

Muslim integration in Scotland

Final report

22 July 2010

Amy Homes, Chris McLean and Lorraine Murray
Ipsos MORI Scotland
July 2010

Contents

Forward by Rowena Arshad

Summary	1
Background	1
Methods	1
Main findings from the telephone survey	2
Main findings from the qualitative research	8
1. Background	11
2. Methods.....	14
2.1 Quantitative research.....	14
2.2 Qualitative research.....	14
3. Survey findings	18
3.1 Favourability towards people with various beliefs	18
3.2 Loyalty to “this” country.....	20
3.3 Identity	22
3.4 Integration into everyday Scottish life	24
3.5 Perceived effect of the attempted bombing on Glasgow Airport on tolerance of Muslims	25
3.6 Compatibility of the Christian and Islamic religions with life in Scotland	26
4. Qualitative research findings	29
4.1 Integration.....	29
4.2 Features of Scottishness	33
4.3 What perceptions do Muslims think non-Muslims have about them?	35
4.4 What perceptions do non-Muslims think Muslims have about them?	39

Appendix 1: Questionnaire and Topline results.....	43
Appendix 2: Muslim topic guide	50
Appendix 3: Non-Muslim topic guide	54

Forward by Dr Rowena Arshad, Director, Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland, School of Education, University of Edinburgh

The British Council has taken a useful initiative in examining the perceptions of Scottish Muslims and non-Muslims, both of each other and of their respective attitudes to national and cultural identification and integration. Some themes emerge which are worthy of discussion.

The finding that 65% of survey respondents have some degree of favourability towards Muslims is, to some extent, reassuring, regarding the future of Scottish 'community relations'. There is also a high comparative level of belief (46%) that Muslims are loyal to Scotland, which does differentiate, somewhat, from the situation in Great Britain. There is also evidence of pro-integration views of Scottish-born and long-term resident Muslims. The desire of these Muslims to leave behind an 'oppressed people' status and to find ways to become 'mainstream' in Scottish life may be evidence of successful involvement in some form of integration process. There are also clear findings that both Muslims and non-Muslims view integration in Scotland as 'easier' than in England, in the main due to lower settlement numbers and to Scottish people having less fear of terrorist attacks. Particular features of Scottishness, such as friendliness, sociability and having a welcoming disposition, were also cited as assisting factors towards integration. While negative aspects of Scottishness are cited, such as the knife-carrying culture that is prevalent, the negative aspects do not outweigh the positive features.

However, feelings of hospitality, tolerance and favourability may lessen if, as the study also found, nearly half of the non-Muslim Scots who responded indicated that further Muslim settlement would dilute Scottish identity. It is not clear how identity is defined but it would appear that, in general, the 'identity' issue was responded to mainly in cultural terms (for example, language, religious belief (Christian), nationality, dress). The finding that 26% of majority non-Muslim respondents¹ strongly agreed with this sentiment could be said to undermine, somewhat, the 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' assertion. Among Muslim participants the slightly higher negativity among those born in Scotland, that an increase in numbers might cause dilution, may further challenge traditional Scottish claims to being comfortable with inter-ethnic equality and diversity, and the case for claiming achievement of a 'multicultural nationalism'², allowing for 'many shades and strands in the Scottish tartan' (Scotsman 4th June 2007)³, appears weakened.

On the matter of loyalty, the degree of male positivity in this sphere is surprising. One explanation might be that men connect with this term more than women. Loyalty would

¹ The term 'respondent' is used to refer to people who provided responses through the survey and the term 'participant' has been used to refer to people who provided responses in focus groups.

² Hussain, A. and Miller, W. (2005) 'Towards a multicultural nationalism? Anglophobia and Islamophobia in Scotland' Briefing No: 24, Devolution and Constitutional Change Programme Briefings, University of Edinburgh

<http://www.devolution.ac.uk/pdfdata/Briefing%2024%20-%20Hussain-Miller.pdf>

(Accessed 7th June 2010)

³ <http://news.scotsman.com/tacklingracism/scotland/III-help-more-ethnic-minorities.3291675.jp>

(Accessed 8th June 2010)

appear to have been interpreted more literally in terms of civic duty; that is, being prepared to stand up and support your country. The question here is whether the concept of loyalty is outmoded and requires to be redefined.

Uncertainty seems to be the order of the day regarding levels of loyalty and integration, with significant anxieties in relation to identity dilution. On one hand, the non-Muslim respondents' majority view (58%) that Muslims are integrated in Scottish everyday life, is positive. However, such positive views are also accompanied by a high level of ambivalence among 'majority Scots' about the place that Muslims occupy in the country. Muslim participants felt that integration was largely one-way, with Muslims 'making the effort to adapt to Scottish life'.

Broadly, where issues of class and social status intrude, poorer people tend to translate integration as assimilation, where being integrated meant adopting Scottish customs and ways of life. Participants often exemplified this by suggesting this would mean the giving up of language (Urdu, Arabic), traditional dress or, more specifically, the wearing of the burqa and/or veil. In contrast, those who are better-off and largely broadsheet readers appear to have a greater inclination to see the process of integration as two-way, enabling the growth of mutual understanding and respect. This crude differentiation between social classes hides potential contributing factors and impact effects which merit further investigation. A simplistic read of the survey might lead someone to conclude that tabloid readers, and, particularly, those who are male and retired, hold the most uninformed and intolerant views. Another interpretation might be that respondents who were more economically well off, and readers of broadsheets, might feel more generous towards 'others' and can afford a more enlightened view simply because they are in less competition with 'others' for housing, jobs, social space and so on. This category of people can, therefore, afford to feel more hospitable. It could also be that perhaps one group was just being more honest than the other. The responses are tips of the iceberg and, if community relations and cohesion are to work for many, then misconceptions, misapprehensions and feelings about 'incomers' will have to be explicitly addressed.

Another area that is worth exploring further is the views of the under 25s. That nearly 70% of 18-24 year-old non-Muslim respondents believe that Muslims are integrated, provides a basis upon which to build further mutual understanding. These positive attitudes may also suggest that the content of modern Scottish education and the presence of more reasonable reporting within the Scottish press may have a supportive impact on levels of tolerance. The positive impact on mutual understanding and respect attributed to education is a key finding, offering the opportunity, at little cost, to contribute significantly to better community relations. However, consistently both Muslim and non-Muslim participants cited the media as another influencing force. The impact of the media, particularly the negative, through sensationalisation of Muslim extremism in the tabloid press, emerges as a perceived counterweight to education's contribution, weakening the prospects for two-way integration. This brings up the question of what capacity the media might have in enhancing opportunities for two-way integration, should it put its mind to positive media reporting of the contributions of Muslims in general and Scottish Muslims in particular. Positive reporting, combined with small-scale community initiatives to improve good relations and understanding of Islam, will likely generate substantial impact. Community initiatives, such as the kitchen at Edinburgh Mosque, which was an example cited by participants of a notable example of Muslims' participation and leadership in a two-way integration process, are worthy of emulation.

The Scottish study brings out the close linkage between alcohol consumption and integration. While non-Muslims understood that abstinence from alcohol was part of adherence to religious belief and that Muslims had no choice in the matter, they cited this as a significant barrier to Muslim integration and impacted on developing relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. The issue of alcohol was also raised by Muslim contributors who report that high and pervasive alcohol consumption act as a barrier to wider social integration, impacting on work, leisure and inter-family/ community associations. Where Muslims desired 'to take part in most aspects of Scottish life, while retaining core beliefs', alcohol consumption is a major barrier to integration and may be seen, in terms of its significance, as a major component in Muslims' experience (and likely unparalleled in other countries) of an aspect of Scottish identity in practice. Some non-Muslim participants were also concerned that Muslims viewed Scots as having looser morals, a poor work ethic and there was a perception that Muslims took a superior and/or somewhat judgmental attitude towards non-Muslim Scots. There is a clear need for increased dialogue to take place to enable both groups to better gauge each other and complex issues such as loyalty and identity. Such dialogues must go beyond the school gates. Within schools, there are at least opportunities for Muslims and non-Muslims to mix, but often these contact points are lost once young people head into the world of work and form new social circles. Adult and community education networks have a great deal of scope to consider their contributions to improving mutual understanding between different faith and belief groups and building community capacity to look beyond labels.

A further interesting aspect is the issue of women and Islam. Overall, non-Muslims did not cite 'oppression of women' as something they associated with Islam. What is not clear is whether this is genuinely a non-issue or whether people have learnt to keep silent on this for fear of being seen to be disrespectful of another's culture and religious practices. The main discussions about the role of women came from Muslim women participants and the position of women within Islam and Muslim communities.

There has been much debate about the extent of Islamophobia in Scotland and there are those who believe in the real rise of Islamophobia, particularly post 9/11 and/or the attempted bombing at Glasgow Airport in July 2007. Yet, others would argue that this term has been over-used. This study found that Muslim perceptions of what non-Muslims think of them as 'terrorists' and 'oppressors of women' may well be overestimated. The findings from this study suggest that there is considerably less hostility to Muslims and, if this is genuine, that this is an area that is worth future study.

Not surprisingly, the study raises as many questions as it answers. As such, it should be treated as a basis for further enquiry and elucidation rather than as an end to itself. There are some areas that require further exploration, not least because it affords opportunities for constructive change. Professor Mona Siddiqui, Director of the Centre for the Study of Islam, suggests that, too often, 'religious groups are judged on a single issue, such as terrorism, clerical sex abuse or the ordination of women' (Siddiqui 2010)⁴. Such a narrow focus distorts and does not enable critical exploration of issues, for example, the division between the Muslim world and its politics, the nature and meaning of the term 'integration' where larger numbers of Muslim people live, as in the cities of Scotland, compared to where numbers are fewer, such as in rural Scotland, the relationship between acceptable numbers and the ideology of 'multicultural nationalism' and so on. Scotland is a small country but, as the research shows, there is potential that it is not a country of small minds. As education and the

⁴ Siddiqui, M. (2010) <http://www.romereports.com/palio/Islamic-scholar-offers-a-new-form-of-inter-religious-dialogue-english-2226.html> (Accessed 8th June 2010)

media were cited as key influencers, it is worth exploring how these areas could be better harnessed to enable integration and to develop citizens able to process information in a critical manner. This is particularly important as the impact of prolonged austerity is likely to place increasing strains on inter-faith/ethnic relations.

Rowena Arshad,

With thanks to my colleague Alan Bell who shared conversations with me which helped shape this contribution.

Summary

Background

The British Council Scotland commissioned research into the attitudes of Scots towards Muslims in Scotland and into Muslim Scots' experiences of integration. The research was conducted by Ipsos MORI Scotland under the auspices of the British Council's "Our Shared Europe" programme, which was established to acknowledge the contribution of Islamic communities and cultures – both past and present – to the shaping of contemporary European civilisation and society.

Methods

The research consisted of a telephone survey and a series of focus groups.

Questions were included in the February 2010 wave of the Ipsos MORI Scottish Public Opinion Monitor, a telephone survey designed to be representative of the Scottish adult population aged 18+. Random digit dialling then quotas and weights based on population characteristics (sex, age, working status, area and housing tenure) are used to ensure representativeness.

1,006 respondents were interviewed between the 18th and 21st February 2010.

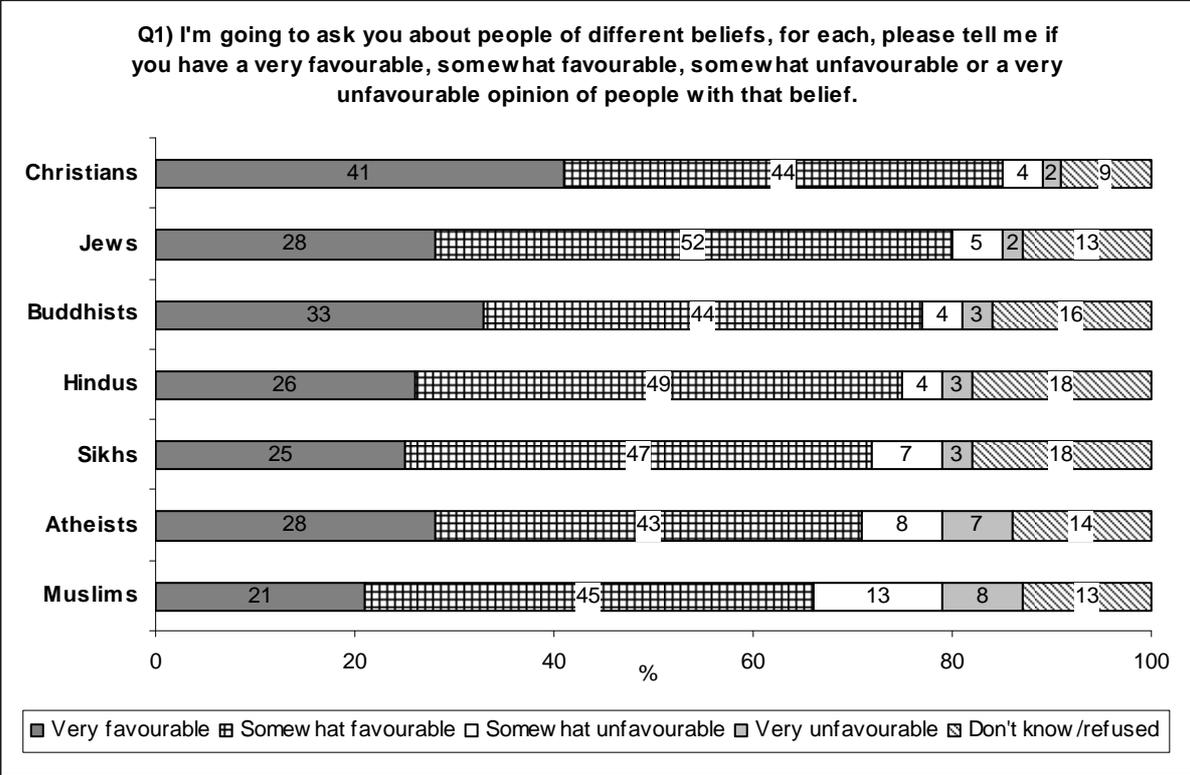
Seven focus groups were conducted in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee between the 9th and 23rd March 2010. Three of the groups were with Muslims and four were with non-Muslims. Participants included men and women from a range of ages and socio-economic groups.

Main findings from the telephone survey

Favourability towards Muslims

Two-thirds (65%) of respondents have a favourable opinion towards Muslims – three times as many as have an unfavourable opinion (21%). However, Muslims are viewed less favourably than any of the other religious groups asked about.

The results are very similar to those of a previous survey of the GB population conducted two years ago⁵, suggesting that the views of Scots are similar to the rest of the GB population on this issue.



