

July 2018

What Britain thinks: Comparing views across London and other regions

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Prepared for: Trust for London



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Contents

| | | |
|-------|---|----|
| 1 | Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 | Research design | 2 |
| 1.1.1 | Data | 2 |
| 1.1.2 | Methods..... | 2 |
| 1.2 | Who's in London | 2 |
| 2 | Politics | 5 |
| 3 | Social liberalism | 12 |
| 4 | Welfare and government spending | 17 |
| 5 | Work and education | 23 |
| 6 | A London effect or an urban effect? | 28 |
| 7 | Conclusion | 33 |
| | Appendix A. Summary of results | 35 |
| | Appendix B. Attitudes analysed..... | 37 |
| | Appendix C. Regression results | 39 |

1 Introduction

London's role and significance within Great Britain and the broader United Kingdom has been a dominant thread in public debate and public policy for decades. London is one of the world's largest metropolitan economies, with a GDP of over £565BN, more than 17% of the total UK GDP. It is also the political heart of the UK and a global centre for thought leadership and innovation. This exceptional economic and social status has led to Londoners being perceived as a breed apart: a 'metropolitan elite', out of touch with ordinary citizens.

While it is true that Londoners are different (younger, more highly educated, more ethnically and nationally diverse than the British population as whole), this characterisation of Londoners as socially detached and economically privileged is not only inaccurate, it is deeply damaging to social cohesion across the UK. It is also to the detriment of outcomes for ordinary Londoners as making the case for investment in London is often hampered by misperceptions of its needs and population.

Questions of identity, social cohesion and the need for ordinary Londoners to be heard in debates about public policy have never been more pressing. The EU referendum decision revealed stark divides in political and social attitudes across the UK, with London, Scotland and Northern Ireland voting to remain, in contrast to the other regions and nations which voted to leave. As negotiations to leave the EU continue, alongside discussions of other potential shifts in sovereignty and machinery of government (calls for further devolution of fiscal powers to London, a second independence referendum for Scotland), grounding debate in shared values and beliefs will be an important protection against fragmentation and worsening community relations. Conversely, where Londoners' views are different from those of the UK as a whole, they should be heard and reflected in a new approach to London government and governance.

This research addresses four primary research questions:

1. Do the attitudes and beliefs held by Londoners reflect those held by the British public as a whole?
2. Do Londoners have a distinct attitudinal profile?
3. Do differences in attitudes between London, England, Scotland and Wales reflect differences in the composition of the populations of these different areas or differences in attitudes themselves?
4. How have Londoners' attitudes changed over time? And are any changes reflected nationally? Have Londoners become more or less like the populations of England, Scotland and Wales over the past 30 years?

Using data from the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSA) and Understanding Society (USoc), this analysis explored the similarities and differences in attitudes held by Londoners and the rest of Britain across a range of attitudinal domains including politics, social liberalism, welfare and government spending and work and education. Where possible, we have also documented how these views have developed over the past 20 years and whether differences in attitudes persist once we take into account the socio-demographic characteristics that make London and inhabitants of other areas of Britain distinct.

1.1 Research design

1.1.1 Data

The British Social Attitudes Survey (BSA) is Britain's leading study of the views of the nation. Every year this face-to-face survey asks a randomly selected sample of approximately 3,300 individuals across Great Britain a series of questions designed to assess their attitudes on a range of issues. Since it began in 1983, the BSA has covered topics including political allegiance and trust, public expenditure and benefits, poverty, education, the environment, immigration and crime. Many questions are repeated annually, offering the opportunity to monitor patterns of continuity and change in people's social, political and moral attitudes.

Understanding Society (USoc) is a longitudinal survey of around 40,000 households in the UK¹, which collects a wide range of data including information on health, work, education, income and family, as well as attitudinal measures. Although the range of attitudes measured in USoc is more limited than those covered in BSA, USoc's large sample size provides the statistical power substantial enough to explore whether demographic characteristics drive regional differences in social or political attitudes.

1.1.2 Methods

Our analysis took stock of views and beliefs held about a variety of issues and services affecting people's everyday lives. These attitudes covered a range of broad domains, including:

- Politics
- Social liberalism
- Welfare and government spending
- Work and education

A full list of views and attitudes explored is available in Table 7.1 in Appendix B.

Segmenting Great Britain into five regions (Greater London, the South, the North, Scotland and Wales), we compared the views of Londoners to those in other regions of Britain along these attitudes. Where attitudes were measured across multiple points in time, we conducted trend analysis exploring whether and how the attitudes have developed over time. And finally, where sample sizes allowed we used regression analysis to explore whether significant differences found in the descriptive analysis persists when controlling for socio-demographic characteristics including income, race, age, education and gender.

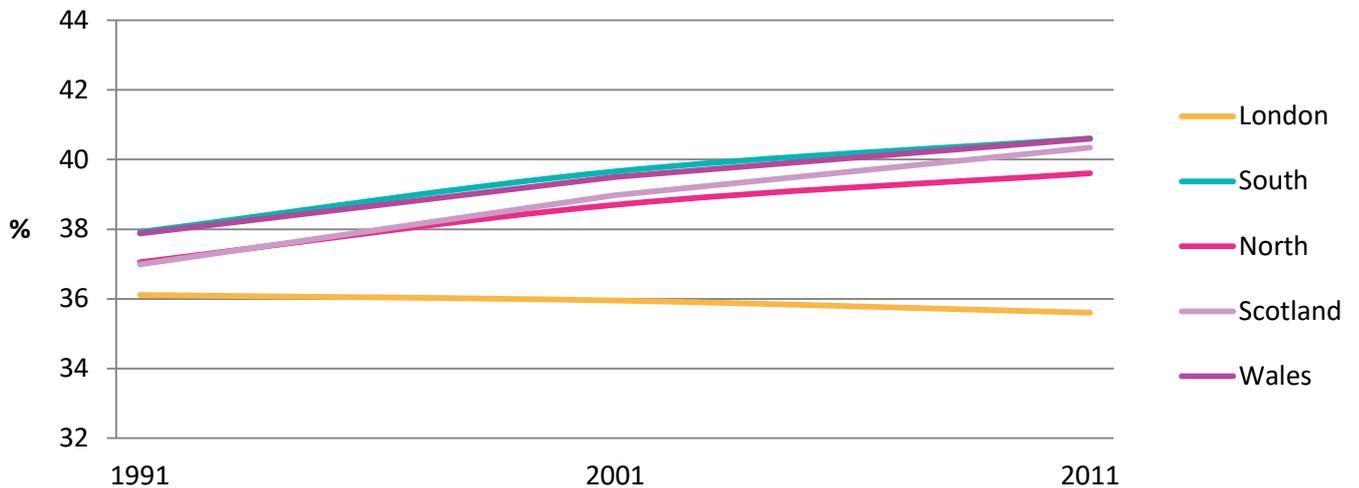
1.2 Who's in London

Because social attitudes are known to vary by demographic factors such as age and gender, an important factor to consider when comparing the values and attitudes held by Londoners to those held in the rest of Britain is that the demographic makeup of London differs considerably from that of the rest of the country; the average Londoner is just under 36 years while the average age of those in the rest of the country is approximately 40 years (Figure 1.1). Previous research has shown that

¹ Data from Northern Ireland were excluded from this analysis to provide consistency with BSA.

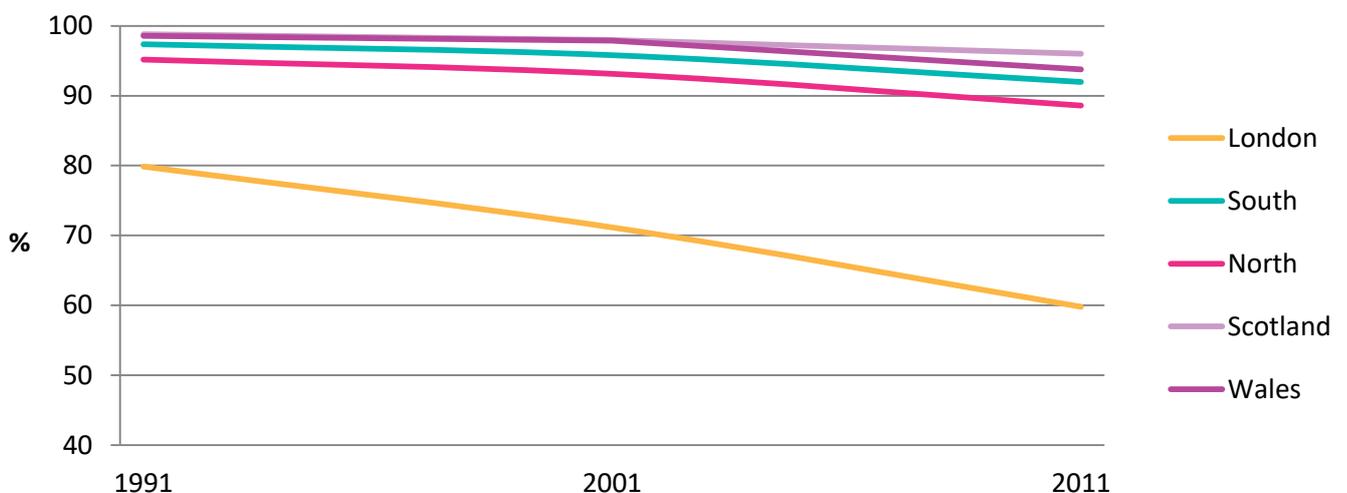
this difference is driven largely by the migration of young people in their 20s moving to London². Regional differences in average age have increased substantially over time. Between 1991 and 2011, the average age in London has decreased by half a year, in stark contrast to the rest of the country where the average age of residents has increased two to three years over this period.

Figure 1.1 Regional differences in average age (years), Census data 1991-2011



London is also more ethnically diverse compared with other regions of Britain and has grown more diverse in recent years. In 2011, 60% of Londoners were ethnically white compared with 89%-96% of those in other regions (Figure 1.2). The proportion of white Londoners has decreased by 20 percentage points since 1991 when 80% of Londoners were white. Other regions of Britain also became more diverse during this period, but at a more gradual pace – for example the proportion of ethnically white Northerners decreased from 93% in 1991 to 89% in 2011.

