005
 SHOWCARD (R) **From this card, how favourable or unfavourable are your overall opinions of the following?**
 IF NECESSARY SAY: **Don't worry if you are not certain, it is your impressions we are interested in.**
First of all...
 READ OUT A – I. ROTATE ORDER. TICK START. SINGLE CODE FOR EACH.

Base: all who have at least heard of... (base sizes in brackets)

	Bases		Very favourable	Mainly favourable	Neither nor	Mainly unfavourable	Very unfavourable	o
Equal Opportunities Commission								
General public	(425)	%	16	48	25	5	1	
Ethnic minority booster	(323)	%	18	52	19	4	2	
Disability Rights Commission								
General public	(337)	%	20	47	23	3	1	
Ethnic minority booster	(328)	%	16	51	22	3	1	
Age Concern								
General public	(477)	%	29	50	14	*	*	
Ethnic minority booster	(399)	%	18	52	20	2	*	
Health Education Authority								
General public	(383)	%	14	44	31	2	1	
Ethnic minority booster	(411)	%	18	51	20	3	*	
Commission for Racial Equality								
General public	(429)	%	15	45	25	8	2	
Ethnic minority booster	(364)	%	19	42	28	5	1	
Stonewall								
General public	(110)	%	7	28	37	4	2	
Ethnic minority booster	(39)	%	9	16	40	6	2	
Fawcett Society								
General public	(28)	%	9	19	44	0	0	
Ethnic minority booster	(25)	%	9	38	18	1	0	
Audit Commission								
General public	(304)	%	4	34	40	3	1	
Ethnic minority booster	(179)	%	5	30	41	5	*	
Commission for Equality and Human Rights								
General public	(384)	%	12	42	30	6	1	
Ethnic minority booster	(355)	%	15	47	22	3	1	

QC

ASKED IN 2005
 SHOWCARD (R) **I am going to read out some statements about the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them.** READ OUT A - C. ROTATE ORDER. TICK START. SINGLE CODE EACH LINE.

Base: all who have heard of the CRE (base sizes in brackets)

	Bases		Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	No opinion
The CRE's work has helped to improve race relations in Britain								
General public	(429)	%	6	51	23	12	4	4
Ethnic minority booster	(364)	%	11	45	25	10	4	4
The CRE does a good job in tackling racial discrimination								
General public	(429)	%	4	44	31	10	4	6
Ethnic minority booster	(364)	%	8	36	29	17	4	6
The CRE reflects the views and concerns of ethnic minority communities in Britain								
General public	(429)	%	6	45	31	8	1	8
Ethnic minority booster	(364)	%	6	41	30	13	5	5

QD ASKED IN 2002 **Thinking about local communities generally, for what reasons, if any, do you think that some communities get on better than others?**

	General public (822) 2002	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002
	%	%
Friendly neighbours/friendly people	68	47
A stable population i.e. people staying there for a long time	38	17
Good local schools	29	18
Having a focal point, such as a place of worship/community centre/pub/local shop	28	20
People having the same interests/outlook as others	23	21
There are a mix of different types of people	19	29
Affordable housing	17	15
People having the same cultural background	17	24
People speaking the same language	17	21
People having the same ethnic background	9	18
People having the same religious beliefs	7	16
Distinct geographical boundaries	5	1
Other	5	4
All of these	*	1
None of these	1	2
Don't know	4	8

QE ASKED IN 2002 **On this card are a number of different areas or communities. Which two or three would you say you most identify with? Please read out all that apply.**

	General public (822) 2002	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002
	%	%
This local area	45	57
This region	33	23
England/Wales/Scotland	39	9
Britain	45	42
Europe	10	6
The country (or countries) of my family's origin	10	46
None of these	*	1
Don't know	1	3

QF ASKED IN 2002 **Which two or three would you say you least identify with? Please read out all that apply.**

	General public (822) 2002	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002
	%	%
This local area	7	4
This region	6	7
England/Wales/Scotland	13	26
Britain	7	9
Europe	64	53
The country (or countries) of my family's origin	4	8
None of these	16	12
Don't know	5	15