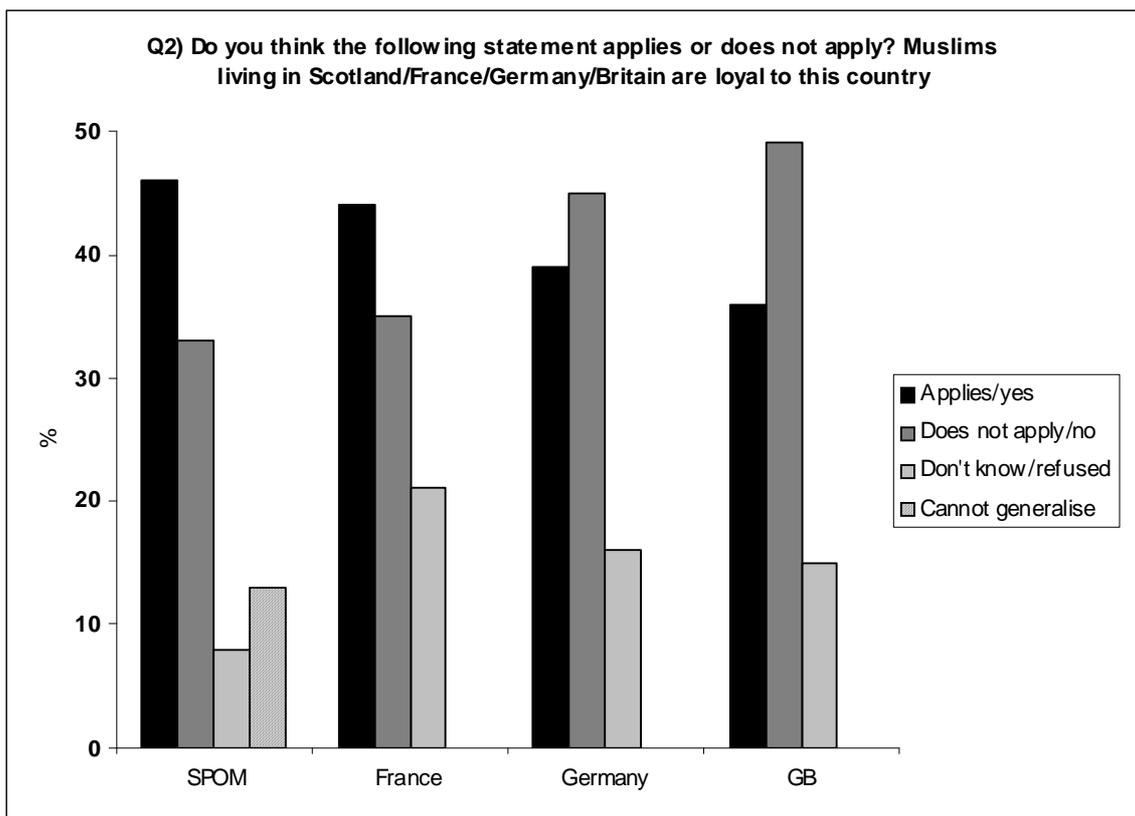
Base n=1,006

⁵ The Pew Survey (conducted in Spring 2008) which was a telephone survey of 753 respondents, representative of the population of Great Britain.

Perceived loyalty of Muslims to Scotland

However, while overall opinion of Muslims as a religious group may be similar between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain, Scots have more positive views of Muslims' loyalty to Scotland.

When asked whether they thought the statement “*Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country*” applied or not, 46% agreed that it did, compared with 33% who did not. These results are similar to results in France, and more positive than results in Germany or the UK as a whole. In a 2008 survey⁶ of the UK population, 36% thought that the statement “*Muslims living in Britain are loyal to this country*” applied, while 49% thought it did *not* apply.



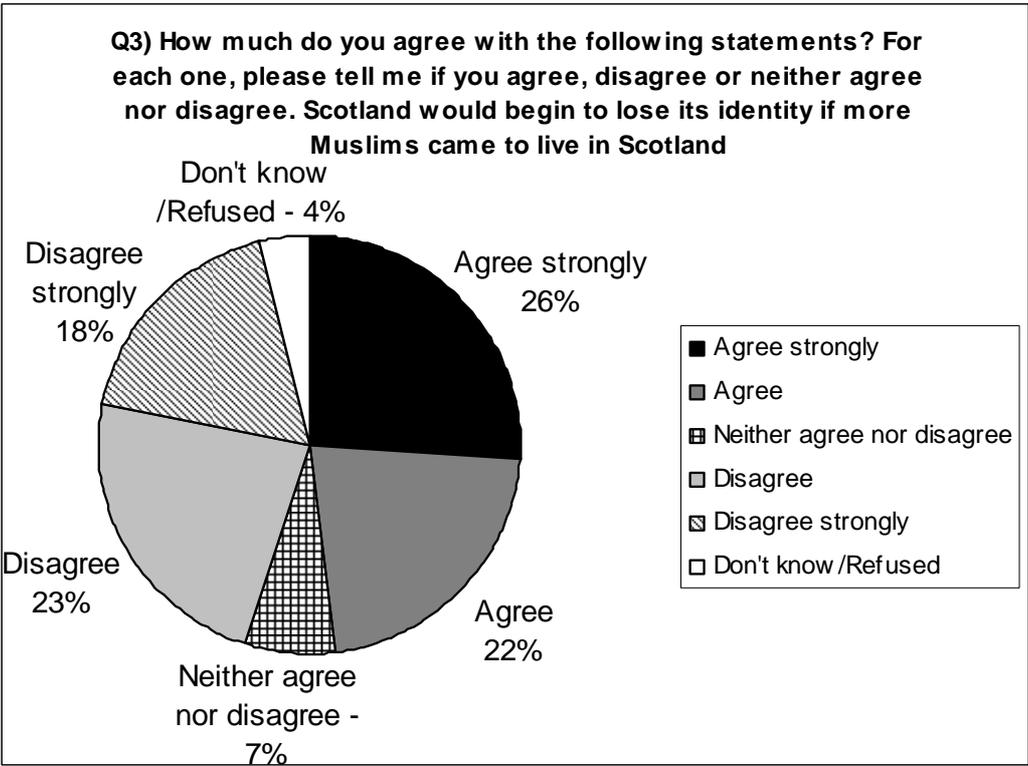
Base: Scottish Public Opinion Monitor (February 2010) n=1,006; Gallup (2008), GB, n=1,001, France, n=1,006, Germany, (four waves) n=4,024

⁶ Gallup Co-Exist Study (2008). A telephone survey representative of populations in each country.

Whether Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed that “Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland”. Just under half (48%) agreed while 41% disagreed.

This question was previously asked in the 2006 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey⁷. Caution must be taken in making direct comparisons due to the different methodologies used in the two surveys, but the results do not suggest a large shift in attitudes since 2006. In both surveys, similar proportions of respondents agreed that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland (48% in the current survey compared to 50% in the 2006 survey). However, a higher proportion of respondents in the current survey disagreed with the statement (41% compared to 31% in the 2006 survey).

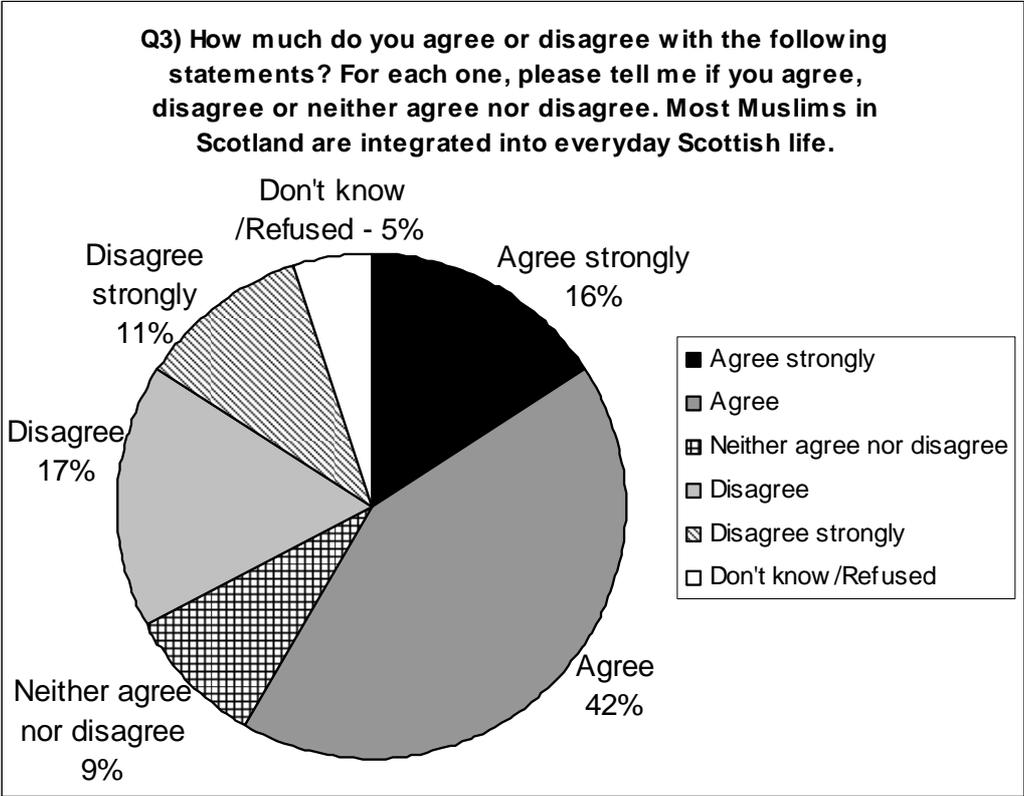


Base= 1,006

⁷ A face-to-face survey of 1,504 respondents conducted by ScotCen in 2006. The survey used a show card with the response options: agree strongly/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/disagree strongly.

Whether Muslims are integrated into everyday Scottish life

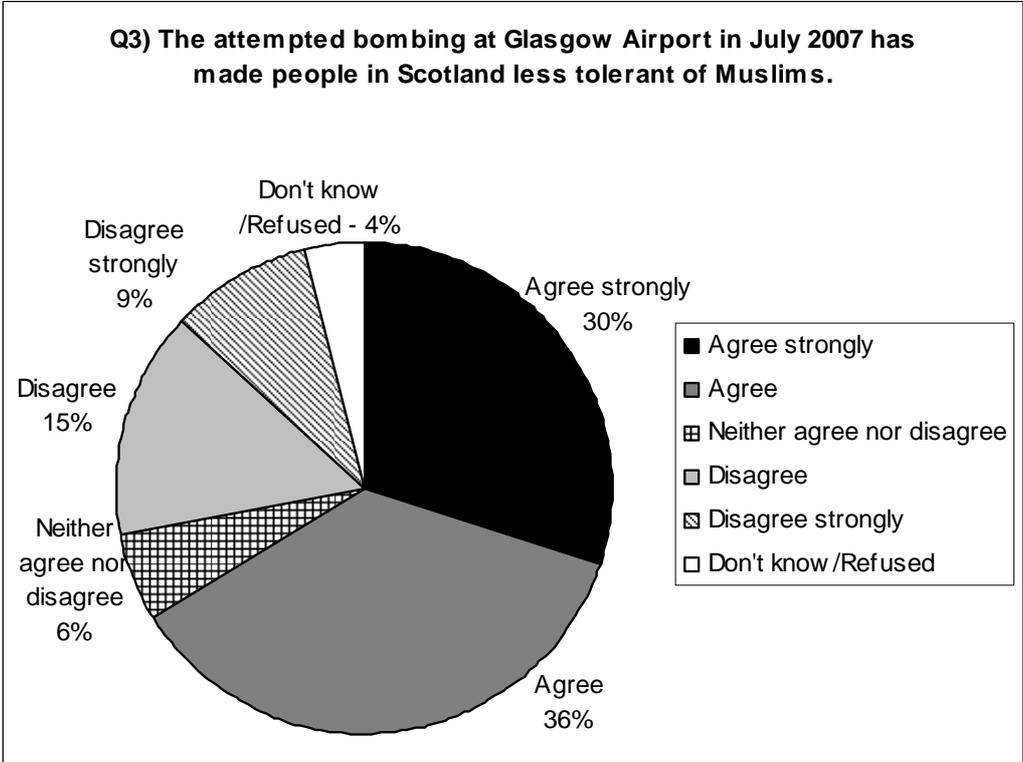
Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement “Most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life”. More than half (58%) agreed while just over a quarter (27%) disagreed.



Base= 1,006

Effect of the attempted bombing of Glasgow Airport

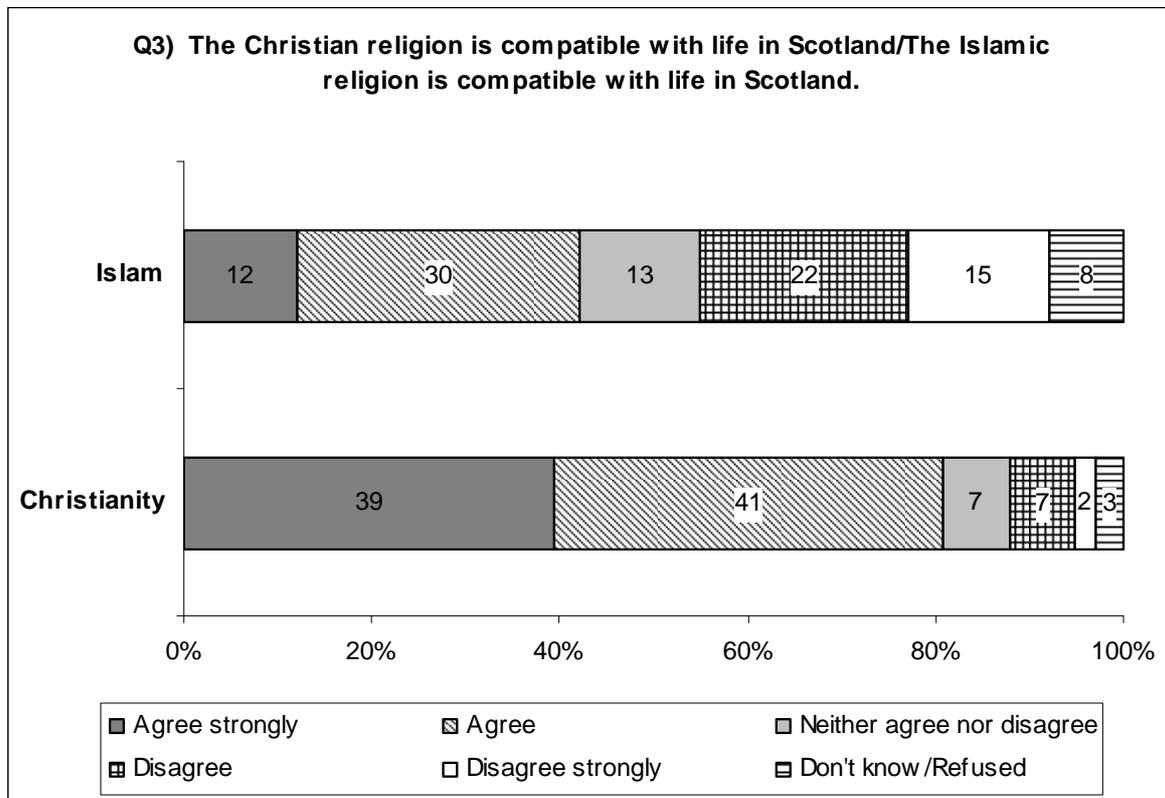
Two thirds (66%) of respondents agree that the attempted bombing of Glasgow Airport in July 2007 has made people in Scotland less tolerant of Muslims, while a quarter (24%) disagree.