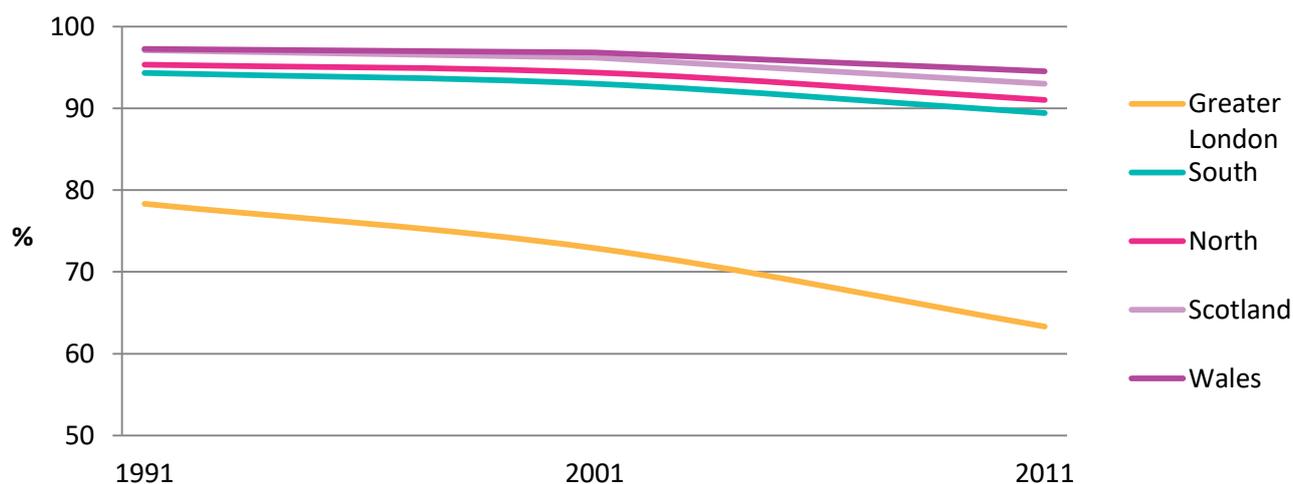
Figure 1.2 Proportion ethnically white (%), Census data 1991-2011



² See: <https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/data/londons-population-age/>

Analysis of ethnic diversity alone partially masks the diversity in country of origin, particularly with respect to EU migrants. In addition to ethnic diversity, London has greater diversity in terms of country of birth. In 2011, 63% of Londoners were born in the UK³ compared with 89%-95% of those in other regions of Great Britain (Figure 1.3). The proportion of UK-born residents has decreased across the Great Britain since 1991, although at a more rapid rate in London where the proportion of UK-born residents decreased 15 percentage points from 1991 when 78% of Londoners were UK-born.

Figure 1.3 Proportion born in the UK (%), Census data 1991-2011



These substantial differences in demographic makeup may underpin regional differences in attitudes analysed in further chapters. Therefore, where possible, this analysis will use regression analysis to explore whether regional differences in attitudes persist after accounting for the demographic characteristics that make London distinct.

³ Including England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland

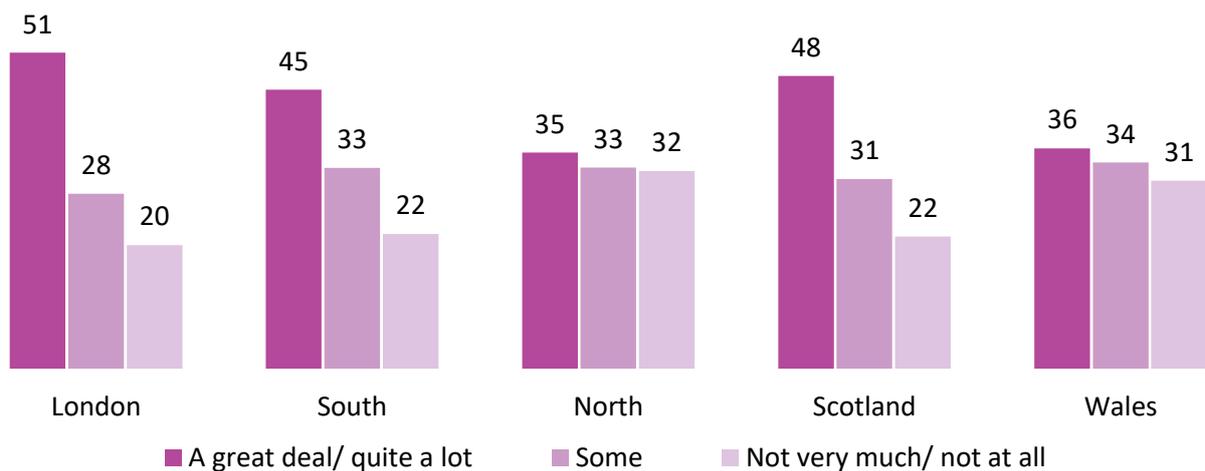
2 Politics

This chapter analyses the political attitudes of Londoners, comparing them to those held by individuals in other regions as well as comparing political attitudes over time. It explores a range of attitudinal dimensions including interest in politics, left-right affiliation, party affiliation and the EU referendum.

Interest in politics

In 2016, Londoners were significantly more likely than those in other regions to report high levels of interest in politics. Over half (51%) of those living in Greater London reported having a great deal or quite a lot of interest in politics, compared with 35%-48% of those in other regions. Scots were most similar to Londoners in their political interest, with 48% reporting a great deal or quite a lot of interest.

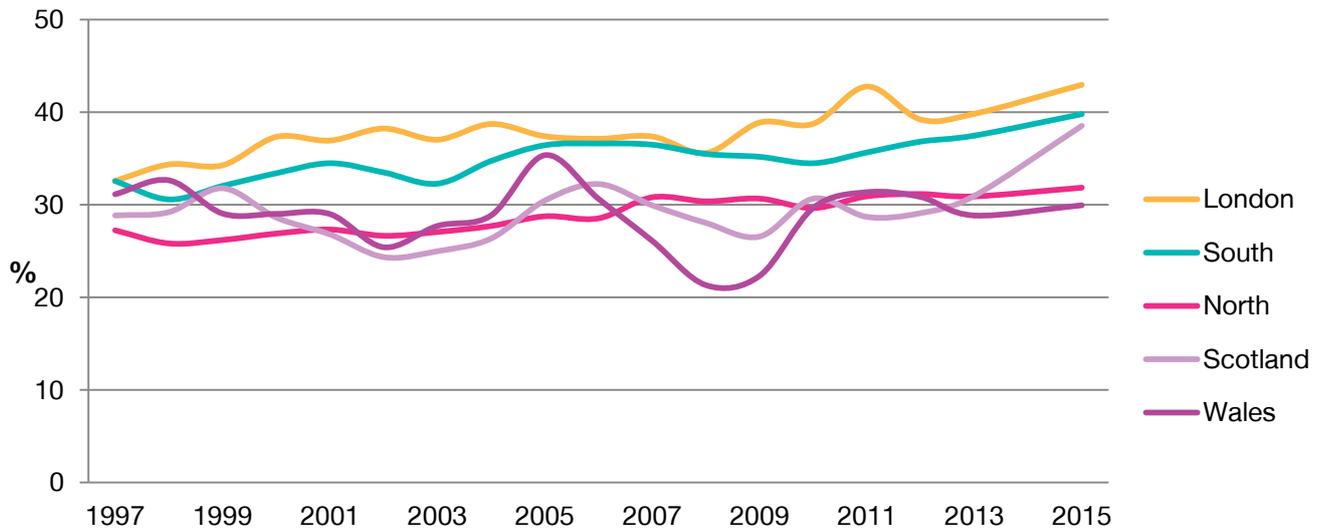
Figure 2.1 Interest in politics (%), BSA 2016



Base: All respondents

Time trend analysis of the past 20 years shows that Londoners' greater engagement in politics is not a new development. As shown in Figure 2.2, London has consistently had a greater concentration of individuals with high levels of interest in politics, although it was tied with the South in two years, 1997 and 2008. In contrast, Scotland's current high level of interest in politics developed more recently, as the country had the lowest proportion of individuals with high levels of interest as recent as 2011.

Figure 2.2 Proportion with “a great deal” or “quite a lot” of interest in politics (3-year average), BSA 1996-2016



Base: All respondents

* Note: raw figures, rather than 3-year averages, are cited in text.

London’s high level of interest in politics remained statistically significant in regression analysis after taking into account the socio-demographic characteristics that make London distinct. After accounting for age, education, nationality, ethnicity, social class and sex, Londoners were 5 percentage points more likely to indicate high levels of interest in politics than those in the South or Scotland, 8 percentage points more likely than those in the North and 10 percentage points more likely than those in Wales. Further details on the data, specification and results of this analysis are available in Appendix Table 7.2.

Left-right political scale

Since 1986, the British Social Attitudes survey has included an attitude scale aiming to measure where respondents stand on the left–right political spectrum. The scale is comprised of five statements to which the respondent is invited to “agree strongly”, “agree”, “neither agree nor disagree”, “disagree” or “disagree strongly”.

- Government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well-off.
- Big business benefits owners at the expense of workers.
- Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation’s wealth.
- There is one law for the rich and one for the poor.
- Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance.

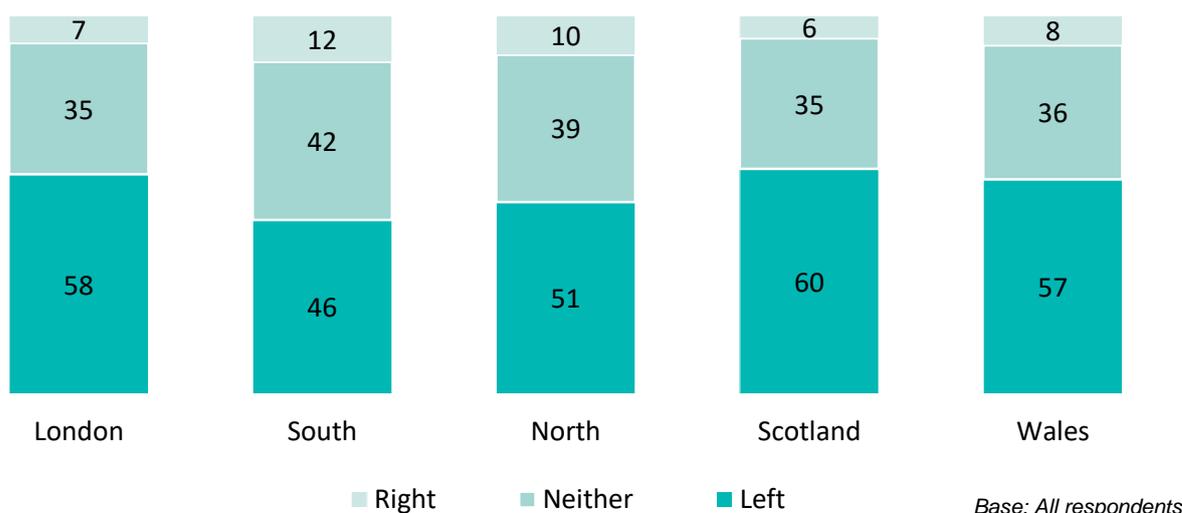
The left-right scale score is then formed by assigning responses to each statement a value of 1 – 5, with 1 being the leftmost position and 5 the rightmost. Scores across the five statements are then averaged, resulting in an index ranging from 1 (leftmost) to 5 (rightmost). According to this scale, those with a mean score of 1 – 2.5 are considered left-affiliated, those with a score of 3.5 – 5 are

considered right-affiliated and those with a score of 2.5 – 3.5 are considered neither left - nor right - affiliated.

