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Anglophobia & Islamophobia in Scotland[♦]

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ABSTRACT

- **For majority Scots, birth is more important than race for being ‘truly Scottish’.**
- **But amongst majority Scots, Islamophobia is greater than Anglophobia**
- **Yet not by much!** On five strictly comparable indicators, Anglophobia (at 38%) runs just 11% behind Islamophobia (at 49%)
- **Phobias go together:** anything that encourages one phobia tends to encourage the other – though not necessarily to the same degree
 - **friendships, knowledge, age or generation, and education** all have more impact on Islamophobia than on Anglophobia
 - but **nationalism**, whether social or political, has more impact on Anglophobia than on Islamophobia
 - Liberal Democrat voters are the least Anglophobic and also the least Islamophobic.
 - but while SNP voters are the most Anglophobic, it is Conservative voters who are the most Islamophobic
 - non-voters come second only to SNP voters on Anglophobia, and second only to Conservatives on Islamophobia

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Anglophobia & Islamophobia in Scotland

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Traditional Scottish self-consciousness, the long debate over devolution and the eventual creation of a Scottish Parliament have all posed a challenge to minorities in Scotland. Both devolutionists and more independence-minded nationalists have consistently proclaimed a non-ethnic, inclusive, 'civic' concept of nationalism.[SA 29:138] Labour 'First Minister' Jack McConnell has declared that Scotland needs more immigrants, asylum seekers and ethnic minorities.[McConnell, 2003] SNP leader John Swinney has accused Labour of 'racism' in its ill-treatment of Muslim asylum seekers [*Herald* 8 Sept 2003], repeatedly describing it as a 'national shame'[*Herald* 12 Sept 2003] or a 'national disgrace'[*Herald* 10 Oct 2003] – despite the fact that a large majority of Scots favour detaining asylum-seekers [SSAS 2003]. And that approach extends to the English as well: former SNP leader Alex Salmond, for example, regularly claimed to be an 'anglophile': 'I have often pronounced myself one of the most anglophile of all Scottish Members... We present our case for Scotland in a positive way. We do not spend our time being antagonistic about other nations.' [Hansard 30 July 1997: Column 396]

Ethnic nationalism is 'in essence exclusive', stressing the ethnic group and common descent but civic nationalism claims to be 'inclusive in the sense that anyone can adopt the culture and join the nation'. [Kellas p.65] For civic nationalists, the enemy is global homogeneity not diversity.

Yet there are problems with this simple 'civic-v-ethnic' distinction. Civic nationalism can easily degenerate into ethnic nationalism as it filters down and is put into practice. And minorities may not be willing or able to 'adopt the culture and join the nation'.

But perhaps the greatest problem – easy to overlook and difficult to resolve – is that liberal notions of tolerance and equality, while welcome, may be grossly insufficient: 'One might enjoy all the rights of citizenship and be a formally equal member of the community, and yet feel an outsider who does not belong.' [Parekh 2000a p.237] Small minorities seek reassurance not justice.

Part of the problem is the significance of 'political symbols, images, ceremonies, collective self-understanding and views of national identity'. [Parekh 2000a p.203; Modood and Werbner p.263] An increasing emphasis on Scottish history, enthusiasm for films like 'Braveheart'[SA 21:135-58 esp.p.147], claims that the Scottish Parliament is not new but an old parliament that merely 'adjourned on 25 March 1707' and is now 'reconvened'[SP vol.1:col.5], or John Swinney's own recent call to use Scotland's 'Patron Saint' to promote the new Scotland. [Scotsman, 19 Nov 2002], could be exclusionist to those whose ethnic identity makes it difficult for them to identify with historic (as distinct from contemporary) Scotland.

But even if political elites take greater care to ensure that political symbols are inclusive, minorities can be made 'to feel outsiders who do not belong' by the way they are treated by ordinary people in everyday life. If minorities feel they are regarded by the general public as a burden on the country's resources, as social untouchables, or as a disloyal element they are likely to feel excluded. Street level prejudice can be as alienating as elite level discrimination.

The largest ‘visible’ and ‘invisible’ minorities in Scotland are, respectively, (self-described) ethnic Pakistanis and the English (defined as English-born). Nearly all the Pakistanis in our study report that they are Muslims and a large majority that their primary identification is Muslim rather than Scottish, British, or Pakistani. So they regard public attitudes towards Muslims as directed at them.

We used 12 focus-groups and over 1500 telephone survey interviews to discover the experiences and perspectives of these minorities. Almost all say they feel ‘at ease’ living in post-devolution Scotland. But both report significant levels of discrimination and harassment in their daily lives. Neither blame parliament, politicians or officials for that. Instead they put the blame on ‘ordinary people’, though many (but by no means all) say their harassers are ‘not typical Scots’.

In this context ‘typical’ or ‘ordinary’ Scots means ‘majority’ Scots excluding the Muslim and especially the English minority which constitutes a significant percentage of the population. To gauge the actual attitudes of these ‘ordinary Scots’ towards the Muslim and English minorities in Scotland we placed a module of questions in the SSAS 2003 (Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2003) but we restrict our analysis of the SSAS to ‘majority Scots’ (1151 in the survey) defined as:

‘majority Scots’: SSAS sample excluding those (i) born outside Scotland or (ii) whose partner was born outside Scotland or (iii) who are not ‘White’ or (iv) who are Muslim.

The last two restrictions have no impact on percentages because there are so few non-whites or Muslims in Scotland; but the exclusion of the large numbers with English birth or English partners does have a significant impact.

Eyes wide open: minority perceptions of the majority

Ignorance is asymmetric

The English are far more numerous than Muslims or Pakistanis in Scotland. According to the 2001 Scottish Census there are 408,948 English-born but only 42,557 Muslims including most of the 31,793 ethnic Pakistanis. Partly because of that, most majority Scots know someone who is English but only half know a Muslim. Four times as many have an English friend as a Pakistani friend; 40 percent have an English relative but only two percent a Pakistani relative; and 86 percent say they know little or nothing about Muslims in Scotland.