Base= 1,006

Compatibility of Islam with life in Scotland

Almost twice as many respondents agree that the Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland as agree that the Islamic religion is compatible (80% compared with 42%).



Base= 1,006

Who has the most positive views of Muslims in Scotland?

On almost all questions, those living in the least deprived areas, younger people (those aged under 55), those who read broadsheet newspapers rather than tabloids, and those who said they would vote Liberal Democrat in a Westminster election had the most positive views of Muslims and Muslim integration.

Main findings from the qualitative research

There was a strong feeling among Muslims that integration in Scotland is largely one-way – with Muslims making the effort to adapt to Scottish life - whereas it should be more of a two-way process.

On the other hand, among non-Muslim Scots, (particularly those who were older and from socio-economic groups D and E⁸) the dominant view was that that Muslims have to make more of an effort to interact and should completely adopt Scottish customs. Factors such as speaking in their own language and wearing traditional dress – particularly the veil - were seen as evidence that Muslims were not integrating.

Some non-Muslims, particularly those from socio-economic groups AB, thought that integration should be a two-way process involving compromise, contribution and respect from both groups. These participants had often experienced more interaction and relatively close relationships with Muslims through work, travel and friendships.

There was a strong view among all groups that younger generations of Muslims and non-Muslims were more integrated than previous generations. This was perceived to be a natural process and mainly attributed to the fact that more and more Muslim and non-Muslim children have grown up together.

Both Muslims and non-Muslims thought the media, particularly tabloid newspapers, were predominantly negative towards Muslims and were the main source of misconceptions about Islam. It was felt that the media focused too much on Islamic fundamentalism and extremism - to the extent that Muslims had become synonymous with terrorism – and fuelled misconceptions about the treatment of women and Sharia law. It was felt that if the media were to report and portray Islam and the Muslim way of life in a more positive way, this would help integration.

However, a recurring theme across all groups was the perception that integration in Scotland was easier than in England. This perception was held by both Muslims and non-Muslims, including participants who had previously lived in England. This was attributed to three main factors; smaller numbers of Muslims, less fear of terrorist attacks and the particular features of Scottishness (Scottish people were seen as typically very friendly, sociable, humorous, honest, open and straightforward).

The most common negative feature of Scotland, mentioned predominantly by Muslims but also by non-Muslims, was the dominance of alcohol in Scottish culture.

Drinking alcohol was seen as a major practical barrier in the integration of Muslims into Scottish life. Both non-Muslims and Muslims recognised that Scottish life involved regular alcohol consumption in social situations. The fact that (most) Muslims do not drink alcohol leads to restrictions in social interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims. Aside from simply reducing the opportunities for the groups to socialise together, the fact that Muslims did not consume alcohol also had an affect on the perceptions of Muslims towards non-Muslims and vice versa.

Muslim participants felt that many Scottish people found it very difficult to understand why someone would not drink alcohol. They also explained that, if out socially, Scottish people

⁸ Participants were classified into one of the six social grades commonly used in research. These are based on the current or previous occupation of the chief income earner in the household. Broadly speaking, the groups ABC1 correspond to professional, managerial and clerical occupations whilst groups C2DE refer to skilled-manual and unskilled manual occupations and the economically inactive.

frequently made comments about the fact they were not drinking alcohol. This in turn made Muslim participants more uncomfortable about socialising in an environment where there was alcohol.

Muslim participants suggested most non-Muslims would feel Muslims were terrorists and that Islamic culture oppressed women. However, these beliefs were not supported by findings from the non-Muslim focus groups we held, suggesting that the views non-Muslims hold towards Muslims may be less negative and more complex than Muslims believe.

The way in which non-Muslims felt they were perceived by Muslims highlighted some interesting aspects of the relationship between the two groups, some of which create challenges for integration. There was a sense in which Muslims were perceived as rather arrogant and morally superior. Non-Muslims suspected that Muslims looked down on their lifestyle and culture (particularly in relation to their consumption of alcohol, lack of religious belief or strict religious observance, and their work ethic). It is interesting, therefore, that the barriers between cultures seem to be re-inforced by insecurities within both traditions.

Background

1. Background

The British Council Scotland commissioned research to investigate the attitudes of Muslim Scots towards Scotland as well the attitudes of Majority Scots towards their Muslim peers. This research was conducted by Ipsos MORI, under the auspices of the British Council's "Our Shared Europe" programme that seeks to acknowledge the contribution of Islamic communities and cultures – both in the past but also in the present – to the shaping of contemporary European civilisation and society.

Since 9/11, subsequent attacks in London in 2005 and the attempted attacks on Glasgow Airport in 2007, Britain's approach to integration of minorities via a policy of multiculturalism has been under attack. Evidence has suggested⁹ that Islamophobia has increased amongst the general population throughout the UK and at the same time there have been increasing concerns that multiculturalism has encouraged minorities and, in particular, Muslim minorities to lead parallel and segregated lives undermining their loyalty and commitment to the UK. There has been a focus on the alienation and radicalisation of young Muslim men, in particular, due to a concern that this can lead to involvement in terrorism directed at the UK.

The majority of the debates have focused on issues of 'community cohesion' in English cities and towns. Concerns about the extreme actions of a small minority of Muslims have become confused in wider debates surrounding multiculturalism as a policy approach, immigration, and citizenship. Emotive politics surrounding UK Foreign Policy, especially in Iraq and Afghanistan, have also fuelled tensions. Debates have tended to treat the Muslim population as a 'cohesive whole' ignoring its diversity, and, particularly problematic for Scotland, have tended to treat the UK as a symmetrical state ignoring the different identity dynamics.

Indeed, research published in 2004 indicated that, while Muslims in Scotland received increased harassment after 9/11, this has not been to the same extent as elsewhere in the UK. In addition, Scottish Muslims appear to have 'consciously or unconsciously continued to use Scottish identities and even Scottish nationalism as a tool for integration'. Research also indicated that 'nationalism in Scotland did not increase the majority's Islamophobia as it did in England and elsewhere'¹⁰ but rather, since 9/11 Muslims have become more strongly bound to Scotland¹¹. This trend has led some to propose that 'progress towards a multicultural nationalism has been one of the most important achievements in Scotland in the post devolution era'¹².

Conversely, however, research published in 2007 on Attitudes to Discrimination in Scotland, indicated that over 50% of the respondents believed that Muslims threatened Scottish identity¹³. This figure is potentially concerning for a number of reasons not least because it undermines a perception that Scotland has enjoyed a more positive and reasonable debate on the issues noted above in comparison with the rest of the UK and Europe. Further it could indicate that, in spite of the united front shown by leaders from across the political spectrum as well as the Muslim community, there is in fact increasing mistrust between Scotland's

⁹ At Home in Europe Project, Muslims in Europe, A Report on 11 EU Cities, Open Society Institute, see:

<http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home/about>, The Gallup Coexist Index 2009:

A Global Study of Interfaith Relations, see:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/andrewbrown/2009/may/07/gallup-muslims-islam> and Attitudes to Discrimination in Scotland: 2006 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, see <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2007/12/04093619/3> are some of the studies that demonstrate evidence of increased Islamophobia in the UK.

¹⁰ See: Multicultural nationalism : Islamophobia, Anglophobia, and devolution, Asifa Hussain and William Miller, available at: <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/oso/public/content/politicalscience/9780199280711/toc.ht>

¹¹ See key points in Hussain and Miller, Devolution Briefings 'Towards a multicultural nationalism? Anglophobia and Islamophobia in Scotland', available at: <http://www.devolution.ac.uk/pdfdata/Briefing%2024%20-%20Hussain-Miller.pdf>

¹² It should be pointed out that this conclusion was made as part of a wider study looking at Anglophobia and Islamophobia in Scotland since Devolution see above for reference to full study.

¹³ See p4 of the Social Research Equalities, Research Findings, No.1/2007 available at:

<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/205750/0054713.pdf>

Muslim and non-Muslim communities in line with the rest of the UK and indeed Europe. It also somewhat questions the view of a multicultural Scotland at ease with itself where 'there are many shades and strands in the Scottish tartan'¹⁴.

It is hoped therefore that by conducting this research on the views and attitudes of both Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland in 2010, the apparent contradiction noted above can be further explored alongside issues of social cohesion and multiculturalism in Scotland.

Lucy Young, British Council Scotland, January 2010

¹⁴ See: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/glasgow_and_west/7110723.stm

Methods

2. Methods

The research consisted of two stages: a quantitative stage (a telephone survey) and a qualitative stage (a series of focus groups). Each stage is outlined in the sections below.

2.1 Quantitative research

Several questions were included in the February 2010 wave of the Ipsos MORI Scottish Public Opinion Monitor, referred to as SPOM throughout this report. The telephone survey was designed to be representative of the Scottish adult population. Random digit dialling and quotas based on population characteristics (sex, age, working status and housing tenure) are used to ensure representativeness.

Fieldwork was conducted amongst 1,006 respondents between 18th February 2010 and 21st February 2010.

The survey was representative of the Scottish population as a whole and so was essentially a survey of non-Muslims (there are likely to have been fewer than ten Muslim respondents in the sample).

The questionnaire and overall results are included in Appendix 1. Some of the questions were designed to be comparable with questions from other surveys, including the Pew Survey (2008)¹⁵, the Gallup Coexist Study (June 2008)¹⁶ and the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (2006), referred to as SSAS¹⁷.

2.2 Qualitative research

Seven focus groups were conducted in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee between 9th March 2010 and 23rd March 2010. The original intention was to conduct six focus groups, however, several participants in one of the Dundee groups were unable to attend at the last minute so an extra group was conducted. The following table outlines the composition of the focus groups.

¹⁵ Telephone survey of 753 respondents, representative of the population of Great Britain.

¹⁶ Telephone survey of c.1,000 respondents in each country, representative of French, German and British populations respectively.

¹⁷ Face to face survey of 1,594 respondents, yielding a representative sample of adults aged 18 or over living in Scotland.

No	Location	Group	Age	Socio-Economic Grouping ¹⁸	Sex	Occupation
1	Glasgow	Muslim	18-30	ABC1	Mixed	Young professionals and students
2	Glasgow	Non-Muslim	35+	DE	Mixed	Any
3	Edinburgh	Muslim	25-40	Mix	Female only	Any
4	Edinburgh	Non-Muslim	30+	AB	Mixed	Any
5	Dundee	Muslim	35+	Mix	Male only	Any
6	Dundee	Non-Muslim	18-34	E	Mixed	Any
7	Dundee	Non-Muslim	55+	D	Mixed	Any

2.2.1 Muslims and non-Muslims

To encourage participants to be open about the issues in question, all focus groups were either Muslim only or non-Muslim only groups. Groups 1, 3, and 5 were made up of Muslims only. Each of these groups comprised of Muslims who were born in Scotland and those that were born elsewhere, and had lived in Scotland for varying periods of time. Groups 2, 4, 6 and 7 were made-up of non-Muslims who were White Scottish and Christian or had no religion.

2.2.2 Age

Where age ranges were wide, a broad range of ages were recruited.

2.2.3 Area

Efforts were made to recruit non-Muslim participants from areas of Scotland with a relatively high Muslim population to ensure they had some contact with the Muslim community and to enable discussion about Muslim integration in Scotland. The selected specific areas for recruitment reflected this; Govan/Pollockshields (Glasgow), Tay Bridges (Dundee) and around the Leith Walk area (Edinburgh).

¹⁸ Participants were classified into one of the six social grades commonly used in research. These are based on the current or previous occupation of the chief income earner in the household. Broadly speaking, the groups ABC1 correspond to professional, managerial and clerical occupations whilst groups C2DE refer to skilled-manual and unskilled manual occupations and the economically inactive.

2.2.4 Recruiting the groups

Recruitment was conducted face-to-face using a recruitment questionnaire. Participants were given £30 in cash as a thank you for attending.

2.2.5 Conducting the groups

Each group lasted around 1½ - 2 hours. The topic guides are included in Appendix 2 (Muslim) and Appendix 3 (non-Muslim).

2.2.6 Analysing the groups

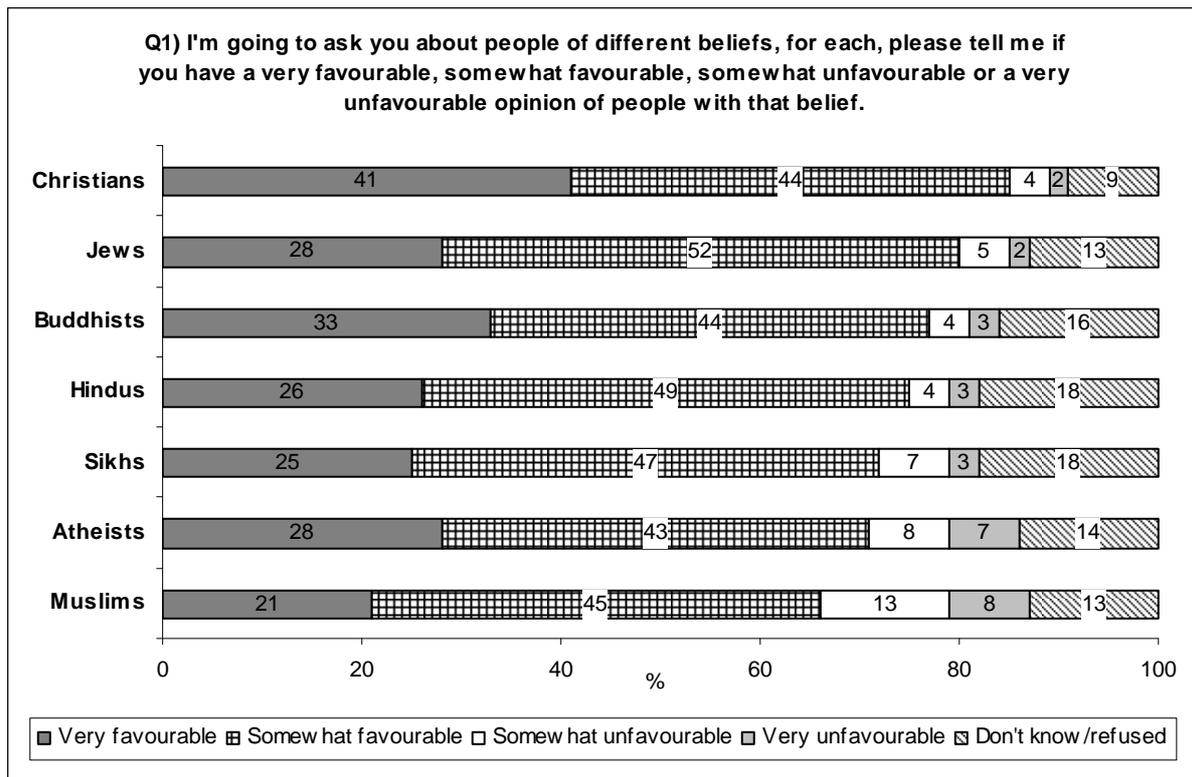
With the permission of participants, all discussions were recorded and transcribed for analysis.

