**National Centre
for Social Research**

Public attitudes towards immigration and minority ethnic groups

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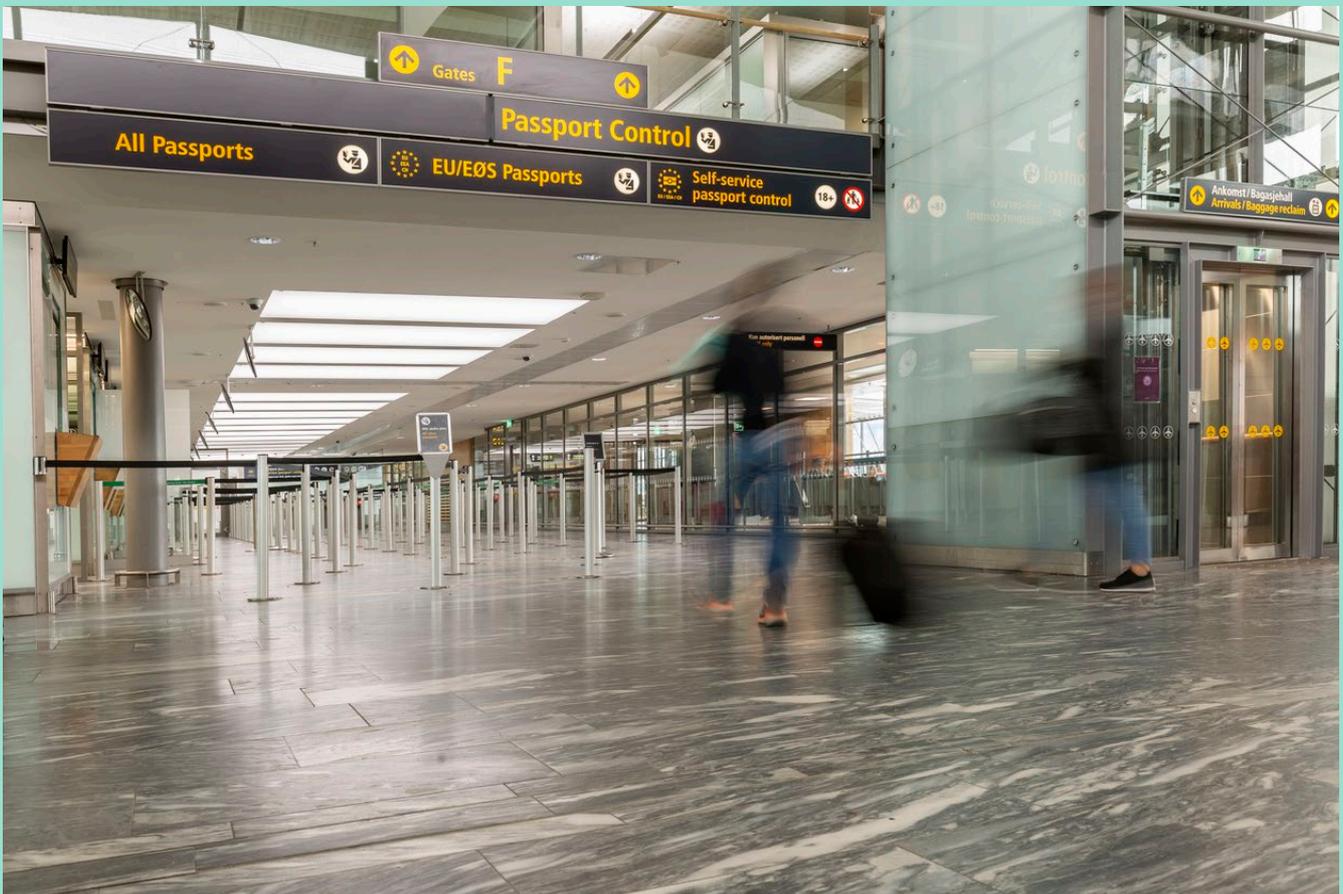
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Executive summary

This report explores public attitudes towards immigration and minority ethnic groups. To do so it draws on data from the NatCen Opinion Panel which asked a representative sample of the UK's adult population about their attitudes towards different minority groups as well as on broad policy questions. Having explored the landscape of people's attitudes it then identifies underlying clusters of people with similar views across these topics. The aim of this is to create a typology of people based on their attitudes which captures the key elements of their views on this topic while also being simple enough that it is readily interpretable for different audiences.

A mixed picture

The first chapter describes a mixed picture of attitudes to immigration and minority ethnic and cultural groups. Of the three groups asked about in the survey – Black people, immigrants and Muslims – UK adults were more likely to feel positive "in general" towards them than to feel negatively. Similarly, in the three scenarios asked about in which people could find themselves with a person belonging to one of the minority groups, either married to a relative, living next door, or as their boss, a majority said they would be comfortable in each situation.

However, there were also sizeable minorities with more negative attitudes. For example, 6% of people felt negatively "in general" towards Black people, 16% towards Muslims and 20% towards immigrants. Of the three groups, people were more favourable in their attitudes towards Black people than either immigrants or Muslims, although attitudes towards Muslims and immigrants have improved over time whilst those towards Black people had become less favourable.

When asked about immigration policy people were more likely to have either neutral or negative views. People were more likely to say that the number of immigrants to the UK should be reduced than that it should be increased (42% compared to 29%). When asked about illegal immigration, two thirds (65%) felt the government should do more to exclude illegal immigrants, compared to 15% who disagreed. However, when asked about the general impact of immigration on society just under half of UK adults felt the impact of immigration on society was positive in all of the different areas asked about (ranging from culture to access to public services), and only a minority (between 15% and 29% depending on the area) reported that the impact of immigration would be negative. It should also be noted that beliefs about the impact of immigration on society, after remaining fairly stable in the 2000s, have become more favourable from 2016 onwards.

Turning to immigrants and ethnic minority groups already in the UK, most people either thought efforts to give them equal opportunities had not gone far enough (reported by 28% to 35%) or that they were about right (38% to 48%). It was a minority view, albeit a substantial one, that efforts to promote equal opportunities had gone too far – reported by between 18% and 29% of people. On the other hand, a majority of respondents thought **other people** in society viewed Black people, Muslims and immigrants as receiving "special treatment which makes things more difficult for others in Britain" at least some of the time. They were most likely to believe this with respect to immigrants, with 46% reporting **others in society** felt this way towards immigrants always or usually, compared to 20% who felt people held this attitude towards black people.

Determining attitudinal classes of people

The second chapter reports the findings of the Latent Class Analysis which identified seven classes of people based on their attitudes towards immigration and minority groups. The first two classes included people with broadly positive attitudes, representing almost half of UK adults:

- **Enthusiastic pluralists** (31%) hold consistently positive attitudes towards the Black people, Muslims, and immigrants, and considers immigration to be having a positive impact on the country.
- **Comfortable inclusives** (16%) are comfortable in personal relationships and fairly positive about the impact of immigration on the country, but neutral in their general feelings towards the three groups.

Three more classes included people who held positive attitudes in some areas and negative views in others, accounting for 32% of the population.

- **Cautious inclusives** (9%) tended to be positive about the impact of immigration on the country, and feel positive towards all three groups in general, but have mixed levels of comfort in specific relationship scenarios – and are particularly likely to be uncomfortable with Muslims.
- **Wary of Muslims** (11%) are fairly neutral towards the impact of immigration, likely to be comfortable with Black people, but uncomfortable with and negative towards Muslims and to a lesser extent immigrants.
- **Immigration Wary** (12%) people are comfortable personally with the three groups but somewhat negative about the impact of immigration on the country.

Lastly, there were two classes which did not fit into either of these groups:

- **Concerned ethnocentrists** (13%) were likely to feel negative "in general" towards these three groups, to be uncomfortable with them, and to think immigration would negatively impact the UK.
- **Neutrals** (8%). People falling in this class were very likely to select the neutral option across all the questions used to create the typology, including their feelings towards the three groups "in general", how comfortable they were with them in different scenarios, and the impact of immigration on the country.

Socio-economic and demographic profiles and class composition

Chapter 3 explores whether the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of people were associated with their memberships to different attitudinal classes. It showed that a range of characteristics were related to a person's class membership.

Younger people, those with higher levels of formal education, those in full-time education or in paid employment, people with better financial circumstances, and those holding a weaker sense of British identity were more likely to be members of classes with positive views, while older people, those with low-levels of academic achievement, the unemployed and the retired, those in more difficult financial conditions, those who had infrequent contact with people from ethnic minority groups, who had few friends from ethnic minority groups, and those holding a stronger sense of British identity were more likely to be members of classes with more negative dispositions.

There was a mixed picture by ethnicity, although it did clearly show that people who identified as white British were more likely to be found in the most negatively disposed group towards immigration and minorities, while all other ethnicities were under-represented in it.

1. Introduction

Over time British society has become more ethnically and culturally diverse (ONS, 2022). As such, how far the general public feels comfortable living alongside and positively disposed to people of other cultures and ethnicities will become increasingly important. In other areas society as a whole has become more liberal, with increasing numbers in favour of, for example, same-sex marriage and starting a family outside of marriage (Frankenburg, Clery, Curtice, 2023). However, the vote to leave the European Union, which was in part motivated by a concern about the levels of immigration into the UK, suggests that significant numbers of people do feel uncomfortable at least with current levels of immigration. More recently, the discussion of the Rwanda asylum plan, a bill seeking to send some asylum seekers to the east African nation to have their claims processed, shows that how the UK manages immigration levels remains a contested issue. This is also a complex area where, at the individual level, attitudes can be mixed. People may hold apparently conflicting attitudes, such as believing immigrants can have a positive economic or cultural impact on society while also believing immigration levels need to be reduced (Dempster, Leach and Hargrave, 2020).

This report explores the public's attitudes towards this important social and policy issue by drawing on new data collected by the NatCen Opinion Panel in 2022, focussing on people's beliefs about immigration and their feelings about minority ethnic and cultural groups. This new survey asks a representative sample of adults in the UK about a range of these issues to provide a rich new resource for understanding public attitudes in this area. Drawing on this and earlier data the report explores key trends in public attitudes over time, the position of the general public on immigration now, and whether it is possible to identify underlying clusters of people with similar views across the different domains asked about.

1.1 Report structure

The report is organised into three chapters. The first provides an overview of the survey data. This covers four areas: how comfortable (or uncomfortable) and positively (or negatively) disposed people are towards Black people, Muslims and immigrants; how people believe **others** in society view these three groups; people's attitudes towards government policy that affects immigration, immigrants and refugees; and whether people believe the impact of immigration on society to be beneficial or harmful in different areas, such as the economy and culture. Where data on the same questions is available from earlier surveys their findings are compared with those from the NatCen Opinion Panel to assess whether attitudes in this area have changed over time.

The second chapter then takes a subset of the questions reported in Chapter 1 to produce a typology of people's attitudes to immigration and ethnic or cultural minorities, grouping people with similar responses across these survey questions. The typology was created using data on how comfortable people are with the three minority groups (Black people, Muslims and immigrants), how negatively or positively they feel towards them, and to what extent they believe immigration is good or bad for the economy, culture and crime. The resulting groups' answers on the questions which had not been used to create the typology were then explored to identify how far these were consistent with the measures included in the building of the typology.

Finally, the third chapter profiles the resulting groups by exploring what socio-demographic groups are more likely to belong in each group and what other individual characteristics, such as living in areas with low numbers of ethnic minorities or political engagement, are associated with group membership.

1.2 Data

The data used in this report is primarily from a survey run through the NatCen Opinion Panel in November-December 2022. The NatCen Opinion Panel provides a probability-based sample of the UK population recruited from people who previously responded to the British Social Attitudes survey.[1] More details of the fieldwork design can be found in Appendix A. This report also draws on data from a previous wave of the NatCen Opinion Panel conducted in 2017 which included a number of the same survey questions allowing for a comparison over time (Abrams, Swift & Houston, 2018). Data from the European Social Survey (ESS) provide an additional point of comparison, using data collected every two years from 2002 to 2020.[2] Similar to the NatCen Opinion Panel, the ESS is a random probability survey; however fieldwork was conducted through face-to-face interviews, which may affect how people answer questions and some caution should be taken when interpreting comparisons.

1.3 Analysis

All findings presented in this report use weighted data to make the findings representative of adults (18+) living in the UK at the time of the survey, by correcting for sampling and non-response bias. Where sub-group analysis is conducted in this report, all comparisons between groups which describe a difference between groups are where a statistically significant difference using a p-value threshold of 0.05 has been found. That is to say, statistical analysis suggests that there is less than a 5% likelihood that the relationships found in the data occurred by chance. If statistically non-significant findings are presented, this is clearly highlighted in the text. The creation of the typology was done using a method called Latent Class Analysis (LCA). More details of LCA, and the other analysis conducted, can be found in Appendix A.

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[1] More detail on the methodology of the NatCen Opinion Panel can be found at https://natcen.ac.uk/centres/natcen-panel

2 Further details on the methodology of the European Society Survey can be found at https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/

2. Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and immigrants

This chapter provides an overview of attitudes towards Black people, Muslims and immigrants among the adult population in the UK and how these have changed over time. This is explored through the two sets of survey questions. The first provides a general sense of attitudes towards these three groups by asking "In general, how negative or positive do you feel towards" each of them. The second asks people to consider more specific situations where they might encounter someone from each of these groups by asking "How comfortable or uncomfortable do you think you would feel if" someone from that group was a) appointed as their boss, b) married to a close relative, or c) moved in next door.

2.1 General feelings towards Black people, Muslims and immigrants

The set of survey questions asking in general about feelings towards Black people, Muslims and immigrants are useful to understand whether some groups are more likely to face prejudice by being perceived in a less positive way (Abrams, Swift & Houston, 2018). These questions had five item responses scales which have been simplified in Figure 1 below to show the percentage of people who were either 'very' or 'fairly positive' – 'NET positive' and the proportion who were either 'very' or 'somewhat negative' – 'NET negative'.

Figure 1 shows that people were more likely to feel positively towards all three groups than they were to feel negatively towards them, but also that of the three groups being considered in this report, Muslims and immigrants are viewed less favourably than Black people. It should be noted, however, that this is quite a sensitive set of survey questions and social desirability bias may play a role in people's responses. For example, people may feel the more socially desirable answer would be to say they feel positively these groups, or they might feel more of a pressure to answer positively about one of these groups than the others.

Figure 1. In general, how negative or positive do you feel towards each of the following groups in Britain?

