Prejudice and unlawful behaviour:

Exploring levers for change

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Commission**

Contents

Tables and figures

Acknowledgements

Executive summary

The Equality and Human Rights Commission ('the Commission') is interested in exploring the relationship between prejudiced attitudes and behaviours in order to identify what can be done to prevent and respond effectively to unlawful behaviour in England, Scotland and Wales (GB). To inform this work this report was commissioned to summarise and integrate evidence from research in GB between 2005 and 2015. The aim was to address three fundamental questions:

1. What is the nature of the relationship between prejudiced attitudes and unlawful discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence?

2. What is the extent and prevalence of unlawful behaviour based on prejudiced attitudes in GB?

3. What is known about how to prevent or respond to unlawful behaviour related to prejudiced attitudes?

These questions are explored in relation to all of the characteristics protected under the Equality Act 2010 (age, race, sex, disability, religion or belief, gender reassignment, sexual orientation, marriage and civil partnership, and pregnancy and maternity). We refer to these as 'protected characteristics'.[1] This approach allows us to look at differences as well as commonalities between the protected characteristics, giving the Commission insight into where levers for change may be generally effective or specific to the experiences of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence of those people with and who share particular protected characteristics.

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[1] Specialist terms used in this report are defined in the Glossary.

The nature of prejudiced attitudes and unlawful behaviour

We use the following definition of prejudice:

'bias that devalues people because of their perceived membership of a social group' (Abrams, 2010, p. 8).

Prejudice involves a number of different elements. These include: the way that people categorise one another; the stereotypes and expectations they link with these categories; the extent to which they perceive groups as having conflicting and interdependent values and goals; their willingness to engage in social contact and make relationships with one another; the emotions they feel about their own and other groups; and the norms and social pressures that bear on their behaviour. All of these are embedded in a wider social context, in which the groups may or may not be in conflict and in which social relations within communities are more or less cohesive and harmonious.

The report focuses on behaviours that discriminate against others and/or are unlawful and directed at someone because they have or share a protected characteristic; in this case, discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence.

There is little evidence from GB that directly links individuals' values[2] and prejudiced attitudes on the one hand with particular acts of unlawful behaviour on the other. However, there is substantial theory and international evidence that these elements are connected (Abrams, 2010). Therefore, considering the evidence that is available on each of these elements and how they are connected helps to provide a fuller picture of the situation faced by people who share each protected characteristic, as well as what can be done to respond to and reduce unlawful behaviour.

Evidence from GB shows that there are different forms of prejudiced attitudes directed towards people who share different protected characteristics and that experiences of discriminatory behaviour also depend on which protected characteristic is involved and the context in which the discrimination occurs.

Experiences of identity-based harassment and violence were found for most of the protected characteristics. For some protected characteristics this is recognised as hate crime, however not all protected characteristics are recognised under current hate crime legislation. For a more detailed review of hate crime causes, and motivations see Walters, Brown and Wiedlitzka (2016).

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[2] See the Glossary at the end of the report for definitions of some of the terms used throughout.

The following sections summarise the evidence for each protected characteristic in turn. There are important differences in the nature of prejudiced attitudes towards different groups, and the manner and settings in which these unlawful behaviours towards those groups manifest. However, across protected characteristics there are also common aspects to experiences of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence. Some of these overarching aspects are considered in the sections on the prevalence of unlawful behaviours and those on interventions. There is emerging evidence that approaches that work to foster positive attitudes and associated behaviours more generally could have a broader impact across protected characteristics and the complex intersectionalities that exist between them.

Disability

No evidence was identified that directly assessed the relationship between prejudiced attitudes towards disabled people and disabled people's experiences of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence. However, the evidence that is available revealed that disability discrimination, although associated with beliefs that the rights of disabled people are important, is driven by structural barriers, over-simplistic categorisation, and patronising stereotypes.

Expressions of prejudiced attitudes towards people with mental health conditions are more negative than those directed at people with physical disabilities. However, this research found evidence on experiences of discrimination and unlawful behaviours to only be available for physical disability or disability as general category. There are important intersectional aspects of disability with particular groups such as ethnic minorities or older people.

The most interventions reviewed were designed to reduce prejudiced attitudes towards disabled people (6). Overall, contact between disabled and non-disabled people produces the most effective results, especially when other factors in the situation are optimal (for example, there is equal status and cooperation). The Time to Change campaign was the biggest and most well-evidenced intervention, and focuses on reducing mental health stigma.

Race

There is some evidence to suggest that people who more strongly value diversity show less discriminatory behaviours based on race, but other evidence suggests that even when people do not acknowledge or express their prejudices they may still make discriminatory choices.

Surveys that assess expressions of prejudice have largely focused on attitudes towards different ethnic groups and immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. Attitudes towards Black and Asian people are perceived to be quite stable, and prejudice is perceived as being lower than that towards Eastern European people.

Experiences of racial discrimination are reflected in hate crime statistics. Race remains the highest reported motivation for hate crime recorded by the police in England/Wales and Scotland. Most evidence of discrimination was found in employment and education settings.

Race is a complex category as research sometimes, but not always, includes groups such as Gypsies and Travellers and asylum seekers or immigrants (which involve nationality, ethnicity, skin colour and other factors) within it.[3] There is some psychological basis for this (for example, common prejudices involve viewing the group as posing a threat). Across this category, there is some evidence that effective approaches have involved promoting positive contact between groups using education methods.

Religion or belief

There is evidence of a link between prejudiced attitudes and intended behaviours which shows that dehumanisation, feelings of tension between national and religious identity, and experiences or perceptions of discrimination lead to increased hostility and support of extremist views.

Expressions of religious prejudice often focus on visible differences (for example, religious dress or symbols). Evidence assessing attitudes towards different religious groups shows that Muslims are perceived to be the most targeted group for prejudiced attitudes, and that this is linked to perceived cultural threat. Intersectionalities were identified between religion and belief and race, as well as sexual orientation, where individuals report conflicting identities that compound concerns about discrimination.

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[3] Nationality and citizenship are included under the Commission's definition of the protected characteristic of race, along with colour and ethnic or national origins.

Experiences of discrimination are mostly evidenced through hate crime reports, for example anti-Muslim hate incidents recorded by Tell MAMA, or anti-Semitic incidents recorded by the Community Security Trust (CST). Evidence suggests that experiences of online hate are common for people from both religions and could be an area for potential intervention.

Effective intervention approaches have included increased indirect contact between people of different religions (for example, using social media) and education that encourages discussion of intergroup norms (what behaviour is considered acceptable or is expected by members of different social groups) to challenge prejudice.

Age

There is evidence of a link between prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviours for age which shows that stereotypes, albeit benevolent, can directly affect older people's self-concept and capabilities.

Expressions of prejudiced attitudes are generally positive towards all ages, but age discrimination affects all age groups. Evidence suggests that attitudes towards older people are more benevolent and patronising, whereas younger people are met with more hostile stereotypes. More research is needed to understand the impact of such stereotypes on younger people.

Prejudiced attitudes based on age are detrimental when they manifest as discrimination in employment and health and social care settings, where older people may be denied opportunities given to younger people. In employment settings this is particularly problematic for women, who report facing double discrimination (age and sex).

Evidence suggests that awareness of age stereotypes can be particularly damaging for older people and can be heightened through the language used to refer to older age. Experiences of discrimination based on age are present in health and social care settings, where older patients are often treated differently from younger patients in primary care, mental health service provision, and healthcare in prison.

Two examples of interventions to reduce age discrimination were identified, both of which aimed to challenge stereotypes and norms surrounding older age, and to increase positive relations between old and young people.

Sex

There is evidence of a link between prejudiced attitudes towards women (and attitudes towards masculinity) and unlawful behaviours. Research linked attitudes about masculinity and the values that people hold about gender to treatment of female sex workers in Scotland.

Expressions of prejudiced attitudes focus mainly on interpretations of values and women's roles in society, as well as gender stereotypes. As is the case for disability and age, attitudes towards women appear to be positive but may mask more 'benevolent' or patronising forms of prejudice. High levels of violence against women and girls suggest a discrepancy between apparently benevolent attitudes and experiences. Despite evidence that most people want equal opportunities for men and women, among those who hold power over equal opportunity in employment the picture is very different.

Experiences of sex discrimination are examined across a number of settings including employment, education, and health and social care. Evidence on experiences where protected characteristics overlap was found between sex and sexual orientation.

Interventions have focused on violence towards women as well as partner violence perpetrated by women. A well-evidenced approach that focused on educating about domestic violence was effective in reducing the perceived acceptability of domestic violence among children.

Sexual orientation

Despite there being the most evidence on this protected characteristic, there was very little that explored the direct link between prejudiced attitudes and unlawful behaviours. Only one piece of evidence did so, showing that helping behaviour (in this case, lending money for a parking fee) was lower for a person perceived to be homosexual, compared to a heterosexual person. However, the attitude of the 'helper' was inferred rather than measured directly.

Research on expressions of prejudiced attitudes suggests an improving trend over time, especially on measures of social distance. However, certain values (such as religion) and settings (for example sport) are perceived to create barriers to equality.

Experiences of discrimination primarily focus on hate crime statistics. These suggest that crimes are motivated by antipathy towards a particular sexual orientation, especially gay men. Education, employment and health and social care are the main settings in which homophobic discrimination has been researched.

There is evidence that women's and men's experiences require more differentiated investigation. There is less evidence on the situation for women compared with gay men, particularly for those with disabilities.

A whole school intervention approach was found likely to be effective to address homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying among school aged children and young people, but there were no other examples of interventions against which to compare its impact.

Gender reassignment

The evidence for a link between attitudes and behaviours for this protected characteristic is very limited and only suggests an association between values, such as the belief that gender is biologically based, and reduced support for trans rights. No research looked at behaviours being directly affected by attitudes or values.

There was very little research identified in the systematic review that directly looked at attitudes towards transgender people. Much of the research on this group was subsumed within research on sexual orientation.

An important difference compared to sexual orientation is that the main perpetrators of transphobic discrimination, harassment or violence are more likely to be identified as strangers (rather than peers). Fear of discrimination was more common than actual experiences, especially for incidents that were not commonly experienced but had a greater perceived severity and longer recovery time (for example, physical or sexual attack). However, it is likely that, as with many types of hate crime, a far greater prevalence of transgender hate crime exists than is reported in crime surveys or police statistics.

The literature search did not identify any interventions.

Marriage and civil partnership

There was no evidence about links between attitudes and behaviours relating to marriage and civil partnership.

A small volume of evidence on prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviours in relation to marriage status was identified through the systematic review, as well as on intersectionality with other protected characteristics (for example, race, sex and sexual orientation). This is probably because there are unique features relating to these other protected characteristics (for example, cultural values) that influence attitudes and expectations surrounding marriage and relationships.

Attitudes towards same-sex relationships and marriage have become more positive over time, although support tends to be greater among younger age groups.

The area in which intervention seems most urgent is forced marriage, for which women and children, particularly from ethnic minority groups, are the most at risk. Various organisations and charities are actively working to deal with the consequences of forced marriage for individuals. Forced marriage raises three different policy challenges: it is a focal issue that some people use to justify their prejudices against some ethnic minorities; it is sometimes depicted by politicians as a race and immigration issue; fundamentally it is a question of human rights and gender equality. All three aspects need to be recognised when formulating policy.

The literature search did not identify any interventions.

Pregnancy and maternity

There was no evidence about links between attitudes and behaviours relating to pregnancy and maternity. Most of the evidence that was captured in this area focused on employment settings.

Expressions of prejudice have been researched among both employers and employees, focusing largely on views about parental leave and gender roles. Evidence suggests that employer prejudices may reflect structural and economic factors that they perceive to involve conflict between equality and the economic needs of business.

Women in employment settings who have returned to work after a period of parental leave report being discriminated against, and there is an apparent disparity in employee experiences and employer views of whether their policies are helpful and implemented to the benefit of mothers. The evidence suggests that a lack of knowledge and understanding underpins discriminatory behaviours rather than prejudiced attitudes necessarily.

Outside of the workplace, teenage mothers report feeling excluded, stigmatised and stereotyped, suggesting that they may be particularly vulnerable to discrimination.

Some of the challenges in this area are amplified by intersections with disability, race and sexual orientation, which can create additional barriers, different expectations and stereotypes that may feed into disparities in healthcare.

The literature search did not identify any interventions.

The extent and prevalence of unlawful behaviour

The quantity and quality of evidence of recorded discrimination is very uneven and varied. There is more evidence for some protected characteristics (such as discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation) than others (such as discrimination on the basis of pregnancy). However, there is clear evidence that people are exposed to discrimination because of all protected characteristics and that some people's protected characteristics, including disability, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation and gender reassignment, make them vulnerable to identity-based violence (for some protected characteristics this is recognised as hate crime).[4]

Drawing general conclusions about the prevalence and extent of unlawful behaviour based on prejudiced attitudes is difficult because of the limited nature of the evidence. Both within and across protected characteristics we found that there was no consistent approach to measuring expressions of prejudiced attitudes or instances of discrimination. For instance, most surveys exploring the extent of prejudice and discrimination have focused on only one protected characteristic and no single survey or piece of research covers experiences of discrimination against all nine protected characteristics.

Different methods and measures for asking about experiences of discrimination also paint different pictures about its prevalence. One survey showed that 15 per cent of respondents reported having experienced disability discrimination or prejudice. However, another survey recorded that 0.6 per cent of those surveyed reported having experienced disability discrimination.

Given this, and the poor quality of evidence that is available, it is not possible to provide exact estimates of the prevalence of discrimination or prejudice that are comparable across protected characteristics.

Preventing and responding to unlawful behaviour

Our systematic review identified 42 different sources of interventions that had been used to change values, reduce prejudiced attitudes or prevent discrimination or problematic behaviours, such as bullying. After sorting these for relavence (see search criteria in the Methodology section in the Appendix), 24 evaluations of

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[4] Protected characteristics recognised as hate crime strands in GB are race, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation, and gender reassignment.

interventions were examined. Most of these (14) were carried out in educational settings or used educational methods, and the interventions tended to focus on one point of influence, for example: changing children's attitudes towards women and the acceptability of domestic violence; challenging extremist norms; or using social contact (interactions between people from different groups) to change people's attitudes about a particular group.

The most frequently evaluated intervention was the Time to Change campaign, which focuses on mental health discrimination. This campaign employs a mixture of approaches to influence several different elements of prejudice, including improving knowledge and understanding of disability and mental health stigma, changing attitudes towards disabled people or those with a mental health condition, and affecting people's motivation to avoid being prejudiced about mental health.

The systematic review did not reveal any interventions that could be assessed for gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, or pregnancy and maternity. This does not mean that no interventions have been implemented in these areas. However, none of these interventions have been evaluated or documented in the academic or non-academic literature.

Because we are looking for the most effective interventions, we examined the strength of any assessment used to capture an intervention's impact. We evaluated the quality and comprehensiveness of the assessment of each intervention as a way of judging confidence in that intervention's effectiveness. On a scale from 0 to 100, the quality levels ranged from 15 to 73, highlighting the marked variability we found. We recognise the resourcing and time restrictions often experienced by organisations that carry out these intervention projects, as well as the challenge of accessing some difficult–to-reach groups. Because of these issues, it may not be possible for those organisations to assess the impact of their work to an optimal level. Further work is needed to establish the investment/benefit ratio of achieving different levels of confidence. A level of 75 per cent is good but potentially an expensive aspiration. More work is needed to provide guidance on the elements that are necessary for a minimally acceptable and useful evaluation. Accepting that the feasibility of optimal evaluation (100 per cent) will vary from setting to setting, we believe that any evaluation should be required to justify the level of confidence expressed in reaching conclusions about the impact of their work, with the strengths and limitations of evaluations clearly communicated.

Suggestions for policy and research

Having reviewed 197 sources of evidence (24 of which were evaluations of interventions) and 85 independent sources of measures to capture experiences of discrimination, it is clear that the volume, breadth and depth of research evidence is not the same across different protected characteristics. For example, the largest volume of evidence and measurement was on sexual orientation. Yet there were only two evaluations of interventions that aimed to change prejudice towards people on the basis of sexual orientation. It was also notable that although there is clear evidence about the existence of sexist attitudes, relatively few sources of evidence document the prevalence of people's experiences of sex discrimination.

The evidence and gaps in the evidence that have come from this systematic review have important implications for policy makers and researchers. These are listed below.

Data and measurement

- **Develop better quality and standard of measurement in surveys**

  The data available through current surveys do not allow us to draw nuanced estimates of experiences of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence. They also do not allow comparison between the experiences of people with different protected characteristics, of the experiences of people from different countries in GB.

- **Sustain sources of evidence that allow comparison over time**

  The lack or loss of evidence that allows comparison over time is a problem and makes it difficult to assess confidently whether experiences of prejudice and discrimination are improving, getting worse, or changing form for particular groups.

- **Improve evidence on the perspectives of perpetrators as well as victims of particular acts of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence within particular contexts and time periods**

  This will provide greater insight into which interventions might work best in particular contexts, and to what extent the focus of intervention should be on perpetrators, victims, or both.

- **Develop a comprehensive framework on tackling prejudice and discrimination**

This would enable assessment of the evidence systematically across different approaches and interventions to substantially improve its relevance for policymaking. The framework would need to take account of the social context, the particular settings, the time frame and duration of change, and the particular protected characteristics that are implicated when planning interventions.

- **Improve the robustness and quality of evaluations**

  Development of a quality threshold approach to guide future interventions will enable more confident and systematic assessment of what is effective, why it is effective, and substantially improve relevance for policymaking.

Developing interventions and assessing what works

- **Develop greater insight into which interventions might work best**

  The current evidence base does not allow for any robustly evidence-led policy choices. More research is required to capture the connections between perspectives of both perpetrators and victims of particular acts of discrimination and unlawful behavior within particular contexts and time periods. If future interventions are designed and assessed to meet rigorous standards it will provide greater confidence in interpreting their outcomes and better understanding of what works. This would enable the knowledge gained to inform the introduction of intervention approaches across different protected characteristics and different contexts.

- **Explore emerging evidence that general intervention approaches could be effective across protected characteristics**

  Intervention approaches that have taken a more general approach to addressing prejudice, discrimination and identity-based violence and harassment use educational work to challenge prejudice in general. They also use methods such as encouraging perspective taking or reinforcing values of equality and the valuing of human life, and highlighting prosocial norms. There is evidence that these are effective approaches and should be tested further.

1 |

Introduction

The Equality Act 2010 provides a single legal framework to tackle disadvantage and protect people from discrimination. The Act prohibits discrimination against someone because of their perceived age, sex, race,[5] disability, religion or belief (including lack of belief), sexual orientation, for being pregnant (or having a baby), being married or in a civil partnership, or being transgender. Despite the protection offered by the Act and other legislation (including hate crime legislation), many people with a protected characteristic do experience prejudice and discrimination.[6] The Equality and Human Rights Commission ('the Commission') was established under the Equality Act 2006 to work towards the elimination of unlawful discrimination, to promote equality of opportunity, and to protect and promote human rights.

The Commission is interested in exploring the relationship between values, attitudes and behaviours in order to identify interventions (the implementation of an action, strategy, or process that changes the likelihood of a particular outcome) that can prevent and respond effectively to unlawful behaviour, specifically discrimination, identity-based violence or harassment. The Commission is also interested in addressing behaviours that, while not unlawful, may also be related to prejudiced attitudes. These behaviours may come together to result in an unlawful act if systematic and long-term, or they may escalate to or be indicative of other unlawful behaviour.

1.1   Scope of the report

This report aims to inform the Commission's future approach to developing and influencing interventions. It summarises the available evidence addressing, for each

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[5] Race refers to a group of people defined by their race, colour and nationality (including citizenship), ethnic or national origins.

[6] For an overview of hate crime legislation in Great Britain, see the 'Legal security' evidence paper from the 'Is Britain Fairer?' review (EHRC, 2015) and Walters, Brown and Wiedlitzka (in press).

protected characteristic, three fundamental areas which have not previously been explored in an integrated review:

1. The nature of the relationship between individual and societal values, prejudiced attitudes, and unlawful discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence.

2. The extent and prevalence of unlawful discrimination in England, Scotland and Wales (GB).

3. How to prevent or respond to unlawful behaviour related to prejudiced attitudes.

To address these issues three separate but interconnected pieces of research were conducted:

1. A systematic review of the relevant literature on values, prejudiced attitudes, and instances of unlawful discrimination, harassment and identity-based violence.

2. A measurement map in which we identified and assessed data sources and measures of discrimination to identify what has been measured and how.

3. A systematic review of interventions in which we evaluated the quality and impact of interventions that aim to reduce prejudice, discrimination or inappropriate behaviour directed towards people with protected characteristics.

This report summarises the evidence on when, how and under what circumstances discrimination or unlawful behaviour is influenced by prejudiced attitudes, and assesses its quality. It covers evidence from 2005-15 from GB. It identifies where there are gaps in the evidence and highlights evidence of effective interventions or approaches for tackling prejudice, discrimination, and identity based harassment and violence. It is important to note that the report also explores behaviours that are characterised as 'problematic', but aren't necessarily unlawful (such as anti-social behaviour and bullying).

The terms of reference for this report, which focuses on the nature of the relationship between prejudiced attitudes (and associated values) and unlawful behaviour, means that we have not discussed evidence on inequality and unfairness based on media content, economic data, government policies or structural effects where there is no corresponding attitudinal or behavioural evidence. These factors in themselves can be very powerful in creating advantages or disadvantages for particular groups, but are beyond the scope of this report. However, descriptive accounts of inequality are provided in other reports, including 'Is Britain Fairer?' (EHRC, 2015). In addition,

there may be prominent examples of discrimination in the media, but only cases highlighted within research evidence are included here. Our focus is on evidence that gives insight into the causes and drivers of individuals' discriminatory behaviour.

It was also beyond the scope of this report to conduct secondary data analysis, but we are aware that evidence has been collected that could potentially address the core questions. If such evidence has not been analysed and published in some form, we have not been able to include it in our review. An example is the data on experiences of discrimination, available from the European Social Survey Rounds 5 to 7.

1.2   Structure of the report

Chapter 2 describes how the research was conducted. Chapter 3 provides a brief introduction to theories of prejudice and what we know about the social and psychological drivers that link prejudiced attitudes to discriminatory or unlawful behaviours. Chapters 4 to 12 summarise the key findings for the nine protected characteristics in turn. In each of these chapters we outline the available evidence on how values, prejudiced attitudes and experiences of discrimination or unlawful behaviour have been measured, and what this evidence says about the nature of prejudice and discrimination towards people with and who share a protected characteristic. We also review the extent to which the evidence can tell us something about the link between values, prejudice attitudes and unlawful behaviour and the specific contexts in which prejudice and discrimination occur, and we assesses the strength of evidence that interventions can effectively reduce either prejudiced attitudes or discrimination against people with that protected characteristic. Chapter 13 identifies where better evidence is still required and explores the type of gaps or inconsistences we found. Chapter 14 draws together conclusions and recommendations.

2 |
How the research was conducted

This chapter outlines how the three pieces of research underpinning this report were conducted. It describes three comprehensive searches to identify literature, measures and interventions relevant to values, prejudice, discrimination and unlawful behaviour in England, Scotland and Wales (GB). These extensive online searches for evidence backed up by consultation with academic experts, policy makers, funders of research, charities and What Works Centres revealed the most relevant available evidence. This chapter also describes the inclusion criteria for evidence used in this review and the development of a framework to determine how well evaluations of different intervention approaches have been carried out and how confident we can be in their findings. The majority of the interventions used evaluations that scored relatively poorly against these criteria. This reveals a need for closer attention to the quality of evaluations of future projects. For more information on how the search for evidence was conducted, key search words used and the criteria for inclusion in the review, see the Methodology section in the Appendix.

2.1   Search strategy

To identify relevant evidence, three comprehensive online searches were conducted: a search for academic literature (peer reviewed journals); a search for non – academic or 'grey' literature (produced by national or regional governments, policy makers, charities or third sector organisations); and a search of data archives.

We consulted with 47 academics, policy makers and experts in the field of prejudice, discrimination and unlawful behaviour. We also requested evidence from funders of research (such as the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), The Joseph Rowntree Foundation and others), plus all seven of the What Works Centres and two affiliates, to ensure we obtained the most relevant literature and evidence. We received a response from two Centres.

Online search terms

To generate a pool of search terms we reviewed the key words in seminal academic review papers that explore values, prejudice, or discrimination and unlawful behaviour. The review identified 45 key words which were refined and prioritised (in order of specificity) into primary, secondary and tertiary levels (see Table 1.1 in the Methodology report for a full list of search terms).

The primary, secondary and tertiary search terms were then used in conjunction with search terms that were specific to each protected characteristic. Thus, for each protected characteristic, each online search was conducted three times.

Example of primary search carried out for race

Title: Racism OR ethnicity OR immigration OR nationality OR citizenship
Abstract: prejudice OR stereotype OR values OR norms OR attitudes
Abstract: discrimination OR bias OR exclusion OR rights OR equality OR cohesion OR "good relations" OR justice
All text: "Great Britain" OR England OR Scotland OR Wales
NOT: "new south wales" OR "new England"
Between: 2005 – 2015

In line with the terms of reference for the research, each search was restricted to evidence published in the last 10 years (2005-15) and to GB.

Conducting the searches

The searches for academic literature were conducted using Google Scholar, EBSCOhost and the International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS). The search for non-academic literature was conducted in Google and was restricted to specific domains such as .org.uk and .gov.uk, and to pdf. To identify data sources measuring experiences of discrimination, searches were conducted on 14 known large databases in the UK, including the UK Data Service, the National Centre for Social Research, the Office for National Statistics and national government databases (for more information on the databases, see Methodology report). To identify interventions, we also examined the material generated by the wider literature review that included basic research and interventions, and then focused on all non-academic literature leads provided by these searches, which yielded 30 additional pieces of evidence.

2.2   Inclusion criteria

The initial academic and 'grey' literature searches yielded a total of 85,663 hits. For each search, suitable articles for the review were identified and included in three stages. First, the title of the article was read to make an initial judgement about its relevance. Inclusion criteria were that the article:

- related to values, prejudiced attitudes, discrimination or unlawful behaviour
- was published (papers from conference proceedings were excluded)
- was published in 2005 or later (to 2015), and
- was relevant to England, Scotland, Wales or Great Britain, in alignment with the remit of the Commission.

This resulted in 1,362 selected papers for review.[7] At this point duplicate papers (papers which also arose in other searches) were excluded and the abstracts of papers were reviewed to determine their relevance (based on the inclusion criteria above). This narrowed the body of literature of 525 papers which were downloaded, saved and allocated to a protected characteristic.

During the process of allocation, we came across several articles relating to more than one protected characteristic. Table A1.1 in the Appendix illustrates where common intersectionalities among protected characteristics occurred and in which section of the report they can be found. For these articles we distinguished between the primary (main focus) and secondary characteristic in the article and categorised the article for review based on the primary characteristic.

During the review process we excluded a further 297 papers because, upon closer inspection, they failed to meet the inclusion criteria. Thus a total of 228 pieces of evidence, including 24 evaluations of interventions, were included in the evidence review.

2.3   Assessing the quality of the evaluation of interventions

We decided it was necessary to evaluate the potential of each intervention to confidently demonstrate its impact to address prejudice, discrimination and identity-based violence and harassment. Therefore, we developed a framework and set of criteria from which to generate a score to capture how comprehensively the impact

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[7] Note that the search ceased when three pages of irrelevant articles were produced.

of an intervention had been evaluated. To derive that framework we reviewed existing work and guidance produced by different disciplines and research communities regarding: a) what makes a good intervention (in other words, how to conduct and evaluate an intervention); and b) what constitutes good research evidence.

This review revealed a number of criteria relevant to quantitative and qualitative research, against which any intervention could be judged. (See the Methodology report for a summary of the evaluation criteria and their origins and for definitions of the assessability criteria).

Each intervention was evaluated against each criterion in the framework, scoring 1 if the information was present or the criteria were fulfilled by the research, 0.5 if the information was partly present, and 0 if it was absent or missing. Raw scores were then turned into a percentage so that they could be compared across quantitative and qualitative interventions (see Figure A1.1 in the Appendix). These scores represent an assessability index, where a higher score allows more confidence in interpreting an intervention's impact. These assessability scores ranged from 15-73 per cent. A score of 15 per cent means there is barely enough information to determine how successful the intervention is. A score of 73 per cent enables confident interpretation of the impact of the intervention. In order to indicate the relative assessability of evaluations throughout the report, we refer to the assessability scores in terms of whether they are in the bottom (15-34 per cent), middle (35-54 per cent) or top (55-73 per cent) third. It is worth noting that the majority of the interventions did not even meet half of the criteria and this suggests an area that needs serious attention in future work.

3|
The nature of prejudice

There are several important drivers of discrimination, such as poor institutional practices and laws, and public misinformation or misunderstanding. The focus of this review, however, is prejudice – a primary psychological driver of discrimination. Prejudice has several key components. These include: the way people categorise one another; their knowledge and use of stereotypes; the extent to which they perceive other groups as posing a threat; their social distance from and contact with members of other groups; the mixture of emotions they feel towards those groups; the values that frame how they judge different groups; and the personal or social standards and norms (for example, what behaviour is considered acceptable or is expected by members of different social groups) they think should affect their expressions of prejudice. Different societal or local contexts present different combinations of good relations (cohesion) and prejudice (conflict), each of which has different implications for the forms that prejudice might take and for the interventions that might be most beneficial to reduce or prevent discrimination. Reviewed in this chapter are theory-driven strategies for preventing discrimination that focus on points at which to weaken or break the links between different elements of prejudice and discriminatory behaviour.

3.1   Introduction

This chapter will briefly set out what is meant by prejudice and outline different aspects of prejudice that have an influence on whether it is likely to be expressed in a way that causes discrimination (an unfair disadvantage), or identity-based harassment and violence. Prejudice has been measured in many different ways across different types of research and a variety of large surveys, such as research for the Cabinet Office Equalities Review (Abrams and Houston, 2006), surveys by Stonewall (2012; Cowan, 2007), the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) (2006; 2010) and the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS) (2008-14; see NatCen, no date). We summarise different elements of prejudice, and describe a theory that

explains how different societal and local contexts influence which interventions can be introduced to prevent or reduce prejudice or discrimination.

An extensive account of theories of prejudice and their implications for interventions can be found in the Commission's 2010 report, 'Processes of Prejudice' (Abrams, 2010). The current report draws on more recent evidence from Great Britain (GB). It also focuses on how theories of prejudice and discrimination can help us to identify levers that can influence people's societal values and prejudiced attitudes on the one hand and their expression of these attitudes as identity-based violence, harassment and discrimination on the other. Prejudice can arise at different levels, such as the political, national, or institutional levels. The goal of the present research is to examine factors that link **individuals'** values, attitudes and actions.

3.2   Defining and characterising prejudice

There are many definitions of prejudice (see Nelson, 2009). The definition below captures its primary feature – a bias that is based on whether or not people share membership of particular social categories with each other. Specifically, prejudice is:

'bias that *devalues* people because of their perceived membership of a social group.' (Abrams, 2010)

This definition involves several elements. First, the 'bias' refers to a preference for (or against). Second, 'devalues' means that the bias involves attaching lower importance, value, status or level of deservingness to a person in that group. Third, the term 'perceived membership' highlights that perception rather than objective evidence is central – people judge each other in ways that assume the relevance of particular group memberships and the assumptions may be based on a set of influences that do not necessarily reflect objective evidence. As an example, some people may not distinguish among immigrants from different parts of Europe, despite their widely varying national, ethnic or religious backgrounds. What is important is that discriminatory behaviour is likely to flow from the assumptions that people make about their own and others' group memberships.

Manifestations of prejudice can take different forms, ranging from direct, explicit statements of dislike to indirect, more subtle forms such as objections to equal rights for particular groups or patronizing or 'benevolent' stereotypes.

Prejudice is not always expressed overtly, but does always have the potential for harm because it reduces the standing or value attached to particular sets of people.

As a concrete analogy, if you notice two coins dropped on the ground, one of which is silver and the other bronze, you are likely to want to pick up the silver one first. The metal is a cue to the coin's value and creates an immediate preference. It may turn out that the silver one is actually just a piece of tin foil, but by that time the decision has already been made. Prejudice, whether based on the most trivial of criteria and a quick-fire judgement, or on a longstanding ideological opposition to another group, has the effect of giving all members of that group an inbuilt advantage or disadvantage when it comes to the way they are judged and treated.

In this section we outline key insights from social psychological theories of prejudice, which helps us to understand how societal values, prejudiced attitudes and behaviours such as discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence, are associated. This provides a framework against which we review the rest of the evidence in the report.

Theories of prejudice focus on particular critical elements, each of which can be a target for an intervention approach or technique to reduce or respond to prejudice, discrimination or identity-based harassment and violence. These are:

- how we categorize one another
- the stereotypes and expectations that build up, both as a person's implicit assumptions and as shared social images (for example, representations of women in the media) and discourses (such as narratives about Islamic extremism in political commentary)
- perceptions of intergroup conflict and threat – that is, the way that people view particular groups as being either in a cooperative or a conflictual relationship with each other
- willingness to engage in social contact and the extent of actual social contact between members of different groups
- emotions that people feel towards members of different social groups, and
- norms and social desirability concerns that affect whether people express prejudiced attitudes.

Each of these elements has multiple facets and components. In this section we explain the most relevant features.

Social categorisation

People use social categories all the time in their social interaction. This may be for practical reasons (for example, finding out which public bathroom to use, which church to enter, which playground to play in, which queue to stand in) or social

reasons (which music to listen to, which films to watch, who to socialise with). The fact that people have a clear consensus about how to categorise one another most of the time is a natural and essential feature of human life.

The problem is that while our brains use categorisation to distinguish tables from chairs, the same mechanisms lead us to make assumptions about the similarities and dissimilarities between people. We generally perceive greater similarity than actually exists among people within a category (for example, among 'old people') and greater differences than actually exist between those who belong to different categories (for example, between people categorised as 'old' and 'young'). We routinely make assumptions about people based on which social group they belong to, but these are often inaccurate (for example, an old person may not always think or move slowly, and a young person may not always think or move quickly).

According to social identity theory, people tend to value categories that they feel they belong to (ingroups) more than those to which they do not belong (outgroups) because this gives them a positive identity and sense of who they are. These two elements of categorisation and identity together create a powerful basis for prejudice. It emerges from our tendencies to oversimplify differences between different categories and to overvalue ingroup categories (see Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Hogg and Abrams, 1988; or Abrams, 2015 for further information). Therefore, evidence about how people categorise themselves and others, and how much value they attach to their own and other social categories, can tell us a lot about whether they might be likely to express prejudice. For example, the way people categorise their own sense of national belonging has been shown to influence prejudice towards immigrants (Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown, 2009; Wakefield, Hopkins, Cockburn, Shek, Muirhead, Reicher *et al.*, 2011).

Stereotypes

When people use social categories they also tend to bring to mind stereotypes[8] (widely held, shared beliefs about people based on their group membership) that are linked to the categories. Research shows that we all rely on stereotypes as a shortcut to make rapid and easy judgements about ourselves and others (Schneider, 2004).

Our stereotypical expectations – even such simple inferences as assuming that someone in a police uniform will be able to give directions or that someone behind a shop counter will serve you – help to make life predictable. It is important to say that

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[8] See the Glossary at the end of the report for definitions of some of the terms used throughout.

the implicit knowledge we all depend on is not in itself problematic. Nor do we necessarily act on it. For example, the stereotypes of a 'bimbo' or a 'he-man' are quite easy to imagine. They are well-learned sets of associations that many people can refer to. This does not mean that people always or ever apply these stereotypes when dealing with men and women. Indeed, when challenging prejudices or biases, people may often remark on such stereotypes as ironic examples.

Stereotypes and behaviour

A challenge for maintaining equality and human rights is to ensure that people do not apply stereotypes in ways that create unfair disadvantage for others, that is, discrimination. One reason they do so is that people tend to treat members of outgroups as if they were even more similar to one another than are members of ingroups. So not only are people prone to categorise members of outgroups incorrectly, they are then likely to rely on stereotypes that are even more inaccurate. For example, many Westerners may find it difficult to distinguish visually between Chinese and Japanese Asians, or between Indian, Pakistani and other people who share a skin colour but might have very different cultures, beliefs and practices. Application of a general stereotype guided by a general 'Asian' categorisation is likely to result in errors (for example, an assumption that any person who looks Asian and has a dark skin is likely to be Muslim). A parallel example could be drawn from the way people categorise and stereotype disabilities. These errors then could get in the way of constructive social interaction and exchange.