Survey findings

3. Survey findings

3.1 Favourability towards people with various beliefs

Respondents were asked how favourable they are towards people with various religious beliefs. Respondents were most favourable towards Christians (85% were very favourable or somewhat favourable), followed by Jews (79%) and Buddhists (77%). Of all the beliefs asked about, people were least favourable to Muslims. Two-thirds (66%) of respondents were favourable towards Muslims, while 21% were unfavourable (13% somewhat unfavourable and 8% very unfavourable).



Base: All, n=1,006

Male respondents were more likely than female respondents to hold unfavourable opinions towards Muslims (27% of male respondents compared to 15% of female respondents). Respondents who were not working and respondents who were retired were more likely than those who were working to hold unfavourable opinions towards Muslims (28% of those not working and 25% of those who were retired compared to 18% of those working full time and 13% of those working part time). Those living in the most deprived areas were more likely than those living in the least deprived areas to hold unfavourable opinions towards Muslims (28% of those in the most deprived areas compared to 16% in the least deprived areas). There were no clear patterns of favourability with regards to age.

SPOM respondents who regularly read tabloid newspapers are considerably more likely than those who regularly read broadsheet newspapers to hold unfavourable views towards Muslims (Daily Record, 25%; the Sun, 27%; and the Scottish Daily Mail, 29% compared to the Herald, 12%; the Scotsman, 16%; the Guardian, 6%; and the Times, 19%).

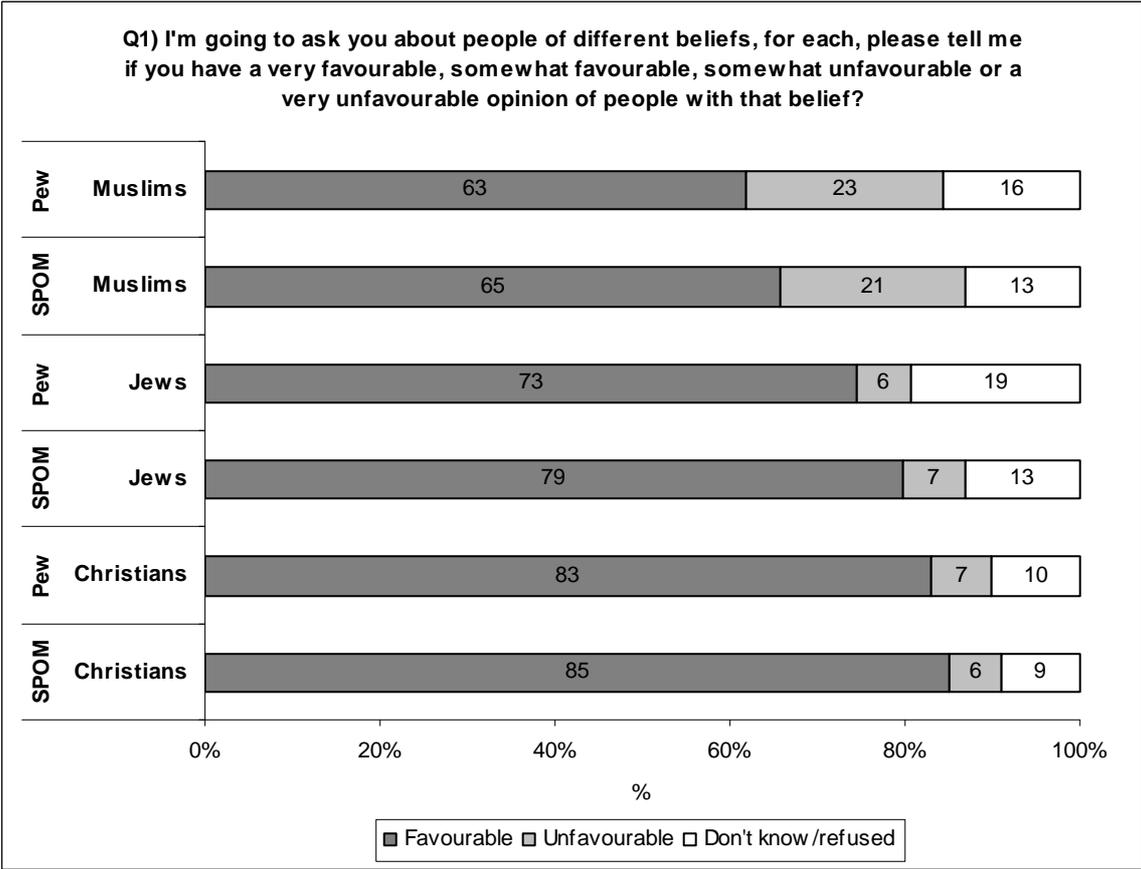
Respondents who say they would vote for the Liberal Democrats in a Westminster election were more likely than those who would vote for other parties to be favourable towards

Muslims (77% of those who would vote for the Liberal Democrats compared to 65% of those who would vote for the Conservatives, 65% of those who would vote for Labour and 67% of those who would vote for the SNP).

Similar patterns were found among respondents who were unfavourable towards the other beliefs asked about. On the whole, they were more likely to be male than female, not be working compared than working or retired, live in the most deprived areas rather than the least deprived areas and regularly read tabloid newspapers rather than broadsheet newspapers.

Respondents who held unfavourable views towards Muslims were also more likely to hold unfavourable views than favourable views towards each of the other beliefs asked about. This indicates that unfavourable opinions are not specific to Muslims only and may be the result of wider prejudice towards people of different beliefs.

When compared to the Pew Survey (2008)¹⁹ of the Great Britain population as a whole, SPOM respondents were slightly more likely to say they were favourable towards Christians (85% compared to 83%) and Muslims (66% compared to 63%) than Pew respondents. There was a somewhat more pronounced difference in opinions towards Jews; 79% of SPOM respondents held favourable opinions compared to 73% of Pew respondents. Pew respondents were similar to SPOM respondents in that they were less favourable towards Muslims than Jews and Christians.



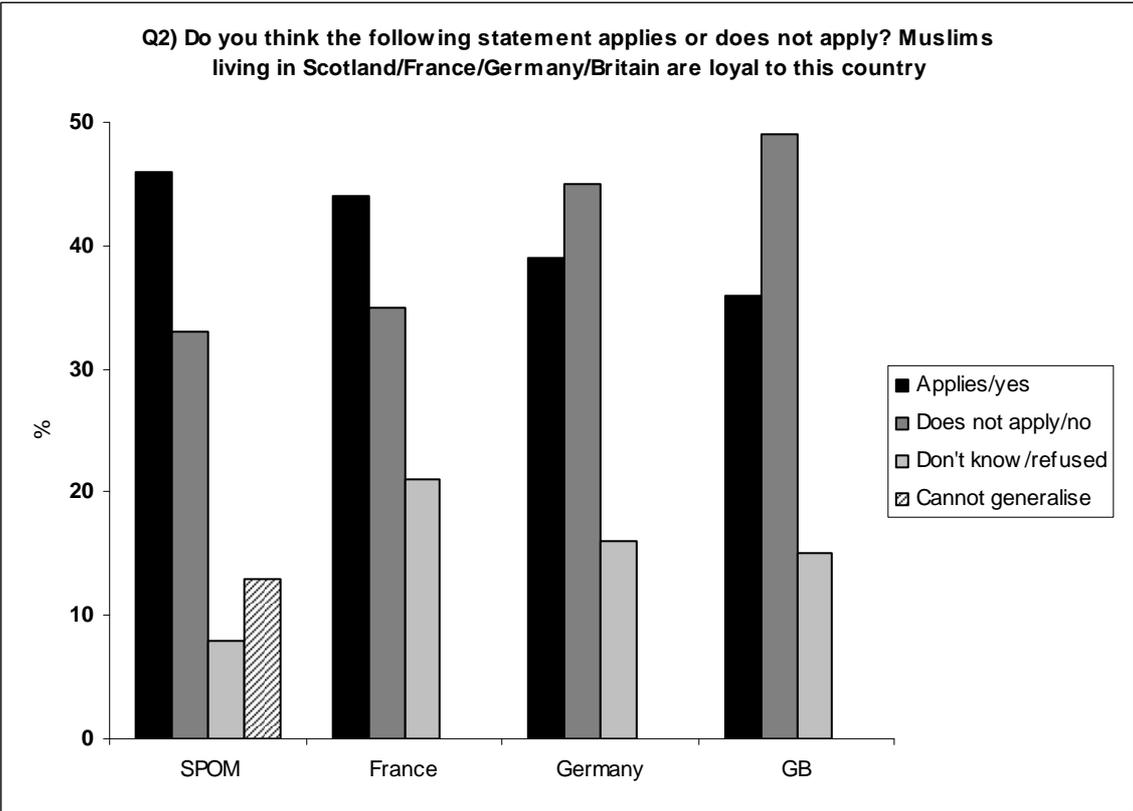
Base: SPOM, n=1,006; Pew, n=902.

¹⁹ The Pew Survey (conducted in Spring 2008) was a telephone survey of 753 respondents, representative of the population of Great Britain. For both surveys, the 'Don't know' response option and refusals have been combined.

3.2 Loyalty to “this” country

This question was designed to be comparable with the Gallup Coexist Study (2008)²⁰, which was conducted in France, Germany and Great Britain. The Gallup survey had some general questions on religion/identification with country, followed by, “Now thinking specifically about Muslims, do you think each of the following applies or does not apply? Muslims living in [France/Germany/Britain] are loyal to this country.”

Subsequently, SPOM respondents were asked whether they felt “Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country”: 46% thought the statement applied, 33% thought that it did not apply and 13% felt it was not possible to generalise²¹.



Base: SPOM, n=1,006; Gallup, GB, n=1,001, France, n=1,006, Germany, (four waves) n=1,011, n=1,003, n=1,002, n=1,008

In comparison with French, German and British respondents’ views towards Muslims being loyal to their respective countries, a higher proportion of SPOM respondents felt “Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country”. In fact, the largest difference was between the SPOM respondents and British respondents. British respondents in the Gallup Coexist Study were more likely than SPOM respondents to think that Muslims living in Britain/Scotland were not loyal to this country (49% of British respondents compared to 33% of SPOM respondents). SPOM respondents were also more likely than British respondents in the Gallup Coexist Study to think that Muslims were loyal to this country (46% of SPOM respondents compared to 36% of British respondents). Although some of the difference may be due to the respective timing of each survey (Gallup Coexist was conducted in June 2008 and SPOM was conducted in February 2010), this does suggest a considerably more

²⁰ Telephone surveys conducted in 2008 (UK, July; France, June; and Germany, June, July, October and December) of approximately 1,000 respondents per wave, representative of populations in each category.

²¹ We assume that respondents who said you cannot generalise were included in the ‘Don’t know/Refused’ categories in the Gallup study.

positive view of Scottish Muslims loyalty to Scotland compared to views of British Muslims loyalty to Britain.

Among SPOM respondents, males are more likely than females to think that Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country (49% of males compared to 43% of females), which is in contrast to the findings on favourability, where females were more likely to be favourable than males. Respondents who say they would vote for the Liberal Democrats in a Westminster election were more likely than those who would vote for other parties to think that Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country (60% of those who would vote for the Liberal Democrat compared to 42% of those who would vote for the Conservatives, 46% of those who would vote for Labour and 49% of those who would vote for the SNP).

Respondents who are aged 25-34 are more likely than other age groups to think that Muslims living in Scotland were not loyal to this country (44% of those aged 25-34 compared to 32% of 18-24 years olds, 31% of 35-54 year olds and 30% of those aged 55 and over). Furthermore, respondents living in the most deprived areas are more likely than those living in the least deprived areas to think that Muslims living in Scotland are not loyal to this country (42% of those in the most deprived areas compared to 20% in the least deprived areas)²².

Unsurprisingly, SPOM respondents who have a favourable opinion towards Muslims²³ are more likely than those who have an unfavourable opinion towards Muslims to feel that Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country (57% of those who are favourable compared to 23% of those who are unfavourable). SPOM respondents who mentioned immigration as an important issue facing Scotland today²⁴ were more likely than those who did not mention immigration to feel that Muslims living in Scotland were not loyal to this country (61% of those who mentioned immigration compared to 31% of those who did not mention immigration).

There is a clear division of opinion among SPOM respondents based on newspaper readership. SPOM respondents who regularly read tabloid newspapers are considerably more likely than those who regularly read broadsheet newspapers to feel that Muslims living in Scotland are not loyal to this country (Daily Record, 41%; the Sun, 44%; and the Scottish Daily Mail, 44% compared to the Herald, 19%; the Scotsman, 19%; the Guardian, 9%; and the Times, 21%).

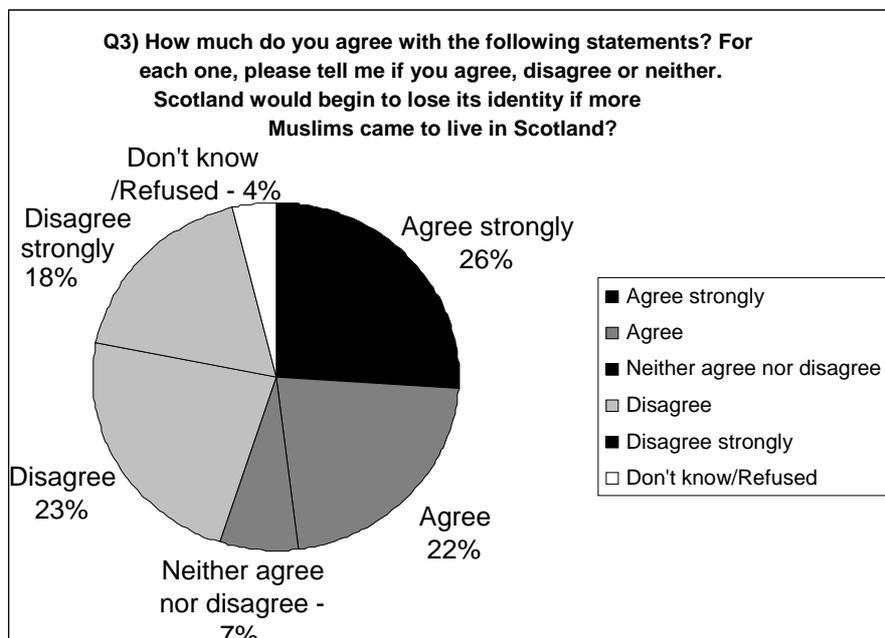
22 SPOM collected postcode data, which was matched to datazones in the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). The datazones are ranked and were divided into quintiles. Therefore, when we refer to respondents in the most deprived areas, this is respondents living in the 20% most deprived areas according to the SIMD.

²³ Using q1 from the survey, "I'm going to ask you about people of different beliefs, for each, please tell me if you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or a very unfavourable opinion of people with that belief...Muslims."

²⁴ Using a question on immigration asked for each wave of SPOM, "What do you see as the most important issue facing Scotland today?" and "What do you see as other important issues facing Scotland today?"

3.3 Identity

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed that “Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland”.