Population - all GB adults, aged 18+.
Unweighted base: Black People (2165) Muslims (2164) Immigrants (2164).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.
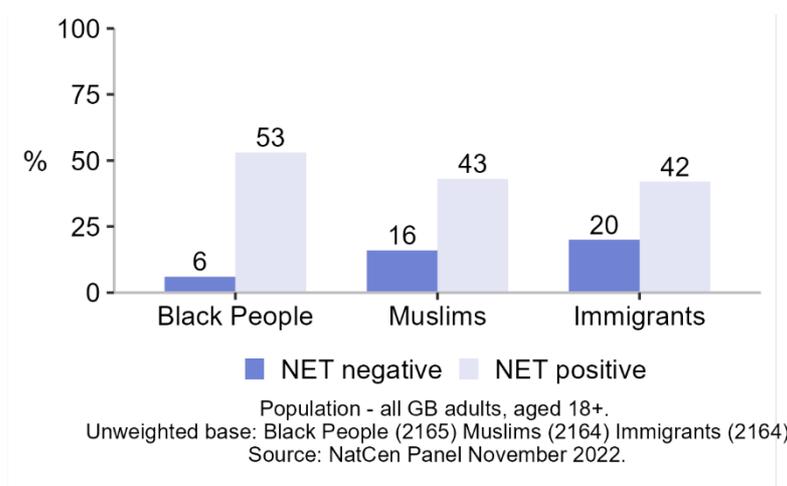
Social distance

The set of questions that measure how comfortable people think they would feel in specific scenarios provide an indication of individuals' willingness to engage with or accept various groups within society. These questions are adapted from items included in the Bogardus's scale of social distance, a tool developed to assess the level of social distance from different groups people would feel comfortable with. This has been applied to the study of ethnic relations, social class and social values more in general (Bogardus, 1925). The three questions asked to NatCen Opinion Panel sample members enquire to what extent they would feel comfortable having someone from one of the groups married to a close relative, move in next door, or appointed as their boss.

Each question had a five item response scales, ranging from 'very uncomfortable' to 'very comfortable' which have been combined into the 'NET comfortable' ('very comfortable' and 'comfortable') and 'NET uncomfortable' ('very uncomfortable' and 'uncomfortable') categories presented in Figure 2, leaving out the 'neither comfortable or uncomfortable' option.

These findings show that a majority of people were comfortable with a Black person, a Muslim person or an immigrant being their boss, neighbour or marrying their close family member, with over half of people being comfortable with every scenario suggested (Figure 2). However, people were more likely to be comfortable, and less likely to be uncomfortable, with a Black person in all of these roles (Figure 2). This was in line with people reporting feeling more positive in general towards Black people compared with Muslims and immigrants (Figure 1).

Unlike in the general question, there were also differences in people's attitudes towards immigrants and Muslims. While a similar percentage of people were uncomfortable with a Muslim or an immigrant being appointed as their boss or moving in next door, people were more likely to report being uncomfortable with a Muslim person marrying one of their close relatives than with an immigrant (Figure 2). These findings show that how comfortable people are varies widely across both these groups but also depending on the roles in question.

Figure 2. How comfortable or uncomfortable do you think you would feel if…
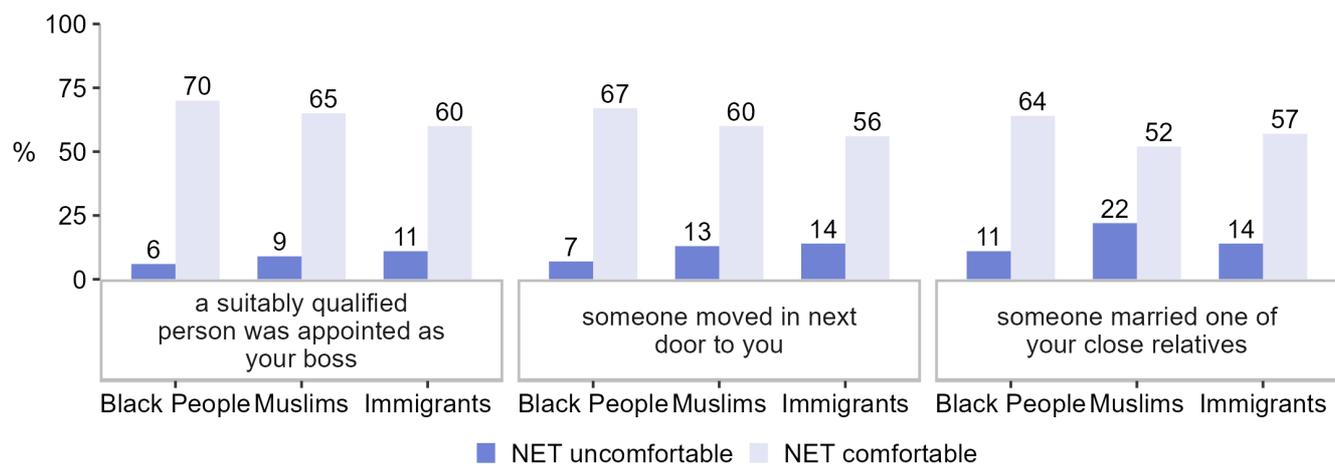
To provide a summary across these three social relationships we counted the number of different areas people feel uncomfortable for each of our three groups of interest. Figure 3 presents the results of this, with most people (in all cases over 70%) not having reported being uncomfortable across all scenarios for the three groups. Of the three groups, people were most likely to have felt uncomfortable with Muslims and immigrants, and were least likely to have said they were uncomfortable with Black people.

Figure 3. Number of situations people are uncomfortable with for each group

Population - all GB adults, aged 18+.
Unweighted base: Black People (2163) Muslims (2158) Immigrants (2161).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.
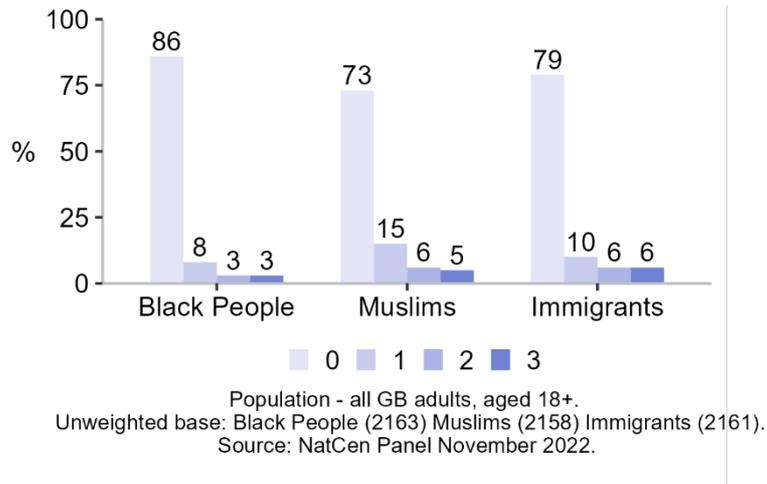
Changes in attitudes since 2017

To explore how attitudes towards these three groups have changed, Figure 4 presents a comparison with a similar set of questions asked on the NatCen Opinion Panel in December 2017 as part of the EHRC Barometer study (Abrams, Swift & Houston, 2018). However, the EHRC Barometer participants were not asked all three questions about each group (Black people, Muslims and immigrants) and comparisons are only made where data are available. This shows that compared with 2017 people have become more comfortable with the idea of ethnic minority people and immigrants being their boss, neighbours or marrying a close relative, which suggests that British people's acceptance of Black people, Muslims and immigrants has increased overtime (Figure 4), although the change in the proportion who felt comfortable with a Black person marrying a close relative was not statistically significant.

Figure 4. The proportion of people who would be 'comfortable' in each scenario, comparing 2017 to 2022

Population - all GB adults, aged 18+.
Unweighted base: Appointed as your boss : Black People: 2017 (1048), 2022 (2167), Muslims: 2017 (1048), 2022 (2164);
Married one of your close relatives : Black People: 2017 (1053), 2022 (2164), Immigrants: 2017 (1124), 2022 (2165);
Moved in next door : Immigrants: 2017 (1126), 2022 (2166), Muslims: 2017 (1050), 2022 (2165).
Source: NatCen Panel – December 2017 and November 2022.

2.2 Beliefs about how society views ethnic minorities and immigrants

To report on people's beliefs about how society views ethnic minorities and immigrants, this section analyses two questions which are repeated in turn about Black people, Muslims and immigrants - whether they are viewed as either "capable" or "friendly" by others. These two questions are from the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) which is based on the idea that people first assess a stranger's intention to either hurt or help them (the warmth dimension) and then their capacity to act on their intentions (competence dimension) (Fisk, et al, 2002). How these two dimensions intersect for a specific group can then be used to assess how this group is viewed (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2007). The two questions had 5-item response scales ranging from "Never viewed that way" to "Always viewed that way", we calculated mean scores based on these two questions to see how each of the groups (Black people, Muslims and immigrants) score on the two dimensions of the SCM (Allstadt Torras, Scheel, & Dorrough, 2023).

Figure 5 presents each group's average friendliness and capability scores plotted against each other. In the Stereotype Content Model, those viewed as being relatively high in competence (capability) and warmth (friendliness) are expected to be viewed with admiration, while groups that are only evaluated highly on one or neither dimension will be perceived less favourably. The combination of high competence and low warmth is expected to be associated with feelings of envy, and the combination of low competence and high warmth with feelings of pity. If a group is viewed negatively across both dimensions, this is hypothesised to be associated with feelings of contempt, resentment and anger (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2007). In Figure 5 we can see that Black people score relatively well on both dimensions meaning that the perception of this group is the most positive. Muslims are perceived by society as less friendly than Black people, but as equally capable. Finally, immigrants are seen as less capable than both other groups and as less friendly than Black people.

Figure 5. Stereotype content model mapping

Population - all GB adults, aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Capable: for Black people (2152) for Muslims (2148) for Immigrants (2151)
Friendly: for Black people (2157) for Muslims (2153) for Immigrants (2149).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

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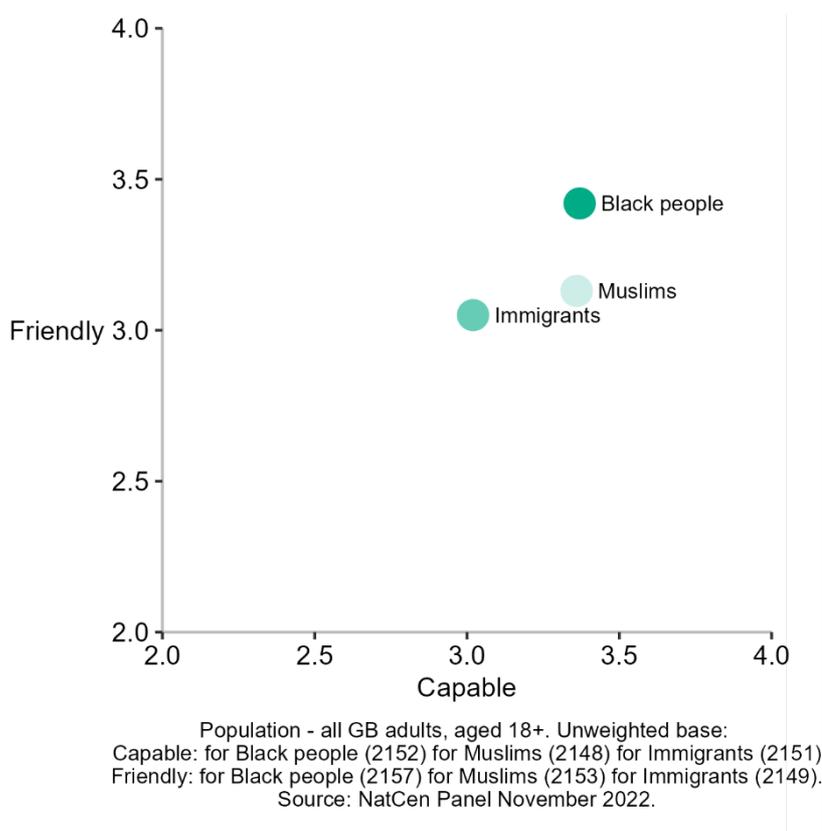
The same set of questions was also asked in the 2017 EHRC Barometer Survey. Comparison with its findings shows that there have been changes in both perceived capability and friendliness for the three groups between 2017 and 2022. Muslim people were perceived as more friendly in 2022 in comparison with 2017 (a mean score of 3.13 compared with 2.95 in 2017) but had a similar mean score for capability. Black people were perceived as less capable in 2022 in comparison with 2017 (3.37 compared with 3.59), but as equally friendly. Finally, immigrants were perceived as more friendly but less capable, although these changes were smaller than those observed for the other groups. Their mean friendliness score increased from 2.97 to 3.05, while their capability score fell from 3.11 to 3.02.

2.3 Attitudes towards government policy

To measure attitudes towards immigration policy, people were asked to think about the following three areas:

- **Measures to exclude illegal immigrants**: people were asked to what extent they agree or disagree that the UK should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants. This question had a five item response scale ranging from 'Strongly disagree' to 'Strongly agree', and we combined answers into three categories: 'NET Disagree' ('Strongly disagree' and 'Disagree'), 'Neither agree nor disagree' and 'NET Agree' ('Strongly agree' and 'Agree').

- **The number of immigrants coming to the UK**: people were asked whether they think that the number of immigrants to the UK nowadays should be increased, remain the same, or reduced. This question had a five item responses scale, ranging from 'Increased a lot' to 'Reduced a lot', and we combined answers into three categories: 'Increased a lot/a little', 'Remain the same as it is' and 'Reduced a little/a lot'.

- **Help for refugees**: people were asked whether they think that the British government should be doing more than, less than, or about the same as it is currently doing to help with the current refugee crisis.

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British people's attitudes to immigrants were mixed and varied depending on the context of the question. Most people (65%) agreed that the UK should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants (Figure 6). However, when people were asked whether the total number of immigrants in general should change less than half (42%) were in favour of reducing the number of immigrants coming to the UK and almost a third (29%) said that the number of immigrants should increase (Figure 6. Moreover, when asked about refugees, 68% of people said that the British government should be doing more than it is currently doing to help with the current refugee crisis, with only 9% in favour of reducing support (compared to 42% who would like lower levels of immigration in general).

Figure 6. Attitudes towards immigration, illegal immigration and refugee policy[3]

Population - all GB adults, aged 18+.
Unweighted base: (2159), (2155), (2167).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.
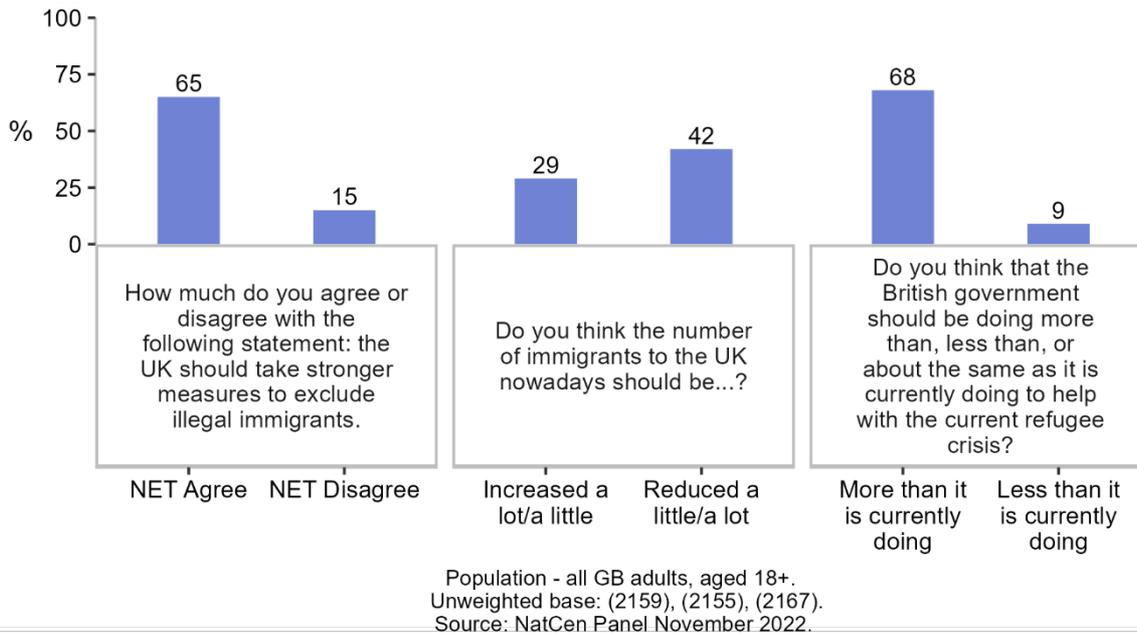
Attitudes to attempts to give equal opportunities to Black people, Muslims and immigrants

Study participants were asked whether "attempts to give equal opportunities to each of the following groups have gone too far or not far enough" about Black people, Muslims and immigrants. These questions had a five item responses scales ranging from 'Gone much too far' to 'Not gone nearly far enough' which have been combined into the three categories: 'NET gone too far' ('Gone much too far' and 'Gone too far'), 'About right and 'NET not gone enough' ('Not gone nearly far enough' and 'Not gone far enough'), shown in Figure 7.