Table A1: Majority lacks knowledge of minorities

	SSAS	
	Views of Majority Scots about Muslim minority	Views of Majority Scots about English minority
	%	%
KMUSNONE: know someone who is Muslim/English	49	93
KMUSFRIE: Muslim/English friend	15	60
KMUSFAML: Muslim/English in family	2	40
Know ‘not very much / nothing at all’ about Muslims in Scotland	86	na

Source: SSAS 2003. DK’s & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

But the converse does not apply. Almost all (95 percent) of the English minority in Scotland have ‘close’ friends who are ‘not English’.

And 78 percent of the ethnic Pakistanis say they have ‘close’ friends who are ‘neither Pakistani nor Muslim’. So while majority Scots typically do not have Muslim friends and confess their ignorance of Scottish Muslims, most Scottish Muslims actually have ‘close’ friends amongst majority Scots and are in a position to know a lot about majority Scots.

Ignorance is therefore asymmetric. Majority Scots may not know what Scottish Muslims are thinking. But both minorities, Muslims as well as English, are likely to know what the majority thinks – and in particular what the majority thinks about them.

How well do the minorities understand the majority?

We can test this by asking the minorities about their perceptions of majority attitudes towards them. Do they feel surrounded by warmth, indifference or antagonism? And are their perceptions accurate? We asked the Pakistanis how they thought ‘most ordinary Scots’ viewed ‘Muslim Pakistanis’; and the English how they thought ‘most ordinary Scots’ viewed ‘English people living in Scotland’.

Half the Pakistanis (48 percent) and a quarter of the English (27 percent) think Scots view them as ‘taking jobs, housing and health care from ordinary Scots’ rather than ‘contributing a lot in terms of hard work and much-needed skills to Scotland’.

Rather more (60 percent of Pakistanis and 48 percent of the English) feel Scots think they ‘could never be really committed to Scotland’. And overwhelmingly, both feel their loyalty is suspect: four-fifths of both (81 percent of Pakistanis and 78 percent of the English) feel that Scots think they will ‘always be more loyal to other Muslims around the world’ or ‘to England’ than ‘to Scotland’. So both minorities sense that they are surrounded by nationalist distrust far more than by economic resentment.

Pakistanis – though not the English minority – also sense a degree of social exclusion: 25 percent feel ‘most ordinary Scots would be unhappy if they had to work beside a Muslim Pakistani’; and 56 percent that ‘most ordinary Scots would be unhappy if one of their close relatives married or formed a long-term relationship with a Muslim Pakistani’. Few of the English sense such social exclusion – and such as it is, it applies to unhappiness about work-mates (8 percent) more than to relatives (5 percent).

To summarise: Pakistanis sense more economic resentment and social exclusion than the English. But both feel equally surrounded by nationalist distrust: overwhelmingly, both feel their loyalty and commitment to Scotland is questioned by majority Scots.

Table A2: Minority perceptions of ‘most ordinary Scots’

	Views of English-born in Scotland %	Views of Ethnic Pakistanis in Scotland %
Think ‘most ordinary Scots’ Scots feel Muslims / English people living in Scotland... take jobs, housing & health-care from Scots	27	48
will never be committed to Scotland	48	60
will always be more loyal to Muslims / England	78	81
Think ‘most ordinary Scots’ would be unhappy to have a Muslim Pakistani / an English person now living in Scotland as... a work-mate	8	25
a relative by marriage	5	56

Source: Minorities survey by Hussain & Miller. DK’s & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Are these minority perceptions accurate? We cannot equate the percentage of a minority who think ‘most ordinary Scots’ are prejudiced with the percentage of majority Scots who actually are prejudiced. These are conceptually different. But the patterns of perceived and actual prejudice can properly be compared.

Relatively few majority Scots actually express economic resentment, more actually doubt the minorities’ commitment to Scotland, and most really do doubt the minorities’ loyalty. Doubts about commitment and loyalty apply roughly equally to both minorities – the English almost as much as the Muslims. But economic resentment, though generally low, is higher with respect to Muslims than the English.

All of these patterns of actual prejudice echo the minorities’ perceptions. Minority perceptions of ‘ordinary Scots’ feelings with respect to economic resentment, commitment and loyalty are quite uncannily accurate.

But the minorities, especially the Pakistanis, over-estimate the extent of social exclusion. Although 25 percent of Pakistanis think ‘most ordinary Scots’ would be unhappy to have a Muslim Pakistani as a colleague, only four percent of majority Scots actually say they would be ‘unhappy’ – and only one percent say they would be ‘very’ unhappy. Similarly 56 percent of Pakistanis think ‘most ordinary Scots’ would be unhappy to have a Muslim Pakistani as a relative but only 32 percent of majority Scots actually say they would be ‘unhappy’ – and only 10 percent that they would be ‘very’ unhappy. That contrasts with only five percent of majority Scots who actually say they would be ‘unhappy’ to have an English relative (and only one percent ‘very’ unhappy) – very similar to the numbers who would be unhappy to have a Catholic or Protestant relative.

Table A3: Majority doubts loyalty of minorities

	Views of Majority in Scotland	
	about English minority	about Muslim minority
	%	%
TAKEJBM/E: Muslims / English take Scot jobs, housing, healthcare	18	30
COMMITM/E: Muslims / English never really committed to Scotland	44	53
LOYALMUS/ENG: Muslims / English more loyal to other Muslims / England than to Scotland	81	79
WORKWITH: VERY unhappy work other race	na	1
WORKWITH: unhappy (incl. ‘very’) to work with another other race	na	4
MARRMUS: VERY unhappy relative marry English / Muslim	1	10
MARRMUS: unhappy (incl. ‘very’) relative marry English / Muslim	5	32
MARRMUS: <u>happy</u> (incl. ‘very’) relative marry English / Muslim	95	68
MARRMUS: VERY <u>happy</u> relative marry English / Muslim	33	26
MARRCATH: VERY unhappy relative marry Catholic		2
MARRCATH: unhappy (incl. ‘very’) relative marry Catholic		6
MARRPROT: VERY unhappy relative marry Protestant		0
MARRPROT: unhappy (incl. ‘very’) relative marry Protestant		1

Source: SSAS 2003. DK’s & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

So the minorities accurately understand that social exclusion applies quite extensively to Muslim Pakistanis but hardly at all to the English. But the perception that ‘most ordinary Scots’ would be unhappy to have a Muslim Pakistani for a relative is not supported in our interviews with the majority.