People use stereotypes to make sense of their own position in comparison with others. This means that people can apply stereotypes to themselves, sometimes with very negative consequences. Imagine a situation in which a man and a woman in a room are asked if one of them could move a heavy box from one place to another. They might both assume that the man would be stronger and therefore should carry the box. In reality, the man might have a weak back and the woman might be strong and fit. Their gender stereotypes lead the man to step in, assuming the woman expects him to lift the box. The result is that the man ends up hurting himself.

Stereotypes permeate the shared language and ideas that are used in everyday conversation and communication. Much of the time people are not aware of this process because the stereotypes are implicit (suggested, not directly expressed) rather than explicit. Implicit or explicit stereotypes can potentially lead to discrimination if they reinforce people's unjustified suspicions, hostility, or avoidance of members of particular groups. For example, based on stereotypes, a non-Muslim

person might mistakenly assume that a high proportion of Muslims are involved in extremism. As a result, in the workplace, they might avoid social interactions with Muslim colleagues. Stereotypes can also reinforce people's tendency to treat particular groups as being highly dependent (for example, older people and people with disabilities). This can then limit the chances those individuals have to behave independently, which turns the stereotype into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Tackling stereotypes

Stereotypes are background assumptions that can affect people's momentary but consequential decisions and judgements, such as whether a person should be hired or offered an opportunity of some sort. Research shows convincingly that stereotypes do have such impacts (see Nelson, 2009). Because stereotypes are often not discussed or mentioned explicitly their effects may be difficult to pinpoint. It may be possible to weaken the 'implicit associations' or well-learned connections people make between particular categories and particular stereotypes. However, if the wider environment continues to reinforce the original stereotypes this strategy is likely only to have short-lived impact. Therefore, researchers have concentrated on the potential for more direct challenges to the use of stereotypes. As people become more aware of stereotypes and equality issues, perhaps via public discussion and debate, it becomes easier for them to recognise and to challenge unwarranted stereotypes.

Stangor (2009) proposes several ways to reduce the likelihood that people's behaviour will be guided by stereotypes. One is to find ways for people to see that those belonging to a group are different and diverse. Another is to increase the amount of friendly contact between members of different groups. A third is to persuade people that their beliefs or stereotypes are out of step with those held by others. Other approaches include highlighting the moral inconsistencies that follow when people apply their stereotypes in ways that favour some groups over others. However, Stangor suggests that the approach most likely to be successful is to change the way people categorise one another in the first place.

Because stereotypes are complex and can be applied in different ways, it is important that research is sensitive this. First, it is useful to know how widely shared the stereotypes are. Are they shared by all groups or do different groups view them differently? Second, we need to understand the specific details of the stereotypes. Is the stereotype of a particular group largely composed of positive or of negative features, or a mixture of both? (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu, 2002). Third, how do people use these stereotypes? Do they use them to justify forms of prejudice and

discrimination? For example, an employer may use the 'rule of thumb' that a degree from Oxford or Cambridge is 'better' than an equivalent qualification from a different university in GB to justify only recruiting from those two universities. Such strategies effectively prohibit access to employment for, and thus discriminate against, the large numbers of students who graduate from other universities. Fourth, we need to attend to the ways that groups may be directly affected by other people's expectations that they will conform to a stereotype. This is a phenomenon known as stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). There is good experimental evidence that stereotype threat can cause women, some ethnic minorities, and older people to underperform in tests of educational and other types of ability (see Lamont, Swift and Abrams, 2015).

There is also a lot of evidence from social psychology that some individuals are more likely to hold extreme stereotypes or to express more prejudice than others (for example, Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). However, it is still possible to challenge or disrupt the prejudices of these individuals (Hodson, 2011). Moreover, despite the natural but sometimes negative consequences of categorisation and stereotyping, there is strong potential to create positive consequences too. As UK society becomes increasingly diverse we have opportunities to reduce prejudice by focusing people's attention on 'multiple categorisation', the awareness that individuals simultaneously belong to many different categories. The stereotypes of these different categories may be inconsistent or contrasting, which can reduce the chance, or ease with which a single negative stereotype will influence people's behaviour.

Perceived threat

One way that people justify prejudice or discrimination is by arguing that a particular outgroup poses some kind of threat to the dominant group in society. Stephan and Stephan's (2000) 'integrated threat' theory proposes that threat can be viewed in different forms, each of which can have different implications for prejudice. Along with stereotypes and anxiety about intergroup interaction, people may perceive three types of threat: realistic (a sense of threat to the safety, security or health of ingroup members); symbolic (a sense that the ingroup's values, culture or way of life is vulnerable); and economic (for example, that outgroup members may take jobs or property from ingroup members). For an overview of perceived threat and hate crime, see Walters, Brown and Wiedlitzka (2016).

By understanding what types of threat people feel from particular groups, we can make reasonable inferences about the ways they might express prejudice or engage

in discrimination. For example, following the London 7/7 bombings, non-Muslims perceived higher levels of cultural and realistic threat from Muslims, whereas their perceptions of economic threat were not affected (Van de Vyver, Houston, Abrams and Vasiljevic, 2015). Although there is strong evidence of a link between perceived threat and prejudice generally (Pettigrew, Wagner, and Christ, 2010), we did not encounter any evidence testing whether, within GB, legislative changes that reduce threat also result in reduced prejudice.

Social distance and intergroup contact

A well-established approach to measuring prejudice is to ask people how comfortable they would be with varying degrees of closeness to members of other groups, which is referred to as 'social distance' (Bogardus, 1933). Social distance can be asked about directly, for example, BSAS (2009) asked: 'How do you think you would (feel/have felt) if a person with a sensory impairment, such as being partially or fully blind or partially or fully deaf, (was/had been) appointed as your boss (when you were working)?' It can also be asked more indirectly, for example the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) (2006) and (2010) asked: 'How would you feel if a close relative formed a long-term relationship with a Black or Asian person?'.

Social distance accesses the emotional underpinnings of prejudice, such as the sense of disdain, disgust or contempt towards (members of) a group. It also reflects the likelihood that someone will show discriminatory behaviour because it captures the limits of someone's tolerance for physical and social closeness with members of an outgroup. However, people's expressions of social distance also reflect an array of other influences, some of which may be difficult to disentangle. These might include social desirability and social norms, cultural or religious rules, their feelings of uncertainty about particular groups or other influences that are not necessarily to do with prejudice. Nonetheless, expressions of social distance are generally a useful barometer of the potential for intergroup cohesion and of the strength of the social boundaries that divide groups.

The reverse side of social distance is intergroup contact. Backed by substantial evidence, intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2013) has made a convincing case that if contact between members of different groups is sufficiently close and positive (not just frequent), it helps to reduce prejudice between members of those groups. Friendships between members of different groups are an example of such 'high quality' contact. Contact is more likely to foster positive attitudes towards members of an outgroup as a whole if the contact occurs under a number of optimal conditions, including similarity between people (for example, both

individuals share a particular interest), common goals (they want to achieve the same thing), institutional support for the contact to happen (from laws, rules, and figures in authority) and equal status (neither is subordinate to the other). Unfortunately, in real life these optimal conditions for contact rarely exist all at once. Of course, frequent unpleasant contact will not promote harmony and even a single significant instance of negative contact (such as being subjected to verbal abuse by an outgroup member) can promote prejudice unless it is offset by a history of positive experiences (Paolini *et al.*, 2014).

Contact is not itself a measure of prejudice because it is unlikely to be completely within the control of individuals. However, research into contact clearly shows that it can be used as a lever to reduce prejudiced attitudes (Wagner and Hewstone, 2012). When there are few opportunities for direct intergroup contact (such as in cities or regions with a high degree of ethnic segregation or an ethnically homogeneous population), other approaches such as indirect, extended and even imagined forms of contact can be useful in creating a pathway to subsequent direct contact, which in turn can promote more favourable intergroup attitudes. This review cannot provide an extensive discussion of different types of contact or how long the effects of contact can last (Abrams and Eller, in press), but the evidence is clear that intergroup contact is an important and viable lever for preventing and reducing prejudice (see Vezzali and Stathi, in press) for groups who may not commonly interact with one another.[9]

Recently, researchers have been examining factors that affect whether people are willing to show positive behaviour, not just avoid negative behaviour, towards members of outgroups (a phenomenon termed 'allophilia' – see Pittinsky and Montoya, 2009). In particular, there is growing interest in why and when we are willing to help and act prosocially towards outgroup members. These issues have not been addressed extensively in national level survey research but are being studied in smaller studies or experiments (see also Abbott and Cameron, 2014; Broadwood *et al.*, 2012; Stürmer and Snyder, 2009; Van de Vyver and Abrams, 2015b). The emerging evidence suggests that there are multiple ways to promote prosocial intergroup behaviour, and the most promising techniques focus on building empathy, shared concern and common identity across the group boundaries. These approaches can also be part of general strategies to prevent prejudice (rather than challenge existing prejudice). An example of this in practice is the KiVA bullying

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[9] However, it is important to note that this may not always be effective. For sex discrimination, for example, where there are high levels of prejudice and contact, but differentiation of roles leads to discrimination.

prevention intervention, which originated in schools in Finland and has been trialled in schools in Wales. This includes promoting social skills and friendship skills (Hutchings and Clarkson, 2015).

Values

Given that values can provide an overarching justification for the treatment of particular groups, an analysis of prejudice that ignores values and instead focuses only on specific attitudes or behaviour risks missing a crucial part of the psychological context. Prejudice, measured in terms of disdain, disrespect or perhaps hatred, is often fuelled by a perception that an outgroup (a group that one's own is compared with) holds values that are contemptible or even disgusting. Taken to an extreme, when people demand 'regime change', or when they engage in acts of genocide, or when a set of governments imposes international economic sanctions on other countries, the actions typically reflect contests about which sets of values should prevail.

Values express what is important to people in their lives, such as equality, social justice, social power, achievement, respect for tradition and pleasure. People's values guide their attitudes and behaviour (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003). These behaviours range from consumer purchases, to cooperation and competition, to intergroup social contact, occupational choice, religiosity and voting (see the review in Schwartz and Bardi, 2001). People regard some values as closer to 'morals' and fundamental principles, such as 'fairness'. Other values are viewed more as priorities or choices. Different groups may prioritise different values.

Measuring and comparing the priority that people place on particular values in how they deal with other groups can provide important insight into why particular groups may be the targets or sources of hostility and prejudice. As an example, national survey data show that people in Britain apply the value of 'equality' quite unevenly -- the same person can readily espouse greater equality for older people while arguing that there is too much equality for Muslims. This is referred to as 'equality hypocrisy' (Abrams, Houston, Van de Vyver and Vasiljevic, 2015). Values are hard to change, but it is possible to use the fact that people are inconsistent in the way they apply values to change behaviour and, therefore, values are a potential avenue for interventions to reduce prejudice (see Levy, 1999).

Emotional and evaluative judgements

A common approach to measuring prejudice has been to use a 'feeling thermometer' or its equivalent. Based on the idea that prejudice is an emotional response,

respondents are asked how warm or cold they feel towards particular groups. This type of question is particularly useful for establishing the comparative value that people attach to different groups (for example, they might feel warmer towards Swedish immigrants than Bulgarian immigrants). However, such questions also tend to produce a misleading impression that there is no, or minimal prejudice, towards some groups. Therefore, more recent approaches to understanding the links between stereotypes, emotions and prejudice have differentiated between groups that are stereotyped as hostile and those that are likely to be stereotyped in paternalistic ways. The latter are often rated positive, using terms such as 'warm' or 'friendly', but these perceptions are accompanied by views that the group is incompetent or helpless (Fiske, 2015). Another drawback of feeling thermometers is that their explicit format also means that it is relatively easy for people to conceal prejudices if they think others might disapprove; an effect of social desirability concerns.

Social desirability concerns

The pressures that people feel to express socially acceptable attitudes can play an important role in why prejudice and discrimination occur, and whether it is likely to be feasible to introduce sanctions, rules or legislation to prevent discrimination.

Various social and psychological pressures affect whether or not people will express prejudice. The first is people's concern with how they appear to others – their wish to express 'socially desirable' views. The second is their personal stance on whether they want to avoid being prejudiced.

Various surveys and studies include checks on social desirability, allowing this concern to be taken into account when interpreting the results. However, this approach begs the question of why people believe certain answers might invite greater approval and whose approval it is that matters to them.

A more indirect way to get past social desirability is to focus instead on the social norms themselves. This can be done by asking people to say what they believe most others would think, say or do in a certain situation (see Fiske *et al.*, 2002). However, as we noted in the discussion of stereotypes, people's awareness of norms and stereotypes does not necessarily imply that they agree with them.

A different approach separates out different sources of people's motivation to be or not to be prejudiced. Plant and Devine (1988) proposed two different reasons why people may be motivated (or not) to avoid being prejudiced. One is their personal belief that it is right to be unprejudiced; the other is their social concern to avoid the

possibility that others will view them as being a prejudiced person. This approach has mostly been used in research on racial prejudice in North America, but it can be applied at a more general level to prejudice towards people with and who share other protected characteristics. People's inhibitions about expressing prejudice are likely to drop rapidly when they find themselves in a situation of direct intergroup conflict (for example, supporters of rival football teams may feel little regret in showing hostility towards one another during a match). Both types of motivation (personal and social) could offer useful avenues to preventing people from expressing prejudices. Changing or influencing social norms through, for example, media images or campaigns that show a counter narrative may help to change people's sense of what it is acceptable to think or say about other groups. However, research has yet to test whether campaigns that focus on one context (such as racism in football) may have wider impact across different contexts and prejudices against other groups (see Pettigrew and Tropp, 2013).

3.3   Theory-based implications for intervention

There are many ways to try to reduce prejudice and prevent discrimination. We define an 'intervention' as being the implementation of an action, strategy, or process that changes the likelihood of a particular outcome. This review does not assess the efficacy of techniques that prevent or limit discriminatory behaviour without necessarily affecting attitudes (an example of this may be 'blind' recruitment processes), because our focus is on the underlying sources of prejudice that underpin discrimination.

We are interested in interventions that can disrupt the social and psychological elements that give rise to prejudice. These can be national or local policy levers or they can be small-scale activities that operate at the level of a particular community, group or organisation. A prerequisite for selecting which type of intervention to use is to characterise the context in which the intervention needs to occur. For example, hate crimes usually occur in different kinds of settings and psychological contexts from incidences of employment discrimination (see Walters, Brown and Wiedlitzka (2016)). 'Psychological context' here refers to the particular situation and the existing balance of prejudice and good relations, which will affect the way people categorise one another and their sense of shared identity.

Distinguishing between good relations and prejudice

It is useful to consider two key elements of social relations that can affect unlawful discrimination and the links between values, attitudes and discriminatory behaviour. One element is the presence or absence of 'good relations', or cohesive, tolerant communities. The other element is the presence of prejudice – generally marked by a sense of conflict, competition or resentment between groups (see Abrams, 2010). These two elements are not just opposites of one another. The very same individuals may express wholly positive behaviour towards one group but antisocial or discriminatory behaviour towards another group. Different combinations of good relations and prejudice create different potential for discrimination, and therefore call for different approaches to intervention.

Some situations can be characterised as involving **benign indifference** because people feel largely disconnected from one another and simply get on with their own lives without much regard for others. There are neither good relations nor prejudice. Here the challenge may be to raise people's awareness of the needs of others to ensure that particular groups are not systematically disadvantaged or neglected by default. The policy objective may therefore be to improve social engagement and inclusion, motivating a prosocial orientation towards others, rather than to focus on tackling prejudice. An example of an intervention at the level of categorisation might be to find ways to enable people to perceive themselves as sharing a community (see work such as that by Broadwood *et al.*, 2012).

If good relations are low and prejudice is high, the situation can be described as one of **malign antipathy***.* In this situation there is widespread social distrust, a fragmented community in which individuals are discontented, disengaged from and hostile to internal and external rivals or threats. In this situation, those who are perpetrating discriminatory behaviour are likely to be victims of discrimination themselves. The challenge is both to establish a sense of positively valued community and to diminish perceptions of threat between groups. Tackling one element without the other is unlikely to succeed. As an example, attempts to broker peace between groups that have had historic conflicts cannot succeed by changing attitudes alone. There also needs to be an effort to reduce the actual conflicts of interests and to promote the awareness of shared values that can provide a context for favourable intergroup contact.

A more ideal situation is one in which there are good relations and low levels of prejudice – a state of **harmonious cohesion**. This might describe a cohesive, tolerant and engaged community that is open to differences and new members. In this situation the intervention strategies would be designed to maintain rather than

change relationships. The goal would be to ensure that the 'social bricks and mortar' that sustain the relationships are well maintained. The risks are that changes (for example, in planning, development or schools) might bring unforeseen losses in crucial infrastructure. Enlarging a road, moving a school or closing a pub might also mean a loss of places and times when contact between members of different groups will occur, or may disrupt shared activities that prevent the potential for simple 'us' vs 'them' perceptions.

The most dangerous situation is one in which there are good relations but this is accompanied by high levels of prejudice. These situations, which can be described as a case of **rivalrous cohesion**, arise most commonly when there is a direct conflict or competition between groups. Rivalrous cohesion produces camaraderie, commitment and engagement within a group or community because of its shared sense of threat, contempt or competition with rival or subordinate groups. Rivalrous cohesion is a powerful and often hidden force. It can be manifested as explicitly as a hate crime, but also through more apparently innocuous forms. As an example, people are more willing to donate to charities that include or refer to members of groups they belong to than those they do not (Abrams and Houston, 2006; Zagefka and James, 2015) and are more willing to go to the assistance of supporters of their own football team than a rival football team (Levine, Prosser, Evans and Reicher, 2005).

Rivalrous cohesion is very attractive for some groups – it is very reinforcing to feel that group members will sacrifice their needs for one another. This situation may provide a convenient basis for mobilising political support. It is likely intensified by a shared sense of threat or injustice, and when people feel able to disregard multiple categories and differences within groups. Preventing friendly or limited rivalry from escalating to intergroup hate requires continual attention to many of the elements of prejudice in a coordinated effort. An example of work that has directly addressed situations of rivalrous cohesion is the changes in the way that football clubs and police work together to prevent violent clashes involving rival fans (Stott, Hutchison and Drury, 2001; Stott and Pearson, 2007).

Routes for intervention

There is no best solution or single method for tackling prejudice. The diverse nature of prejudice identified in this review suggests that using a variety of different coordinated approaches at different points in the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is most effective. Specific kinds of interventions might also be required for hate crime, as opposed to sex discrimination.

We can identify different points at which it should be possible to introduce interventions to reduce or prevent individuals' likelihood of feeling and expressing prejudice (see Abrams, 2010). These are shown in Figure 3.1. The ways that these points can be accessed will depend on the context of the behaviour and the levers available. The challenge is for local, regional and national governments, for organisations, and for other types of social groups and networks to select those points for intervention that are most practical. The more that these different groups and structures can coordinate their approaches to intervention to address prejudice, the more likely it is that there will be a successful outcome (see Abrams and Christian, 2007).

In Figure 3.1, 'Context' refers to the particular situation and the existing balance of prejudice and good relations that will affect the way people categorise one another and their sense of shared identity. Solid lines show the cascade of influences starting with categorisation and ending with discriminatory behaviour. We assume that such behaviour also feeds back to affect the context. Double-headed dashed lines reflect elements that affect one another in this way.

The dotted lines suggest points for different types of intervention. First of all, it is possible to challenge the relevance of a person's protected characteristic within a context by introducing additional or alternative categories for that person. This can make it less likely that people will become aware of problematic stereotypes in the first place, as well as changing their sense of shared identity or of having categories in common. Even if such stereotypes exist in public awareness, it is still possible to introduce new knowledge and images of a social group that can help to disrupt or change the stereotype content or emotions that follow from the categorisation. Even if people do believe or agree with some of these stereotypes, by focusing on particular social values, such as fairness and equality, it may be possible to motivate people to challenge their own prejudices and to avoid acting on the basis of stereotypes. Finally, it is possible that invoking social norms (and/or enforcing rules and laws) that prohibit expressions of prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour could be effective in preventing prejudice from translating into discrimination.

How or where the interventions are implemented can also involve a variety of approaches. For example, an intervention could concentrate on people's own personal motivation and values, or on changing the values they think are central to their ingroups. Another approach is to create opportunities for social contact between members of groups that expose share objectives, values and perspectives, as well as enabling people to feel comfortable with important differences.

This section has explored the relationship between prejudiced attitudes and unlawful behaviours, and the most effective points to disrupt this relationship using intervention approaches based on the evidence reviewed (see Figure 3.1 below). In the following chapters, based on each protected characteristic, we describe specific intervention approaches that have been identified through the course of this review and assess what we can learn about 'what works'.

Figure 3.1 **Connections between elements of prejudice and points at which different interventions could be introduced**
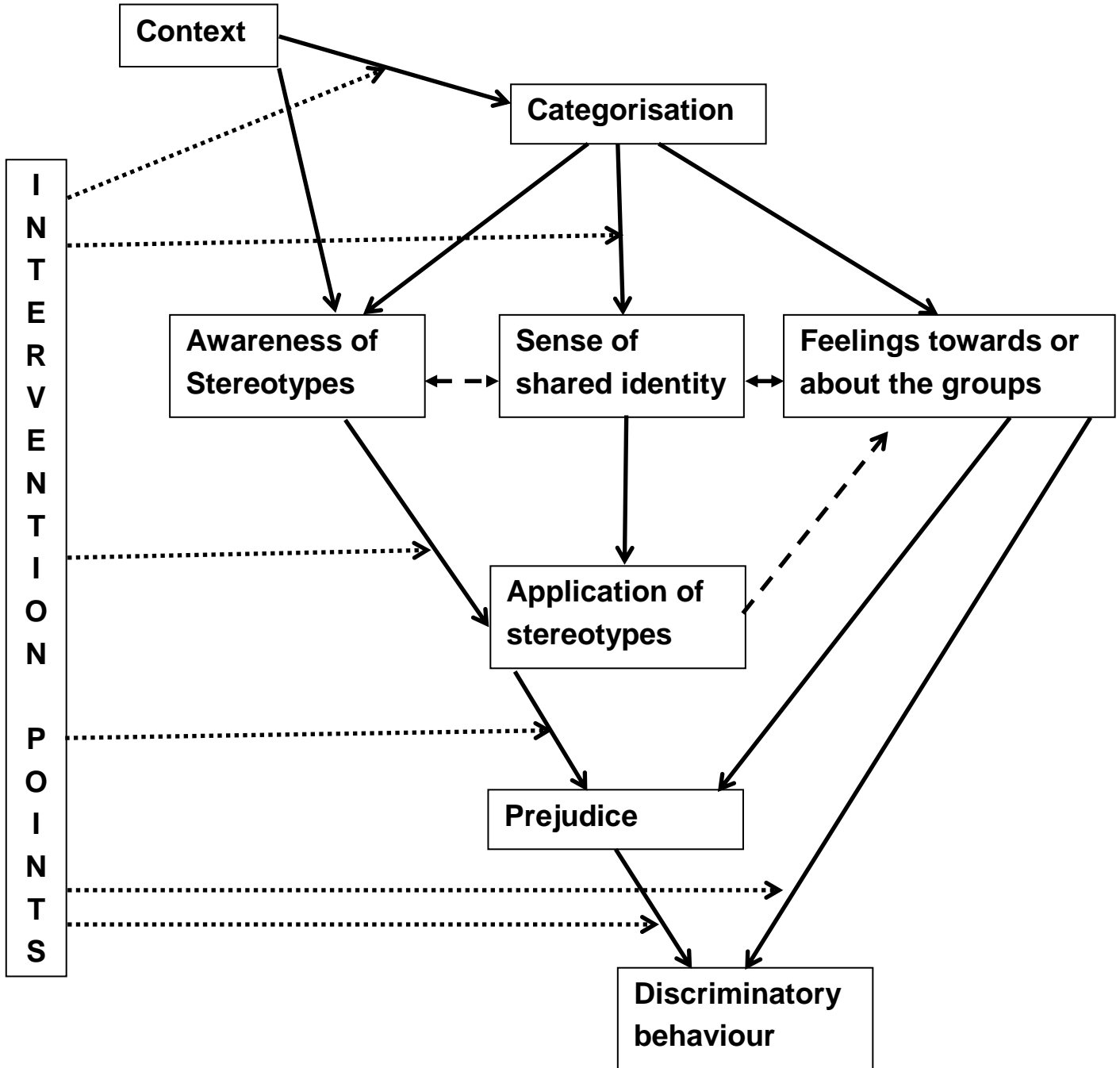
4 |
Disability

Chapter 3 outlined elements of prejudice from social research that help us understand the link between prejudiced attitudes and unlawful discrimination, harassment and identity-based violence. We refer to these elements throughout the following chapters to guide the review of evidence relating to each of the nine protected characteristics. This chapter reviews research from disability prejudice and discrimination in Britain conducted within the last 10 years (2005-15) and explores the link between attitudes and behaviours.

A person is disabled under the Equality Act 2010 if they have a physical or mental impairment that has a 'substantial' and 'long-term' negative effect on their ability to perform normal daily activities. 'Substantial' is defined as more than minor or trivial, and 'long-term' is defined as 12 months or more.

4.1 Summary

The social context of disability discrimination is predominantly one of structural effects combined with indifference rather than conflict between groups. However, an inquiry by the Commission (2011) highlighted the (sometimes systematic) harassment experienced by disabled people. Evidence on prejudiced attitudes towards disability encompasses both physical disability and mental health issues, but evidence about experiences of discrimination is only available for physical disability, primarily in the contexts of education and employment, and does not distinguish experiences by type of disability. This is problematic because there is evidence that non-disabled people hold more negative views (prejudices) towards people with mental health conditions and feel less comfortable interacting with them than they do with people with physical or sensory disabilities.

Measures of disability prejudice have focused largely on disability as a general/umbrella concept. There is a lack of evidence on how people's attitudes towards disability differ by disability type, and there is a mismatch between people's expressions of prejudice (low) and their perceptions that disability prejudice is a

significant problem (quite high). This is partly explained by its subtle nature – it is usually (but not always) patronising rather than hostile. Measures of social distance also show that there are barriers to social inclusion, especially for people with mental health problems because they are particularly likely to be stigmatised. Disabled people see discrimination as reflecting a lack of understanding of their needs.

Hate crime data show that reports of disability-motivated hate crimes have increased. Disabled people themselves perceive those with visible disability to be more likely targets of hate crimes, and fear of hate crimes can lead to social withdrawal and isolation.

There are also important intersectional aspects of disability that are relevant to particular groups, such as the experiences of ethnic minorities or older people.

None of the papers identified through the systematic review explicitly explored the link between prejudiced attitudes towards disabled people and their experiences of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence. However, the review did find interventions that have focused on social contact and which seem to have been effective. Approaches have included media campaigns, education, and intergroup contact, although the quality of the evaluations of these interventions is less than ideal.

This chapter summarises evidence that reveals the nature of prejudice towards people with a disability and disabled people's experiences of discrimination. It also outlines 12 interventions that were designed to reduce prejudice towards disabled people. The majority of this evidence on intervention approaches was gathered from non-academic literature.

4.2 Expressions of prejudiced attitudes

Research into prejudiced attitudes towards disabled people have largely involved measures of stereotypes, emotions and social distance, with little or none on social categorisation, perceived threat, values, or social desirability.

 A series of research projects commissioned by Scope showed that negative orientations towards disabled people actually remain quite prominent in Britain (Aiden and McCarthy, 2014). A substantial proportion (38 per cent) of respondents reported believing that disabled people are less productive and 13 per cent viewed them as 'getting in the way' some or most of the time. The majority of respondents thought that disabled people needed to be cared for (76 per cent), supporting the

notion that prejudiced attitudes are based on benevolent or patronising stereotypes of disabled people. Only 33 per cent of respondents said that they would feel comfortable talking to a disabled person and many worried that they might say the wrong thing or patronise the person. In particular, young respondents (ages 18-34) reported avoiding talking to a disabled person because they were unsure how to communicate with them.

Values

When people are asked to think about equality, they are likely to consider the needs of people with disabilities positively. For example, Abrams and Houston (2006) found from their representative survey across Great Britain (GB) that 83 per cent of respondents considered disabled people's rights important.

Social categorisation

We found no research on how people's social categorisation of disability, or different types of disability, affects prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour towards this protected characteristic. We would assert that social categorisation of disability is a key factor in decisions about people's rights to benefits. Evidence on the number of cases and appeals in which decisions on entitlement to benefits are contested could form an indirect index of the extent to which people with disabilities perceive that they are classified incorrectly as not disabled and treated unfairly as a consequence.

Stereotypes and threat

Stereotypes of disabled people tend to be similar in content to those of older people aged 70 and over. That is, they often stereotyped as being warm and friendly but as lacking competence, and as being unsuccessful but receiving special treatment (for example, from Government or employers) that may disadvantage others. This means that the intergroup threat posed by disabled people is very specific. Abrams and Houston (2006) found that 35 per cent of respondents perceived disabled people as posing an economic threat (or burden), whereas only two per cent perceived that they posed a cultural threat and four per cent a physical threat.

Social distance and intergroup contact

On overt measures of prejudiced attitudes, 90 per cent of respondents in Abrams and Houston's (2006) survey reported that they felt no prejudices at all towards

people with disabilities. However, on more subtle measures, such as social distance, the picture was more mixed (though still more positive than for other groups). The majority of respondents reported that they would feel comfortable having a disabled person being an in-law (64 per cent), boss (70 per cent) or neighbour (71 per cent). Similarly, evidence from Wales indicated that only 11 per cent of respondents said they would be unhappy if a relative formed a long-term relationship with someone who had a learning disability, lower than for most other groups measured (EHRC Wales, 2008). In the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) 2006, 45 per cent of respondents reported that they would be comfortable if a relative formed a long-term relationship with someone who had a learning disability and 16 per cent reported being unhappy about it. Different surveys ask these questions in slightly different ways, but the overall picture suggests that although attitudes towards disabled people are generally positive, between 10 per cent and 35 per cent of people express unease about social closeness with disabled people.

The picture of attitudes is different if we look at physical disability and mental health conditions separately. Attitudes towards mental health are less positive than towards physical disability. For example, in Scotland, although measured in different years, it seems that a higher proportion are unhappy with the idea of a long-term relationship with someone who experiences depression (21 per cent in SSAS 2010) than someone with a learning disability (16 per cent in SSAS 2006) (Bromley, Curtice and Given, 2006; Ormston *et al.*, 2011). In addition, whereas 93 per cent of people thought it a good use of government money to provide information in easy-to-read formats for those with learning disabilities, only 74 per cent thought that it was a good use of government money to help people who experience depression find work (Ormiston *et al.*, 2011). This suggests a marked difference in attitudes towards people with different types of disability and that different groups may suffer different levels and forms of discrimination.

The British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS) 2009 included a module specifically focused on attitudes towards disability. Research commissioned by Scope (Aiden and McCarthy, 2014) asked similar questions. Respondents were asked how comfortable they would feel about a person with a physical disability, sensory impairment, learning disability or mental health condition being part of a club or team they used, as a neighbour, in class with their child (or a close relative's child), as a relative or friend's spouse, as their boss, and as a local MP. The majority of respondents were very or fairly comfortable with someone who has a physical disability or sensory impairment in all of the situations. However, the proportion of respondents comfortable with someone with a mental health condition across all situations was lower than for other types of disability. Attitudes were more negative

when the disabled person held a position of authority (Aiden and McCarthy, 2014; Staniland, 2009).

Research has shown that undergraduate students in England who had more intergroup contact with a disabled person (for example, via family, friends, or work) held significantly more positive attitudes towards disabled people (Stachura and Garven, 2007).

Emotions

The ambivalent stereotypes of and sense of social distance from disabled people in general are also reflected by emotional responses to disability, which involve a mixture of pity and admiration (Abrams and Houston, 2006). This pattern can be summarised as matching the profile of groups that tend to be paternalised by others (Abrams, Houston, Van de Vyver, and Vasiljevic, 2015).

Social desirability and norms

Disability prejudice tends to be viewed as socially unacceptable but at the same time as quite widespread. For example, only three per cent of Abrams and Houston's (2006) respondents said that they did not mind coming across as prejudiced towards disabled people and nearly 80 per cent of respondents to the BSAS 2009 reported that they thought most people would be fairly or very uncomfortable if someone said negative things about disabled people across four different types of situation. Yet, in line with other findings from Abrams and Houston (2006) and from the SSAS, the BSAS 2009 showed that 79 per cent of respondents thought that a little or a lot of prejudice existed towards disabled people[10] (Staniland, 2009).

These contrasting perceptions of prejudice and direct expressions of prejudice may be due to differences in the way the same acts, such as more subtle and patronising forms of prejudice and discrimination, are perceived by perpetrators and victims.

Mental health awareness and understanding

As discussed earlier in this chapter, mental health conditions are particularly likely to be viewed negatively. This section focuses on examples of evidence that shed light on why this happens.

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[10] This was a slight increase from 75 per cent in 2005, forming a stable trend across time from when the question was first included in 1998.

Rose, Thornicroft, Pinfold and Kassam (2007) report a study in which four hundred 14-year-old students in England were asked to write down any words, terms or phrases they would use to describe someone who has a mental health condition. The 44 most frequent words were categorised, with three-quarters grouped as having strong negative connotations and only nine per cent having an empathic or compassionate connotation. The most terms to emerge were derogatory, such as 'psycho' and 'loony'. Second were negative emotional state words such as 'disturbed' and 'depression'. No positive emotional states were mentioned and the inclusion of some words relating to physical disability suggests confusion with other aspects of disability. Over half of the students in this study reported that they personally knew someone with a mental health condition. This suggests that awareness of mental health conditions and contact with someone who experiences one did not decrease the negativity of the words used (Rose *et al.*, 2007).

Williams and Pow (2007) examined the attitudes of 496 pupils aged 15-16 years at three Scottish schools and found that boys held more negative attitudes than girls. They were also less likely to want to know more about mental health conditions and twice as likely to believe they already knew enough. Almost a quarter of both male and female students (22 per cent) believed that they had experienced a mental health condition themselves. Almost all of the students (91 per cent) agreed that anyone could have a mental health condition and 80 per cent disagreed that people with mental health conditions were largely to blame for their own condition. Despite these relatively positive attitudes, 44 per cent indicated that they would not want other people to know if they had a mental health condition, reflecting the stigma associated with this type of disability.

Reid, Hinchliffe and Waterton (2014) observed a similar lack of awareness among adults in Scotland. A relatively small proportion of respondents (26 per cent) said they personally had experienced a mental health condition at some point in their lifetime. However, when asked whether a doctor or health professional had ever told them they had any of 15 specific mental health conditions, 32 per cent identified themselves as having at least one, suggesting a low awareness and understanding of what constitutes a mental health condition.

Fear of stigmatisation is clearly an important issue for this type of disability. Time to Change have been developing an initiative to challenge negative attitudes towards mental health conditions, part of which included surveys of 3,038 mental health service users and 661 carers (Corry, 2008). Both service users and carers reported that similar areas of their lives were affected by fear of or perceived stigma and discrimination. This was mostly in relation to employment, friendships and activities.

A substantial proportion of carers felt that caring for someone with a mental health condition meant they had been treated differently (43 per cent), that they had been stopped from doing something they wanted to do (53 per cent), or that fear had prevented them doing something they wanted to do (41 per cent), such as going on holiday with the person they cared for. Ethnic minority carers and those with their own disabilities reported higher levels of stigma and discrimination. As with other protected characteristics (such as gender reassignment) the fear of stigma can sometimes be as problematic as actual experiences of discrimination (Corry, 2008). However, for some groups these experiences can be particularly extreme. Stigmatisation is also a significant issue in the case of attitudes to (generally older) people with dementia, as discussed in the section on intersectionality later in this chapter.

4.3 Experiences of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence

Research into the experiences of discrimination among disabled people has largely focused on structural inequality and difficult face-to-face encounters with non-disabled people. There is also evidence of experiences of identity-based harassment and violence from the National Union of Students (NUS) (2013a) survey of disability hate crime on university campuses (and from government statistics on police-recorded hate crimes in England/Wales and Scotland.

Abrams and Houston (2006) reported that 15 per cent of respondents in a representative survey across GB reported experiencing discrimination on the grounds of a disability. Most experiences of discrimination among disabled people seem to revolve around misconceptions or a lack of understanding by others who do not believe they are disabled. Other types are described as patronising, or take the form of refusals to make adjustments in public places to accommodate the needs of people with disabilities. A lack of understanding of individuals' needs seem particularly evident for those with mental health conditions, learning disabilities and memory impairments (Aiden and McCarthy, 2014). A survey by Scope (2014) revealed that some disabled people had noticed other people being awkward when interacting with them. In addition, front-line staff from local authorities reported that disabled victims often lacked access to advocacy and consequently did not receive necessary support in dealing with and reporting discrimination and hate crime (Hoong-Sin, Hedges, Cook, Mguni and Comber, 2011). This is supported by the

Commission's (2011) 'Hidden in Plain Sight' inquiry into disability-related harassment.