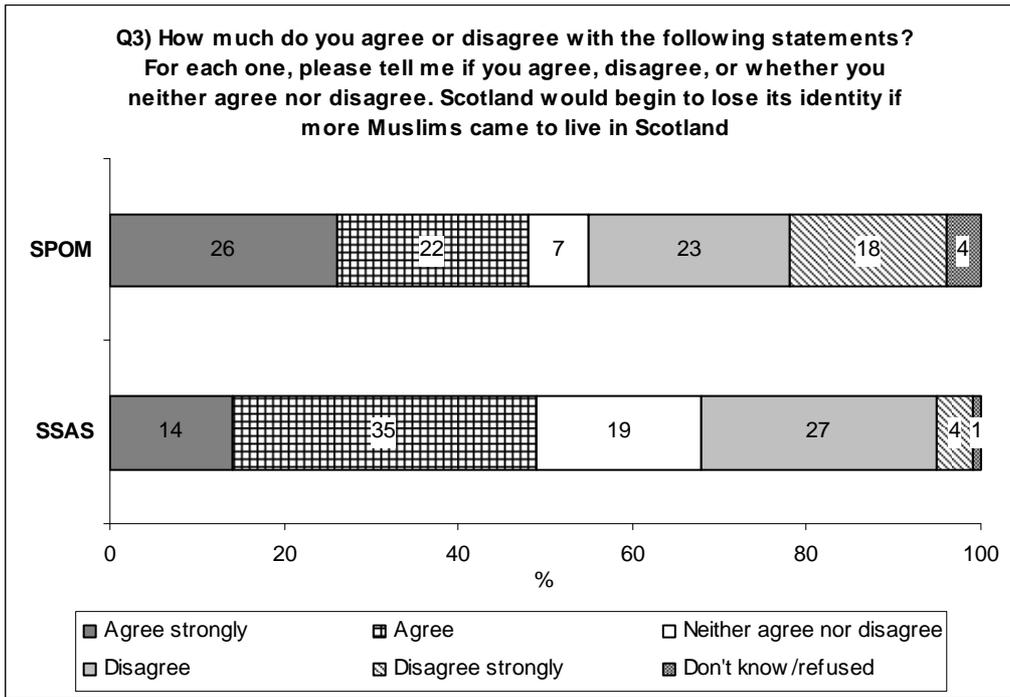
Base= 1,006

Just under half of respondents (48%) agreed that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland, while 41% disagreed.

Groups more likely to agree that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland were; those aged 55 or over (58% compared to 48% overall), those who live in the most deprived areas (54%), those who were born in Scotland (51%) and those who say they would vote for the Scottish Conservatives in a Westminster election (61%) and a Scottish Parliament election (62%).

Unsurprisingly, respondents who hold an unfavourable opinion towards Muslims are more likely than those who hold a favourable opinion to agree that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland (82% of those who are unfavourable compared to 39% of those who are favourable). Similarly, respondents who mention immigration as one of the important issues facing Scotland today are more likely than those who do not mention immigration to agree that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland (73% of those who mention immigration compared to 46% of those who do not mention immigration).

Again, there is a division of opinion among respondents based on newspaper readership. Respondents who regularly read tabloid newspapers were considerably more likely than those who regularly read broadsheet newspapers to agree that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland (Daily Record, 60%; the Sun, 62% and the Scottish Daily Mail, 70% compared to the Herald, 37%; the Scotsman, 29%; the Times, 41% and particularly the Guardian, 4%).



Base= SPOM, n=1,006, SSAS, n=1,504

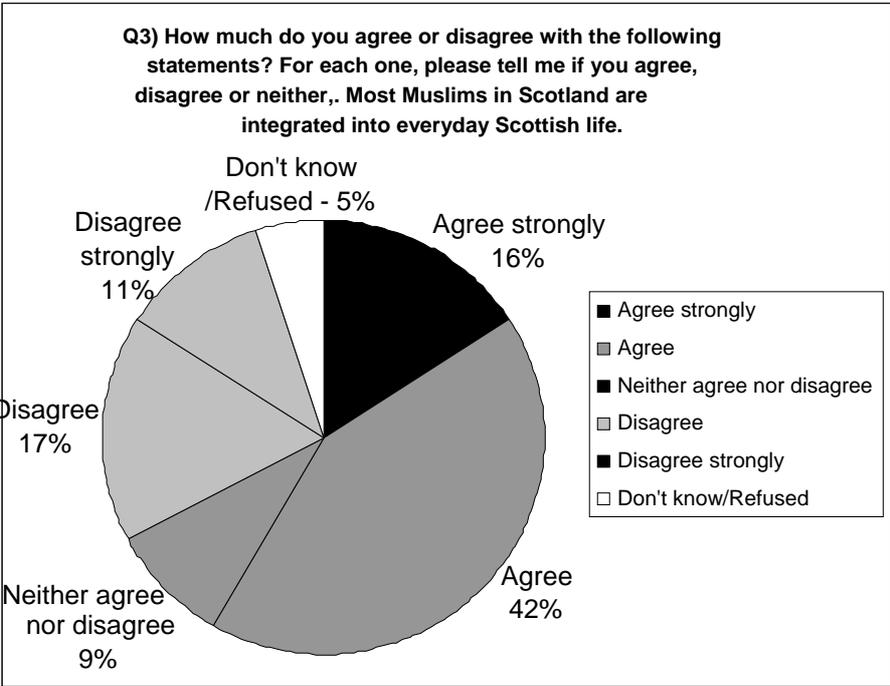
This question was designed to be comparable with the SSAS (2006)²⁵, although any comparisons must be interpreted with caution due to the different methodologies used in each study. In both surveys, similar proportions of respondents agreed that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland (48% of SPOM respondents compared to 50% of SSAS respondents). However, SPOM respondents were more likely than SSAS respondents to strongly agree (26% of SPOM respondents compared to 14% of SSAS respondents)²⁶. A higher proportion of SPOM respondents disagreed with the statement (41% of SPOM respondents compared to 31% of SSAS respondents).

²⁵ The SSAS was conducted between August 2006 and January 2007. This was face-to-face and had a show card with the response options: agree strongly/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/disagree strongly. The question was the same "How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland?"

²⁶ Response options were alternated and respondents were probed by interviewers on whether they agreed/disagreed or strongly agree/disagreed in the SPOM survey.

3.4 Integration into everyday Scottish life

SPOM respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement *most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life*. This was a new question so there are no available comparisons with other surveys. More than half (58%) of SPOM respondents agreed that most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life and just over a quarter (27%) disagree.



Base: 1,006

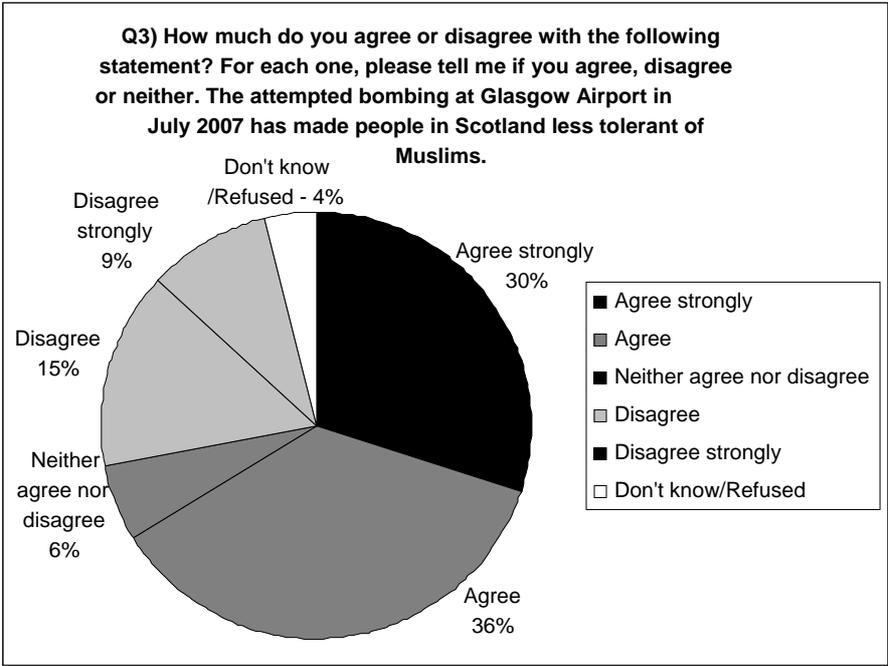
Younger respondents were more likely than older respondents to agree that most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life (69% of 18-24 year olds compared to 56% of 35-54 years olds and 56% of those aged 55 and over). This may reflect the perception that younger Muslims are more integrated than older Muslims. There is no clear pattern with regard to level of deprivation or voting intentions.

Respondents who held a favourable opinion of Muslims were more likely than those who held an unfavourable opinion to agree that most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life (65% of those who are favourable compared to 44% of those who are unfavourable). Respondents who mentioned immigration as an important issue facing Scotland today were twice as likely as those who did not mention immigration to disagree that most Muslims in Scotland were integrated into everyday Scottish life (52% of those who mention immigration compared to 26% of those who do not mention immigration).

Respondents who regularly read the Scottish Daily Mail (41%) were more likely than respondents who regularly read any other newspaper to disagree that most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life (compared to Daily Record, 25%; the Sun, 26%; the Herald, 24%; the Scotsman, 21%; the Daily Mail, 23%; and especially the Guardian, 14%).

3.5 Perceived effect of the attempted bombing on Glasgow Airport on tolerance of Muslims

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement *the attempted bombing at Glasgow Airport in July 2007 has made people in Scotland less tolerant of Muslims*. This was a new question so there are no available comparisons with other surveys. Two thirds (66%) of respondents agreed that the attempted bombing of Glasgow Airport in July 2007 has made people in Scotland less tolerant of Muslims, while a quarter (24%) disagreed.



Base= 1,006

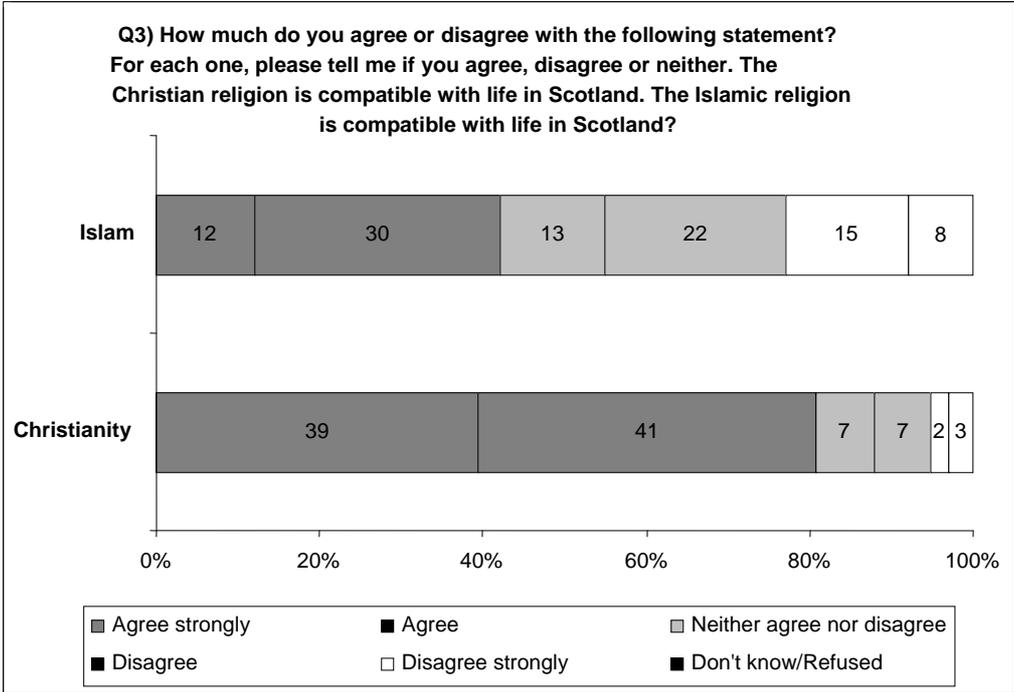
Respondents most likely to agree were those who lived in the most deprived areas (77% of those in the most deprived areas compared to 57% of those in the least deprived areas). There is no clear pattern of agreement with regards to age or voting intentions.

As before, respondents who held unfavourable opinions of Muslims were more likely than those who held favourable opinions to agree (89% of those who were unfavourable compared to 62% of those who were favourable). Respondents who mentioned immigration as an important issue facing Scotland today were more likely than those who did not mention immigration to agree that (85% of those who mentioned immigration compared to 65% of those who did not mention immigration).

Respondents who regularly read tabloid newspapers were considerably more likely than those who regularly read broadsheet newspapers to agree that the attempted bombing of Glasgow Airport in July 2007 had made people in Scotland less tolerant of Muslims (Daily Record, 76%; the Sun, 74% and the Scottish Daily Mail, 70% compared to the Herald, 55%; the Scotsman, 49%; the Guardian, 45% and the Times, 57%).

3.6 Compatibility of the Christian and Islamic religions with life in Scotland

Respondents were asked whether they agree or disagree with two statements; *the Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland* and *the Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland*. This was a new question asked on SPOM and, therefore, is not comparable with other surveys. Respondents were almost twice as likely to agree that the “Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland” as they were to agree that “the Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland” (80% agreed that the Christian religion is compatible compared to 42% who agreed that the Islamic religion is compatible). In addition, 36% of respondents disagreed that the Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland compared with only 9% who disagreed that the Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland.



Base= 1,006

As with previous questions, respondents most likely to disagree that the Islamic religion is compatible were those aged 55 and over (42% disagreed), those who are retired (44% disagreed), and those who live in the most deprived areas (44% disagreed).

Younger respondents were considerably more likely than older respondents to agree that the Islamic religion was compatible (53% of those aged 18-24 compared to 33% of those aged 55 and over). Respondents who would vote for the Liberal Democrats in a Westminster election were more likely than those who would vote for the other main parties to agree (60% compared to 43% of those who would vote for the Conservatives, 39% of those who would vote for Labour and 42% of those who would vote for the SNP)

Respondents who held unfavourable opinions of Muslims were more likely than those who held favourable opinions to disagree (72% of those who were unfavourable compared to 28% of those who are favourable). Respondents who mentioned immigration as an important issue facing Scotland today were also more likely than those who did not mention immigration to disagree (62% of those who mentioned immigration compared to 35% of those who did not mention immigration).

Respondents who regularly read tabloid newspapers were considerably more likely than those who regularly read broadsheet newspapers to disagree (Daily Record, 42%; the Sun, 40% and the Scottish Daily Mail, 45% compared to the Herald, 25%; the Scotsman, 28%; the Guardian, 14%; and the Times, 23%).

As Table 1 shows, 39% of respondents agreed that both the Christian and Islamic religions were compatible with life in Scotland. Just under a third (29%) of respondents agreed that the Christian religion was compatible but disagreed that the Islamic religion was compatible, while only 2% agreed that the Islamic religion was compatible and disagreed that the Christian religion was compatible. A further 6% of respondents disagreed that both the Christian and Islamic religions were compatible with life in Scotland.

Table 1: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? For each one, please tell me if you agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree. The Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland? The Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland?