In 2016, substantial proportions of the population across all regions fell to the left end of the left-right spectrum, with the greatest proportion of left-affiliated individuals in Scotland (60%), Greater London (58%) and Wales (57%) (Figure 2.3). Those in the South and North had lower – although still considerable – proportions of individuals on the left end of the scale (46% and 51%). A much smaller proportion of the population was on the right end of the scale across all regions, with the lowest in Scotland (6%) and the highest in the South of England (12%).

Looking back over time, in most regions the proportions of people on the left and right of the scale have remained relatively stable from 1998 to 2016. However, compared to 1998, London and Scotland have seen a significant increase in the proportions on the left of the scale over time (49% of Londoners were left-affiliated in 1998, compared to 58% by 2016; 56% of Scots were left-affiliated in 1998, compared to 60% in 2016). Although small base sizes precluded the use of regression analysis to explore whether demographic factors explain these shifts, it is possible that these changes, particularly in London, may be linked to the substantial demographic changes that took place during this time, as discussed in Section 1.2.

Figure 2.3 Left-right affiliation (%), BSA 2016



Party support

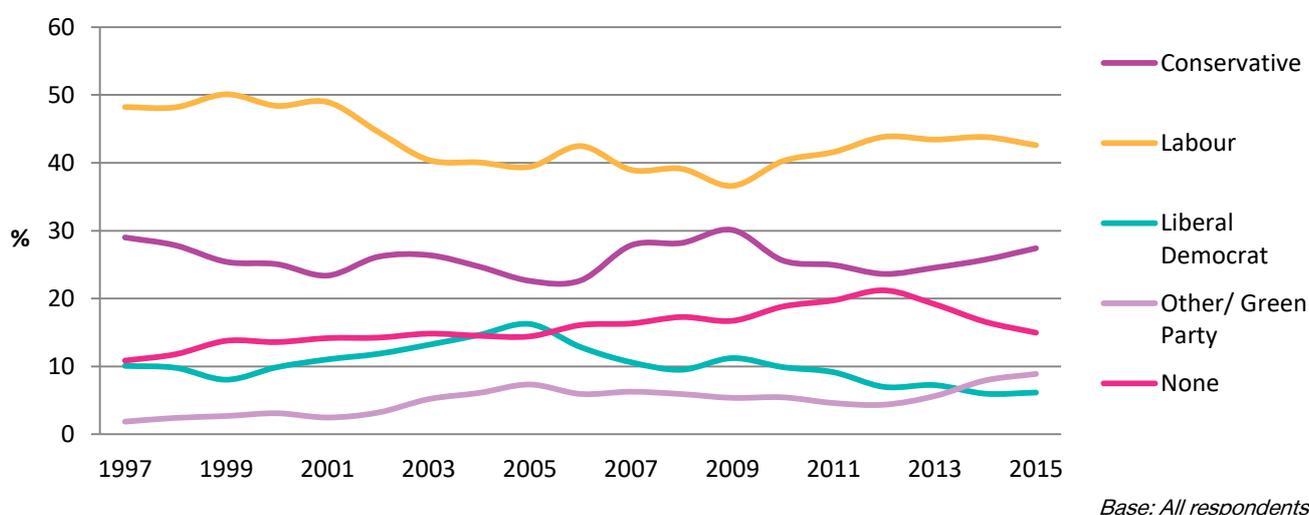
Londoners were more likely than those in other regions to report supporting the Labour Party (40% were Labour supporters compared with 23%-35% of those in other regions). A similar proportion of Londoners (31%), Northerners (33%) and Welsh (31%) reported supporting the Conservative Party while a higher proportion of Southerners (47%) did so. These differences are well-established and have remained relatively consistent over the past 20 years, with the notable exception for Scotland, where Labour Party support has waned and the support for other parties (like the Scottish National Party) has increased.

Table 2.1 Party support by region (%), BSA 2016

| | London | South | North | Scotland | Wales |
|------------------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Conservative | 31 | 47 | 33 | 16 | 31 |
| Labour | 40 | 25 | 35 | 23 | 31 |
| Liberal Democrats | 7 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| Other | 2 | 5 | 7 | 45 | 14 |
| None | 15 | 13 | 17 | 10 | 20 |
| Green | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | - |
| <i>Unweighted base</i> | <i>253</i> | <i>950</i> | <i>1166</i> | <i>233</i> | <i>157</i> |

Among Londoners, Labour has consistently been the most commonly supported party over the past 20 years. However, overall support for the party has fluctuated, falling from 44% in 1996 to 34% in 2008 before recovering to 40% in 2016. Meanwhile, support for the Liberal Democrats increased from 9% in 1996 to a high of 18% in 2004 and declining to 7% in 2016.

Figure 2.4 Political Party support among Londoners (3-year average*), BSA 1996-2016



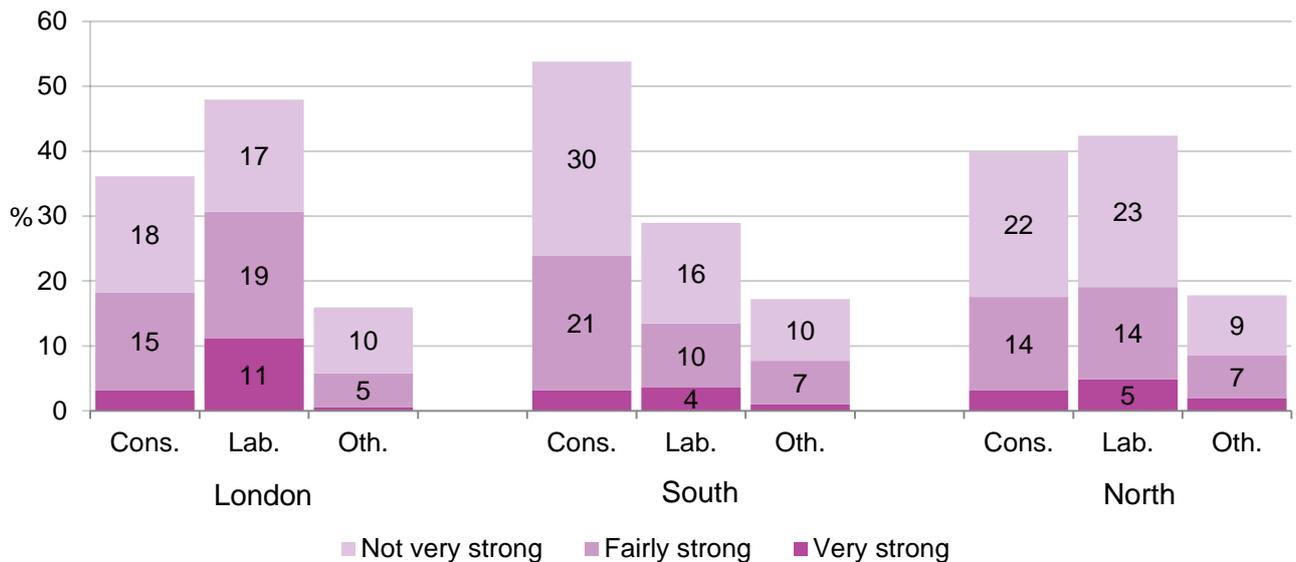
* Note: raw figures, rather than 3-year averages, are cited in text.

Accounting for age, education, nationality, ethnicity, social class and sex in regression analysis, Londoners were 12 percentage points more likely to support Labour compared with Southerners and 6 percentage points less likely than those in the North (Table 7.2).

Despite these differences in party affiliation, the strength of individuals' support of their chosen party did not differ significantly across regions. Across regions, around 10% of the population reported "very strong" party identification, 37% characterised their party identification as "fairly strong" and 53% as "not very strong."

Breaking down strength of party support and party support by region⁴, around one-third (30%) of Londoners affiliated with a party were Labour supporters with fairly or very strong party affiliation compared with 14% of Southerners and 19% or Northerners. 18% of those in London were fairly or very strongly affiliated Conservative Party supporters compared with 24% of Southerners and 17% of those in the North.

Figure 2.5 Party support and strength of support (%), BSA 2016



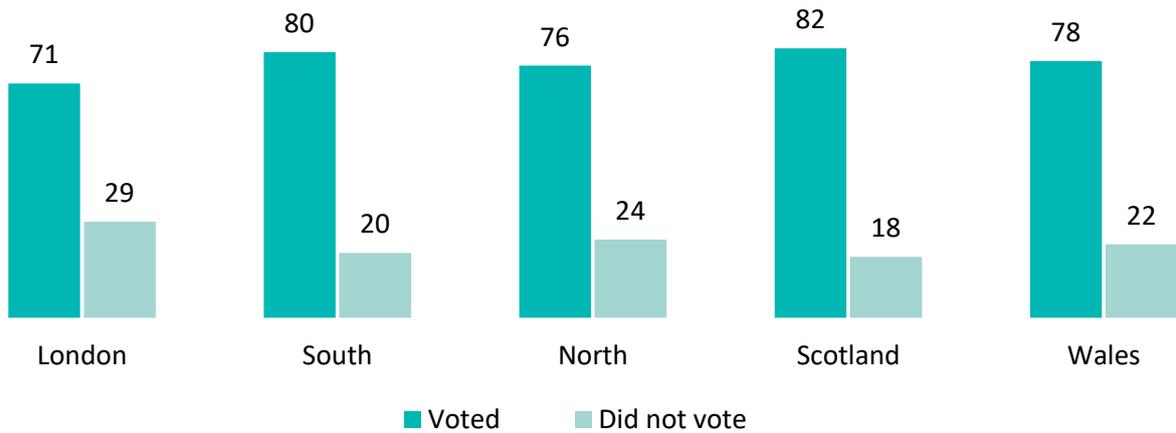
Base: Respondents with a party affiliation

The EU referendum

Perhaps reflective of London's diversity of nationalities (and therefore eligibility), a smaller proportion of Londoners reported having voted in the EU referendum compared with other regions (71% vs. 76%-82%) (Figure 2.6).