Interviews with disabled people have revealed that, when faced with verbal abuse, they believe that ignoring the perpetrator was the best form of action, as this would help to minimise the risk of further attack. Arguably, such responses normalise discriminatory behaviour and allow perpetrators to go unpunished and unchallenged. This is supported by evidence from the Commission's (2011) report, 'Hidden in Plain Sight', which identified disabled people's fear that their reports would not be taken seriously by authorities as a cause of underreporting of incidents. In common with those who experience racial and religious discrimination, harassment and violence (detailed in later chapters), disabled people reported changing their routines, or planning in advance before going out, to avoid risky situations. For many, this led to social withdrawal and isolation (Hoong Sin, Hedges, Cook, Mguni, and Comber, 2011).

Hate crime

A Home Office report revealed that five per cent of hate crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales in 2014/15 were motivated by the victim's perceived disability. This represents a 25 per cent increase from 2013/14, although this may in part be due to improvements in police recording practices, rather than an increase in incidents. This increase is consistent with findings from the Commission's (2015) 'Is Britain Fairer?' report. The Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), reflecting self-reported experiences of crime, showed that after race, disability was the most common motivating factor for hate crimes (Corcoran, Lader, and Smith, 2015).

In Scotland, the number of disability hate crimes reported to the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service (COPFS) by the police and other reporting agencies rose between 2010/11 and 2013/14 (EHRC, 2015; 2013).[11]

The NUS (2013a) survey of over 9,000 students across GB investigated hate speech related to disability, race, religion, and sexual orientation. Students with visible disabilities were the most likely to report fear of being subject to abuse which led to altered patterns of behaviour to avoid situations perceived as risky. Students with more apparent disabilities were more likely to report social withdrawal or deliberately

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[11] As of 2016, disability hate crimes (crimes reported with an aggravation of prejudice relating to disability) were the second lowest reported only to those relating to transgender identity. COPFS and Police Scotland recognise that this crime continues to be underreported (COPFS, 2016).

not using aids or equipment, or even placing themselves in danger of harm. Disabled students were more likely to be repeatedly victimised.

Twenty-one per cent of disability hate incidents had been reported to an official at the relevant university, but only 12 per cent were reported to police. Similarly to other hate incidents, the most common reasons for this were thinking that the incident was not serious enough and believing that the police could not do anything about it. A substantial proportion of disabled students (27 per cent) reported that hate incidents had impacted their mental health and their studies (NUS, 2013a).

4.4   Settings

The contexts that emerged as being commonly associated with disability discrimination were employment and education.

Employment

A higher proportion of disabled people than non-disabled people reported feeling discriminated against in the workplace. In 2013, research showed that 15 per cent of disabled people (compared to seven per cent of non-disabled people) in GB felt that discrimination was the reason they had been turned down for a job (Coleman, Sykes and Groom, 2013; Communities and Local Government, 2009). The Fair Treatment at Work Survey for the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (Fevre, Nichols, Prior and Rutherford, 2008) showed that compared to non-disabled people, disabled employees across GB were significantly more likely to experience unfair treatment, discrimination, bullying and harassment. In addition, disabled employees reported significantly more instances of having been insulted or offended, treated in a disrespectful or rude way, humiliated or ridiculed, and subjected to physical violence than non-disabled people. More than half of disabled people (53 per cent) reported that they thought the reason behind such treatment was the prejudiced attitudes of others (Coleman *et al.*, 2013).

Interviews with 38 disabled people in paid and voluntary employment in England (Newton, Ormerod and Thomas, 2007) highlighted that physical environment is often the greatest barrier to finding or maintaining employment. None of the interviewees reported 100 per cent accessibility in the workplace and many recalled incidents in which accessibility had been an obstacle. Coleman *et al.* (2013) found, across different studies at different time points, that employer views were generally inflexible in adapting to the needs of disabled workers, sometimes a result of disparity

between legislation and business needs. Employers reported reluctance to employ a disabled person in case the person may require time off at short notice, or that someone with a mental health conditions might behave unpredictably. Some also mentioned difficulties in keeping up with changes to terminology and legislation around employing disabled people and feared that choices not to employ someone would be labelled discriminatory.

People seem to be aware of pressure from non-prejudicial norms at work. The BSAS 2009 asked how comfortable respondents thought most people would feel if somebody referred to a disabled person in a negative way in front of their boss or a colleague. It found that 79 per cent were uncomfortable if in front of a colleague and 81 per cent if in front of a boss (Coleman *et al.*, 2013). However, there is also evidence of negative stereotypes about disability in the workplace. BSAS data revealed that 22 per cent of respondents thought that people with disabilities would be less effective at work than those without disabilities. Highlighting the possibly normative, rather than personal, basis for such views, 90 per cent of respondents said they would not mind personally if a suitably qualified disabled person was appointed as their boss, but only 77 per cent believed that their colleagues would not mind (Coleman *et al.*, 2013). This may also reflect social desirability concerns not to appear prejudiced in the workplace.

Education

Beckett and Buckner (2012) found that few English state-funded primary schools surveyed (38 per cent) had a disability equality scheme in place and fewer still (30 per cent) included a plan to promote positive attitudes towards disabled people. However, more than half felt that they could do more to promote such attitudes (57 per cent). This could be explained by schools' prioritisation of issues. For example, 56 per cent of schools reported prioritising race equality over gender or disability equality. This was more pronounced in schools with a high proportion of students from ethnic minority groups. Yet even schools with high proportions of students with special educational needs (SEN) were not more likely to prioritise disability equality. Time to Change found that parents also tended to prioritise dealing with discriminatory language regarding race, gender or sexual orientation, above that directed at mental health (Time to Change, 2012).

Similar to employment settings, the primary reasons given for not addressing disability discrimination in education was external constraints such as time in the curriculum or provision of materials. Thirty-two per cent of the schools surveyed in England reported having no books or resources to help promote positive attitudes

towards disabled people. Schools with a high proportion of students with SEN were less likely to have relevant resources. In addition, 76 per cent of schools reported that staff had not received training to promote positive attitudes towards disabled people, even though 48 per cent said that such training would increase teachers' confidence and reduce fear of using incorrect terminology or offending anyone, particularly in relation to other children's cultural beliefs (Beckett and Buckner, 2012). This evidence was echoed in a Time to Change (2012) survey of teachers, in which 76 per cent indicated that they were not receiving guidance on dealing with mental health stigma.

4.5   The link between attitudes and behaviours

No research was found that directly tested the link between prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour, identity-based harassment or violence towards disabled people. However, the evidence strongly implies links between the two. For example, most people express generally positive attitudes towards disabled people and their stereotypes of disabled people tend to be benevolent or patronising rather than directly hostile. In addition, most people regard prejudice towards disabled people as socially unacceptable. In line with this, disabled people's experiences suggest that non-disabled people behave awkwardly and are uncomfortable interacting with them, which is perceived to be due to a lack of knowledge and understanding, or wider structural problems accommodating disability. Non-disabled people perceive that instances of discrimination towards disabled people are prevalent in GB, which tallies with high levels of police-recorded hate crime incidents motivated by disability in England and Wales. Together the evidence points towards a link between reported attitudes and experiences of discrimination. As well as developing effective interventions, more research is needed to better understand how attitudes relate to behaviour in specific situations. In particular, it's important to gain some understanding of the potential differences between different types of disability, as well as perpetrators' motivations.

4.6   What works?

Overall, intergroup contact and interactions between disabled and non-disabled people seem to produce the most effective results, especially when other factors in the situation are optimal (for example, there is equal status and cooperation). The

majority of interventions uncovered by this review related to disability. The assessability of the evaluations ranged from relatively low (15 per cent) to relatively high (71 cent) (see Figure A1.1 in the Appendix). The interventions that were well evidenced were Henderson *et al.*'s (2014) evaluation of the Time to Change programme, Kerby *et al.*'s (2008) evaluation of anti-stigma films, and Cameron and Rutland's (2006) experimental test of an extended contact intervention in schools. Four of the papers reviewed provided evaluations of separate aspects of the Time to Change intervention (see example below).

When asked for their own suggestions about tackling prejudice, both disabled and non-disabled respondents thought that greater contact and interaction between disabled and non-disabled people would help to improve attitudes and decrease discrimination, particularly among children. This was found to be effective for young adults (see Stachura and Garven, 2007). Other suggestions included more frequent media portrayal of disability and more disabled people as role models in leadership positions. The Time to Change Campaign and other media campaigns that used anti-stigma films and positive images of people with mental disability also seem to be effective in reducing negative attitudes or experiences of discrimination. Table A1.2 in the Appendix summarises the six interventions reviewed and whether they had any impact on prejudiced attitudes or experiences of discrimination.

The Time to Change campaign is particularly well evidenced. It is the biggest national mental health campaign in England. This has enabled the campaign to make use of a range of intervention tools and evaluate their effectiveness. However, the evaluations do not disentangle the specific aspects of the campaign that work well, or whether any tools are effective as standalone interventions. This means that it is not possible to say whether certain tools could be used separately or whether the campaign as a package is needed to affect change.

Time to Change Campaign

The Time to Change campaign is England's biggest programme to challenge mental health stigma and discrimination. It was run by mental health charities Mind and Rethink Mental Illness. Starting in 2007 (but with significant campaigns from 2009), Time to Change has advertised on TV in the national press and magazines, on the radio and online, and aims to make people aware of how their attitudes and behaviours can impact on those who have a mental health condition. They also have tried-and-tested session plans and materials and resources for getting

younger people talking about mental health (in schools or youth services).

Since the campaign launched, Time to Change has reached 47 million people in England, impacting on public knowledge, attitudes and behaviours.

The campaign has featured in over 15 publications, four of which present findings of the evaluation conducted by King's College London.

Different aspects of the campaign were found to improve awareness of mental health stigma, improve attitudes towards mental health and encourage people to reconsider their behaviour towards people with mental health conditions. For full details see Table A1.2 in the Appendix.

For more information, see www.time-to-change.org.uk [accessed: 8 July 2016]

4.7 Intersectionalities

In order to avoid duplication, intersectional evidence is only reviewed in one of the relevant chapters. To locate sections on other intersectionalities involving this protected characteristic, see Table A1.1 in the Appendix.

Intersectionalities can help to identify specific issues of prevalence. The review revealed intersectional research that linked disability with age and with race. In general, these studies identified dual discrimination faced by individuals because they have more than one protected characteristic.

Abrams and Houston's (2006) survey revealed that overall experiences of disability-related discrimination did not differ according to respondents' age, gender and race.[12] However, lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents[13] reported more disability discrimination (22 per cent) than heterosexual respondents (14 per cent) and those who reported religion as 'other' experienced more disability discrimination (29 per cent) than those who were Christian (14 per cent), Muslim (16 per cent) and non-religious (15 per cent).

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[12] Note: This is not separated by different types of disability and refers to all disability.
[13] The term 'non-heterosexual' from the survey has been replaced here with a term that adheres to the Commission's house style guidelines.

The evidence set out below on disability discrimination combined with age and race focuses specifically on mental health issues.

The majority of mental health service users reported a negative impact of stigmatisation on their life. This was significantly higher for women, lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents and those with severe mental health conditions, suggesting that intersectionality played a key role in experiences (Corry, 2008).

Disability and age

Time to Change commissioned research on children and young people's experiences of mental health in England in 2012. A survey of over 1,000 14-25 year olds showed that 90 per cent of respondents had experienced negative treatment from others because of their mental health conditions and that almost half reported that this occurred monthly, weekly or daily. The majority of respondents reported negative reactions from friends (70 per cent) and parents (57 per cent), and just under half reported negative reactions from partners (45 per cent), doctors (47 per cent) and teachers (40 per cent).

The impact of negative reactions to young people's mental health conditions on their lives differed from that of other age groups because young people's responses focused far more on friendships and relationships than general social withdrawal. However, young people with mental health conditions reported similar experiences of fear of stigma as those surveyed in sexual orientation and transgender research. Over 90 per cent of young people thought the general public and their peers viewed mental health conditions in a negative way. Fear of stigma stopped many young people telling others about their mental health conditions, including family and friends, and was also reported as a reason for preventing many respondents from applying for jobs, applying or accepting a university place, and seeking help (for example, from GPs). Reports that fear of stigma was not being taken seriously was a particular problem for young people from ethnic minorities (Time to Change, 2012).

Among older people, prejudice and discrimination related to dementia is a specific area of concern (Reid, Waterton and Wild, 2015). Sixty-six per cent of respondents in a representative sample of 1,501 Scottish adults chose dementia as the first or second priority for government spending, compared to cancer, depression, heart disease, stroke and obesity. The majority of respondents reported positive attitudes towards people with dementia and did not think that it was a stigmatising condition. However, 20 per cent said they would find it difficult to talk to someone with dementia, 12 per cent said they would feel ashamed if they had been told they had dementia and 22 per cent thought that someone with dementia would be unable to

live life to the full. These stigmatising attitudes were slightly more likely to be found among groups who didn't know anyone with dementia, or whose self-assessed knowledge of dementia was low. In line with other findings on mental health stigma, 40 per cent of respondents said they would not tell their employer if they had been diagnosed with dementia.

Disability and race

Time to Change (2012) identified that ethnic minority groups in England highlighted specific problems such as assumptions by health service workers that an individual's mental health condition reflected their ethnic group as a whole. Respondents also reported that racial discrimination makes it harder to speak about mental health, which compounds the problem. Other concerns were a lack of appropriate support for ethnic minority young people and cultural differences in reactions to mental health conditions (Time to Change, 2012).

South Asian communities were more likely to consider mental health conditions as a taboo subject, particularly older members. Those with mental health conditions generally saw this as something that is kept private, sometimes even from immediate family. This was primarily to preserve the family's reputation and status, and avoid damaging community gossip (Time to Change, 2010).

5 |
Race

It has been unlawful to discriminate against people because of their race, nationality or ethnic origin since the introduction of the Race Relations Act in 1965. The Equality Act 2010 makes it unlawful to discriminate against employees, job seekers and trainees because of race, colour, nationality and ethnic origin.

5.1 Summary

Two pieces of evidence show that perception of shared values influence expressions of discriminatory behaviours based on race. A large portion of the research on expression of prejudice centres on immigration, or perceptions of racial prejudice and immigration in relation to other ethnic minorities. People perceive prejudice towards Black and Asian people to be quite stable and less prevalent than prejudice towards Eastern Europeans. Surveys of prejudiced attitudes have primarily focused on those towards different ethnic groups and immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. One piece of research reviewed considered the effect of national identity on prejudiced attitudes specifically towards immigrants, rather than grouping immigrants with other ethnic minorities.

In contrast, evidence about experiences of racial prejudice has primarily focused on Black and Asian ethnic minorities, as well as Gypsies and Travellers. The social context of race discrimination is predominantly one of malign antipathy or rivalrous cohesion (see Chapter 2 for definitions and Table 14.1 in the Appendix). Specific settings in which racial prejudice were investigated are education and employment, both of which highlight a feeling among ethnic minorities that White people dominate these contexts. Interventions identified in the literature also focus on these contexts, but generally share the principle of using educational tools as a means of reducing prejudiced attitudes.

5.2   Expressions of prejudiced attitudes

The Citizenship Survey 2009 asked respondents in England and Wales which groups they believed faced more racial prejudice than five years ago. Muslims[14] (17 per cent), Asian people (15 per cent) and Eastern European people (12 per cent) were the most common responses (Communities and Local Government, 2009), while the number of people who believed asylum seeker/refugees were targets for racial prejudice had increased since previous surveys (13.5 per cent). National identification influences prejudice towards immigrants. This is especially true for countries where national identity is based on language, but less so when people define the nation in terms of citizenship. In the UK, a stronger sense of national identity is associated with increased prejudice (Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown, 2009).

Values

People who describe themselves as feeling some level of race-based prejudice are more likely to advocate a reduction in immigration than those who claim to not hold prejudiced views (Clery, Phillips, Lee and Taylor, 2013). In other research, people who strongly felt that there is something fundamental and inherent about Britishness also held more negative attitudes towards immigrants. They also believed immigrants could not easily adapt to British culture, though believed more strongly that they should do so. They also expressed more dislike for immigrants who were unable to adapt (Zagefka, Nigbur, Gonzalez and Tip, 2012).

Threat

Perceptions of threat to national, economic and cultural identity can influence racially-prejudiced attitudes.

There are striking differences in attitudes towards and perceptions of how different ethnic minority groups are treated in Great Britain (GB). Surveys show that while people believe that Black and Asian people face less discrimination than previously, asylum seekers, immigrants and Eastern Europeans are consistently perceived to face more prejudice (Communities and Local Government, 2009; EHRC Wales, 2008; Ormston *et al.*, 2011). In addition, most people would like to see a reduction in immigration from Eastern Europe and Poland but fewer people mention concerns over immigration from India, Pakistan and Caribbean countries.

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[14] Note that questions ask which groups respondents think face more prejudice based on race. The most common response is 'Muslims', which may suggest problems with question interpretation or show a miscategorisation of some groups.

One element of racial prejudice is perceived cultural threat, or fear that the country would lose its identity as a result of immigration. This is accompanied by economic threat, or the perception that immigrants are 'taking jobs away from people' (Abrams and Houston, 2006; Bromely, Curtice and Given, 2006; Communities and Local Government, 2009; EHRC Wales, 2008; Ormston *et al.*, 2011). In the 2009 Citizenship Survey, the most commonly cited reason to reduce immigration was the feeling that immigrants are taking jobs from British people (37.8 per cent) and that they drain resources (30 per cent). The need to maintain British identity was only mentioned by 2.8 per cent of respondents.

In Scotland, the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) 2006 showed that around a third of respondents thought that ethnic minorities (27 per cent) and people from Eastern Europe (32 per cent) were taking jobs away from other people in Scotland. The SSAS 2010 figures for the same questions revealed that perceived economic threat for ethnic minorities (31 per cent) and people from Eastern Europe (37 per cent) had increased (Ormston *et al.*, 2011), which may be due to impact of the recession between these years increasing feelings of threat in the labour market context.

Attitudes towards immigration in GB can be compared with those in other European countries (including Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Poland and Hungary). The proportion of GB respondents who thought that there were too many immigrants was the second highest across these countries at 62 per cent. Half of the GB respondents felt that when jobs are scarce Britons should have more rights to a job than immigrants. However, 71 per cent of respondents thought that immigrants enrich the culture of GB and 60 per cent felt that we need immigrants to keep the economy going. In contrast, over a third of respondents thought that there was a natural hierarchy between Black and White people and 11 per cent reported a preference that Black and White people should not marry. These figures were lower than for most of the other countries, but still highlight prejudiced attitudes towards ethnic minorities in GB (Zick, Küpper, and Hövermann, 2011).

Social distance and intergroup contact

In Scotland, respondents to the SSAS 2006 were most likely to report being unhappy/very unhappy about a relative hypothetically forming a long-term relationship with an asylum seeker or Gypsy/Traveller (37 per cent), but less so if that relationship were with a Black or Asian person (11 per cent) or someone from a Chinese background (10 per cent) (Bromley, Curtice and Given, 2006). The 2010 SASS results show that for Gypsy/Travellers this figure remained unchanged, but

had reduced for Black or Asian people (9 per cent) (Ormston *et al.*, 2011). This may suggest movement towards nationality playing a factor in race discrimination alongside ethnicity and/or skin colour.

Emotions

Abrams and Houston's (2006) survey in GB showed that the most commonly cited emotions felt towards Black people were anger and fear. Measures on the stereotype content model placed attitudes towards Black people mostly in the middle on scales of competence, competing for resources, and status, but not for warmth where they rated much lower than most groups (except Muslims). Whilst this highlights negative attitudes towards Black people, there have not been any more recent evaluations of emotions towards ethnic groups, nor a comparison with immigrants. This would be an interesting avenue for future research given evidence that suggests a possible shift in racial prejudice attitudes towards nationality.

5.3   Experiences of discrimination

In a 2005 survey across GB, experiences of race discrimination were reported by a high proportion of Asian people (66 per cent) and Black people (64 per cent) (Abrams and Houston, 2006). The 2009 Citizenship Survey revealed that the proportion of people who had experienced race discrimination in the past two years was higher among people in all ethnic minority groups than among White people and similar levels were reported by Black African (18 per cent), 'Other Asian' (17 per cent) and Chinese (16 per cent)[15] respondents (Communities and Local Government, 2009).

In Wales, people who described themselves as visibly different in terms of race felt the most strongly that they were unwelcome and that they were perceived to be the perpetrators of acts of crime and terrorism (Threadgold *et al.*, 2008). Black asylum seekers and refugees reported feeling that there was a hierarchy in recruitment, whereby Welsh people were at the top, ethnic minorities with citizenship were in the middle, and Black refugees at the bottom. Communities that experienced tension between long-established residents and new migrants were seen to manage that tension by co-existing without much interaction (Threadgold *et al.*, 2008). However, increased contact between groups was associated with lower levels of prejudice

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[15] This compares to just two per cent of White respondents.

(Ormston et *al.*, 2011). This suggests that some communities may benefit from intergroup contact interventions.

Hate crime

Hate crime figures for England and Wales showed that in 2010/11, 39,311 (out of 48,127, reflecting 82 per cent) of hate crimes recorded by the police were motivated by race or ethnicity. These figures remained steady in 2014/15, at 42,930 (out of 52,528, reflecting 82 per cent). Race remained the most common recorded motivation for police-recorded hate crime, and the most common motiving factor for hate crimes reported in the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) (an estimated 106,000 incidents a year) (Corcoran, Lader and Smith, 2015).

In Scotland, race-motivated hate crimes were also the most common hate crimes reported to the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service (COPFS) for 15/16, with 3,712 charges reported. This represented a three per cent drop compared to the previous year, and the lowest number reported since 2003/04 (COPFS, 2016).

National Union of Students (NUS) surveys of over 9,000 students on university campuses across GB investigated hate speech in relation to race, as well as disability, religion and sexual orientation. Asian students were the most worried about victimisation, followed by Chinese and Black students (NUS, 2013b). Similarly to experiences for other protected characteristics, fear of victimisation on the basis of their race caused students to change their behaviour, travel routes and dress to minimise the risk of being targeted, and maximise their ability to blend in and avoid stereotypes associated with their ethnicity or culture.

A large proportion of students who reported their nationality as 'White Other' also reported discrimination, supporting the findings that White Eastern European and European Union (EU) immigrants also experience discrimination. This suggests that nationality might play as important a factor in race discrimination as ethnicity and/or skin colour (NUS, 2013b).

The systematic review did not identify any other evidence that captured experiences of race discrimination in general. However, Gypsies and Travellers are a group that fall under this protected characteristic and are often researched separately.

Gypsies and Travellers

A small study carried out in Devon, England, indicated that Gypsy and Traveller communities experience particularly high levels of prejudice and discrimination. The majority of the Gypsies and Travellers interviewed said they hid their own and their

children's identities to avoid stigma and abuse (Dane and Isaacs, 2013). The contexts in which these experiences happen are similar to those of other protected characteristics, but may be targeted in different ways.

A discursive analysis of three online discussion forums following news posts about Gypsies and Travellers showed acknowledgement that prejudice towards this group exists (Goodman and Rowe, 2014). Those commenting on the stories about Gypsies and Travellers felt that racism towards this group is more acceptable than other forms of racism, and that the media was fuelling this. In addition, some of the language used in the forums was compared to that used in other discussions about asylum seekers, appealing to moral arguments about the group's right to support. Authors of posts justified their comments by suggesting that their hatred was different to racism because it was not related to skin colour or origin but was based on experiences, which was seen to be more acceptable and understandable than hearsay (Goodman and Rowe, 2014). This may suggest that much like asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants, some people may regard Gypsies as a separate group to the ethnic minorities who are protected under the Equality Act 2010.

5.4   Settings

None of the evidence in our search directly addressed experiences of race discrimination in health and social care settings, but some examples of this are given under the section on intersectionalities with other protected characteristics.

Employment

An experiment testing racial discrimination in recruitment practices across England and Scotland sent 2,961 applications to 987 advertised jobs in 2008-09. The applications were equivalent, except that names of applicants were substituted to represent stereotypically ethnic minority and White British male and female applicants. Sixty-eight per cent of White candidates received a positive response, compared to 39 cent of the ethnic minority candidates, meaning that White-sounding names were preferred 29 per cent of the time (Wood, Hales, Purdon, Sejersen and Hayllar, 2009). Overall there were no significant differences between discrimination against different ethnic minority groups. Importantly, the study represents one of the only objective measures of race discrimination identified in this review.

Qualitative analyses of discrimination in the workplace suggest that stereotypes of ethnic minority groups led to a lack of status and authority in their jobs and often

compounded institutional racism that prevented them from progressing in their careers. Some Black employees felt that they had to work harder than others around them in order to take advantage of the same opportunities. Stereotypes and other more subtle forms of discrimination were downplayed or used to aid socialising, suggesting that little was being done to reduce racism in employment (Kenny and Briner, 2010). Visible difference made it difficult for ethnic minority employees to highlight similarities with colleagues and many felt that this visible difference was used as a way to scrutinise ethnic minority employees' work more without appearing to discriminate. The ambiguity in these situations made it difficult for employees to question whether their experience really was attributable to racism (Johnston and Kyriacou, 2011).

Second generation ethnic minority employees in some cases expressed difficulty in managing different identities. Ethnic minority women reported facing particular difficulties due to multiple discrimination based on gender and race. For example, one Asian woman reported being asked at interview whether her ethnicity meant that she would be likely to get married and have children (Kenny and Briner, 2010).

Within a legal context, magistrates reported that racism had reduced in recent years and believed that it generally did not exist in this field of work. However, some had witnessed White colleagues employing negative stereotyping or prejudice towards Black or Asian defendants (Davis and Vennard, 2006).

Education

Interviews with international students revealed that they sometimes attributed the cause of racism to pressure placed on GB nationals by increased immigration and ideas that immigrants were seen to be taking jobs (Brown and Jones, 2013). A number of the students felt that economic input in the form of paying tuition fees would protect them from racial discrimination and while university campuses had initially appeared 'starkly White', students reported integrating relatively easily (Jessop and Williams, 2009). Second and third generation ethnic minority students who were born in the UK may have been more integrated into British society and culture, conforming to the norms of their local area more so than the international students who only came to GB for the duration of their studies (Jessop and Williams, 2009). In NUS 2013 research, international students were more likely to have experienced discrimination than British national, second and third generation ethnic minority students who reported more positive experiences of university (NUS, 2013a; Roberts, Sanders and Wass, 2008). Importantly, of incidents that were overtly

discriminatory and those that were more subtle but could have been regarded as racist, none were reported formally or informally.

5.5 The link between attitudes and behaviours

The systematic literature search identified three papers that directly explored a link between attitudes and race discriminatory behaviours. An experimental study found that attitudes towards racism did not influence decisions in a hypothetical legal scenario. However, two studies found that values of diversity and focus on civic identity and citizenship, rather than ethnic identity were linked to more positive behavioural intentions and helping behaviour towards immigrants and ethnic minority groups. This would suggest that values rather than attitudes towards a group influence expressions of discriminatory behaviours.

An experiment conducted with 90 White UK undergraduate students investigated the effect of inadmissible evidence in a mock legal scenario involving either a White or a Black defendant. Participants were asked to rate the defendant's guilt, suggest a sentence length, and rate the chances that he would reoffend, be successful in rehabilitation and be released early for good behaviour. When the evidence was ruled inadmissible for the Black defendant, the ruling of guilt was higher, longer sentences were recommended, and perceived likelihood of reoffending was significantly higher than for the White defendant. However, these different decisions were not linked to participants' explicit statements about their racial attitudes (Hodson, Hooper, Dovidio and Gaertner, 2005). The authors argue that this provides evidence for 'aversive racism' (broadly, this refers to an avoidance of interaction with other racial and ethnic groups, and can be more subtle and indirect than overt forms of racism) in the UK.

Across three small experiments in Scotland involving university students and the general population, Wakefield *et al.* (2011) found that a Chinese person who criticised Scots was received more positively when participants were told to focus on a civic basis of national belonging (referring to the nation's institutions or loyalty to the nation, typically implying a more inclusive conception of belonging), compared to an ethnic basis (referring to belonging based on race, ancestry or heritage). Under civic conceptions of national belonging, the perceived Scottishness of the Chinese person was stronger, which led to a more positive reaction to their criticism. A Chinese confederate was offered more help to pick up items that she seemed to drop by accident in front of the participant when she wore a t-shirt displaying a

Scottish symbol; this was particularly the case when focus was on the civic rather than ethnic form of national belonging.

5.6   What works?

Three interventions were captured through the review and were assessed. The first explored the potential of using virtual learning environments (VLEs) as a platform for discussing cross-cultural race-related issues, which allows people from different locations and countries to participate in a group discussion at the same time (Buchanan *et al.*, 2008). This intervention was not strongly evaluated. The second intervention analysed narratives (focus groups and semi-structured interviews) from 73 young people aged between 13 and 18 years old from six schools in Glasgow, Edinburgh, the Scottish Borders and the Western Isles. The research explored national identity, cultural diversity, and how individuals adopt and accommodate new information without necessarily changing their attitudes towards minority groups or how they define their national heritage. The research also explored the extent to which museums and other public institutions can influence conceptualisations of heritage and identity. The third was an evaluation by the Commission of an intervention to reduce racial bias in police 'stop and search'. These two interventions had a moderately assessable impact (for detailed scores see Figure A1.1 in the Appendix).

Table 5.1   **Interventions aimed at reducing prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory behaviours towards race**

	Intervention	Measures	Outcome
Buchanan *et al*. (2008)	Use of a VLE to support 41 students (31 from Wales, 7 from South Africa and 3 from USA) to discuss racism	*engagement and evaluation of the VLE *pre and post knowledge of racism (quantitative) *experiences of racism (qualitative)	Students showed an increase in knowledge of racism and cross-cultural issues after discussion
Lloyd (2014)	Took existing heritage resources (e.g. film, images) from the 'changing nation' exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland into the classroom to stimulate discussion	Following the films and images, students discussed (focus groups and semi-structured interviews) *ethic identity	Participants adopted positions that concurred with their existing sense of self, rather than dramatically altering their concepts of identity and belonging

		*national identity and *immigration, which were analysed	
EHRC 'Stop and think again' (2013)	Evaluated various interventions initiated by different police forces (Thames Valley, Leicestershire, Dorset, London Met, West Midlands) since the EHRC 'Stop and think again' report (2010)	*new policies implemented by police forces *training needs *disproportionality in number of Black and Asian people subjected to stop and search	Some police force areas, though not all, saw a reduction in race disproportionality.

The common theme among these interventions is the use of educational methods. None of the interventions were strongly evaluated, but each does show either a reduction in prejudiced attitudes/discriminatory behaviours, or a greater awareness of racial prejudice and cultural difference. As highlighted above, when people can be led to value diversity they are likely to feel less prejudice, therefore educational programmes that can increase awareness of the value of cultural diversity may be beneficial. Increased contact between groups can also foster positive attitudes, even when the contact is not direct (as in the VLE example above).

Show Racism the Red Card (SRtRC) is a large-scale campaign in the UK aimed at educating against racism and, more recently, homophobia. The campaign website highlights positive feedback from participants who have taken part in events run by SRtRC and gives examples of those that have been run across the UK. However, there was no evidence of any direct evaluation of the campaign or measurement of any changes in attitudes or behaviours, therefore it was not possible for us to judge the assessability of the campaign. The resources on the SRtRC website suggest the use of a multi-method educational approach, which is considered effective in other interventions highlighted within this report.

5.7   Intersectionalities

In order to avoid duplication, intersectional evidence is only reviewed in one of the relevant chapters. To locate sections on other intersectionalities involving this protected characteristic, see Table A1.1 in the Appendix.

Race and age

In telephone interviews with a sample of thirteen managers from nursing homes for older people in England, some of the managers described racist incidents (Badger, Clarke, Pumphrey and Clifford, 2012). Typically, this was in the form of overt prejudiced statements made by the residents and their families towards staff. Other managers highlighted that many of the older residents held racial prejudices, particularly towards Black people. This is consistent with attitude surveys. Another manager highlighted the benefit of intergroup contact in reducing instances of prejudice. The manager stated that residents' attitudes tended to change as they became more familiar with staff (Badger *et al.*, 2012). Similarly, ethnic minority medical students from two universities in the North of England reported being stigmatised during interactions with older patients, but that this was more pronounced in the university located where the population was less diverse (Roberts, Sanders and Wass, 2008), suggesting the positive effect of greater opportunity for intergroup contact.

6 |
Religion or belief

The Equality Act 2010 protects people against discrimination on the grounds of their religion or belief. There are instances where race and religion or belief have been considered together and others where they are specifically separated. We expected a higher degree of crossover between religion and race, particularly in the case of certain religious minorities (such as Muslims). We have tried wherever possible to review the information separately, but have included a section on intersectionality at the end of the chapter.

6.1   Summary

There is evidence of a link between prejudiced attitudes based on religion or belief and intended behaviours towards those of other faiths.

Expressions of religious prejudice often focus on visible differences (such as religious dress or symbols). The social context of religious discrimination is predominantly one of rivalrous cohesion in the sense that there are sectarian or value-based conflicts over priorities and rights. Muslims are perceived to be the most targeted group for prejudiced attitudes and this is linked to perceived cultural threat. Religious prejudice is expressed in terms of social distance and unwillingness for contact between groups.

Substantial evidence on experiences of discrimination comes from Tell MAMA, a project dedicated to recording experiences of anti-Muslim hate. However, reports of religious hate are very similar for Jewish people in Britain, recorded by the Community Security Trust (CST). Online hate is prevalent for both religions and is an area for potential interventions given that our search found one online intervention which has produced positive results in reducing extremist ideation. Importantly, the link between attitudes and behaviours shows that dehumanisation, feelings of tension between national and religious identity, and experiences or perceptions of discrimination lead to increased hostility and support of extremist views. However, increased inter-religion contact may reduce this effect and interventions focusing on

education through contact may provide a means of reducing prejudice and discrimination based on religion.

In employment contexts, policies generally help to minimise overt acts of religious discrimination. However, intersectional evidence on attitude and behaviour suggests that visible differences can be a catalyst for categorisation-based prejudice and discrimination. In addition, anecdotal evidence from intersectionality with sexual orientation supports the notion that religious identity conflicts with other personal identities to create anxieties or concerns about discrimination.

6.2 Expressions of prejudice

Evidence on expressions of prejudice spans all the elements of prejudice reviewed earlier in the report.

Categorisation, values and norms

Religious dress and symbols, much like skin colour, provide cues that may be used to categorise people, making them easier targets for stereotyping and prejudice. Some religious symbols or forms of dress evoke particularly strong reactions from some people. For example, in Scotland very few people think that an employer should be allowed to ask a Christian woman employee to remove a crucifix pendent, whereas more people think the employer should be able to ask a Muslim woman to remove her veil (Ormston *et al.*, 2011). The visibility of Muslim women's religious dress and the strong categorical and stereotypical associations that people may hold could explain why they are also a target of religious hate incidents.

Although most people surveyed in Great Britain (GB) (65 per cent) reported not feeling any prejudice towards Muslims (Abrams and Houston, 2006), there is evidence that they are aware that anti-Muslim prejudice is a problem. In England, the Citizenship Survey 2009 showed that Muslims were perceived as facing more discrimination and negative attitudes than other religions including Hindus, Sikhs, Jews and Christians. Some respondents thought prejudice against Muslims was increasing compared with previous years, but a similar proportion thought prejudice was declining (Communities and Local Government, 2009).

Threat

In areas in which the number of Muslim residents was increasing, there is evidence of fear that the area will lose its identity (EHRC Wales, 2008; Ormston *et al.*, 2011).

Reflecting cultural concerns, a 2011 European study showed that only 39 per cent of UK respondents felt that Muslim culture fits well in Britain (although this was more positive than the views of people in five of the eight EU countries in the survey). Eighty-one per cent felt that Muslims' attitudes towards women contradict British values and 26 per cent believed that many Muslims find terrorism justifiable (Zick, Küpper and Hövermann, 2011).

Social distance

In Scotland, Ormston *et al.* (2011) found that respondents to the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) 2010 felt most discomfort about the prospect that a relative would form a relationship with a Muslim person (23 per cent would be very unhappy) compared to other religions. In Wales, eight per cent expressed unhappiness about a relative forming a relationship with someone from a different religion (EHRC Wales, 2008), but it is not clear which particular religions they had in mind.

6.3   Experiences of discrimination

Less than a fifth of respondents to a GB survey reported experiencing religious discrimination. Higher proportions of Muslims reported experiencing religious discrimination compared to members of other religions (Abrams and Houston, 2006). Most of the recent evidence on experiences of religious discrimination is from work on anti-Muslim hate.

