

Non-Technical Summary: Devolution, Nationalism and ethnic Minorities

Much of the debate about Scottish nationalism has focused on the tension between Scottish and British identities. Conversely much of the research and debate about multiculturalism has focused on England. But devolution itself underlines the need for a synthesis between these two debates. We hoped to contribute to that with a study of Scotland's largest 'visible' and 'invisible' minorities – ethnic-Pakistanis and English immigrants.

'Civic' versus 'ethnic' nationalism: In Scotland, even nationalist elites proclaim their 'civic' concept of nationalism. Ethnic nationalism 'is in essence exclusive', but civic nationalism 'is inclusive in the sense that anyone can adopt the culture and join the nation'.

Yet there are many problems with this simple distinction. Civic nationalism can easily degenerate into ethnic nationalism. Nationalists may advocate civic nationalism, but minorities may view it as ethnic nationalism. And minorities may be unwilling or even unable to 'adopt the culture and join the nation'.

Aims

Our main aim was to see how well post-devolution Scotland is succeeding in accommodating both nationalism and multiculturalism at the same time. – by investigating both the anti-minority phobias of the majority and the experiences and perceptions of minorities themselves.

We carried out focus groups and survey interviews with the two chosen minorities. At the same time (with £65K co-funding from the Nuffield Foundation) we placed a module of questions in the 2003 SSAS/ BSAS (Scottish/ British Social Attitudes Surveys) to measure majority attitudes towards English immigrants in Scotland, and towards Muslims in both countries.

Research results

Majority phobias: We measure the majorities' Islamophobia by averaging the percentage who give Islamophobic answers across five questions: about economic resentment, nationalist distrust (two questions), fears for national identity, and social exclusion.

By that measure, Islamophobia is not only significantly greater in England than in Scotland, it is also far more closely tied to English nationalism within England, than to Scottish nationalism within Scotland – though the weakness of Islamophobia in Scotland is offset by Anglophobia.

Within Scotland, the difference between Anglophobia and Islamophobia varies sharply across our five indicators. There is a large difference on social exclusion, less on economic resentment or on fears for national identity ('if more Muslims or English came to Scotland). And 'majority Scots' do not distinguish between the loyalty of English immigrants and Muslims to Scotland – they doubt both.

- To some extent anti-minority phobias go together: personal contacts with the minority, youth, and high education especially, reduce both phobias.
- But other factors differentiate: Scottish nationalism has hardly any impact on Islamophobia in Scotland but a fairly strong impact on Anglophobia.

So is Scottish nationalism, unlike English nationalism, 'benign' rather than 'nasty' as so many writers suggest? Towards Muslims our answer must be an unequivocal 'yes'. But towards English immigrants perhaps not.

Minority experience: Civic nationalism has been described as 'inclusive in the sense that anyone can adopt the culture and join the nation'. But one minority is unwilling to 'adopt the culture' and the other is (psychologically) unable to 'join the nation'. Despite that however, both feel 'at ease' in post-devolution Scotland.

- **Culture and Identity:** English immigrants find it exceedingly difficult to identify with Scotland because their identities are primarily territorial. They remain forever 'sympathetic outsiders'. Conversely, Pakistanis find it very easy to identify with Scotland – because their identities are primarily cultural (ie Muslim). And cultural identities (a) are portable and (b) do not conflict with territorial identities.
- **Scottish nationalism:** Insofar as there is any territorial dimension to Pakistani identities however, they are Scottish rather than British. And by 2003 (because of the Iraq War) they were over twice as likely to vote for the SNP (which opposed the War) as the average Scot.
- **Harassment:** Over a quarter of the English and over half the Pakistanis have experienced ethnic harassment. But both attribute discrimination, harassment and abuse almost entirely to the faults of 'ordinary people' rather than government.
- **A (relatively) safe haven:** Despite that, both feel 'at ease' with living in Scotland – and rather more 'at ease' since devolution.
- Few of the English (only 16 percent) see conflict between Scots and English as even 'fairly serious'. Far more Pakistanis (39 percent) see a 'fairly serious' conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland. But they rate it as rather less serious than Catholic/Protestant conflict in Scotland. Over five times as many Scottish Pakistanis see a 'very serious' conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims 'in England' as in Scotland; and over twice as many see 'very serious' conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims 'across the world' as 'in England'.

Focus group discussions reveal that ethnic Pakistanis feel much safer living in Scotland after 9/11 – despite increased harassment – than they would feel anywhere else (including Pakistan!).

So devolution has not increased the tensions between either of the minorities and the majority in Scotland. Indeed it has reduced them, if only slightly. Ironically, while 9/11 increased the harassment of Muslims, 9/11 (plus the Iraq) has bound them more strongly to Scotland than ever before.

Dissemination and impact

Miller convened a joint Royal Society of Edinburgh / British Academy Conference on *Anglo-Scottish Relations Since 1914*.

We gave presentations to: that RSE/BA Conference; the Scottish Executive (3 times); the SSAS (Scottish Social Attitudes Survey) Conference; the PSA (Political Studies Association) in Lincoln and the NAES (National Association for Ethnic Studies) in Philadelphia; to a "Holyrood" Conference in Glasgow; and a British Council conference in Madrid.

We published in *CRE (Commission for Racial Equality) Connections*; *Ethnic Studies Review*; and the *Proceedings of the British Academy*; contributed a chapter to an *Edinburgh University Press* book; and signed a contract to deliver a monograph manuscript (by Sept05) to *Oxford University Press*.

Media interest has been extensive (we list 27 press, radio or TV items in the full report). And our research has interested and informed policy makers including the 53 politicians, activists, and civil servants listed in 2B, plus many more.

End of Award Report
Devolution, Nationalism and Ethnic Minorities:
The Civility of Civic Nationalism
L219252118
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Background

Much of the debate about Scottish devolution and nationalism has focused on the tension between Scottish and British identities. Conversely much of the research and debate about multiculturalism has focused on England.(e.g. Modood et al) But devolution itself underlines the need for a synthesis between these two debates. We hoped to contribute to that with a study of Scotland's English and Pakistani minorities.

'Civic' versus 'ethnic' nationalism: In Scotland, both the devolutionists of the Constitutional Convention and the independence-minded SNP (which stood outside the Convention) have proclaimed a non-ethnic, inclusive, 'civic' concept of nationalism.(SA 29:138) Ethnic nationalism 'is in essence exclusive', stressing the ethnic group and common descent. Civic nationalism 'is inclusive in the sense that anyone can adopt the culture and join the nation'.(Kellas p.65) Breuille draws a similar contrast between movements which demand independence on the basis of 'ethnic principles' and those that do so on the basis of 'universal principles' such as equality or human rights. He cites the 1848-9 Frankfurt Assembly and independence movements in North and South America, Australia, and New Zealand as basing claims to independence on 'universal principles'.(pp.5-7)

But there are problems with this simple 'civic-v-ethnic' distinction. First, Breuille cites the course of German history after 1848 and of anti-colonial movements in Africa and India as evidence that civic nationalism can easily turn into ethnic nationalism. Second, although nationalists may sincerely believe that they are advocating a civic conception, minorities may view it as ethnic nationalism. A third problem arises if minorities do not wish, in Kellas's words, to 'adopt the culture and join the nation'. The problem is particularly acute where one ethnic group is predominant and therefore tends to equate itself with 'the nation'.(David Miller p.33) Quoting J.S.Mill's enthusiasm for using 'all legitimate means' to assimilate French Canadians, Parekh (2000a p.46) distinguishes sharply between 'liberal'(Barry) and 'multicultural'(Inglis) alternatives to ethnic nationalism: liberalism ignores differences while multiculturalism cherishes them. For Parekh, 'there is nothing wrong with assimilation' – but if and only if minorities 'freely decide to assimilate'.(2000a p.197)

The tensions in the multiculturalist version of civic nationalism are even greater than in the liberal version. 'Belonging' is about more than the cold issue of justice. It is about the warm issue of acceptance. So 'one might enjoy all the rights of citizenship and be a formally equal member of the community, and yet feel an outsider who does not belong.'(Parekh 2000a p.237) From a multicultural perspective the question is not just whether 'brown' minorities are accepted 'as real Scots'(Arshad p.220; CHE) but

also whether those ('brown' or white) who do not wish to be 'real Scots' can still feel truly 'at home' in a more nationalistic Scotland.

Multiculturalism in post-devolution Scotland: Advocates of Scottish devolution and independence have consistently stressed the inclusive character of their ambitions.(e.g. CSG Annex H) Both agree that any new system should be more inclusive (not less) than the old system/old politics. Even the term 'multicultural' is used approvingly.(CHE) And the Scottish Executive is supporting a major program of research into 'visible' ethnic minorities in Scotland.(SE-CRU) Yet the internal tensions in 'multicultural nationalism' are compounded by the significance of 'political symbols, images, ceremonies, collective self-understanding and views of national identity'.(Parekh 2000a p.203; Modood and Werbner p.263) Thus ethnic minorities in Scotland may welcome all the equal-opportunities provisions, yet still feel increasingly excluded by mono-cultural symbolism.

Ethnic inclusion often has a dry ritual quality in the rhetoric of devolution and nationalism. The term 'ethnic' seldom appeared in key devolution documents without being coupled with 'women', the 'disabled' and/or 'the churches'.(SCC; SNP; CSG; WP col.392; SP vol.1:col.382) And Dewar's promise (Brown et al 1999, pp.12-13) that no ethnic minority would fail to get representation in the Scottish Parliament proved empty. On the contrary, no 'visible' ethnic minority gained any representation at all. At the same time, the emphasis on Scottish history, the enthusiasm expressed by senior politicians for 'Braveheart'(SA 21:135-58 esp.p.147), even the claim (to the applause of MSPs) that 'the Scottish Parliament, which adjourned on 25 March 1707, is hereby reconvened'(SP vol.1:col.5) was exclusionist to those whose ethnic identity made it difficult for them to identify with historic (as distinct from contemporary) Scotland.

CRE figures showed a sharp increase in racial incidents in Scotland after the Devolution Referendum (CRE 1999) and the press printed a rash of stories about harassment of the Pakistani and, more especially, of the English minorities (e.g. Rafferty; CRE-Scotland p.8). While there may have been an element of media-hype in this (Hardie) there is a growing awareness of racism in Scotland (Kelly; SA 12:9-51; SA 26:92-3) and such coverage may stimulate minority insecurity. In England, the growing sense of 'Englishness' (rather than 'Britishness') has been linked to racist and xenophobic attitudes.(Curtice and Heath)

The threat to minorities under devolution is not intentional oppression by new institutions, but unintentional stimulation of nationalist passions and/or minority fears. Despite the inclusive rhetoric at the top, minorities may still fear harassment by a more consciously nationalistic public; and resent being overlooked on symbolic occasions by the authorities, patronised, or invited to assimilate more than they wish. On the other hand they may not. In practice, the inherent tensions between nationalism and multiculturalism may have been largely overcome. Our purpose is to find out. That is an empirical question.

Objectives

The main aim of this project was to see how well post-devolution Scotland is succeeding in accommodating both nationalism and multiculturalism at the same time. There are two ways to find out: by investigating both the experiences of minorities and the anti-minority phobias of the majority.

In the context of devolution it would be wrong to define ethnic minorities in racist terms. We focused on two key minorities: Pakistanis and English. They are amongst the largest minorities in Scotland. Moreover, devolution and nationalism significantly challenge the identities of both. But they differ in several theoretically-interesting

ways. From a racial perspective, they have been described as 'visible' and 'invisible' minorities, respectively. From an east European perspective, they correspond loosely to 'culturally distinctive' and 'former imperial' minorities. (Grodeland et al., p.46; Miller et al 2001, p.175) Finally, England is the 'significant other' with a key role in defining Scottish identity (Wright), while Pakistan is not – which may have significant consequences for patterns of dual or 'hyphenated' identity.