⁴ This analysis compares regions in England only due to differences in political parties in the devolved nations.

Figure 2.6 Whether voted in the EU Referendum (%), BSA 2016

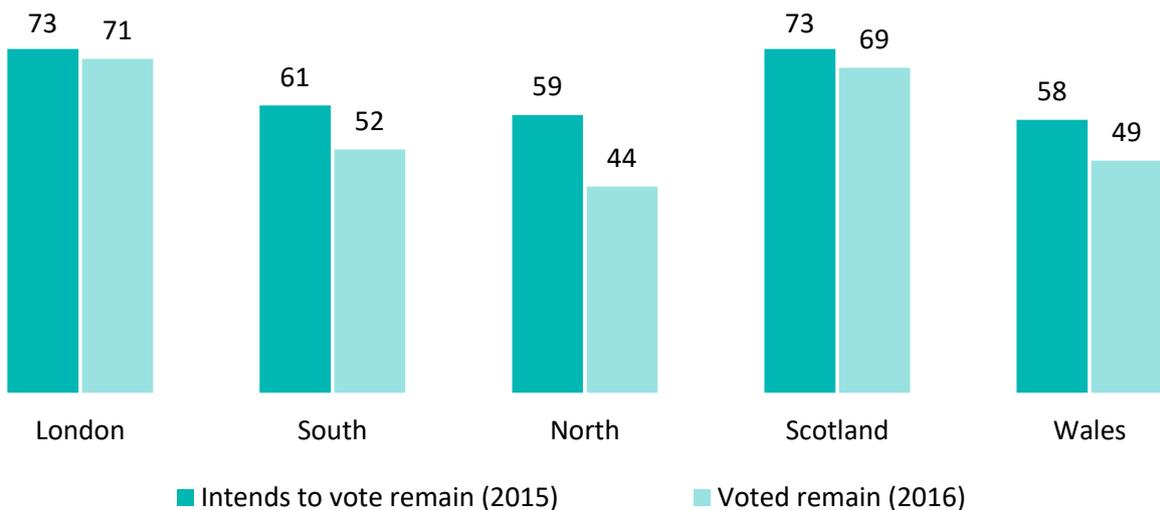


Base: All respondents

Among those who did vote in the referendum, those in London and Scotland were most likely to vote remain, and by a significant margin: 71% of Londoners and 69% of Scots voted to remain in the EU compared with 52% of Southerners, 49% of Welsh and 44% of Northerners (Figure 2.7). Taking age, education and country of birth into account, Londoners were 10 percentage points more likely than Southerners and 14 percentage points more likely than Northerners to vote to remain in the EU.

For London and Scotland, these figures are similar to the proportions of individuals who indicated they intended to vote remain a year before the referendum in the British Election Survey. By contrast, the biggest swing took place among Northerners, among whom 59% indicated they intended to vote remain prior to the election and 44% reported voting remain after the fact.

Figure 2.7 Intends to vote remain vs. voted remain the EU Referendum (%), BES 2015 and BSA 2016



Conclusion

Analysis across a variety of political views and attitudes suggests that Londoners do hold political values that are distinct from those in other regions of England. Our analysis also suggests, however, that in many instances Londoners and Scots share remarkably similar political views despite the geographical distance. Both tended to express greater interest in politics – although this was a more recent trend for Scots than for Londoners. Londoners and Scots were also more likely to fall on the left end of the left-right political spectrum, compared with those in the rest of England and in Wales, and Londoners were more likely to support the Labour party than those in the North and South of England.

As has been well-documented elsewhere, we found that Londoners were less likely to have voted in the EU, likely due to the high representation of non-UK born residents in London, and that Londoners and Scots voted to remain in greater proportions than other regions of Britain. Finally, comparing survey data from one year before the referendum to data collected after the referendum, we found that the largest swing from remain to leave took place in the North, with considerable swings in the South and Wales as well.

3 Social liberalism

This chapter explores how the worldview of Londoners differs – or is similar – to those in the rest of the country. It assesses the views of Londoners along a social liberal-authoritarian scale, comprised of opinions on things like criminal justice, the death penalty and censorship, as well as views on gender roles and sexuality.

Liberal-authoritarian scale

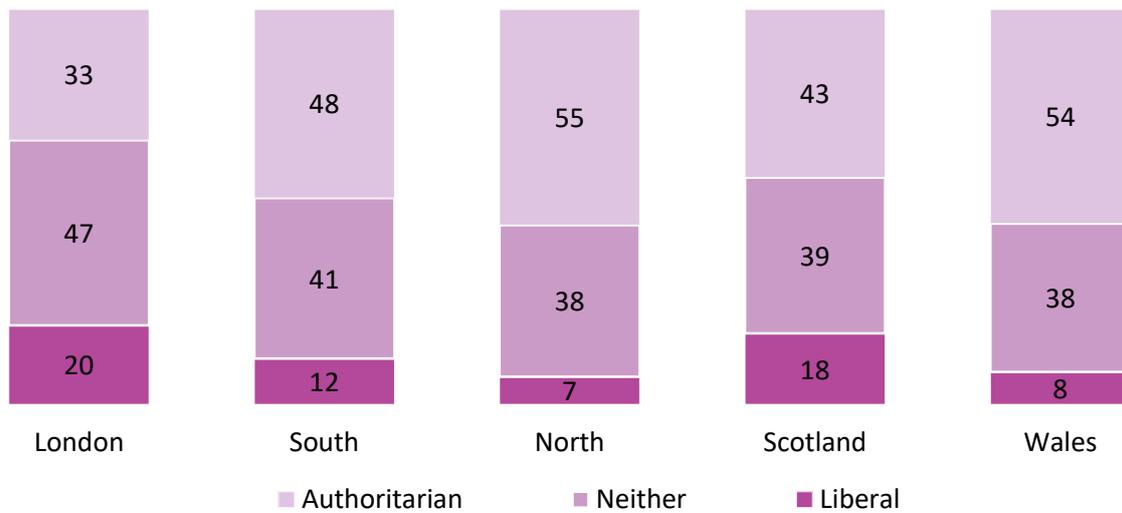
Similar to the left-right scale discussed in the previous chapter, BSA includes an attitude scale aiming to measure where respondents stand on the liberal–authoritarian scale. The scale is comprised of six statements to which the respondent is invited to “agree strongly”, “agree”, “neither agree nor disagree”, “disagree” or “disagree strongly”.

- Young people today don’t have enough respect for traditional British values.
- People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences.
- For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence.
- Schools should teach children to obey authority.
- The law should always be obeyed, even if a particular law is wrong.
- Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards.

Responses to each statement are assigned a value of 1 – 5, with 1 being the most liberal position and 5 the most authoritarian. Scores across the statements are then averaged, resulting in an index where those with a mean score of 1 – 2.5 are considered more liberal, those with a score of 3.5 – 5 are considered more authoritarian and those with a score of 2.5 – 3.5 are considered neither.

In 2016, Londoners and Scots were most likely to fall on the liberal end of the liberal-authoritarian spectrum, with 20% of those in London and 18% of those in Scotland considered liberal compared to 7%-12% of those in other regions (Figure 3.1). By contrast, those in the North (55%) and in Wales (54%) were most likely to fall on the authoritarian end of the spectrum (compared with 33%-48% of those in other regions). A sizeable proportion of the population in all regions were considered neither liberal nor authoritarian, ranging from 38% in the North and Wales to 47% in London.

Figure 3.1 Liberal-authoritarian scale (%), BSA 2016



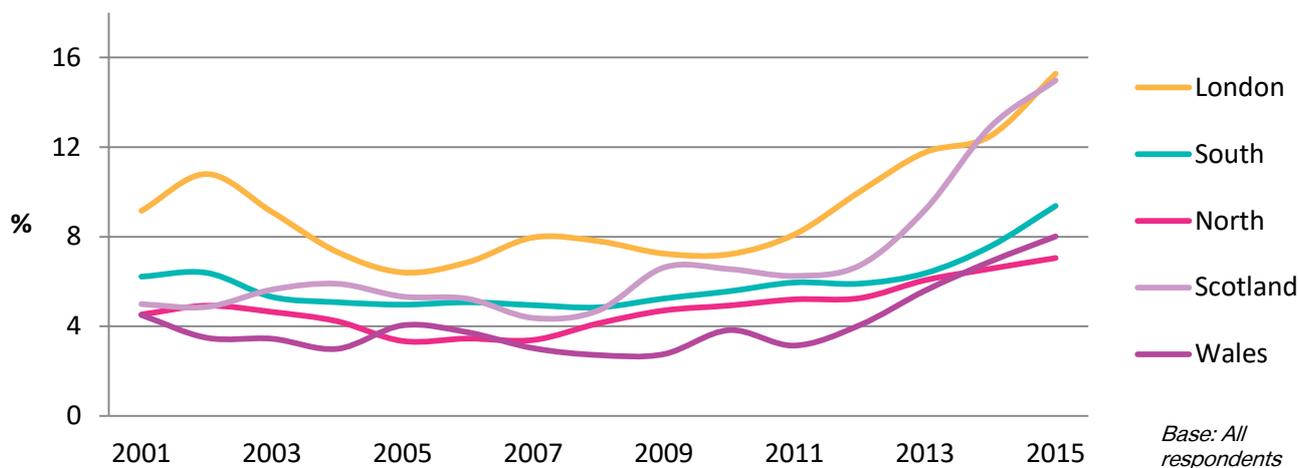
Base: All respondents

The views of Londoners stood out as distinct from those in other regions on three items on the liberal-authoritarian scale in particular; despite the fact that London had the second highest homicide rate among the regions in 2016⁵, those in London were substantially less likely to agree that criminals deserve stricter sentences (53% vs. 65%-73% in other regions) and were less likely to agree that the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence for some crimes (29% vs. 41%-51%). Londoners were also more sceptical of the idea that censorship of films and television is necessary to uphold moral values, with 43% agreeing with the statement compared to 48%-59% of those in other regions.