<i>Base: 1,006</i>	(%)
Agree that Christianity and agree that Islam are compatible	39
Agree that Christianity is compatible but disagree that Islam is compatible	29
Disagree that Christianity is compatible but agree that Islam is compatible	2
Disagree that Christianity and disagree that Islam are compatible	6

Qualitative research

4. Qualitative research findings

4.1 Integration

Both Muslims and non-Muslims had a similar conception of integration, defining it as being accepting and respectful. Muslims also felt it involved making a contribution to society. However, they found it more difficult to describe what integration meant in practical terms. This was clearly noticeable when discussing the question, *How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements...Most Muslims are integrated into everyday Scottish life*, from the quantitative survey. Muslims felt that, if integration was defined as complete assimilation then they could never be fully integrated because alcohol was seen as a key part of the Scottish way of life and Muslims are forbidden to drink alcohol. However, integration became a more acceptable proposition if Muslims were able to take part in most aspects of Scottish life while retaining their core beliefs. As such, integration would mean being able to work, live and interact with non-Muslim Scots and contribute to society, while still being free to observe their beliefs and customs.

If you are talking a more moderate integration whereby we maintain our core fundamental beliefs and values, but we understand the Scottish people, we understand the way things are done, I think that's something that could work for both, the Scottish people and the Muslim people and that's probably as far as integration will go.

Male, Muslim, Dundee

There was a strong feeling among Muslims that integration in Scotland is largely a one-way process, whereas it should be a two-way process.

For integration to work it needs both people to want to integrate, you can't just have one society that wants to integrate to the other, both need to integrate with each other.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

Muslims felt as though they were the only ones making the effort to adapt to Scottish life and that most non-Muslims believed Muslims should completely adopt the Scottish way of life. This feeling was not unfounded because there was a view among non-Muslim Scots, (particularly those who were older and from socio-economic groups D and E²⁷) that Muslims have to make more of an effort to interact and should completely adopt Scottish customs (although they felt Muslims could do this whilst still retaining their core beliefs). This was primarily based on perceptions that Muslims did not want to interact with non-Muslims and that they tended to stick to their own communities and live as they would in predominantly Muslim countries such as Pakistan and Bangladesh. Among these non-Muslim Scots who felt Muslims should completely adopt Scottish customs, factors such as speaking in their own language, for example Urdu or Arabic, and wearing traditional dress, particularly veils were seen as evidence that Muslims were not integrating.

I think they shouldn't be allowed to cover up their whole face with burkas and that...like fair enough in their country if that's what everyone wants to do, but

²⁷ Participants were classified into one of the six social grades commonly used in research. These are based on the current or previous occupation of the chief income earner in the household. Broadly speaking, the groups ABC1 correspond to professional, managerial and clerical occupations whilst groups C2DE refer to skilled-manual and unskilled manual occupations and the economically inactive.

when they come here to our country...they should respect this is our belief, this is our country.

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

You expect them to live the same way as us.

Female, non-Muslim, Dundee

On the other hand, non-Muslims from socio-economic groups AB²⁸ thought that integration should be a two-way process involving compromise, contribution and respect from both groups. These participants had often experienced more interaction and relatively close relationships with Muslims through work, travel and friendships. An analogy used to describe the role of non-Muslim Scots in the process was that of 'playing the host' whereby non-Muslims should make more of an effort to understand the Islamic religion and invite Muslims to participate in aspects of Scottish life with which they feel comfortable.

I think it's a bit respect, mutual tolerance, education, open the doors and things like that and I mean if you regard new people who are Pakistanis or Muslims who have come to this country as your guest in the house, you don't expect the guest to go to the trolley and pour everybody else a drink, you know it's food to do at least the first couple of rounds.

Female, non-Muslim, Edinburgh

Similarly, participants in the Muslim groups felt that the best way for Muslims to integrate was to interact with non-Muslims and educate them about Islam and the Muslim way of life. In the experiences of both Muslims and non-Muslims, where these kinds of interactions had occurred, they had led to closer relationships and a better understanding of each others' way of life.

One of the key issues arising from the discussions was whether Muslims should be able to choose whether they integrate and the extent to which they integrate. Opinions varied between participants; non-Muslims from socio-economic groups DE largely felt that Muslims should fully integrate, while non-Muslims from socio-economic groups AB felt that Muslims had the right to choose how far they wanted to integrate. Muslims, particularly those born in Scotland or who have lived here for a considerable period of time, felt quite strongly that they should integrate as much as possible into Scottish life, while retaining their core beliefs. They criticised members of the Muslim community who did not attempt to integrate (predominantly thought to be older people or those who had recently arrived in Scotland) and felt that they were perpetuating their own problems by adopting a 'minority' or 'oppressed people' attitude. Instead, these Muslim participants felt that it was their duty to 'obey the law of the land', make efforts to integrate, contribute to their community and to educate non-Muslims about the Islamic religion and the Muslim way of life.

When we are living here we used to learn in books "do in Rome as the Romans do"...but our religion is not so strict as uneducated Muslims try to show to other societies.

Male, Muslim, Dundee

24 Participants were classified into one of the six social grades commonly used in research. These are based on the current or previous occupation of the chief income earner in the household. Broadly speaking, the groups ABC1 correspond to professional, managerial and clerical occupations whilst groups C2DE refer to skilled-manual and unskilled manual occupations and the economically inactive.

If you only go around saying you are Pakistani, you are only ever going to be Pakistani.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

4.1.1 What can be done to improve integration?

There was a strong view among all groups that younger generations of Muslims and non-Muslims were more integrated than previous generations. This was perceived to be a natural process and mainly attributed to the fact that more and more Muslim and non-Muslim children have grown up together. The increased exposure to one another's culture encouraged understanding and respect. Participants felt close friendships developed by children would help to improve integration in the future as they grow older.

It will eventually, if they're all together, I know it's a silly thing to say, but I suppose folk our age I don't know, but the youngsters, well kids in primary, they don't see colour, they see pals.

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

Education was felt to be key in developing a better understanding of each other's respective beliefs, customs and cultures. Both Muslims and non-Muslims agreed that teaching children about Islam and the Muslim way of life in school (through structured lessons accompanied by informal sharing of experiences between Muslim and non-Muslim children in the same class) would lead to a greater degree of integration.

Understanding Islam classes in primary school for kids to actually understand Islam and it's not portraying Islam in a negative light, but it's actually put together by Muslims, what they would like to say about the positive aspects of their religion and if young primary school kids are coming into contact with that and they are actually understanding Islam the way Muslims understand it, there probably would be quite a bit more tolerance towards our religion. More of an understanding of who Muslims are and what we stand for.

Male, Muslim, Dundee

It was also felt that adult education could be furthered through initiatives such as open days at Mosques, providing opportunities for non-Muslims to visit and learn more about Islamic customs and rituals.

Muslim and non-Muslim participants felt that having more opportunities to interact would also improve integration. While Muslims and non-Muslims mainly had the opportunity to interact in formal settings such as work, school and university, away from these settings there were felt to be few opportunities to interact. This was largely a result of the dominance of alcohol in Scotland's culture (discussed further in section 4.2.1). Both Muslims and non-Muslims identified this as a significant barrier to integration and struggled to think of social situations where they could interact that didn't involve alcohol.

You can't very well go "right we'll go for a pint". You never see, even if the guy was just in for an orange juice you never see them, not many I've ever seen inside a bar.

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

The lack of alternative activities was a source of frustration for Muslims because, although they wanted to interact with non-Muslim Scots, they felt this contributed to the perception that they did not want to integrate. However, alternatives such as sport and interfaith groups

were identified as successful in improving integration. Among Edinburgh participants, the Mosque Kitchen on Nicholson Street, where curries cooked in the Mosque are served, was highlighted as being a very successful way of bringing Muslims and non-Muslims together.

The media was identified as a further way of improving integration between Muslims and non-Muslims. All Muslims and non-Muslims mentioned the media, particularly tabloid newspapers, as being predominantly negative towards Muslims and the main source of misconceptions about Islam. It was felt that the media focused excessively on Islamic fundamentalism and extremism, to the extent that Muslims had become synonymous with terrorism, as well as fuelling misconceptions about the treatment of women and Sharia law. As such, it was felt that if the media were to report and portray Islam and the Muslim way of life in a more positive or balanced way, then they would be able to assist, rather than hinder, integration.

4.1.2 Integration in Scotland

A recurring theme across all groups was the perception that integration in Scotland was easier than in England. This was attributed to three main factors; smaller numbers of Muslims, less fear of terrorist attacks and the particular features of Scottishness. This perception was held by both Muslims and non-Muslims, including participants who had lived in England.

Participants felt that lower numbers of Muslims as a proportion of the Scottish population had helped integration because it had been able to develop at a reasonable pace. There were no large areas of Scottish towns or cities which had experienced a sudden influx of Muslims or were predominantly inhabited by Muslims, as there was perceived to be in English cities such as London, Bradford and Leicester. Therefore, Muslims were not seen to be as much of a 'threat' to non-Muslim Scots and their way of life, as they were perceived to have been in England,

I think they're more integrated here just due to the fact that it is so much easier if you are coming across from wherever and you go to Bradford, Leeds you can get into a neighbourhood and disappear and no-one will ever see you again. Whereas, here we don't have these large areas where they all live, huge housing schemes or anything like that so it's more difficult to hide here.

Male, non-Muslim, Edinburgh

In Manchester, Birmingham, there is a lot more population, most people up here are just working people getting on with their lives.

Male, Muslim, Dundee

I think it's a lot more mixed in Scotland than in it is in England, maybe because there is less here, but you don't have the ghetto things they have in Bradford and all that.

Male, non-Muslim, Glasgow

People in Scotland were thought to be less afraid of terrorist attacks occurring in Scotland, despite the attempted attack on Glasgow Airport in 2007. Participants perceived there to be a feeling that Scotland was much less likely to be attacked than England, particularly London, due to a lack of high-profile targets.

We feel we are immune to that sort of attack because they've got some fantastic targets down in London. Why bother here...but there are more targets down there and would get better news coverage and I think most people think it ain't going to happen here and they're probably right.

Male, non-Muslim, Edinburgh

It was felt that Scotland does not have a history of terrorist attacks whereas England has had the 7/7 bombings and a number of other recent scares following previous experiences of attacks carried out by the IRA. Scots perhaps developed a sense of immunity from terrorist attacks because the IRA was not seen as a threat in Scotland. With regards to the attempted attack on Glasgow Airport, participants felt that the incident did not generate the same climate of fear that the 7/7 and 9/11 attacks caused, primarily because it was unsuccessful (and a positive and almost amusing story about Scottish heroism), but also because there was a perception that the attempted attack was not carried out by Scottish Muslims. Therefore, the combination of these factors meant that the threat of terrorist attacks had little impact on the attitudes of non-Muslim Scots towards Muslims.

4.2 Features of Scottishness

There were features of Scottish people that both non-Muslims and Muslims felt enhanced integration in Scotland. Features commonly mentioned related to the positive nature of Scots' personalities. Scottish people were typically seen as very friendly, sociable, humorous and welcoming. They were also seen as honest, open and straightforward, making it easier to integrate in Scotland than in England.

I stayed 11 years down south and 29 years here [Dundee]. I feel more easy and comfortable in Scotland rather than down south...because the society there is not so friendly like Scottish people.

Male, Muslim, Dundee

There were also several negative features of the Scottish population. There was a view among Muslims that the work ethic of the Scots was sometimes poor and that they "don't understand the value of work in the same way we do." Violence, knife crime and sectarianism were mentioned by non-Muslims as being features of Scottish society. However, the most common negative feature of Scottishness, mentioned predominantly by Muslims but also by non-Muslims, was the prevalence of alcohol consumption in everyday Scottish life. The relationship between alcohol consumption and the perceptions Muslims and non-Muslims have towards each other is complex and is discussed below.

4.2.1 Alcohol consumption

Drinking alcohol was a major practical barrier in the integration of Muslims into Scottish life. Both non-Muslims and Muslims recognised that Scottish life involved regular alcohol consumption in social situations. The fact that (most) Muslims abstain from drinking alcohol leads to restrictions in social interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims. However, aside from simply reducing the opportunities for the groups to socialise together, the fact that Muslims did not consume alcohol also had an affect on the perceptions of Muslims towards non-Muslims and vice versa.

Muslim participants frequently cited Scottish people's relationship with alcohol, in terms of integration and more generally. As most social events in Scotland were seen to revolve around drinking alcohol, which meant that although Muslims can attend these events, they feel they cannot often fully integrate. Indeed, when Muslim participants were asked about their views towards the question, "Do you agree or disagree with the following statement...Most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life," many Muslims highlighted that their answer to the question was dependant on whether alcohol was included in the definition of "everyday Scottish life,"

We understand the way of life here, but if you mean integrating into everyday Scottish life, if you mean that to be drinking and doing this and that obviously we don't

Male, Muslim, Dundee

Social life in Scotland does revolve around the pub....I have no problem with that but if I want to integrate into society I can't fully

Female, Muslim, Edinburgh

Of course, this is not solely a situation that affects Muslims when integrating into Scottish life - it affects anyone who does not drink alcohol.

Muslim participants felt that attending social events which have a focus on alcohol consumption was boring. They explained that they were more likely to try socialising with non-Muslims by interacting at places or events that did not place an emphasis on alcohol, such as going to the cinema, shopping or playing sport.

Female Muslim participants cited feeling uncomfortable in environments such as pubs or clubs where people were drinking alcohol. This was not solely due to the fact that they abstained from consuming alcohol; it was also due to other social interactions considered the norm in Scotland that are restricted under Islam.

According to Islamic teaching, women should not shake hands or have physical contact with a man who is not their husband (or a close male relative). However, female Muslim participants whose preference was to adhere to this teaching, felt that most of the Scottish population were not aware of the restriction which made situations difficult.

It's like okay, I'll shake your hand in this situation because I don't want to make a scene, but I'm not then going to give you a hug....they don't know that's something you would feel uncomfortable with...it's more of a lack of awareness

Female, Muslim, Edinburgh

Such challenges related to female Muslim and male non-Muslim interaction are exacerbated in situations where alcohol is consumed.

Muslim participants also commonly raised issues related to the views non-Muslims have of them not drinking alcohol. They felt that many Scottish people found it very difficult to understand why someone would not drink alcohol.

They can't understand why you would not drink when it is freely available....it is completely confusing and they just cannot comprehend as to why you stop yourself and restrict yourself into not doing things that they freely and openly do.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

[They say] "You can't have a bacon roll and a whisky...oh my God, that must be so hard...You can't go to the pub?"...It's the restrictions [they don't understand]

Female, Muslim, Edinburgh

Muslim participants explained that, when they are out socialising, Scottish people frequently made comments about the fact they were not drinking alcohol. This in turn made Muslim participants feel more uncomfortable about socialising in an environment alcohol was being consumed.

We had a Christmas Party, they were having a drink and I was having a coke, socialising....my boss goes, "What are you drinking?", I say, "I'm just drinking coke"....he says, "I'm drinking", I said, "Go right ahead". He said, "What, you think I'm a bad person?" I said, "Did I say that? You follow what you want to follow."