We sought to understand these minorities' perspectives on nationalism and multiculturalism in post-devolution Scotland. In particular:

- their views on the principles of devolution/independence; and on the performance of Holyrood
- their perceptions – and experience – of harassment; their perceptions of change; and the extent to which they attribute this change explicitly to devolution and the Scottish Parliament
- whether they are at ease with living in Scotland; whether they feel more or less at ease now than in the past; where they see their long-term future
- to what extent they can personally identify with Scotland and with Scottish national symbols
- their inhibitions – whether they feel they can 'speak their mind' about Scotland and things Scottish or have to be careful not to offend the majority

Understanding the impact of devolution and indeed minority perspectives on devolution were not made any easier by broadly concurrent events – including '9/11', the invasion of Iraq, and the emerging consequences of the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act which introduced a programme of dispersal of asylum-seekers from southern England to Scotland. But we were helped in this by our use of focus groups and by the use of survey questions that specifically asked about the contribution of devolution as against other concurrent influences.

At the same time we aimed to investigate majority Scots' attitudes towards these two key minorities. And to put those majority Scots' attitudes in context by comparing them with majority attitudes towards minorities in England, in particular the English majority's attitudes towards Muslims.

Methods

To see how well post-devolution Scotland succeeded in combining multiculturalism and sub-state nationalism we used a combination of focus group discussions and surveys with these two minorities, tightly integrated with a survey of majority Scottish attitudes towards them.

Focus groups cannot claim to be statistically representative but they are extremely useful for providing insight and interpretation. Typically each discussion ran for close to two hours. We held 12 focus-groups in the winter of 2002-3, six with ethnic Pakistanis and six with English immigrants. (In fact we held seven with ethnic Pakistanis, but our video equipment failed to record the sound on one very lively discussion – so we had to do one extra.) A total of 81 participants were recruited through ethnic organizations and the discussions were all chaired by the grant-holders – 9 by Hussain and 3 by Miller. The Pakistani discussions (all chaired by Hussain) used Punjabi, Urdu, English or a mixture of languages according to the

participants' preference. All focus groups were video-recorded and then fully transcribed in English – translated where necessary by Hussain.

The focus groups were followed by 1510 telephone survey interviews in the summer of 2003, again split equally between the two minorities. By design, these minority survey samples (though not the focus groups) included some respondents who had close ties to the minorities¹ (especially Scottish partners of English immigrants) but in all our analyses we distinguish between the English-born themselves and those who merely have close ties to them. We recruited a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual team of interviewers and the survey interviews, like the focus group discussions, were then conducted in Punjabi and Urdu as well as English according to the participants' preference. Half the interviews with Pakistanis were conducted by multi-lingual interviewers and the remainder were offered the option of switching to a multi-lingual interviewer. But most Scottish Pakistanis speak English fluently and many prefer to use it for matters such as political discussions. So 70 percent of the interviews with Pakistanis were conducted mainly in English even though in many cases the interviewer was fluent in Punjabi or Urdu. Nonetheless language fluency or the offer of a multi-lingual interviewer was very valuable in establishing initial rapport even if English was functionally more effective for discussing the peculiarities of UK devolution.

To select survey respondents we used a mixture of random digit dialing (especially for the English), ethnic name selection (for the ethnic Pakistani sample only), supplemented by limited use of snowball sampling², in areas where the 2001 Census showed that ethnic Pakistanis or English immigrants were relatively numerous³. Apart from the use of the telephone our procedure was broadly similar to that used in the 1997 British Election Survey for its ethnic minority sample (Saggar and Heath, 1999). Filter-questions were used to select respondents who came within the scope of our enquiry (excluding, for example Arabs who share many names with Pakistanis). Our sampling procedures mean that our samples will not necessarily reflect the views of minorities where they are most sparse. But the concentration of ethnic minorities in Scotland can be over-emphasised: there are few places of any extent where minorities in Scotland are anything but a small minority.

¹ For the surveys we widened the scope of our samples to include anyone who lived in a Pakistani or English 'household' – defined as one containing someone who was 'ethnically Pakistani' or 'born in England', or who had such people amongst their 'very close relatives – parents, children, brothers, sisters'.

² Snowball techniques are frequently used to sample small populations that are widely dispersed within a larger one. After successfully interviewing one member of the minority, the interviewer asks for other telephone numbers where members of that minority may be contacted.

³ We sited four English focus-groups across southern Scotland from east to west, supplemented by one in a wealthy western suburb of Aberdeen and another on a housing estate in industrial Lanarkshire. For the English interviews in our telephone survey we used a random digit dialling technique (which accesses non-directory as well as directory numbers) in the areas covered by the directories for the Borders, South-west Scotland and Edinburgh, using a set of filter-questions to select respondents who came within the scope of our enquiry.

Half of all the Pakistanis in Scotland are concentrated in Glasgow. We sited three focus-groups with Pakistanis in residential south Glasgow and three in more cosmopolitan north Glasgow which is home to BBC-Scotland, the University, and a more diverse ethnic mix. For our survey, we based our samples on potentially ethnic Pakistani names in the Glasgow, Edinburgh and Tayside (Dundee) directories. Census 2001 figures show that 48 percent of ethnic Pakistanis live in Glasgow, plus another 12 percent in Edinburgh and 5 percent in Dundee – totalling 65 percent of all Pakistanis in Scotland; 42 percent of Muslims live in Glasgow plus another 16 percent in Edinburgh and 7 percent in Dundee – totalling 65 percent of all Muslims in Scotland. However, our sampling/filtering criteria used ethnicity only, not religion.

We have weighted the data to match interlocking age-by-gender patterns within each minority in the 2001 Scottish Census. On average, the English in Scotland are considerably older than ethnic Pakistanis and our samples reflect that – both before and after age-by-gender adjustment. These differences may partly explain some of the differences in attitudes between the two minorities – but these attitudinal differences are real, whatever the reasons for them.

Our focus-group schedule followed (with the degree of flexibility appropriate to a group discussion) a set of 57 open-ended questions. With suitable modifications, and the addition of answer-codes covering all the free-format responses in the focus-group discussions, this schedule provided the basis for the subsequent survey questionnaire. Consequently we can connect the survey statistics from the Scottish minorities very closely to the free-format comments of participants in the focus-group discussions.

To gauge Scottish majority attitudes towards these two minorities we placed a module of questions in the 2003 SSAS (Scottish Social Attitudes Survey). And to put majority attitudes towards Muslims in Scotland in context, by comparing majority attitudes towards Muslims in Scotland and England, we also placed a module of questions in the 2003 BSAS (British Social Attitudes Survey). These modules were funded by a £65K grant which we obtained from the Nuffield Foundation. Both the SSAS and BSAS also took place in the summer of 2003, at the same time as our surveys of minorities. They were representative, clustered random samples of the full adult populations of Scotland and Britain respectively.

For most purposes we have restricted our analysis of these BSAS/SSAS samples to strictly-defined ‘majority’ populations in Scotland (N = 1160) and England (N = 830), excluding Muslims and self-described ethnic minorities in both countries, and excluding the numerous English immigrants or their partners from the SSAS sample for Scotland. These exclusions are critical to avoid serious distortions in the measurement of ‘majority’ attitudes and identities – not least because so many of the ‘exclusively British’ identifiers in Scotland are in fact English immigrants, an obvious fact that is almost always overlooked in analyses of so-called ‘Scottish’ identities.

In our minority surveys we asked the minorities about their perceptions of majority attitudes towards them. So the majority surveys not only reveal majority attitudes but also measure the accuracy of minority perceptions – though on some issues like the carefully hidden racism of the well-educated the minorities do not so much have inaccurate perceptions as a more brutally sceptical interpretation of the majorities’ professed opinions.

Finally, Hussain conducted 27 long, free-ranging, loosely structured in-depth interviews with Scottish elites (all except one of them taped and transcribed – one Scottish Executive civil servant refused to allow taping): relevant members of both the Scottish and Westminster parliaments, the civil service, quangos, or the police, along with representatives of ethnic minority, Muslim and civil rights organizations.

We have exceeded our targets for data collection while remaining within-budget.

Results

Comparing Islamophobia in Scotland and England: We measure the Islamophobia of majority-Scots and of majority-English (in England) by taking the average percentage who give Islamophobic answers across five questions: about economic resentment, nationalist distrust (two questions), fears for national identity, and social exclusion.

By that measure, Islamophobia is not only significantly greater in England than in Scotland (averaging 63 percent compared to 49 percent), it is also far more closely tied to English nationalism within England, than to Scottish nationalism within Scotland.

Comparing anti-minority phobias within Scotland: The weakness of Islamophobia in Scotland is offset by Anglophobia however. Using strictly comparable measures, a comparison of the two suggests:

- Less Anglophobia: Amongst majority Scots, Anglophobia runs at a lower level than Islamophobia – averaging 38 percent compared to 49 percent.
- But not much less: The difference between Islamophobia in Scotland and England (14%) is greater than the difference between the levels of Anglophobia and Islamophobia within Scotland (11%).

The difference between Anglophobia and Islamophobia in Scotland varies sharply across our five indicators. There is a large difference on social exclusion: few (only 5 percent) ‘would feel unhappy if a close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with an English person now living in Scotland’ but far more (32 percent) if the relationship was ‘with a Muslim’. But there is less difference on economic resentment and on fears for national identity (‘if more Muslims or English came to Scotland). And ‘majority Scots’ do not draw any great distinction between the loyalty of English immigrants and Muslims to Scotland – they doubt both.

- To some extent anti-minority phobias go together: personal contacts with the minority, youth, and most of all, high education, all reduce both Anglophobia and Islamophobia.
- But other factors differentiate between the phobias: religiosity (usually Christian amongst majority Scots of course) has more impact on Islamophobia. Conversely, Scottish nationalism – with either a small ‘n’ or a capital ‘N’ has more impact on Anglophobia – indeed it has hardly any impact on Islamophobia in Scotland. (In very sharp contrast to England, where English nationalism has a large impact on Islamophobia.)

So is Scottish nationalism, unlike English nationalism, ‘benign’ rather than ‘nasty’ as so many writers suggest? Towards Muslims our answer must be an unequivocal ‘yes’. But towards English immigrants perhaps not. Scottish nationalism, unlike English nationalism, does not make people significantly more Islamophobic. But at street level (though not at SNP leadership level) it does make them more Anglophobic.

One simple way of seeing ‘how phobias stack up’ is to sum our composite indicators of Islamophobia and Anglophobia, perhaps together with more primitive indicators of Asylophobia, Sectarianism, and Europhobia – and then look at the impact of different social and political factors on the way these phobias stack up. Education, for example affects every phobia, always in the same direction, and always by a large amount. So stacking up the phobias highlights the impact of (low) education on phobias. But by contrast, partisanship and sub-national identity affect different phobias in different ways – and not always in the same direction. So to some extent the impacts of partisanship and sub-national identity ‘cancel out’ rather than ‘stack up’.

Summing just Islamophobia and Anglophobia rates phobias at the low end of the education spectrum at more than double the level amongst graduates. Conversely, Liberal Democrat voters score very low in total because they score low on both phobias. But ‘exclusively Scottish’ identifiers score high. And the high rate of

Anglophobia amongst SNP voters more than compensates for their low level of Islamophobia. It provides an elegant demonstration of the 'displacement thesis' – though that thesis suggests a causal connection between lower Islamophobia and higher Anglophobia, rather than a merely accidental arithmetic offset.

Taking account of all five phobias is kinder to the SNP voters. Once again the impact of (low) education increases every phobia. Compared to Conservative voters, Liberal democrats score less on every phobia. SNP voters however, score higher on Anglophobia than Conservatives but lower on all the other phobias – Islamophobia, Asylophobia, Sectarianism and Europhobia. So they too score less than Conservative voters – though not much less.

Similarly 'exclusively Scottish' identifiers score much the same as fully dual (ie 'equally Scottish and British') identifiers on Islamophobia and Asylophobia and rather lower on Europhobia. But they score a little higher on Sectarianism and significantly higher on Anglophobia – and these differences almost cancel out.

Minority attitudes and experience: Civic nationalism has been described as 'inclusive in the sense that anyone can adopt the culture and join the nation'. But one minority is unwilling to 'adopt the culture' and the other is (psychologically) unable to 'join the nation'. Despite that, both feel 'at ease' in post-devolution Scotland.