Of course, there is the possibility that SSAS respondents were too embarrassed to give anything but the ‘politically correct’ answer. We could ignore what people say and impose our own prejudices upon them. But this theory of ‘political correctness’ cannot adequately explain the numbers of majority Scots (26 percent) who went so far as to say they would be ‘very’ happy to have a Muslim Pakistani relative. Still less could it explain why the numbers of majority Scots who say they would be ‘very’ happy to have a Muslim Pakistani relative is so close to the number (33 percent) who say they would be ‘very’ happy to have an English relative – though even that is significantly lower than the numbers (approximately .44 percent) who say they would be ‘very’ happy to have a Catholic or Protestant relative. Mindless scepticism seems a bad bet.

Given the way that the majority spread themselves across the four response categories on questions about the English and Muslim Pakistanis it seems reasonable to stick with our original conclusion: the minorities accurately perceive more social exclusion with respect to Muslim Pakistanis than to the English, but they overestimate its extent.

Perceptions of conflict

We also looked at minority perceptions of conflict with majority Scots, using perceptions of Catholic/Protestant sectarian conflict as a benchmark. In focus-groups, participants would not comment on Catholic/Protestant or Scots/English conflicts without spontaneously specifying whether the context was sport or something else. So in the minorities survey we asked: ‘Thinking now about Protestants and Catholics in Scotland – apart from football and sport, how serious would you say conflict between them is?’ And in similar format: ‘about the Scots and the English – apart from football and sport, how serious would you say conflict between them is?’ About perceptions of conflict ‘between Muslims and non-Muslims’ there is no need to specify sport or non-sport as the context.

Over twice as many Pakistanis (39 percent) as English (16 percent) feel there is at least ‘fairly serious conflict’ between themselves and the majority of Scots. But 43 percent of Pakistanis and 37 percent of the English rate the sectarian conflict as at least ‘fairly serious’. So both feel their own conflict with majority Scots is less serious than the sectarian divide, though the English rate it as much less serious and the Pakistanis as only marginally less serious than the sectarian conflict. Nonetheless even after the Islamophobia generated by 9/11, Scottish Muslims rate their conflict with non-Muslims as no more serious, indeed slightly less serious, than the sectarian conflict.

Indeed each minority rated its conflict with majority Scots as less serious than the other minority’s conflict with majority Scots.

Table A4: Minorities see their conflict with Scots as less serious than the sectarian divide

		Views of English-born in Scotland %	Views of Ethnic Pakistanis in Scotland %
Conflict between Scots and English (excl sport) is...	very serious	2	(13)
	at least fairly serious	16	(43)
Conflict between non-Muslims and Muslims in Scotland is...	very serious	(6)	6
	at least fairly serious	(36)	39
BENCHMARK: Conflict between Protestants and Catholics (excl sport) is...	very serious	8	15
	at least fairly serious	37	43

Source: Minorities survey by Hussain & Miller. DK’s & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

And although considerable numbers of Scottish Pakistanis (39 percent) do rate conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland as ‘fairly serious’, 77 percent of Scottish Pakistanis rate such conflict in England as ‘fairly serious’, and 93 percent rate such conflict around the world as ‘fairly serious’. At far lower levels, only six percent of Scottish Pakistanis rate conflict with non-Muslims in Scotland as ‘very serious’, but 32 percent of Scottish Pakistanis rate such conflict at that level in England, and 68 percent ‘around the world’. Looking out from their Scottish vantage-point, Scottish Muslims see Scotland as a relatively (if only relatively) safe-haven.

To summarise: Pakistanis sense more conflict with majority Scots than do the English. But Pakistanis nonetheless feel that their conflict with majority Scots is marginally less serious than Scots/English or Catholic/Protestant conflicts in Scotland – and far less serious than Muslim/non-Muslim conflicts in England or elsewhere.

Table A5. Minorities see less conflict with Muslims in Scotland than in England, and less in England than elsewhere

	Views of English-born in Scotland %	Views of Ethnic Pakistanis in Scotland %
Conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims <u>in Scotland</u> is...		
very serious	(6)	6
at least fairly serious	(36)	39
Conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims <u>in England</u> is...		
very serious	(20)	32
at least fairly serious	(72)	77
Conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims <u>around the world</u> is...		
very serious	(47)	68
at least fairly serious	(95)	93

Source: Minorities survey by Hussain & Miller. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages. Figures in brackets are less important to the argument in the text.

How do minority and majority perceptions of mutual conflict compare? Majority Scots agree with the minorities that conflict with either minority is less serious than conflict between Protestants and Catholics. Like the minorities themselves they rate conflict with Muslims somewhat less serious than sectarian conflict and conflict with the English far less serious than sectarian conflict.

Like Scottish Muslims themselves, majority Scots also rate conflict with Muslims in England as far worse than in Scotland; and far worse across the rest of the world than in England.

Where majority Scots do differ from the minorities is on their absolute assessment of the seriousness of these conflicts. Majority Scots rate conflict with the English as rather more serious than the English minority themselves rate it. But majority Scots are much less likely than Muslims themselves to rate conflict with Muslims as ‘very’ serious – whether in Scotland, England or across the world – though they are only slightly less likely than Muslims themselves to rate it as at least ‘fairly serious’.

In summary: Compared to the minorities, majority Scots over-emphasise conflict with the English and under-emphasise conflict with Muslims.

Table A6: Majority perceptions of conflict with minorities

	Views of Majority Scots	
	about English minority	about Muslim minority
	%	%
CONCTHPR: VERY serious conflict between Catholics & Protestants in Scotland		10
CONCTHPR: serious conflict (incl. 'very') Catholics & Protestants in Scotland		41
CONMUSSC: VERY serious conflict with English / Muslims in Scotland	5 [3]	4 [8]
CONSC TEN: serious conflict (incl. 'very') with English / Muslims in Scotland	25 [19]	42 [44]
CONMUSEN: VERY serious conflict with Muslims in England		16 [40]
CONMUSEN: serious conflict (incl. 'very') with Muslims in England		72 [76]
CONMUSEN: VERY serious conflict with Muslims in World		33 [74]
CONMUSEN: serious conflict (incl. 'very') with Muslims in World		85 [92]

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Figures in square brackets [] are the comparative figures for the views of the relevant minority.