Hate crime

There were 3,254 hate crimes recorded by the police as motivated by religion or belief in 2014/15 (of 52,528, or six per cent). This was an increase on the previous year. Based on an average of two years, an estimated 38,000 religiously-motivated hate crimes were reported in the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) and Muslims were most likely to be victimised (Corcoran *et al.*, 2015).[16]

The National Union of Students (NUS) (2013c) survey of over 9,000 students investigated hate speech in relation to religion, as well as disability, race and sexual orientation. Fear of discrimination and actual experiences of discrimination were reported most by Muslim students, followed by Hindu, Sikh and Jewish students.

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[16] In Scotland, 581 charges for religiously aggravated crimes were reported in 2015/16 (COPFS, 2016). In Scotland, religious hate incidents can also be reported under Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications legislation.

Fear among atheist and non-religious students was considerably lower (less than five per cent). Muslim students reported that they changed their behaviour (for example, avoiding travel routes or public transport) or appearance (for example, clothing). A large number of students did not know whether the university, college or students' union provided information or support for victims of hate incidents (NUS, 2013c). The hate incidents were identified as being religiously motivated through use of prejudiced statements/gestures or hate words/symbols and were more commonly experienced by those who stated that their religion was visible (for example, through wearing religious dress or symbols). In addition, like victims of other types of hate crime, victims of religiously-motivated hate incidents were unlikely to report them to police (NUS, 2013c).

In Scotland, research in 2015 found widespread direct or indirect experience of anti-Muslim sentiment reported by pupils in Scottish schools (Hopkins, Botterill, Sanghera and Arshad, 2015).

Hargreaves (2014) analysed the British Crime Survey[17] data from 2006-10 to compare respondents who identified as Muslim, and those who did not. There was a small, statistically significant difference in the percentage of Muslim compared to non-Muslim respondents who reported being a victim of crime but no differences at the level of specific crimes, including violence, wounding, assault, threats and robbery. Nor were there differences between Muslim respondents and those from other religious minorities. Satisfaction with the police was recorded as high by the majority of Muslim respondents, who were more likely than non-Muslim respondents to agree that police were dealing with important issues to the community (Hargreaves, 2014). Similar findings are presented in 'Is Britain Fairer?' (EHRC, 2015).

Islamophobic hate incidents

The Tell MAMA project was initiated across the UK in 2012 as an alternative avenue for Muslims to report religious hate incidents, in response to evidence that Muslim communities are particularly likely to underreport religion-based discriminatory attacks to the police.

Although Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) data appears to contradict the notion that Muslims are particularly averse to reporting crimes to the police, data from the first three years of Tell MAMA reveal stable patterns that correspond to but suggest higher levels than reports to the police. Tell MAMA evidence is more

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[17] Now the Crime Survey for England and Wales.

detailed and precise because incidents are recorded by their religious motivation, whereas the CSEW provides information about types of victim but does not define the motivation or likely cause of the attack (which may be different for those motivated by religion and those that are not).

Table 6.1 **Tracking reports of anti-Muslim abuse over the first three years of Tell MAMA project**

	2012-13	2013-14*	2014-15
Number of attacks reported	584	734	729
Online abuse (%)	74	82	73
Reported to police (%)	37	17	45

Notes
* The reporting procedure to Tell MAMA changed in the second year so that all reports were verified by caseworkers.

The majority of reports to Tell MAMA are from individuals who say they are visibly identifiable as a Muslim. For example, women wearing a hijab or niqab or those who wear traditional Muslim dress were the most common targets of abuse. Muslim women who wore religious dress and were victims of hate incidents believed that this was the primary motivation for the attack (Allen, Isakjee, and Young, 2013). This left women scared and feeling vulnerable, regardless of the type of abuse they experienced.

> Having reverted to Islam, a female interviewee noted the difference in behaviour towards her before and after this. She had not experienced any discrimination before, but did experience both online and offline attacks since she started to wear a hijab. She referred to this as being like 'a flashing light' to alert everyone. Furthermore, one female interviewee reported that wearing a hat over her hijab allows her to 'go about her business'.
> (Awan and Zempi, 2015, pp. 22-4)

Capturing the sense of malign antipathy and rivalrous cohesion, interviews with Muslim women identified that hate incidents generate a loss of belonging in their community or in Britain more widely. Some reported that they or their family members suggested moving away from the UK altogether (Allen, Isakjee and Young, 2013).

Offline incidents experienced by men and women were marked by strong verbal abuse. Direct verbal abuse based on religion was often fused with racial abuse, including comments about being of Pakistani origin, suggestions that the victim should 'go back home' or did not 'belong here', even if they had been born in the UK (Awan and Zempi, 2015). The language used in direct verbal attacks was seen to push the stereotypes to extremes, labelling many Muslims as radicals or terrorists.

Anti-Semitic hate incidents

The Community Security Trust (CST) has been recording anti-Semitic incident statistics in Britain since 1984 and recorded its highest annual total of 1,168 reports in 2014. Similar to the incidents reported to Tell MAMA, these took the form of abusive behaviours, verbal abuse and threats. Incidents were largely unreported to the police and were perceived to be motivated by far-right beliefs. In addition, the CST (2014) acknowledges the role of trigger events in creating spikes in incidents, for example in 2014 following the conflict in Israel and Gaza.

Table 6.2   Tracking reports of anti-Semitic abuse in Britain over three years

	2012	2013	2014
Number of anti-Semitic incidents recorded	650	535	1,168

The table above shows the number of anti-Semitic incidents recorded for the same three-year period that Tell MAMA has been operational. While the figures are comparable up to 2014, it is important to note that the Tell MAMA figures rely on self-reported (and more recently validated) incidents. In contrast, the CST monitors activity and incidents without requiring Jewish people to make a report themselves.

Online hate speech

Tell MAMA reports show that a high proportion of incidents involve online abuse, the majority of which are linked to organised political groups such as the English Defence League (EDL) and British National Party (BNP). Online abuse primarily consists of anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistani sentiment and stereotypes, but also often includes threatened offline action. There were trigger events in 2013 and 2014 that may explain spikes in anti-Muslim hate over those periods. For example, the murder

of Lee Rigby in May 2013[18] and the attacks in Paris, Sydney and Copenhagen in 2014 were associated with a doubling of the number of incidents. Additionally, social media hashtags that trended following these events revealed anti-Muslim rhetoric (Awan and Zempi, 2015; Copsey, Dack, Littler and Feldman, 2013; Feldman and Littler, 2014; Littler and Feldman, 2015; Williams and Burnap, 2016).

When online incidents reported to Tell MAMA had not been reported to police, victims expressed uncertainty about whether an offence had been committed and whether anything could or would be done. The ease with which anyone can create an anonymous account on social media to spread anti-Muslim abuse makes it very difficult to identify perpetrators. It is clear that this is an area in which both clear and explicit regulations and norms will be required to alleviate the problem (Awan and Zempi, 2015).

Sectarianism

Research from Scotland has examined (Protestant/Catholic) sectarianism (Hinchliffe, Marcinkiewicz, Curtice and Omston, 2015). Relatively few Scottish people report fear of religious or sectarian-based discrimination (two per cent) (Scottish Crime and Justice Survey 2012/13). Catholics reported more discrimination than Protestants, and this was perceived to be fuelled by football and certain team affiliations (Hinchliffe, Marcinkiewicz, Curtice and Omston, 2015). Overall, Protestants and Catholics experience far less prejudice and discrimination than followers of most other religions (Hincliffe *et al.*, 2015; Ormston *et al.*, 2011). Survey respondents regarded jokes about Catholics and Protestants to be more acceptable than jokes made about Muslims, especially if they did not offend anyone who heard them (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2015). Analysis of the language used in football comedy radio shows revealed possible alternative meanings using ambiguous cultural references that may perpetuate certain ideologies and stereotypes about religious groups, as well as some evidence of racism towards Asian Scots (Reid, 2015).

6.4   Settings

Employment

Evidence suggests that workplaces are not the main location of religious discrimination. For example, less than one per cent of respondents in England cited

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[18] British Army soldier Fusilier Lee Rigby was murdered by Islamist terrorists in Woolwich on 22 May 2013.

religious discrimination as a reason for being turned down for a job or promotion (Communities and Local Government, 2009). A survey of workplaces in England and Wales (mainly large, public sector employers) in July 2011 (47 responses) showed that 80 per cent had a multi-faith prayer, reflection or quiet room and more than 60 per cent stated that policies were in place to enable them to respond to requests for flexible working to permit observance of religion or belief. However, fewer than half had any policy regarding the wearing of religious clothing, jewellery or symbols. This is an obvious gap given the signalling and categorisation issues that arise from visible cues to religious group membership (Donald, Bennet and Leach, 2012).

6.5 The link between attitudes and behaviours

Following the death of the Fusilier Lee Rigby in 2013, one piece of research found that British non-Muslim respondents perceived people in a category defined as Muslim to be 'less evolved' than people in a category defined as British – an index of dehumanization. People who held this view also had more aggressive attitudes towards Muslims and supported drone strikes, militaristic counterterrorism policies and punitive reactions towards suspected terrorists more strongly. They also held the perception that the attackers' actions represented Islam as a whole, rather than just individual members of the outgroup (Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz and Cotterill, 2015). Comparable evidence was found from three different countries, albeit in relation to different trigger events,[19] showing that the underlying elements of prejudice flowing from rivalrous cohesion are similar across different contexts.

A small study of 76 British-born Muslim students in London showed that the more they felt that Muslims as a group were discriminated against, the more they perceived their British and Muslim identities as incompatible, and the more they rejected the national identity and those seen as representing it (non-Muslims) (Hutchison, Lubna, Goncalves-Portelinha, Kamali and Khan, 2015). Identity incompatibility involves a sense of disparity between national and religious identity.

The second part of this research showed that when British Muslims perceived hostile attitudes as representing the British public as a whole, their identity incompatibility increased and they expressed stronger support for Islamic group rights (Hutchison, Lubna, Goncalves-Portelinha, Kamali and Khan, 2015). This evidence also hints at

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[19] We report only these specific findings because the report focuses on samples in GB. For more information about the other studies, see Kteily *et al.*, 2015).

the risks of self-fulfilling prophecies, as British Muslims who face hostility may be pushed by the incompatibility of identities towards accepting only their Muslim identity and rejecting their British identity, increasing hostility towards non-Muslims.

The social context of rivalrous cohesion is also illustrated by evidence from a survey (involving 421 participants from GB) showing that people who had suffered a negative experience owing to their race or religion in the last two years were more likely to believe that 'some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies' (Victoroff, Adelman and Matthews, 2012). This evidence highlights how people's experiences of discrimination may move them to regard extremist activity as an understandable response to intergroup rivalry.

In research examining religious prejudice among 4,243 children aged 10-18 years in England, Village (2011) found that those for whom being religious was more important, and who had more contact with friends from other races were also less prejudiced. Interestingly, there is a contrast with attitude data (for example SSAS 2006; 2010) which suggests that people with strong religious views are likely to be more prejudiced. Whereas this is true when religiosity is been measured in terms of having a particular religious affiliation, it does not appear to be the case when religiosity is measured in terms of the intrinsic personal value of faith. It is possible that focusing on spirituality may encourage people to view all groups as sharing common humanity, whereas focusing on a particular faith may highlight differences in values and practices (see Ochieng, 2010). Religious practice therefore contains elements that could both promote harmonious cohesion across different groups and rivalrous cohesion between groups.

6.6   What works?

Two papers directly evaluated interventions relating to religion. Both interventions had moderate assessability (for detailed scores see Figure A1.1 in the Appendix). Frennet and Dow (no date) tested an online intervention to reduce extremist sentiments by directly messaging individuals who had expressed extremist views in their social media networks. This intervention used indirect contact and education, asking former extremist supporters to engage in discussion with at-risk individuals about their experiences (see detailed description below). The second intervention (Lloyd, 2014) also used an educational approach, but was aimed at children aged 13-18 years at six schools in Scotland. Museum exhibitions were used to foster

discussion about the effect of outgroups on Scottish national identity (this is described in Chapter 5). The Anne Frank Trust use a similar approach that involves creating schools ambassadors and peer guides to increase awareness of intergroup differences and norms, and to challenge the elements of prejudice more generally (Anne Frank Trust, 2015).

One-to-one online interventions to reduce extremism

Frennett and Dow (no date) tested an approach to deter individuals from extremism by directly messaging them via their social media profiles. They identified the profiles of 154 Facebook users who expressed views of extremism, expressed sympathy for extremist groups or were deemed to be at risk of radicalisation. These individuals were then messaged by volunteers who were former extremist sympathisers (five former far-right extremists from North America and five former Islamist extremists from the UK). The authors measured reactions to and response to the messages, and shifts in behaviour. Findings showed:

- Response rates of far-right and Islamist candidates differed (63 per cent and 42 per cent respectively).
- Approximately 60 per cent of the messages which were sent were seen by the at-risk individuals and 59 per cent evoked a reaction, either through direct response or a shift in behaviour (some of which included closing the social media account).
- 12 per cent denied their adherence to the ideology in question and 20 per cent refused to engage, while the majority (60 per cent) engaged in five or more messages.
- Effective messages drew on personal experiences, offered non-judgmental support, with messages coded as casual, sentimental or reflective eliciting the most responses. Messages seen as antagonistic, meditative or scholarly were the most likely to receive no response.
- Message content offering help or telling a personal story received the most responses, while those highlighting negative consequences were the most likely to receive no response.
- Short messages of more than one sentence but less than five elicited the most responses.

> - It is too soon to be able to test long-term effects, however the evidence suggests that sustained engagement may lead to long-term adjustment in behaviour.

Overall, the available evidence, although limited, suggests that education and contact (even indirect) can help to improve attitudes and change behaviours associated with religious extremism and intolerance.

6.7   Intersectionalities

In order to avoid duplication, intersectional evidence is only reviewed in one of the relevant chapters. For religion, the intersectionality with sex is discussed under hate crime. To locate sections on other intersectionalities involving this protected characteristic, see Table A1.1 in the Appendix.

Religion and race

There are overlaps between prejudice and discrimination associated with race and religion. Research from the Citizenship Survey (Communities and Local Government, 2009) shows that people from all religions reported more fear of an attack based on religion or race than people with no religion. Among religious groups, Christians were the least likely to fear an attack based on religion or race, whereas such fears were particularly high among Black African, Indian and 'Other Asian' people, as well as among respondents who were not born in the UK, had been resident in the UK for less than five years, or who spoke English as a second language. There is a large overlap in incidents of racial, ethnic and religious discrimination, where stereotypes about membership of one group are applied across other groups (for example, assuming that an Asian person is a Muslim, when they may be Hindu, Sikh or other). This is supported by the fact that most instances of discrimination were attributed to skin colour first and religion second (Communities and Local Government, 2009). The proportion of people who were very worried about being subject to physical attack based on their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion decreased from 2008/09 to 2012/13 (EHRC, 2015).

This evidence highlights that multiple characteristics that imply psychological or social separation between different groups (such as visible differences, and

geographical separation) may feed into perceptions and experiences of prejudice and discrimination to make them particularly acute for some individuals and communities.

Religion and sexual orientation

The intersection between religion and sexual orientation can present issues of identity incompatibility (Hutchison *et al.*, 2015). Interviews with Muslim lesbian women revealed that some felt that they could not be both Muslim and a lesbian. One woman preferred the term Asian lesbian rather than Muslim lesbian, to avoid conflicting religious and sexual identities (Siraj, 2012). Similar issues affect other religions. Interviews with self-identified feminists across GB identified that women who reported being lesbian or as not identifying with traditional gender labels felt that most religions would discriminate against them. Some had experienced negative attitudes from the Church (Aune, 2015).

7 |
Age

Legislation in the UK has only recently changed to address age-based discrimination. The Employment Equality Regulations on age were introduced in 2006 and replaced by the single Equality Act in 2010. The Act makes it unlawful to discriminate because of age and the context of the protection it offers was expanded to include the provision of goods and services in 2012. Ageism continues to be under-researched compared with sexism and racism (Abrams, Swift, Lamont and Drury, 2015). However, a larger volume of British research focused on age prejudice and discrimination before and after changes to the equality legislation.[20]

7.1 Summary

All age groups, including those under 30 years, suffer age discrimination. This tends to be largely ignored by research, which focuses primarily on older age groups (particularly over 50 years). Older people report feeling that they are treated with less respect and as though they are less intelligent and capable than others. Data on prejudiced attitudes also reveal a general tendency for people to express positive attitudes towards both older and younger age groups. The social context of age discrimination is therefore one of benign indifference, where there is little overt expression of prejudice, but a high level of discrimination. The link between prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviours for age shows that stereotypes, albeit benevolent, can affect older people's self-concept and capabilities. Awareness of such stereotypes is heightened through the language used to refer to older age. In particular, this is detrimental in employment and health and social care settings, where older people may be denied opportunities given to younger people. In employment, this is particularly problematic for women, who report facing double

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[20] From our search of the literature, nine papers relating to the aims of this project were published between 2005 and 2008, 17 were published between 2009 and 2012, and 16 from 2012 up to the time of search.

discrimination (age and sex). Other specific intersectionalities are age and disability, and age and race. Older disabled people feel that they are taken advantage of financially and older Gypsies/Travellers feel that they face a specific form of discrimination based on a lifelong experience of exclusion and disadvantage.

Further research is needed to investigate how different stereotypes affect different age groups. For example, younger people face more hostile stereotypes, but it is unknown how this impacts on their lives.

7.2　Expressions of prejudice

Research considering expressions of age-based prejudice in Great Britain (GB) has largely focused on stereotypes.

In a 2005 nationally representative survey of adults in GB, the majority of respondents reported feeling positive towards both younger (under 30 years) and older (over 70 years) age groups (66 per cent and 77 per cent respectively). Only a small minority reported negative feelings towards the younger (8 per cent) or older (two per cent) age groups (Abrams and Houston, 2006).

Stereotypes

Research by Age UK (formerly Age Concern and Help the Aged) has shown that the stereotypes associated with older and younger adults differ. Based on responses from a representative sample of British people, younger adults (a typical 25-year-old) were perceived to be better at looking after children, driving, being creative, taking enough exercise, learning new skills and using the internet. By contrast, older adults (a typical 75-year-old) were perceived to be better at being polite, settling arguments, understanding other people, managing staff, making good financial decisions, solving crosswords and having a healthy diet. The respondents did not consider there to be differences between the typical 25-year-old and typical 75-year-old at taking directions from a supervisor (Ray, Sharp and Abrams, 2006). These findings show that there are distinct tasks that people consider a younger and older person to be more capable of. They support some general stereotypes that older people are friendlier and younger people are more competent.

The same research showed stereotypes of younger people to be typically more hostile, whereas those associated with older adults are 'benevolent' or patronising, potentially undermining expectations about how well older people can perform at work or in other situations. An example of this is the notion that older people start to

'wind down' as they approach retirement and therefore carry out less work (Hill, 2011). Research by the Trade Unions Congress (TUC) (2014) noted that some employers included a preferred age range in their job advertisements and two-fifths asked about applicants' age in the recruitment process. The report noted that 'the potential for discrimination is illustrated by the finding that 23% of respondents thought that some jobs in their establishment were more suitable for certain ages than others.'

Values

Very few people express negative feelings towards older people. There is generally support for equal opportunities for older adults (Abrams, Eilola and Swift, 2009) and the majority consider age prejudice to be a serious problem (Abrams, Russell, Vauclair and Swift, 2011). Taken together, this may suggest that prejudice towards older adults takes indirect or subtle forms. We did not find instances of research in GB that has investigated the motivations behind prejudiced attitudes towards older or younger adults. However, the broader international evidence is consistent with the conclusion that people perceive 'benevolent' forms of stereotyping to be less threatening and thus are less likely to recognise these as prejudiced. There is also little research focusing on the younger age group, who are associated with more hostile forms of stereotyping, which is surprising given that younger people have been found to report more experiences of age discrimination (Abrams and Houston, 2006).

7.3   Experiences of discrimination

In a 2005 nationally representative survey of adults in GB, age-based discrimination was experienced by the largest proportion of respondents (Abrams and Houston, 2006). In particular, 52 per cent of those under 30 years of age reported this. Fewer of those aged 31-69 years reported discrimination (34 per cent), and only 21 per cent of the oldest age group, over 70 years, did so. As detailed above, very few people express negative attitudes towards different age groups, which questions the link between attitudes and behaviours. If respondents do not report negativity towards different age groups, but the majority of respondents reported experiencing age discrimination, then there is a disparity between expressions of prejudice and experiences of discriminatory behaviours.

Rippon *et al.* (2014) reported experiences of perceived age discrimination captured in the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA) 2010-11 and have drawn a comparison with a matched sample in the USA (2015). ELSA (and the matched US survey, the Health and Retirement Study (HRS)) asked participants to report the frequency of their experiences of five forms of discrimination in their daily lives. These included being treated with a lack of respect, receiving poor service in leisure outlets, being assumed to have reduced intelligence, experiencing threatening or harassing behaviour, and receiving poor treatment in healthcare settings. The findings revealed that 34.8 per cent of the adults over 50 years old in England perceived some form of age discrimination, which was significantly higher than in the US sample. This is also consistent with evidence from a series of independent studies of the UK population (Abrams, Eilola and Swift, 2009). Perceived age discrimination was significantly associated with older age, particularly among participants aged 60-9. Taken together across surveys, ageism is experienced by the youngest and oldest age groups.

In 2014, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) released a report on hate crime and crimes against older people (in England and Wales). This revealed that between 2012/13 and 2013/14, the number of crimes against older people referred to the CPS by the police increased from 2,832 to 3,317, or by 17 per cent.

7.4 Settings

There was evidence of age discrimination in employment and health and social care settings. In employment, discrimination ranged from bullying to being turned down for a job. In health and social care settings, the consequences of age discrimination were shown to have an important impact on older adults, for example, not receiving the same level of medical treatment or specialist referral as younger adults, specific needs not being met, and increased premiums for services such as insurance.

Employment

Abrams *et al.* (2009) reported data showing that about half of those working full time considered age discrimination to be a serious problem, a substantially larger proportion than was the case with respondents who had retired. The 2009-10 Citizenship Survey showed that three per cent of respondents in England reported age discrimination in the job market. The younger (16-24) and older (50+) age groups were most likely to cite age-based discrimination (Communities and Local

Government, 2009). This was echoed by Hill (2011) who found that 4 per cent of over 50s in the UK felt they had experienced labour market discrimination in being turned down for a job because of their age, compared with only 1 per cent of those aged 25–34 and 2 per cent of those aged 35–49. Some research identified some direct forms of discrimination. For example, a report for *the* National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT), which represents teachers in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, showed that in the teaching profession in the UK, nine per cent of teachers were bullied because of their age. In line with research on stereotypes, the older (over 50) and younger (under 30) teachers were the most likely to be bullied (Adamson, Owen and Dhillon, 2011).

Health and social care

A small survey of 85 cardiologists, GPs and care specialists for older people in England showed that 46 per cent of GPs treated older patients differently to younger patients. Older patients were less likely to be referred to specialists or to receive specialist investigatory treatment for heart conditions, and were less likely to be recommended for heart surgery or be prescribed medications (Harries, Forrest, Harvey, McClelland and Bowling, 2007). This is consistent with reports that medical assessments for older people are generally narrower in scope, focusing on physical needs and failing to make adequate provision for social needs and opportunities for social inclusion (Hill, 2011). Furthermore, Ray, Sharp and Abrams (2006) reported that less is spent on the provision of healthcare for the over 65s and that ageist attitudes are often expressed among staff delivering health and social care services.

In particular, mental health service provision was highlighted as being discriminatory towards older adults and this highlights where age intersects with disability. A national survey was launched in 2006 by the Healthcare Commission to assess mental health service provision in England and Wales, specifically for older adults (Healthcare Commission, 2009). Only two of the six trusts involved were actively making efforts to eliminate age-based discrimination in assessment and treatment. In general the provisions in place were not adapted to meet the needs of older adults and anecdotal evidence from carers suggested there was a further decline in services for those who moved from care for the under 65s to over 65s.

Other areas that were mentioned in the research as important contexts to consider age-based discrimination on health and care grounds were insurance, particularly travel policies, and prisons (Hill, 2011). Travel insurance policies often charge higher premiums to older adults (or are unavailable for those aged over 80), which is considered a direct form of discrimination and assumes that age is the most

important factor in determining health risk (Bytheway, Ward, Holland and Peace, 2007). In prisons, there are approximately 8,120 prisoners aged over 50 in England and Wales, including 605 over the age of 70, with those aged 60 and over forming the largest growing population in the prison estate (Hill, 2011). In Scotland, the number of prisoners aged over 50 increased by 71 per cent from 387 in 2001 to 660 in 2011 (Couper and Fraser, 2014). However, care and medical provisions are not well-catered for this particular population. There is also no evidence of research that has focused on these specific groups of older adults.

7.5   The link between attitudes and behaviours

Swift, Abrams and Marques (2012) tested the detrimental impact of negative stereotypes on cognitive performance of British older adults aged 60 years and over. Referring to the stereotype that older people are less competent than younger people had a negative impact on older people's maths and problem-solving performance. However, when made aware of positive stereotypes (such as older people are good at solving problems) their performance on related tasks improved. The study supports wider literature that both positive and negative stereotypes affect older people directly.

7.6   What works?

The review of evidence only revealed two examples of interventions to reduce prejudice towards older people. The first involved a local campaign in Caerphilly, Wales called 'Age really IS just a number!' (Intentionomics, 2013). The campaign aimed to challenge age categories to promote better understanding and tolerance, and improve the gap between generations while also encouraging the media and organisations to use more positive images to reduce the negative stereotypes of older and younger people. The assessibility score was low, making it difficult to evaluate the effectiveness, reproducibility and generalisability of this intervention approach for other domains.

The second example is an arts intervention to reduce prejudiced attitudes and increase pro-social behaviour towards older people (Van de Vyver and Abrams, 2015a). One hundred and fifty-three children from a primary school in England (years 1-6) were surveyed before and after viewing an art exhibition. They were asked about their perceptions of and attitudes towards older people, willingness to

cooperate with and prosocial attitudes towards them, and kindness. Children were also asked about who their role models were and why, and about their understanding of art forms. The results showed that, after the art exhibition, children were less biased against older people and more willing to cooperate with them. There were also differences according to age group, suggesting that some groups are more prone to stigmatise older people. The assessibility was moderate, so it is difficult to say how effective the intervention would be with other groups or for different protected characteristics.

7.7   Intersectionalities

In order to avoid duplication, intersectional evidence is only reviewed in one of the relevant chapters. To locate sections on other intersectionalities involving this protected characteristic, see Table A1.1 in the Appendix.

Age intersects with all other protected characteristics, and the evidence reviewed covered disability, gender, sexual orientation, religion and race. For example, older lesbian, gay or bisexual adults reported feeling invisible in care services and being rejected or judged by religious individuals, particularly doctors, nurses and care workers (Knocker, 2012). Anecdotal evidence details experiences such as being offered 'cures' or being 'cut-off' by members of religious groups. Similarly, older Asian communities also felt that they are not catered for in society, primarily in relation to health and social care (Nijjar, 2012).

Age and race

Older Gypsies and Travellers reported feeling that they faced a unique and very specific form of discrimination. Prior to 2015, Gypsies and Travellers had never been recognised on a national census. They often face marginalisation in daily activities. Additionally, many older Gypsies and Travellers reported having missed secondary education due to bullying, discrimination and prejudice, and the fact that schools rarely acknowledge Gypsy and Traveller culture within the curriculum (Lane, Spencer and McCready, 2012).

Age and sex

Research by TUC (2014) showed that the gender pay gap is largest for women over 50 years, who earn almost a fifth less than men of the same age. In addition, work-related stress, anxiety and depression are highest among women in the 45-54 age

range. The researchers suggest that a major factor in relation to age and sex which has been overlooked is the impact of the menopause and by ignoring this many employers could be inadvertently discriminating against older women.

Age and disability

Qualitative evidence from interviews with members of the Growing Older with a Learning Disability (GOLD) group, who are aged 50 years and over, suggests that although adults with learning disabilities are often targets for bullying and hate crime, the older adults in this study had not experienced this. They did, however, report being taken advantage of financially by support staff. Support staff were also seen to be lacking in understanding about the age-associated health needs of the people with learning disabilities they were supporting (Ward, 2012).

8 |
Sex

Since 1975, the Sex Discrimination Act has meant that it is against the law to discriminate against someone because of his or her gender or biological sex. The Equality Act 2010 makes it unlawful to discriminate because of sex.

8.1   Summary

Sex discrimination can arise in many forms and settings. Expressions of prejudiced attitudes focus mainly on interpretations of values and women's roles in society. Some research has considered the effects of gender stereotypes of such roles and values during children's development. Experiences of sexism are often researched in specific settings. For example, women report struggling to achieve equal status to men in terms of pay, promotion, and job roles in employment. Students perceive that sexism in university education affects teaching and the experience of studies. In health and social care, experiences of women from minority groups (for example, ethnic minorities, those with HIV and those with learning difficulties) show that there are barriers to receiving suitable care. Interventions have focused on violence towards women as well as partner violence perpetrated by women. In both cases educational methods improved outcomes. In particular, educating young people about violence in relationships increased their awareness and decreased acceptance of the issue. Evidence of the link between prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory and unlawful behaviours suggests that attitudes about masculinity and values about gender affect treatment of female sex workers. Intersectionalities were found in research on sex and sexual orientation. For example, men and women may hold different views about sexual orientation, which affects their attitudes towards (hypothetical) sexual assault victims depending on their sexual orientation.

8.2   Expressions of prejudice

Values

As is the case for disability and age, attitudes towards women appear to be positive but may mask more 'benevolent' forms of prejudice (Abrams, Houston, Van de Vyver and Vaslijavic, 2015). Research on prejudiced attitudes suggests that women's needs are considered important, that women are viewed as being warm, capable and successful, but not very competitive. In terms of emotions, they are more likely to be viewed with admiration (Abrams and Houston, 2006). Similarly to disability, high levels of violence against women (see below) suggest a discrepancy between attitudes and experiences.

Perceptions of the prevalence of prejudice towards women suggest that many believe more could be done to achieve equality for women (Olchawski, 2016; Ormston *et al.*, 2011), particularly within employment (EHRC Wales, 2008). Even though most people in Scotland disagree that a woman's place is in the home, almost a quarter think that women who have children should accept that they are less likely to be promoted as a result. This attitude was more common among women with children, compared to those without, but did not differ for men (Bromley, Curtice and Given, 2006). The view that offering more training to women, who are underrepresented in senior positions, would be fair was supported by far fewer men than women (Bromley, Curtice and Given, 2006; Ormston *et al.*, 2011). In addition, most people, particularly men, think that it would be unfair to only interview women for a job (Ormston *et al.*, 2011).

Evidence from a European survey found that in Great Britain (GB), 53 per cent of respondents thought that women should take their role as wives and mothers more seriously (Zick *et al.*, 2011).

Despite evidence that most people want equal opportunities for men and women, Olchawski (2016) found that among those who hold power over equal opportunity in employment (such as recruiters and interview decision-makers), the picture is very different. This group was found to be more than twice as likely as the overall population to be *against* equal opportunity of the sexes. In this case, men were less likely to support equal opportunity and a smaller proportion of recruitment decision-makers thought that equality is good for the economy than the overall population.

There is a general perception that men in top jobs will not make room for women unless they have to (Olchawski, 2016). However, in English politics there has been a steady increase in women MPs from 20 per cent in 2005 to 29 per cent in 2015

(Counting Women In, 2015). In Scotland, women make up 35 per cent of the members of Scottish Parliament and in Wales, 42 per cent of the Welsh Assembly are women (Counting Women In, 2014). Despite this, research suggests that women are more likely to be appointed to risky or hard-to-contest roles (Ryan, Haslam and Kulich, 2010).

Values regarding women's place in society influence other attitudes towards women. For example, in an experimental study, people who held more hostile sexist attitudes blamed a rape victim more strongly if the perpetrator was described as holding more hostile sexist attitudes. Men who had more benevolent sexist views blamed victims more if the perpetrator was married to her and was depicted as holding benevolent sexist attitudes (Durán, Moya, Megías and Viki, 2010). Interviews of adolescent men in England revealed that those who were more socially excluded from education or via the criminal justice system tended to be more overtly sexist and homophobic, more likely to value heterosexual sex, and to use this to exemplify their superiority over women and gain status from peers (Limmer, 2014).

Stereotypes

The media promotes gender stereotypes, which puts pressure on boys and girls to behave in certain ways. If they do not comply, this can put them at risk of prejudice from others (Suffolk County Council Report, 2011). Economic research has argued that gender differences in career progression and pay may not be a result of bias and discrimination, but rather innate and learned gender-stereotypical preferences by girls to be more risk aversive than their male counterparts (Booth and Nolen, 2010). Girls from single-sex schools were less likely to choose a real stakes gamble in a lottery game than boys from single-sex and co-educational schools, but more likely than girls from co-ed schools. Girls were also more likely to choose risky outcomes when among all-girl groups rather than mixed groups. The authors argued that all-girl groups may reduce the inhibition on girls for risk-taking choices that they would ordinarily feel. This is based on societal norms and expectations of women not to take risks, which is reduced when in all-girl groups and therefore gender identity is not a salient feature of the group (Booth and Nolen, 2010).

Social desirability

In a 2006 national survey, only a small minority of people (seven per cent) did not mind coming across as prejudiced towards women (Abrams and Houston, 2006). In addition, despite support for gender equality, the term 'feminism' to describe such support is viewed negatively, almost as a stigma (Olchawski, 2016).

8.3   Experiences of discrimination

Abrams and Houston (2006) found that 34 per cent of the population had experienced sexism and this affected women (37 per cent) more than men (28 per cent). A report for National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) showed that 13 per cent of teachers and head teachers experienced sexism (Adamson, Owen and Dhillon, 2011). Figures presented in 'Is Britain Fairer?' (EHRC, 2015) show that women are disproportionately affected by sexual and domestic violence.

Hate crime

Violence against women is a widespread form of violence against a protected characteristic. The most common forms are intimate partner violence, domestic violence, rape and sexual assault. Other forms include forced marriage, 'honour' crimes, trafficking, and female genital mutilation (Walby, Armstrong and Strid, 2010). Refuge statistics show that over a third of domestic violence begins or worsens when a woman is pregnant. However, violence against women is not classified as a hate crime and the literature search revealed little evidence focused on gender-based violence. Despite the majority of people agreeing that it is never acceptable under any circumstances to bully or hit a partner, an average of two women per week are murdered by male partners or ex-partners in England and Wales. Around a fifth of Welsh people think that domestic violence should be handled as a private matter, not reported to the police (EHRC Wales, 2008).

In England and Wales, there was an increase in the number of domestic abuse incidents recorded by the police from 749,521 to 887,253 between 2008/09 and 2013/14. In Scotland, there was an increase from 53,931 to 60,080 between 2008/09 and 2012/13 (EHRC, 2015).

In 2014, the Forced Marriage Unit of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office offered advice or support to 1,267 cases of possible forced marriage. Of these cases, 79 per cent involved female victims and 21 per cent male victims (Home Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014). Between 2012/13 and 2013/14, the number of referrals of honour-based violence-related offences from the police (to the Director of Public Prosecutions) rose from 230 to 240 (CPS, 2014b).

8.4 Settings

Employment

The Citizenship Survey (2009) showed that one per cent of people in England who had looked for work cited gender as a reason for being discriminated against when refused a job and two per cent of employees cited gender as a factor in being discriminated against for a promotion. Men and women were equally likely to cite gender as a reason for being refused a job, while female employees were slightly more likely than male employees to cite gender as a reason for not getting a promotion (Communities and Local Government, 2009).

Ethnic minority women in accountancy organisations who were interviewed about their experiences in a male-dominated environment suggested that appearance played a key role in their treatment at work. One interviewee reported that dress was connected to progression and having started a supervisory role, changed her dress code in accordance with the role to 'try to look more official' (Johnston and Kyriacou, 2011). It is not known whether this same appearance hierarchy applies equally to both sexes and more generally across ethnic groups.

Qualitative research has revealed that women also face distinct barriers in obtaining finance for business start-ups (Fielden, Dawe and Woolnough, 2006) owing to family or domestic responsibilities and lack of recognition in previous employment (Fielden *et al.*, 2006; Woodroffe, 2009).

Fotaki (2013) interviewed women in business and management schools at nine English universities. Female academics reported feeling like outsiders and not receiving recognition for managing an unfair allocation of work compared to male colleagues. Women who did not follow the male norm felt at risk of being marginalised within their discipline (Fotaki, 2013). Those women who demanded recognition reported retaliation and exclusion. Some women also reported that the language used by male academics at conferences often perpetuated the unequal status of genders and further excluded women. Objectification and attention to women's appearance were also reported as being used to reinforce the lower status of women in academia. These interviews echo findings from quantitative surveys of women's experiences in employment, particularly in male-dominated areas, but also explain some of the impact that this has on women's working life.