QG ASKED IN 2002 **Thinking about how you describe yourself, which, if any, of the following factors are important? Please read out the letter(s) that apply.**

	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
My family	81	66
My friends	60	38
Upbringing	55	40
The people I associate/mix with	36	31
Where I grew up	33	24
Where I live now	28	32
My place of birth	22	25
My cultural background	16	35
My religion	12	38
My parents' place of birth	10	16
My ethnic background	7	38
The colour of my skin	4	19
Other	*	1
None of these	1	*
Don't know	*	2

QH ASKED IN 2002 **What comes to mind when you think about the British way of life?**

	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
People	10	10
The Queen/ Princess Diana/ The Royal Family	10	8
The Prime Minister, Tony Blair	1	2
Places/institutions	7	6
Westminster/Houses of Parliament	2	3
Buckingham Palace	2	2
The Countryside	4	1
Church of England	1	1
House of Lords	*	*
Attitudes/Behaviour	22	27
People saying sorry all the time	1	1
People being polite	6	8
Cultural diversity and tolerance	9	11
Racism/intolerance	4	8
Being White	1	2
The class system	4	6
Hooliganism	2	3
Food/Culture	14	16
Fish and Chips	7	9
Indian food/curry	1	3
Cricket	4	3
Football	6	7
Roast beef and Yorkshire pudding	5	2
Tea	3	3
Other	48	37
Don't know	28	33

QI ASKED IN 2002 **On this card there are a number of everyday situations. In which of these situations, if any, would you say you mix with people of a different ethnic origin to you? Please just read out the letter(s) that apply.**

	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
Visiting local shops	46	55
At work	41	51
Going out in the evening (e.g. to a pub/restaurant/cinema/community centre)	37	31
When using public transport	30	43
Visiting or seeing friends/acquaintances	23	35
At a place of study e.g. school, college, university	22	35
Talking to neighbours	20	46
At a place of worship	10	24
Visiting or seeing family	8	18
None of these	14	1
Don't know	1	1

QJ ASKED IN 2002 **What proportion of the British population do you think are black or from an ethnic minority background?**

	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
Up to 5%	10	13
6%-10%	15	10
11%-20%	19	15
21%-30%	15	13
31%-40%	12	6
41-50%	7	5
Over 50%	7	4
Don't know	15	34
	Mean=23	Mean=20

QK ASKED IN 2002 AND 2005 **Do you think there is generally more, less or about the same amount of racial prejudice in Britain now than there was 10 years ago?**

	General public (511) 2005 %	Ethnic minority booster (543) 2005 %	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
More now	40	29	47	34
Less now	30	33	29	31
About the same	23	24	21	22
Don't know	6	13	3	11
Refused	0	*	1	2

QL ASKED IN 2002 **Do you think there will be more, less or about the same amount of racial prejudice in Britain in 10 years' time, compared with now?**

	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
More in 10 years	49	36
Less in 10 years	29	31
About the same	17	14
Don't know	6	17
Refused	1	2

QM ASKED IN 2002 **Do you think that the events of September 11th have created a more or less racially tolerant Britain or do you think they have made no difference?**

	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
More	14	26
Less	27	27
Made no difference	55	39
Don't know	4	9

QN ASKED IN 2002 **In Summer 2001 there were a number of riots in northern towns including Oldham and Bradford. Do you think these events have created a more or less racially tolerant Britain or do you think they have made no difference?**

	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
More	15	19
Less	28	22
Made no difference	49	42
Don't know	8	17

QO ASKED IN 2002 **Have you personally experienced any prejudice or discrimination because of your ethnic background, or not?**

	General public (511) 2005 %	Ethnic minority booster (543) 2005 %	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
Yes	12	38	14	39
No	86	68	85	56
Don't know	*	1	1	5

QP ASKED IN 2002 **For what reasons, if any, do you think people are prejudiced towards others because of their race or colour? 'What else?'**