Looking back over the past 15 years, the trend across all regions has been a shift towards increased liberalism, although at varying rates of change (Figure 3.2). London and Scotland have tended to have greater proportions of liberal-leaning individuals compared with other regions and have experienced a steeper increase in liberalism since 2010.

⁵ The 2016 homicide rate per one-million residents in London was 12.3 compared with 8.1 in the South, 15.4 in the North, 11.8 in Scotland and 9.3 in Wales. For further information see: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/appendixtableshomicideineEnglandandWales> and <https://beta.gov.scot/publications/homicide-scotland-2016-17-9781788512367/>

Figure 3.2 Proportion liberal (3-year average), BSA 2000-2016

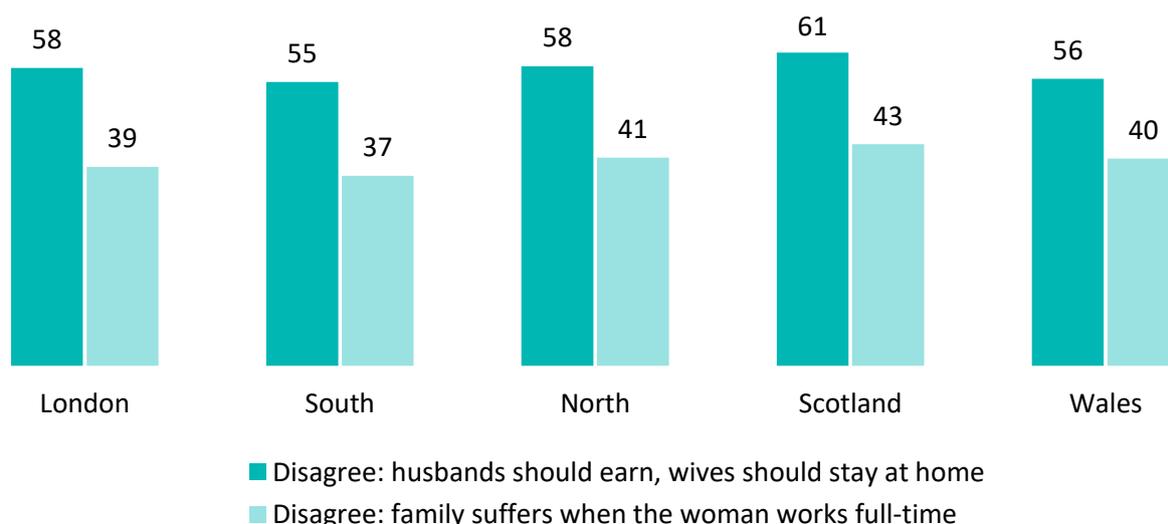


* Note: raw figures, rather than 3-year averages, are cited in text.

Gender roles and sexuality

Londoners' views on traditional gender roles were not vastly different from those in other regions. When asked to what extent they agree with the statement "A husband's job is to earn money, a wife's job is to look after the home and family," 58% of Londoners reported they disagreed compared with 55%-61% of those in other regions (Figure 3.3). Around 12% of individuals across regions agreed that men should earn and women should look after the family. Nearly two in five (39%) Londoners disagreed with the statement that "family suffers when the woman works full-time" compared with 37%-43% of those in other regions while 29% of individuals across regions agreed.

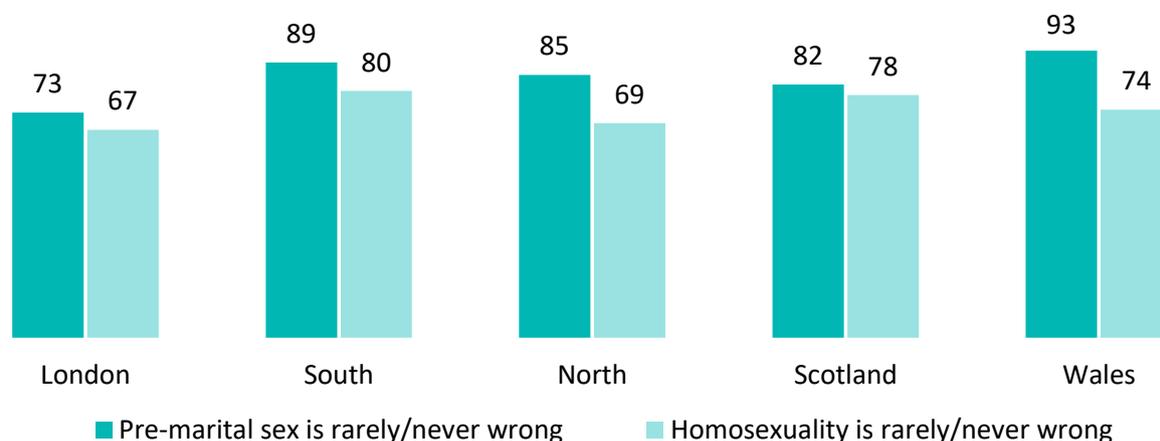
Figure 3.3 Views on gender roles (%), USoc 2012/13



After taking into account age, education, nationality, ethnic, social class and gender, Londoners were 4 percentage points more likely to eschew the idea that husbands should earn and wives

should stay home compared with those in the South, and 5 percentage points more likely to reject traditional divisions of household labour than those in Scotland (Table 7.3). Regional differences in feeling that the family suffers when women work full-time remained non-significant once controlling for demographic factors.

Figure 3.4 Views on sexuality (%), BSA 2016



Base: All respondents

On issues concerning sexuality, Londoners were less liberal than their counterparts in other regions. Asked whether sex before marriage is wrong, 73% of those in London reported feeling it was rarely or never wrong compared with 82%-93% of those in other regions (Figure 3.4). Londoners were also most likely to report that premarital sex is always or mostly wrong (16% vs. 5%-10% in other regions). Controlling for religion, a factor significantly correlated with views towards pre-marital sex, differences between London and other regions became statistically non-significant. The one exception was the South, where individuals were 14 percentage points more likely to have a tolerant view towards pre-marital sex even after accounting for religion.

Despite having the highest proportion of individuals who identify as gay, lesbian or bisexual across regions⁶, when asked whether homosexuality is wrong, Londoners (67%) were less likely than those in the South (80%), Scotland (78%) and Wales (74%) to report that it is rarely or never wrong and were most likely to report that it is always or mostly wrong (27% vs. 15%-22%). After accounting for religion, however, these differences became statistically non-significant, suggesting that religious differences are at work in driving differing views on homosexuality across regions.

Conclusion

Analysis of social liberalism among Londoners revealed something of a paradox. On some issues, Londoners expressed more liberal views compared with those in other regions, while in others they expressed a more socially conservative stance. Londoners were least likely to be on the authoritarian end of the liberal-authoritarian scale – although one-third were considered

⁶ See:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/sexuality/bulletins/sexualidentityuk/2015#london-has-the-largest-percentage-of-the-population-who-identify-as-gay-lesbian-or-bisexual>

authoritarian – and were most likely to fall on the liberal end of the spectrum compared with other regions in Britain. A shift towards increasing liberalism has occurred within all regions of Britain since 2010 although this shift has been quicker and more dramatic in London and Scotland.

Despite their propensity towards a liberal worldview, Londoners were no more likely to support egalitarian gender roles than their counterparts in the rest of the country. They were also less likely than those in the remainder of the country to disagree with the notion that premarital sex and homosexuality is wrong. However further investigation suggests these differences are driven by religious differences across regions.

4 Welfare and government spending

This chapter compares Londoners' perspectives on welfare and government' spending to those in other regions of Britain. We explore Londoners' views on a welfare scale as well as views on taxation and social spending.

Welfare scale

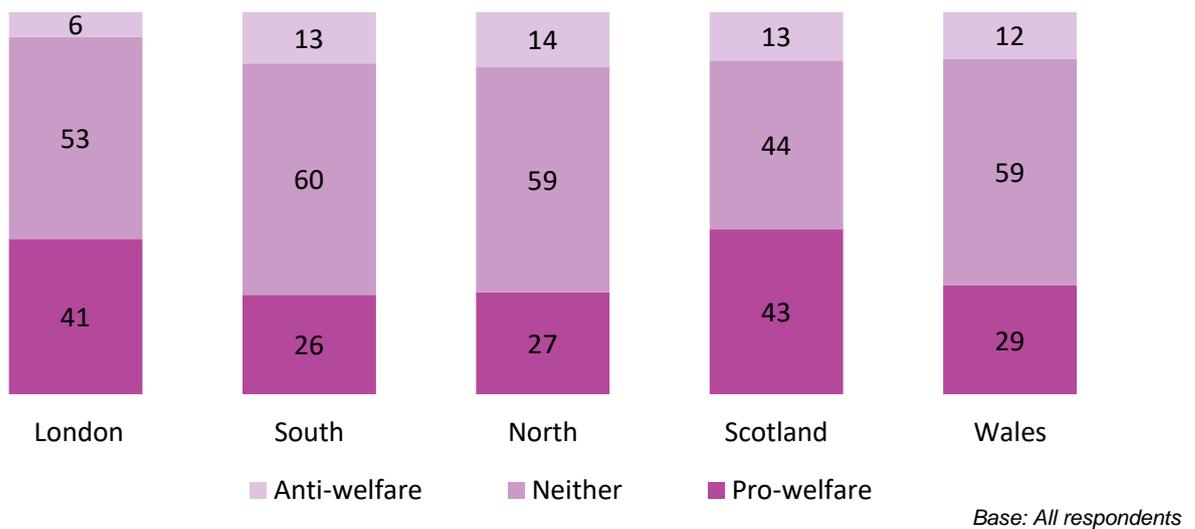
Similar to the left-right and liberal-authoritarian scales discussed in the earlier chapters, the BSA survey includes an attitude scale aiming to measure where respondents stand with respect to their views on welfare. The scale is comprised of the following eight statements to which the respondent is invited to “agree strongly”, “agree”, “neither agree nor disagree”, “disagree” or “disagree strongly”.