Education

Despite mixed evidence from reports of harassment compared to surveys within schools, sexual bullying and harassment in schools does seem to be a problem that requires further exploration (End Violence Against Women Coalition, 2012; 2013).

At university, female students reported feeling pressured to act in certain ways because of their gender (to convey their femininity), which increased the visible differences between male and female students. Men also reported feeling social pressure to conform to masculine stereotypes of athleticism and being 'macho', and to avoid appearing insecure or sensitive (Morrison, Bourke and Kelley, 2005).

A third of women and 11 per cent of men stated that they were offended by the use of gender stereotypes in their learning. In addition, students reported that inappropriate jokes or remarks had been made by lecturers in relation to gender (Morrison *et al.*, 2005). Female students largely ignored gender discrimination and often did not define their own experiences as discrimination per se; some even felt that gender inequality received too much attention and that talking about it created or exacerbated the problem.

There was a lack of role models for students in their departments and many thought that raising the profile of female academics was a good idea. Both male and female students reported a preference for female tutors who were perceived to be better at listening and organisation. Female respondents also highlighted problems with male tutors such as being ignored or overlooked and made to feel less intelligent than their male peers. However, a minority of men also reported bias from their female tutors who were seen to favour female students (Morrison *et al.*, 2005).

Health and social care

A study funded by Maternity Action examined the access to health care through GPs of 261 women across the UK. The study used an online questionnaire and focus groups with five groups of women with poor health outcomes: ethnic minority women; refugee and asylum-seeking women; women with HIV; lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) women; and women with learning disabilities (Psarros, 2014). This survey revealed barriers and experiences arising from the system being impractical for working women and mothers.

The focus groups with ethnic minority women revealed that staff in GP surgeries were seen as racist and failing to take ethnic minority women's complaints seriously. Refugee and asylum-seeking women also reported experiencing discriminatory

treatment by staff and difficulties in registering and making appointments, which they primarily put down to their status and race (Psarros, 2014).

Women with learning disabilities reported problems but did not always define their treatment as discriminatory. Women in this group highlighted that communication and technical language was assumed to be understood and they did not feel that their additional needs were taken into account, particularly in cases involving domestic abuse and when specialist mental health services were required.

8.5   The link between attitudes and behaviours

Despite there being good experimental evidence that sexist attitudes predict sexist behaviour and decisions (Glick and Fiske, 2001; Swim and Campbell, 2003), research from the UK is limited to one or two spheres. Research on men in Scotland who pay for sex with female sex workers showed that they were likely to endorse myths that sex workers and rape victims are culpable or even enjoyed the sexual exploitations and abuse. These beliefs were also linked to heightened masculinity and hostility towards women (Farley, Macleod, Anderson and Golding, 2011).

Similarly, in a survey of men across England, sexist and hostile attitudes towards women, and men's tendency to objectify women, predicted a greater drive for masculinity (Swami and Voracek, 2012).

This work is consistent with other social science evidence that attitudes towards women can influence men's treatment of women and their perceptions of women as objects. Men's views on masculinity also enhance negative attitudes towards women.

8.6   What works?

The search for evidence produced two interventions that are included in this review. Both interventions are summarised in Table 8.1 below and use educational methods, one with children and one with a targeted group of adult women. The Relationship Education and Domestic Abuse Prevention tuition (REaDAPt) programme suggests that educating children about domestic violence is useful in reducing acceptance of it. Although the systematic literature search did not find any research exploring women's attitudes towards men, one intervention aimed to reduce women's violent behaviour towards men. The WAVE project suggests that educating women about

the triggers of their violent behaviours and how to control their emotions gave them a much greater sense of control over their violent behaviours. The assessibility was moderate, making it difficult to draw firm conclusions about the intervention's effectiveness.

The REaDAPt intervention tested by Gadd and colleagues (2014) had high assessability. It used an experimental design to test the effectiveness of the project in European Schools. This report described the design of the evaluation, the intervention methods and the outcomes that were measured, and provided enough detail that it would be possible to reproduce.

Table 8.1 **Interventions aimed at reducing prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory behaviours towards sex**

	Intervention	Measures	Outcome
Gadd, Fox and Hale (2014)	REaDAPt: Secondary school children read a book in which a university student is in an abusive relationship. The story is discussed over six one-hour sessions, alongside presentations and short films that depict domestic violence situations.	*the Attitudes towards Domestic Violence questionnaire (ADV) was administered before and after the interventions were delivered *focus group discussions	The intervention was effective in reducing both boys' and girls' acceptance of domestic violence. Ongoing work to develop a 'toolkit'
Walker (2013)	WAVE intervention delivers intensive support (two-hourly weekly sessions over a six-week period) to female offenders and women at risk of offending in the UK.	* semi-structured interview about their experience with the intervention program	Women felt they gained control over their emotions and behaviours. They were more aware of 'triggers' to their violent behaviour. Women were not aware of inner thoughts and feelings regarding their power in intimate relationships.

8.7 Intersectionalities

In order to avoid duplication, intersectional evidence is only reviewed in one of the relevant chapters. To locate sections on other intersectionalities involving this protected characteristic, see Table A1.1 in the Appendix.

Sex and sexual orientation

A series of studies revealed differences between male and female respondents' attributions of blame for being a victim of sexual assault depending on the victim's gender, sexual orientation and behaviour (Davies, Austen and Rogers, 2011; Davies, Gilston and Rogers, 2012; Davies, Rogers and Whitelegg, 2009). Using a scenario in which a 15-year-old victim of sexual assault was described as either male or female, heterosexual or homosexual, and resistant or submissive, in an attack perpetrated by either a male or female relative, the research identified that male respondents attributed the most blame to the gay, male, submissive victim, and the least to the heterosexual, male, resistant victim (Davies, Rogers and Whitelegg, 2009).

9 |
Sexual orientation

The Equality Act 2010 protects a person from discrimination on the grounds of their sexual orientation.

9.1   Summary

We were able to find the most literature related to sexual orientation, but only one paper directly explored the link between attitudes and behaviours, and only two investigated interventions. Research on expressions of prejudiced attitudes suggests an improving trend over time, especially on measures of social distance. However, certain values (such as religion) and settings (such as sport) are perceived to generate barriers to equality. This creates a social context for sexual orientation that involves malign antipathy, rather than intergroup conflict. For example, despite the generally positive findings on social distance measures, lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) people perceive that there are obstacles to holding certain positions in society (for example, MP).

Hate crime statistics suggest that crimes motivated by antipathy towards sexual orientation, especially against gay men, are prevalent. Victims report that perpetrators use physical appearance as a cue to identify victims. Stereotypes were also mentioned in experiences of discrimination in employment, particularly within the police force and in the media. Yet some LGB people regarded the use of stereotypes as both positive and negative -- as a means to assimilate with colleagues but also to highlight difference. In health and social care, the primary factor seen to cause discrimination was a lack of information or understanding, rather than prejudiced attitudes.

The one paper that directly explored a link between prejudice and discrimination revealed that gay men and lesbians were less likely to receive help, especially from men. However the attitude of the helper was inferred rather than measured and so the link between a prejudiced attitude and reduced helping can also only be inferred. Interventions in this area have used educational methods, but have not employed a

high enough standard of evaluation to determine their effectiveness with a high level of confidence. Research on intersectional issues suggests that women's experiences need to be separated from men's in sexual orientation research to understand particular difficulties faced by being a lesbian woman. This is especially true for disabled women. Religious values were perceived to conflict with sexual orientation. For example, among ethnic minority men where sexual and ethnic identities conflicted, there were more negative experiences (for example, attacks were more violent).

9.2   Expressions of prejudice

Values

Abrams and Houston (2006) found that half of British people felt that it was important to satisfy the needs of gay and lesbian people. In a 2011 European survey, same-sex marriage was rejected by 42.1 per cent of British respondents and 37.2 per cent of respondents thought that homosexuality was immoral (Zick *et al.*, 2011). However, there is evidence that attitudes are becoming more positive. A survey of 1,968 Scottish people who were not lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (LGBT) showed that 62 per cent acknowledged that prejudice towards LGBT people exists (French *et al.*, 2015; Noller and Somerville, 2012). Half of Welsh respondents surveyed shared this view (White and Spear, 2013), and most people in Britain think that LGBT people should be able to be open about their sexual orientation (Cowan, 2007; Stonewall, 2012).

Surveys across Great Britain (GB) show that religious attitudes, lack of acceptance, and negative parental attitudes have been cited as explanations for the prevalence of LGBT prejudice. They also show that a gay or lesbian person would be more likely to conceal their sexual orientation in religion, education and politics. These spheres are perceived to be less 'gay friendly' than the arts and entertainment industries (Cowan, 2007; Stonewall, 2012). Parents and schools are considered important avenues to help reduce prejudice towards lesbian and gay people (Noller and Somerville, 2012; White and Spear, 2013), as are employment and health and social care settings (Stonewall, 2012). These findings are congruent with the main settings in which homophobic discrimination has been researched and point to primary areas in which interventions could be directed.

Stereotypes

A survey and interview study in the North of England of 90 men who self-identified as gay, bisexual, or men who have sex with men and 54 women who self-identified as lesbian, bisexual or women who have sex with women revealed that decision-making about safer sex was often based on certain stereotypes related to visibility of sexual ill-health among LGB people (for example, 'looking healthy') or perceptions connected to appearance, such as age (Formby, 2011).

Social distance and intergroup contact

Research has found public attitudes towards LGBT people holding different positions within work and society to be positive and to have improved over time. For example, in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) 2006, 48 per cent of respondents thought that a gay man or lesbian would make a suitable primary school teacher (Bromley, Curtice and Given, 2006). This figure had risen to 56 per cent in the SSAS 2010 (Ormston *et al*., 2011). Fewer people felt comfortable with having a gay or lesbian person in some roles that involved closer contact, including as a boss or neighbour, and least of all as an in-law, indicating continued resistance to contact with gay and lesbian people (Abrams and Houston, 2006; Cowan, 2007; Stonewall, 2012). Indications are that these attitudes are changing over time, because discomfort with these closer relationships has also dropped from 33 per cent in the SSAS 2006 to 30 per cent in the SSAS 2010 (Bromely, Curtice and Given, 2006; Ormston *et al*., 2011). Moreover, those who had more contact with gay and lesbian people had more positive attitudes towards gay people as a whole (Bromely, Curtice and Given, 2006; Ormston *et al*., 2011).

Emotions

Abrams and Houston (2006) found that, in comparison to other groups, respondents expressed more negative feelings towards gay and lesbian people than both older and younger adults, Muslims, Black people and disabled people. Similarly, people were more likely to be prepared to express prejudice towards gay and lesbian people than towards any of the other protected characteristics (Abrams and Houston, 2006). This reveals that sexual orientation is one of the protected characteristics that is subject to equality hypocrisy – a suspension of people's personal values of equality in the application to that particular characteristic (Abrams, Houston, Van de Vyver and Vasiljevic, 2015).

9.3   Experiences of discrimination

A survey of 1,052 Scottish adults showed that 96 per cent of LGBT people believe more could be done to tackle sexual orientation inequality (French *et al.*, 2015). Among these respondents, 49 per cent had experienced anti-LGBT discrimination in the last month, 79 per cent in the last year and 97 per cent in their lifetimes. By contrast, non-LGBT people reported witnessing homophobic, biphobic and transphobic prejudice but were not likely to have experienced it personally (French *et al.*, 2015). In addition, a survey of LGB people in GB showed that 79 per cent of respondents reported having been a victim of or having fear about their safety based on homophobic hate crime (Rivers, McPherson and Hughes, 2010).

French *et al.* (2015) found that most LGB people felt comfortable being open about their sexuality with friends and at home, but less so with parents and wider family. In particular, few LGB people reported feeling comfortable being open about their sexual orientation at work, when accessing services, at school and with neighbours. The majority of respondents felt that Scottish Government (95 per cent), schools (93 per cent) and local authorities (89 per cent) were mainly responsible for tackling LGBT inequality in Scotland. In particular, respondents thought that more should be done in schools to address the needs of LGBT pupils and include LGBT issues in learning (French *et al.*, 2015).

Stonewall conducted online interviews with 969 LGB people in Wales, which showed that LGB people felt that they faced barriers to holding certain positions in society and being able to be open about their sexual orientation. For example, becoming a school governor, being appointed to a public position and serving as a magistrate or police community support officer. Proportions for all situations were higher for disabled LGB people (Jones, 2009).

Biphobia

Biphobia is a specific form of sexual orientation based discrimination, but is underrepresented in the literature identified in for this project. Biphobia research is often subsumed within sexual orientation, creating a minority within a minority. Rankin, Morton and Bell (2015) provide the only evidence identified in the literature search that specifically focused on bisexual people's experiences. Their survey of 513 bisexual people across the UK showed that bisexual people feel excluded from LGBT and heterosexual communities, which increases feelings of isolation and social exclusion. Biphobia was experienced in NHS services (particularly mental health services), sport and leisure, and education, where many bisexual people felt

the need to pass as straight when accessing services. Biphobia was also highlighted as intersecting with discrimination based on sexual orientation, age, disability, gender identity, race, religion and some with gender reassignment. This suggests that bisexual respondents face multiple discrimination.

Hate crime

Sexual orientation was the second most common motivation for hate crime recorded by the police in England/Wales and Scotland, after race.

In England/Wales, there were 5,597 hate crimes recorded as motivated by sexual orientation in 2014/15 (of 52,528, or 11 per cent). This was an increase on the previous year. Part of this is likely to be due to improved recording by the police, but may also reflect increased reporting or a rise in crime (Corcoran *et al.*, 2015).[21]

The Gay British Crime Survey was carried out in 2008 (Dick, 2008) with 1,712 LGB people and again in 2013 (Guasp, 2013) with over 2,500 LGB people across GB.[22] The results showed that over time, LGB people's experiences of victimisation, harassment and hate crime have decreased slightly. For example, experiences of LGBhate incidences dropped from 21 per cent (2008) to 17 per cent (2013). This was reflected as a decrease from one in three to one in five for lesbian women, but no change for gay men (Guasp, 2013). Insults and harassment remained the most common form of incident (>85 per cent) (Dick, 2008; Guasp, 2013).

The 2013 report included instances of online homophobic abuse and revealed that one in 20 LGB people had been targeted online in the last year. However, a greater proportion had witnessed online homophobic abuse directed at someone else (Guasp, 2013). The majority of hate crimes were reported to be perpetrated by men under the age of 25 years, who victims felt either knew or suspected their sexual identity because of the way they look (Dick, 2008; Guasp, 2013). Furthermore, interviews with LGB individuals in Leicester showed that those who regarded themselves as identifiably gay experienced higher levels of victimisation (Chakraborti and Hardy, 2015). Most incidents occurred between perpetrators and victims of similar age groups (Dick, 2008) For example, older and disabled gay people reported more incidents perpetrated by neighbours or a local person (Guasp, 2013).

The majority of hate incidents were not reported, mainly because victims did not think it was serious enough or constituted a hate crime, that the police would not be able to do anything about it, and fear that it would not be taken seriously

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[21] In Scotland, 1,020 charges for sexual orientation aggravated crime were reported in 2015/16 (COPFS, 2016), an increase of 20 per cent on the previous year.
[22] Analysis of the 2013 survey also included a subset of Welsh respondents.

(Chakraborti and Hardy, 2015; Dick, 2008; Guasp, 2013; Jones, 2013; The Lesbian & Gay Foundation, 2012). For those who did report their experiences, not all of them were recorded as hate crimes (Dick, 2008) or motivated by homophobia, and very few led to convictions (Guasp, 2013). Reports to LGBT organisations showed that 10 per cent of victims who reported an incident to the police had received unhelpful or homophobic treatment (Kelley and Paterson, 2008).

National Union of Students' (NUS) surveys with over 9,000 students on university campuses across GB investigated hate speech. LGBT students feared victimisation, which led them to change their appearance, clothes or behaviour stereotypical of their sexual orientation to avoid labels and stereotypes that might have increased the chances of them being targeted (NUS, 2013d).

9.4   Settings

LGB people have reported that they expect to face discrimination in a number of areas. Guasp (2012) surveyed almost 3,000 LGB individuals across England, Scotland and Wales and found that LGB people expect to be treated worse than heterosexual people in a range of scenarios. For example, reporting a crime (20 per cent), especially homophobic hate crime (24 per cent), accessing care services (31 per cent), in sports (63 per cent of men and 38 per cent women), and in the media, where it is felt that there are not enough or unrealistic portrayals of LGB people on TV (Guasp, 2012).

Employment

Stonewall's survey in Wales revealed that, at work, 17 per cent of LGB people and 24 per cent of disabled LGB people have experienced bullying because of their sexual orientation. Bullying was mostly perpetrated by colleagues in their own team (28 per cent of cases), but also by senior staff (18 per cent of cases by a line manager and 15 per cent by a senior manager) (Jones, 2009).

Interviews with gay men in Bournemouth showed that many gay employees did not want to be defined only according to their sexuality because they did not want to be treated differently. For some men, using stereotypes was seen to put others at ease about their sexuality and reduce the propensity for discrimination. For other men, stereotypes were thought to cause impositions and in extreme cases led the men to leave the organisation. This was particularly evident in organisations with less prominent LGBT support networks and fewer LGBT employees. Those who did

experience forms of discrimination based on their sexual identity preferred not to challenge it, opting to avoid any confrontation or make others feel uncomfortable (Roberts, 2011).

An investigation of the experiences of LGB workers after the introduction of the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2003 showed that visibility of equal opportunities policy and LGBT groups made LGB employees feel much more comfortable sharing their sexuality at work (Wright, Colgan, Creegany and McKearney, 2006). The extent to which homophobia was challenged indicated to LGB employees the level of inclusion in practice within the organisation, however more needed to be done to enforce policy without pressuring LGB people to whistle blow on homophobia. Other LGB people reported that the comfort they felt being 'out' at work was another benchmark for how 'gay friendly' the organisation was (Wright *et al.*, 2006). Similarly, interviews with 11 male gay entrepreneurs in the UK revealed that one of the motivations for setting up one's own business was to avoid employment-based problems associated with being gay and the ease with which they could be 'out' as a self-employed business owner rather than an employee (Galloway, 2012).

The police force

An online survey of 836 LGB police officers from services in England and Wales showed that despite positive experiences, a substantial minority (17 per cent) of respondents had experienced discrimination in the workplace. It also showed that they were 10 times more likely than heterosexual colleagues to experience discrimination in promotion (Jones and Williams, 2015).

Colvin (2015) reported results of a survey of 243 officers from across GB, comparing the experiences of gay male and lesbian police officers. This showed that gay men were seen to be able to benefit from their sexual orientation status more so than lesbian police officers in areas such as training, mentoring and firing. This was perceived to be a means of breaking the traditionally masculine stereotype of the police force, where gay men reported feelings of tokenism.

Interviews conducted in 2008-09 with 20 gay male police officers from constabularies across the UK showed that they regarded their experiences 'coming out' at work as a guide to how supportive they felt their workplace was. Stereotypes of gay officers used by heterosexual colleagues were seen as evidence that they had been included or accepted. However, in sectors of the force that are perceived to be exceptionally masculine (such as firearms and territorial support units), LGB officers

expressed more difficulty expressing their sexual identity (Rumens and Broomfield, 2012).

Health and social care

The main findings from research in the health and social care setting is that there is a lack of information tailored to the needs of LGBT individuals, especially around sexual health and risk-taking behaviour, and among healthcare professionals who are seen to indirectly discriminate due to lack of knowledge. Stonewall have highlighted that service providers did not always consider a person's sexual orientation to be relevant to their health needs and that some practitioners used negative stereotypes of lesbians and gay men to express their understanding of LGBT issues (Bridger and Somerville, 2014; Hunt, Cowan and Chamberlain, 2007).

One Stonewall survey asked the opinions of 421 health and social care staff in Scotland. Twenty-nine per cent of staff reported that they had heard a colleague make negative remarks about an LGBT person, and seven per cent reported witnessing colleagues discriminate against and provide poorer treatment to a patient because they were LGBT. In addition, 12 per cent of staff said that LGBT colleagues experienced discrimination because of their sexual orientation, with 46 per cent stating that service users had been heard making negative or discriminatory comments about staff or other patients (Bridger and Somerville, 2014).

Stonewall interviewed 21 members of healthcare staff in the UK and found that some felt that prejudiced attitudes affected patient care, not only by discriminating against certain patients, but also by preventing LGB staff from caring for patients of the same sex. Interviewees felt that this implied they were not to be trusted and placed the staff's sexual orientation above the needs of the patient. For staff, the prevalence of homophobic attitudes affected career progression and highlighted a lack of knowledge of the law and rights of gay employees. Participants felt that homophobic discrimination needed to be addressed more clearly through training and awareness of policy (Hunt, Cowan and Chamberlain, 2007).

Bridger and Somerville (2014) found that staff felt more uncomfortable asking patients monitoring questions about sexual orientation (15 per cent) and gender reassignment (15 per cent) compared to other protected characteristics. A survey of 5,909 lesbian and bisexual women in the UK showed that many women felt that healthcare staff treated their sexual orientation as a taboo subject (Fish and Bewley, 2010). Lesbian and bisexual women said that this affected their ability and comfort to disclose their sexual orientation, especially bisexual women in mixed-sex relationships (Bridger and Somerville, 2014; Fish and Bewley, 2010; Psarros, 2014).

Education

Evidence of sexual orientation discrimination in education considers LGB young people's experiences of direct and indirect discrimination. A survey of 13-20 year olds in England examined experiences of sex and relationship education (SRE) at school (Formby, 2011). Indirect discrimination occurred via teaching and learning in that LGBT issues were not covered, and support was not offered to better understand sexual orientation or same-sex relationships and sexual health.

Direct discrimination was experienced at school and on university campuses. A survey of LGBT students from 42 British universities revealed that 23 per cent of students had experienced homophobic discrimination since being at university (Ellis, 2008).

Between 2011-14 Stonewall commissioned surveys specifically aimed at gathering the experiences of teachers in British primary and secondary schools (Guasp, Ellison and Satara, 2014) and young LGBT people at secondary schools and colleges (Guasp, 2012).

The Teachers' Report revealed that 86 per cent of secondary school teachers and 45 per cent of primary school teachers knew of pupils in their school that had experienced homophobic bullying and were aware of the use of homophobic language by pupils. In secondary schools, this mainly took the form of verbal abuse and malicious gossip. In many cases, particularly in primary school, teachers thought that pupils were mostly unaware of what the terms they used meant For example, saying that something was 'so gay' was used as an offensive term,[23] but was not always understood (Guasp, Ellison and Satara, 2014). Nonetheless, very few incidents were challenged by teachers or other pupils. Many victims also did not report incidents out of fear or embarrassment, and because there appeared to be no consequences for perpetrators (Guasp, 2012).

The Teachers' Report showed that pupils who were suspected of being LGB were the most likely to experience homophobic bullying (53 per cent) and to be followed by boys behaving in an effeminate way (45 per cent). The School Report revealed that 55 per cent of LGB pupils reported experiences of homophobic bullying at school (Guasp *et al.*, 2014). The Lesbian and Gay Foundation (2012) surveyed adults in Manchester and found that many respondents thought that homophobic bullying and discrimination reduced as level of education increased, with one in five respondents experiencing discrimination at school compared to one in 10 at

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[23] Researchers from the University of Alberta are monitoring such uses of casual homophobic language. See http://www.nohomophobes.com/#!/today/ [accessed: 11 July 2016]

university. However, this was felt to be prioritised less than reducing race and disability discrimination (Guasp, 2012; Valentine, Wood and Plumber, 2009)

The Equality Change Unit surveyed 1,501 staff and 2,704 students in 2009 about experiences of homophobic bullying and abuse on university campuses (Valentine, Wood and Plumber, 2009). Students reported that they would like to see more LGBT staff acting as mentors and supporting student groups. However, staff themselves tended to want to avoid this due to maintaining professional pastoral roles and also because many did not feel comfortable being 'out' more widely across the university as they feared discrimination. This was particularly important for male staff who considered their sexual orientation to be more visible than female staff (Valentine, Wood and Plumber, 2009).

Sport

Interviews with 1,968 adults in Scotland revealed 68 per cent of respondents thought that LGBT people would be most likely to conceal their sexuality in sports and that football specifically contributed to the overall existence of prejudice (Noller and Somerville, 2012).

Stonewall conducted an investigation of homophobic discrimination in sport, including a survey of 2,005 football fans across GB (including 503 LGB respondents) (Dick, 2009). The survey results showed that 33 per cent of respondents thought that homophobic abuse had reduced in the past 20 years, compared to 61 per cent who thought that racial abuse had reduced in the last 20 years. Despite over 90 per cent of fans knowing that anti-gay abuse is banned on football grounds/terraces and is against the law, 70 per cent reported hearing anti-gay language and chants at matches within the last five years (Dick, 2009).

An online survey of 3,500 football fans revealed that supporters thought an athlete's ability to play football is the only criterion on which they are judged and their sexuality is of little consequence to fans' evaluations. However, fans who did express homophobic attitudes anticipated that any gay player who 'came out' would be subject to intolerable abuse from fans, the media, and other players (Cashmore and Cleland, 2011).

Players' experiences suggest that men perceive more barriers to participation than women. Focus groups with amateur players showed that women cited sexism as a greater influence on discrimination than their sexual orientation (Dick, 2009). Online interviews with 969 LGB people in Wales showed that 11 per cent of respondents who were involved in team sports played for a team that was specifically for LGB

people, but over half reported that they would be more likely to join a team that they knew was LGB-friendly (Jones, 2009). A problem identified by fans, amateur players and industry professionals is the lack of leadership and intervention in place to challenge homophobic abuse, as well as the media avoidance of coverage or discussion of anti-gay abuse (Dick, 2009).

Media

There is a lack of recent evidence, but Cowan and Valentine (2006) analysed 168 hours of primetime television broadcast between 7-10pm on BBC One and BBC Two for an eight-week period in 2005. Their analysis revealed that gay lives were portrayed for only six minutes, covering 19 separate instances and 15 different programmes. Gay lives were five times more likely to be portrayed in negative terms and were rarely included as part of everyday storylines. Gay characters were used for comedic effect in 51 per cent of output and a large proportion showed the use of implied gay sexuality as an insult or to undermine someone. Both gay and heterosexual viewers believed that gay people were included in television for entertainment purposes or shock value in soaps/dramas.

9.5   The link between attitudes and behaviours

Hendren and Blank (2009) conducted a field experiment on helping behaviour in which 240 residents of a town in southern England were observed interacting with an actor who approached them in a car park and asked if they could spare 10p to pay the parking fee. The actor wore either a plain black t-shirt with no logo or images (heterosexual condition), or a pro-gay t-shirt which displayed the words 'Gay Pride' in large red lettering (lesbian/gay condition). Participants' behaviour was labelled helpful if they gave change to the confederate, or if they looked for change but did not have any. Non-helpful behaviour included the participant not looking for change, being rude to or ignoring the confederate.

Results showed that the chances of receiving help were more than three times lower for the perceived lesbian or gay person compared to a heterosexual person. Men were least likely to offer help to the lesbian or gay person and were significantly more likely to exhibit discriminatory behaviour than women. Men were also less likely to offer help to a man. However, it should be noted that the actor's t-shirt may have conveyed support for gay rights and other values but not necessarily that the wearer

was gay, so either or both factors could be responsible for people's willingness to help.

These results are consistent with questionnaire data that shows sexual orientation prejudice to be stronger in men than in women (Abrams and Houston, 2006; Steffens and Wagner, 2004) and that prejudiced language increases the likelihood of discriminating against a gay person in allocation of resources (Fabio Fasoli, Maass and Carnaghi, 2015). In addition, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) recorded that men committed 86 per cent of homophobic hate crimes in 2013-14 and that the figure for men, compared to women, has remained above 85 per cent since 2008-09. However, the investigation only assumes prejudiced attitudes are to blame for the reduction in helping behaviour, rather than actually measuring attitudes.

9.6   What works?

Two interventions were reviewed. Mitchell and colleagues (2014) used a multi-method approach to evaluate the effectiveness of interventions to tackle homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying among school-aged children and young people. To evaluate existing interventions the authors reviewed 31 pieces of literature, interviewed 20 teachers, observed four schools (case study) and recruited 247 individuals for an online exercise that mapped existing interventions and views on their effectiveness. The assessability was average. The review revealed that whole school approaches were considered more effective than reactive approaches, education, teaching, and playground approaches.

Table 9.1   **Initiatives within each approach that could be used to prevent homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying in schools**

Approach	Initiatives that could be used
Whole school	Pupil involvement, senior management involvement, a 'champion', information for pupils, equality and diversity policy, monitoring and recording incidents, bullying in well-being programmes, electronic technology policy, LGBT issues in curriculum, staff training, anti-bullying strategy, including parents/carers, transphobic strategy, positive environment

Teaching	Teaching about harm/effects of bullying, teaching about difference, interactive teaching, external provider talks, interactive teaching about cyberbullying
Playground	Improved playgrounds, consistent policies, empowered staff, teaching children to challenge bullying, buddy systems
Reactive/supportive	Direct sanctions, recording incidents, restorative justice, support for bullied children, signposting support

Within each approach, any of the initiatives could be used in combination or not at all.

Warwick and Aggleton (2014) interviewed 58 children and nine members of staff at three different schools (co-educational, all-girls and all-boys) within the UK, aiming to identify how the schools address homophobia. Qualitative analysis revealed that children have complex ways of discussing homophobia, addressing aspects such as sexual meanings and identities, sexual communities and rights, power, sexuality-related discrimination, and images of masculinity and femininity. Conversely, schools' commitment to address homophobia was aligned with their concerns for fairness. These results are consistent with the wider literature. The assessability was average.

9.7   Intersectionalities

In order to avoid duplication, intersectional evidence is only reviewed in one of the relevant chapters. To locate sections on other intersectionalities involving this protected characteristic, see Table A1.1 in the Appendix.

LGBT respondents reported intersectionality with other protected characteristics including age, where younger LGBT people were bullied at school and older LGBT people felt isolated in social care, Moreover, disabled, religious and ethnic minority LGBT people reported multiple discrimination and feeling underrepresented in society.

Sexual orientation and sex

Surveys and focus groups with LGB people revealed that lesbian and bisexual women feel overlooked within healthcare provision (Formby, 2011). This may point to a wider problem in research where the experiences of gay men and women are combined, rather than considered distinct. One online survey focused specifically on lesbian and bisexual women's experiences revealed appearance concerns, where

lesbian women, stereotypically viewed as 'butch' or masculine in appearance, felt more easily identified as non-heterosexual. Experiences of discrimination were associated with less appearance satisfaction for lesbian women than bisexual women (Huxley, 2013).

Sexual orientation and disability

Interviews with six lesbian and gay adults who had been inpatients on mental health wards revealed negative attitudes from staff and a feeling that treatment was different from that offered to presumed heterosexual patients (Robertson, Pote, Byrne and Frasquilho, 2015). Similarly, interviews with five gay men with learning disabilities revealed experiences of overtly negative attitudes of staff in shared housing services and day centres regarding their sexuality (Abbott, 2013). Interviews with nurses and carers revealed a lack of knowledge and understanding on their own part and a lack of training and provision of materials within the services to enable them to provide the necessary help and advice concerning LGBT service users' needs (Abbott and Howarth, 2007).

Three mental health issues were identified as more prevalent among LGBT people: attempted suicide and self-harm among young people; alcohol abuse among lesbian and bisexual women; and body image issues among gay and bisexual men (Nodin *et al.*, 2015). A survey of 2,078 adults (of which 65 per cent were LGBT) and interviews with 35 LGBT adults in England revealed that mental health issues were the result of intersecting factors that young LGBT people struggle to manage, including discrimination and prejudice, which led to isolation and low self-esteem (Nodin *et al.*, 2015). Respondents felt that healthcare staff needed more training to help with these issues and that medical literature, especially material about body image and eating disorders, needed to be accessible to gay men and not just young girls. They also felt that gay male role models were needed in mainstream media (Nodin, Peel, Tyler and Rivers, 2015).

Sexual orientation and religion

Focus groups with religious people (Christians, Muslims, Jews and Hindus) in the North of England revealed that the majority of focus group members agreed that gay people should not be discriminated against and that they supported laws against homophobic hate (Hunt and Valentine, 2008). Others acknowledged that theological positions about LGBT people differed from the reality of living and working in communities where LGBT people live, which had encouraged some religious people to reconsider their attitudes towards lesbian and gay people and reduced prejudiced

attitudes (Hunt and Valentine, 2008). Religious people who reported more contact with LGBT people reported positive experiences and noted that if they were uncomfortable with someone's sexuality it was their own responsibility to deal with the discomfort, not that of the LGBT person. This challenges the assumption that people with strongly-held religious beliefs were automatically homophobic. Many focus group members thought that stereotyped images of religious people as resolutely homophobic were largely due to public statements made by religious leaders manipulated in media portrayals (Hunt and Valentine, 2008).

Sexual orientation and race

The Gay British Crime Survey 2013 asked 2,544 LGB adults about their experiences of homophobic hate crime and revealed that ethnic minority LGB people experienced more negative and more physically aggressive attacks than White gay people (Guasp, 2013). Ethnic minority gay people were more likely to experience hate incidents in their local area (Guasp, 2013), and near their home (Kelley and Paterson, 2008).

In-depth email interviews with 47 Black and South Asian gay men in Britain revealed a general feeling that experiences of being gay were more difficult for men from ethnic minority backgrounds than for White British gay men (McKeown *et al.*, 2010). Black gay men highlighted that homosexuality is a taboo subject in their community, and it was not considered possible to be both Black and gay, since this challenged typical models of masculinity. In contrast, for Asian respondents the problem revolved around conservativeness and the expectation to marry and have children. Being gay therefore opposed this traditional view and many felt that they would be letting down family by not conforming to cultural norms.

Black and South Asian men identified a lack of exposure to representations of ethnic minority gay men in the media. While Black men felt that the few representations that did exist promoted stereotypes, they considered a lack of coverage to reduce the use of stereotypes. However, for South Asian men, this lack of media coverage led to them feeling marginalised and excluded or ignored in mainstream gay culture (McKeown *et al.*, 2010).

Sexual orientation and pregnancy and maternity

Online interviews with LGB people in Wales showed that same-sex couples who became parents reported discrimination from a variety of groups during the process. Most reported discrimination from faith groups (54 per cent) and others in their local community (49 per cent). Just under a fifth of respondents also faced discrimination

from adoption and private agencies (18 per cent and 17 per cent respectively), making the process difficult for some couples. Seventy-two per cent of respondents expected that they would face barriers to selection as a foster carer if they were open about their sexual orientation and 77 per cent believed that negative social attitudes towards same-sex parents would be a barrier (Jones, 2009).

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Gender reassignment

A person is protected by the Equality Act 2010 under gender reassignment if they are proposing to undergo, are undergoing or have undergone a process (or part of a process) for the purpose of reassigning their sex by changing physical, biological or other attributes of sex.

10.1 Summary

There was very little research identified in the review that directly investigated attitudes towards transgender people. Much like biphobia research, a large amount was combined with or subsumed within that on sexual orientation (Ellis, Bailey and McNeil, 2015; Turner, Whittle and Combs, 2009). Legislation such as the Sex Discrimination (Gender Reassignment) Regulations 1999, the Gender Recognition Act 2004 and the Equal Treatment Directive (2004/113/EC) aimed to identify transgender issues as different from those experienced in the lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) population. Therefore, where possible the literature on transgender issues is reviewed separately to avoid compounding the problem of grouping LGB and transgender experiences and overlooking the distinct experiences of transgender people (Ellis *et al.*, 2015). There is a heavy reliance on evidence from non-academic literature.

Like sexual orientation, prejudice towards gender reassignment is more likely in the context of malign antipathy rather than direct intergroup conflict. The evidence identified that attitudes among the population were split, with half reporting positive attitudes and half negative. Discrimination was mainly recorded in relation to hate crimes, although these are underreported through official channels. The key difference compared to sexual orientation is that transgender people identified the main perpetrators of discrimination to be strangers (rather than peers). In settings such as employment and facilities/services, the main problem is access (for example, using toilets for acquired gender). The evidence for a link between attitudes and behaviours is very limited, and only suggests an association between gender-based values and reduced support for transgender rights. There was no

evidence of actual behaviours being affected by attitudes or values. The literature search did not identify any interventions.

10.2 Expressions of prejudice

Transgender people have been characterised as an invisible minority within a minority, making up approximately 0.4 per cent of the UK population (Reed, Rhodes, Schofield and Wylie, 2009), and may experience 'minority stress' originating from marginalisation (Ellis *et al.*, 2015). National surveys in Scotland and Wales have tracked attitudes towards transgender people, however the literature identified for this project did not reveal any attitude data across the whole time span, or covering all of Great Britain (GB). From the available evidence from 2005-15, attitudes appear to have remained steady across that time.