Male, Muslim Dundee

Muslim participants felt there were several reasons why Scottish people were uncomfortable with them not drinking alcohol. A predominant view was that Scottish people felt Muslims were "looking down" on them, a view confirmed by non-Muslim participants who *did* feel that Muslims were "judging them" and felt "superior" as they did not drink alcohol. This issue is discussed further in section 4.4.

Few Muslim participants actually stated feeling superior towards non-Muslims drinking alcohol, however it was clear that they held negative views towards alcohol consumption, seeing it as a major part of Scottish life that was less compatible with Islam.

Drink culture completely. The fact that people get drunk, lose their etiquette, morals, principles, manners.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

4.3 What perceptions do Muslims think non-Muslims have about them?

Muslim participants held several common views in relation to what non-Muslims thought about them. Muslims felt that most non-Muslims knew that Islam forbids them to drink alcohol or eat pork, that they pray a lot and fast on certain occasions. They also felt non-Muslims thought they were too strict or too intense, a view supported by the non-Muslim participants. This is discussed further in section 4.4.

Muslims also held several misconceptions about what non-Muslims thought about them. This was particularly apparent when Muslim participants were presented with the results from the quantitative survey regarding the proportion of Scottish people who agreed that *most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life* (59% agreed) and the proportion who agreed *Scotland would lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland* (48% agreed). These results provoked surprise, as they were expecting the results to be less positive.

Muslim participants suggested most non-Muslims would feel Muslims were terrorists and that their religion supported the oppression of women. These beliefs were not supported by findings from the non-Muslim focus groups, indicating that the views non-Muslims hold towards Muslims are may be less negative and extreme than Muslims believe.

4.3.1 'Muslims are terrorists'

There was a perception among Muslim participants that non-Muslims believed they were terrorists. The primary reason offered by Muslim participants for these views was the way Muslims are portrayed in the media. Participants felt that the media portrayed all Muslims as terrorists, victimised Muslims and cited misleading anti-Muslim propaganda.

I think in the eye of the media...every Muslim is a terrorist

Male, Muslim, Dundee

The media has painted a different picture of Muslims all over...the media has done a lot of damage. We have been working years to bridge the gap between the communities and the way the media portrays these things the gap widens

Male, Muslim, Dundee

It's like in the days of the Nazis they used to always go on about the Jews, all the media, and it's like the Muslims are the new Jews

Male, Muslim, Dundee

They felt that some non-Muslims believed the media.

It is alright for the intelligent people and educated people; they understand what is happening but the layman in the street [doesn't].

Male, Muslim, Dundee

I listen to the radio and I watch TV and to be honest, if I was just from the mainstream, I would probably be taken in by it all and I would think yes, there must be terror cells everywhere

Male, Muslim, Dundee

I think it is to do with the media. I feel like every time it's like Muslims this, Muslims that and you tend to believe this is what the general public is reading...and believing

Female, Muslim Edinburgh

Muslims felt that since 9/11, the atmosphere between non-Muslims and Muslims has generally become less easy and relaxed and more untrusting and emotionally charged.

When those days came....when they came to the shop or saw an Asian walking down the street they would call them Saddam, they say Osama Bin Laden...so the mindless people, they always pick up those things

Male, Muslim, Dundee

I meet all sorts of people...just general sort of run of the mill...I've had very few negative experiences and none that I can really remember.....most people don't say anything nasty at all, but you almost get the feeling that just at the back of their mind, because of what they have heard in the media, they might just wonder is this guy a terrorist?

Male, Muslim, Dundee

Another reason for the belief that non-Muslims view Muslims as terrorists is the perceived change in atmosphere immediately after the Glasgow bombing. There was a view among Muslim participants that, prior to the attempted Glasgow airport bombing, Scotland had always seen itself as less likely to be a victim of a terrorist attack. Some Muslim participants felt there was a change in atmosphere after the attempted attack, while others had heard there had been negative reactions.

I know personally when I heard that, I thought "Oh great, Glasgow, fantastic." It's more close to home, it's not some place in the US, it's not some place in

England...it's your home town, so I expected there to be a backlash and I know there were a couple of incidents where there was a backlash.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

Other Muslim participants said that they had not noticed any change in atmosphere, suggesting that the Muslim community was responsible for what they viewed as an overreaction.

I feel as though that issue lies with people within the Muslim community....I feel as though they think that people are going to discriminate against them....call them a terrorist...if you walk around thinking, oh I'm wearing a veil, oh I'm Muslim...people are going to treat you differently....I think the problem lies with the people in the Muslim community.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

30% of people think wrong about us but we think 100% do

Male, Muslim, Glasgow

Although terrorism was mentioned by non-Muslim participants as being associated with Islam, they highlighted that the cause was only supported by a very few extreme Muslims and not by the Muslim community as a whole. They did not escalate it as an issue to the degree that Muslims expected they would. They were not threatened by Muslims in general and did not associate Muslims, on the whole, with terror,

So a proper Muslim who just goes by the Koran, they would be happy for us to believe what we believe, they wouldn't want to change our religion, they just take us for who we are. It's just the other ones you get certain ones who just want to kill everybody else who is not a Muslim.

Male, Non-Muslim, Dundee

A view held by non-Muslim participants was that (other) peoples' misconceptions towards Muslims were fuelled by the media who constantly reported "bad things" in relation to Muslims, including extremist behaviour.

4.3.2 Oppression of women

Muslim concerns about misperceptions

Muslim participants felt that non-Muslims believed that Islam oppressed women and misinterpreted the wearing of the veil, acceptance of polygamy and arranged marriages as evidence of this.

Muslim participants believed that non-Muslims thought women were instructed to wear the veil by their husbands or male relatives. Female Muslim participants found this particularly frustrating and insulting, as the wearing of the veil, for them, was a personal decision.

They are often really, really surprised that you actually wear the scarf of your own choice.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

If they see a woman covers [her face], a Muslim, they're like, oh your husband or your brother is making you wear that, where as I'm wearing it out of my own free will, so again lack of knowledge there. They are being ignorant and judging you.

Female, Muslim, Edinburgh

Although this issue was predominantly raised by female Muslims, male Muslims also highlighted this perception.

[Non-Muslims think] we force our wives to wear veils, you know, very hard line.

Male, Muslim, Dundee.

Muslim participants also identified a misconception amongst non-Muslims that it was common-place for Muslim men to take several wives. Again, it was predominantly female Muslims participants who raised this issue and who were particularly frustrated about it.

The classic three wives thing...that's one of the things we [Muslim women] get.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

Another misconception that female Muslim participants believed was held by non-Muslims was in relation to their education. They believed that non-Muslims thought they were "backward" and that Islam did not encourage the education of women.

...people assume that women aren't allowed to get an education or something if they're Muslim or they're expected to just get married.

Female, Muslim, Glasgow

Less typically, female Muslim participants raised the perceptions non-Muslims held towards arranged marriages. They felt that there was insufficient distinction made between forced marriages (where one or both spouses, but more often the woman, does not consent or consent is extracted under duress) and arranged marriages (where both spouses consent).

Non-Muslim perceptions

Non-Muslim perceptions of women in Muslim communities are perhaps more complex than Muslim participants suggested. The oppression of women was barely mentioned explicitly by non-Muslims. There was evidence to suggest that these perceptions are present among non-Muslims, but these were not necessarily expressed in the context of the oppression of women. Instead, statements were made in a 'matter-of-fact' way, in passing, and tended to be in relation to different aspects of Islamic culture and the extent to which these were compatible with Scottish culture – a concern about difference rather than a concern about the treatment of women per se.

The wearing of the veil is perhaps the best example of this. Non-Muslims who disagreed with the veil did so more because they felt threatened or uneasy when they saw Muslim women wearing it in the street and believed that they shouldn't wear it in Scotland. To a lesser extent it was mentioned in terms of women being made to wear the veil by men.

I think they shouldn't be allowed to cover up their whole faces with burkas and that ... like fair enough in their own country if that's what everyone wants to do, but when they come here to our country... they should respect our belief, this is our country.

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

A woman can't go about showing off any of her flesh apart from her eyes and all that. I think she should be allowed to do what she wants, especially if she is in our country now, she shouldn't have to abide by her own [country's] rules. That's her man's choice.

Male, non-Muslim, Glasgow

There were also some key differences between participants from socio-economic group DE and those from socio-economic group AB in their understanding of the role of women in Muslim communities.

Participants from socio-economic group DE did not discuss the issue in any detail and most comments were made more in passing and/or intended as humorous remarks while discussing other issues. However, some of the comments indicated that they believed men were dominant in Muslim communities and that women had a lower status and were controlled in terms of what they could wear, how they should behave and who they could marry.

See in the court...you need two women against one man, the man's word is law, it's true that. You think, the women walk behind and have arranged marriages and everything else.

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

They're no allowed to shag before marriage but they've got 20 wives.

Male, non-Muslim, Glasgow

Participants from socio-economic group AB mentioned holding similar perceptions in the past but felt they were now more aware (mainly as a result of education and interaction with Muslims) that women do have a choice in what they wear, how they behave and who they marry. A couple of women from socio-economic group AB explicitly raised the issue of oppression of women and Islam; however, these women had both befriended Muslim women who had altered their previous perceptions. Participants from this group recognised that aspects of Islam had been subverted by some men in order to exert control over women but acknowledged that this was not unique to Islam and it also occurred in other religions.

4.4 What perceptions do non-Muslims think Muslims have about them?

The way in which non-Muslims felt they were perceived by Muslims highlighted some interesting aspects of the relationship between the two groups, some of which created challenges for integration. There was a sense in which Muslims were perceived as rather arrogant and morally superior. Non-Muslims suspected that Muslims looked down on their lifestyle and culture (in relation to their consumption of alcohol, lack of religious belief or lack of strict religious observance, their work ethic, etc),

The younger ones are alright if you talk to them. But I mean the older ones stick their noses up at you.

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

Like a lot of men, not young guys, but I'm just talking about the people at the casino, we're white trash and that's how they look at it. A couple of them are

alright but they are rude, they think they're better than anybody else just because you're not Muslim.

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

Non-Muslims perceived Muslims to be very religious people for whom Islam was the main priority in their lives. They thought Muslims felt non-Muslim Scots are irreligious, or merely pay religion lip service by saying they are Christian without actually attending church, praying or indeed knowing much at all about the bible. As a result, non-Muslims thought that Muslims believed they were morally superior to Scottish people in general and looked down on much of their behaviour, particularly in relation to alcohol, drug abuse and sex before marriage. However, while Muslims were felt to be the most religious group as a whole, the perception of arrogance or moral superiority was attributed to other groups who held very strong religious beliefs, including Christians.

I think certainly, there is a substantial proportion of people who believe in the absolute rightness of what they believe in and coming from my personal perspective, that's always dangerous, anybody who believes the rightness of their own beliefs.

Female, non-Muslim, Edinburgh

Non-Muslims also felt that Muslims lived a very 'clean' lifestyle as they believe they do not generally consume alcohol, overeat, engage in sex before marriage or cause trouble through violence. Participants acknowledged that some Scots could learn from Muslims about how to look after themselves.

They get on better with each other compared to how we get on. We drink, fight and stab each other - you don't see them doing that.

Male, non-Muslim, Glasgow

I think they're really clean as far as I know, see like drugs and things like that you don't really see loads of junkie Muslims or that, I think that's a good thing.

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

It's a big problem in Scotland the drinking...They could probably teach us a thing or two about alcohol.

Male, non-Muslim, Glasgow

Many non-Muslim participants felt that Muslims looked after themselves well and that this came from the discipline instilled by their religion. But, again, non-Muslims thought that this made Muslims feel superior to Scottish people.

The perception I have of Muslims are they are less tolerant of alcoholics, less tolerant of our behaviour, less tolerant of lack of maybe family values, I think they are less tolerant of us.

Male, non-Muslim, Edinburgh

In addition, non-Muslims thought that Muslims perceived them to be lazy with a poor work ethic. Examples given include Muslim shops being open for longer hours and Muslims rarely being seen claiming unemployment benefits. As such they felt that Muslims looked down on Scottish people claiming unemployment benefit and believed that Scottish people did not

want to work. However, non-Muslim Scots described the Scottish population in the main as having a strong work ethic,

I think the discipline and the work ethic, which is very strong in both Protestantism and Muslim religions.

Female, non-Muslim, Edinburgh

Although non-Muslim Scots thought that Muslims were actually correct on many of these points, they did not like to feel as though they were being looked down upon or that others thought that they were superior to them.

There was a related view among non-Muslim Scots, particularly in the socio-economic groups DE, that Muslims were *too* strict and *too* disciplined. This view was further supported by non-Muslims awareness of severe punishments sometimes given in Islamic states for relatively minor offences, such as stoning women for adultery and cutting off the hands of thieves, as well as their misunderstanding of arranged marriages which they found strict and hard to accept or understand.

...if I came in with a Muslim lassie [to my parents] ...I would need to bolt so I would... but... my Dad wouldn't stone me to death

Male, non-Muslim, Dundee

Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire and Topline results

Scottish Public Opinion Monitor (SPOM) Muslims in Scotland Topline results

-
- Results are based on a survey of 1,006 respondents conducted by telephone between 18th February and 21st February
- Data are weighted by age, sex and working status using census data, and tenure using SHS 2007-2008 data.
- An asterisk (*) indicates a percentage of less than 0.5% but greater than 0.
- Where results do not sum to 100, this may be due to multiple responses or computer rounding.
- Where the base size is less than 30 the number (N) rather than the percentage of respondents is given.
- Results are based on all respondents (1,006) unless otherwise stated.
-

MUS 1 **Now some questions about religion. I'm going to ask you about people of different beliefs, for each, please tell me if you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable, or a very unfavourable opinion of people with that belief.**

		Very favourable	Somewhat favourable	Somewhat unfavourable	Very unfavourable	Don't know	Refused
a) Jews	%	28 (16)	52 (57)	5 (4)	2 (2)	11 (19)	2
b) Christians	%	41 (27)	44 (56)	4 (6)	2 (1)	7 (10)	2
c) Muslims	%	21 (12)	45 (51)	13 (15)	8 (8)	11 (16)	2
d) Sikhs	%	25	47	7	3	16	2
e) Hindus	%	26	49	4	3	16	2
f) Buddhists	%	33	44	4	3	14	2
g) Atheists	%	28	43	8	7	12	2

Figures in brackets () are comparison data taken from the Pew Survey - Spring 2008²⁹

²⁹ Telephone survey of 753, representative of Great Britain population. Comparison figures in the 'Don't know' response option include refusals.

MUS2 Now some questions about Muslims living in Scotland³⁰. Do you think the following statement applies or does not apply? Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country.

	SPOM	Great Britain	France	Germany
	%	%	%	%
Applies/yes	46	36	44	39
Does not apply/no	33	49	35	45
Cannot generalise (do not read out)	13			
Don't know	7	15	21	16
Refused	1			

³⁰ Designed to be comparable with the Gallup Coexist Study (June 2008). Telephone survey of c1,000, representative of population in each category. This had some general questions on religion/identification with country then "Now thinking specifically about Muslims, do you think each of the following applies or does not apply? Muslims living in [France/Germany/Britain] are loyal to this country?"