	General public (822) 2002 %	Ethnic minority booster (649) 2002 %
Ignorance	32	42
Lack of understanding of different cultures/people from different backgrounds	26	31
Lack of experience of different cultures/people from different backgrounds	16	20
Family background/upbringing	13	13
Fear/feel intimidated	13	11
Conflict over access to jobs	10	10
Lack of education	9	17
Feel they are being treated less fairly than other groups	9	8
Negative media images/stereotypes	7	13
Personal/political beliefs	5	6
Financial tension	5	6
Conflict over access to public services	5	4
They are racist	5	8
Negative personal experience	3	7
Other	28	19
Don't know	11	14

QQ ASKED IN 2002 **Do you personally know anyone who is prejudiced against...**

		Yes	No	Don't know	Refused
A	...people from different ethnic group to their own?	45	53	1	1
		28	66	4	2
B	...disabled people?	10	88	*	1
		8	84	6	2
C	...gay or lesbian people?	37	62	1	*
		26	65	7	2

Discussion Guide

Commission for Racial Equality Depth interview discussion guide – FINAL

Core objectives

- State of race relations in Britain today
- Perceptions relating to 'hot topics'

Discussion sections	Notes	Approx timing
Introduction and background	Warm up – orientates the interviewee	5 mins
1. Living in Britain	Exploring attitudes to the local community: what does localness mean; how does it fit in with wider British society?	15 mins
2. Defining identity	Exploring the key identifiers: where is ethnicity in this? What is a shared identity? How can it be developed?	20 mins
3. Best of British	Light hearted look at the best of British culture	25 mins
4. Attitudes towards others	Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination. What needs to be done to reduce this?	15 mins
Conclusion	Draw group to a close, distil key messages	5 mins

Description	Aims and comments	Time (mins)
<p>Introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thank interviewee for agreeing to take part, session should last 90 minutes • Anonymity of respondents and Market Research Society (MRS) code of conduct and Data Protection Act • Permission to audio record- all confidential • Informal discussion, honesty is very important, this will not reflect negatively on you in any way, feel free to change opinion, provide examples from real life <p>Interviewee to introduce himself/herself</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First name • How long have you lived here? • Who do you live with? 	<p>Warm-up: orientates interviewee, explain the research, explain MRS and Data Protection Act</p> <p>Introduction and participant background</p>	5 mins
<p>1. Living in Britain</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How would you describe your life at the moment? PROBE: What concerns you? What makes you happy? <p>Prompt: your family; children; job; future prospects for family; future financial or housing situation; any personal goals or ambitions?</p> <p>IDENTIFY: family, local, national or world concerns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What do you like about living in Britain? <p>Identify: multiculturalism; freedom of expression; diversity; equality; respect.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What are the most important issues facing Britain/this area today? Why? PROBE BUT DO NOT GO INTO DETAIL: local services/facilities; education; social services; crime, health; employment; housing; leisure; asylum. ○ Who or what do you think is the threat? PROBE: within Britain or outside. ○ How has immigration shaped what it is like to live in Britain today? Where do immigrants come from? Why do they move to Britain? PROBE: perceptions of immigration from new EU countries; attitudes towards economic migration. 	<p>Identifying current life situation; what triggers concern – whether these are personal or societal issues; puts interviewees comments into context</p> <p>Living in Britain</p> <p>Exploring how immigration has shaped British communities.</p>	10 mins