- The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other.
- The government should spend more money on welfare benefits for the poor, even if it leads to higher taxes.
- Around here, most unemployed people could find a job if they really wanted one.
- Many people who get social security don't really deserve any help.
- Most people on the dole are fiddling in one way or another.
- If welfare benefits weren't so generous, people would learn to stand on their own two feet.
- Cutting welfare benefits would damage too many people's lives.
- The creation of the welfare state is one of Britain's proudest achievements.

As with the other scales, responses to each statement are assigned a value of 1 – 5, with 1 being the most pro-welfare position and 5 the most anti-welfare position. Scores across the statements are then averaged, resulting in an index where those with a mean score of 1 – 2.5 are considered more pro-welfare, those with a score of 3.5 – 5 are considered more anti-welfare and those with a score of 2.5 – 3.5 are considered neither.

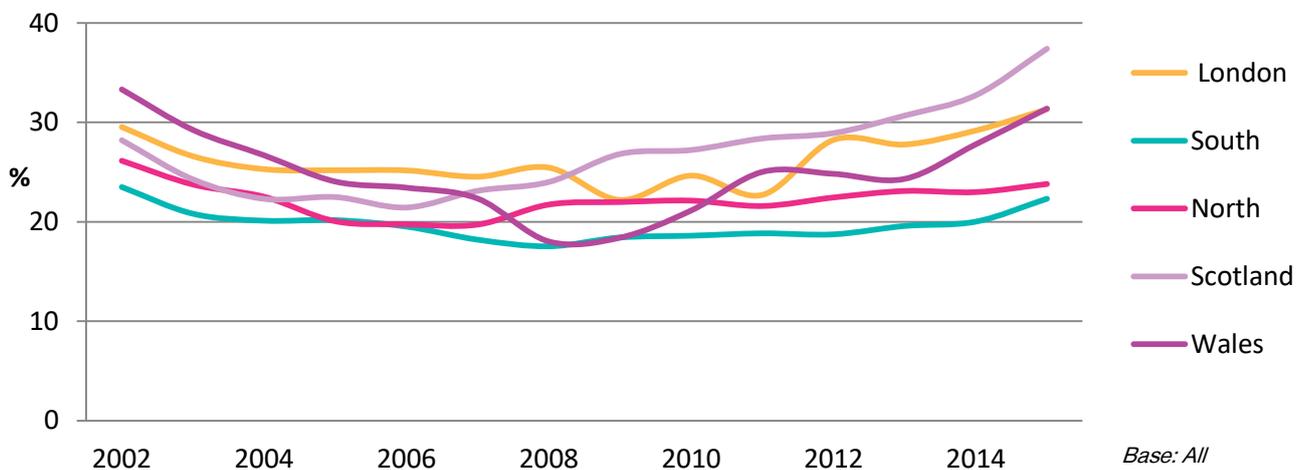
In 2016, Londoners and Scots were more likely than those in other regions to fall on the pro-welfare end of the welfare scale (41% and 43%, respectively, compared with 16%-29% in other regions) (Figure 4.1). Those on the anti-welfare end of the scale comprised a small proportion of all regions, with the smallest proportion in London (6% vs. 12%-14% in other regions).

Figure 4.1 Welfare scale (%), BSA 2016



Among all regions in Britain, the proportion of those who are pro-welfare declined between 2001 and 2008 with regional trends diverging thereafter. In the South and the North, the proportion of pro-welfare individuals gradually returned to 2001 levels between 2008 and 2016 while in London and Scotland pro-welfare support increased, reaching its highest level of support in 2016. With exception to Wales, there was a considerable upturn in 2016 in the proportion reporting as pro-welfare compared to earlier years.

Figure 4.2 Proportion pro-welfare (%) (3-year average), BSA 2001-2016

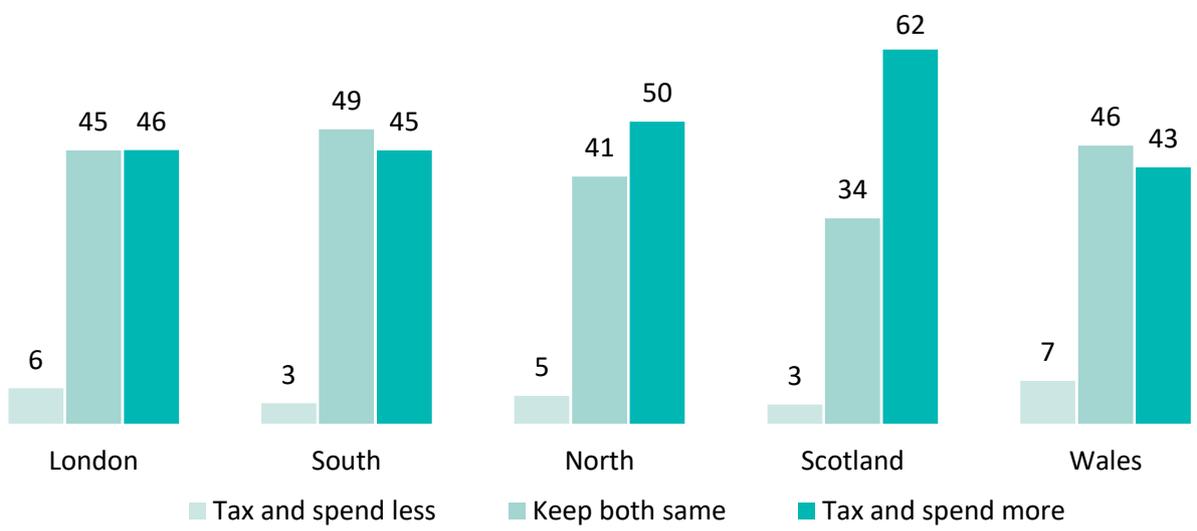


Tax and spend

When asked whether taxes and public spending should be increased or decreased, Londoners expressed similar views to those in the rest of England. 46% of Londoners responded that the government should increase tax and spend, compared with 43%-50% of those in other regions of England. The Scots were most in favor of increases in tax and spend with 62% expressing this view. These regional differences have remained consistent over the past 20 years, with support for tax

and spend increases declining across regions from an average of 60% in 1996 to a low of 31% in 2010 before increasing to 49% in 2016.

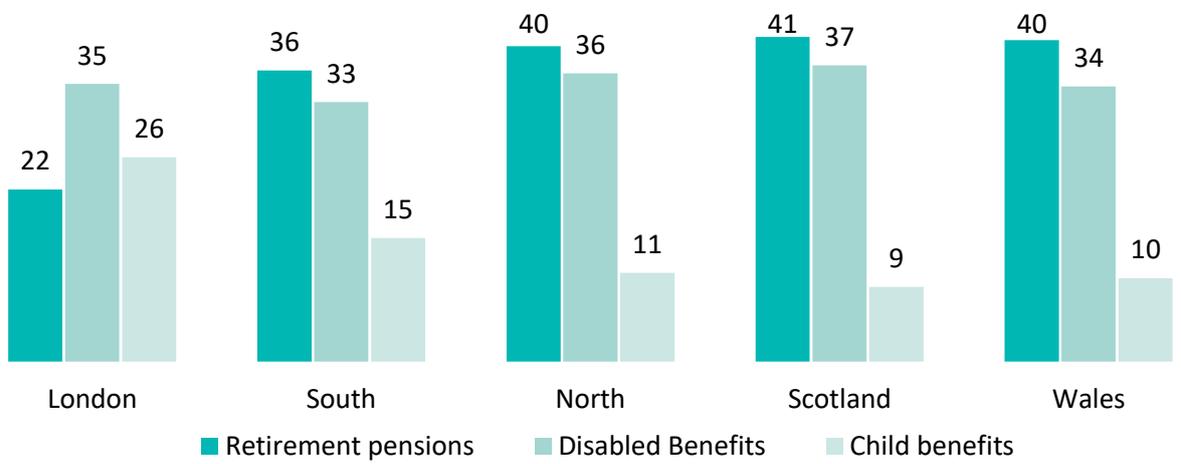
Figure 4.3 Views on levels of taxation and public spending (%), BSA 2016



Base: All respondents

Despite similar views on the overall level of tax and spend, Londoners differ from other regions in their views on what the top priority for additional spending on social benefits should be (Figure 4.4). Londoners were more likely to advocate increased spending on child benefits than those in other regions (26% vs. 9%-15%) and less likely to support increased spend on retirement pensions (22% vs 36%-41%). Some of this difference is accounted for by London’s age structure - once age differences between the regions were controlled for, the gap between priority spending on child benefits (24%) and retirement pensions (23%) reduced slightly. Around one-third of respondents across all regions named disabled benefits as their top social benefits spending priority.

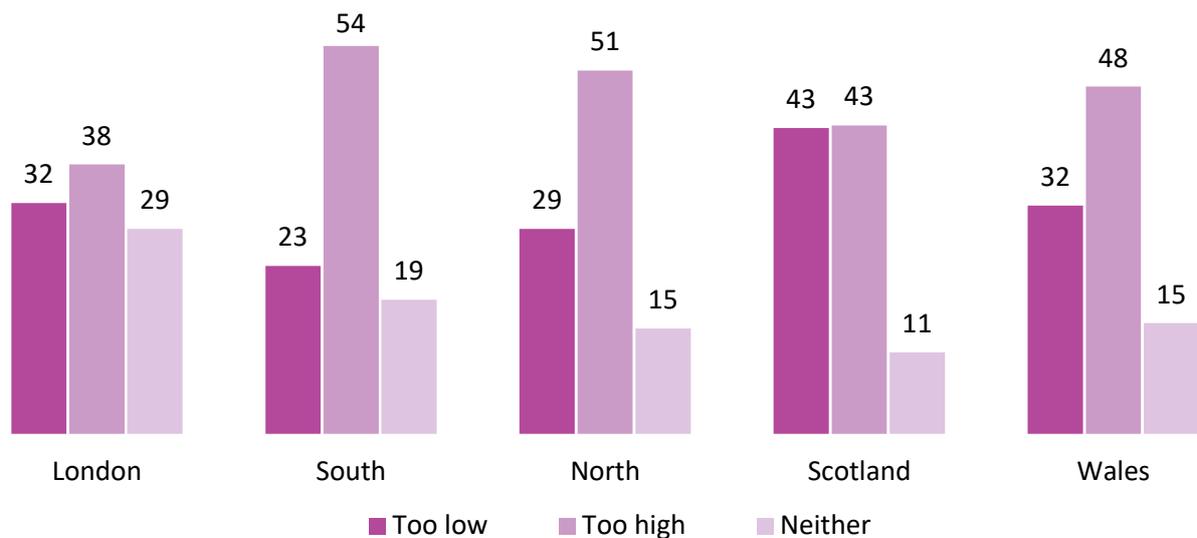
Figure 4.4 First priority for extra social benefits spending (%), BSA 2016



Base: All respondents

When asked about their views on the current level of unemployment benefits, Londoners were less likely than those in other regions to report that benefits were too high and discouraged people from finding work compared with those in other regions (38% vs. 43%-54%). This sentiment may in part reflect regional differences in cost of living and Londoner’s perceptions of their own economic circumstances. When asked how they felt about their own household income, Londoners were also significantly less likely than those in other regions to report that they felt they were living comfortably on their current income (44% compared with 53%-56% in other regions). This pattern has remained consistent since 2010, when the question was first included in the BSA.