Social distance and intergroup contact

The Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) 2006 and 2010 revealed that around half of respondents reported discomfort with a friend or relative forming a relationship with someone who is transgender and felt that a transgender person would not be a suitable primary school teacher (Bromley, Curtice and Given, 2007; Ormston *et al.*, 2011).

10.3 Experiences of discrimination

Whittle, Turner and Al-Alami (2007) surveyed 873 self-identified transgender people in the UK and found that those who had experienced discrimination had a higher prevalence of self-harm and suicide ideation. Similar findings emerged from a survey with 889 transgender adults in GB (McNeil *et al.,* 2012), which also showed most experiences over the previous year consisted of verbal and silent harassment (such as staring and whispering) and name-calling. Instances of sexual assault, rape and sexual harassment were also recorded (McNeil *et al.*, 2012; Morton, 2008). A survey of 71 transgender adults in Scotland showed that very few of these experiences were reported to the police (Morton, 2008; Turner *et al.*, 2009). Fear of discrimination was more common than actual experiences, especially for incidents that were not commonly experienced but had a greater perceived severity and longer recovery time (such as physical or sexual attack) (McNeil *et al.*, 2012).

In Scotland, victims of transgender discrimination said that most perpetrators were strangers (Morton, 2008), which contrasts with experiences of lesbian and gay people who experienced discrimination from peers. A survey of 463 lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people in Lambeth, London revealed that transgender people attributed problems with mental health and well-being to gender identity more than LGB people did (Keogh, Reid and Weatherburn, 2006).

Transgender people were more likely than LGB people to experience discrimination when using bars and restaurants, public transport and taxis, shopping, gaining access to information about health and social services, and in skills, training and job opportunities (Keogh *et al.*, 2006). These experiences were also reflected by changes to behaviour, whereby transgender people were significantly more likely than LGB people to avoid going out at certain times, avoid using public transport and going to work, college or school due to fear of transphobia (Keogh *et al.,* 2006). These findings are consistent with those from a European survey of 1,080 English-speaking transgender people which revealed that transgender people were almost four times more likely to experience hate crimes than LGB people (Turner *et al.*, 2009).

Hate crime

Gender reassignment was the least common motivation for hate crime recorded by the police in England/Wales and Scotland.

In England/Wales, 605 hate crimes were recorded as motivated by transgender status in 2014/15 (of 52,528, or 1 per cent). This was an increase on the previous year (Corcoran *et al.*, 2015).[24]

Experiences reported by transgender people suggest that hate crimes are not always reported, but this is not always due to victims expecting to experience transphobia by authorities. In some cases, serious and even extreme incidents are not reported because they are not considered a hate crime by the victim. With this in mind, a survey across Europe listed a number of hate crimes, and asked transgender respondents to select any that they had experienced that were motivated by prejudice or hostility towards their transgender status (Turner *et al.*, 2009). The results showed that 79 per cent of respondents had experienced an incident motivated by their transgender status, suggesting that a far greater

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[24] In Scotland, 30 charges were reported with an aggravation of transgender identity in 2015/16, the highest number reported since the legislation came into force (COPFS, 2016).

prevalence of transgender hate crime than is reported in crime surveys or police statistics.

10.4 Settings

Employment

A number of transgender people felt that their gender identity had prevented them from getting a job and had contributed to them losing employment. They had also experienced or feared transphobic discrimination at work or had quit their job because of transgender discrimination (McNeil *et al.*, 2012; Morton, 2008). Others had also reported problems in the workplace environment relating to their transgender identity, such as difficulty using toilets of their choice, and for those who were able to, facing negative treatment, inappropriate comments and verbal abuse (Whittle, Turner and Al-Alami, 2007).

Health and social care

Ellis *et al.* (2015) conducted a survey of 621 transgender mental health service users and 202 patients from Gender Identity Clinics (GIC) in the UK. They highlighted that to date there were no other studies exploring transgender people's experiences specifically in mental health care settings, despite the fact that transgender individuals use mental health services more than most other protected characteristics. Similar to experiences of other protected characteristics, especially sexual orientation, the main problem was a lack of knowledge and understanding of the specific needs of transgender people (Ellis *et al.*, 2015). There was also a commonly held opinion that practitioners held heteronormative views of gender and sexuality. Respondents said they felt pressured into changing their name or conforming to stereotypical masculine or feminine expectations in order to prove their gender to practitioners (Ellis *et al.*, 2015).

In general health care settings, discrimination in interactions within GPs, mental health and GIC staff reported by transgender people ranged from practitioners using hurtful or insulting language about transgender people, belittling or ridicule, and refusal to discuss or address particular trans-related health concerns (McNeil *et al.*, 2012).In order to be eligible for treatment a transgender person must be employed or in full-time study. This is problematic for those excluded from the labour market due to discrimination (see above) or disability, so multiple discrimination may affect transgender people more than other protected characteristics (Ellis *et al.*, 2015).

Relationships

Transgender people have reported exclusion from family and community, and a breakdown in relationships due to transgender status (Morton, 2008; Whittle *et al.*, 2007). Physical, emotional and sexual abuse and exploitation by a partner or ex-partner were especially prevalent among transgender people (Morton, 2008; Roch, Morton and Ritchie, 2010). This was reported to have led to increases in psychological and emotional problems. Most transgender people thought that their experience of domestic abuse was wrong, but not a crime, so police report figures are likely to be disproportionally low compared to experiences (Roch *et al.*, 2010).

Facilities and services

Despite changes in legislation to prevent discrimination towards transgender individuals, a minority of transgender people had reported being refused services (for example, in a pub or bar) or asked not to use a changing room (Whittle *et al.*, 2007). In addition, transgender people in Scotland reported not using sport/leisure facilities due to being too self-conscious of their appearance (Morton, 2008). Respondents also stated that social pressure, rejection, stigma, harassment and discrimination as well as gender dysphoria had negatively affected their quality of life (McNeil *et al.*, 2012).

10.5 The link between attitudes and behaviours

Research has revealed that people who more strongly oppose civil rights for transgender people tended to be more hetereosexist, authoritarian, and to believe that gender is biologically based (Tee and Hegarty, 2006).[25] These findings suggest that values and beliefs feed into prejudiced attitudes towards transgender people, but as yet research has not made the link to behaviours. For example, it is unknown whether the respondents in Tee and Hegarty's research would vote against rights for transgender people.

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[25] Around 40 per cent of the participants were not British and it was not possible to distinguish the data for the British as distinct from non-British participants.

10.6 Intersectionalities

In order to avoid duplication, intersectional evidence is only reviewed in one of the relevant chapters. To locate sections on other intersectionalities involving this protected characteristic, see Table A1.1 in the Appendix.

Gender reassignment and age

Young transgender people's experiences of bullying were similar to those of adults, in that they mostly consisted of negative treatment, receiving inappropriate comments, verbal, physical and sexual abuse, and threatening behaviours. At school 64 per cent of transgender boys and 44 per cent of transgender girls experienced harassment or bullying, mostly from other children, but also from teachers and other staff members (Whittle *et al*., 2007).

11 |

Marriage and civil partnership

The Equality Act 2010 protects people from discrimination because they are married or in a civil partnership.

11.1 Summary

There is only a small volume of evidence on prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviours in relation to marriage status. The available research has focused on marriage and partnerships within other domains, such as race, sex and sexual orientation. This is likely to be because there are unique features relating to these other protected characteristics that influence attitudes and expectations surrounding marriage and relationships. For instance, cultural values inform attitudes surrounding marriage, violence against women, and same-sex marriage/partnership legislation. There was no evidence about links between attitudes and behaviours, and no interventions were available to be evaluated. The social context for prejudice regarding marriage and civil partnership is mixed. On the one hand it involves rivalrous cohesion in terms of values or religion-based resistance; on the other it involves absence of harmonious cohesion – unwillingness to treat same-sex partnerships as equal to others.

11.2 Expressions of prejudice

Marriage and civil partnership is a sparsely represented protected characteristic in the literature identified by our searches, but evidence indicates that attitudes towards same-sex relationships have become more positive over time.

Across the last four waves of the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) (2000, 2002, 2005, 2010) the percentage of people who thought that same-sex relationships were always/mostly wrong gradually decreased from 48 per cent (2000) to 27 per cent (2010), and the percentage who felt same-sex relationships were not wrong at all increased from 29 per cent (2000) to 50 per cent (2010). Results from

the SSAS 2006 and 2010 also showed that most respondents held positive attitudes towards same-sex marriage. Support for same-sex marriage had increased from 41 per cent in 2002) and 61 per cent in 2010) (Ormston *et al.*, 2011) to 65 per cent in 2012 (Noller and Somerville, 2012). There was greater support for same-sex marriage among younger age groups (78 per cent of 18-29 year olds, compared to 72 per cent of those aged 30-50). Despite this increase, only 60 per cent of respondents supported the law to allow same-sex couples to adopt children (Noller and Somerville, 2012). Over the same periods the proportion of people who reported knowing gay/lesbian people increased from 50 per cent (2002) to 75 per cent (2010) (Ormston *et al.*, 2011), supporting the notion that increased contact between groups is closely connected by reductions in prejudice.

11.3 Experiences of discrimination

Same-sex marriage

Conversation analysis of the experiences of same-sex couples who revealed marriage plans to family and friends showed that their plans were received with almost equal levels of positivity and ambivalence (Peel, 2012). Many participants reported feeling that their civil partnership facilitated conversations that they would not have ordinarily had with their family and friends, and that often their reactions were more positive and supportive than they had anticipated. However, some also reported uncertainty or ambiguity when they announced marriage plans. A lack of positive response from others was sometimes considered an indication of subtle homophobic attitudes (Peel, 2012).

Forced marriage

Forced marriage is categorised as a specific form of violence against women and is often compounded by effects of race (Cabinet Office, 2007). However, data on forms of violence against women that included forced marriage are estimates because national surveys do not include measures. Instead there is reliance on qualitative evidence gathered by third sector organisations or academic literature (Walby *et al.*, 2010).

Cases of reported forced marriage in the UK primarily involve ethnic minority groups (including South Asian, Middle Eastern, East Asian and African families). Most support is searched for by women (86 per cent). The majority of protection order applications made are for child victims (47 per cent) (Walby *et al.*, 2010).

Lenon (2012) reviewed parliamentary debates, government publications, reports and policy documents on the policy and practice surrounding forced marriage. Lenon concluded that there was a tendency to treat forced marriage as predominantly being a race and immigration issue (the primary focus of the Forced Marriage Unit is to prevent transnational forced marriages) and to disregard the situation of British women and those with British partners. Although there is no direct evidence, this work does highlight the risk that by highlighting the groups whose religions or cultures practice force marriage, rather than the practice itself, there is a risk of amplifying prejudices directed towards those groups as a whole (for example by focusing on cultural threat).

Given that there is a general increase in inter-ethnic marriages (Cabinet Office, 2007) policy needs to be careful to adequately tackle forced marriage as a human rights issue (see End Violence Against Women and Southall Black Sisters, 2014).

12 |
Pregnancy and maternity

The Equality Act 2010 prohibits discrimination because of pregnancy and maternity. Instances of discrimination include: treating women less favourably because they are breastfeeding; dismissing pregnant women or those on maternity leave or refusing to promote them; and denying pregnant women or those on maternity leave the right to return to the same job and responsibilities.

12.1 Summary

Expressions of prejudiced attitudes mostly focus of values, which seem to affect young mothers. Young mothers, especially teenagers, report feeling excluded, stigmatised and stereotyped. Women in employment settings who have returned to work after a period of parental leave report being discriminated against and describe employers as being inflexible and unsupportive. This may be attributed to the prejudiced attitudes of certain employers, although mothers and employers alike note economic pressures that may lead to employers appearing to discriminate. Employers and HR professionals highlight conflict between supporting pregnant employees while still meeting targets and fulfilling contracts. Employers report feeling that pregnancy and maternity policies are helpful and most think that their organisation implements them to benefit mothers. This suggests a disparity in employee experiences and employer views, although it is acknowledged that this is not likely to be due to prejudiced attitudes of some individuals. Similarly, intersectionalities with race, disability and sexual orientation suggest that lack of knowledge and understanding underpins discriminatory behaviours more so than prejudiced attitudes.

12.2 Expressions of prejudice

Values

In Scotland, around half of men and women agreed that fathers should be entitled to six months of paid leave, however only around one-fifth agreed that mothers but not fathers should be entitled to any paid leave (Ormston *et al.*, 2011). Research on gender equality suggests that up to 21 per cent of the gender pay gap can be explained by the pregnancy and maternity discrimination that women face in the labour market. This is argued to be the result of prejudiced attitudes held by employers who hold stereotypes that mothers will be less reliable, or assume that a woman will become pregnant again and therefore should not be promoted or hired (Woodroffe, 2009). However, research focusing on employer attitudes suggests that prejudice is structural, stemming from a conflict between policy and the economic needs of the business. With this in mind it is unsurprising that the majority of the literature identified for pregnancy and maternity focuses on the employment context (detailed below).

12.3 Experiences of discrimination

Teenage pregnancy

Teenage pregnancy is seen as a social problem (Hoggart, 2012; Rudoe, 2014) because teenage parents are disproportionately likely to have a history of disadvantage, social exclusion (Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Department of Health, 2008), and lower participation in education/the labour market (Greene, 2005; Rudoe, 2014). However, attempts to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies, such as the Teenage Pregnancy Strategy, have been viewed negatively by some because they make assumptions about traditional family structures, target working-class parents and stigmatize young mothers (Rudoe, 2014).

Stereotypes of young mothers include beliefs that they have children to receive state benefits and have poor parenting skills (Ellis-Sloan, no date). Some young mothers feel they have to work particularly hard to earn respect as a mother to overcome these negative stereotypes (Rudoe, 2014). Narratives around what it means to be a 'good' mother place particular pressure on teenage mothers, who felt the need to portray themselves in an especially positive light in order to dismiss the stereotypes

and stigma attached to teenage pregnancy, taking responsibility for their actions and carefully managing impressions of their capability as mothers (Ellis-Sloan, no date).

However, this may not be unique to young mothers. Fox, Heffernan and Nicolson (2009) reveal that society and the media portray ideals about how pregnant women should behave, and women who fail to follow guidelines, such as avoiding alcohol, caffeine and certain foods, are viewed negatively. The researchers reported interviews with recent mothers where participants reported monitoring or restricting their behaviour in line with society's values and expectations of the pregnant woman. Some even reported feeling guilty if they strayed from these norms of pregnancy. Therefore, stigma around behaviour in pregnancy and maternity is directed towards women of varying ages, but is perhaps experienced more negatively by the teenage mothers.

Young ethnic minority mothers fear and often experience negative attitudes among maternity professionals who appear unsympathetic and judgemental towards them and dismissive of young father involvement. There were reports that younger mothers felt looked down on at antenatal classes dominated by older women and their partners (Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Department of Health, 2008), which often led to them dropping out of classes and thus not receiving antenatal support and education to the same degree as older women. This perpetuated their social exclusion and isolation (Greene, 2005).

12.4 Settings

Employment

Research on pregnancy and maternity discrimination has focused almost exclusively on women's experiences in the workplace. That being said, the systematic search revealed only three pieces of research carried out in this area, two of which were large-scale studies that contained information on both women's experiences as employees and the attitudes of employers. The Equal Opportunities Commission (2005)[26] launched a formal investigation and commissioned a number of projects to investigate pregnancy-related discrimination in the workplace, including telephone surveys, focus groups, interviews with employers, and a study of women who had

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[26] This research was carried out prior to 2005, but contains a great deal of information about pregnancy-related discrimination in the workplace. In addition, it is the only large-scale study on the topic until the recent Commission project, which was published in 2015. Further work by Commission is now available at: https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/managing-pregnancy-and-maternity-workplace/pregnancy-and-maternity-discrimination-research-findings [accessed: 11 July 2016]

contacted Maternity Alliance for advice (Adams, McAndrew and Winterbotham, 2005; Davis, Neathey, Regan and Willison, 2005; Young and Morrell, 2005).

A different piece of research was conducted by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) and the Commission in 2015, which commissioned interviews with 3,034 employers and 3,254 mothers (Adams *et al.*, 2015).[27] The other paper identified detailed research carried out with women returning from maternity leave in 2008 (Morris, 2014). It is important to note that between the times of the two research projects, significant changes have been made in regulating family-friendly working arrangements. This includes the Work and Families Act 2006, Additional Paternity Leave Regulations 2010, and the Children and Families Act 2014. The introduction of new policy is likely to have had an impact on workplace behaviour and have brought thinking about pregnancy and maternity rights to the forefront of the organisations' practice.

Employees

In 2005, there was more evidence of negative or potentially discriminatory experiences of pregnant workers, employees on maternity leave or those returning to work after maternity leave in England (50 per cent) and in Scotland (54 per cent) than in Wales (38 per cent) (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2005).[28] The more recent Adams *et al.* (2015) findings also highlighted that some mothers' experiences varied by sector, size of organisation, length of service, age, ethnicity and long-term health condition. Mothers under 25 were more likely to say they were not supported willingly by their employers.[29] This reflects findings from 2005 where younger women (<24 years) and women from ethnic minorities reported more discrimination than others (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2005).[30]

The most commonly reported negative experiences were returning to work after maternity leave to a different role or to the same role but with less responsibility,

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[27] Although different questions were asked, research in both 2005 and 2015 interviewed mothers who had a child aged 9-24 months and had worked during their pregnancy. Findings specific to mothers were also published in an updated report in 2016. This revealed a disconnect between mothers' reported experiences and employers' reported attitudes: 20 per cent of mothers reported experiencing harassment or negative comments related to pregnancy by their employers and/or colleagues, despite employers reporting that it was in their interest to support pregnant women and those on maternity leave (BIS and EHRC, 2016).

[28] Evidence based on different questions (BIS and EHRC, 2016) indicated higher figures in all three countries – more so in England (78 per cent) than in Scotland and Wales (73 percent and 71 percent, respectively).

[29] The 2016 report identified mothers aged 25-29 to be the most likely of all age groups to report that they had negative experiences. Ethnic minority mothers and mothers with a long-term physical or mental health condition were more likely to report a negative impact on opportunity, status or job security (BIS and EHRC, 2016).

[30] This is also echoed in recent research. See BIS and EHRC (2016).

reduced promotion prospects, and threat of dismissal (Adams *et al.*, 2005; Adams *et al.*, 2015; Equal Opportunities Commission, 2005; Morris, 2014). Other negative experiences identified in the 2015 report were less favourable treatment following approval of a flexible working request, health and safety risks not being tackled, and a negative impact on health or stress levels because of their treatment at work (Adams *et al.*, 2015). Most women reported that they returned to the same job in the 2015 survey and those who did return to a different role reported that it was not a position they wanted (Adams *et al.*, 2015). On returning to work women feared difficulty with childcare, their own confidence and performance being reduced, and the attitude of their manager or colleagues (Morris, 2014).

In some areas, women sympathised with their organisation's difficulty in managing a pregnant employee and were uncertain about what would be considered unlawful treatment (Davis *et al.*, 2005). However, in other areas, women did not agree with the actions of employers. These included receiving unpleasant comments and a lack of respect. Actions considered unacceptable under any circumstances included: dismissal; being overlooked for pay increases; being refused or discouraged from applying for promotion; returning to a lower skilled/paid job; being excluded from normal duties and training opportunities; and being denied time off to attend ante-natal appointments. In recruitment, training and maternity leave, women felt that organisations could get away with discriminating against them on the grounds of their pregnancy because they were able to cite a number of other reasons for denying the woman the job/training/maternity request (Davis *et al.*, 2005).

Most of the experiences that women did face were not reported and those who did report discrimination or unfair treatment said that it led to even poorer treatment, perpetuating the culture of discrimination in the workplace (Adams *et al.*, 2005).[31] In addition to the impact on their work environment, discrimination also added to stress affecting mental and physical health, which in turn affected mothers' personal relationships. Others mentioned financial losses due to redundancy, loss of bonus or promotion, and loss of earnings and statutory maternity pay. Negative treatment at work during pregnancy contributed to increased stress and decreased health during pregnancy (Adams *et al.*, 2005; Adams *et al.,* 2015; Davis *et al.*, 2005).

Employers

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[31] The 2015 research found that 77 per cent of mothers reported at least one type of negative or potentially discriminatory experience, but of these only 28 per cent raised the issue with their line manager, three per cent went through an internal grievance process and less than one per cent went to an employment tribunal. Barriers identified included: fear of creating bad feelings with superiors and of adverse consequences; stress; guilt; belief that nothing would change; lack of information or a clear complaints procedure; and financial cost (BIS and EHRC, 2016).

In 2005, a number of employers and HR professionals admitted that they would think twice about employing a woman of child bearing age in case she became pregnant during her tenure (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2005). In 2015, 70 per cent thought a woman should declare during interview if she was pregnant and a quarter thought it was reasonable to ask about a woman's plans for a family (Adams *et al.,* 2015). However, half of women that interviewed while pregnant, and three-quarters interviewed shortly after having children, reported being successful. In most cases the employer was aware of the pregnancy because it was visually apparent, or the woman had mentioned it themselves at or after the interview. Only a relatively small proportion of mothers (three per cent) had attended job interviews when they were pregnant and 77 per cent of mothers that were unsuccessful in job interviews undertaken while pregnant (where the employer had known about their pregnancy) felt it had affected their chances of success (Adams *et al.*, 2015).

Some employers paint a very positive image of the way they deal with employees' pregnancy and maternity that contrasts with women's experiences (Young and Morrell, 2005). This may be due to the fact that employers believe that their organisation is complying with policy relating to pregnancy and maternity, but cannot be sure that all of their managers and HR professionals are aware of legislation and procedures (Adams *et al.*, 2015). In addition, a minority of employers admitted that pregnancy can cause a financial burden to the organisation and lead to resentment by colleagues, so they have to carefully manage the situation to avoid detrimental impacts to the organisation and workforce (Young and Morrell, 2005). In a similar way to individuals fearing negative treatment, organisations which had not experienced pregnancy recently were more negative towards the idea, specifically being more likely to see pregnancy and maternity as an unreasonable cost burden, than organisations that had not experienced pregnancy recently (Adams *et al.*, 2015). This suggests that anticipation may cause more discrimination than actual experiences.

In 2005, employers were asked to state what the statutory entitlements of pregnant women were. Seventy-three per sent cited at least one, however less than half stated that women were entitled to maternity leave.

This highlighted some confusion around what was statutory and what was considered an additional benefit.
(Young and Morrell, 2005)

Most employers thought that statutory benefits were reasonable and easy to implement. This included flexible working, however 38 per cent of mothers said they did not ask to work more flexibly when they would have wanted to because they felt that such requests would be denied or would hinder future career prospects (Adams *et al.*, 2015; Young and Morrell, 2005). This shows a disparity between employer and employee expectations, although women report that in some cases support was given but was not offered willingly, suggesting that in practice organisations might not be as flexible as they would like to be. A possible explanation is the conflict in attitudes towards work and family (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2005). To overcome this conflict, some women may not be excluded from the workplace, but may feel forced into alternative work (for example, teaching or working from home) (Johnston and Kyriacou, 2011).

Despite very rich data on employee and employer views of pregnancy in the workplace, very little attention was given to intersectionality with other protected characteristics within the employment context. In addition, the views of men were not considered in the literature and attitudes towards shared parental leave were only included in one survey.

12.5 Intersectionalities

In order to avoid duplication, intersectional evidence is only reviewed in one of the relevant chapters. To locate sections on other intersectionalities involving this protected characteristic, see Table A1.1 in the Appendix.

Pregnancy and maternity and race

Ethnic minority women have identified a lack of cultural understanding or respect for cultural practices by maternity staff in pre- and post-natal care (Jomeen and Redshaw, 2012; McFadden, Renfrew and Atkin, 2013; Women's Health and Family Services, 2007). For example, practitioners viewed the Bangladeshi community as fixed and homogenous, and expressed confusion around religious categories, often combining Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani women as 'Asian'. This led to interpreting the women's behaviour as stereotypical of their passive role in their culture and highlighted differences rather than similarities between these women and the majority population (McFadden *et al.*, 2013). In other cases negative treatment was attributed to staff shortages, overstretching staff and preventing them from

delivering higher quality care, rather than prejudiced attitudes (Jomeen and Renshaw, 2012).

Young mothers in particular felt that race was an additional barrier and a more direct form of discrimination, compounded by the fact that they were also stigmatised for being young mothers. Some reported that this had led them to dissociate from their community and thus enhanced the exclusion they faced from society (Greene, 2005).

Pregnancy and maternity and disability

Women with learning disabilities are vulnerable to prejudiced attitudes about sexual behaviour, capacity to consent and parenting capability. Results of a postal questionnaire sent to 162 GPs in two counties in England showed that 60 per cent of GPs were unaware of materials designed to help women with learning disabilities understand their contraception choices (McCarthy, 2011). In addition, many of the GPs failed to recognise that relying on a carer to obtain consent for treatment breached the women's confidentiality (McCarthy, 2011). This suggests that attitudes towards these women may lead to a standard of treatment below that of other women.

Pregnancy and maternity and sexual orientation

Sixty women from four different Western countries (43 per cent from Britain) took part in an online questionnaire examining lesbian, gay and bisexual women's experiences of pregnancy loss. Many participants (69 per cent) in the pregnancy loss study reported that their family and friends' reactions to the news were 'supportive' or 'very supportive', although seven reported that other people's reactions were 'neutral' and three indicated that they were 'unsupportive'. In contrast, for pregnancy loss, a lack of response signalled discomfort with responding to bad news, with little or no connotation that this was related to the context of that loss, that is, the sexual orientation of the mother (Peel, 2012).

13 | Gaps in the evidence

This chapter summarises the available evidence in relation to each protected characteristic, in order to identify gaps in the evidence base for this report.

13.1 Summary

This chapter reveals that the spread of evidence (academic and non-academic literature, measures of experiences of discrimination and interventions) is uneven across protected characteristics. It highlights that the absence of a common framework for exploring values, prejudiced attitudes and experiences of unlawful behaviour and discrimination across protected characteristics has resulted in inconsistent findings across different sources of data. This echoes similar concerns over the need for Britain to improve the evidence and the ability to assess how fair society is, identified by the Commission in 'Is Britain Fairer?' (2015). There are also significant discrepancies between evidence on prejudiced attitudes and the prevalence of experienced discrimination. It is also clear that very little research has attempted to explore the empirical link between prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviours, and that most of the existing data sources (such as national surveys) do not illuminate the nature of this relationship. In addition, although there are very good examples of interventions that 'work', there is little consistency in what is evaluated, how and when. This makes it hard to be confident about the effectiveness of the interventions reviewed.

We highlight areas for future research, including a focus on perpetrators and the need for a common framework for measurement and evaluation of prejudice and related unlawful behaviours.

13.2 Literature sources

Among the 197 papers identified in the literature review, 82 were from academic sources and the remaining 115 from the non-academic literature. The volume of

material available from each type of source varied by protected characteristic. Sexual orientation was the most well researched protected characteristic with 37 papers, compared to marriage and civil partnership, which only had six papers. In addition, the proportion of academic to non-academic literature varied between the protected characteristics, for instance the former features more highly for the protected characteristics of sex, race and religion, whereas the latter features more highly for age, disability, pregnancy and gender reassignment (see Figure A1.3 in Appendix).

13.3 Measures of discrimination

The search for measures of experiences of discrimination identified 85 independent sources. These include eight that were in a series or repeated over different time points, for example the Scottish Household Survey. The volume of evidence available on experiences of discrimination differed across protected characteristics. For instance, there were 52 separate surveys on experiences of discrimination due to sexual orientation, but only four on experiences of discrimination on the basis of pregnancy or having a child. Figure A1.4 in the Appendix) shows the spread of the available measures across protected characteristics.

We found that most surveys tended to focus on only one protected characteristic at a time. Importantly we didn't identify a single survey or piece of research that asked about experiences of discrimination across all protected characteristics (see Figure 13.1) for the number of protected characteristics included in each survey. The lack of a single piece of evidence that examines experiences of discrimination against people from each of the nine protected characteristics is problematic. The lack of comparable measures affects the ability to confidently assess the relative prevalence of discrimination or prejudice across protected characteristics.

Most surveys on a single protected characteristic focused on sexual orientation. We did not find any survey that focused solely on sex discrimination. This could represent a decrease in focus on some protected characteristics during the review period, or that some protected characteristics may be subsumed into the measurement of others, for instance gender reassignment is commonly subsumed within surveys on sexual orientation.

Figure 13.1 **Number of protected characteristics covered in different surveys**
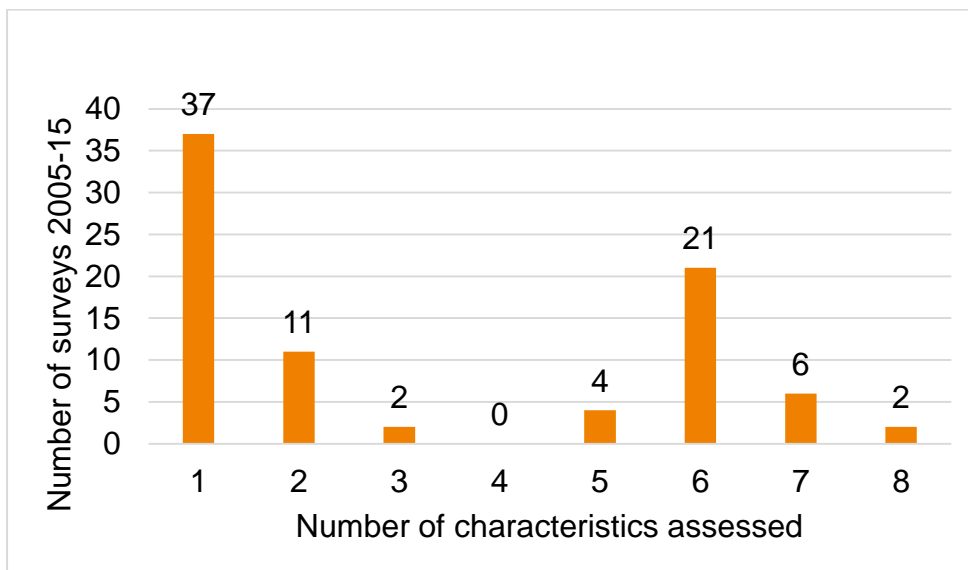
The figure includes surveys that are fielded in a series or multiple times, for example annually.

Figure 13.2 **Number of single protected characteristic surveys**
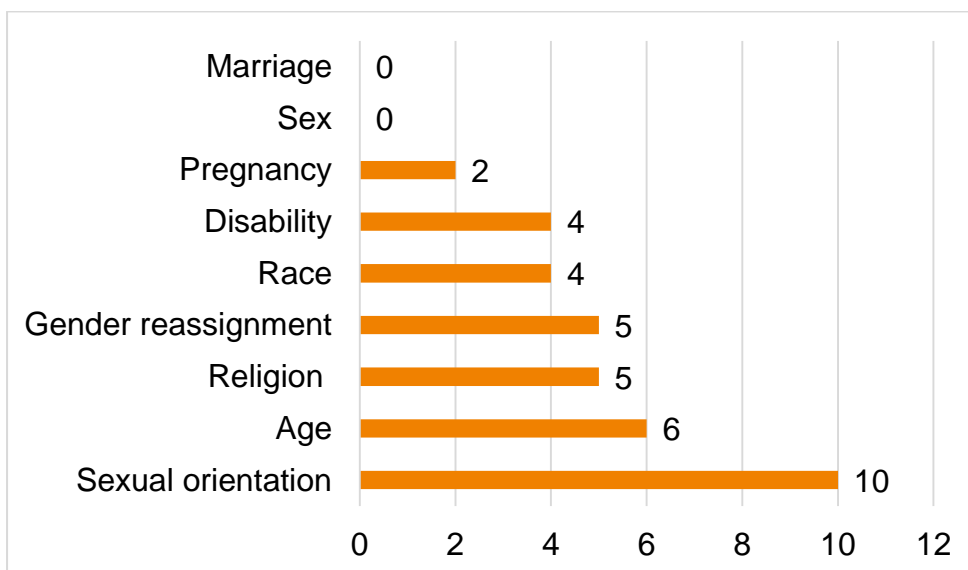
Types of measures

There are different ways to capture people's experiences of discrimination. In the review of measures, we found it meaningful to distinguish between five different types: binary; frequency; severity or degree; context or situation; and objective data. More nuanced or detailed measurement should yield more accurate and informative evidence and conclusions.

1) **Binary**: This represents a dichotomous option to indicate whether or not discrimination has occurred, usually represented as a YES/NO question of the form 'have you experienced discrimination because of X?' These are the most common types of data among the reviewed evidence.

2) **Frequency**: These questions typically ask respondents to indicate the regularity with which they experience discrimination, for example 'how often do you experience discrimination because of X? [Rarely, Sometimes, Often]'.

3) **Severity/degree**: Refers to data which indicates the magnitude of discriminatory experience. This often takes the form of classifying behaviours from minor to severe, such as name-calling/bullying to physical/sexual assault.

4) **Context/situation**: Provides information on the specific environmental context surrounding the discrimination. Common contexts include place of work, out in public, using services, and so on. This category also covers data which identifies the perpetrators of such discrimination (the aggressors).

5) **Objective**: Describes evidence recorded by third parties (not direct self-reports), such as police crime statistics or experimental methods.

Note: Objective data sometimes overlaps with other categories, for example crime statistics can indicate severity/degree of criminal discrimination.

Figure A1.2 in the Appendix shows the frequency of different types of measures for each protected characteristic. Binary measures were most commonly used for all protected characteristics, except gender reassignment and pregnancy and maternity. Binary measures only indicate whether or not an individual has experienced any discrimination, with an additional question used to ascertain which protected characteristic was discriminated against. Therefore, the measure is not sensitive to differences in the frequency with which individuals experience different types of prejudice, or how intersecting protected characteristics may produce experiences of discrimination. In order to obtain a more informative picture of experienced discrimination, questions asking about a specific time frame and about multiple protected characteristics are needed (see example below).

Example measure of perceived discrimination
'Thinking about your personal experiences over the last year, how often has anyone shown prejudice against you or treated you unfairly because of your…[protected characteristic].
(Abrams and Houston, 2006)

13.4 Consistency between measures

Some large, national surveys have not measured experiences of discrimination. For example, annual surveys such as the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS) and Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) focus only on attitudes towards different groups, but do not ask respondents whether they have experienced discrimination based on the attitudes of others. Moreover, there is little consistency in how perceived discrimination is measured across different surveys and in the results they reveal. This is a problem for policy makers who wish to pinpoint a single reliable estimate of the scale of the problem for those who have a particular protected characteristic, relative to other priorities and issues.

Section A13.4 in the Appendix provides more detail on the differences in measures used across national surveys in England/Wales and Scotland and why this can give rise to such different figures of the prevalence of discriminatory behaviour, making confident comparison between protected characteristics and British countries such a challenge.

13.5 Expressions of prejudice and experiences of discrimination

In addition to showing little consistency between measures exploring the prevalence of discriminatory behaviour, the review also revealed that there is little consistency between the levels of prejudice that have been recorded and the reported prevalence of experiences of discriminatory behaviour .

Moreover, the review revealed discrepancies between the prejudices that people express towards those with protected characteristics and the reported experiences of discrimination or unlawful behaviour. For instance, only five per cent of UK respondents in the European Social Survey indicated negative feelings towards people aged 70 and over, and the majority believed that it is important to be unprejudiced against other age groups. Yet, 35 per cent of respondents reported

having experienced unfair treatment because of their age. This finding is consistent with evidence from the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA), which revealed that on average, 34.8 per cent of adults aged 50 years and over perceived some form of discrimination against them.

13.6 Linking attitudes and behaviours

In order to identify interventions that can prevent and respond effectively to unlawful behaviour and discrimination, it is important to understand the nature of the relationship between values and attitudes held by individuals or by society and how they translate into discriminatory or unlawful behaviours.

The majority of the literature has explored values, prejudiced attitudes or stereotypes towards protected characteristics on the one hand, or people's experiences of discrimination, unlawful behaviour or identity based-violence on the other, but not both. Fifty-six of the 196 papers focused on attitudes and 110 focused on the experiences of discrimination, harassment, unlawful behaviour or identity-based violence of people with a protected characteristic. But the fact that the measures vary so much and that so few papers reflect both attitudes and experiences of behaviour means that it is difficult to understand how they link together or to compare them.

We found 12 papers that explored the link between attitudes and behaviour. However, these were not evenly spread across protected characteristics and did not reflect the proportions of research covering each characteristic. For example, the majority of research focused on sexual orientation, but only one of those papers explored a link between attitudes and behaviours based on sexual orientation (see Table 13.1).