MUS3 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? For each one, please tell me if you agree, disagree, or whether you neither agree nor disagree.

		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Refused
a) Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland	%	26 (14)	22 (35)	7 (19)	23 (27)	18 (4)	3 (1)	1
b) Most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life	%	16	43	9	17	11	4	1
c) The attempted bombing at Glasgow Airport in July 2007 has made people in Scotland less tolerant of Muslims.	%	30	36	6	15	9	3	1
d) The Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland	%	39	41	7	7	2	2	1
e) The Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland	%	12	30	13	22	15	8	1

* Figures in brackets () are comparison data taken from the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (2006)³¹

³¹ This was face-to-face and had a show card with the response options: agree strongly/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/disagree strongly. The question was "How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland?"

Demographics

Gender

	%
Male	48
Female	52

Age **Please could you tell me your age at your last birthday?**

	%
18-24	12
25-34	15
35-54	37
55+	36

Work **And are you, yourself.....**

	%
Working 30 hours or more a week (Full time)	42
Working 8 - 29 hours a week (Part-time)	15
Not working (under 8 hrs) – looking after home	3
Not working (under 8 hrs) - unemployed	5
Not working (under 8 hrs) - unemployed (not registered but seeking work)	2
Not working (under 8 hrs) - retired	24
Not working (under 8 hrs) - student	4
Not working (under 8 hrs) - other (inc. sick or disabled)	3
Other	1
Don't know	0
Refused	0

DEM1 Which, if any, daily newspapers or news websites do you read or look at regularly? By regularly I mean on average about three or four days a week.

	%
Newspapers/newspaper websites	
Daily Record	19
The Sun	14
Scottish Daily Mail	9
The (Glasgow) Herald	9
The Scotsman	7
Other local newspaper	7
The Guardian	5
The Times	5
The (Aberdeen) Press and Journal	4
Scottish Daily Express	3
Daily Telegraph	3
Metro	3
The Courier/Dundee Courier	3
Glasgow Evening Times	3
The Independent	2
Edinburgh Evening News	2
Scottish Daily Mirror	1
Financial Times	1
Daily Star	1
News websites	
BBC	18
Sky	3
Daily Mail/Mail website	1
Yahoo	1
Google	1
CNN	*
AOL	*
MSN	*
STV	*
Foreign website	*
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)	5
None	22

DEM2 Do you own your home, or rent it?

	%
Owned outright	30
Buying on mortgage	36
Rent from council	15
Rent from Housing Association/ Trust	8
Rented from private landlord	9
Living with parents	1
Other WRITE IN	1

DEM3 **Do you have any long-standing illness, health problem or disability that limits your daily activities or the kind of work that you can do?**
By disability as opposed to ill-health, I mean a physical or mental impairment, which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on your ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities.

	%
Yes, disability	7
Yes, illness or health problem	11
Yes, both disability and illness or health problem	4
No, neither	78
Don't know	0
Refused	0

DEM4 **Including yourself, how many people aged 16 or over are living here?**

	%
One	36
Two	46
Three	12
Four	4
Five or more	1

DEM5 **How many children aged under 16 are living here?**

	%
None	74
One	13
Two	10
Three	2
Four	1
Five or more	*

DEM6 **What country were you born in?**

	%
Scotland	83
Somewhere else in the UK	11
Republic of Ireland	1
Elsewhere	6
Don't know	*
Refused	0

DEM8 **How many cars are normally available for Private use by members of your household?**

	%
None	23
One	46
Two	25
Three or more	6
Don't know	0
Refused	*

DEM9 **Do you use the internet at all these days, either for your work or for your own personal use?**

	%
No, never use the internet	20
Work only	2
Personal use only	33
Both work and personal use	45
Don't know	*

Appendix 2: Muslim topic guide

Muslims in Scotland

Muslim Focus Groups Topic Guide FINAL

1. Introduction

Introduce self and Ipsos MORI

Thank participants for taking part, should take about 1.5 hours to 2 hours.

Introduce subject matter – eg: *The purpose of this discussion is to talk to you about Scottishness and then we'll go on to talk about the integration of Muslims in Scotland. This is a discussion group, and we want to hear from all of you. We are interested in your thoughts and opinions; there are no right or wrong answers. We also ask that you listen to and respect the opinions of others.*

Stress confidentiality

Obtain permission to record discussion

Ask if there are any questions before starting

Ask participants to introduce themselves – name, where they were born (if not born in Scotland: How long have you lived in Scotland?) and where they live.

2. National identity and Scottishness

(Sticky note/flipchart exercise)

What does it mean to be Scottish?

What qualifies someone as being Scottish?

What typical features or things do most Scottish people have in common?

Are there any values or beliefs that are linked with being Scottish?

What are the positive characteristics of Scottish people?

What are the negative characteristics of Scottish people?

3. Non-muslim perceptions of Muslims and Islam

When non-muslims think of Muslims, or the Islamic religion, what do you think comes immediately to mind?

(Sticky note/flipchart exercise)

What other perceptions/misperceptions do they have?

PROBE on the following – Religious beliefs? Laws/ things that are forbidden? Culture/customs? Food? Dress?

What are the most common misunderstandings/perceptions?

Are there things that are generally quite well understood?

What aspects do you feel they know little about or don't understand?

What do you think they would cite as the positive features of Islam/characteristics of Muslims?

What do you think they would cite as the negative features of Islam/characteristics of Muslims?

4. Barriers and facilitators to Muslim integration in Scottish society

How would you answer the following question.....

Most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life? Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly.
(Have answers printed out on cards for them to choose from and hold up).

PROBE: Why do you feel like that? Personal experience? The experience of your friends? Family?

In a recent poll we conducted, can you guess how many Scots agreed with the statement?

The poll showed that 59% of Scots agreed that most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life.

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they feel like that? If applicable: Why do you think this was higher or lower than you felt? Why do you think this was higher or lower than you guessed?

So, 28% of Scots don't think Muslims are integrated?

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they say that?

What does integration mean? (Sticky note/flipchart exercise)

PROBE – What would really integrated mean? Not integrated?

Which Muslims do you feel are the most integrated/least integrated?

PROBE: Older/younger? Male/Female? Most/least religious? English language ability? Accent?

What are the potential benefits to Scotland of more/better integration?

PROBE: Multiculturalism/diversity? Economy? Scottish culture?

Do you think it may lead to any potential problems for the Scottish Muslim community?

PROBE: Divisions? Culture? Muslim identity? Can there be too much integration?

Do you think it may lead to any potential problems for Scotland?

PROBE: Divisions? Economy? Scottish culture?

Can you guess the poll results for the following question...

Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland?

What percentage do you think agreed? (Get them to write down guess).

A recent poll found that 48% of Scots believe that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland?

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they feel like that? Why do you think this was higher or lower than you guessed? How do you feel about that result?

If issue not already covered and the topic is not getting too sensitive³²:

Can you guess the poll results for the following question...

How much do you think the following statement applies or does not apply?.....

Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country? Applies/yes, Does not apply/no.

The poll found that 46% of Scots believe that Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country.

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they feel like that? Why do you think this was higher or lower than you guessed? How do you feel about that result?

Do you feel the attempted attack on Glasgow Airport (which occurred at Glasgow airport in June 2007 when a jeep containing propane canisters was driven into the glass doors of the terminal and set ablaze) affected the views of Scots towards Muslims?

PROBE: Attitudes? Affected integration? (If necessary to facilitate discussion: In our recent poll, 66% of Scots feel the attack has made Scots less tolerant of Muslims? Why is that? What's been your experience? How does that make you feel?)

ALL

How would you answer the following question...

The Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland? Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly. (Have answers printed out on cards for them to choose from and hold up).

And how would you answer the following question.....

The Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland? Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly. (Have answers printed out on cards for them to choose from and hold up).

Why do you feel the Islamic religion is more/less/equally compatible with life in Scotland than the Christian religion?

³² We have an ethical responsibility to ensure no emotional harm is done to participants during focus groups. It is possible some participants may find these questions upsetting. Our experienced moderators will gauge the atmosphere in the group before asking the questions on loyalty and the Glasgow airport attack.

How do you feel non-muslim Scots would have answered the questions? (Get them to write down guess.)

PROBE: Why do you feel like that?

The poll found that 42% of Scots agree the Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland. Whereas, 80% feel the Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland.

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they feel like that? If applicable: Why do you think they feel the Islamic religion is more/less compatible with life in Scotland than you feel?

What aspects of Islam are compatible with Scottish life?

What aspects of Islam are less compatible with Scottish life?

What aspects of Scottish life are compatible with Islam?

PROBE – Refer to flipchart they created about Scottishness

What aspects of Scottish life are less compatible with Islam?

PROBE – Refer to flipchart they created about Scottishness

What do you feel prevents some Muslims from being integrated into Scottish life?

What might help better integrate Muslims into Scottish life?

PROBE: What could Non-Muslims in Scotland do? What could Muslims do? What could any organisations do? Government? Employers? Schools? Local Authorities? Any others?

5. Muslim integration in Scottish society and other countries

Are Scottish Muslims more integrated into Scottish life than English Muslims are integrated into English life?

PROBE: And are Scottish Muslims more or less integrated than Muslims in other European countries?

Where do you feel Muslims are most integrated?

Is there anything about Scotland which makes integration a) easier and b) harder? PROBE: Refer back to Scottishness flipchart.

Do you think Muslims will be more or less integrated into Scottish society in 10 years time?

Appendix 3: Non-Muslim topic guide

Muslims in Scotland

Non-Muslim Focus Groups Topic Guide FINAL

1. Introduction

Introduce self and Ipsos MORI

Thank participants for taking part, should take about 1.5 hours to 2 hours.

Introduce subject matter – eg: *The purpose of this discussion is to talk to you about Scottishness and then we'll go on to talk about Muslims in Scotland.*

This is a discussion group, and we want to hear from all of you. We are interested in your thoughts and opinions; there are no right or wrong answers. We also ask that you listen to and respect the opinions of others.

Stress confidentiality

Obtain permission to record discussion

Ask if there are any questions before starting

Ask participants to introduce themselves – name, where they come from and where they live

2. National identity and Scottishness

(Sticky note/flipchart exercise)

What does it mean to be Scottish?

What qualifies someone as being Scottish?

PROBE: Place of birth? Ancestry? Length of time lived in Scotland?

What typical features or things do most Scottish people have in common?

Are there any values or beliefs that are linked with being Scottish?

What are the positive characteristics of Scottish people?

What are the negative characteristics of Scottish people?

3. Contact with people from different religious/ethnic backgrounds/Muslims

Are there many people of different religions in your area?

PROBE – Muslims? Sikhs? Hindus?

What contact, if any, do you have with Muslims?

PROBE – How much? How often? What sort of situation? Work? Children's school? Socially? Shops? Services?

4. Perceptions of Muslims and Islam

Make clear we are not experts – they may well know more than we do about Muslims and Islam.

When you think of Muslims, or the Islamic religion, what comes immediately to mind?

(Sticky note/flipchart exercise)

What else do you know about Muslims/Islam?

PROBE on the following – Religious beliefs? Laws/ things that are forbidden? Culture/customs? Food? Dress? Festivals? Five pillars?

What aspects do you feel you know little about or don't understand?

What are the positive features of Islam/characteristics of Muslims?

What are the negative features of Islam/characteristics of Muslims?

5. Barriers and facilitators to Muslim integration in Scottish society

How would you answer the following question.....

Most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life? Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly.
(Have answers printed out on cards for them to choose from and hold up).

A recent poll we conducted shows that 59% of Scots agree that most Muslims in Scotland are integrated into everyday Scottish life.

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they feel like that? If applicable: Why do you think this is different to how you feel?

So, 28% of Scots don't think Muslims are integrated?

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they say that?

What does integration mean? (Sticky note/flipchart exercise)

PROBE – What would really integrated mean? Not integrated?

Which Muslims are the most integrated/least integrated?

PROBE: Older/younger? Male/Female? Most/least religious? English language ability?

How do you feel about Muslims being integrated into Scottish life?

PROBE: Good/bad? Threat to Scottish identity? Values? Beliefs? Can there be too much?

What are the potential benefits to Scotland?

PROBE: Multiculturalism/diversity? Economy? Scottish culture?

What are the potential problems for Scotland?

PROBE: Divisions? Economy? Scottish culture?

Can you guess the poll results for the following question...

Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland?

What percentage do you think agreed? (Get them to write down guess).

A recent poll found that 48% of Scots believe that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live in Scotland?

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they feel like that? If applicable: Why do you think this is different to how you feel?

If issue not already covered:

Can you guess the poll results for the following question?...

How much do you think the following statement applies or does not apply?.....

Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country? Applies/yes, Does not apply/no.

The poll found that 47% of Scots believe that Muslims living in Scotland are loyal to this country.

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they feel like that? If applicable: Why do you think this is different to how you feel?

Do you feel the attempted attack on Glasgow Airport (which occurred at Glasgow airport in June 2007 when a jeep containing propane canisters was driven into the glass doors of the terminal and set ablaze) affected the views of Scots towards Muslims?

PROBE: Increased/decreased? Attitudes? Affected integration? (If necessary to facilitate discussion: In our recent poll, 66% of Scots feel the attack has made Scots less tolerant of Muslims? Why is that?)

ALL

Can you guess the poll results for the following question?...

The Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland? What percentage do you think agreed? (Get them to write down guess).

Can you guess the poll results for the following question?...

The Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland? What percentage do you think agreed? (Get them to write down guess).

The poll found that 42% of Scots agree the Islamic religion is compatible with life in Scotland. Whereas, 80% feel the Christian religion is compatible with life in Scotland.

PROBE: Does that surprise you? Why do you think they feel like that? If applicable: Why do you think this is different to how you feel? How do you think Muslims would answer the question?

What aspects of Islam are compatible with Scottish life?

PROBE – Refer to flipchart they created about Muslims/Islam

What aspects of Islam are less compatible with Scottish life?
PROBE – Refer to flipchart they created about Muslims/Islam

What aspects of Scottish life are compatible with Islam?
PROBE – Refer to flipchart they created about Scottishness

What aspects of Scottish life are less compatible with Islam?
PROBE – Refer to flipchart they created about Scottishness

What do you feel prevents some Muslims from being integrated into Scottish life?

What do you think Muslims would say prevents them from being integrated into Scottish life?

What do you feel Muslims would feel was a) positive about Scotland/ Scottish people? and b) negative about Scotland/ Scottish people?

What might help better integrate Muslims into Scottish life?
PROBE: What could Non-Muslims in Scotland do? What could Muslims do? What could any organisations do? Government? Employers? Schools? Local Authorities? Any others?

6. Muslim integration in Scottish society and other countries

Are Scottish Muslims more integrated into Scottish life than English Muslims are integrated into English life?
PROBE: And are Scottish Muslims more or less integrated than Muslims in other European countries?

Where are Muslims most integrated?

Is there anything about Scotland which makes integration a) easier and b) harder? PROBE: Refer back to Scottishness flipchart.

Do you think Muslims will be more or less integrated into Scottish society in 10 years time?