Recognition and presence

The criteria used to determine whether someone else is a 'true Brit' or a 'true Scot' vary from person to person, but amongst those most frequently cited are birthplace, parentage and race. [CRE; McCrone et al; Paterson pp.117-9]

Over two-fifths (43 percent) of the English-born feel that to be 'truly Scottish' it is essential to be born in Scotland (implying that they themselves can never be 'truly Scottish'). Over a third (36 percent) feel it is essential to have Scottish parents, though relatively few (14 percent) feel it is essential to be white.

Most Pakistanis however do not feel that any of these criteria are essential in order to be a true Scot. Only nine percent feel that parentage matters, and a negligible two percent that race matters. And though many of the Pakistanis in Scotland would themselves meet the birthplace criterion for being a 'true Scot', only a fifth (20 percent) feel that birthplace matters. Most Scottish Pakistanis identify themselves as 'Scottish' with or without being born in Scotland.

But in terms of recognition, even the English minority seem wildly inclusive compared to majority Scots. Two out of three majority Scots (64 percent) feel that to be 'truly Scottish' it is essential to be born in Scotland and 18 percent that it is essential to be white.

Table A7. Majority and minority views on 'true Brits', 'true Scots'

	Views of Majority in Scotland	Views of English-born in Scotland	Views of Ethnic Pakistanis in Scotland
	%	%	%
To be truly British it is necessary...			
to be born in Britain	67	39	19
to have British parents	na	32	8
to be white	15	8	3
To be truly Scottish it is necessary...			
to be born in Scotland	64	43	20
to have Scottish parents	na	36	9
to be white	18	14	2
<u>Minorities survey: 'truly Scottish' people should have special rights and duties</u>	33*	1	1
<u>SSAS (majority Scots): passports only for 'true Scots'</u>			

Source: Minorities survey by Hussain & Miller. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

* Note difference of question put to majority by SSAS

But irrespective almost all our minority respondents, feel that all permanent residents of Scotland should enjoy the same rights – and bear the same responsibilities – irrespective of whether they are ‘truly Scottish’ or not. We cited ‘rights like being able to vote in parliamentary elections, and duties like serving in the armed forces’.

We do not have an exactly comparable question in the SSAS but, in the event of Scottish independence, one third of majority Scots (33 percent) would deny ‘a Scottish passport and full citizenship’ to anyone they did not regard as ‘truly Scottish’. (Majority Scots are clearly much less inclusive than the SNP whose policy is that all persons resident in Scotland on the day of independence should be entitled to a Scottish passport.)

Perhaps ‘rights and duties’ question is too abstract and the ‘passport on independence’ question too hypothetical. Perhaps they do not provide a direct comparison. Nonetheless they imply that at least two-thirds of majority Scots along with a larger, perhaps very much larger, proportion of both minorities dissociate equal citizenship from national identity.

Majority Scots are apprehensive that ‘Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more English /Muslim people came to live in Scotland’. And despite the huge imbalance in numbers of English and Muslims already living in Scotland, majority Scots are rather more apprehensive about an influx of Muslims (52 percent) than English (42 percent). In a period dominated by President Bush’s ‘war on terrorism’, just over half of majority Scots (55 percent) say Muslims have ‘not done a great deal to condemn terrorism’.

But despite these concerns, majority Scots claim to see advantages in a multicultural society: only 19 percent think it is better for people in a country ‘to share the same customs, religions and traditions’ than for there ‘to be a variety’. There is little nostalgia for a homogeneous unified Scottish culture.

Table A8: Majority apprehensions about Scotland’s identity

	Views of Majority in Scotland	
	about English minority	about Muslim minority
	%	%
IDLOSEM: Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more English / Muslims came to live in Scotland	42	52
TERROR: Muslims in Britain have <u>not</u> done great deal to condemn Islamic terror	na	55
SHARECUS: better if all share the same customs, religion and traditions		19

Source: SSAS 2003. DK’s & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Overwhelmingly majority Scots support the extension of anti-discrimination laws from race and gender to religion and sub-UK origin: that is to cover discrimination against Muslims or the English within Scotland – though they are very slightly more in favour of protecting Muslims (86 percent) than the English (82 percent).

Similarly majority Scots are sympathetic to having English and Muslim MSPs in the Scottish Parliament – though while they are fairly evenly divided about the need for English MSPs they favour Muslim MSPs by over two to one. (There are of course a good number of English MSPs in the Scottish Parliament, but no Muslims.).

Table A9: Majority backs anti-discrimination laws

	SSAS	
	Views of Majority about Muslim minority	Views of Majority in Scotland about English minority
	%	%
DISCRIMM: shld be law against Anti-Muslim/ Anti-English discr		
definitely should	69	67
probably should	17	15
probably should not	8	9
definitely should not	6	8
MSPENG: Muslim / English-born MSPs		
should be	69	54
should not	31	46
	note: large DK/does not matter	(53) (58)

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Explaining Anglophobia and Islamophobia

Key factors underlying phobias

The usual explanation of racist or ethnic phobias is simply 'small-mindedness', parochialism rather than cosmopolitanism, brought on by living a personally restricted life. Personal contact with minorities and knowledge about them could in principle make people either more or less favourable towards them depending upon the nature of these contacts. Some personal interactions are antagonistic. But often contact and knowledge foster a more cosmopolitan and sympathetic outlook.

Class and more especially education are key social variables underlying parochialism and cosmopolitanism. Generation, rather than age per se, could also be significant. The development of mass media (especially television) and (cheap) mass transport have globalised the world of the average person to an unprecedented degree and perhaps eroded the impact of class and education by providing much greater access to cosmopolitan ideas – a generational shift.

Age itself has a different and more limited impact, related to the employment cycle: the old may have grown up in a less cosmopolitan era, but they have less to fear from economic competition, especially if they have already retired. Similarly, gender plays a potentially ambiguous role since women have traditionally (if no longer) combined more parochial perspectives with a more sympathetic outlook.