Table 13.1 Number of evidence items from each protected characteristic

	Number of papers/reports exploring the 'link'	Total number of papers/reports
Race	3	25
Religion	3	24
Age	2	22
Sex	2	27

Sexual orientation	1	39
Gender reassignment	1	12
Disability	0	24
Pregnancy/maternity	0	17
Marriage/civil partnership	0	6
Total	12	196

The methods used to explore the link between prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour varied, making it difficult to compare findings across the literature. Two studies conducted large surveys (collecting responses from over 1,000 participants), four conducted smaller scale surveys (for example, with 100 participants) and two were qualitative studies. Only four used experimental methodology. Furthermore, research exploring the link between prejudiced attitudes and a behavioural outcome tends to either:

- explore the link indirectly, using proxy measures for behaviour, such as measuring behavioural intentions as opposed to direct measures of actual behaviour, or

- infer the link, for example assume that the presence of discrimination implies an underlying prejudice.

13.7 Number of interventions

The literature review and consultation with academics, policy makers, experts in the field of prejudice, discrimination and unlawful behaviour, funders and What Works Centres identified 42 papers that included interventions, reported in a published format. Twenty-four papers (detailing 18 interventions) were evaluated for effectiveness. Many of these interventions focused on challenging prejudiced attitudes or reducing discrimination against disabled people (six interventions were reported in 12 publications). Importantly we did not find interventions for all protected characteristics. There were none identified for gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, or pregnancy and maternity. Most of these interventions (14 of 18) were conducted in schools or education contexts.

Many of the interventions had been conducted in England (9), three had been conducted in Wales, two in Scotland, and the remaining four simply referred to UK or Great Britain (GB) as their location. It is surprising that there were so few interventions focused on cross-cutting protected characteristics such as age and

sex, and that there were so few identified in Scotland during the course of the review. Taken together, we conclude that there is a lack of good quality evidence of what works to reduce or respond to discrimination, identify-based harassment and violence for most protected characteristics across GB and this needs to be addressed in future research.

13.8 Additional gaps

As well as the particular gaps in evidence for different protected characteristics, in the course of the review we became aware of gaps in the general scope and range of evidence.

Longitudinal and national evidence

There is almost no longitudinal data on either expressions of prejudice or experiences of discrimination. In other words, we cannot say much about the factors that lead to changes in individuals' attitudes or experiences over time. The best available data allow insight into aggregate changes (across the population or subsections of the population), but there is very limited evidence that can test assumptions about causes of the changes directly.

The second challenge is that there is almost no data collected on a sufficiently large scale that allows meaningful comparisons of attitudes and discrimination between regions. Comparisons of national differences within GB or differences between particular cities or local authorities could inform differences in policy implementation, and allow tests of the causes and moderators of unlawful behaviors at the local level.

The role of media

Media is another important area for future research to consider. For example, there is evidence that media content helps to create the social climate and context that facilitates or inhibits prejudice (for race, see Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart, 2007; Das *et al.*, 2009). Therefore, it is important that other work should map changes in media content onto changes in public levels of prejudice and experiences of discrimination in GB.

14 |
Conclusions

Chapter 13 described the range, extent and gaps in evidence relating to the three core questions underpinning this report. In this chapter we summarise what we have learned about each question for each protected characteristic and draw conclusions from the available evidence. We also point to questions or directions for policy and research.

14.1 What is the nature of the relationship between prejudiced attitudes and unlawful discrimination?

There is little direct evidence that directly maps individuals' values and attitudes on the one hand and particular acts of discrimination on the other. However, there is substantial theory and international evidence that these elements are connected.

Prejudice involves a number of different elements. These include: the way that people categorise one another; the stereotypes and expectations they link with these categories; the extent to which they perceive groups as having conflicting and interdependent values and goals; their willingness to engage in social contact and make relationships with one another; the emotions they feel about their own and other groups; and the norms and social pressures that bear on their behaviour. All of these are embedded in a wider social context in which the groups may or may not be in conflict and in which social relations within communities are more or less cohesive and harmonious.

Evidence from Great Britain (GB) shows that there are different forms of prejudiced attitudes directed towards different protected characteristics and that experiences of discriminatory behaviour also depend on which protected characteristic is involved and the context in which the discrimination occurs.

The different protected characteristics exist in different social psychological contexts that affect the contexts in which prejudice and discrimination arise and the form they

take. These are summarised in Table A2.2 in the Appendix. The contexts involve different combinations of good relations and intergroup prejudice. Disability and age are both affected by structural barriers and benign indifference. Sexual orientation, gender reassignment and race are all affected by malign antipathy – general social distrust of others who are different. Both race and religion are likely to be affected by rivalrous cohesion (solidarity that is increased by the perception of a competing group or culture). The situation for sex and marriage and civil partnership is more mixed – both rivalrous cohesion and malign antipathy can play a role.

The focus of research for each protected characteristic differs too. For example, hate crime evidence is available for disability, race, religion, sexual orientation and gender reassignment but not for the other protected characteristics. Education is a context in which research has tended not to focus on religion, age and marriage and civil partnership. Age, sex and sexual orientation are areas that have been researched in health and social care settings, whereas there is less evidence on race or religion for these settings.

The forms of prejudice studied and detected also differ among protected characteristics. For example, antipathy, verbal abuse, perceived threats, and social distance and reluctance for contact have been studied for race, sexual orientation and gender reassignment, whereas patronising stereotypes tend to be more prominent for disability, age and sex. Although no taxonomy can fully capture the nature of all prejudices, being able to identify the context, settings and forms that are involved for any particular characteristic or group provides a way to organise and understand the most promising directions for intervention.

The taxonomy also illustrates that there are important intersectionalities across these protected characteristics. In many cases, it can be difficult to disentangle these and discover whether one or multiple characteristics are the main driver of prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory behaviour. Relevant evidence comes from victim reports (for example, ambiguity over whether someone was a victim of discrimination because of their sexual orientation, a disability, or both). Awareness of the common underpinning contexts, settings and forms for prejudice helps to reveal, for any particular group or individual, the relevant causal links between prejudiced attitudes and related behaviour as well as the elements most likely to be relevant for intervention. Moreover, despite the important differences among protected characteristics, there is emerging evidence that general approaches to reduce prejudice and related behaviours (for example schools interventions which promote awareness, empathy and social skills) may be effective in improving the situation across protected characteristics. We consider some of these broader insights after

summarising our conclusions for each protected characteristic. Below, we summarise the conclusions regarding the links between attitudes and behaviours, evidence on experiences and expressions of prejudice, intersectionalities and interventions.

Disability

No evidence was identified that directly assessed the relationship between prejudiced attitudes towards disabled people and their experiences of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence.

Disability discrimination, although rooted in beliefs that the rights of disabled people are important, is driven by structural barriers, over-simplistic categorisation and patronising stereotypes. It is complicated by intersections with ethnicity and age.

Effective interventions, particularly the Time to Change campaign, have used contact between disabled and non-disabled people (under optimal conditions, for example, where there is equal status and cooperation).

Race

There is some evidence that people who value diversity show less discriminatory behaviours based on race. However, even when people do not acknowledge or express their racial prejudices they may still make discriminatory choices.

Measures of expressions of prejudice have largely focused on attitudes towards different ethnic groups and immigrants/asylum seekers/refugees.

Racial discrimination is the highest reported motivation for hate crime in England/Wales and Scotland, and is particularly prevalent in employment and education settings.

Race is a complex category affecting many different sub-groups. Effective approaches to reduce prejudice and discrimination have used strategies based on promoting positive contact between groups using education methods.

Religion or belief

The link between prejudiced attitudes and intended behaviours relating to religion or belief involves dehumanisation, tension between national and religious identity, experiences of discrimination, and hostility and support of extremist views.

Expressions of religious prejudice, particularly towards Muslims, often focus on visible differences (such as religious dress or symbols) and are linked to perceived cultural threat. Intersectionalities were identified between religion and belief and race, as well as sexual orientation.

Experiences of discrimination are mostly evidenced through hate crime reports (from Tell MAMA and the Community Security Trust). Effective intervention approaches have included increased indirect contact between people of different religions (for example, using social media) and education that encourages discussion of intergroup norms to challenge prejudice.

Age

Age stereotypes can directly affect older people's self-concept and capabilities, demonstrating some evidence of a link between ageist attitudes and behaviour.

Attitudes towards older people are more 'benevolent' and patronising, compared to younger people who face more hostile stereotypes. More research is needed to understand the impact of such stereotypes on younger people.

Prejudiced attitudes and experiences of discrimination based on age are present in health and social care settings, where older patients are often treated differently from younger patients. They are also present in employment, where older people may be denied opportunities given to younger people. In employment, age also intersects with sex, disadvantaging women.

Two examples of interventions to reduce age discrimination were identified, both of which aimed to challenge stereotypes and norms surrounding older age, and to increase positive relations between old and young people.

Sex

Prejudiced attitudes towards women (and attitudes towards masculinity) can be linked to unlawful behaviours (specifically, treatment of female sex workers).

As is the case for disability and age, attitudes towards women appear to be positive but may mask more 'benevolent' or patronising forms of prejudice. High levels of violence against women and girls suggest a discrepancy between apparently benevolent attitudes and experiences.

Experiences of sex discrimination are examined across a number of settings including employment, education, and health and social care, and intersect with sexual orientation.

A well-evidenced intervention focused on educating children on domestic violence was effective in reducing the perceived acceptability of domestic violence.

Sexual orientation

Only one piece of evidence explored the link between prejudiced attitudes and behaviours relating to sexual orientation. This showed that helping behaviour (lending money for a parking fee) was lower for a person perceived to be homosexual, compared to someone perceived to be heterosexual. However, the attitude of the 'helper' was inferred rather than measured directly.

Research on expressions of prejudiced attitudes suggests an improving trend over time, especially on measures of social distance. However, certain values (such as religion) and settings (such as sport) are perceived to create barriers to equality.

Hate crime statistics suggest that crimes are motivated by antipathy towards a particular sexual orientation, especially towards gay men. There is relatively less evidence on the situation for women, particularly those with disabilities.

A whole school intervention approach was found likely to be effective to address homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying among school aged children and young people, but there were no other examples of interventions against which to compare its impact.

Gender reassignment

There was evidence of associations between values and support for transgender rights, but no research that looked at behaviours being directly affected by attitudes or values.

Much of the research on attitudes towards gender reassignment is subsumed within research on sexual orientation.

Evidence on experiences of discrimination showed that fear of discrimination was more common than actual experiences, especially for incidents that were not commonly experienced but had a greater perceived severity and longer recovery time (such as a physical or sexual attack). However, it is likely that, as with many types of hate crime, a far greater prevalence of transgender hate crime exists than is reported in crime surveys or police statistics.

The literature search did not identify any interventions specifically for this protected characteristic.

Marriage and civil partnership

There was no evidence on links between attitudes and behaviours relating to marriage and civil partnership.

Attitudes towards same-sex relationships and marriage have become more positive over time, although support tends to be greater among younger age groups.

The area in which intervention seems most urgent is forced marriage, for which women and children, particularly of minority ethnic groups, are the most at risk. While forced marriage is sometimes considered to be a race and immigration issue, it is also a question of human rights and gender equality.

The literature search did not identify any interventions specifically for this protected characteristic.

Pregnancy and maternity

There was no evidence about links between attitudes and behaviours relating to pregnancy and maternity. Most of the evidence in this area focused on employment settings in which employer prejudices may reflect structural and economic factors that they perceive to involve conflict between equality and the economic needs of business.

Women in employment settings who have returned to work after a period of parental leave report being discriminated against. The evidence suggests that a lack of knowledge and understanding underpins employers' discriminatory behaviours rather than prejudiced attitudes.

Outside of the workplace, teenage mothers report feeling excluded, stigmatised and stereotyped, suggesting that they may be particularly vulnerable to discrimination.

Challenges in this area are amplified by intersections with disability, race and sexual orientation that may feed into disparities in healthcare.

The literature search did not identify any interventions specifically for this protected characteristic.

The link between prejudiced attitudes and unlawful behaviour

Prejudice is an important, though not the only, determinant of whether or not individuals engage in discrimination or identity-based harassment or violence towards a person or group of people. Other important drivers of discrimination

include poor institutional practices and laws, and public misinformation or misunderstanding.

A very limited volume of research (12 papers out of a total of 197) has directly examined the link between a person's prejudices and the discrimination that is experienced by someone else as a result. These cannot be directly compared with one another as they focus on different groups, types of question and outcomes, and they differ in scale. There is no evidence of direct links for the protected characteristics of disability, marriage, or pregnancy. However, the evidence does show that there are links, albeit in different forms and involving different elements of prejudice for different protected characteristics. It is also possible by drawing on aggregate evidence (for example, the prevalence of hostile attitudes in a population and the prevalence of experiences of discrimination towards a protected characteristic) to infer the extent of the links. The most prevalent elements of prejudice for a particular protected characteristic are reflected in the ways that the people with that protected characteristic experience discrimination. An example is where a disabled person experiences discrimination in a form that reflects underlying paternalistic or patronising prejudiced attitudes.

Data gaps

This review focused on people's attitudes (and associated values) and behaviours. The review did not assess evidence on inequality and unfairness based on or caused by media content, economic data, government policies or structural effects where there is no corresponding attitudinal or behavioural evidence. These can however be very powerful in creating advantages or disadvantages for particular groups. For example, media content helps to create the social climate and context that facilitates or inhibits prejudice. Therefore, it is important that other work should map changes in media content onto changes in public levels of prejudice and experiences of discrimination in Great Britain (GB)

It was also beyond the scope of this report to conduct secondary data analysis. We are, however, aware that evidence has been collected that could potentially address the core questions for this report, but may not have been yet analysed or published. An example is the data on experiences of discrimination which are available from the European Social Survey rounds 5 to 7.

This report also identified significant 'data gaps', both in terms of what has been measured and how, and the scope of the available data. Evidence at the national level (for example, national surveys) needs to be complemented by evidence about the particular experiences of those with each protected characteristic, within

particular contexts. At present, there is insufficient evidence to compare between regions or to establish causal influences on prejudice and experiences of discrimination over time. Therefore, better planning and integration of data collection would help the development of evidence-led policy and practice, as well as providing greater insight into the processes of prejudice and discrimination. This role could be served by a number of organisations, including the Commission, the Academy of Social Sciences, the British Academy and relevant research funders, perhaps as a collaborative action.

14.2 How prevalent is discrimination?

There is clear evidence that all people with protected characteristics are exposed to discrimination, some of which is unlawful.

However, there is wide variation in the methods, measures and approaches used to capturing prejudice and discrimination in Britain. Although this provides rich and diverse evidence, it causes serious problems due to lack of consistency or continuity in the volume and quality of evidence across protected characteristics. This makes it very difficult to confidently assess the levels of prejudice and discrimination experienced by people with and who share different protected characteristics (see Table 13.1 in the Appendix).

The quantity and quality of evidence of discrimination is very uneven and varied, and it is more plentiful for some protected characteristics than others. Given the scale and ubiquity of sex and age discrimination, it is surprising that these did not feature very substantially in the evidence base. It will be important to sustain collection of high quality evidence on these protected characteristics over time as they are very relevant both to the labour market and skills, as well as to how Britain manages its ageing population. They also intersect with all other protected characteristics. There is also a heavy reliance on relatively insensitive binary measures, rather than more specific measures of the severity or frequency of discrimination or harassment. To confidently answer the question of prevalence, a more consistent approach to measurement and greater frequency of collection of evidence is required.

One approach to tackling discrimination is to focus on the largest number of people that are affected by it. Another is to focus on the protected characteristics that are most severely affected. This means we need to know what proportion of individuals who share a particular protected characteristic experienced discrimination for that reason. For example, 18 per cent of the UK population have a disability (Papworth

Trust, 2014). One survey showed that 15 per cent of respondents experienced disability discrimination or prejudice (Abrams and Houston, 2006), which when extrapolated implies that 83 per cent of disabled people in the UK experience discrimination. However, another survey recorded that 0.6 per cent of those surveyed reported having experienced disability discrimination (Scottish Household Survey, 2014), which when applied to Scotland[32] or the UK as a whole implies that approximately three per cent of disabled people experience disability discrimination. Therefore, the range of different measures of experiences of discrimination makes it hard to draw conclusions not only about the extent of discrimination among people with and who share protected characteristics, but also the extent of discrimination against one group of people with a protected characteristic compared to another.

14.3 What are effective ways to prevent or respond to discriminatory behaviour?

The review included 24 evaluations of 18 different interventions that had been used to reduce or prevent discrimination. Most of these (14) were conducted in educational settings. Others were conducted within institutional or organisational settings or were with the general population. Only nine had assessability scores of 60 per cent and above, allowing confident conclusions to be made about their effectiveness.

Most interventions used some form of contact between different groups, though this ranged from real face-to-face relationships to imagined situations. Different interventions focussed on different points for influence. For example, children's attitudes toward women and the acceptability of domestic violence were challenged using discussion of literature and film. Another project tried to challenge people's norms by using Facebook messages from former extremists to influence others to re-evaluate the attractiveness of joining extremist groups. Another example used the positive emotions created by exposure to art products to promote children's intergenerational attitudes and relationships. There was also use of an 'embodied experience' method to get people to reassess their perspective of wheelchair users. A school-based intervention used 'extended contact' to reduce social distance and encourage contact with people with disabilities. Many projects employed a mixture of these approaches.

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[32] Approximately 19 per cent of the population in Scotland have a disability (Scottish Government, 2011).

Examples of intervention projects with robustly assessed effectiveness include the Time to Change campaign (focused on mental health and disability), which demonstrated that using techniques that affect several different points of influence can improve understanding (and bring about more complex categorisation), attitudes, and motivation to avoid prejudice about mental health. Other approaches address discrimination more broadly rather than looking at specific protected characteristics.

Interventions with a general approach

In addition to the 12 educational interventions relating to specific protected characteristics, we identified a further two interventions that have taken more general approaches that hold promise as strategies for addressing prejudice, discrimination and identity-based violence and harassment in schools. These include the Anne Frank Trust's educational work to challenge prejudice in general and the KiVa bullying prevention programme designed to reduce bullying in schools through methods such as perspective taking, reinforcing values of equality and the valuing of human life, and highlighting prosocial norms.[33]

14.4   Suggestions for policy and research

The review provides clear and robust evidence that all people with and who share protected characteristics are affected by prejudice and discrimination. Both prejudice and discrimination take different forms and occur in different social contexts and settings for people with different protected characteristics. The findings of this review suggest a number of important implications for policy makers and researchers, tools needed to understand and address these problems, and potential for effective interventions for changing individual behaviour.

To better understand the links between prejudice and discrimination there needs to be an improved and more coherent body of evidence that allows consistent evaluation of the changing levels of prejudice and discrimination towards different

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[33] These two interventions are not directed at specific protected characteristics and therefore were not reviewed in the same depth as others included in this report. However, they both scored highly on the assessability index and were both able to demonstrate high levels of effectiveness. Nonetheless, neither has tested whether the generic approach that they take affects prejudices toward all of the specific protected characteristics, so further work would need to be done to establish whether or not that is the case.

protected characteristics. Below we set out recommendations relating to data and measurement, strategies and interventions.

Recommendations: data and measurement

- **Better quality and standard of measurement in surveys to enable policy strategies to be better informed in addressing both expressions of prejudice and experiences of discrimination across the population.**

  The data available through current surveys do not allow us to draw nuanced estimates of experiences of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence. They do not allow comparison between the experiences of people with different protected characteristics, or between the experiences of people from different countries in GB.

- **It is important to sustain sources of evidence that allow comparison over time in order to assess the ongoing experiences of people with protected characteristics.**

  The lack or loss of this type of evidence that allows comparison over time is currently a problem and makes it difficult to assess confidently whether experiences of prejudice and discrimination are improving, getting worse, or changing form for particular groups.

- **More research is needed on the perspectives of perpetrators as well as victims of particular acts of discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence within particular contexts and time periods.**

  This will provide greater insight into the link between prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviours.

- **Development of a framework that brings together comparable objectives across different protected characteristics when developing strategies to tackle prejudice and discrimination.**

  A comprehensive framework is needed for understanding and preventing prejudice and unlawful discrimination, harassment and identity-based violence. This will enable systematic assessment of the evidence across different approaches and interventions which will substantially improve its relevance for policymaking. The framework will need to take account of key features of the social context, the particular settings, the time frame and duration of change, and the particular protected characteristics that are implicated when planning interventions.

- **Development and promotion of an approach to improve the robustness and quality of evaluations for assessing the impact of future**

interventions to tackle and prevent prejudice, discrimination and related unlawful behaviour.

Development of a quality threshold approach to guide future interventions would enable more confident and systematic assessment of what is effective and why across different approaches and interventions, and substantially improve their relevance for policy making.

Recommendations: developing interventions and assessing what works

- **Greater insight is needed into which interventions might work best in particular contexts of unlawful behaviour, and to what extent the focus should be on perpetrators, victims or both.**

  The current evidence base does not allow for any robustly evidence-led policy choices. More research is required to capture the connections between perspectives of both perpetrators and victims of particular acts of discrimination and unlawful behavior within particular contexts and time periods.

- **There are promising examples of interventions that 'work', but their effectiveness is not always assessed. The effectiveness of future interventions should ideally be assessed to rigorous standards within one setting before applying them to others.**

  Many interventions follow principles that are consistent with psychological theories of prejudice but the impact of these elements has not been assessed directly. If future interventions are designed and assessed to meet rigorous standards it will provide greater confidence in interpreting their outcomes and a better understanding of what works. This will inform the introduction of intervention approaches across different protected characteristics and different contexts. To determine the wider application of a particular type of intervention, it is recommended to test them initially with accessible populations which provide opportunities for robust evaluation (such as within schools, large organisations, or service users). It will then be possible to develop scalable interventions that could be used to work with harder to reach groups or settings (such as extremists, non-English speakers and transient populations).

- **More work is needed to establish the advantages of interventions that take a more general approach to reducing prejudice (fostering positive behaviours, educating, and promoting social skills) and to determine their effectiveness across protected characteristics.**

There is good evidence for the effectiveness of interventions that have used a more general approach in educational settings to addressing prejudice, discrimination and identity-based violence and harassment. These have challenged prejudice in general, employing methods such as encouraging perspective taking, reinforcing values of equality and the valuing of human life, and highlighting prosocial norms. These promising approaches should be tested further in order to understand their potential reach and how they might work in combination with interventions that focus on specific issues or protected characteristics.

This will provide greater insight into which interventions might work best in particular contexts, and whether and when it is effective to focus interventions on perpetrators, victims or both.

15 |
Glossary

Asylum seeker	A person who has left their home country as a political refugee and is seeking asylum in another country.
Attitudes	A relatively enduring set of beliefs, feelings, and behavioural tendencies towards socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols.
Authoritarian	Belief in an absolute authority, reflected by obedience to superiors but tyrannical behaviour towards subordinates.
Benign indifference	Occurs when people feel largely disconnected from one another and simply get on with their own lives without much regard for others, resulting in neglect of disadvantaged groups and individuals.
Categorisation	Assigning objects or people who vary along a continuum or dimension into discrete categories (such as groups).
Civic conception (identity)	Identity based on or referring to the nation's institutions, or loyalty to the nation.
Discrimination	Being treated unfairly because of a protected characteristic.
Good relations	Cohesion or tolerance and positive regard among individuals within a community.
Gypsy or Traveller	A collective term used to describe a wide variety of cultural and ethnic groups. There are many ways in which ethnicity may be established, including language, nomadic way of life and, crucially, self-identification. Defining a person as a Gypsy or Traveller is a matter of self-ascription and does not exclude those who are living in houses. Ethnic identity is not lost when members of the communities settle, but it continues and adapts to the new circumstances. Although most Gypsies and Travellers see travelling as part of their identity, they can choose to live in different ways, including permanently 'on the road', in caravans or mobile homes, or in settled accommodation (for part or all of the year).
Harmonious	A cohesive, tolerant and engaged community that is also open

cohesion	to other groups and individuals from outside.
Hate crime	Any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by hostility or prejudice.
Hate speech	The use of words or behaviours that are 'threatening, abusive and insulting' and that are intended 'to stir up racial hatred'.[34]
Ingroup	A group to which a person perceives themselves as belonging.
Intergroup contact	Contact between members of different groups.
Intervention	The implementation of an action, strategy, or process that changes the likelihood of a particular outcome.
Malign antipathy	Widespread social distrust, a fragmented community in which individuals are discontented, disengaged and hostile to both internal and external rivals or threats.
Outgroup	A group of which a person is not a member and which is being compared with an ingroup.
Perceived threat	A means of justifying prejudice or discrimination by arguing that an outgroup poses some kind of perceived threat (for example, a realistic, symbolic or economic threat).
Prejudice	Bias that devalues people because of their perceived membership of a social group.
Protected characteristics	The nine characteristics protected under the Equality Act 2010 and the grounds upon which discrimination is unlawful.
Rivalrous cohesion	Cohesion within a group that is created by rivalry or threat from other groups.
Social desirability	Pressure that people feel to express socially acceptable attitudes.
Social distance	The extent to which a person feels able to have a relationship with another person. This can range from, for example, feeling comfortable in sharing a neighbourhood to feeling comfortable having them as a prospective romantic partner.
Stereotype	A generalisation about the attributes of a group or category of people.
Unlawful	Not permitted by law (as distinct from illegal which means 'forbidden by law'). On occasions, unlawful and illegal may be synonymous, but unlawful is more correctly applied in relation to civil (as opposed to criminal) wrongs.

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[34]See Walters, Brown and Wiedlitzka (2016) for a further summary of relevant hate crime legislation.

Values   Expressions of what is important to people in their lives (such as equality, social justice, social power, achievement, respect for tradition and pleasure) that guide attitudes and behaviour.

Victimisation   The experience of being the target of bullying, harassment or unlawful behaviour.

16 |
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Appendix 1: Additional tables and figures

Table A1.1 Report sections detailing intersections between protected characteristics

	Disability	Race	Religion	Age	Sex	Sexual orientation	Gender reassignment	Pregnancy/ maternity
Disability								
Race	4.7							
Religion		6.7						
Age	4.7 7.7	4.7 7.7						
Sex			6.3	7.7				
Sexual orientation	9.7	9.7	6.7 9.7		8.7 9.7			
Gender reassignment				10.6				
Pregnancy/maternity	12.5	12.5				9.7 12.5		

Table A1.2 Summary of interventions

	Domain	Intervention	Measures	Outcome	Score (%)
Evans-Lacko *et al.* (2012)	Disability	Time to Change social contact interventions in England: Roadshow events: Stalls in prominent town centres aimed to engage public and raise awareness of mental health stigma. Time to Get Moving: 200 mass participant physical activity events one week each year.	- whether the participant met someone with a mental health problem - quality of social contact (equal status, friendship potential, common goals, cooperation) - future contact intentions - likelihood of disclosing a mental health problem	Events facilitated meaningful intergroup contact, which improved stigma-related behavioural intentions and subsequent engagements with Time to Change. Did not predict future willingness to disclose mental health problem.	58
Evans-Lacko *et al.* (2013)	Disability	Time to Change (England): Social media and anti-stigma marketing campaign involved an initial survey ('stigma shout') with 4000 people with mental health problems, followed by workshops with 100 survey participants. This explored situations in which people with mental health problems experienced stigma and discrimination, from whom they experienced it, and what should be done. Focus group interviews tested campaign messages. Social contact events.	Online interviews with public and adults who attended the social contact events, measuring: - mental health knowledge - attitudes to mental health - intended future contact - quality and duration of intergroup contact - social distance	No significant improvement in overall knowledge or intended behaviour over the campaign; campaign awareness was related to reduced stigma. Significant effect of contact on perceived attitude change reduced social distance; no difference in future contact intentions.	60
Evans-Lacko *et al.* (2014)	Disability	Time to Change (England): High-profile marketing and media campaign, community activity and events to increase contact, work with children and young people, support for a network of people with experience of mental health	Data from 2003, 2007-13 national attitudes to mental health survey, includes: - community attitudes towards the mentally ill scale	Attitudes about mental health became more positive over time (after the campaign), as did tolerance and support for community care.	50

		problems to take leadership roles in challenging discrimination, media engagement to improve media reporting and representations of mental health issues, and focused work with Black and ethnic minority communities.	- employment related attitudes - mental health knowledge - intended future contact - awareness of campaign	
Evans *et al.* (2015)	Disability	The Wheelchair Sports Project (England): Embodied experience of wheelchair basketball for non-disabled people. Trained coaches delivered sessions during PE over 12-week period.	- observations - semi-structured interviews with 24 children in four same-sex groups.	Students reported increased similarities between disabled and non-disabled people, increased empathy, familiarity with and frustrations of wheelchair use. Improvement in language.	45
Faulkner (2012)	Disability	As Evans-Lacko *et al* (2013) but with a South Asian population in Harrow, London.	As Evans-Lacko *et al* (2013)	67 per cent of people improved their attitudes towards mental health. 43 per cent of those who have seen the activity in Harrow say it has encouraged them to reflect on their own behaviours.	28
Henderson *et al.* (2014)	Disability	All Time to Change interventions In England since they began.	- Discrimination and Stigma Scale - Resource generator-UK used to assess access to social capital	Over the course of Time to Change experiences of discrimination have fallen and risen slightly, with a significant decrease overall. Significant increases in discrimination from friends and in social life were found between 2011–12. Also an increase in feeling	71

				the need to conceal one's diagnosis.	
Loughran (2013)	Disability	Time to Change (England): Children and young people's 18-month pilot program including: leadership volunteering, educational programme, community events, campaign materials with local organisations and social marketing.	- attitudes to mental health - knowledge of mental health and confidence were measured pre- and post- intervention	Young people's and stakeholders' (such as siblings, parents, youth professionals) attitudes towards mental health improved. Increased understanding and empathy.	15
Loughran and Boon (2015)	Disability	Time to Change (England): Young people's programme, social contact, schools programmes and national social marketing. Included: training for teachers, young leadership groups in schools, resources/promo materials, resources for parents, pop-up villages, social marketing (vloggers and Time to Talk Days).	- knowledge about and attitudes towards mental health - language used when discussing mental health - empowerment to challenge stigma - experienced discrimination - confidence	10 per cent improvement in mental health knowledge. Improvement in attitudes and reduction of derogatory language. six per cent reduction in experience of discrimination. Increase in talking about mental health and awareness.	15
Myers *et al.* (2009)	Disability	See Me, national Scottish campaign to end mental health discrimination involves an outreach programme, community champions, engagement in decision-making, speaker and media volunteer programmes, developing strategies.	Asked service users about experiences of discrimination. Interviewed media professionals to ascertain whether media reporting has changed prior to the campaign to 2007 and analysed headlines from newspapers at three time points.	Evaluation shows an increased awareness of issues.	65
Kerby *et al.* (2008)	Disability	Anti-stigma films: The first short film, 'A Human Experience' (Smith, 2005), made	Randomised control trial design (film vs control) assessed pre,	Attitudes were less stigmatising after the	68

		in collaboration with service users at Rethink Nottingham and evaluated in England, adopts a 'talking head' style approach around three mental health professionals discussing their experiences of being diagnosed with a mental health condition. The second short film, 'A Day in the Mind of…' (Green, 2005) made by service users at Framework housing association Nottingham, adopts a first-person perspective on the experience of psychosis.	post and eight weeks after watching the film. - attitudes towards mental health - perceived dangerousness - attitudes towards psychiatry - contact with people with a mental health condition - behavioural intentions towards people with a mental health condition	intervention in the experimental group. Perceived dangerousness decreased between pre- and post-intervention and remained similar eight weeks later. Decrease in social distance between pre- and post- for the intervention group, but this was not sustained eight weeks later.	
Varughese *et al*. (2011)	Disability	Randomised control trial. General public in Essex, England, were asked to complete a questionnaire after looking at a photo of either a) a man with intellectual disability from the cover of the Learning Disability Coalition leaflet entitled 'Tell it Like it is', or b) a man with intellectual disability who was smartly dressed in a shirt and tie apparently at work in an office (see August 2010 issue of *The Psychiatrist*)	- 'Attitude to Mental Illness' questionnaire	People's attitudes to mental health conditions were more positive after looking at photo b. Photo b significantly reduces stigmatised attitudes.	63
Cameron *et al*. (2006)	Disability	Non-disabled children in an English School (6-10 years) read stories over a six- week period that portrayed friendships between non-disabled and disabled children, followed by small group discussion.	- attitudes and behavioural intentions towards disabled and non-disabled pre- and post-intervention	Increased positivity towards disabled people, most pronounced when stories emphasised group membership.	67
Buchanan *et al*. (2008)	Race	Use of a Virtual Learning Environment (VLE) to support 41 students (31 from Wales, 7 from South Africa and 3 from	- engagement and evaluation of the VLE - pre and post knowledge of	Students showed an increase in knowledge of racism and cross-cultural	33

			USA) to discuss racism	racism (quantitative) - experiences of racism (qualitative)	issues after discussion	
EHRC 'Stop and think again' (2013)	Race		Evaluated various interventions initiated by different police forces (Thames Valley, Leicestershire, Dorset, London Met, West Midlands) since the EHRC 'Stop and think again' report (2010)	- new policies implemented by police forces - training needs - disproportionality in number of Black and Asian people subjected to stop and search	Some police force areas, though not all, saw a reduction in race disproportionality.	38
Lloyd (2014)	Race and religion and belief		Took existing heritage resources (e.g. film, images) from the 'changing nation' exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland into the classroom in Scotland to stimulate discussion	Following the films and images, students discussed (focus groups and semi-structured interviews) - ethic identity - national identity and - immigration, which were analysed	Participants adopted positions that concurred with their existing sense of self, rather than dramatically altering their concepts of identity and belonging	42
Frennet and Dow (no date)	Religion or belief		Online intervention to reduce extremist sentiments by directly messaging 154 individuals, in the UK, who had expressed extremist views in their social media networks. Messengers were either former far-right extremists or former Islamist extremists	The intervention assessed which types of messages were most effective in eliciting responses and coded the types of responses	Response rates of far-right (63 per cent) and Islamist candidates (42 per cent) Approximately 60 per cent of the messages were seen by the target and 59 per cent evoked a 'reaction'. 12 per cent denied their adherence to the ideology in question and 20 per cent refused to engage, while the majority (60 per cent) engaged in five or more messages. Effective messages drew on personal experiences,	47

				offered non-judgmental support, were sentimental, reflective or offering help and were between under five sentences.	
Intentionomics (2013)	Age	The 'Age really IS just a number!' campaign exhibited 12 positive images (submitted by Caerphilly residents in Wales) around the local area. The exhibition attracted over 160,000 visitors and aimed to challenge age categories, promote better understanding and tolerance between generations while also encouraging the media and organisations to use more positive images to reduce the negative stereotypes of older and younger people.	A questionnaire (n=650) asked about - age stereotypes and their influence on ageing - use of images of ageing in the media	Ninety five per cent agreed that negative stereotypes influence our perceptions of age. The questionnaire identified common age stereotypes (grumpy, frail, boring). Most respondents what the media to use more positive images of both older and younger people.	32
Van de Vyver and Abrams (2015a)	Age	An arts-based intervention. One hundred and fifty-three children from a primary school in England (years 1-6) were surveyed before and after viewing an art exhibition. The intervention aimed to reduce prejudiced attitudes and increase pro-social behaviour towards older people	- perceptions and attitudes towards older people - kindness, willingness to cooperate with and prosocial attitudes towards older people - role models - understanding of art forms	The results showed that, after the art exhibition, children were less biased against older people and more willing to cooperate with them. There were also differences according to age group, suggesting that some groups are more prone to stigmatise older people.	40
Gadd, Fox and Hale (2014)	Sex	REaDAPt: Secondary school children (in England, but also France and Spain) read a book in which a university student is in an abusive relationship. The story is	- the Attitudes towards Domestic Violence questionnaire (ADV) was administered before and after the interventions were delivered	The intervention was effective in reducing both boys' and girls' acceptance of domestic violence.	73

		discussed over six one-hour sessions, alongside presentations and short films that depict domestic violence situations.	- focus group discussions	Ongoing work to develop a 'toolkit'	
Walker (2013)	Sex	WAVE intervention de- livers intensive support (two-hourly weekly sessions over a six-week period) to female offenders and women at risk of offending in the UK.	- semi-structured interview about their experience with the intervention program	Women felt they gained control over their emotions and behaviours. They were more aware of 'triggers' to their violent behaviour. Women were not aware of inner thoughts and feelings regarding their power in intimate relationships.	47
Mitchell, Gray and Beniga, (2014)	Sexual orientation	Evaluated the effectiveness of interventions in England and Wales to tackle homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying among school-aged children and young people.	The authors reviewed 31 pieces of literature, conducted 20 in-depth telephone interviews with teachers and other providers, observed four schools (case study) and recruited 247 individuals for an online exercise that mapped existing interventions and views on their effectiveness.	The review revealed that whole school approaches were considered more effective than reactive approaches, education, teaching, and playground approaches.	40
Warwick and Aggleton, (2014)	Sexual orientation	Evaluated three Schools' approaches (in England) to tackling homophobic bullying.	Interviewed 58 children and nine members of staff at three different schools (co-educational, all-girls and all-boys) in London, aiming to identify how the schools address homophobia.	Qualitative analysis revealed that children have complex ways of discussing homophobia, addressing aspects such as sexual meanings and identities, sexual communities and rights, power, sexuality- related discrimination, and images of masculinity and femininity. Conversely,	45

				schools' commitment to address homophobia was aligned with their concerns for fairness.	
Hutchings and Clarkson, (2015)	General	KiVa is a whole-school bullying prevention program, which originated in Finland and has been trialled and evaluated in 14 schools across Wales and three from Cheshire. The intervention consists of KiVa lessons delivered to year 5 and year 6 pupils	Pre and post intervention measures of - Revised Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire, which records whether pupils self-identify as victims, non-victims, bullies or non-bullies - teachers reported on experience of delivering the program in an online survey	Significant reductions were reported in bullying and victimisation. Teachers reported high levels of pupil acceptance and engagement with lessons.	63
Anne Frank Trust, (2015)	General	The Anne Frank Trust intervention involves creating schools ambassadors and peer guides across the UK, to increase awareness of intergroup differences and norms, and to challenge the elements of prejudice.	Teachers and pupils surveyed after the intervention on: - knowledge about and the consequences of, prejudice - respect for others - critical thinking skills - confidence - monitoring and challenging discriminatory behaviour	Peer guides have increased knowledge about what prejudice is and its negative consequences. Teachers agree that peer guides are more confident, have better critical thinking skills and have an increased respect for others. They are also more likely to challenge and report discriminatory behaviour	67

Figure A1.1 **Assessability scores for evaluations of interventions**

Category	Intervention	Score
General /bullying	Anne Frank Trust (2015)	67
	Hutchings and Clarkson (2015)	63
Age	Intentionomics (2013)	32
	Van de Vyver & Abrams, 2015	40
Disability	*Loughran & Boon	15
	*Loughran (2013)	15
	*Faulkner (2012)	28
	Evans, Bright, & Brown (2015)	45
	*Evans-Lacko et al (2014)	50
	*Evans-Lacko et al (2012)	58
	*Evans-Lacko et al (2013)	60
	Varughese et al (2011)	63
	Myers et al (2009)	65
	Cameron & Rutland (2006)	67
	Kerby et al (2008)	68
Race	*Henderson et al (2014)	71
	Buchanan et al (2008)	33
	EHRC (B)	38
Religion	Lloyd (2014)	42
	Frennet & Dow	47
Sex	Walker (2013)	47
	Gadd et al (2014)	73
Sexual orientation	Mitchell, Gray & Beninger	40
	Warwick & Aggleton (2014)	45

Note: Interventions with * evaluate the Time to Change intervention. Lloyd (2014) intervention covered both race and religion and belief.