The findings for 2022 show that supportive or neutral attitudes towards attempts to provide equal opportunities for all three groups were reported by a majority of British people. The most commonly reported response in all cases was to say that attempts to give equal opportunities to each of the three groups were "about right", followed by the view that these attempts have not gone far enough. Of the three groups asked about, people were most likely to say that the attempts to give equal opportunities to immigrants have gone too far, followed by Muslims, and were least likely to feel this way about Black people.

Comparison with the findings from the EHRC Barometer Survey, collected in 2017, show that people's view of policies to support Muslims and immigrants have become more favourable over time, with fewer people saying that attempts to give equal opportunities to these two groups have gone too far, although policies to support Muslims and immigrants are still viewed more negatively than policies to support Black people. While attitudes towards attempts to promote equal opportunities for Black people remain the most positive in 2022, they have become less favourable since 2017, with the percentage who feel they have gone too far increasing from 11% to 18%.

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[3] We did not include the middle categories in the charts to simplify the visualisations and focus on the main findings only

Figure 7. Have attempts to give equal opportunities to each of the following groups gone too far or not far enough?
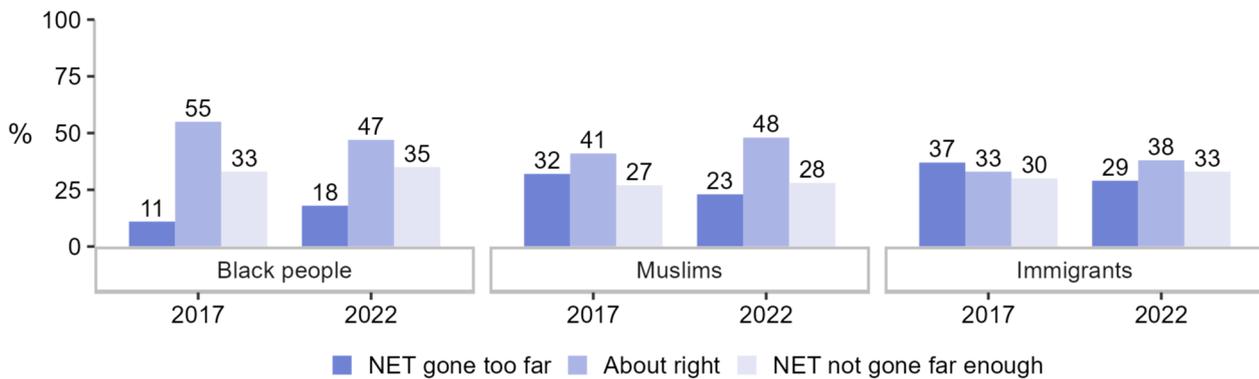
Population - all GB adults, aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Black people: 2017 (1045), 2022 (2156); Immigrants: 2017 (1118), 2022 (2150); Muslims: 2017 (1040), 2022 (2149).
Source: NatCen Panel - December 2017 and November 2022.

Perceptions of Black people, Muslims and immigrants 'as receiving special treatment'

Study participants were also asked how often they think **other people** in society view Black people, Muslims and immigrants 'as receiving special treatment which makes things more difficult for others in Britain'. Their answers showed a similar pattern to that seen earlier in the report, with people expecting others in society to have the most positive attitudes towards Black people, followed by Muslims, and to have the least positive views of immigrants. For example, almost half of people (46%) said immigrants are always or usually seen by others as receiving special treatment, compared with 28% for Muslims and 20% for Black people (Figure 8).

It should also be noted that compared with people's personal attitudes towards attempts to provide equal opportunities for all three groups these perceptions are less positive. This suggests that people think others in society view policies towards these groups more negatively than they do (or report for) themselves. For example, when asked whether they **personally** feel efforts to achieve equality for black people have gone too far only 11% reported that this was the case (Figure 7), whereas 20% of respondents felt black people were always or usually viewed as receiving special treatment by **other** members of society.

Figure 8. How often people think others in society view Black people, Muslims and immigrants "As receiving special treatment which makes things more difficult for others in Britain".

Population - all GB adults, aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Black people (2151), Muslims (2151), Immigrants (2154).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.
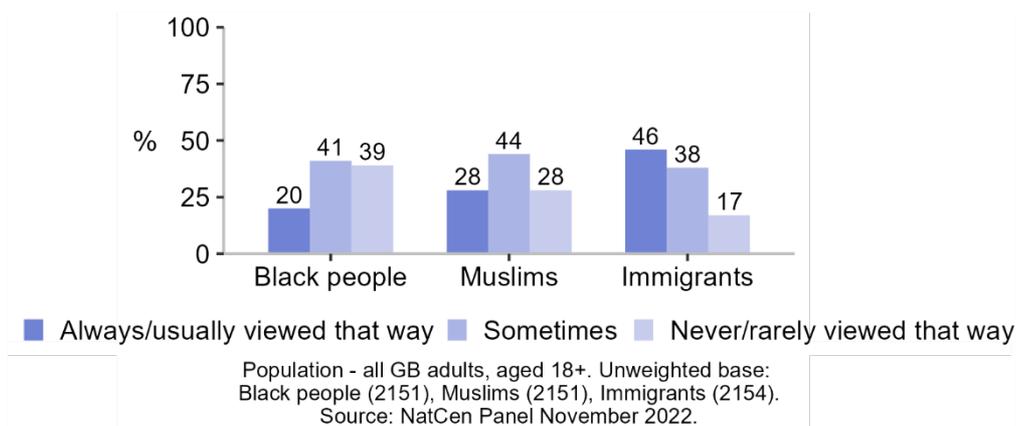
2.4 Perceptions of the effect of immigration on society.

This section reports on data from six questions asking about different ways in which immigration may affect society. One of these questions was more general and asked people whether 'the UK made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries'. The rest of the questions asked how people coming to live here from other countries impact specific areas of society:

- **Economy**: would you say it is generally bad or good for the UK's economy?
- **Cultural life**: would you say that the UK's cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by it?
- **Crime**: are the UK's crime problems made worse or better by people coming to live from other countries?
- **Jobs**: would you say that people who come to live here generally take jobs away from workers in the UK, or generally help to create new jobs?
- **Taxes and services:** Most people who come to live here work and pay taxes. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, do you think people who come here take out more than they put in or put in more than they take out?

Participants were asked to answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where a higher score indicated a more positive attitude towards immigration, which have been recoded into three categories: negative (from 0 to 3), neither positive nor negative (from 4 to 6) and positive (from 7 to 10) attitudes. Across these questions perceptions of how the British society is impacted by immigration were mainly positive or neutral (Figure 9), with actively negative views reported by a minority of people. For example, just under half of people felt that immigration makes the UK a better place to live and less than a fifth felt that it had a negative impact on the UK as a place to live.

However, there is some variation between areas. The area where British people perceived the most negative impact of immigration was crime, with about a third of people saying that the UK's crime problems are worsened by people coming to live here from other countries and a majority were unsure about its impact, and 58% selecting a neutral response of between 4 and 6. After crime, British people's perceptions of immigration's impact on taxes and services and on jobs were also less positive compared with the other areas, with 37% and 38% in the 'positive' group for these questions compared to 46% to 48% for the other three areas: cultural life, the economy, and the UK as a place to live.

Figure 9. Perceptions of the effect of migration on society

Category	NET negative	Neither positive nor negative	NET positive
Crime problems	29	58	13
Taxes and services	22	40	37
The UK as a place to live	18	36	46
Jobs	16	45	38
Economy	16	35	48
Cultural life	15	36	48

■ NET negative ■ Neither positive nor negative ■ NET positive

Population - all GB adults aged 18+.
Unweighted base:
Economy (2163), Cultural life (2162), The UK as a place to live (2162),
Jobs (2158), Taxes and services (2157), Crime problems (2150),
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Changes in attitudes from 2002 to 2022

The questions about the perceived impact of immigration on the UK's economy, culture and the UK as a place to live were also asked as part of European Social Survey (ESS), which enables us to see how attitudes have changed overtime. The ESS asked these questions in the UK repeatedly every two years from 2002, which we have plotted in Figure 10 below alongside the findings from our own data – collected in 2022. Figure 10 shows the mean values for each year, where greater values of the mean represent more positive attitudes towards immigrants, and smaller values more negative attitudes. As can be seen in Figure 10 (following page) attitudes to immigrants became more positive overtime, with mean scores for all three areas increasing. There appears to have been a drop where we move from the 2020 ESS data to that collected by the NatCen Opinion Panel in 2022, however, this is fairly small and may partially be driven by differences in fieldwork approach and sample composition, so interpreting it as a sign of worsening attitudes towards immigration since 2020 should be done with caution, and attitudes continue to be substantially more positive than prior to 2016.

Figure 10. Perceived impact of immigration on the UK's economy, culture and the UK as a place to live from 2002 to 2022

Population - all GB adults aged 18+ (NatCen Panel) and aged 15+ (ESS).
Unweighted base:
Economy: 1137 - 2356
Culture: 1138 - 2347
The UK as a place to live: 1141 - 2361.
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022 and ESS 2002 - 2020, GB sample.

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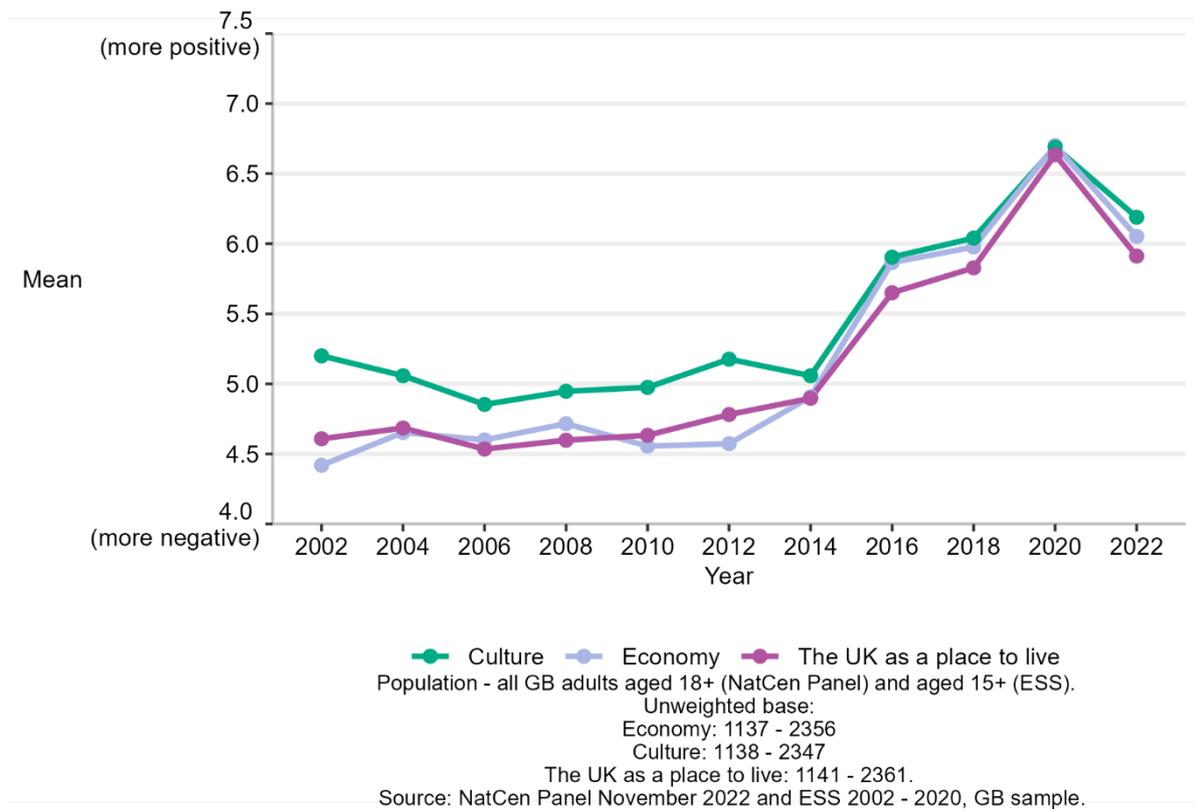
3. Latent Class Analysis

Different elements of people's attitudes towards Black people, Muslims, immigrants, and the impact of immigration which were explored in the first chapter of this report, were combined to understand how attitudes towards ethnic minorities and immigration can define classes of people in the general population of Great Britain. To achieve this a method called Latent Class Analysis (LCA) has been used to group people with similar sets of attitudes into groups.

Starting from the answers given to fifteen questions included in the survey (Table 1), we selected a model with 7 classes, reflecting a continuum from positive to negative attitudes towards the three groups asked about in the survey – Black people, immigrants and Muslims, and towards immigration in general. Technical information about the model is available in Appendix A - section 6.3.

Table 1: Concepts included in the Latent Class Analysis	
Whether someone is comfortable or uncomfortable with someone being appointed as their boss, if they are…	A Black person
	A Muslim
	An immigrant
Whether someone is comfortable or uncomfortable with someone being married to a close relative, if they are…	A Black person
	A Muslim
	An immigrant
Whether someone is comfortable or uncomfortable with someone moving in next door, if they are…	A Black person
	A Muslim
	An immigrant
Whether, in general, people feel positive or negative towards…	Black people
	Muslims
	Immigrants
On a scale of 0 (bad) to 10 (good), whether immigration is…	Good for the UK's economy
	Enriching for the UK's cultural life
	Making the UK's crime problems better or worse

The distribution of the seven classes is presented in Figure 11 below, alongside the name given to each group that summarises its distinguishing feature(s). Although the latent class analysis identified seven distinct classes, these can be thought of as falling into four groups. The first and largest were two classes (A & B) that were positively disposed to minorities and immigration, although in some areas they held some more neutral attitudes as well. This group included 46% of the population. Another 32% of people belonged to classes which held more mixed attitudes, with a combination of positive, neutral and negative views depending on the topic or minority group asked about. This included classes C, D and E. Finally, the last two groups were distinctive and did not fit

alongside any of the others, one which held consistently negative views of both immigration and minority groups (Class F – including 13% of people) and another which gave consistently neutral responses across almost all questions (Class G – including 8% of people).