- Suspect loyalty: Both minorities are overwhelmingly (and rightly) convinced that 'most Scots' think they will always be more loyal to their own ethnic group than to Scotland.
- Harassment: Over a quarter of the English and over half the Pakistanis have experienced ethnic harassment. Five times as many Pakistanis as English have been 'hurt' by ethnic jokes and ten times as many 'frightened' by ethnic insults. But both attribute discrimination, harassment and abuse almost entirely to the faults of 'ordinary people' rather than government.
- Phobia-perceptions: Carefully coordinated questions in the minority and majority show that minority perceptions of majority phobias (Islamophobia and Anglophobia) are broadly accurate. But while personal characteristics, above all education, that are the main determinants of majority phobias, it is adverse experience – the frequency of experiencing irritating ethnic jokes and especially ethnic insults – that is the main determinant of the minorities' phobia-perceptions. And the English immigrants are more sensitive to such abuse (though they receive less of it) than are ethnic Pakistanis. Despite consciously trying to distinguish their personal abusers from 'typical Scots', personal experience of abuse colours their phobia-perceptions of 'most ordinary Scots'.
- Culture and Identity: Though the English immigrants are remarkably willing to accept Scotland as it is and respect its traditions they find it exceedingly difficult to identify with it because their identities are primarily territorial (ie they stress birth-place). They remain forever 'sympathetic outsiders'. Conversely, Pakistanis find it very easy to identify with Scotland – partly because their identities are primarily cultural (Muslim) rather than territorial. These cultural identities are (a) portable and (b) cannot directly conflict with (lightly held) territorial identities.
- Scottish Nationalism: Insofar as there is any territorial dimension to Pakistani identities however, they are Scottish rather than British. And by 2003 (because of the Iraq War) they were over twice as likely to vote for the SNP (which opposed the War) as the average Scot. Ironically, 9/11 and the Iraq

war have bound ethnic Pakistanis more closely to Scotland despite an increase in harassment.

- A (relatively) safe haven: Despite their experiences of harassment, both minorities feel 'at ease' with living in Scotland – and, they say, rather more 'at ease' since devolution. Almost all the English have 'close' friends who are not English, and three-quarters of Pakistanis have 'close' friends who are 'neither Pakistani nor Muslim'.

Few of the English (only 16 percent) see conflict between Scots and English as even 'fairly serious'. And in focus-groups they suggest that devolution has let off the anti-English head of steam. They self-consciously point to the counterfactual: the post-devolution environment should not be compared with the pre-devolution environment, they say, but with a 'devolution denied' environment which would have been increasingly hostile.

Far more Pakistanis (39 percent) see a 'fairly serious' conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland. But they rate it as rather less serious than Catholic/Protestant conflict in Scotland. Far more important: over five times as many Scottish Pakistanis see a 'very serious' conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims 'in England' as in Scotland; and over twice as many see 'very serious' conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims 'across the world' as 'in England'.

Focus group discussions reveal that ethnic Pakistanis explicitly and self-consciously feel much safer living in Scotland after 9/11 – despite increased harassment – than they would feel anywhere else (including Pakistan!).

So devolution has not increased the tensions between either of the minorities and the majority in Scotland. Indeed it has reduced them, if only slightly. And while 9/11 increased the harassment of Muslims, 9/11 (plus the subsequent invasion of Iraq) has bound them more strongly to Scotland than ever before. Devolution and the Scottish Parliament have many critics and some spectacular failures – much criticised in our focus-groups. But progress towards multicultural nationalism has been one of its modest and unspectacular but extremely important achievements.

Activities

Conference organised: Miller convened the Royal Society of Edinburgh / British Academy Joint Conference on *Anglo-Scottish Relations Since 1914*. Edinburgh 6-7 Nov 2003 and edited the subsequent book.

Presentations given to:

RSE/BA (Royal Society of Edinburgh / British Academy) Conference on *Anglo-Scottish Relations Since 1914*. Edinburgh 6-7 Nov 2003.

Scottish Executive, Invited seminar, Edinburgh 16Dec03.

SSAS (Scottish Social Attitudes Survey) Conference, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. 6Feb04.

Glasgow University, Dept of Politics Seminar, 9Feb04.

NAES (National Association for Ethnic Studies) Annual Conference, Philadelphia. 1-3Apr04.

- PSA (Political Studies Association) Annual Conference, Lincoln 6-8Apr04 – two papers given: (a) on Muslim Perspectives on Life in Post-Devolution Scotland'; (b) on Comparative Islamophobia in England and Scotland.
- "Holyrood" Conference on Islamophobia, Invited presentation, Royal Concert Hall, Glasgow 14Jun04.
- ESRC/Scottish Executive briefing on Ethnic Minorities, Invited presentation, Edinburgh 30June04.
- Scottish Executive Equality Unit (Race, Religion and Refugee Integration Team) and Social Justice Unit. Invited private seminar on Ethnic Minorities, Edinburgh 18Oct04.
- British Council Spain (with the collaboration of the Fundación Ortega y Gasset and the Fundación Wellington) Conference on Diversity and Unity: The Challenges of Devolution. Madrid, 9-10 March 2005.

Outputs

- Asifa Hussain & William L Miller 'Multiculturalism and Scottish nationalism' *CRE (Commission for Racial Equality) Connections* Spring 2004 pp.10-11.
- Asifa Hussain and William Miller. 'How and Why Islamophobia is tied to English nationalism but not to Scottish nationalism' *Ethnic Studies Review* August 2004 vol.27 no.1 pp.78-101.
- Asifa Hussain & William L Miller 'The Auld Enemy in the New Scotland' in William L Miller (ed) *Proceedings of the British Academy 128: Anglo-Scottish Relations Since 1900* (Oxford: OUP for British Academy, 2005 in proof: ix + 264 pp., 2005); ISBN 0-19-726332-3 / 978-0-19-726331-0) pp.183-201.
- Asifa Hussain & William Miller. 'Anglophobia & Islamophobia in post-devolution Scotland' in Catherine Bromley, John Curtice, David McCrone and Alison Park (eds) *Has Devolution Delivered? The New Scotland Four Years On* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005: in press)
- Asifa Hussain & William L Miller *Multicultural Nationalism: Islamophobia, Anglophobia and Devolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. Under contract: contract signed, manuscript to be delivered Sept05)

Impacts

- The RSE/BA conference (RSE, Edinburgh, 6-7 Nov 2003) was open to the general public and the audience included senior civil servants as well as academics.
- At the invitation of Dr. Laura Turney, Principal Researcher/Team Leader, Social Justice (Equalities) Research Branch, H&M gave a private two-hour presentation to approx 20 staff of the Scottish Executive (Scottish Executive, Leith, 16 Dec 2003).
- Dr Morag Patrick, Policy Officer, Commission for Racial Equality (Scotland) requested permission to forward details to CRE (UK) with a view to possible publication in the CRE publication 'Connections'. (See publications above)

In addition there has been considerable media interest including:

- Times*: 30th April 2003 – WLM signed article on the Scottish Election included brief reference to the project.
- BBC-Radio Scotland & BBC-Radio 5* Oct 6th 2003: interviews
- Times*: Oct 6th 2003 page one news report; Oct 7th commentary piece p.8.
- BBC-Radio Scotland* Oct 6th 2003: Lesley Riddoch Programme (full hour talk show devoted to project)
- BBC-TV Scotland 'Newsnight-Scotland'* Oct 6th 2003: interview
- Oct 7th 2003: *Herald* news story p.4; *Herald* Op-ed article p.18 – with strap line at top of p.1
- Oct 7th 2003: *Evening News* - news story p.7
- Oct 7th 2003: *Express* news story p.14
- Oct 7th 2003: *Star* news story p.10
- Oct 7th 2003: *Mirror* news story p.13
- Oct 7th 2003: *Press & Journal (Aberdeen)* news story p.8 & *Press & Journal* editorial p.15
- 12th Oct 2003 *Sunday Times* news story Ecosse Section p.2
- 29th Oct 2003: *BBC-Radio Scotland & BBC-Asian Network Radio*: interviews
- 29th Oct 2003: *Herald* news story p.13
- 29th Oct 2003: *Express* news story p.2
- 30th Oct 2003: *Independent* news story p.10
- 4th Feb 2004 Channel-4 News interview (re. sectarian conflict)
- 29th March 2004: *Herald* – Front page lead story + Editorial p.13.
- 29th March 2004: *BBC-Radio Scotland* interview & story; *BBC-TV Newsnight-Scotland* interview & story.
- 29th March 2004: *Evening Times* – news story p.2
- 6th April 2004: *Herald* – news story p.6.
- 17th July 2004: (Edinburgh) evening news story p.13; editorial p.10.

Future Research Priorities

This project was originally conceived after Devolution but before 9/11 and the subsequent international wave of Islamophobia. But inevitably – especially in focus group discussions – it was impossible to ignore the concurrent impact of Asylum-seeker (mainly Muslim) dispersal to Scotland, 9/11, and the invasion of Iraq.

The possible accession of Turkey to the EU (whether encouraged, stalled or rejected) also increases the importance of researching Islamophobia, and the importance of researching Muslim reactions to it both within the EU and its neighbours. With other colleagues we would like to extend our research on Muslim minorities and majority Islamophobia across Europe; and extend beyond that to research the Muslim majority in Turkey – that could conceivably be transformed into the largest component of the Muslim minority across Europe.

Miller has already carried out extensive research in eastern Europe, including (enthusiastically-) Catholic Poland and (nominally-) Orthodox Ukraine and Bulgaria, as well as with the Muslim minorities in Bulgaria and Crimea.

We hope to bring forward a suitable research proposal in the near future.

(INTRO) Thanks. It will take about 20 minutes.

There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your feelings and opinions.

But each interview is confidential and none of your opinions will be attributed to you personally.

ONLY IF RESPONDENT ASKS:

- **HOW WILL WE USE IT?** – only for statistical analyses.
- **WHO FUNDS IT?** – the ESRC (the Government's 'Economic and Social Research Council') and the Nuffield Foundation.
- **WHO DIRECTS IT?** – Dr Hussain and Prof Miller of Glasgow University.
- **DOES SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE APPROVE?** – yes.

Q1. First can I ask what newspaper regularly provides you with what you think is the most interesting news and information? Any other (2nd)? And any other (3rd)?

DO NOT READ OUT LIST

Q1a: 1st mentioned

Q1b: 2nd paper

Q1c: 3rd mentioned

WRITE IN →

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AND CODE: FOR EACH QUESTION: ONE ANSWER ONLY

TABLOIDS

(Scottish) Daily Express / Sunday Express	11	11	11
(Scottish) Daily Mail / Mail on Sunday	12	12	12
Daily Mirror / Daily Record / Sunday Mail	13	13	13
Daily Star	14	14	14
The Sun	15	15	15

SCOTTISH BROADSHEETS

Scotsman / Scotland on Sunday	21	21	21
Herald / Sunday Herald	22	22	22
Dundee Courier / Sunday Post	23	23	23

LONDON BROADSHEETS

Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	31	31	31
Guardian / Observer	32	32	32
Independent / Independent on Sunday	33	33	33
Times (London Morning!) / Sunday Times	34	34	34
Financial Times	35	35	35

EVENING PAPERS

Evening Times (Glasgow)	41	41	41
Evening News (Edinburgh)	42	42	42
(Dundee)	43	43	43

LOCAL PAPER

Borders local papers	51	51	51
Other local	52	52	52

OTHER / NONE / DK etc

Other paper	77	77	77
None / no paper / no 2 nd or 3 rd	88	88	88
DK / refused	99	99	99

Q2. And that is a...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 a British paper
- 2 a Scottish paper
- 3 an English paper
- 4 a local paper
- 6 some other kind of paper (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 none / do not read any (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now can I ask how you feel about devolution and the new Scottish Parliament.