Figure A1.2 **Types of measures exploring discrimination per protected characteristic**
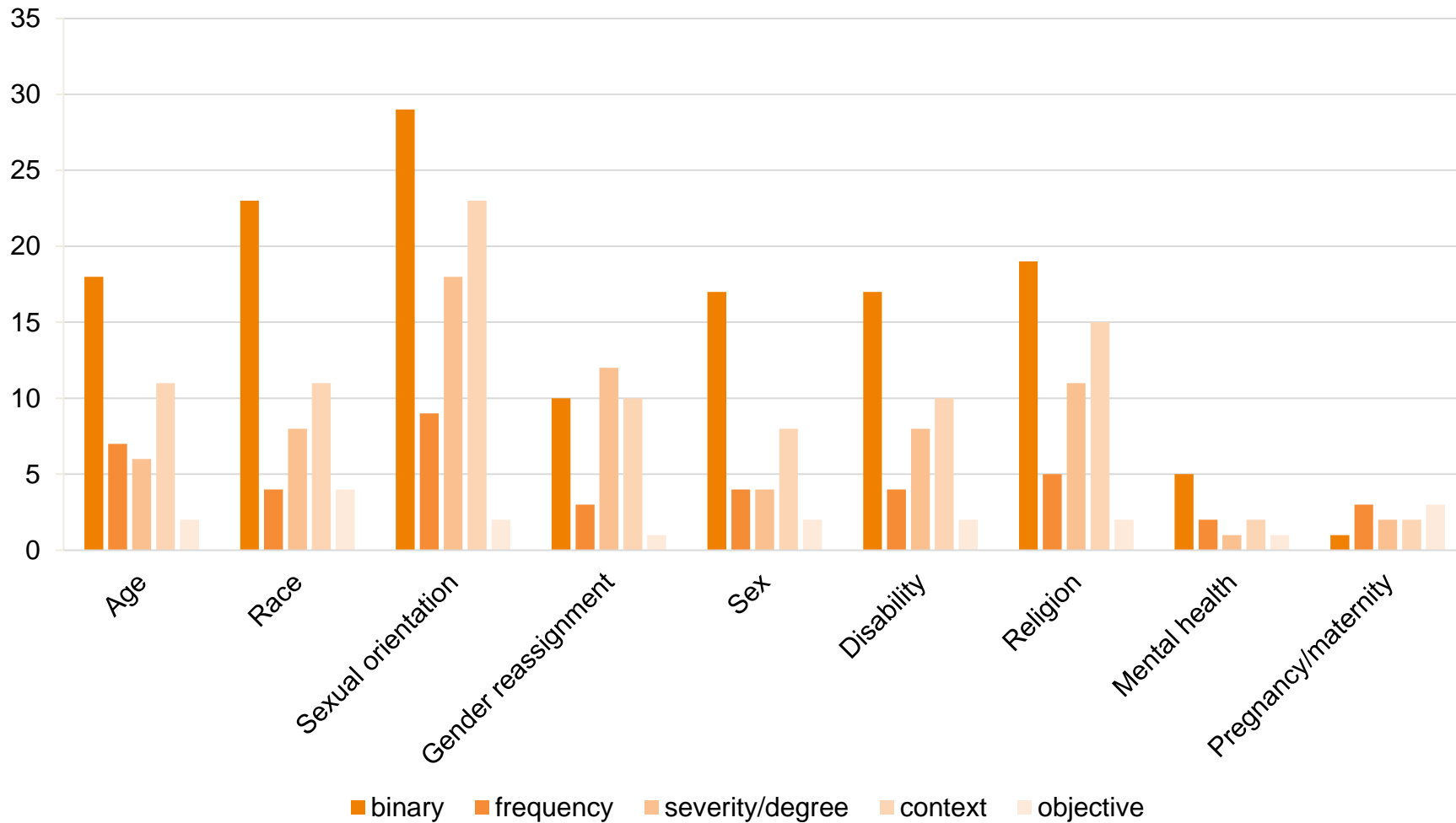
Figure A1.3 **The volume of literature across equality domains**
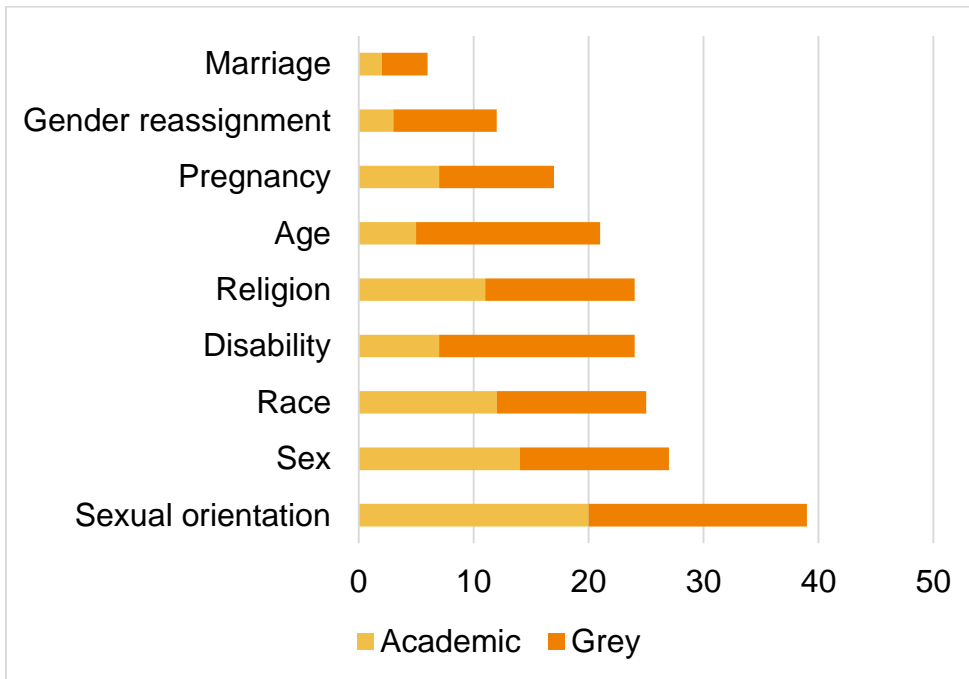
Figure A1.4 **Number of surveys in which experiences of discrimination for each protected characteristic are covered by at least one item**
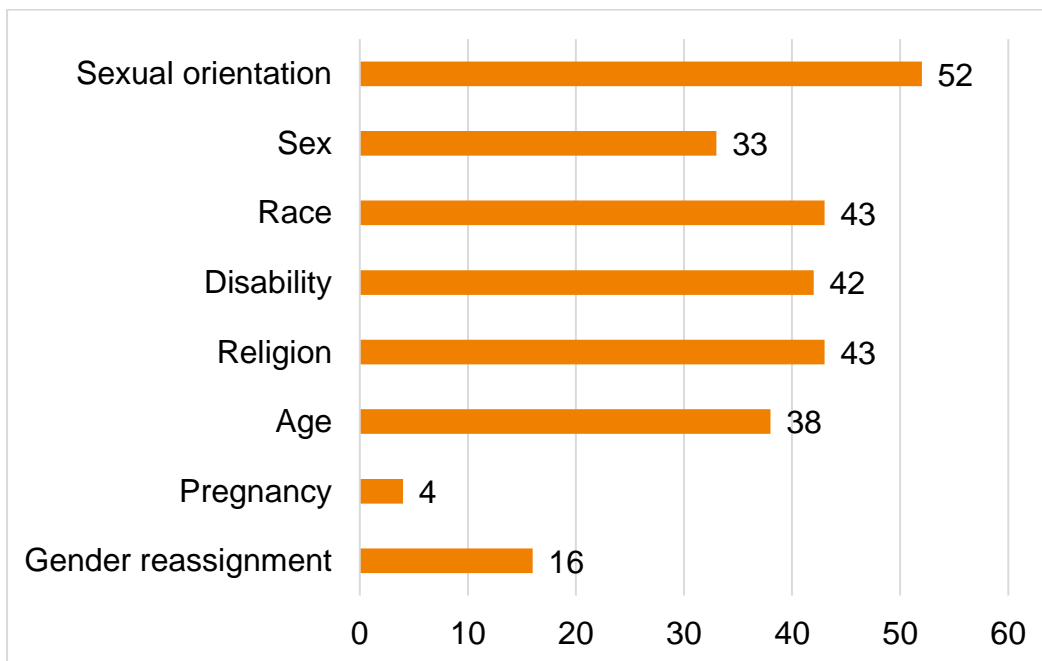
Appendix 2: Consistency between measures, continued

In their national survey of prejudice, Abrams and Houston (2006) asked:

 'Thinking about your personal experiences over the last year, how often has anyone shown prejudice against you or treated you unfairly because of your…'

The responses are shown in Table A2.1 below and are echoed by responses to similarly worded questions in the age discrimination module of Round 4 of the European Social Survey (see Age Concern England, 2008). Other surveys, such as the Scottish Household Survey (SHS), first ask respondents 'Have you been discriminated against in the last three years?' and if respondents answer 'yes', they are asked 'Why do you think you were discriminated against?'.

This type of two-part question yields particularly low estimates because respondents first have to think globally about an incidence of prejudice or discrimination they have faced, then to attribute that discrimination to an identity or protected characteristic. Consequently it generates much lower, and quite implausible, estimates of experiences of discrimination. The same is true for similarly worded questions within the European Social Survey and Eurobarometer. It seems easier for respondents to recall instances of prejudice and discrimination if they are asked in relation to a protected characteristic in the first instance.

Table A2.1 below displays the responses to these different measures of perceived discrimination and reveals little consistency between them.

Table A2.1 Prevalence of experiences of discrimination

	Abrams & Houston (2006)	SHS, (2013)	SHS, (2014)
Age	37	(13) 0.9	(14) 0.8
Disability	15	(7) 0.5	(10) 0.6
Race	22	(31) 2.1	(32) 1.9
Gender reassignment	34	(8) 0.01	(8) 0.5
Religion			
Sexual orientation	16	(12) 0.8	(12) 0.7
Pregnancy	10	(4) 0.3	(4) 0.2
Marriage			
Other		(30) 2.1	(28) 1.7
Don't know		(2) 0.1	(2) 0.1
Refused			

Note: Figures are the proportion of those surveyed who reported experiencing discrimination. Figures in parentheses are the proportion of those who experienced **any** discrimination and ascribed it to having or sharing a particular protected characteristic.

Figure A2.1 Sources of evidence of evaluated interventions per protected characteristic
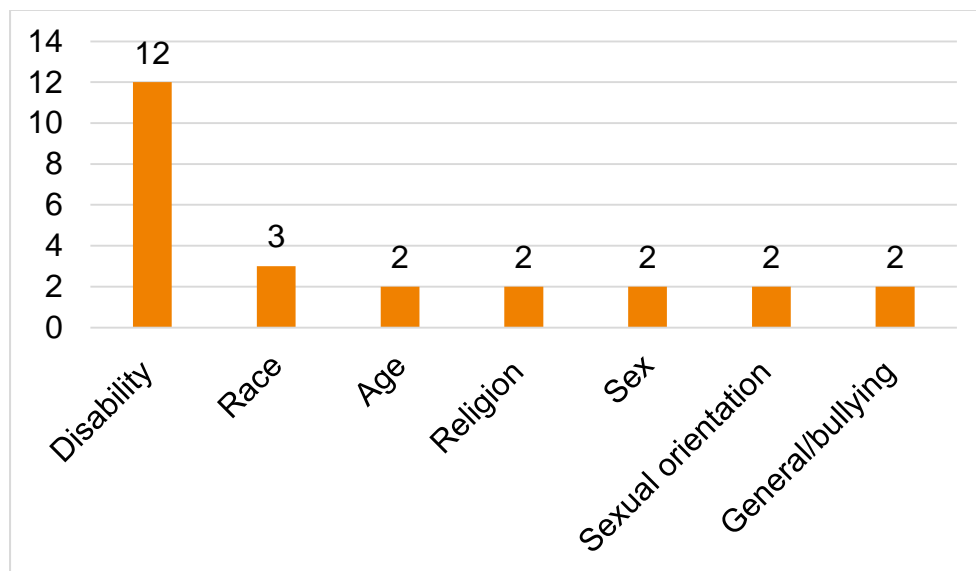
Table A2.2 Common contexts, settings, and forms of prejudice and discrimination for different protected characteristics

Protected characteristic	Typical social psychological contexts (good relations, intergroup relations)	Typically researched settings	Typical forms
Disability	Structural effects, benign indifference	Hate crime, education employment	Over-simplistic categorisation, patronising stereotypes, negative emotions, low social contact
Race	Malign antipathy, rivalrous cohesion targeted at particular groups	Immigration, nationality, experiences of Black and Asian people, hate crime, education, employment	Antipathy, verbal abuse, perceived threat, social distance, reluctance for contact
Religion	Rivalrous cohesion (sectarianism, value-based conflicts)	Employment, hate crimes	Social distance, cultural threat, non-recognition of practices
Age	Structural barriers, benign indifference	Population surveys, health, social care, employment, mainly old age	Patronising stereotypes and treatment
Sex	Mixed	Education, health, social care, employment	Hostile and also paternalistic attitudes, stereotypes and emotions, pay gap
Sexual orientation	Malign antipathy	Hate crime, employment, health, social care, education	Antipathy, verbal abuse, social distance, reluctance for contact
Gender reassignment	Malign antipathy	Hate crime, employment health, social care, education	Antipathy, verbal abuse, violence in relationships, social distance, reluctance for contact
Marriage and civil partnership	Mixed	Forced marriage and same-sex marriage	Social distance, contrasting religious or cultural values

Appendix 3: Methodology

This methodology section outlines in detail the methods used to conduct the research underpinning the 'Prejudiced Attitudes and Unlawful Behaviour' research report. It provides further details on the three parts of the research which were conducted, including:

1. A systematic literature review in which we identified and reviewed the relevant literature on prejudiced attitudes and instances of unlawful discrimination, identity-based harassment and violence.

2. A measurement map in which we identified and assessed data sources and measures of discrimination to identify what has been measured and how.

3. A review of interventions in which we evaluated the quality and impact of interventions that aim to reduce prejudice, discrimination or inappropriate behaviour directed towards people with protected characteristics.

These were outlined in Chapter 2, 'How the research was conducted'.

In addition to online searches for evidence, we consulted academics, policy makers, research funders, charities and What Works Centres. This section also describes the criteria that were used to assess whether evidence was appropriate for inclusion in the review, and the development of a framework to determine the quality of the intervention evaluations.

In carrying out a systematic review of the evidence, we aimed to follow a procedure that would be replicable and as free from bias as possible, both to ensure we captured the relevant research findings on the topic and to map where there were gaps or uncertainty in the evidence. We used a narrative review, selecting exemplary studies to highlight their successful qualities, drawing out transferable policy learning from successful approaches or interventions, and bringing together common criteria of programme success.

We set out the protocols that we followed to conduct the systematic review below. This included: identifying key search terms; searching for and identifying research;

selecting and assessing the quality of primary studies; extracting data; and synthesising the evidence into a useful narrative to address the three core research questions.

A3.1 Search strategy

Three comprehensive online searches were conducted. These covered academic literature (primarily in peer reviewed journals), grey literature (that is, reports produced by national or regional governments, policy makers, charities or third sector organisations), and information in data archives. We also consulted with 47 academics, policy makers and experts in the field of prejudice, discrimination and unlawful behaviour, as well as funders of research (see section on grey literature below).

Generation of search terms

To generate the search terms for the online searches, we first conducted a meta-review (using Google Scholar) of seminal academic papers on values, prejudice, discrimination and unlawful behaviour. In this preliminary search we used top-line keywords in combination with words that reflect the protected characteristic. For example, '[protected characteristic, e.g. age]' + 'prejudiced attitude' + 'discrimination' were searched in combination with 'review'. The search was restricted to papers published between 2005 and 2015. We examined each review paper for other relevant keywords. The review identified 45 key words which were refined and prioritised (in order of specificity) into primary, secondary and tertiary levels. See Table A3.1 for a summary of the search terms.

Table A3.1 **Table of key search terms for systematic review**

Equality domain	Prejudiced attitudes	Unlawful/discriminatory behaviours
	Primary	
Age Ageism Old age Ageing	Prejudice Stereotypes Values Norms Attitudes	Discrimination Bias Exclusion Rights Equality Cohesion Good relations Justice
Disability Disabled Mental health/illness Handicapped Long-term illness/health		
	Secondary	
Race Racism Ethnicity Immigration Nationality Citizenship	Judgement Evaluation Hate Intolerance Avoidance Anger Stigma Appearance Conformity	Abuse Rape Fraud Harassment Violence Assault Crime Bullying Victimisation
Sex Sexism Women Men Gender Feminism		
	Tertiary	
Gender reassignment Transgender Transexed Gender dysphoria	Minority Categorisation [social]Distance Authoritarianism Dominance System justification	Segregation Ostracism Subordination Unfair treatment Disturbances Vandalism Anti-social behaviour Freedom of expression/speech
Other gender reassignment-related terms Transvestism Cross-dressing Transsexual Gender variant Intersex Trans (man/woman)	**Additional domain-specific terms:** Race: Ethnocentrism Religion: Islamaphobia, Anti-semitism Gender: Transphobia Sexual orientation: Homophobia	
Religion OR Belief Faith Muslim Sectarianism Spirituality		

Fundamentalism Religiosity		
Sexual orientation LGBT Lesbian Gay Homosexual Heterosexual Bisexual Sexuality Masculinity Femininity Same sex Sexual minority Sexual preference Queer		
Pregnancy OR Maternity Paternity Teenage pregnancy Contraception Fertility		
Marriage OR Civil partnership Same sex Lesbian Gay Spouse Civil union Intimate partner Domestic partnership		

A3.2 Academic literature search

The search for academic literature was conducted in:

- Google Scholar
- EBSCOhost, an online database host housing 20 databases on topics relating to humanities, social sciences and sciences (for information on the databases contained in EBSCO, see list below)
- The International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) which includes over 6,000 journals from a range of social science disciplines, including anthropology, economics, education, political science, religious studies and sociology.

Within each search engine, we conducted three searches for each protected characteristic (one each for primary, secondary and tertiary terms).

Google Scholar

Google Scholar proved useful for establishing breadth but was found to be insufficiently precise and to lack the functions needed for completing the search with the specified restrictions.

EBSCOhost

EBSCOhost is an online database host covering topics relating to humanities, social sciences, and sciences. EBSCO houses 20 databases, of which multiple can be searched simultaneously. For the purposes of this project, 15 databases were selected as the most relevant and covering a range of subject areas:

- Abstracts in Social Gerontology
- Academic Search Complete
- British Education Index
- Business Source Complete
- Child Development & Adolescent Studies
- Criminal Justice Abstracts
- eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)
- Education Abstracts (H.W. Wilson)
- Educational Administration Abstracts
- ERIC (Education Resource Information Center)
- International Political Science Abstracts
- Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts
- PsycARTICLES (American Psychological Association)
- PsycINFO (American Psychological Association)
- AgRegional Business News

The benefit of using EBSCO for this particular review is that it allows a search for key words in different areas (that is, some in the title or abstract, some anywhere in the text) and it allows the exclusion of words or phrases (that is, NOT [search term]; see example below). It is also possible to narrow the search by date range, in this case 2005-2015, and EBSCO automatically removed duplicate documents from the results. To maximise the accuracy of the hits we searched for equality domains in

the title, attitude and behaviour terms in the abstract, filtering for location anywhere in the text.

The International Bibliography of the Social Sciences

IBSS was used to supplement EBSCO when searches had produced fewer than ten hits (across the three search levels) for any equality domain. The IBSS includes over 6,000 titles from a range of social science disciplines, including anthropology, economics, education, political science, religious studies and sociology. The IBSS allowed the use of the same search fields as in the EBSCO search. Twenty-one searches across six equality domains were completed. This produced an additional 23 hits, of which five were relevant to the project, and some of these were already captured in the EBSCO[35] search.

A3.3 Grey literature search

The search for grey literature was conducted in Google and restricted to publications produced by charities, third sector or government organisations. It was also restricted by location to Great Britain, England, Scotland and Wales, and by publication date (range from 2005-2015).

As with Google Scholar, there were some restrictions to the searches, and so only top-level searches were conducted for each equality domain.

The grey literature search results in Google did not adequately capture sources that we had located by investigating specific websites in greater depth. This was because the Google search yielded a variety of different types of product, many of which were not accessible directly through the Google links. Consequently, the hit number from Google was only indicative of the actual pool of papers. As with the academic search, duplicates of outputs were encountered but Google was inconsistent in highlighting these. These were removed manually as the papers were reviewed.

A selection of charities and funding bodies (including The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Nuffield Foundation, Leverhulme Trust, Wellcome Trust, British Academy, British Council, and Economic and Social Research Council) and all the

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[35] We were aware that the IBSS would include some of the same titles as EBSCO but it was not possible to know in advance which items these would be.

What Works Centres were contacted directly for any relevant publications or funded research that were in their records. No additional material was identified by these bodies. We also carried out searches of their outputs. Additional organisations and websites were included in the search for grey literature:

- The Beaumont Society
- BiUK (LGBT hate crime project with Galop and LGBT consortium)
- Centre for Policy on Ageing (cpa.org.uk)
- Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (FFLAG)
- Galop (galop.org.uk)
- Gender Identity Research and Education Society (GIRES)
- The Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- The King's Fund (kingsfund.org.uk)
- LGBT Consortium
- LGBT Foundation
- University of Leicester
- Maternity Action
- Mental Health Foundation
- Mencap
- Mind
- NatCen
- Office for National Statistics
- Respectme
- Stop Hate UK
- Stonewall
- Sporting Equals
- Time to Change
- Tell MAMA
- Understanding Society (UK Household Longitudinal Study)

A3.4 Inclusion criteria

The initial search was deliberately over inclusive. All hits were initially assessed for 'relevance'. In the case of grey literature, the part of the search that used Google yielded a huge number of potential hits. We checked in screen batches of 10. After three screens that yielded only non-relevant material the search was terminated. The retained pages were then scanned and all relevant items were retained for further screening (reading of abstracts). For the academic literature the search criteria were more successful in reaching intended material, so all items were screened at least to abstract level. On the basis of the criteria adopted, 1,362 papers were selected from the initial academic and grey literature searches for review. These were then narrowed down to 197 papers.

Relevance of article title

First, the title of the article was read to make an initial judgement about its relevance, and the inclusion criteria were:

- The article was related to values, prejudiced attitudes, discrimination or unlawful behaviour.
- The article was published in 2005 or later (to 2015).
- The article was published (papers from conference proceedings were excluded).
- The article was relevant to England, Scotland or Wales, or Great Britain, in alignment with the remit of the Commission.

This resulted in 1,362 selected papers for review.[36]

Relevance of article abstract

At this point duplicate papers (those which also arose in other searches) were excluded and the abstracts of papers were reviewed to determine their relevance (based on the inclusion criteria above). This narrowed the body of literature of 525 papers which were downloaded, saved and allocated to a protected characteristic.
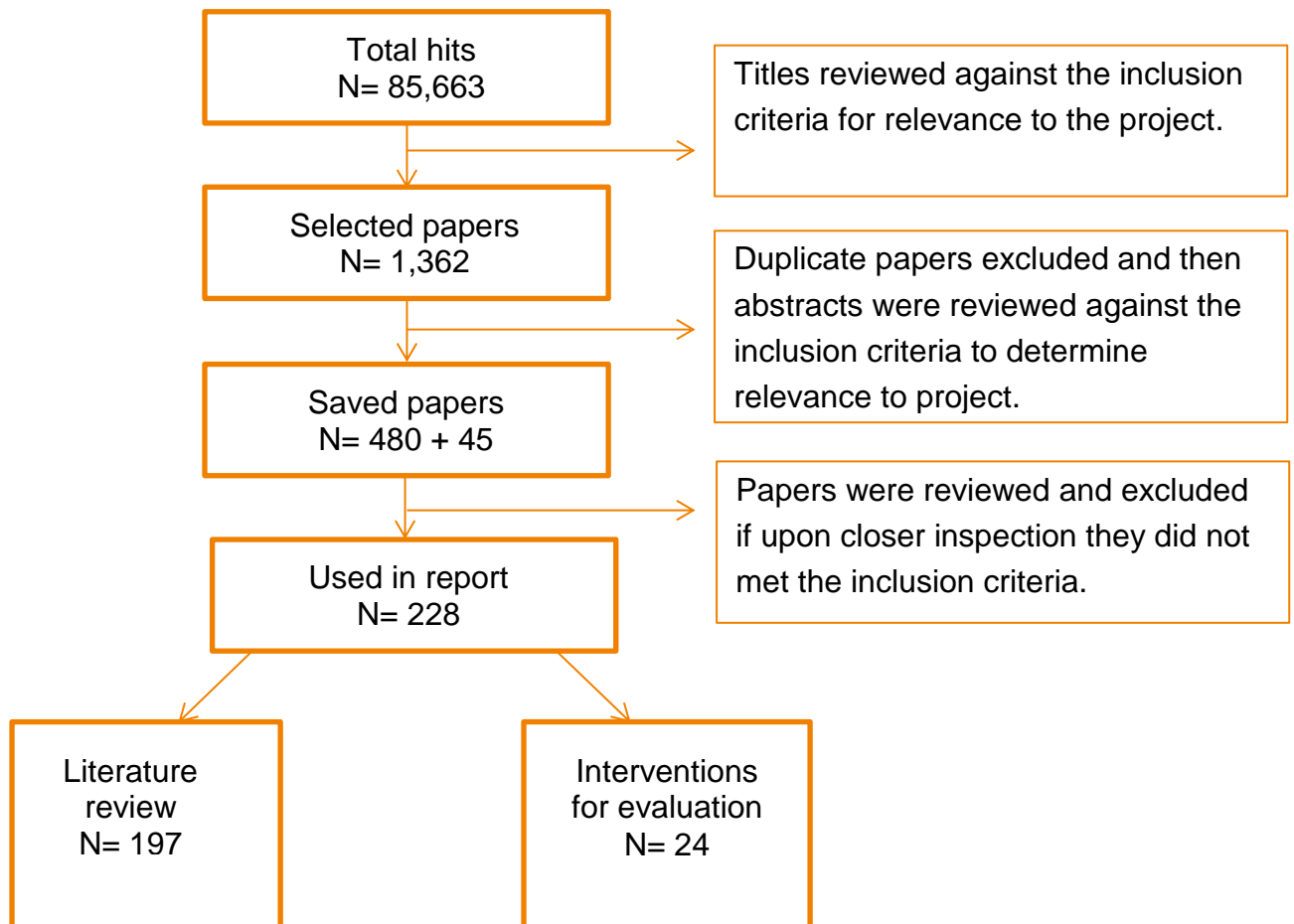
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[36] Note that the search ceased when three pages of irrelevant articles were produced.

Allocation to protected characteristic

During the process of allocation, we came across several articles relating to more than one protected characteristic which allowed us to examine common intersectionalities among protected characteristics (see Table A1.1). For these articles we distinguished between the primary (main focus) and secondary characteristic in the article and categorised the article in relation to the primary characteristic. During the review process we excluded a further 297 papers because upon closer inspection they failed to meet the inclusion criteria. Thus, a total of 228 pieces of evidence, including 24 evaluations of interventions, were included in the evidence review. Figure A3.1 below summarises the inclusion criteria and decision-making process.

Figure A3.1 Exclusion and inclusion decision tree

Total hits
N= 85,663

Titles reviewed against the inclusion criteria for relevance to the project.

Selected papers
N= 1,362

Duplicate papers excluded and then abstracts were reviewed against the inclusion criteria to determine relevance to project.

Saved papers
N= 480 + 45

Papers were reviewed and excluded if upon closer inspection they did not met the inclusion criteria.

Used in report
N= 228

Literature review
N= 197

Interventions for evaluation
N= 24

A3.5 Search for measures of discrimination

Searches were also conducted on 14 known large databases and evidence hubs in the UK using the primary search terms. These included:

- UK Data Service
- National Centre for Social Research (NatCen)
- Office for National Statistics (ONS)
- National Archives of Scotland
- HM Government website (GOV.UK)
- The Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Higher Education Statistics Agency
- British Education Index
- Equality and Human Rights Commission
- Commission for Racial Equality
- Equal Opportunities Commission
- Disability Rights Commission
- Women and Equality Unit
- Equality Challenge Unit

We also examined the material generated by the wider literature review for measures of discrimination.

A3.6 Assessing the quality of the interventions

To identify the most effective interventions or approaches we first sought to validate the available evidence and assess the quality of the evaluations. A review of what makes a good intervention and what constitutes good research evidence revealed 30 elements relevant to quantitative research (26 were also relevant to qualitative research). These elements refer to the type of design employed in the intervention, the inclusion of adequate information about the sample, and the quality of information provided about the outcomes and measures. (Table A3.1 defines the evaluation criteria and Table A3.2 summarises the framework and their origins.)

Table A3.2 Definitions of the evaluation criteria

Criteria	Description
Design	The **research design** refers to the overall strategy that is chosen to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way. We expect reports of the intervention to include a **description of the design**, which should be appropriate to the research and include a rationale of why the design was chosen. Well-designed interventions should be based on a **review** of the literature. Many of the evaluation frameworks state that **experimental methods** are preferable design. The description should also include the **number of studies** (if more than one) and whether the intervention includes or uses **data from different sources**. The evaluator of the intervention should also look out for a) whether or not the design incurs a **selection bias** (that is, whether the selection of individuals, groups or data occurs in such a way that is not randomised, or not representative of the population intended to be analysed), b) whether the participants and/or researchers are **blinded** to the research aims and hypotheses, as this can bias the findings, and c) the presence of any **confounds** (a variable or context that correlates with other variables present).
Sample	The **sample** refers to the sub-set of the population included in the research. In most cases the sample will refer to participants who are involved in the research, but for others it could also refer to the unit of the data that are being assessed. In either case, the intervention should provide a description of the sample, which includes the following information: **number of participants** or units involved; **method of recruitment** or data extraction; any **admission or exclusion criteria;** and any information regarding the participation rate that includes information on **withdrawal** or rate or reason for drop-outs.
Reproducible/ replicability	Good interventions should be able to be reproduced or replicated easily. To ensure this, interventions, particularly medical interventions, are likely to provide a **study protocol**. However, other types of interventions should simply provide information regarding the **context of the intervention**, which would

	inform whether the intervention can be easily replicated or reproduced elsewhere.
Ethics	Information regarding the type of **ethical approval** sought, any **problems** regarding ethics procedures or approval, and particular ethical issues regarding the **confidentiality** and **anonymity** of participants should be provided.
Outcomes	Those conducting interventions should provide detailed **descriptions of the types of measures and outcomes** they are interested in and are using. This information should include the **number of variables** (both independent variables and dependent variables), the **effect sizes** associated with outcomes (such as the quantitative measures associated with the strength of the effect being measured).
Findings	When the findings of the intervention are discussed these should comment on whether the findings are **consistent** with the researcher's hypothesises and expectations. The findings should be described in relation to a **theoretical framework** that informed the intervention or research. Researchers should also comment on the extent to which the findings are a) **generalizable or transferable** to other contexts or situations, b) **relevant to policy or practice,** and c) **extend or contribute to current knowledge**. Evaluators can also judge the quality of the research by evaluating the **quality and clarity** of how the findings are reported
Analysis	Interventions should **describe** the types of analyses being used, and these should be **appropriate** to the research design and **justified**.
Limitations, follow-ups, cost effectiveness and participant satisfaction	Other aspects of the research that could be present are: whether or not there has been a discussion of the **limitations**; whether there has been any **follow-up** to the intervention study; whether there is a measure of the **cost effectiveness** of the study (or just the cost of the study); and whether or not participants were asked about how **satisfied** they were with the intervention.

Table A3.3 Elements of the evaluation framework and their origins

Criteria		MRC	EBMWG	Oxford	CCH	MERGE	CTF	EBM	JECH	ARP	SEF	CO
Design	Description (including rationale & appropriateness)	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x
	Based on a systematic review	x	x					x				
	Experimental (preferable)	x	x		x			x		x		
	Selection bias		x	x								
	Blinding			x	x							
	Different data sources											x
	Confounding			x		x						
	N of studies						x					
Sample	Description	x	x	x		x		x				x
	N	x										x
	Withdrawal & drop-out analysis			x							x	
	Method of recruitment										x	
	Admission/exclusion criteria										x	x
Reproducible	Provides a study protocol	x							x		x	x
	Context of the intervention								x	x		x
Ethics	Ethical approval, problems, confidentiality, anonymity	x										x
Outcomes	Description & measurement of outcomes	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		
	N of DVs	x										
	Effect size					x	x	x		x		
Findings	Consistency						x					
	Theoretical framework								x			x
	Generalisability/transferability						x	x	x		x	x
	Relevance of evidence to practice					x		x				x
	Extend the knowledge											x
	Quality of reporting								x			x

(clarity)											
Analysis		x	x	x	x				x	x	x
Other	Discussion of limitations										x
	Follow-up			x	x						x	
	Measurement of cost								x		x	
	Participants' satisfaction with the intervention										x	

Key:

ARP	Annual Review of Psychology
CCH	Cochrane Collaboration Handbook
CO	Cabinet Office: A framework for assessing research evidence
CTF	Canadian Task Force
DV	Dependent variable (outcome variable being tested)
EBM	Oxford Centre for Evidence-Based Medicine
EBMWG	Evidence-based medicine working group
JECH	Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health
MERGE	Method for Evaluating Research and Guideline Evidence
MRC	Medical Research Council
N	Number
Oxford	Oxford-based Public Health Resource Unit
SEF	Standard Evaluation Framework (Public Health England)

Each intervention was evaluated against the elements in the framework, scoring 1 if the information was present or the criteria were fulfilled by the research, 0.5 if the information was partly present, and 0 if it was absent or missing. The raw scores were then turned into a percentage of the maximum so that scores could be compared across quantitative and qualitative interventions. Further details are available on request from the authors.

Contacts

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