For each of the classes presented in Figure 11 this chapter provides a brief overview summarising their defining features. For more details on the class compositions Table 4 in Appendix A provides the answers of people in each class on all the survey questions used to create the model.

Figure 11 Latent class membership (%)
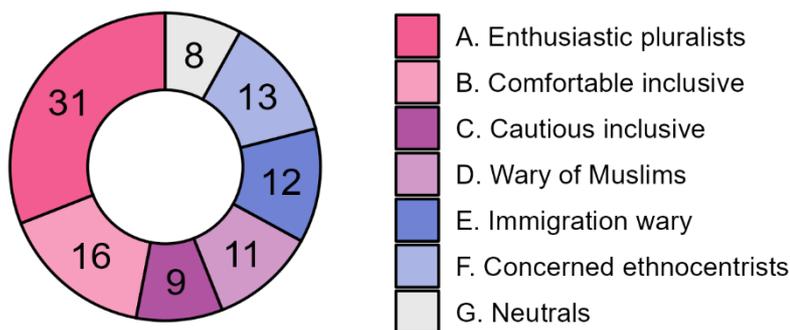
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
A. (662); B. (351); C. (155); D. (246); E. (245); F. (300); G. (172).

3.1 Classes with positive attitudes

Two of the classes held positive attitudes towards Black people, Muslims, immigrants and towards immigration more broadly, together accounting for 47% of the population. The largest class, including 31% of people, was very likely to report positive attitudes in all three of the areas included in the model. They were comfortable with and felt positively towards immigrants, Black people and Muslims, and also believed the impact on society of immigration to be positive. The one exception to this was in immigrants' effect on crime, where they expected it to have neither a positive nor negative impact. We defined this class as "**Enthusiastic pluralists**".

Another 16% of people, the "**Comfortable inclusive**", were likely to both think the impact of immigration on the country was likely to be positive, and to feel comfortable with all three of the groups in the different scenarios they were asked about. However, unlike the first class they were not likely to feel actively positively towards the three groups in general, instead they selected the neutral response 'neither positive or negative'.

Table 2 below summaries each of the positive classes alongside the name given to summarise its primary characteristics.

Table 2: Classes with positive attitudes	
Enthusiastic pluralists	Holds consistently positive attitudes towards the three groups and considers immigration to be having a positive impact on the country.
Comfortable inclusive	Comfortable in personal relationships and fairly positive about the impact of immigration on the country, but neutral in their general feelings towards the three groups.

3.2 Classes with mixed attitudes

A second set of mixed classes held a combination of positive attitudes towards minorities and immigration in some ways and more negative perceptions in other areas. Collectively, these classes account for 32% of the population.

The first of these, the "**Cautious inclusives**", held positive attitudes across most areas and accounted for 10% of people. They were likely to be positive about the impact of immigration on the country and felt positive towards all three groups in general, but when given a specific scenario where they might encounter them were quite likely to report being uncomfortable with them, and in particular were likely to be uncomfortable with Muslims.

The "**Wary of Muslims**" class, including 11% of the population, was also highly likely to be uncomfortable with Muslims in the different social scenarios asked about. However, in other areas their attitudes were fairly mixed. They were fairly evenly split between people who were comfortable and uncomfortable with immigrants but were more likely than not to be comfortable with Black people across the three scenarios. They were also more likely to report the impact of immigration on the economy and on culture was positive than to think it would be negative, although the reverse was true for crime (but even among the otherwise well-disposed classes, people did not believe immigration would improve the UK's crime problems). A similar picture was present in their general feelings towards the three groups: they tended to feel negative towards Muslims but were likely to be either neutral or positive towards immigrants and Black people.

The third class with more mixed views were the "**Immigration wary**" group, including 12% of people in the UK. They were likely to report being comfortable in their personal relationships with Black people, Muslims, and (albeit to a lesser extent) immigrants, but also to expect the impact of immigration on society to be negative, in particular when it came to crime. They were also fairly likely to 'in general' feel negative towards immigrants.

Table 3below summaries each of the classes central features outlined above alongside their group name.

Table 3: Classes with mixed attitudes	
Cautious inclusive	Positive about the impact of migration on the country, and feels positive towards all three groups in general, but mixed comfortableness towards them in specific relationship scenarios – and particularly likely to be uncomfortable with Muslims.
Immigration wary	Comfortable personally with the three groups but somewhat negative about the impact of immigration on the country.
Wary of Muslims	A mixed group who are fairly neutral towards the impact of immigration on the country, likely to be comfortable with Black people, but uncomfortable with and negative towards Muslims and, to a lesser extent, immigrants.

3.3 Classes with negative attitudes

Finally, there were two classes which did not fit into a wider group. The first of these, the "**Concerned ethnocentrists**", held consistently negative attitudes, and included 13% of the adult population. These people were likely to say they both felt negatively towards all three groups asked about, to think they would be uncomfortable with them in all the scenarios asked about, and to feel immigration was impacting society negatively.

3.4 Classes with neutral attitudes

Finally, the seventh class, the "**Neutrals**", accounting for 8% of UK adults, fitted into neither of the groups above, because its members were unlikely to express either negative or positive attitudes in any of the areas asked about. Instead, people in this group were characterised by neutral responses in every area.

3.5 Conceptual validation of the classes

To validate the resulting classes, the following section explores whether people allocated to the different groups hold consistent beliefs in other attitudinal questions on similar topics. This shows that broadly people's attitudes in other areas were compatible with their class membership, suggesting that people have been allocated to classes which effectively capture their attitudes in this area. The Figures below show people's answers to the question, have policies to give equal opportunities to Black people, Muslims and immigrants gone too far? People become progressively more likely to feel these polices have gone too far from the Class A to F. However, it is notable that even among the concerned ethnocentrists, there is still an important difference between attitudes to Black people (where 54% feel these policies have gone too far) and the other two groups, with 83% feeing policies to encourage equality for immigrants have gone too far and 74% for Muslims.

Figure 12 Attitude towards policies to encourage equality for Black people, by class membership
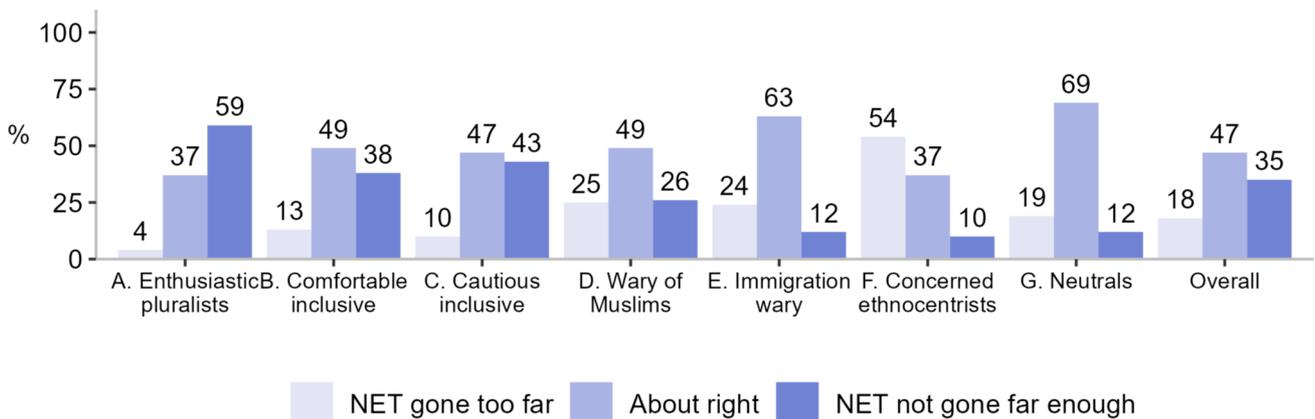
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
A. (660); B. (347); C. (155); D. (245); E. (244); F. (300); G. (171).Overall (2122);
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Figure 13 Attitude towards policies to encourage equality for immigrants, by class membership

NET gone too far   About right   NET not gone far enough

Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
A. (659); B. (347); C. (155); D. (245); E. (241); F. (299); G. (171).Overall (2117);
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.
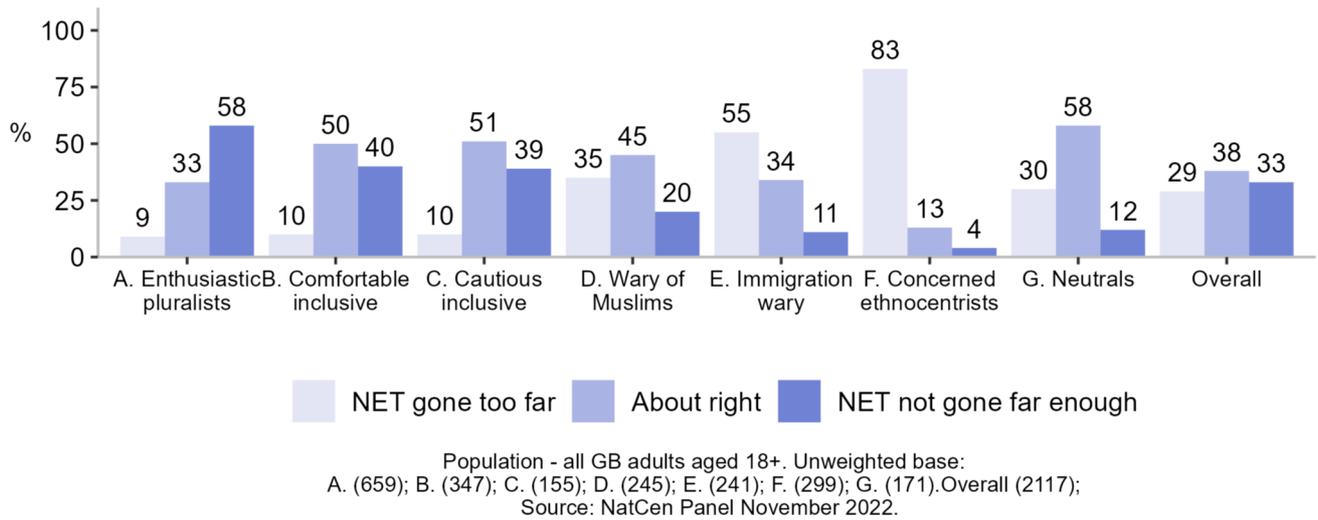
Figure 14 Attitude towards policies to encourage equality for Muslim people, by class membership

NET gone too far   About right   NET not gone far enough

Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
A. (658); B. (347); C. (155); D. (244); E. (243); F. (299); G. (171).Overall (2117);
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.
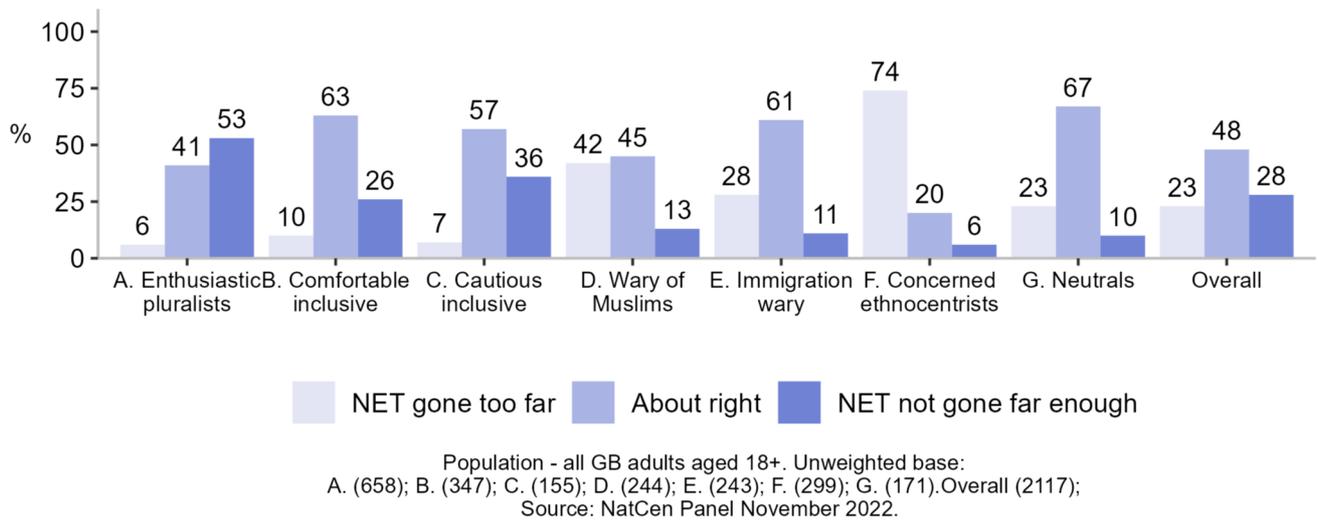
Turning to people's opinion of current immigration levels, Figure 15 shows that those in the more negatively orientated classes are likely to feel immigration levels should be reduced, although this pattern is weaker in the Wary of Muslims class. The Neutrals class, despite not being likely to feel immigration is negatively impacting the UK, are also less likely to think that current levels should be increased, and even among the more positively disposed classes there are minorities of people who believe immigration levels are too high.

Figure 15 Whether people feel the number of immigrants into the UK should increase or decrease, by class membership

Increased a lot/a little ▢ Remain the same as it is ▢ Reduced a little/a lot ▢
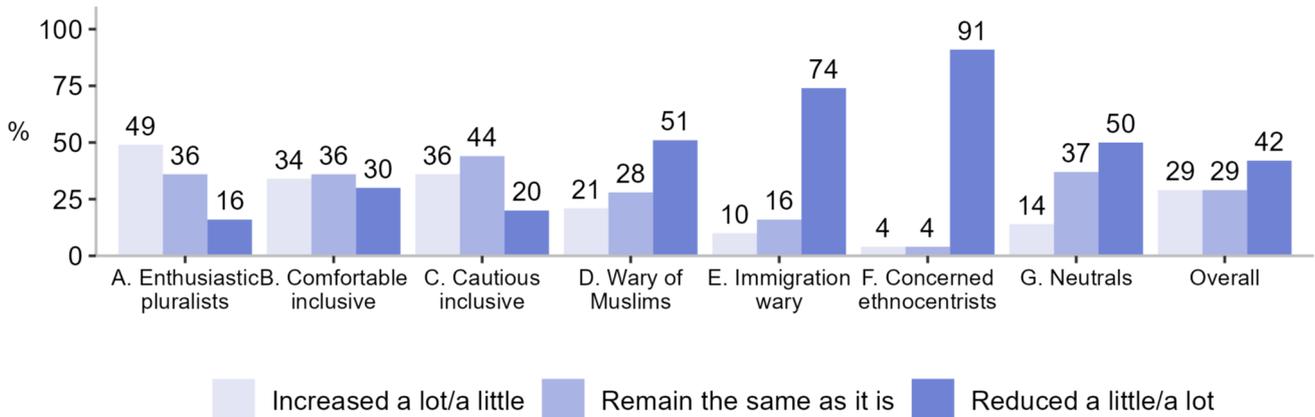
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
A. (659); B. (347); C. (155); D. (245); E. (245); F. (300); G. (172).Overall (2123);
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

In the classes which were classified as broadly negative, the pattern is even stronger when asked about illegal immigrants. In all three classes, the vast majority agree that stronger measures are needed to exclude illegal immigrants. Whereas, among the more positive classes, attitudes are much more mixed although in no class does a majority of people disagree that stronger measures are needed. Even in the most well-disposed group, the Enthusiastic pluralists, 46% agree that stronger measures to deal with illegal immigration are needed and among the Neutrals this increases to 70%.