Q3. How well do you think the Scottish Parliament has worked in practice ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very well
- 2 reasonably well
- 3 not very well
- 4 not at all well
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q4. Looking back to 1997 when Tony Blair was first elected Prime Minister, and before the Scottish Parliament was set up: Did you think at that time that a Scottish Parliament would be...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 a good thing
- 2 a bad thing
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q5. How did you vote in the 1997 Referendum on setting up a Scottish Parliament? Did you...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 vote for setting-up a Scottish Parliament
- 2 vote against setting-up a Scottish Parliament
- 6 voted for Parliament but against tax-raising powers (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 did not vote in the Referendum (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q6. Do you feel it would be better or worse if Scotland was a completely independent country, separate from England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 better if Scotland was completely independent
- 2 worse if Scotland was completely independent
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q7. Should Scotland have a new flag to help the new parliament identify with all the people of today's Scotland? Or should it keep the historic white X-shape on the blue background – often called the Saltire or the St Andrews Cross?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Scotland should have a new flag
- 2 Scotland should it keep the historic white X-shape on the blue background (the Saltire / St Andrews Cross)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q8. Most of the time, the Scottish Parliament meets in the Church of Scotland's building in Edinburgh. Do you feel that is...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 a good choice
- 2 a bad choice
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q9. Do you feel the Scottish Parliament really tries hard enough to represent people like you in particular?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q10. Some people say it is important that the Scottish Parliament should include all the different kinds of people who live in Scotland. Some say it should just include Scottish people. And others say it does not matter either way. Do you feel...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 there should be some English-born MSPs in the Scottish Parliament
- 2 there should not be any English-born MSPs in the Scottish Parliament
- 3 or does it not matter either way
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q11. Do you feel that the Scottish Parliament was set up...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 mainly to improve government in today's Scotland
- 2 mainly to satisfy nostalgia for the past
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q12. Since the Scottish Parliament was set up, do you feel that the emphasis on Scottishness in Scotland has...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 increased
- 2 decreased
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q13. Do you feel it is good for people to pay more attention to Scottish history? Or should people focus more on Scotland's future and less on Scotland's past?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 good for people to pay more attention to Scottish history
- 2 people should focus more on Scotland's future and less on Scotland's past
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q14. Which comes closer to your view ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 basic history teaching in Scottish schools should be the same for all children
- 2 English children should have special lessons about their own history, even if this means they learn less about Scottish history
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q15. Do you think that state schools should...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 only teach children about Christianity
- 2 teach children about all the major religions of the world
- 7 there should be no religious teaching in state schools (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q16. There are different views about those who come from outside Scotland, often bringing their own customs, religion and traditions with them. Do you think it is best if such incomers try to adapt and blend into the locality? Or is it best if they stay different and add to the variety of customs and traditions in the locality?

- 1 best if incomers try to adapt and blend
- 2 best if incomers stay different and add to the variety of customs and traditions
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now some questions about the way you think about yourself:

Q17. Do you think of yourself as being primarily...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 201 English
- 202 British
- 203 Scottish
- 204 Catholic
- 205 Episcopalian
- 206 Protestant
- 212 mixed – English and British (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 213 mixed – English and Scottish (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 214 mixed – English and Catholic (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 215 mixed – English and Episcopalian (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 216 mixed – English and Protestant (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 288 Other (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 299 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q18. Does the way you think of yourself depend upon the circumstances? For example do you think of yourself in one way when watching sport and in another way when thinking about politics?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – depends on circumstances
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q19. People have different views about what it takes to be truly British. Some say that as well as living in Britain, to be truly British you have...

	FOR EACH QUESTION: ONE ANSWER ONLY			
	Agree	Disagree	neither/mixed /depends	DK / refused
			(DO NOT READ OUT)	
Q19a. ...to have been <u>born</u> in <u>Britain</u> ? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9
Q19b. ...to have <u>British</u> parents? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9
Q19c. ...to be <u>white</u> – rather than black or Asian? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9

Q20. And people have different views about what it takes to be truly Scottish. Some say that as well as living in Scotland, to be truly Scottish you have...

	FOR EACH QUESTION: ONE ANSWER ONLY			
	Agree	Disagree	neither/mixed /depends	DK / refused
			(DO NOT READ OUT)	
Q20a. ...to have been <u>born</u> in <u>Scotland</u> ? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9
Q20b. ...to have <u>Scottish</u> parents? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9
Q20c. ...to be <u>white</u> – rather than black or Asian? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9

Q21. Do you feel someone should be regarded as a “truly Scottish” if they have lived in Scotland for a long time – but were not born in Scotland and do not have Scottish parents?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES - should be regarded as a “truly Scottish”
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q22. Do you feel that everyone who lives permanently in Scotland should have the same rights and duties? – rights like being able to vote in parliamentary elections, and duties like serving in the armed forces? Or should “truly Scottish” people have special rights and duties?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 everyone who lives permanently in Scotland should have the same rights and duties
- 2 “truly Scottish” people should have special rights and duties?
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q23. Since the Scottish Parliament was set up, do you feel that Scotland has become more welcoming or less welcoming to people who are not completely Scottish?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 more welcoming
- 2 less welcoming
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q24. And do you feel that this is ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 mainly because of the way politicians behave in the Scottish Parliament
- 2 mainly because of the way ordinary Scots behave in everyday life
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q25. How do you feel Scots would treat someone they thought was not “truly Scottish”? Would they...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 usually treat that person worse
- 2 sometimes treat that person worse
- 3 rarely treat that person worse
- 4 never treat that person worse
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q26. What kind of Scots do you feel might be most prejudiced against those they regard as not being “truly Scottish” ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 politicians and officials
- 2 ordinary people
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now some questions about what its like to live in Scotland:

Q27. When you are speaking to Scots people that you do not know very well, do you feel you can say what you think about Scotland and Scottish things? Or do you feel you have to be careful what you say? Is it OK to praise Scottish things but not to criticise them, for example?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 can say what you think about Scotland / can criticise
- 2 have to be careful what you say / only OK to praise
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q28. And since the setting up of a Scottish Parliament, has it become easier or more difficult to express criticisms of Scottish things? Are you now more free, or less free, to ‘speak your mind’ about Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 it has become easier to express criticisms / more free to speak
- 2 it has it become more difficult to express criticisms / less free to speak
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q29. Overall do you feel at ease with living in Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – feel at ease
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q30. Do you feel more at ease or less at ease since the Scottish Parliament was set up?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 more at ease since the Scottish Parliament was set up
- 2 less at ease since the Scottish Parliament was set up
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q31. Where do you see your long-term future? In Scotland or somewhere else? Where?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

DO NOT READ OUT LIST

WRITE IN _____

AND CODE: ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Scotland
- 2 England
- 3 Europe
- 4 USA
- 5 Canada / Australia / New Zealand
- 7 Other
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now I want to ask how you think most ordinary Scots feel about English people living in Scotland. Of course you may feel you do not really know for certain how ordinary Scots feel. But I just want to ask about your impressions – how you guess they might feel.

Q32. First, do you think most ordinary Scots would be happy or unhappy if they had to work beside an English person now living in Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 they would be happy
- 2 they would be unhappy
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q33. Do you think most ordinary Scots would be happy or unhappy if one of their close relatives married or formed a long-term relationship with an English person now living in Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 they would be happy
- 2 they would be unhappy
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q34. Do you think most ordinary Scots feel that English people living in Scotland...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 are really committed to Scotland
- 2 could never be really committed to Scotland
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q35. Do you think most ordinary Scots feel that English people living in Scotland will always be more loyal to England than they are to this country?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – will always be more loyal to England
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q36. Do you think most ordinary Scots feel that English people who come to live in Scotland...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 take jobs, housing and health care from ordinary Scots
- 2 contribute a lot in terms of hard work and much-needed skills to Scotland
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now some questions about discrimination:

Q37. Have you or anyone in your household been harassed or discriminated against because you were English?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 NO
- 2 YES – because English
- 7 harassed or discriminated – but not because English (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q38. Was that mainly by...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 employers
- 2 police
- 3 government officials
- 4 ordinary people
- 5 by all of them (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 6 by other (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 none / never happened (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q39. And generally speaking, who do you feel discriminates most against English people ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 employers
- 2 police
- 3 government officials
- 4 ordinary people
- 5 all of them (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 6 other (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 none / never happened (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now some questions about the Scottish Parliament’s role in fighting such discrimination.

Q40. Do you feel the Scottish Parliament is really committed to fighting such discrimination?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – Scot Parl is really committed
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q41. Do you feel the Scottish parliament is too concerned about sectarian divisions between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – Scot Parl is too concerned about sectarian divisions
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q42. Do you feel the Scottish parliament is too concerned about the interests of people from ethnic minorities in Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – Scot Parl is too concerned about the interests of ethnic minorities
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q43. There are laws against gender and racial discrimination, that is treating someone unfairly in housing, jobs and so on because of their gender or race – but not against all forms of discrimination. Do you think it should be against the law in Scotland to discriminate against ...

	FOR EACH QUESTION: ONE ANSWER ONLY			
	should be against the law	should <u>not</u> be against the law	neither / mixed / depends	DK / refused
			(DO NOT READ OUT)	
Q43a. ... English people living in Scotland?	1	2	8	9
Q43b. ... Catholics and Protestants?	1	2	8	9
Q43c. ... Muslims?	1	2	8	9

Q44. Do you feel the Scottish Parliament regards English people ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 as making Scotland a better place
- 2 as a problem
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q45. How often have you had to listen to comments about English people which were intended as humorous but which irritated you...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very often
- 2 sometimes
- 3 rarely
- 4 never
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q46. Is this something you can live with comfortably? Or does it really hurt or annoy you?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 can live with
- 2 really hurts or annoys
- 7 it never happens (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q47. How often have you been deliberately insulted or abused because you are English ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very often
- 2 sometimes
- 3 rarely
- 4 never
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q48. Do such insults and abuse frighten you or just annoy you?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 frighten
- 2 just annoy
- 6 neither (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 it never happens (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q49. Do you feel that the people who insult you in this way are not really typical Scots? Or do you feel that they are they just saying openly what many other Scots are thinking?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 they are not really typical Scots
- 2 they just saying openly what many other Scots are thinking
- 7 it never happens (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q50. Do you feel that setting up a Scottish Parliament has affected this for better or worse? Is there more or less abuse and insults now?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 more abuse now
- 2 less abuse now
- 7 it never happens – now or in the past (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q51. Would you describe Scots generally as anglo-phobic or anti-English?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – anglo-phobic or anti-English
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q52. Thinking now about Protestants and Catholics in Scotland. Apart from football and sport, how serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not a very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q53. And what about the Scots and the English? Apart from football and sport, how serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not a very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q54. And what about Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland? How serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q55. And what about Muslims and non-Muslims in England? How serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q56. And what about Muslims and non-Muslims across the world? How serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Finally, a few questions that will help us to analyse the answers to this SURVEY...

B1. Age / How old are you now?

(WRITE AGE IN YEARS)

99 don't know / refused / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B2. Sex (INTERVIEWER TO INSERT)

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

B3. Which of these is the highest level of educational you completed?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 primary school or less
- 2 secondary school to age 15
- 3 secondary school to 16 or older
- 4 university or similar college
- 8 still studying (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B4. At what age did you complete your education? (WRITE AGE IN YEARS)

88 still studying (DO NOT READ OUT)

99 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B5. How long have you lived in Scotland? (IF NOT SURE: Just roughly, how many years?) (WRITE NUMBER OF YEARS IN SCOTLAND)

99 don't know / refused / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B6. Can I check again: Were you yourself born in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B7. Which of these applies to you at present: Are you married or living as married; widowed, separated or divorced; or single (never married)?