Figure 4.5 Views on current levels of unemployment benefits (%), BSA 2016

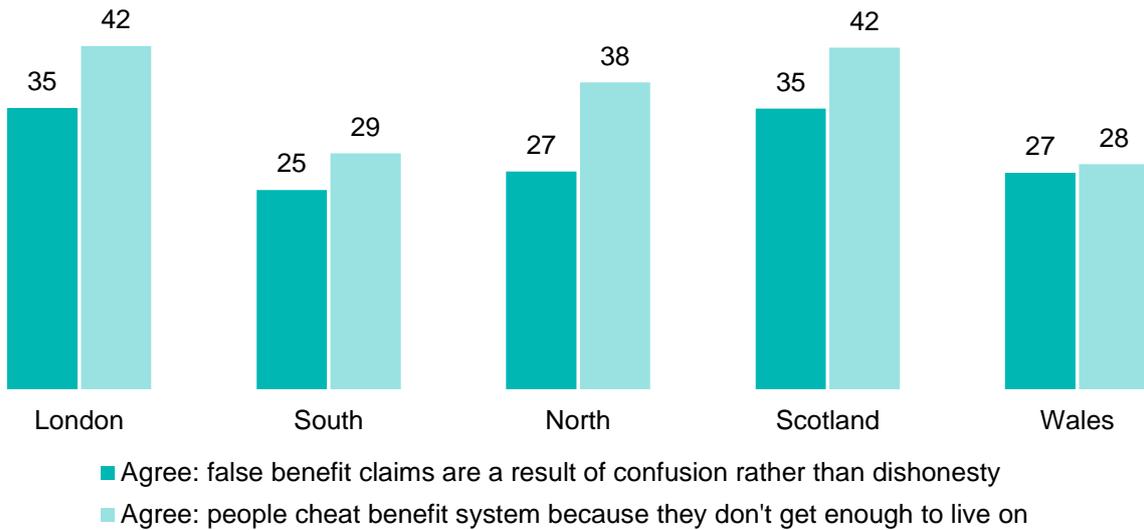


Base: All respondents

Benefit claimants

When asked their views on false benefit claims, Londoners and Scots were more likely than those in other regions to give claimants the benefit of the doubt. Over one-third (35%) of those in London and Scotland agreed with the statement that “a lot of false benefit claims are a result of confusion rather than dishonesty” compared with 25%-27% of those in other regions (Figure 4.6). Where false claims are made intentionally, Londoners and Scots were more likely to express sympathy with claimants than those in other regions. 42% in London and in Scotland agreed with the statement “people cheat the benefits system because they don’t get enough to live on” compared with 28%-38% of those in other regions. Again, Londoners’ views on the sufficiency of social benefits may, in part, reflect their differing perception of income adequacy.

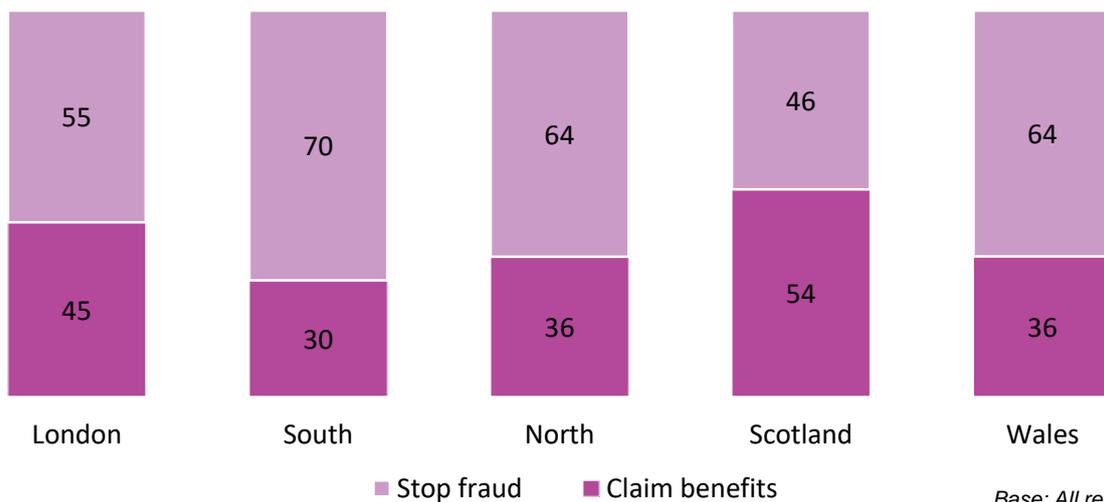
Figure 4.6 Attitudes towards benefit claimants (%), BSA 2016



Base: All respondents

Overall, those in London (45%) and Scotland (54%) were more likely than those in other regions to feel the government should be focusing greater effort on encouraging people who are entitled to benefits to take them up rather than working to stop fraudulent claims (compared with 30%-36% in other regions) (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7 Whether the government should focus more on encouraging valid benefit claims or discouraging false claims (%), BSA 2016



Base: All respondents

Conclusion

This analysis revealed that Londoners and Scots, perhaps in keeping with their left-leaning political ideologies, tended to hold pro-welfare views compared with those in other regions of the country. Despite holding pro-welfare views, Londoners were no more likely than their counterparts in other regions to support increases in taxation and social spending. When asked about their priorities for additional social benefits spending, Londoners were more likely to name child benefits as a top priority, while those in the rest of the country tended to favour retirement pensions.

When asked about benefit claimants, Londoners and Scots tended to express a more sympathetic view, reporting that false benefit claims are typically the result of confusion or desperation rather than outright dishonesty. They were also more likely to feel that the government should focus their efforts on helping people claim the benefits they're entitled to rather than going after fraudulent claims.

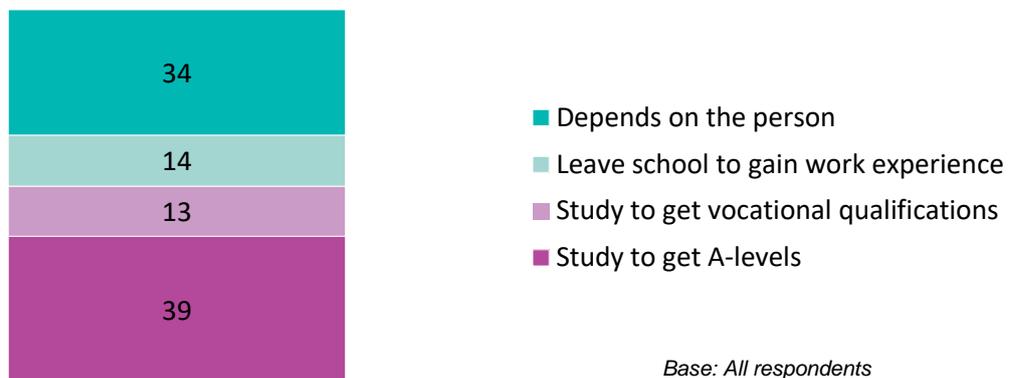
5 Work and education

This chapter compares Londoners' views on education and work to those in the rest of the country. It analyses the capital's opinions on young people's educational pursuits, the performance and role of the British education system and expectations regarding work and retirement.

Advice to young people

Individuals across regions gave similar responses when asked what advice they would give a 16 year old about their plans for education. Nearly two in five (39%) reported they would recommend the young person continue their studies through A-level qualifications, 13% would recommend vocational qualifications, 14% would advise the young person to leave school in order to gain work experience, and 34% felt that the advice should depend on the particular person.

Figure 5.1 Advice would give a 16 year old about their future (%), BSA 2016



Since 2002 however, both Londoners and Scots have grown less likely to recommend young people to pursue A-level qualifications. In 2002, 62% of Londoners and 70% of Scots reported recommending A-level education while in 2016 these figures had declined to 49% and 42%, respectively (Figure 5.2 Proportion that would advise young people to pursue A-level qualifications (%), BSA 2002, 2016). At the same time, there was a sharp increase in those reporting that they would advise young people to pursue vocational qualifications in London and Scotland, rising from 8% and 6% in 2002 to 12% and 13% in 2016, respectively (

Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.2 Proportion that would advise young people to pursue A-level qualifications (%), BSA 2002, 2016