Figure 16 Whether people feel stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants from the UK are needed, by class membership

NET Agree ▢ Neither agree nor disagree ▢ NET Disagree ▢
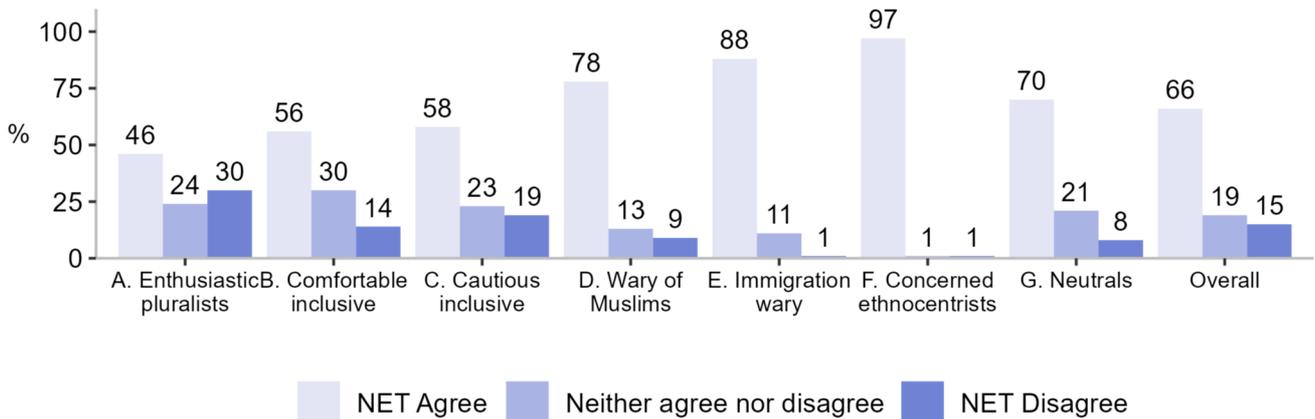
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
A. (661); B. (351); C. (155); D. (246); E. (245); F. (300); G. (172).Overall (2130);
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

4. Class composition

This chapter explores the composition of the different classes to identify what types of people belong in each class based on their socio-demographic and other individual characteristics. The other characteristics explored are a person's sense of British identity, their use of the internet, engagement with politics, and how much contact they have with people from ethnic or cultural minorities.

4.1 Class composition by socio-demographic characteristics

People across a number of different socio-demographic groups showed clear differences in which classes they were likely to belong to. This was the case for age, educational level, economic activity, financial position, country of birth, ethnicity and religion. However, there were also some characteristics which were not associated with how likely people were to belong to the different classes. These were sex, whether a person lived in an urban or rural area, and the region of the country they lived in (41Appendix B).

Age

Age showed a particularly consistent pattern: the oldest age cohort was more likely to be in the most negatively disposed group, the Concerned ethnocentrists, while their probability of being in the Enthusiastic pluralist group was lower (Figure 17). Whereas people aged 18 to 39 were more likely to be in the Enthusiastic pluralist and Cautious inclusive classes (and less likely to be Concerned ethnocentrists). The three groups which were largely unchanged across age groups were the Neutrals, Comfortable inclusive and Immigration wary groups, which remain fairly consistent in size between age cohorts.

Figure 17 Class membership by age
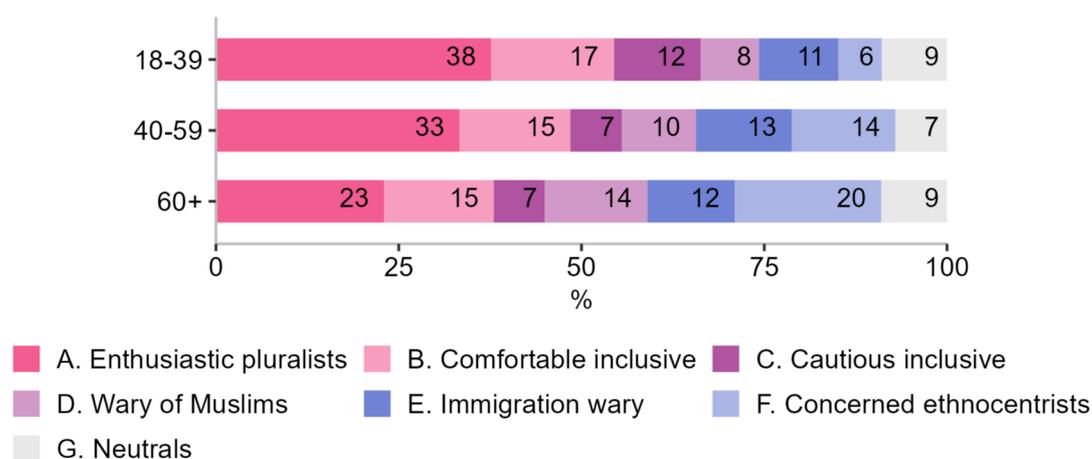
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
18-39 (514); 40-59 (743); 60+ (904).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Education

There was also a strong pattern towards a greater likelihood of belong to the Concerned ethnocentrist group and to a lesser extent the Immigration wary group as a respondents' level of education falls. Whereas people with higher levels of education are more likely to belong to the Enthusiastic pluralist class. The size of the Neutrals group also falls among people with degree level qualifications.

Figure 18 Class membership by highest qualification held
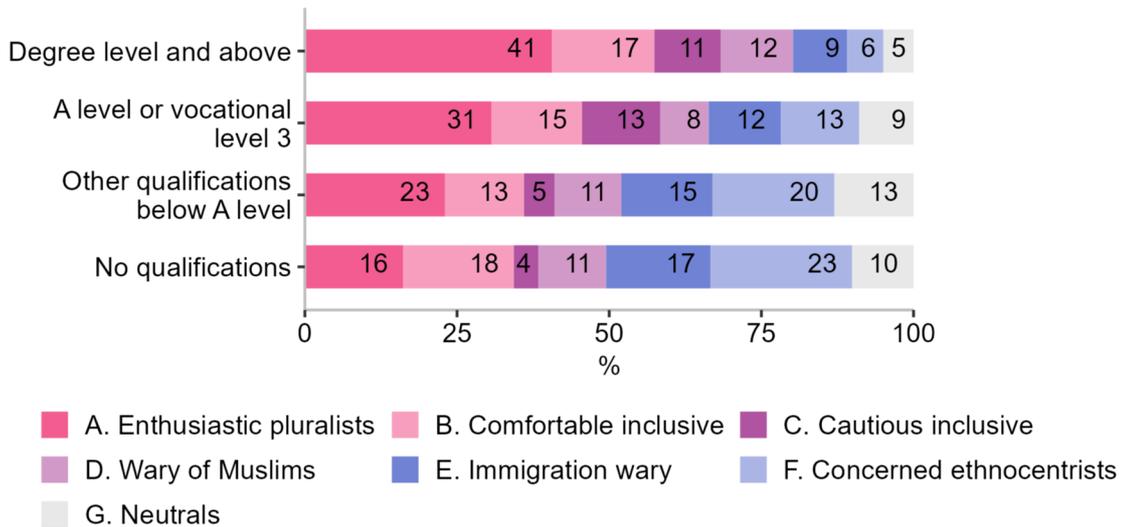
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Degree level and above (1041); A level or vocational level 3 (408); Qualifications below A level (478); No qualifications (225).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Main economic activity

A person's economic activity was also associated with which class they were likely to belong to, with those in full time education and paid work more likely to belong to the more positively disposed classes, and those who are retired more likely to be in the most negatively disposed ones (Figure 19). The group in full time education has a small sample size (47) so this finding should be interpreted with caution. There are no statistically significant differences in the distributions of unemployed people, although this may be due to their small base sizes (46).

Figure 19 Class membership by economic activity[4]
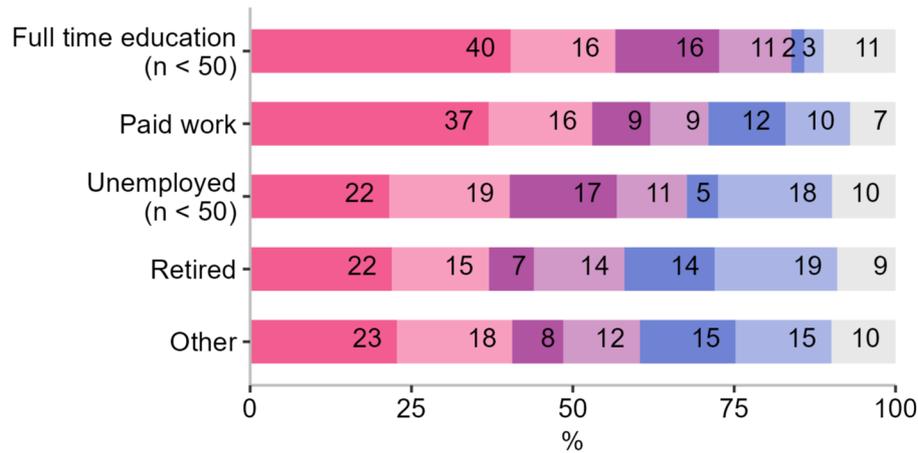
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Full time education (47); Paid work (1117); Unemployed (46); Retired (579); Other (378).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Financial situation

People's financial situation was also associated with class membership: with people who feel they are coping less well more likely to belong in the Concerned ethnocentrists class and those who were living comfortably or doing alright financially less likely to be found in this class.

Figure 20 Class membership by how well people are coping financially
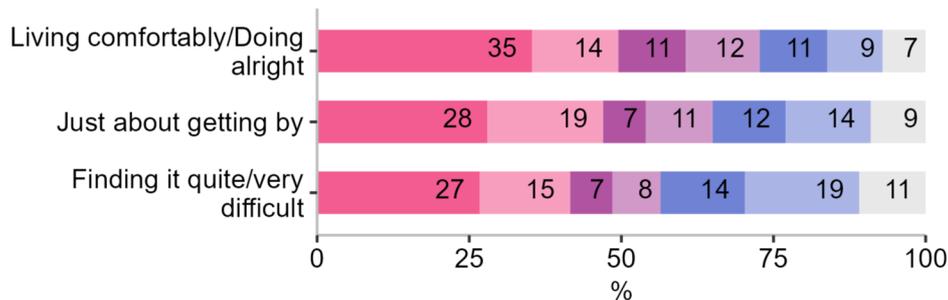
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Living comfortably/Doing alright (1113); Just about getting by (643); Finding it
quite/very difficult (411).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

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[4] The 'other' group includes people in government training programmes, waiting to take up a new job, permanently sick or disabled, looking after their family or home, or doing 'something else'.
Note that the groups in full time education and unemployment had smaller base sizes (n < 50) and should be interpreted with caution.

Country of birth

Those born outside of the UK were more likely to be members of the Cautious inclusive and Wary of Muslims classes and less likely to belong to Immigration wary and Concerned ethnocentrists groups.

Figure 21 Class membership by country of birth
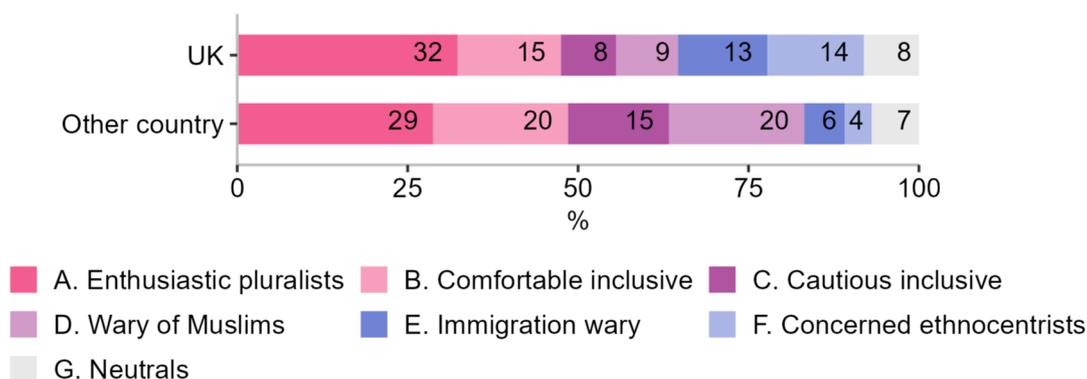
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
UK (1906); Other country (258).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Ethnicity

The distribution of class membership by people's ethnicity was complicated and some groups had small base sizes, meaning our estimates of their class membership are less precise, however, some patterns are clear. People of **white British ethnicity** had a likelihood of belonging to the different classes which was fairly similar to the population overall. Those from **other white backgrounds** on the other hand were under-represented in both the Concerned ethnocentrist and the Immigration wary class. **Asian or Asian British** people were over-represented in the Cautious inclusive and Wary of Muslims classes, and under-represented in the Immigration wary class.

The remaining two ethnic groups, people **of mixed or multiple ethnicity** and **Black or Black British** respondents, had lower base sizes (less than fifty) and so the findings for these groups need to be interpreted with caution. The only statistically significant difference was that those of **mixed or multiple ethnicity** were found to be more likely to be in the Cautious inclusive class, a group who are likely to be uncomfortable with at least one the three groups (Black people, Muslims and immigrants). Although not statistically significant, both were found to have a high percentage of members in the Enthusiastic pluralists class and relatively few Concerned ethnocentrists. Those of **mixed or multiple ethnicity** were also under-represented in the Wary of Muslims group, while **Black or Black British** respondents were less likely to be found in the Comfortable inclusive group.

Figure 22 Class membership by ethnicity[5]
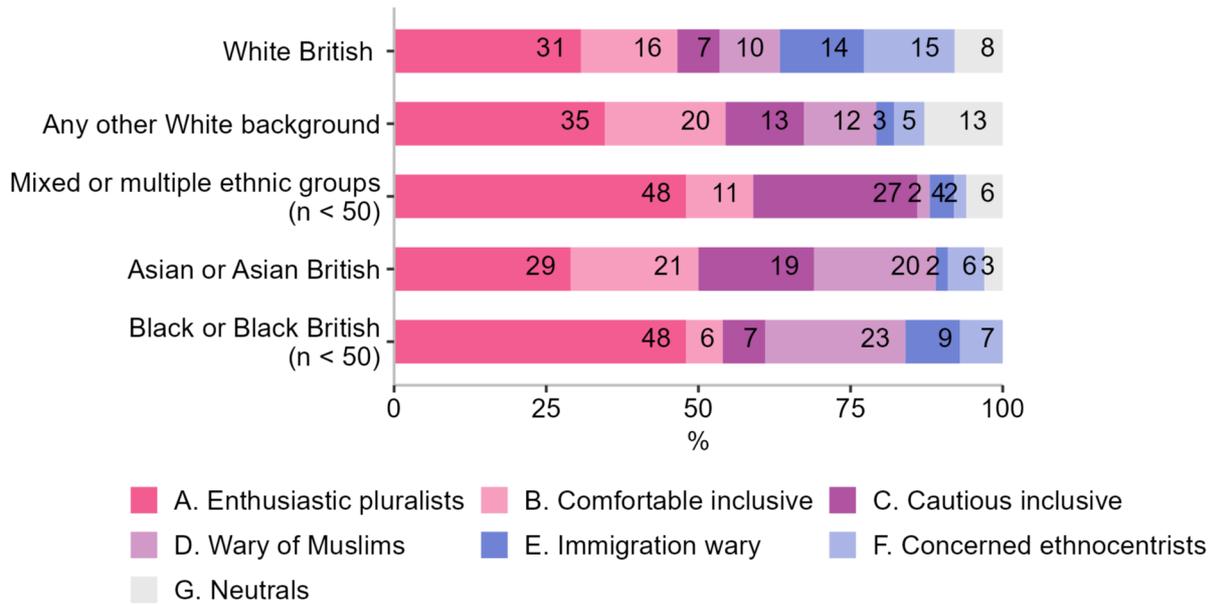
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
White British (1825); Any other White background (145); Mixed or multiple ethnic groups
(28); Asian or Asian British (92); Black or Black British (35).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Religion

The two largest religious groups were people of no religion and Christians. Comparing these two groups, people of no religion were more likely than Christians to belong to both the Enthusiastic pluralists group, while Christians were more likely to be found in the concerned ethnocentrist group.