CODE FIRST TO APPLY

1 married / living as married

2 widowed

3 separated / divorced

4 single (never married)

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B8. [IF MARRIED etc / WIDOWED / SEPARATED etc] Was your wife / husband / partner born in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES

2 NO

7 single – never married (DO NOT READ OUT)

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B9. And was anyone else in your household born in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B10. And do you have any very close relatives – parents, children, brothers, sisters – who were born in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B11. Do you have any close relatives who are not English?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – have close relatives who are not English
- 2 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B12. And do you have any close friends who are not English

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – have close friends who are not English
- 2 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B13. Have you ever lived in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – lived in England
- 2 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B14. Do you have any close relatives or close friends now living in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B15. Do you go to England regularly for any reason? IF YES: mainly to visit friends and relatives, or mainly for shopping, entertainment or holidays?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – mainly to visit friends and relatives
- 2 YES – mainly for shopping, entertainment or holidays
- 3 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B16. When you do visit England, how different does it feel from Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very different
- 2 somewhat different
- 3 not very different
- 4 not at all different
- 7 never visit England (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B17. Does the difference between being in Scotland and being in England feel any greater now than before the Scottish Parliament was set up?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – greater now
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B18. Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 British not Scottish
- 2 more British than Scottish
- 3 equally British and Scottish
- 4 more Scottish than British
- 5 Scottish not British
- 7 none of these (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed /depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

B19. At present are you...

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- 1 in work / on temporary maternity leave
- 2 unemployed and seeking work
- 3 retired / pensioner
- 4 student
- 5 housewife / houseperson
- 8 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused / won't say (DO NOT READ OUT)

B20. Which of these applies to you...

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- 1 have a job at present
- 2 had a job in the past, but not now
- 3 never had a job
- 8 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B21. [IF HAVE/HAD JOB] What is/was your main occupation? Is/was it as an employee, or for a family business, or for yourself?

WRITE IN AND CODE: _____

(INTERVIEWER TO PROBE & CODE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| EMPLOYEE | 11 professional – teacher, doctor, lawyer, engineer, etc. |
| | 12 manager / senior administrator |
| | 13 office worker / junior administrator |
| | 14 skilled worker |
| | 15 unskilled worker |
| | 16 farm worker |
| FOR FAMILY | 21 working for family business (not a farm) |
| | 22 working on family farm |
| SELF-EMPLOYED | 31 businessman/woman – with paid employees (not relatives) |
| | 32 self-employed worker – <u>without</u> paid employees. |
| | 33 farmer |
| DK etc | 77 Never had a job (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 88 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 99 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT) |

B22. [IF HAVE/HAD JOB] Is/was that main occupation: working in the public sector; or for a private company, your family business or yourself?WRITE IN AND CODE: _____

(INTERVIEWER TO PROBE & CODE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| PUBLIC SECTOR | 11 the NHS (National Health Service) |
| | 12 state education – state school, college, university |
| | 13 local government – excl.educ but incl.police & fire |
| | 14 Scottish Executive |
| | 15 Civil Service |
| | 16 public enterprise eg BBC, Water Boards, BAA |
| | 17 other public sector: WRITE IN: _____ |
| PRIVATE, FAMILY, OR SELF | 21 private company / private sector business |
| | 22 own family's business |
| | 23 self-employed |
| DK etc | 77 Never had a job (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 88 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 99 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT) |

B23. Taking account of the number of people in your household, how adequate is your household income? Is it...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 not really enough to survive on
- 2 only just enough to survive on
- 3 enough for a fair standard of living
- 4 enough for a good standard of living
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B24. Taking account of the number of people in your household, do you feel your household income and living standard is...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 a lot above the typical income and living standard in Scotland
- 2 a little above the typical income and living standard in Scotland
- 3 about typical for Scotland
- 4 a little below the typical income and living standard in Scotland
- 5 a lot below the typical income and living standard in Scotland
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B25. Do you regard yourself as belonging to any religion? IF YES: Which?

(INTERVIEWER TO WRITE IN & THEN CODE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

DO NOT READ OUT LIST UNLESS CODING IS UNCLEAR

WRITE ANSWER IN _____

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| YES – ISLAM | 1 Islam / Muslim |
| YES – CHRISTIAN | 2 Episcopalian / Church of England / Anglican |
| | 3 Catholic / Roman Catholic |
| | 4 Presbyterian / Church of Scotland |
| | 5 Other Protestant (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| YES – OTHER | 6 Religious – but not Christian or Muslim (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| NO | 7 No religion |
| DK etc | 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 9 don't know / refused / won't say (DO NOT READ OUT) |

B26. And in what religion, if any, were you brought up? (PROB IF NECESSARY: What was your family's religion?)

(INTERVIEWER TO WRITE IN & THEN CODE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

DO NOT READ OUT LIST UNLESS CODING IS UNCLEAR

WRITE ANSWER IN _____

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| YES – ISLAM | 1 Islam / Muslim |
| YES – CHRISTIAN | 2 Episcopalian / Church of England / Anglican |
| | 3 Catholic / Roman Catholic |
| | 4 Presbyterian / Church of Scotland |
| | 5 Other Protestant (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| YES – OTHER | 6 Religious – but not Christian or Muslim (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| NO | 7 No religion |
| DK etc | 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 9 don't know / refused / won't say (DO NOT READ OUT) |

B27. Apart from special occasions such as weddings, funerals baptisms and so on, how often nowadays do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion?...

(ASK ALL: EVEN NON-RELIGIOUS PEOPLE SOMETIMES ATTEND!)

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 once a week or more
- 2 at least once a month
- 3 at least once a year
- 4 less than once a year
- 5 almost never
- 7 no religion (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B28. For which party did you vote at the last British General Election in 2001, when the party leaders were Tony Blair (LAB), William Hague (CON), Charles Kennedy (LIB-DEM) and John Swinney (SNP).

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Conservative (Hague)
- 2 Labour (Blair)
- 3 Liberal Democrat (Kennedy)
- 4 Scottish National Party (Swinney)
- 5 Independent / Other party
- 8 DID NOT VOTE (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B29. And how about the Scottish Parliament Election earlier this year – when the party leaders were Jack McConnell (LAB), John Swinney (SNP), David McLetchie (CON), Jim Wallace (LIB-DEM), Tommy Sheridan (Scottish Socialist), Robin Harper (Greens). Which party did you vote for with your Constituency Vote (First Vote)? And which did you vote for with your Party-List Vote (Second Vote)?**B29a. Constituency Vote (First Vote)?**

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Conservative (McLetchie)
- 2 Labour (McConnell)
- 3 Liberal Democrat (Wallace)
- 4 Scottish National Party (Swinney)
- 5 Scottish Socialists (Sheridan)
- 6 Greens (Harper)
- 7 Independent / Other party (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 DID NOT VOTE (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B29b. Party-List Vote (Second Vote)?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Conservative (McLetchie)
- 2 Labour (McConnell)
- 3 Liberal Democrat (Wallace)
- 4 Scottish National Party (Swinney)
- 5 Scottish Socialists (Sheridan)
- 6 Greens (Harper)
- 7 Independent / Other party (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 DID NOT VOTE (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

**B30. Do you know the name of the Parliamentary Constituency where you live?
IF YES: What is it? IF NO: Is it one of [READ LIKELY NAMES – UNSHADED]?**

WRITE IN NAME: _____

WRITE IN CODE :

--	--

code 99 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)			
01	Aberdeen Central	25	East Lothian
02	Aberdeen North	26	Eastwood
03	Aberdeen South	27	Edinburgh Central
04	Aberd West & K	28	Edinburgh East
05	Airdrie	29	Edinburgh North
06	Angus	30	Edinburgh Pentlands
07	Argyll	31	Edinburgh South
08	Ayr	32	Edinburgh West
09	Banff	33	Falkirk East
10	Caithness	34	Falkirk West
11	Carrick	35	Fife Central
12	Clydebank & M	36	Fife North-East
13	Clydesdale	37	Galloway Etc
14	Coatbridge	38	Glasgow Anniesland
15	Cumbernauld	39	Glasgow Ballieston
16	Cunninghame North	40	Glasgow Cathcart
17	Cunninghame South	41	Glasgow Govan
18	Dumbarton	42	Glasgow Kelvin
19	Dumfries	43	Glasgow Maryhill
20	Dundee East	44	Glasgow Pollok
21	Dundee West	45	Glasgow Rutherglen
22	Dunfermline East	46	Glasgow Shettleston
23	Dunfermline West	47	Glasgow Springburn
24	East Kilbride	48	Gordon
		49	Greenock Etc
		50	Hamilton North
		51	Hamilton South
		52	Inverness East Etc
		53	Kilmarnock Etc
		54	Kirkaldy
		55	Linlithgow
		56	Livingston
		57	Midlothian
		58	Moray
		59	Motherwell Etc
		60	Ochil
		61	Orkney & Shetland
		62	Paisley North
		63	Paisley South
		64	Perth
		65	Refrewshire West
		66	Ross Skye & Inv West
		67	Roxburgh & Berwick
		68	Stirling
		69	Strathkelvin & Brsden
		70	Tayside North
		71	Tweeddale, Ettrick etc
		72	Western Isles

That's all. Thank you for taking part in this SURVEY. We really appreciate your help.

**A8. Time when interview ended (24 hour clock)
(INTERVIEWER TO INSERT)**

hour	minute

END

(INTRO) Thanks. It will take about 20 minutes.

There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your feelings and opinions.

But each interview is confidential and none of your opinions will be attributed to you personally.

ONLY IF RESPONDENT ASKS:

- HOW WILL WE USE IT? – only for statistical analyses.
- WHO FUNDS IT? – the ESRC (the Government’s ‘Economic and Social Research Council’) and the Nuffield Foundation.
- WHO DIRECTS IT? – Dr Hussain and Prof Miller of Glasgow University.
- DOES SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE APPROVE? – yes.

Q1. First can I ask what newspaper regularly provides you with what you think is the most interesting news and information? Any other (2nd)? And any other (3rd)?

DO NOT READ OUT LIST

Q1a: 1st mentioned

Q1b: 2nd paper

Q1c: 3rd mentioned

WRITE IN →

AND CODE: FOR EACH QUESTION: ONE ANSWER ONLY

	Q1a: 1 st mentioned	Q1b: 2 nd paper	Q1c: 3 rd mentioned
TABLOIDS			
(Scottish) Daily Express / Sunday Express	11	11	11
(Scottish) Daily Mail / Mail on Sunday	12	12	12
Daily Mirror / Daily Record / Sunday Mail	13	13	13
Daily Star	14	14	14
The Sun	15	15	15
SCOTTISH BROADSHEETS			
Scotsman / Scotland on Sunday	21	21	21
Herald / Sunday Herald	22	22	22
Dundee Courier / Sunday Post	23	23	23
LONDON BROADSHEETS			
Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	31	31	31
Guardian / Observer	32	32	32
Independent / Independent on Sunday	33	33	33
Times (London Morning!) / Sunday Times	34	34	34
Financial Times	35	35	35
EVENING PAPERS			
Evening Times (Glasgow)	41	41	41
Evening News (Edinburgh)	42	42	42
(Dundee)	43	43	43
LOCAL PAPER			
Borders local papers	51	51	51
Other local	52	52	52
ETHNIC MINORITY PAPERS			
Daily Jang	61	61	61
Millet	62	62	62
Other Asian paper	63	63	63
OTHER / NONE / DK etc			
Other paper	77	77	77
None / no paper / no 2 nd or 3 rd	88	88	88
DK / refused	99	99	99

Q2. And that (the most interesting paper) is a...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 a British paper

2 a Scottish paper

3 an English paper

4 a local paper

5 [IN PAKISTANI SURVEY ONLY] a Pakistani paper

6 some other kind of paper (DO NOT READ OUT)

7 none / do not read any (DO NOT READ OUT)

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now can I ask how you feel about devolution and the new Scottish Parliament.