But whatever its social foundations, parochial nationalism goes naturally with racist and ethnic phobias. We have argued elsewhere that 'multicultural nationalism' is an 'oxymoron' – though we have also argued that, thanks to the conscious efforts of political elites in Scotland – notably including the SNP – Scotland is making some progress towards 'implementing this oxymoron'. Nonetheless there is an inescapable tension between nationalism and multiculturalism and a historic tendency for them to prove incompatible. Pulzer [p.287] argues that nationalism is often 'inspired... by the urge to emancipate' but that its 'logical conclusion' is very different. The genuinely inclusive 'civic' nationalism of the

Scottish political elite may not apply 'on the street'. So it seems essential to investigate any connection between 'street-level' nationalism and racial or ethnic phobias.

Tabulating the attitudes of majority Scots towards the minorities by contacts and knowledge, class, education, age and generation, gender and nationalism suggests that education is more important than class, and that gender does not in fact have much impact at all. So we will focus on:

1. contacts and knowledge
2. age and generation
3. education
4. nationalism
5. religion

Strictly comparative measures of Anglophobia and Islamophobia

Finally it seems likely that while generally parochial attitudes might encourage both anglophobia and islamophobia, some causal factors may have more impact on the one than the other. The English are less culturally different than Muslim Pakistanis but, as the key 'significant other', England has a far larger role than Pakistan or Islam in defining Scottish identity itself. Thus sheer parochialism might have a greater impact on Islamophobia than on Anglophobia, while Scottish nationalism might have a greater impact on Anglophobia than on Islamophobia. So we will compare the impact of each of these factors on Anglophobia with its impact on Islamophobia.

We use five indicators of comparative Anglophobia or Islamophobia:

- E1/M1: feeling that the English or Muslims 'take jobs, housing and health care from other people in Scotland'
- E2/M2: feeling that the English or Muslims 'could never be really committed to Scotland'
- E3/M3: feeling that the English or Muslims 'are more loyal to England' or to 'other Muslims around the world' than they are to Scotland'
- E4/M4: feeling that 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity' if more English or Muslims came to live in Scotland'
- E5/M5: say they 'would feel unhappy if a close relative of married or formed a long-term relationship with an English person now living in Scotland' or 'with a Muslim'

In addition we have four indicators that do not specify a particular minority, though they may apply more to one than the other:

- EM6: feel that, if Scotland became independent, 'only people who in your view are truly Scottish should be entitled to a Scottish passport and full Scottish citizenship'
- EM7: feel it is 'better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs, religions and traditions'
- EM8: feel that 'to be truly Scottish you have to have been born in Scotland'
- EM9: feel that 'to be truly Scottish you have to be white – rather than Black or Asian'

And one indicator that applies only to Muslims:

- M10: feeling that 'Muslims living in Britain have not done a great deal to condemn Islamic terrorism'

To measure overall minority-phobia we use the average of these 15 indicators. To compare Anglophobia with Islamophobia we contrast the average of E1-5 with the average of M1-5, excluding the five unspecific or non-comparable indicators. Excluding those with no opinion

or mixed opinions, an average of 42 percent amongst majority Scots agree with all 15 indicators E1-5 (minority-phobia). An average of 38 percent agree with E1-5 (Anglophobia), an average of 49 percent agree with M1-5 (Islamophobia). So, on strictly comparable indicators, Anglophobia runs just 11 percent behind Islamophobia.

Contacts and Knowledge

As we might expect having a minority friend makes a difference to the attitudes of majority Scots towards minorities. Having a Muslim friend reduces Islamophobia by 21 percent, and having an English friend reduces Anglophobia by 11 percent

Less obviously, having a friend in either minority reduces phobia towards both. That is partly because those who have a friend in one minority are much more likely to also have a friend in the other: 21 percent of those with English friends also have Muslim friends; by contrast only six percent of those without English friends have Muslim friends. Conversely 85 percent of those with Muslim friends also have English friends while only 56 percent of those without Muslim friends have English friends.

Table B1: Impact of friendship on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

	Have M friend	Not	impact		Have E friend	Not	impact
	%	%	%		%	%	%
Anglophobia: average E1-5	29	40	11		34	45	11
Islamophobia: average M1-5	32	53	21		44	56	12
Phobia: av for all 15 indicators	29	44	15		38	48	10

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.
Full tables B1-B6 in Appendix

But knowledge is far more important than friendship because so many majority Scots can be sympathetic towards a minority without actually having a personal friend within it. It is those who lack knowledge – as well as friendship – who are prey to the most intense phobias.

Most Scots know something about the English, but many – by their own account – do not know much about Muslims. Compared to those who have a Muslim friend, those who say they ‘know nothing at all’ about Muslims are 34 percent more Islamophobic.

These ‘know nothings’ are also 18 percent more Anglophobic as well. Not surprisingly only three percent claim to have a Muslim friend. More surprisingly, only 51 percent claim to have an English friend. And the rate of English friendship rises steadily as knowledge of Muslims increases.

Table B2: Impact of knowledge on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

	Have M friend	---- Knowledge about Muslims ----			impact
	%	at least quite a lot	not very much	nothing at all	%
Anglophobia: average E1-5	29	33	35	47	18
Islamophobia: average M1-5	32	41	44	66	34
Phobia: av for all 15 indicators	29	35	38	53	24

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Age and Generation

Age and generation have very little impact on Anglophobia. Only one of the five indicators – doubts about the English minority’s commitment to Scotland – varies consistently across the age cohorts.

But age and generation have a much greater impact on Islamophobia. The old have greater doubts amongst the about Muslims’ commitment to Scotland, and the trend is a fairly consistent across the age cohorts.

The old are also much more apprehensive (21 percent more) that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if there were an influx of Muslims. They are much more likely (24 percent more) to feel that ‘true Scots’ must be white. And by the huge margin of 48 percent they are much more unhappy at the thought of having a Muslim relative. On these three indicators the trend across the cohorts is not consistent: in each case there is a ‘step effect’ at around age 55. So there is a generational effect rather than an age effect on these three indicators. (To a lesser degree there is also a generational cleavage at age 55 on whether ‘true Scots’ must be born in Scotland.)

But in very sharp contrast the old are actually less likely (15 percent less) than the young to fear that Muslims might take jobs, health care and housing from other Scots.

It points to a cultural difference between the generations affecting cultural or racial cosmopolitanism – offset by the old feeling less fear of competition for jobs, purely by reason of age rather than generation.