2. Defining identity		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How would you describe yourself/your background? PROBE: (<i>Moderator: if necessary ask: If someone asked you to describe who you were, what would you say?</i>) PROBE: national identity. Some people think of themselves as British, others may say they are English. How would you describe how you see yourself? (<i>Moderator: replace English in Welsh/Scottish/Irish groups.</i>) PROBE: for European/Black/Asian/Other? ○ Why do you describe yourself as...? PROBE FOR ethnic background/upbringing/parents' place of birth/cultural background/places you have lived, other influences. ○ What makes someone British/English/Scottish/European? PROBE: for family; birthplace; place of residence; (cultural) behaviour; language; loyalties; colour of skin; allegiance; belonging; security. ○ When it comes to supporting national sports people/teams, who do you support? Why? Would you fight for Britain? Why/why not? ○ Do you think that people who have recently come to live in this country would identify themselves as English/British/Scottish/Welsh? Why/Why not? Should they? Why/Why not? ○ What does the term integration mean to you? Can you describe a community in which people are integrated? How do they behave and relate to each other? PROBE: understandings of integration. Is integration the same as assimilation? Can we integrate whilst maintaining differences? ○ And do you think people who come to this country can ever become truly British? PROBE: difference between getting a passport, and feeling like you are from Britain. ○ Should English lessons be compulsory for immigrants who don't speak English? Why/why not? Should they have citizenship lessons about the 'British way of life'? What would these lessons entail? 	<p>Defining identity through its differences with others.</p> <p>Also establishes what interviewee thinks these differences are – brings stereotypes on both sides</p> <p>How does national identity affect behaviour/actions?</p> <p>Explores the concept of integration and relates it to ideas of assimilation, sameness and difference</p>	<p>25 mins</p>

4. Attitudes towards others		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ There are some groups of people within society who experience prejudice and discrimination? Which groups do you think these are? PROBE: ethnic groups; religious groups; age groups; gender groups; disability groups; sexual minorities; poor people. WRITE UP ON BOARD. ○ Which of these groups do you think experiences most prejudice/discrimination? PROBE: the challenge of multiple discrimination. ○ Why do you think that is? PROBE FULLY FOR: education; upbringing/lack of interaction with different types of people; ignorance; negative media images/stereotypes; their behaviour; intolerance/prejudice. ○ In which situations are people most likely to experience discrimination? Why? PROBE: locations and situations in which people are discriminated against e.g. job application, media representations, football match. ○ Do you think there is generally more or less prejudice/discrimination in Britain now than there was five years ago? Why is there less/more? PROBE FULLY. ○ Do you think people's attitudes can be changed? IF NO, Why not? IF YES: How? PROBE: for education/living in diverse community/upbringing? ○ Whose responsibility do you think it is? PROBE: Has anyone heard of CEHR? The government currently has a dedicated Commission for Racial Equality; however, this is going to be replaced by a joint equalities body dealing with all aspects of equality (gender, disability, race etc.) What do you think the advantages and disadvantages are of a single equality body for race relations? ○ What role can YOU (as an individual) play in changing attitudes? ○ What impact do you think having more ethnic minority/disabled/gay teachers/politicians/police officers would have? ○ Do you think changing people's attitudes will lead to a greater sense of community/togetherness? Why/why not? 	<p>Outlines perceptions, types and causes of discrimination.</p> <p>Considers situations and places in which people experience discrimination.</p> <p>Looks at whether things have changed over time</p> <p>Looks at how change could be affected</p> <p>Awareness and perceptions of CEHR</p> <p>Perceptions of the future</p>	25 mins

<p>FINALLY</p> <p>Looking to the future:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What do you think the future of Britain looks like: economically; politically; culturally? ○ What do you think will be the future for different ethnic/migrant groups in Britain? 		
<p>Conclusions</p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This research will be used for the Commission on Racial Equality's Race Convention. They are interested in the state of race relations in Britain today. ○ What is the key message you'd like to give participants at the conference about your feelings relating to race relations? GO AROUND EACH MEMBER OF THE GROUP <p>THANK AND CLOSE</p>		5 mins

Vox pops

After group, ask for volunteers/select three to four participants who have been particularly insightful to be interviewed for video. They will need to complete consent form. It is important to stress to people that this will only be used for the purposes of the conference, and will not be broadcast nationally.

At beginning of tape, record date and location.

Questions:

- What are your three favourite things about living in Britain?
- What's your favourite food?
- What's your favourite British food?
- How do you think race relations have changed over the last ten years?
- And what about over the last year or two?
- Do you think different ethnic and religious groups mix more or less than they did five years ago and why?
- Can you give me an example of places/events when you mixed with people from different backgrounds to yourself?