For the non-Christian religious groups understanding how class membership differs by people's religious affiliation is challenging due to the small sample sizes in these groups and the findings below should be interpreted with caution. Of the remaining religions Muslims had the largest sample size (n=39) and were found to be over-represented in both the Enthusiastic pluralist class and the Cautious inclusive class, whereas Hindus (n=25) were over-represented in the Wary of Muslims group. Other differences in the distributions of these groups were not found to be statistically significant, however, it should be noted that no Muslims appeared in the Wary of Muslims class (as would be expected) and no Hindus in the Immigration wary group. The other religious groups (Sikhs, Jews and Buddhists) are not presented due to the small number of survey respondents in these groups.

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[5] Note that the groups mixed or multiple ethnic groups and Black or Black British had smaller base sizes (n < 50) and should be interpreted with caution.

Figure 23 Class membership by religious identity[6]
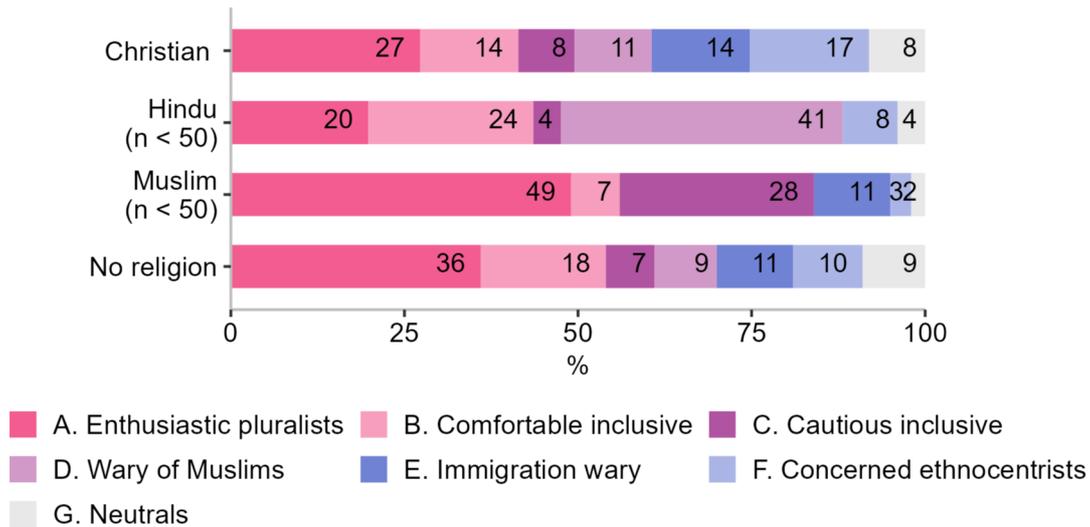
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Christian (1106); Hindu (25); Muslim (39); No religion (935).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

4.2 Sense of British identity

To assess the strength of people's British identity respondents were asked to assess how strongly they felt British on a scale from 1 – "Not at all British" to 7 "Very strongly British". As shown in Figure 24, people who felt only weakly British (1 or 2) or moderately British (3, 4 or 5) were more likely to be Enthusiastic pluralists, and less likely to belong to either the Immigration wary or Concerned ethnocentrist class. Whereas people with a strong sense of British identity (6 or 7) were more likely to fall in the Concerned ethnocentrist and Immigration wary classes.

Figure 24 Class membership by national identity
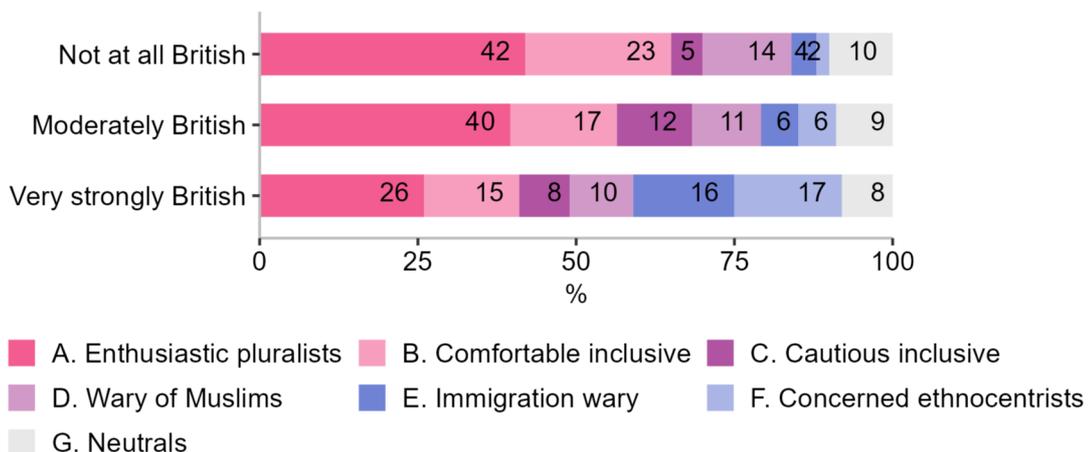
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Not at all British (140); Moderately British (601); Very strongly British (1424).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

[6] Note that the groups Hindu and Muslim had smaller base sizes (n < 50) and should be interpreted with caution.

4.3 Use of the internet and social media

Class membership has also been crosstabulated by how often people use the internet to explore whether certain classes are over or under-represented among people who spend less time online and among those more or less likely to use the social media platform X (formerly known as Twitter).

Figure 25 shows that those people who use the internet "several times a day", have an increased likelihood of belonging to the Enthusiast pluralists group, when compared to those who use it either "Daily", or "Weekly or less". Those who used it either "Daily" or "Weekly or less" were more likely to be in Concerned ethnocentrists, and those who used it "Daily" were more likely be in the Neutral class.

Figure 25 Class membership by how often people use the internet
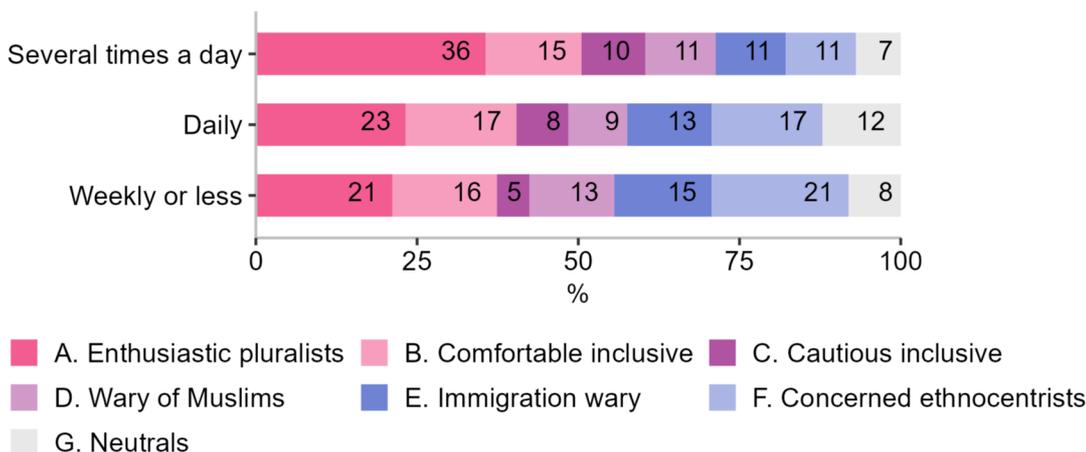
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Several times a day (1456); Daily (566); Weekly or less (142).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

People with an X account were also more likely to be Enthusiastic pluralists, with 42% of those with an X account being members of the Enthusiastic pluralist group compared to 26% among those without an account. Those with an X account were also correspondingly less likely to belong to the Concerned ethnocentrist class.

Figure 26 Class membership by whether respondent has an X (formerly known as Twitter) account
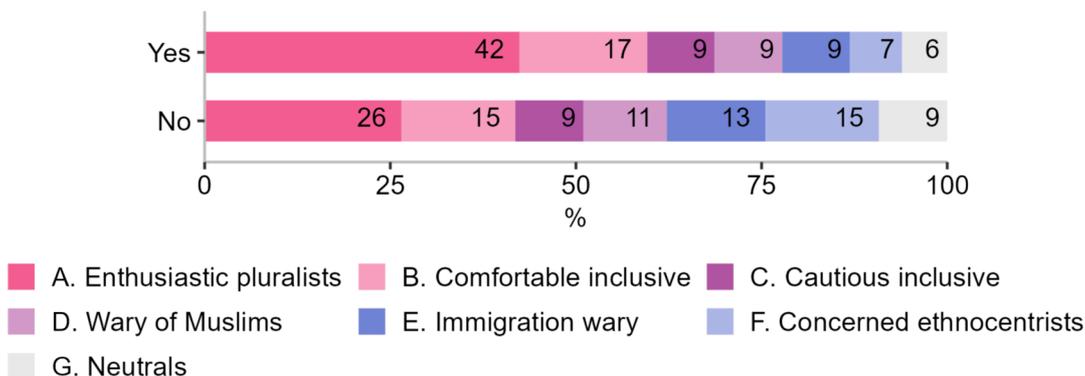
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Yes (646); No (1523).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

4.4 Engagement with politics

To measure how engaged people are with politics survey respondents were asked how often they use the media to get political news or information, with potential responses ranging from "Several times a day" to "Never". Although there are some differences in class composition by how engaged people are with politics (as can be seen in the figure below), there was not a statistically significant difference in class membership between them.

Figure 27 Class membership by how engaged people are with political news or information
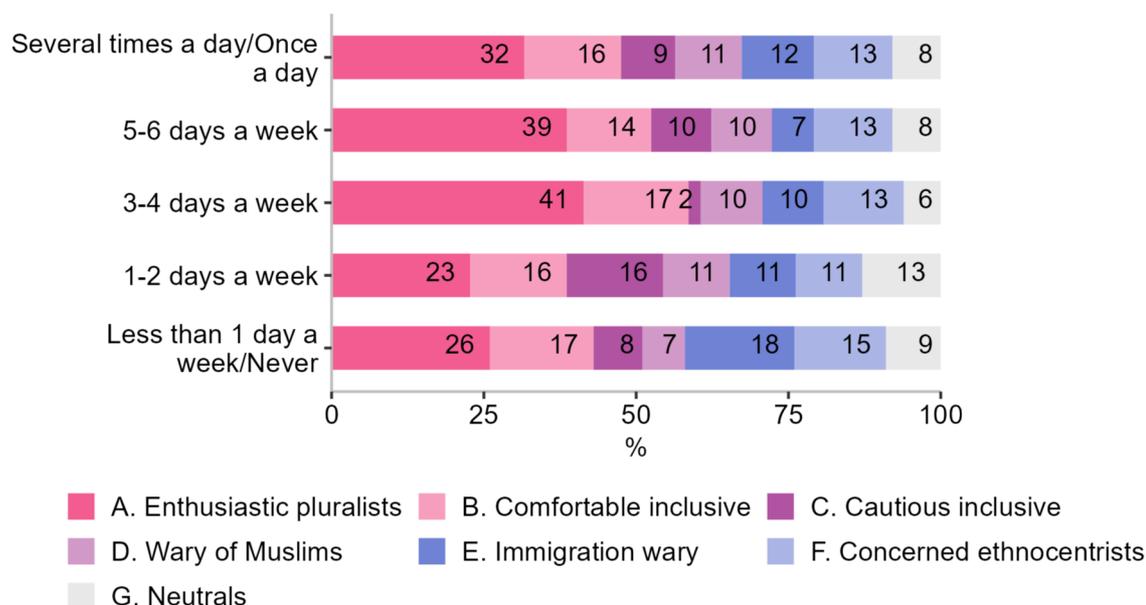
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Several times a day/Once a day (1640); 5-6 days a week (117); 3-4 days a week (113); 1-2 days a week (139); Less than 1 day a week/Never (149).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

4.5 Contact with people from ethnic minority groups

Class membership was also associated with how much contact people had with members of an ethnic minority group, with those who had less contact also less likely to be favourable disposed to them. People who reported they had infrequent contact were more likely to be members of the Wary of Muslims class and less likely to belong to the Enthusiastic pluralists. Similarly, among those who had no contact with people of a different ethnic group the Concerned ethnocentrist class was found to be strongly over-represented, although the sample size in this group was small (n=32) so this should be interpreted with caution.

Figure 28 Class membership by frequency of contact with ethnic minorities[7]
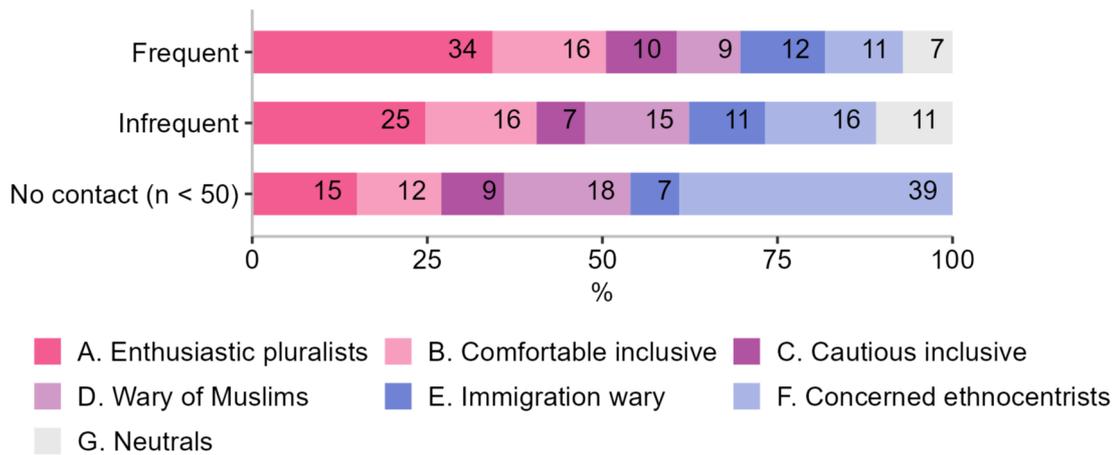
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Frequent (1534); Infrequent (601); No contact (32).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

A similar pattern was seen by how many close friends people had of a different race or ethnic group to most British people: with those who had fewer friends less likely to belong to the more favourable classes and more likely to belong to the Concerned ethnocentrists class. For example, among those who had several friends of a different ethnic group to most British people, 40% belong to the enthusiastic pluralists group, compared to 21% among those with no friends of a different ethnic group to most British people.