Table B3: Impact of age and generation on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

	Age-34	45-44	45-54	55-64	65+	impact
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Anglophobia: average E1-5	35	39	37	39	41	6
Islamophobia: average M1-5	42	46	45	55	62	20
Phobia: av for all 15 indicators	37	42	39	45	48	11

Source: SSAS 2003. DK’s & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

This tentative conclusion gains some corroboration from the age-patterns of friendship, knowledge and perceived conflict. The old have much less knowledge of, or friendship with, minorities. That is especially true for the Muslim minority. And again there is a sharp generational cleavage at age 55 – especially with respect to Muslims. But at the same time the old are less likely to perceive serious conflict with either minority – again especially with respect to Muslims. These patterns fit the model of a culture-based generational cleavage at age 55, offset by less fear of conflict amongst the old, by reason of age rather than generation.

Education

Comparing graduates with those who have no educational qualifications it seems that education has more impact than anything else – both on Anglophobia and Islamophobia.

The pattern very consistent but not quite monotonic. From graduates down through levels of school qualifications both Anglophobia and Islamophobia increase steadily. So those without qualifications are 25 percent more Anglophobic and 34 percent more Islamophobic. But those

with ‘higher education below degree level’ are slightly more Anglophobic and Islamophobic than those with the highest level of school qualifications.

Friendship with, and knowledge of, minorities also varies very sharply with education. Compared to those with no qualifications, graduates are 37 percent more likely to have an English friend and 26 percent more (actually 32 percent compared to only six percent) likely to have a Muslim friend.

Table B4: Impact of education on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

	degree	higher educ below degree	A level equiv	O level equiv	CSE equiv	none	Impact
Anglophobia: average E1-5	22	35	30	42	45	47	25
Islamophobia: average M1-5	28	44	38	54	57	62	34
Phobia: av for all 15 indicators	24	38	34	46	48	52	28

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Nationalism

It is important to distinguish between Scottish nationalism (small ‘n’) and Scottish Nationalism (capital ‘N’) – that is between social or cultural nationalism and political nationalism, or between national identity and support for the SNP.

One measure of Scottish nationalism, social or cultural nationalism, or national identity is provided by answers to the ‘Moreno’ question:

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

- 1 Scottish not British
- 2 More Scottish than British
- 3 Equally Scottish and British
- 4 More British than Scottish
- 5 British not Scottish

By 2003 so few majority Scots (as we have defined them above) opt for the last two categories that they cannot be used in any analysis. But the rest distribute themselves across the first three categories: exclusively Scottish, more Scottish, or equally Scottish and British.

Table B5: Impact of national identity on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

	Equally Scot & Brit	More Scottish	Exclusively Scottish	impact
	%	%	%	%
Anglophobia: average E1-5	33	35	46	13
Islamophobia: average M1-5	50	46	54	4
Phobia: av for all 15 indicators	39	39	48	9

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Compared to those who identify equally with Britain and Scotland, the exclusively Scottish are 13 percent more Anglophobic but scarcely any more (only four percent more) Islamophobic. So in contrast to the impact of education – which had significantly more impact on Islamophobia than on Anglophobia, Scottish nationalism has a greater impact on Anglophobia than on Islamophobia.

Although its impact is not very large, such as it is, the impact of Scottish nationalism – in complete contrast to the impact of low education – seems to be specifically Anglophobic, focused on the historic enemy, the ‘significant other’ that helps define Scottish identity, rather than on minorities that differ more in terms of race, religion or culture from the majority Scots.

Political nationalism, Scottish Nationalism, support for the SNP – or antagonism towards it – can be measured by voting behaviour. We use the voting choices (and abstention) of majority Scots at the 2001 General Election. Both Anglophobia and Islamophobia are lowest amongst Liberal Democrat voters. But while Anglophobia is highest amongst SNP voters, Islamophobia is highest amongst Conservatives.

Anglophobia amongst SNP voters is 10 percent higher than amongst Conservatives (and 16 percent higher than amongst Liberal Democrats). Conversely Islamophobia is seven percent higher amongst Conservatives than amongst SNP voters (and 20 percent higher than amongst Liberal Democrats).

Patterns of personal friendship tell the same story: Conservatives are 11 percent more likely than SNP voters to have an English friend, but three percent less likely than SNP voters to have a Muslim friend. But Liberal Democrats are around ten percent more likely than any others both to have English friends (9 percent more) and to have Muslim friends (12 percent more).

Non-voters come second only to SNP voters on Anglophobia, and second only to Conservatives on Islamophobia.

Many English people in Scotland vote Conservative of course, and few vote SNP. So it is important to stress that our analysis of the link between party support and Anglophobia is based – like all our other analyses of Anglophobia and Islamophobia – entirely on majority Scots. It is Conservatives from amongst the majority Scots (born in Scotland and with Scottish-born partners) who are so much less Anglophobic than other majority Scots.

Table B6: Impact of political nationalism on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

	Vote at 2001 General Election					Hi	Lo	SNP – CON
	CON	LAB	LibD	SNP	DNV			
	%	%	%	%	%			
Anglophobia: average E1-5	33	38	27	43	40	SNP	LD	10
Islamophobia: average M1-5	55	48	35	48	51	CON	LD	-7
Phobia: av for all 15 indicators	43	40	31	45	44	SNP	LD	2

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Conclusions: Anglophobia and Islamophobia in Scotland