Q3. How well do you think the Scottish Parliament has worked in practice ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very well
- 2 reasonably well
- 3 not very well
- 4 not at all well
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q4. Looking back to 1997 when Tony Blair was first elected Prime Minister, and before the Scottish Parliament was set up: Did you think at that time that a Scottish Parliament would be...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 a good thing
- 2 a bad thing
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q5. How did you vote in the 1997 Referendum on setting up a Scottish Parliament? Did you...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 vote for setting-up a Scottish Parliament
- 2 vote against setting-up a Scottish Parliament
- 6 voted for Parliament but against tax-raising powers (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 did not vote in the Referendum (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q6. Do you feel it would be better or worse if Scotland was a completely independent country, separate from England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 better if Scotland was completely independent
- 2 worse if Scotland was completely independent
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q7. Should Scotland have a new flag to help the new parliament identify with all the people of today's Scotland? Or should it keep the historic white X-shape on the blue background – often called the the Saltire or the St Andrews Cross?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Scotland should have a new flag
- 2 Scotland should it keep the historic white X-shape on the blue background (the Saltire / St Andrews Cross)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q8. Most of the time, the Scottish Parliament meets in the Church of Scotland's building in Edinburgh. Do you feel that is...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 a good choice
- 2 a bad choice
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q9. Do you feel the Scottish Parliament really tries hard enough to represent people like you in particular?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q10. Some people say it is important that the Scottish Parliament should include all the different kinds of people who live in Scotland. Some say it should just include Scottish people. And others say it does not matter either way. Do you feel...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 there should be some Muslim MSPs in the Scottish Parliament
- 2 there should not be any Muslim MSPs in the Scottish Parliament
- 3 or does it not matter either way
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q11. Do you feel that the Scottish Parliament was set up...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 mainly to improve government in today's Scotland
- 2 mainly to satisfy nostalgia for the past
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q12. Since the Scottish Parliament was set up, do you feel that the emphasis on Scottishness in Scotland has...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 increased
- 2 decreased
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q13. Do you feel it is good for people to pay more attention to Scottish history? Or should people focus more on Scotland's future and less on Scotland's past?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 good for people to pay more attention to Scottish history
- 2 people should focus more on Scotland's future and less on Scotland's past
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q14. Which comes closer to your view ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 basic history teaching in Scottish schools should be the same for all children
- 2 ethnic minority children should have special lessons about their own history, even if this means they learn less about Scottish history
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q15. Do you think that state schools should...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 only teach children about Christianity
- 2 teach children about all the major religions of the world
- 7 there should be no religious teaching in state schools (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q16. There are different views about those who come from outside Scotland, often bringing their own customs, religion and traditions with them. Do you think it is best if such incomers try to adapt and blend into the locality? Or is it best if they stay different and add to the variety of customs and traditions in the locality?

- 1 best if incomers try to adapt and blend
- 2 best if incomers stay different and add to the variety of customs and traditions
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now some questions about the way you think about yourself:

Q17. Do you think of yourself as being primarily...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 101 Pakistani
- 102 British
- 103 Scottish
- 104 Muslim
- 112 mixed – Pakistani and British (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 113 mixed – Pakistani and Scottish (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 114 mixed – Pakistani and Muslim (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 188 Other (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 199 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q17P. Which of these descriptions of yourself are you most comfortable with...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 British Pakistani
- 2 British Muslim
- 3 Scottish Pakistani
- 4 Scottish Muslim
- 7 none of these (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q18. Does the way you think of yourself depend upon the circumstances? For example do you think of yourself in one way when watching sport and in another way when thinking about politics?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – depends on circumstances
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q19. People have different views about what it takes to be truly British. Some say that as well as living in Britain, to be truly British you have...

	FOR EACH QUESTION: ONE ANSWER ONLY			
	Agree	Disagree	neither/mixed /depends	DK / refused
			(DO NOT READ OUT)	
Q19a. ...to have been <u>born</u> in <u>Britain</u> ? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9
Q19b. ...to have <u>British parents</u> ? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9
Q19c. ...to be <u>white</u> – rather than black or Asian? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9

Q20. And people have different views about what it takes to be truly Scottish. Some say that as well as living in Scotland, to be truly Scottish you have...

	FOR EACH QUESTION: ONE ANSWER ONLY			
	Agree	Disagree	neither/mixed /depends	DK / refused
			(DO NOT READ OUT)	
Q20a. ...to have been <u>born</u> in <u>Scotland</u> ? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9
Q20b. ...to have <u>Scottish parents</u> ? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9
Q20c. ...to be <u>white</u> – rather than black or Asian? Agree/disagree?	1	2	8	9

Q21. Do you feel someone should be regarded as a “truly Scottish” if they have lived in Scotland for a long time but were not born in Scotland and do not have Scottish parents?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES - should be regarded as a “truly Scottish”
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q22. Do you feel that everyone who lives permanently in Scotland should have the same rights and duties? – a rights like being able to vote in parliamentary elections, and duties like serving in the armed forces? Or should “truly Scottish” people have special rights and duties?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 everyone who lives permanently in Scotland should have the same rights and duties
- 2 “truly Scottish” people should have special rights and duties?
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q23. Since the Scottish Parliament was set up, do you feel that Scotland has become more welcoming or less welcoming to people who are not completely Scottish?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 more welcoming
- 2 less welcoming
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q24. And do you feel that this is ...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 mainly because of the way politicians behave in the Scottish Parliament
- 2 mainly because of the way ordinary Scots behave in everyday life
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q25. How do you feel Scots would treat someone they thought was not “truly Scottish”? Would they...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 usually treat that person worse
- 2 sometimes treat that person worse
- 3 rarely treat that person worse
- 4 never treat that person worse
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q26. What kind of Scots do you feel might be most prejudiced against those they regard as not being “truly Scottish”...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 politicians and officials
- 2 ordinary people
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q27. Now some questions about what its like to live in Scotland:

Q When you are speaking to Scots people that you do not know very well, do you feel you can say what you think about Scotland and Scottish things? Or do you feel you have to be careful what you say? Is it OK to praise Scottish things but not to criticise them, for example?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 can say what you think about Scotland / can criticise
- 2 have to be careful what you say / only OK to praise
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q28. And since the setting up of a Scottish Parliament, has it become easier or more difficult to express criticisms of Scottish things? Are you now more free, or less free, to ‘speak your mind’ about Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 it has become easier to express criticisms / more free to speak
- 2 it has it become more difficult to express criticisms / less free to speak
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q29. Overall do you feel at ease with living in Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – feel at ease
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q30. Do you feel more at ease or less at ease since the Scottish Parliament was set up?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 more at ease since the Scottish Parliament was set up
- 2 less at ease since the Scottish Parliament was set up
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q31. Where do you see your long-term future? In Scotland or somewhere else? Where?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

DO NOT READ OUT LIST

WRITE IN _____

AND CODE: ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Scotland
- 2 England
- 3 Europe
- 4 USA
- 5 Canada / Australia / New Zealand
- 6 Pakistan
- 7 Other
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now I want to ask how you think most ordinary Scots feel about Muslim Pakistanis. Of course you may feel you do not really know for certain how ordinary Scots feel. But I just want to ask about your impressions – how you guess they might feel.

Q32. First, do you think most ordinary Scots would be happy or unhappy if they had to work beside a Muslim Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 they would be happy
- 2 they would be unhappy
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q33. Do you think most ordinary Scots would be happy or unhappy if one of their close relatives married or formed a long-term relationship with a Muslim Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 they would be happy
- 2 they would be unhappy
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q34. Do you think most ordinary Scots feel that Muslim Pakistanis living in Scotland...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 are really committed to Scotland
- 2 could never be really committed to Scotland
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q35. Do you think most ordinary Scots feel that Muslims Pakistanis living in Scotland will always be more loyal to other Muslims around the world than they are to this country?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – will always be more loyal to Muslims around the world
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q36. Do you think most ordinary Scots feel that Muslim Pakistanis who come to live in Scotland...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 take jobs, housing and health care from ordinary Scots
- 2 contribute a lot in terms of hard work and much-needed skills to Scotland
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now some questions about discrimination:

Q37. Have you or anyone in your household been harassed or discriminated against because you were Pakistani or Muslim? IF YES: Which mainly?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 NO
- 2 (code 2 not used in Pakistani questionnaire)
- 3 YES – because Pakistani
- 4 YES – because Muslim
- 7 harassed or discriminated – but not because Pakistani / Muslim(DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q38. Was that mainly by...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 employers
- 2 police
- 3 government officials
- 4 ordinary people
- 5 by all of them (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 6 by other (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 none / never happened (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q39. And generally speaking, who do you feel discriminates most against Pakistani or Muslim people...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 employers
- 2 police
- 3 government officials
- 4 ordinary people
- 5 all of them (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 6 other (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 none / never happened (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now some questions about the Scottish Parliament’s role in fighting such discrimination.

Q40. Do you feel the Scottish Parliament is really committed to fighting such discrimination?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – Scot Parl really committed
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q41. Do you feel the Scottish parliament is too concerned about sectarian divisions between Protestants and Catholics in Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – Scot Parl is too concerned about sectarian divisions
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q42. Do you feel the Scottish parliament is too concerned about the interests of people from ethnic minorities in Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – Scot Parl is too concerned about the interests of ethnic minorities
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q43. There are laws against gender and racial discrimination, that is treating someone unfairly in housing, jobs and so on because of their gender or race – but not against all forms of discrimination. Do you think it should be against the law in Scotland to discriminate against ...

	FOR EACH QUESTION: ONE ANSWER ONLY			
	should be against the law	should <u>not</u> be against the law	neither / mixed / depends	DK / refused
			(DO NOT READ OUT)	
Q43a. ... English people living in Scotland?	1	2	8	9
Q43b. ... Catholics and Protestants?	1	2	8	9
Q43c. ... Muslims?	1	2	8	9

Q44. Do you feel the Scottish Parliament regards Pakistani or Muslim people...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 as making Scotland a better place
- 2 as a problem
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q45. How often have you had to listen to comments about Pakistani or Muslim people which were intended as humorous but which irritated you...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very often
- 2 sometimes
- 3 rarely
- 4 never
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q46. Is this something you can live with comfortably? Or does it really hurt or annoy you?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 can live with
- 2 really hurts or annoys
- 7 it never happens (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don’t know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q47. How often have you been deliberately insulted or abused because you are Pakistani or Muslim...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very often
- 2 sometimes
- 3 rarely
- 4 never
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q48. Do such insults and abuse frighten you or just annoy you?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 frighten
- 2 just annoy
- 6 neither (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 7 it never happens (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q49. Do you feel that the people who insult you in this way not really typical Scots? Or do you feel that they are they just saying openly what many other Scots are thinking?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 they are not really typical Scots
- 2 they just saying openly what many other Scots are thinking
- 7 it never happens (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q50. Do you feel that setting up a Scottish Parliament has affected this for better or worse? Is there more or less abuse and insults now?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 more abuse now
- 2 less abuse now
- 7 it never happens – now or in the past (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q51. Would you describe Scots generally as 'racist'?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – racist
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q52. Thinking now about Protestants and Catholics in Scotland. Apart from football and sport, how serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it..

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not a very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q53. And what about the Scots and the English? Apart from football and sport, how serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it..

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not a very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q54. And what about Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland? How serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it..

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q55. And what about Muslims and non-Muslims in England? How serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it..

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Q56. And what about Muslims and non-Muslims across the world? How serious would you say conflict between them is? Is it..

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very serious
- 2 fairly serious
- 3 not very serious conflict
- 4 or is there no conflict at all
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

Finally, a few questions that will help us to analyse the answers to this SURVEY...

B1. Age / How old are you now?

(WRITE AGE IN YEARS)

99 don't know / refused / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B2. Sex (INTERVIEWER TO INSERT)

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

B3. Which of these is the highest level of educational you completed?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 primary school or less
- 2 secondary school to age 15
- 3 secondary school to 16 or older
- 4 university or similar college
- 8 still studying (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B4. At what age did you complete your education? (WRITE AGE IN YEARS)

88 still studying (DO NOT READ OUT)

99 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B5. How long have you lived in Scotland? (IF NOT SURE: Just roughly, how many years?) (WRITE NUMBER OF YEARS IN SCOTLAND)

99 don't know / refused / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B6. Can I just check again: Do you consider yourself to be ethnically Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B7. Which of these applies to you at present: Are you married or living as married; widowed, separated or divorced; or single (never married)?