Figure 29 Class membership by whether people have a close friend from a different race from most British people
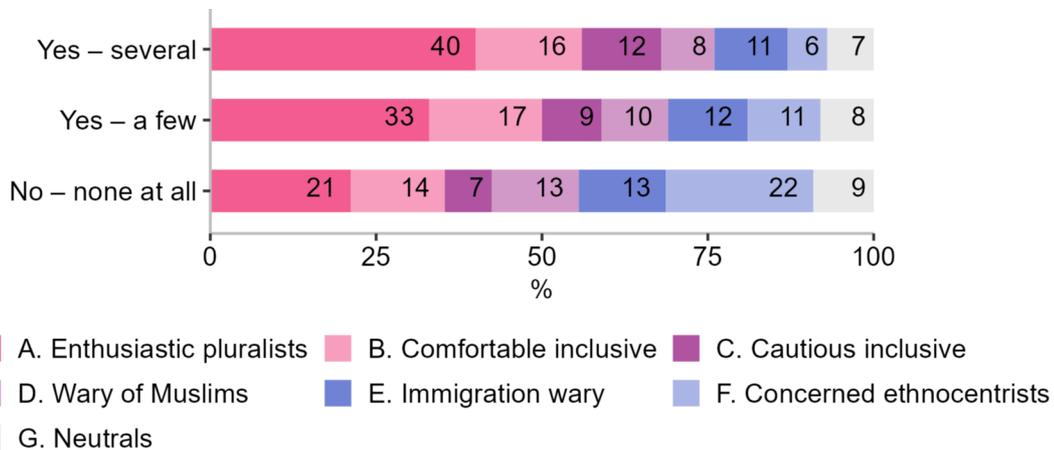
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Yes – several (487); Yes – a few (980); No – none at all (700).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

For this report it was explored whether there were any differences in people's likelihood of belonging to the different classes based on the number of people in someone's local area who were from an ethnic minority. However, unlike the two more direct measures of contact with ethnic minorities reported above, there were not found to be differences in class membership between areas with high or low levels of ethnic minorities.

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[7] Note that the group No contact had smaller base sizes (n < 50) and should be interpreted with caution.

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6. Appendix A

6.1 Data collection and study design

This report uses the data from the NatCen Opinion Panel collected in November-December 2022. For time series analysis this report uses data from previous wave of the NatCen Panel, conducted in 2017, also referred to in the report as the EHRC Barometer Survey, and data from the European Social Survey collected biennially from 2002 to 2020.

The NatCen Opinion Panel is a panel of people recruited from the British Social Attitudes (BSA), Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA), and Consumer Protection Study surveys, for which participants are selected at random from the general population using the Postcode Address File (PAF) as a sample frame (Jessop, 2018). The NatCen Panel provides representative samples of adults aged 18 and over in UK. For the 2022 wave of the NatCen Opinion Panel, a random sample of 3,000 panel members recruited from BSA or CPS and who had not subsequently left the panel or the UK were invited to take part. Of these, 2,169 took part in the survey, giving a 72% response rate. The full questionnaire is also included at the end of this report as Appendix C.

Fieldwork was conducted using a sequential mixed-mode web/telephone design over a one-month fieldwork period. Respondents were initially invited to take part online, and web fieldwork ran from 3rd November 2022 to 4th December 2022. Those not taking part online were issued to telephone fieldwork which ran from 10th November 2022 to 4th December 2023. Fieldwork resources were also targeted to improve sample quality – for example, participants who have taken part in the past but never taken part online were issued to telephone fieldwork one week early. Participants were sent multiple invitations and reminders by letters, emails, and text messages to encourage participation. As a thank you for their time, an incentive worth £5 was offered to participants who completed the full interview.

The European Social Survey (ESS) is a cross-national survey that has been conducted across Europe since its establishment in 2001. Samples for ESS in the UK are representative of all persons aged 15 and over (no upper age limit) resident within private households in the UK, regardless of their nationality, citizenship or language. Individuals are selected by strict random probability methods at every stage and a minimum 'effective achieved sample size' of 1,500 is aimed for after discounting for design effects. In the ESS, data has always been collected via face-to-face computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI) in all participating countries.

6.2 Analysis notes

In this report, survey weights were applied to each respondent in the sample when producing the descriptive statistics used in this report. These adjust for design, recruitment, and survey non-response, making the weighted estimates representative of the target population – all adults (18+) in the UK.

When comparing two or more groups we carried out tests for statistical significance, indicating whether a difference between groups found in our data is likely to be found also in the population of interest (in all adults in the UK). All results reported are statistically significant at the 95% level: this means that if we draw 100 samples for the same population, we expect to find these differences between groups 95 times. Consequently, it is unlikely that these are differences that can be found in our data only due to sampling chance.

Significance testing for time series analysis was carried out using binary multilevel statistical modelling. This allowed us to control for the clustering effect of analysing cross-sectional changes from datasets that are not generated by independent samples (some study participants took part in both waves of the study). All bivariate and time series analysis was conducted using weighted data.

6.3 Latent Class Analysis

In this report, we used a statistical method called Latent Class Analysis to create groups. This technique helps identify groups of respondents that are as similar as possible within each group and as different as possible between different groups based on the survey responses used in this analysis. We tested several latent class models with different types and numbers of variables. The final latent class model reported here was selected based on the interpretability and meaningfulness of the groups produced and the comparative goodness-of-fit of the latent class model (identified with BIC, AIC and Chi-squared model parameters). The latent class analysis was carried out using unweighted data. The output of the model was used to allocate people to the class for which they had the highest probability of belonging. The resulting variable, where everyone in the sample was allocated to a particular class, was then used in the weighted descriptive analysis presented in this report. The table below (Table 4) shows the questions included in this analysis, and the percentage of each group (once people were allocated to the group where they had the highest probability of membership) that selected each of the responses listed in the table.

Table 4: Latent Class Analysis – Question responses by group membership

Variables used in LCA model	A. Enthusiastic pluralists, N = 669[1]	B. Comfortable inclusive, N = 339[1]	C. Cautious inclusive, N = 191[1]	D. Wary of Muslims, N = 226[1]	E. Immigration wary, N = 256[1]	F. Concerned ethnocentrists, N = 271[1]	G. Neutrals, N = 1741
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Say immigration is generally good for the UK's…							
economy	73	63	77	48	3	1	28
cultural life	79	61	70	37	8	<1	30
crime problems	20	11	15	16	6	2	7
Say immigration is generally bad for the UK's…							
economy	1	1	3	3	43	70	17
cultural life	<1	<1	1	9	32	71	16
crime problems	7	7	16	24	66	88	25
Comfortable with someone being appointed as their boss, being married to a close relative, or moving in next door if they are…							
A Muslim person	100	100	19	0	96	1	2
A Black person	100	99	28	60	100	21	4
An immigrant	99	98	35	40	66	7	2
Uncomfortable with someone being appointed as their boss, being married to a close relative, or moving in next door if they are…							
A Muslim person	0	0	70	94	0	86	3
A Black person	0	0	55	28	0	51	1
An immigrant	0	<1	47	40	22	78	6
Feel positive towards…							
Black people	99	11	97	30	45	18	4
Muslim people	95	2	91	2	28	6	2
immigrants	92	9	83	19	11	1	2
Feel negative towards…							
Black people	0	1	<1	11	5	28	0
Muslim people	0	4	0	53	17	61	2
immigrants	0	4	1	26	45	84	11

[1] Unweighted base

7. Appendix B

Appendix B presents a number of additional subgroup analysis from Section 4 – Class composition, which were not found to have a statistically significant relationship to class membership.

7.1 Class composition by socio-demographic characteristics (null findings)

In this section we present class composition for characteristics which were not associated with how likely people were to belong to the different classes. These are sex, whether a person lived in an urban or rural area, and the region of the country they lived in.

Sex

As shown in Figure 30 a person's gender was not associated with which class they were likely to belong to, with females being as likely to belong to the seven classes as males.

Figure 30 Class membership by sex
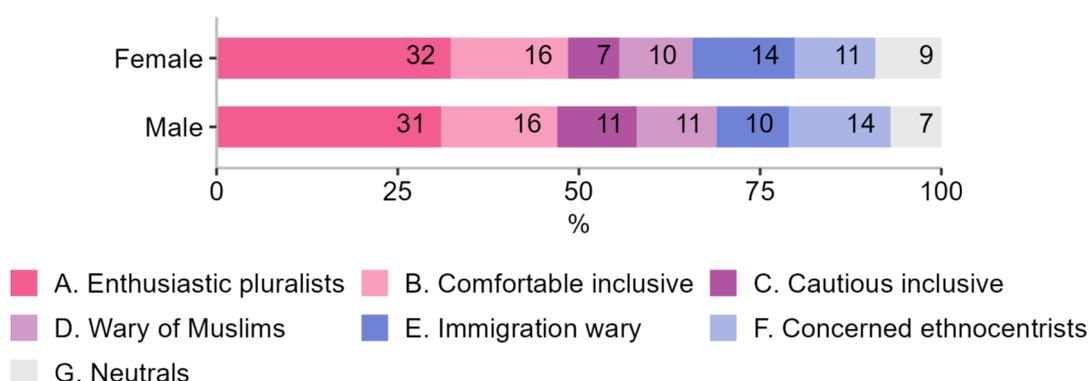
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Female (1183); Male (986).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Area

As shown in Figure 31 whether a person lived in an urban or rural area was not associated with how likely people were to belong to the different classes.

Figure 31 Class membership by the type of area
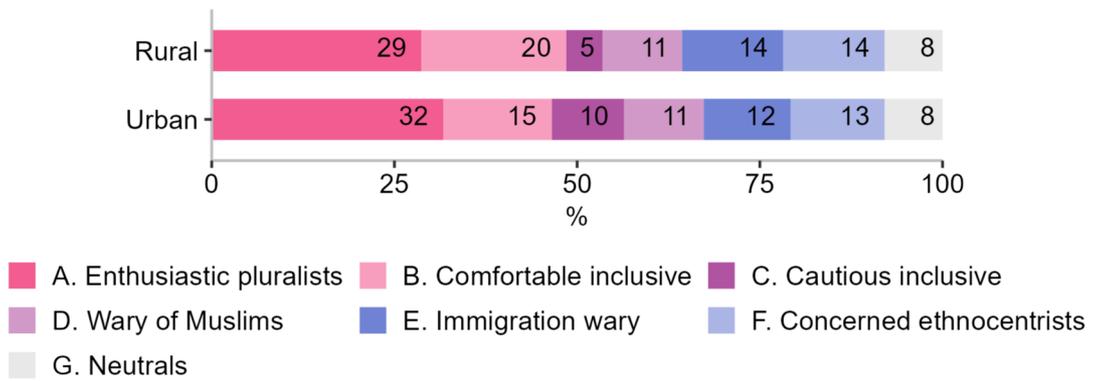
Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
Rural (512); Urban (1657).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

Region

As shown in Figure 32 the region a person is living in was not associated with how likely people were to belong to the different classes.

Figure 32 Class membership by region
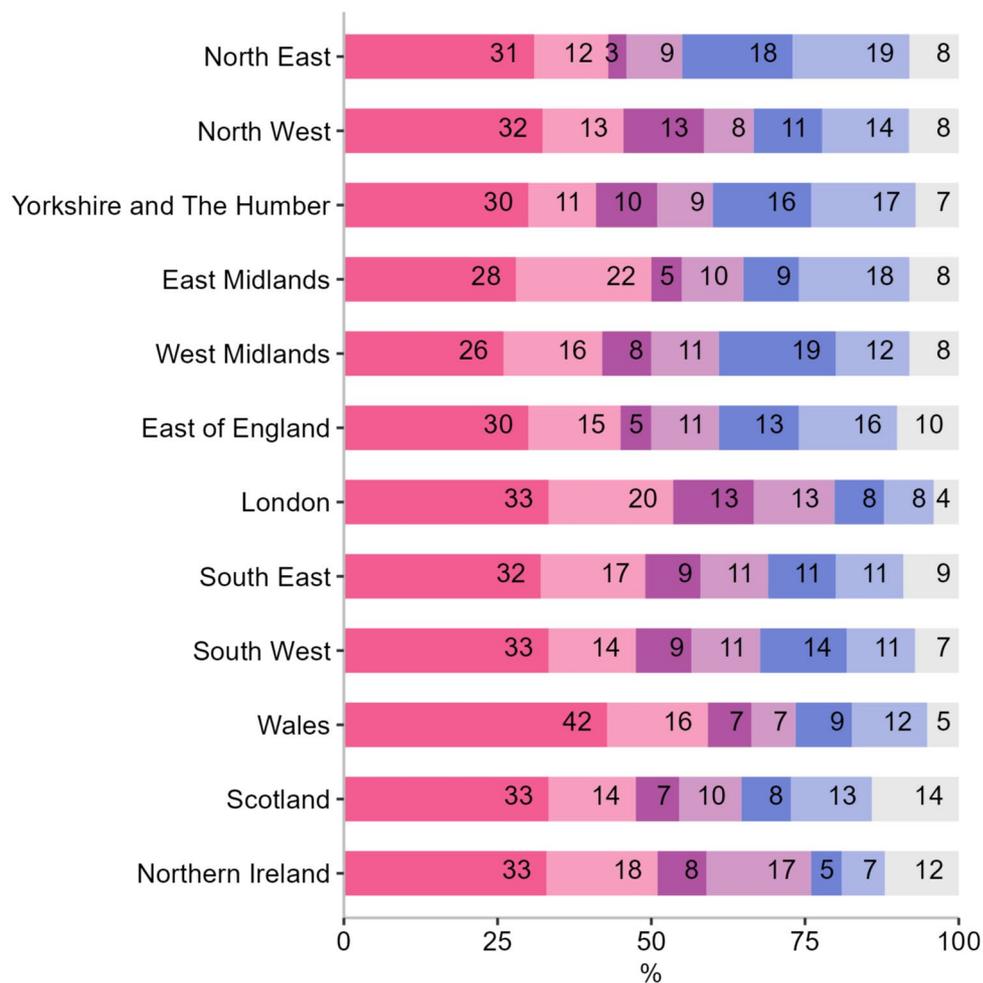
Region	A. Enthusiastic pluralists	B. Comfortable inclusive	C. Cautious inclusive	D. Wary of Muslims	E. Immigration wary	F. Concerned ethnocentrists	G. Neutrals
North East	31	12	3	9	18	19	8
North West	32	13	13	8	11	14	8
Yorkshire and The Humber	30	11	10	9	16	17	7
East Midlands	28	22	5	10	9	18	8
West Midlands	26	16	8	11	19	12	8
East of England	30	15	5	11	13	16	10
London	33	20	13	13	8	8	4
South East	32	17	9	11	11	11	9
South West	33	14	9	11	14	11	7
Wales	42	16	7	7	9	12	5
Scotland	33	14	7	10	8	13	14
Northern Ireland	33	18	8	17	5	7	12

Legend:
- A. Enthusiastic pluralists
- B. Comfortable inclusive
- C. Cautious inclusive
- D. Wary of Muslims
- E. Immigration wary
- F. Concerned ethnocentrists
- G. Neutrals

Population - all GB adults aged 18+. Unweighted base:
North East (84); North West (240); Yorkshire and The Humber (176); East Midlands (169); West Midlands (206); East of England (202); London (230); South East (331); South West (210); Wales (110); Scotland (161); Northern Ireland (50).
Source: NatCen Panel November 2022.