- **Ignorance is asymmetric.** Minorities know majority Scots (ie self & partner Scottish-born, 'white', not Muslim) far better than vice versa.
 - **Friends.** Only 60% of majority Scots have an English-born friend and far less, only 15% a Muslim friend. Fully 86% know little or nothing about Muslims. But 95% of the English-born minority and 78% of Pakistani Muslims have 'close' friends amongst majority Scots.
 - **Minorities have 'eyes wide open'.** The minorities have very accurate perceptions of the extent of Anglophobia or Islamophobia amongst majority Scots.
- **For majority Scots, birth is more important than race for being 'truly Scottish'.**
 - **To be 'truly Scottish',** 18% of majority Scots feel it is necessary to be 'white' and 64% to have been 'born in Scotland'. If Scotland became independent, 33% feel only people who were 'truly Scottish' should be entitled 'to a Scottish passport and full Scottish citizenship'.
- **But amongst majority Scots, Islamophobia is greater than Anglophobia – though not by much:** on five strictly comparable indicators, Anglophobia runs just 11% behind Islamophobia – at 49% compared to 38%.
 - **Islamophobia.** About a third (30%) feel Muslims 'take jobs, housing and health care from other people in Scotland'. Half (53%) feel Muslims 'could never be really committed to Scotland. Four-fifths (79%) feel Muslims 'are more loyal to other Muslims around the world' than they are to Scotland. Half (52%) feel 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity' if more Muslims came to live in Scotland. And a third (32%) 'would feel unhappy if a close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with a Muslim'. (These % average 49%)
 - **Anglophobia.** Nonetheless, about a fifth (18%) also feel the English 'take jobs, housing and health care from other people in Scotland'. Two-fifths (44%) feel the English 'could never be really committed to Scotland. Four-fifths (81%) feel the English 'are more loyal to England' than they are to Scotland. Two-fifths (42%) feel 'Scotland would begin to lose its identity' if more English came to live in Scotland – though few (only 5%) 'would feel unhappy if a close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with an English person now living in Scotland'. (These % average 38%)
- **Phobias go together.** Anything that encourages one phobia tends to encourage the other – though not necessarily to the same degree.
 - **Friends and knowledge.** Having an English friend reduces Anglophobia by 11% and Islamophobia by 12%. Having a Muslim friend reduces Islamophobia by 21% – but it also reduces Anglophobia by 11%. Knowing 'nothing at all' about Muslims increases Islamophobia by 34% – but also increases Anglophobia by 18%.
 - **Age and generation.** Being old increases Anglophobia by only 6% but Islamophobia by 20%. There is a sharp generational cleavage at around age 55 years: those over 55 are less concerned about economic competition from Muslims, but they are three times as likely as those under 55 to be unhappy at having a Muslim in the family.
 - **Education.** Education is the key social determinant of both phobias. High education reduces Anglophobia by 25% and Islamophobia by more, 34%.
 - **Nationalism.** Nationalism increases phobias. But it has less impact than education. And in sharp contrast to education it has more impact on Anglophobia than on Islamophobia. Compared to those who feel 'equally Scottish and British' those who feel exclusively Scottish are 13% more Anglophobic, but only a mere 4% more Islamophobic. Liberal Democrat voters are the least Anglophobic and also the least Islamophobic. But while SNP voters are the most Anglophobic (16% more so than LibDems), it is Conservative voters who are the most Islamophobic (12% more so than LibDems). Non-voters come second only to SNP voters on Anglophobia, and second only to Conservatives on Islamophobia.

Appendix: FULL TABLES B1-B6

Table B1: Impact of friendship on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

		Have M friend	Not	impact	Have E friend	Not	impact
		%	%	%	%	%	%
E1	E take jobs	13	19	6	15	24	9
E2	E not really committed to S	30	47	17	38	55	17
E3	E more loyal to own	74	83	9	76	89	13
E4	S lose identity if more E came	26	45	19	40	46	6
E5	unhappy if relative marry E	1	5	4	2	9	7
	<i>Anglophobia: average E1-5</i>	29	40	11	34	45	11
M1	M take jobs	20	32	12	25	36	11
M2	M not really committed to S	34	57	23	48	61	13
M3	M more loyal to own	65	82	17	74	86	12
M4	S lose identity if more M came	30	56	26	49	57	8
M5	unhappy if relative marry M	13	36	23	26	41	15
	<i>Islamophobia: average M1-5</i>	32	53	21	44	56	12
EM6	passports only for true Scots	26	34	8	31	35	4
EM7	better share customs	7	21	14	17	22	5
EM8	true Scots must be born in S	45	68	23	60	71	11
EM9	true Scots must be white	5	21	16	15	24	9
M10	Muslims not condemned terror	50	57	7	54	58	4
	<i>Phobia: av for all 15 indicators</i>	29	44	15	38	48	10

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Table B2: Impact of knowledge on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

		Have M friend	---- Knowledge about Muslims ----			impact
		%	at least quite a lot	not very much	nothing at all	%
E1	E take jobs	13	14	16	25	12
E2	E not really committed to S	30	39	40	60	30
E3	E more loyal to own	74	74	79	89	15
E4	S lose identity if more E came	26	33	39	53	27
E5	unhappy if relative marry E	1	5	3	9	8
	<i>Anglophobia: average E1-5</i>	29	33	35	47	18
M1	M take jobs	20	19	24	49	29
M2	M not really committed to S	34	50	45	74	40
M3	M more loyal to own	65	74	74	90	25
M4	S lose identity if more M came	30	39	49	66	36
M5	unhappy if relative marry M	13	24	26	49	36
	<i>Islamophobia: average M1-5</i>	32	41	44	66	34
EM6	passports only for true Scots	26	29	32	36	10
EM7	better share customs	7	13	18	23	16
EM8	true Scots must be born in S	45	55	61	77	32
EM9	true Scots must be white	5	12	14	31	26
M10	Muslims not condemned terror	50	46	55	64	14
	<i>Phobia: av for all 15 indicators</i>	29	35	38	53	24
	Have a Muslim friend	100	52	12	3	
	Have an English friend	85	70	63	51	

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Table B3: Impact of age and generation on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

		Age-34	45-44	45-54	55-64	65+	impact
		%	%	%	%	%	%
E1	E take jobs	18	21	14	21	16	-2
E2	E not really committed to S	36	42	46	45	57	19
E3	E more loyal to own	84	81	79	81	82	-2
E4	S lose identity if more E came	35	46	43	44	43	8
E5	unhappy if relative marry E	4	7	3	5	5	1
	<i>Anglophobia: average E1-5</i>	35	39	37	39	41	6
M1	M take jobs	37	29	26	32	22	-15
M2	M not really committed to S	42	50	55	51	75	33
M3	M more loyal to own	72	79	75	85	84	12
M4	S lose identity if more M came	43	47	50	61	64	21
M5	unhappy if relative marry M	16	23	19	48	64	48
	<i>Islamophobia: average M1-5</i>	42	46	45	55	62	20
EM6	passports only for true Scots	29	39	35	31	29	0
EM7	better share customs	17	19	16	20	22	5
EM8	true Scots must be born in S	59	65	60	70	69	10
EM9	true Scots must be white	12	14	14	22	36	24
M10	Muslims not condemned terror	55	62	51	55	53	-2
	<i>Phobia: av for all 15 indicators</i>	37	42	39	45	48	11
	E friend	66	66	60	55	51	
	M friend	24	18	19	8	4	
	know nothing at all about Muslims	26	20	22	32	44	
E	fairly serious conflict with E	26	28	28	21	21	
M	fairly serious conflict with M	50	44	38	36	37	