CODE FIRST TO APPLY

1 married / living as married

2 widowed

3 separated / divorced

4 single (never married)

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B8. [IF MARRIED etc / WIDOWED / SEPARATED etc] Is/was your wife / husband / partner ethnically Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES

2 NO

7 single – never married (DO NOT READ OUT)

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B9. And is anyone else in your household ethnically Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B10. And do you have any very close relatives – parents, children, brothers, sisters – who are ethnically Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B11. Do you have any close relatives who are neither Pakistani nor Muslim?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – have close relatives who are neither Pakistani nor Muslim
- 2 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B12. And do you have any close friends who are neither Pakistani nor Muslim

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – have close friends who are neither Pakistani nor Muslim
- 2 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B12P. What language do you primarily use within your own household?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 English
- 2 Punjabi
- 3 Urdu
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B13. Have you ever lived in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – lived in England
- 2 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B14. Do you have any close relatives or close friends now living in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B15. Do you go to England regularly for any reason? IF YES: mainly to visit friends and relatives, or mainly for shopping, entertainment or holidays?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – mainly to visit friends and relatives
- 2 YES – mainly for shopping, entertainment or holidays
- 3 NO
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B16. When you do visit England, how different does it feel from Scotland?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 very different
- 2 somewhat different
- 3 not very different
- 4 not at all different
- 7 never visit England (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B17. Does the difference between being in Scotland and being in England feel any greater now than before the Scottish Parliament was set up?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 YES – greater now
- 2 NO
- 8 neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B18. Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 British not Scottish
- 2 more British than Scottish
- 3 equally British and Scottish
- 4 more Scottish than British
- 5 Scottish not British
- 7 none of these (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed /depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

B19. At present are you...

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- 1 in work / on temporary maternity leave
- 2 unemployed and seeking work
- 3 retired / pensioner
- 4 student
- 5 housewife / houseperson
- 8 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused / won't say (DO NOT READ OUT)

B20. Which of these applies to you...

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- 1 have a job at present
- 2 had a job in the past, but not now
- 3 never had a job
- 8 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B21. [IF HAVE/HAD JOB] What is/was your main occupation? Is/was it as an employee, or for a family business, or for yourself?

WRITE IN AND CODE: _____

(INTERVIEWER TO PROBE & CODE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| EMPLOYEE | 11 professional – teacher, doctor, lawyer, engineer, etc. |
| | 12 manager / senior administrator |
| | 13 office worker / junior administrator |
| | 14 skilled worker |
| | 15 unskilled worker |
| | 16 farm worker |
| FOR FAMILY | 21 working for family business (not a farm) |
| | 22 working on family farm |
| SELF-EMPLOYED | 31 businessman/woman – with paid employees (not relatives) |
| | 32 self-employed worker – <u>without</u> paid employees. |
| | 33 farmer |
| DK etc | 77 Never had a job (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 88 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 99 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT) |

B22. [IF HAVE/HAD JOB] Is/was that main occupation: working in the public sector; or for a private company, your family business or yourself?WRITE IN AND CODE: _____

(INTERVIEWER TO PROBE & CODE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| PUBLIC SECTOR | 11 the NHS (National Health Service) |
| | 12 state education – state school, college, university |
| | 13 local government – excl.educ but incl.police & fire |
| | 14 Scottish Executive |
| | 15 Civil Service |
| | 16 public enterprise eg BBC, Water Boards, BAA |
| | 17 other public sector: WRITE IN: _____ |
| PRIVATE, FAMILY, OR SELF | 21 private company / private sector business |
| | 22 own family's business |
| | 23 self-employed |
| DK etc | 77 Never had a job (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 88 other / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 99 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT) |

B23. Taking account of the number of people in your household, how adequate is your household income? Is it...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 not really enough to survive on
- 2 only just enough to survive on
- 3 enough for a fair standard of living
- 4 enough for a good standard of living
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B24. Taking account of the number of people in your household, do you feel your household income and living standard is...

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 a lot above the typical income and living standard in Scotland
- 2 a little above the typical income and living standard in Scotland
- 3 about typical for Scotland
- 4 a little below the typical income and living standard in Scotland
- 5 a lot below the typical income and living standard in Scotland
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B25. Do you regard yourself as belonging to any religion? IF YES: Which?

(INTERVIEWER TO WRITE IN & THEN CODE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

DO NOT READ OUT LIST UNLESS CODING IS UNCLEAR

WRITE ANSWER IN _____

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| YES – ISLAM | 1 Islam / Muslim |
| YES – CHRISTIAN | 2 Episcopal / Church of England / Anglican |
| | 3 Catholic / Roman Catholic |
| | 4 Presbyterian / Church of Scotland |
| | 5 Other Protestant (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| YES – OTHER | 6 Religious – but not Christian or Muslim (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| NO | 7 No religion |
| DK etc | 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| | 9 don't know / refused / won't say (DO NOT READ OUT) |

B26. And in what religion, if any, were you brought up? (PROBE IF NECESSARY: What was your family's religion?)

(INTERVIEWER TO WRITE IN & THEN CODE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

DO NOT READ OUT LIST UNLESS CODING IS UNCLEAR

WRITE ANSWER IN _____

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| YES – ISLAM | 1 Islam / Muslim |
| YES – CHRISTIAN | 2 Episcopal / Church of England / Anglican
3 Catholic / Roman Catholic
4 Presbyterian / Church of Scotland
5 Other Protestant (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| YES – OTHER | 6 Religious – but not Christian or Muslim (DO NOT READ OUT) |
| NO | 7 No religion |
| DK etc | 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 don't know / refused / won't say (DO NOT READ OUT) |

B27. Apart from special occasions such as weddings, funerals baptisms and so on, how often nowadays do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion?...

(ASK ALL: EVEN NON-RELIGIOUS PEOPLE SOMETIMES ATTEND!)

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 once a week or more
- 2 at least once a month
- 3 at least once a year
- 4 less than once a year
- 5 almost never
- 7 no religion (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B28. For which party did you vote at the last British General Election in 2001, when the party leaders were Tony Blair (LAB), William Hague (CON), Charles Kennedy (LIB-DEM) and John Swinney (SNP).

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Conservative (Hague)
- 2 Labour (Blair)
- 3 Liberal Democrat (Kennedy)
- 4 Scottish National Party (Swinney)
- 5 Independent / Other party
- 8 DID NOT VOTE (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B29. And how about the Scottish Parliament Election earlier this year – when the party leaders were Jack McConnell (LAB), John Swinney (SNP), David McLetchie (CON), Jim Wallace (LIB-DEM), Tommy Sheridan (Scottish Socialist), Robin Harper (Greens). Which party did you vote for with your Constituency Vote (First Vote)? And which did you vote for with your Party-List Vote (Second Vote)?**B29a. Constituency Vote (First Vote)?**

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Conservative (McLetchie)
- 2 Labour (McConnell)
- 3 Liberal Democrat (Wallace)
- 4 Scottish National Party (Swinney)
- 5 Scottish Socialists (Sheridan)
- 6 Greens (Harper)
- 7 Independent / Other party (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 DID NOT VOTE (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

B29b. Party-List Vote (Second Vote)?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

- 1 Conservative (McLetchie)
- 2 Labour (McConnell)
- 3 Liberal Democrat (Wallace)
- 4 Scottish National Party (Swinney)
- 5 Scottish Socialists (Sheridan)
- 6 Greens (Harper)
- 7 Independent / Other party (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 8 DID NOT VOTE (DO NOT READ OUT)
- 9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

**B30. Do you know the name of the Parliamentary Constituency where you live?
IF YES: What is it? IF NO: Is it one of [READ LIKELY NAMES – UNSHADED]?**

WRITE IN NAME: _____

WRITE IN CODE :

--	--

code 99 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)					
01	Aberdeen Central	25	East Lothian	49	Greenock Etc
02	Aberdeen North	26	Eastwood	50	Hamilton North
03	Aberdeen South	27	Edinburgh Central	51	Hamilton South
04	Aberd West & K	28	Edinburgh East	52	Inverness East Etc
05	Airdrie	29	Edinburgh North	53	Kilmarnock Etc
06	Angus	30	Edinburgh Pentlands	54	Kirkaldy
07	Argyll	31	Edinburgh South	55	Linlithgow
08	Ayr	32	Edinburgh West	56	Livingston
09	Banff	33	Falkirk East	57	Midlothian
10	Caithness	34	Falkirk West	58	Moray
11	Carrick	35	Fife Central	59	Motherwell Etc
12	Clydebank & M	36	Fife North-East	60	Ochil
13	Clydesdale	37	Galloway Etc	61	Orkney & Shetland
14	Coatbridge	38	Glasgow Anniesland	62	Paisley North
15	Cumbernauld	39	Glasgow Ballieston	63	Paisley South
16	Cunninghame North	40	Glasgow Cathcart	64	Perth
17	Cunninghame South	41	Glasgow Govan	65	Refrewshire West
18	Dumbarton	42	Glasgow Kelvin	66	Ross Skye & Inv West
19	Dumfries	43	Glasgow Maryhill	67	Roxburgh & Berwick
20	Dundee East	44	Glasgow Pollok	68	Stirling
21	Dundee West	45	Glasgow Rutherglen	69	Strathkelvin & Brsden
22	Dunfermline East	46	Glasgow Shettleston	70	Tayside North
23	Dunfermline West	47	Glasgow Springburn	71	Tweeddale, Ettrick etc
24	East Kilbride	48	Gordon	72	Western Isles

That's all. Thank you for taking part in this SURVEY. We really appreciate your help.

**A8. Time when interview ended (24 hour clock)
(INTERVIEWER TO INSERT)**

hour		minute	

**A9. Language used for interview
(INTERVIEWER TO INSERT)**

1. English – only English
2. Punjabi
3. Urdu
4. Mixture of English & Punjabi
5. Mixture of English & Urdu
6. Other: specify _____

END

“NUMBERED LIST” of questions

#0: Introduction – DO NOT TRANSCRIBE THIS SECTION

- ❖ Welcome to our discussion. This is part of a research project for Glasgow University. We want to know how people feel about life in Scotland – and what difference the new Scottish Parliament has made.
- ❖ We have invited you to this group because we particularly want to hear the opinions of [IN PAKISTANI FGs: ‘Pakistani people’; IN ENGLISH FGs: ‘English people’] about living in Scotland.
- ❖ I will ask lots of questions. But please feel free to respond to each other’s comments, not just to my questions. If you disagree with what one person says please don’t keep your disagreement to yourself. I want to hear it!
- ❖ There are no right or wrong answers, and no right or wrong opinions! Please don’t feel that you have to speak on behalf of anyone else, or agree with anyone else. We are interested in your own very personal views and opinions just because they are your own.
- ❖ **None of your opinions will be attributed to you personally.** I would like you to use first-names in the discussion. But names will not be used in our reports – you will just become person 1, person 2, person 3 etc. And **the video-tapes will be destroyed** when I have finished my research. So say whatever you wish!
- ❖ Lets introduce ourselves – just give our first-names, and say a bit about ourselves. **[Moderator: check recording on headphones.]** I will start. My name is Asifa. I was born in Glasgow and work at Glasgow University.

#1. Perceptions of Britain & Scotland (DO NOT READ OUT HEADING)

To start the discussion, I want to ask you what you feel about Britain in general and Scotland in particular:

- 1) What is the best thing about Britain? What makes you most proud of Britain?
- 2) And the worst thing about Britain? What makes you most ashamed of Britain?
- 3) And Scotland in particular: What is the best thing about Scotland? What makes you most proud of Scotland?
- 4) And the worst thing about Scotland? What makes you most ashamed of Scotland?
- 5) How would you compare Scotland with other parts of Britain? Is it better or worse? Why?