8. Appendix C

Questionnaire specification

News consumption

{ASK ALL}
IntroNews
Out first set of questions will ask about your media and news use.

DISPLAY

{ASK ALL}
NewsSrc1 [MULTICODE: RANDOMISE 1…10, but keep 4…7 together and in order]
From which, if any, of the following sources do you get news from nowadays?

G_Multi_ll1

1. Television
2. Newspapers (printed)
3. Radio
4. Podcasts
5. Video-sharing apps or websites (e.g. YouTube or Vimeo)
6. Social media apps or websites (e.g. Twitter or Facebook)
7. Other online sources on apps or websites
8. Interactive TV services via the 'red button' or apps on the TV
9. Magazines (printed)
10. Word of mouth (e.g. family, friends or colleagues) – in person/by phone/email
11. None of these [EXCLUSIVE]

{IF NewsSrc1 = 4…7}
NewsSrc2 [MULTICODE: RANDOMISE 1…7]
You said you use online sources to get news nowadays.

From which of the following types of online sources do you get news?

G_Multi_ll1

1. Websites/apps/pages of newspapers (e.g. theguardian.com or Mail Online)
2. Websites/apps/pages of news magazines (e.g. The Economist or The Week)
3. Websites/apps/pages of TV and radio companies such as BBC News Online or Sky News Online
4. Websites/apps/pages of online news organisations (e.g. Huffington Post, Vice, Buzzfeed)
5. Search engines (e.g. Google, Bing)
6. News aggregation websites/apps/pages which are designed to bring news sources together (e.g. Apple News, Upday, Google News, MSN, or the home page of your internet service provider)
7. Blogs
8. Other (Please describe)

{IF NewsSrc1 <> 11}
PolNewsFreq

How often do you use the media, including television, newspapers, radio and the internet and social media, to get political news or information?

G_ReadOut_II1

1. Several times a day
2. Once a day
3. 5-6 days a week
4. 3-4 days a week
5. 1-2 days a week
6. Less than 1 day a week
7. Never

Twitter use & consent

{ASK ALL}
TwitHas
"Do you have a personal Twitter account?"

{WEB: "By personal Twitter account we mean an account that only you use. This may be for personal or professional reasons. Please do not include accounts you use on behalf of an organisation."}
INTERVIEWER: "By personal Twitter account we mean an account that only you use. This may be for personal or professional reasons. Please do not include accounts you use on behalf of an organisation."

1. Yes
2. No

{IF TwitHas = 1}
TwitUse1 [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: RANDOMISE ROWS; FLIP SCALE]
"Still thinking about your personal Twitter account…

Thinking about the last 12 months, on average, how often would you say you do each of the following on Twitter?

WEB: "Please include time spent on Twitter on all devices you use, for example a computer, laptop, tablet or smartphone"
INTERVIEWER: "Please include time spent on the internet on all devices you use, for example a computer, laptop, tablet or smartphone"

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. Browsed my feed
2. Sent a direct message
3. Sent a Tweet myself that is not a reply
4. Replied to a Tweet
5. Retweeted someone
6. Liked a Tweet

COLS
1. Several times a day
2. Daily
3. Weekly
4. Monthly
5. Less often than once a month

"And which, if any, of the following do you mainly use Twitter for?"

G_MultiUpTo3_II1

1. Sharing my own content
2. Entertainment
3. Reading/keeping up to date with news
4. Keeping in touch with people I know
5. Work/business purposes
6. Networking
7. None of these [EXCLUSIVE]

As social media plays an increasing role in society, who uses Twitter, how they use it, and what they say on it can provide useful information for social researchers trying to understand society.

We would like to add the information you have provided for this study to publicly available information from your Twitter account such as your profile information, tweets in the past and in future, and information about how you use your account.

By doing so, we will be able to get a more well-rounded understanding of people's lives. For example, in a survey we can ask people's views on a particular issue, but by adding their Twitter information we can get a deeper understanding by seeing what news accounts they follow, how they talk about the issue (if at all), and whether they are connected to people with similar or different views.

Your Twitter information will be treated as confidential and given the same protections as the other information you give us.

Are you willing to tell us the username for your personal Twitter account, and for your Twitter information to be collected and added to the information you have provided for this study, or would you like more information?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure – I would like more information

{WEB: "Please click on the links below for some more information."; TEL: "Do you have any questions I can help with?}

HELP SCREEN: What information will you collect from my Twitter account?
We will only collect information from your Twitter account that is publicly available. This may include information from your account (such as your profile description, who you follow, and who follows you), the content of your tweets (including text, images, videos and web links), and background information about your tweets (such as when you tweeted, what type of device you tweeted from, and the location the tweet was sent from).

We may collect information from your past tweets and update this with information from more recent tweets on a regular basis.

HELP SCREEN: What will the information be used for?
The information will be used for social research purposes only. Adding people's Twitter information and their other study information allows researchers from universities, charities and government to better understand their experiences and opinions.

For example, by using extra information from Twitter accounts, researchers can start to:
- Understand who uses Twitter and how they use it
- See what Twitter information can tell us about people, and how accurate it is
- Collect information about things we don't ask in our survey
- Find out what happens to people before or after they complete a survey

HELP SCREEN: Why is my Twitter information useful for researchers?
The information that you give us in surveys is incredibly useful, but it only tells us part of the story. By adding other types of information, including information from Twitter, researchers are able to get a more well-rounded understanding of people's lives.

For example, in a survey we can ask people's views on a particular issue, but by adding their Twitter information we can get a deeper understanding by seeing what news accounts they follow, how they talk about the issue (if at all), and whether they are connected to people with similar or different views.

HELP SCREEN: What if what I do on Twitter isn't the 'real' me?
Most people think and behave differently depending on the situation they are in and who they are with. This affects what people do on Twitter but also, for example, how they might answer a survey question.

Researchers are aware of these issues, and by adding information from multiple sources together we are able to get a more well-rounded picture of people's lives than by looking at sources individually.

HELP SCREEN: Who will be able to access the information?
Datasets which include both your study data and Twitter information will only be made available for social research purposes. Researchers who want to use your detailed Twitter information must apply to access it and present a strong scientific case to ensure that the information is used responsibly and safely.

Summary information from your Twitter account which you cannot easily be identified from (e.g. how often you Tweet, or whether you follow any politicians) will have the same access controls as your survey answers.

At no point will any information that would allow you to be easily identified be made available to the public without your explicit permission.

HELP SCREEN: What will you do to keep my information safe?
All information we collect will be held in accordance with current data protection legislation (GDPR).

Because Twitter information is public data that anyone can search, it is impossible to anonymise completely. To keep your information safe, researchers will only be able to access the matched survey answers and detailed Twitter information in a secure environment set up to protect this type of data. Only approved researchers may access this information, and they will have to apply to do so.

Summary information from your Twitter account which you cannot easily be identified from (e.g. how often you Tweet, or whether you follow any politicians) will have the same level of protection as your other survey answers.

HELP SCREEN: How long will you collect and store my information for?

The information will be collected and stored for as long as they are useful for research purposes. However, you can withdraw your permission for us to collect or link your Twitter data at any time by emailing us at panel@natcen.ac.uk or calling 0800 652 4569, and do not have to give a reason.

If you do so, we will not collect any more of your Twitter data and will make no further links. However, previously collected data which has had your identifiers removed will be kept.

HELP SCREEN: What if I change my mind?
You can withdraw your permission for us to collect or link your Twitter data at any time by emailing us at panel@natcen.ac.uk or calling 0800 652 4569, and do not have to give a reason.

If you do so, we will not collect any more of your Twitter data and will make no further links. However, previously collected data which has had your identifiers removed will be kept.

{END OF HELP SCREENS}

Are you willing to tell us the username for your personal Twitter account, and for your Twitter information to be collected and added to the information you have provided for this study?

1. Yes
2. No

{IF TwitConsent = 1}
TwitUsername
"What is your Twitter username?"

[OPEN]

SOFTCHECK: "Twitter usernames must begin with an @ character, followed a maximum of 15 characters (A-Z, a-z, 0-9, underscore), no word spaces. Please check and amend."

Immigration
{ASK ALL}
IntroImm
Out next set of questions will ask about your views on immigration to the UK, and your views and experiences of different groups of people living here.

DISPLAY

Levels of migration
{ASK ALL}
ImmChng
There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in the UK (by "immigrants" we mean people who come to settle in the UK.

Do you think the number of immigrants to the UK nowadays should be...?

G_ReadOut_II1

1. Increased a lot
2. Increased a little
3. Remain the same as it is
4. Reduced a little
5. Reduced a lot

National Centre for Social Research

ImmLvl [COLLAPSIBLE GRID]
And to what extent do you think the UK should allow people from each of the following groups to come and live here?

G_Collapsible_Grid_Il1

ROWS
1. People of the same race or ethnic group as most British people
2. People of a different race or ethnic group as most British people
3. People from poorer countries in Europe
4. People from poorer countries outside Europe
5. Professionals from poorer countries in Europe
6. Professionals from poorer countries outside Europe
7. Unskilled labourers from poorer countries in Europe
8. Unskilled labourers from poorer countries outside Europe

COLS
1. Allow many to come and live here
2. Allow some
3. Allow a few
4. Allow none to come and live here

ImmAtt2 []
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

The UK should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants.

G_ReadOut_Il1

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

Refugees

RefGovRol
Do you think that the British government should be doing more than, less than, or about the same as it is currently doing to help with the current refugee crisis?

1. More than it is currently doing
2. Less than it is currently doing
3. About the same as it is currently doing

Impacts of migration

ImmImp1
On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Bad' and 10 means 'Good'…

Would you say it is generally bad or good for the UK's economy that people come to live here from other countries?

RANGE 0…10

{ASK ALL}
ImmImp2
And on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Undermined' and 10 means 'Enriched'…

Would you say that the UK's cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?

RANGE 0…10

{ASK ALL}
ImmImp3
And on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Worse' and 10 means 'Better'…

Is the UK made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?

RANGE 0…10

{ASK ALL}
ImmImp4
And on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Take jobs away' and 10 means 'Create new jobs'…

Would you say that people who come to live here generally take jobs away from workers in the UK, or generally help to create new jobs?
RANGE 0…10

{ASK ALL}
ImmImp5
Most people who come to live here work and pay taxes. They also use health and welfare services.

On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Generally take out more' and 10 means 'Generally put in more'…

Do you think people who come here take out more than they put in or put in more than they take out?

RANGE 0…10

{ASK ALL}
ImmImp6
And on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Worse' and 10 means 'Better'…

Are the UK's crime problems made worse or better by people coming to live here from other countries?

RANGE 0…10

Social mixing
{ASK ALL}
AreaPerc
Now thinking about your interactions with different types of people…

How would you describe the area where you currently live?

An area where…

G_ReadOut_II1

1. Almost nobody is of a different race or ethnic group from most British people
2. Some people are of a different race or ethnic group from most British people
3. Many people are of a different race or ethnic group

EMCont
How often do you have any contact with people who are of a different race or ethnic group from most British people when you are out and about?

This could be on public transport, in the street, in shops or in the neighbourhood, and could be verbal or non-verbal contact.
.
G_ReadOut_II1

1. Never
2. Less than once a month
3. Once a month
4. Several times a month
5. Once a week
6. Several times a week
7. Every day

ContGdBd
Thinking about this contact, in general how bad or good is it?

Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Extremely bad' and 10 means 'Extremely good'…

RANGE 0…10

EMFrnds [FLIP SCALE]
Do you have any close friends who are of a different race or ethnic group from most British people?

INTERVIEWER: PROMPT IF YES: 'Is that several, or a few?'

1. Yes – several
2. Yes – a few
3. No – none at all

General attitudes to ethnic minority groups

Views on prejudice/racism

EqualAll [FLIP SCALE]
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

 There should be equality for all groups in Britain.

G_ReadOut_II1

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Agree
5. Strongly agree

MotivNP [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: FLIP SCALE]
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward other groups because it is personally important to me.
2. I try to appear non-prejudiced toward other groups in order to avoid disapproval from others

COLS
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Agree
5. Strongly agree

Attitudes to specific ethnic minority groups
General attitudes

{ASK ALL}
Feeling [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: RANDOMISE ROWS; FLIP SCALE]
In general, how negative or positive do you feel towards each of the following groups in Britain?

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. Black people
2. Muslims
3. Immigrants

COLS
1. Very negative
2. Somewhat negative
3. Neither negative nor positive
4. Somewhat positive
5. Very positive

START LOOP: Repeat question for each group of interest

{COMPUTE FOR ALL}
GROUP
IF LOOP = 1: COMPUTE Group = "Black people"
IF LOOP = 2: COMPUTE Group = "Muslims"
IF LOOP = 3: COMPUTE Group = "Immigrants"

{ASK ALL}
Stereo [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: RANDOMISE ROWS; FLIP SCALE]

{IF LOOP = 1: "There are many different groups in this country and we would like to know how you think some of these groups are viewed by people in general."

To what extent are <B>{Group}<\B> viewed in the following ways?

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. As capable
2. As friendly
3. As moral
4. As receiving special treatment which makes things more difficult for others in Britain

COLS
1. Never viewed that way
2. Rarely
3. Sometimes
4. Usually
5. Always viewed that way

END LOOP: Repeat question for each group of interest.

DistBoss [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: RANDOMISE ROWS; FLIP SCALE]
How comfortable or uncomfortable do you think you would feel if a suitably qualified person was appointed <B>as your boss<\B> if they were…

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. A Black person
2. Muslim
3. An immigrant

COLS
1. Very comfortable
2. Comfortable
3. Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
4. Uncomfortable
5. Very uncomfortable

DistRel [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: RANDOMISE ROWS; FLIP SCALE]
How comfortable or uncomfortable do you think you would feel if someone <B>married one of your close relatives<\B> (such as a brother, sister, child or re-married parent) if they were…

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. A Black person
2. Muslim
3. An immigrant

COLS

1. Very comfortable
2. Comfortable
3. Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
4. Uncomfortable
5. Very uncomfortable

DistNext [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: RANDOMISE ROWS; FLIP SCALE]
How comfortable or uncomfortable do you think you would feel if someone <B>moved in next door to you<\B> if they were…

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. A Black person
2. Muslim
3. An immigrant

COLS
1. Very comfortable
2. Comfortable
3. Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
4. Uncomfortable
5. Very uncomfortable

EqualEmp [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: RANDOMISE ROWS; FLIP SCALE]
Now we want to ask your personal opinion about some changes that have been happening in this country over the years.

Have attempts to give equal opportunities to each of the following groups gone too far or not far enough?

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. Black people
2. Muslims
3. Immigrants

COLS
1. Gone much too far
2. Gone too far
3. About right
4. Not gone far enough
5. Not gone nearly far enough

Social mixing
Contact [COLLAPSIBLE GRID: RANDOMISE ROWS; FLIP SCALE]
Of your friends or people you feel close to, how many are in of the following groups?

G_Collapsible_Grid_II1

ROWS
1. Black people
2. Muslims
3. Immigrants

COLS
1. None
2. 1
3. 2-5
4. 6-9
5. 10 or more