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Table B4: Impact of education on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

		degree	higher educ below degree	A level equiv	O level equiv	CSE equiv	none	Impact
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
E1	E take jobs	7	14	11	22	24	26	19
E2	E not really committed to S	21	45	28	45	52	63	41
E3	E more loyal to own	53	75	81	84	93	89	36
E4	S lose identity if more E came	26	39	30	54	48	51	25
E5	unhappy if relative marry E	3	2	1	6	8	7	4
	<i>Anglophobia: average E1-5</i>	22	35	30	42	45	47	25
M1	M take jobs	7	24	22	43	37	39	32
M2	M not really committed to S	27	49	43	55	65	67	40
M3	M more loyal to own	58	80	75	82	86	83	25
M4	S lose identity if more M came	32	44	37	61	61	67	35
M5	unhappy if relative marry M	17	24	11	31	38	56	39
	<i>Islamophobia: average M1-5</i>	28	44	38	54	57	62	34
EM6	passports only for true Scots	13	30	37	37	32	38	25
EM7	better share customs	11	15	14	19	24	24	13
EM8	true Scots must be born in S	41	64	55	68	70	77	36
EM9	true Scots must be white	3	17	8	19	24	31	28
M10	Muslims not condemned terror	36	50	53	70	59	63	27
	<i>Phobia: av for all 15 indicators</i>	24	38	34	46	48	52	28
	E friend	78	71	66	66	56	41	
	M friend	32	21	20	12	8	6	
	know nothing at all about M	9	13	23	28	31	48	
E	fairly serious conflict with E	12	21	21	25	32	32	
M	fairly serious conflict with M	39	45	40	44	44	39	

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Table B5: Impact of national identity on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

		Equally Scot & Brit	More Scottish	Exclusively Scottish	impact
		%	%	%	%
E1	E take jobs	11	14	28	17
E2	E not really committed to S	37	37	59	22
E3	E more loyal to own	77	81	87	10
E4	S lose identity if more E came	36	42	48	12
E5	unhappy if relative marry E	3	3	8	5
	<i>Anglophobia: average E1-5</i>	33	35	46	13
M1	M take jobs	26	25	40	14
M2	M not really committed to S	54	51	56	2
M3	M more loyal to own	79	74	84	5
M4	S lose identity if more M came	53	51	56	3
M5	unhappy if relative marry M	38	28	36	-2
	<i>Islamophobia: average M1-5</i>	50	46	54	4
EM6	passports only for true Scots	24	31	43	19
EM7	better share customs	22	15	22	0
EM8	true Scots must be born in S	57	65	71	14
EM9	true Scots must be white	17	19	21	4
M10	Muslims not condemned terror	53	49	65	12
	<i>Phobia: av for all 15 indicators</i>	39	39	48	9

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Table B6: Impact of political nationalism on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

		Vote at 2001 General Election					Hi	Lo	SNP - CON
		CON	LAB	LibD	SNP	DNV			
		%	%	%	%	%			
E1	E take jobs	18	17	11	22	18	SNP	LD	4
E2	E not really committed to S	34	47	28	47	46	SNP	LD	13
E3	E more loyal to own	76	82	62	83	88	DNV	LD	7
E4	S lose identity if more E came	37	39	33	53	45	SNP	LD	16
E5	unhappy if relative marry E	1	4	2	12	4	SNP	CON	11
	<i>Anglophobia: average E1-5</i>	33	38	27	43	40	SNP	LD	10
M1	M take jobs	24	29	11	29	39	DNV	LD	5
M2	M not really committed to S	55	53	23	46	60	DNV	LD	-9
M3	M more loyal to own	85	78	72	76	80	CON	LD	-9
M4	S lose identity if more M came	62	50	43	55	52	CON	LD	-7
M5	unhappy if relative marry M	47	32	24	36	25	CON	LD	-11
	<i>Islamophobia: average M1-5</i>	55	48	35	48	51	CON	LD	-7
EM6	passports only for true Scots	37	28	28	41	36	SNP	LD/LAB	-1
EM7	better share customs	24	14	15	27	18	CON	LAB	3
EM8	true Scots must be born in S	59	66	54	67	67	SNP/DNV	LD	8
EM9	true Scots must be white	23	17	15	22	19	CON	LD	-4
M10	Muslims not condemned terror	60	47	45	61	64	DNV	LD	1
	<i>Phobia: av for all 15 indicators</i>	43	40	31	45	44	SNP	LD	2
	M friend	11	11	26	14	23			3
	E friend	66	53	75	55	66			-11

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.

Table B???: Impact of religion on Anglophobia & Islamophobia

	OWN RELIGION →	CoS /presbyterian	Roman Catholic	No religion	Impact
		%	%	%	%
E1	E take jobs	14	26	20	-6
E2	E not really committed to S	49	55	38	11
E3	E more loyal to own	83	78	82	1
E4	S lose identity if more E came	49	42	40	9
E5	unhappy if relative marry E	6	3	4	2
	<i>Anglophobia: average E1-5</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>3</i>
M1	M take jobs	29	35	29	0
M2	M not really committed to S	56	61	49	7
M3	M more loyal to own	84	87	72	12
M4	S lose identity if more M came	65	54	42	23
M5	unhappy if relative marry M	47	33	18	29
	<i>Islamophobia: average M1-5</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>14</i>
EM6	passports only for true Scots	35	30	32	3
EM7	better share customs	22	15	17	5
EM8	true Scots must be born in S	73	64	58	15
EM9	true Scots must be white	25	19	13	12
M10	Muslims not condemned terror	60	66	49	11
	<i>Phobia: av for all 15 indicators</i>				
	E friend	57	51	64	-7
	M friend	9	17	18	-9
	know nothing at all about M	31	26	28	3
E	fairly serious conflict with E	23	26	29	-6
M	fairly serious conflict with M	37	42	45	-8

Source: SSAS 2003. DK's & undecided excluded from calculation of percentages.