#2. Devolution (DO NOT READ OUT HEADING)

Now I want to ask about your attitudes towards devolution and the new Scottish Parliament:

- 6) Looking back to 1997 when Tony Blair was first elected Prime Minister, and before the Scottish Parliament was set up: Did you think then that devolution and setting up a Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh would be a good thing or a bad thing? Why?
- 7) And now, how well do you think the Scottish Parliament has worked in practice?
- 8) Would it be better or worse if Scotland was a completely independent country, separate from England? Why?
- 9) Do you think people talk too much about Scottish history? I mean about things like the “Braveheart” film, or about Scotland being an “historic” nation. Should people focus more on Scotland’s future and less on Scotland’s past?
- 10) Should Scotland have a new flag to go with its new parliament? Or is it a good thing to keep the historic white X-shape on the blue background (IF QUERIES: the Saltire / St Andrews Cross)?
- 11) Apart from flags, is there a need for some new symbols to help the new parliament identify with all the people of today’s Scotland? What do you suggest?
- 12) Do you feel that the Scottish Parliament was really set up to improve government in today’s Scotland? Or was it just to satisfy nostalgia for the past?
- 13) Most of the time, the Scottish Parliament meets in the Church of Scotland’s building in Edinburgh. Do you feel that is a good choice or a bad one? Why?
- 14) Do you feel the Scottish Parliament really tries hard enough to represent people like you? Why do you feel that?

#3. Identities (DO NOT READ OUT HEADING)

Now some questions about the way you think about yourself:

- 15) Do you think of yourself as being:
[IN ENGLISH FGs] Scottish, British, English, Irish, Catholic, Protestant – or some combination – or something else?
[IN PAKISTANI FGs] Scottish, British, Pakistani, Muslim – or some combination – or something else?
- 16) Most of the time do you just think of yourself as just one or perhaps two of these? Which one or two?
[IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY] Which are you most comfortable with – (1) British Pakistani, (2) British Muslim, (3) Scottish Pakistani, (4) Scottish Muslim? Why?
[IN BORDERS FGs ONLY] Do you ever think of yourself as being a 'Borderer' rather than Scottish or English?
- 17) Does the way you think of yourself depend upon the circumstances? For example do you think of yourself in one way when watching sport and in another way when thinking about politics?
- 18) Does that depend upon which countries are involved in the sport or in the political news? Please explain?
- 19) Do you feel that the emphasis on Scottishness has increased since the Scottish Parliament was set up?
- 20) If so: does that make life harder for people who are not completely and exclusively Scottish?
- 21) Since the Scottish Parliament was set up, do you feel that Scotland has become more welcoming or less welcoming to people who are not completely and exclusively Scottish?
- 22) Why is that? Is it because of the politicians in the Scottish Parliament or because of the way ordinary Scots behave in everyday life?

#4. Connections & Incomers (DO NOT READ OUT HEADING)

Now some questions about your connection with places outside Scotland:

- 23) Have you ever lived in England? Do you have any close relatives or friends now living in England? Do you go there much to visit them? Or go to England regularly for shopping, entertainment, holidays etc?
- 24) If you do visit England, does it feel different from Scotland? In what way? Much different or just a bit?
- 25) Does the difference between being in Scotland and in England feel any greater now than before the Scottish Parliament was set up? In what way? Why is that?
- 26) [ASK ONLY IN PAKISTANI FGs] Do you have any close relatives or friends now living in Pakistan or elsewhere outside Britain? Where? Do you go there much to visit them?
- 27) What newspaper or magazine – daily or weekly – provides you with what you think is the most interesting news and information? Is that a Scottish, English, local, [IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY: Pakistani] or international publication?
- 28) There are different views about those who come from outside Scotland, often bringing their own customs, religion and traditions with them. I mean not just immigrants and asylum seekers but also people from England or Ireland. Do you think it is best if such incomers try to adapt and blend into the locality? Or is it best if they stay different and add to the variety of customs and traditions in the locality?
- 29) How about the area where you live? Would it be better or worse if there was more ethnic and cultural variety than there is now?

#5. Citizenship (DO NOT READ OUT HEADING)

Some people have their own idea of what it takes to be a so-called “true Scot” or “real Scot”. Often they talk about where people were born, who their parents were, and where they live now. I want to get your views on this:

- 30) Can someone be a “real Scot” if they have lived in Scotland for a long time but were not born in Scotland and do not have Scottish parents?
- 31) And can someone continue to be a “real Scot” if they go off to live in some other country like America or Canada?
- 32) If people live here, should it matter whether they are “real Scots” or not? Should everyone who lives in Scotland have the same rights – and also all of the same duties – irrespective of whether or not they are “real Scots”?
- 33) Even if it should not matter, do you think it actually does matter to many Scots? I mean, would many Scots treat someone worse if they thought that person was not, in their view, a “real Scot”?
- 34) What kind of Scots are most prejudiced against those they regard as not being “real Scots”? Politicians, officials, or ordinary people? Badly educated Scots or the well-educated?
- 35) Have you ever felt personally that someone had treated you badly because they thought you were not a “real Scot” or a “true Scot”? What happened?
- 36) Suppose someone who was born in another European country – like Spain or Italy – came to live permanently in Scotland. Do you think they would find it easier than you to be accepted as Scottish?

#6. At ease in the new Scotland? (DO NOT READ OUT HEADING)

Now some questions about what its like to live in Scotland:

- 37) When you are speaking to Scots people you do not know very well, do you feel you can say what you think about Scotland and Scottish things? Or do you feel you have to be careful what you say? Is it OK to praise Scottish things but not to criticise them, for example?
- 38) And since the setting up of a Scottish Parliament, has it become easier or more difficult to express criticisms of Scottish things? Are you now more free, or less free, to 'speak your mind' about Scotland?
- 39) Overall do you feel at ease with living in Scotland?
- 40) Do you feel more at ease or less at ease since the Scottish Parliament was set up? What makes you feel that way?
- 41) Would you feel more at ease or less at ease living somewhere outside Scotland? In England? Somewhere else? Where? Why?
- 42) Where do you see your long-term future? In Scotland or somewhere else? Where? Did you always feel that way?

#7. Harassment (DO NOT READ OUT HEADING)

Now some questions about discrimination:

- 43) Have you yourself personally felt harassed or discriminated against, in some important matter, on grounds of your sex/gender, age, religion, or ethnic background? Which?
- 44) Was that mainly by employers, the police, government officials, or ordinary people? Who? What happened?
- 45) Generally speaking, who discriminates most against [IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY: 'Pakistani or Muslim people'; IN ENGLISH FGs ONLY: 'English people'] - employers, the police, government officials, or ordinary Scots?
- 46) Do you feel the Scottish Parliament is really committed to fighting such discrimination?
- 47) Do you feel the Scottish Parliament wants to treat [IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY: 'Pakistani or Muslim people'; IN ENGLISH FGs ONLY: 'English people'] just the same as other people living in Scotland.
- 48) Do you feel the Scottish Parliament regards [IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY: 'Pakistani or Muslim people'; IN ENGLISH FGs ONLY: 'English people'] as making Scotland a better place? Or does it regard them as a problem?
- 49) Do you feel the way the Scottish Parliament is elected and organised means that it is biased against [IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY: 'Pakistani or Muslim people'; IN ENGLISH FGs ONLY: 'English people']? Could it be organised differently to prevent that bias? How?
- 50) Does the Scottish Parliament pay too much attention to some people or groups? Which? Majority Scots? Other minorities? Businessmen?
- 51) Have you ever had to listen to comments about [IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY: 'Pakistani or Muslim people'; IN ENGLISH FGs ONLY: 'English people'] which were intended as humorous but which irritated you? What kind of things?
- 52) Is this something you can live with comfortably? Or does it really hurt or annoy you?
- 53) Have you ever been deliberately insulted or abused because you are [IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY: 'Pakistani or Muslim'; IN ENGLISH FGs ONLY: 'English']? What happened?
- 54) Do such insults and abuse frighten you as well as annoy you?
- 55) Has the setting up of the Scottish Parliament affected this? How? For better or worse? Please explain?
- 56) Are the people who do this sort of thing not really typical Scots? Or are they just saying openly what many other Scots are thinking?
- 57) Would you describe Scots generally as [IN PAKISTANI FGs ONLY: 'racist'; IN ENGLISH FGs ONLY: 'Anglo-phobic, anti-English']? Why?

END:

DO NOT TRANSCRIBE ANYTHING AFTER THE ANSWER TO Q57

Scottish Minorities Survey: START & FILTER

TO INTERVIEWERS:

Note: Throughout the questionnaire, interviewer instructions are shown in capital letters.

1. USE **EXACT QUESTION WORDINGS** – PLEASE DO NOT RE-PHRASE QUESTIONS
2. ASK **ALL** RESPONDENTS **ALL** QUESTIONS.
3. **CIRCLE** ANSWER CODE (OR INSERT CODE IN BOX, IF REQUD)
4. **ONLY ONE ANSWER** IS ALLOWED FOR EACH QUESTION.
5. Answers coded 7, 8, 9, or 77, 88, 99 are **usually** not read out – but do what it says at question.
6. Code “8” is usually phrased: “neither / mixed/ depends (DO NOT READ OUT)”
PLEASE DO NOT USE THIS CODE WITHOUT QUERYING THE ANSWER FIRST: for example by asking ‘but if you had to choose?’ or ‘but do you have even a slight preference?’ etc.

A1. Interviewer code number (WRITE IN)

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A2. Location (Phone-book)

270 South West Scotland (Dumfries & Galloway)

311 Tayside (Dundee)

313 Edinburgh

314 Borders

518 Glasgow North

519 Glasgow South

A3. Phone number incl prefix (WRITE IN)

prefix	Number
--------	--------

A4. Postcode/Town (WRITE IN)

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A5. Pakistani or English SURVEY?

1 Pakistani

2 English

A6. Day and month when interviewed

(INTERVIEWER TO INSERT)

DAY		MONTH	

A7. Starting time of interview (24 hour clock)

(INTERVIEWER TO INSERT)

HOUR		MINUTE	

Scottish Minorities Survey: START & FILTER

ENGLISH FILTER

Hello, my name is (NAME)_____. I am working on a project for the University of Glasgow.

We are doing a SURVEY about how English people – or those with English connections – feel about life in Scotland today.

We are only interviewing people aged 18 or over. Can I just check that you are aged 18 or over?

IF NO: ASK TO SPEAK TO SOMEONE WHO IS AGED 18 OR OVER

IF YES: CONTINUE

E1. Were you yourself born in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES → → → → → → → → → → → → → → → GO TO INTRO (ON NEXT PAGE)

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

E2. Was anyone else in your household born in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES → → → → → → → → → → → → → → → GO TO INTRO (ON NEXT PAGE)

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

0 not asked / skipped

E3. Do you have any very close relatives – parents, children, brothers, sisters – who were born in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES → → → → → → → → → → → → → → → GO TO INTRO (ON NEXT PAGE)

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

0 not asked / skipped

E4. So can I just check? Neither yourself, nor anyone else in your household, nor any of your very close relatives were born in England?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES – no one born in England → THANK RESPONDENT & CLOSE INTERVIEW

2 NO – someone was born in England → GO BACK TO E1

0 not asked / skipped

Scottish Minorities Survey: START & FILTER

PAKISTANI FILTER

Hello, my name is (NAME)_____. I am working on a project for the University of Glasgow.

We are doing a SURVEY about how Pakistani people – or those connected with Pakistani people – feel about life in Scotland today.

We are only interviewing people aged 18 or over. Can I just check that you are aged 18 or over?

IF NO: ASK TO SPEAK TO SOMEONE WHO IS AGED 18 OR OVER

IF YES: CONTINUE

P1. Do you consider yourself to be ethnically Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES → → → → → → → → → → → → → → → GO TO INTRO (ON NEXT PAGE)

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

P2. Is anyone else in your household ethnically Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES → → → → → → → → → → → → → → → GO TO INTRO (ON NEXT PAGE)

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

0 not asked / skipped

P3. Do you have any very close relatives – parents, children, brothers, sisters – who are ethnically Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES → → → → → → → → → → → → → → → GO TO INTRO (ON NEXT PAGE)

2 NO

8 mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)

9 don't know / refused (DO NOT READ OUT)

0 not asked / skipped

P4. So can I just check? Neither yourself, nor anyone else in your household, nor any of your very close relatives are ethnically Pakistani?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 YES – no one ethnically Pakistani → **THANK RESPONDENT & CLOSE INTERVIEW**

2 NO – someone was ethnically Pakistani → **GO BACK TO E1**

0 not asked / skipped