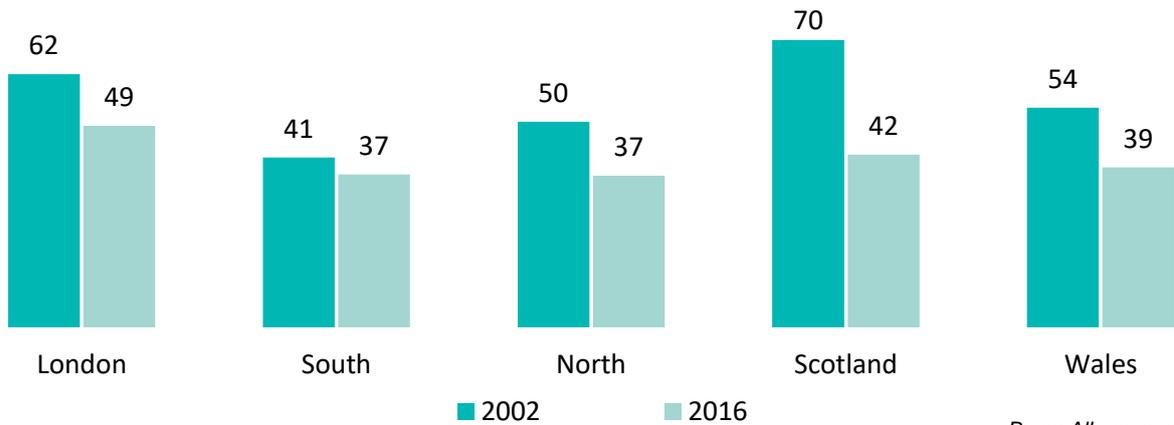
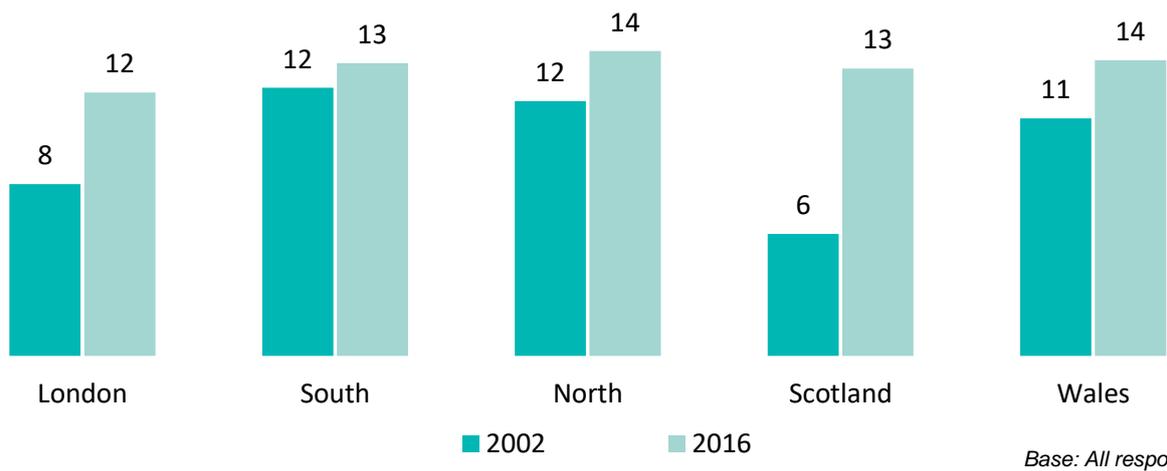


Figure 5.3 Proportion that would advise young people to pursue vocational qualifications, (%), BSA 2002, 2016



Education system

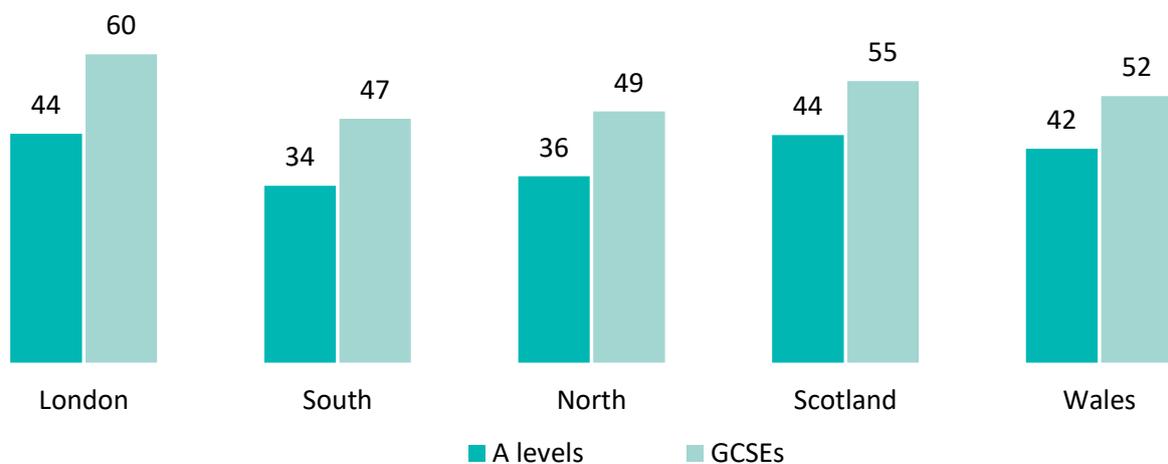
Londoners were no different from those in other regions in their views on what schools ought to include in their curricula. Most respondents reported that schools should provide young people with an understanding of different jobs, careers and steps after education (82%) and should teach qualities like character and resilience (78%). A smaller majority felt that schools should increase young people’s knowledge around sex and relationships (63%) and that they should teach extra-curricular activities like music, arts and sports (55%).

Londoners and those in the rest of the country also had similar views on the quality and performance of the education system. Nearly one-third (30%) had complete confidence or a great deal of confidence in the British school system while 56% had some confidence and 14% had little to no confidence. Most felt that secondary schools teach basic skills very or quite well (85%) and

that secondary schools bring out young people's abilities (62%). Less than half (48%) felt that secondary schools prepare young people well for work.

People across Great Britain generally felt that GCSEs and A-levels prepare young people well for further education: 70% felt GCSEs prepare students for further study and 89% felt A-levels did. However, Londoners tended to have a more positive view on how these qualifications prepare young people for work. Three in five (60%) of those in London thought GCSEs prepare young people well for work (compared with 47%-55% in other regions) and 44% of Londoners felt this way about A-levels (compared with 34%-42% in the South, North and Wales).

Figure 5.4 A-level and GCSE exams prepare young people "very" or "quite well" for work (%), BSA 2016



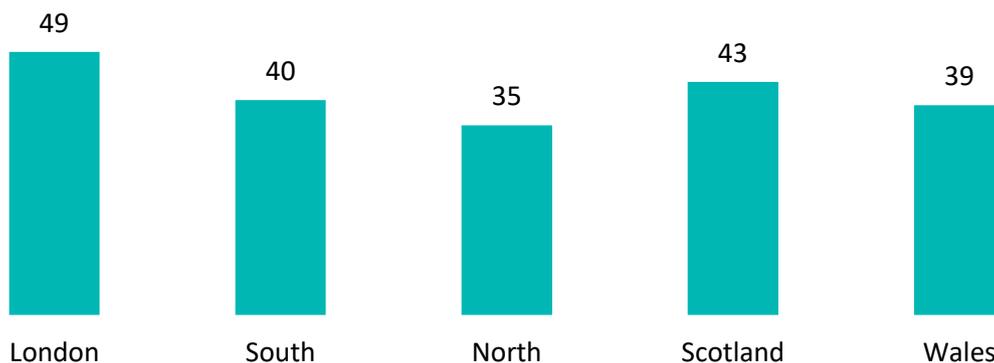
Base: All respondents

Work and retirement

Londoners' feelings and expectations about work and retirement resembled closely those held in other regions of Britain. The vast majority of individuals across regions reported feeling that paid work is good or very good for mental and physical health. 95% of Londoners reported that paid work is good for mental health compared with 92%-98% of those in other regions, and 93% felt it was good for physical health compared with 92%-96% of those elsewhere in Britain.

The majority (71%) of individuals across all regions reported feeling that it is more difficult for young people today to find jobs than it was for previous generations. Perhaps reflecting the state of the local job market, those in London, however were more likely than those in other regions to think that a high level of job competition is the most important factor making it difficult for young people to get a job (49% vs. 35%-43%).

Figure 5.5 High level of job competition is the most important factor making it difficult for young people to find work (%), BSA 2016

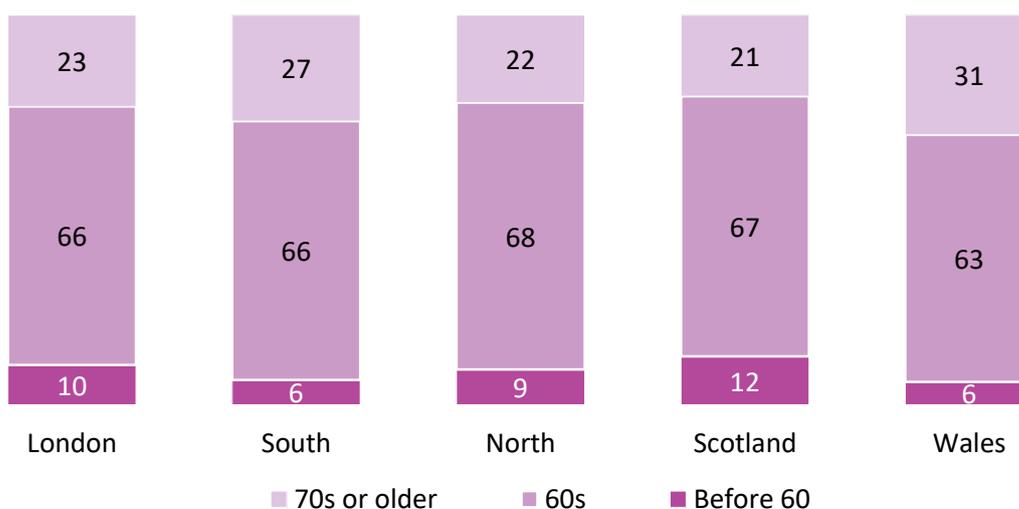


Base: All respondents

Consistent with patterns identified in prior chapters in how Londoners view cost of living in their city, Londoners were also more likely to report that the cost of living in areas with job opportunities was a major obstacle to finding work (8% vs. 1%-6%). Both costs and levels of competition may go some way to potentially explaining the higher level of unemployment experienced by young Londoners⁷. In contrast, Londoners were less likely than those in other regions to attribute difficulties in finding a job to a lack of practical or vocational skills among young people (4% compared with 7%-11% in the South, North, and Wales).

Thinking forward to retirement, Londoners' expectations for when they might retire were similar to those in other regions (Figure 5.6). The majority (67%) of employed individuals reported that they expect to retire in their 60's, around the current statutory age of retirement. Yet, the proportion of individuals expecting to retire at age 70 or older increased sharply across all regions from just 5% in 2004 to 24% in 2016.

Figure 5.6 Expected age of retirement (%), BSA 2016



Base: Those currently employed

⁷ <https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/data/unemployment-age/>

Conclusion

Education and work appear to be an area of substantial common ground, with Londoners' attitudes for the most part reflecting those held by the rest of Great Britain. Londoners were equally as likely as those in other regions to report that they would recommend young people continue their studies through A-level qualifications. Over time however, the proportion of Londoners advocating A-level qualifications has decreased while the proportion advocating vocational training has increased.

Considering the education system more broadly, Londoners and those in other regions of Britain shared similar views on what should be included in school curricula and had similar views on how well schools are currently fulfilling their duties. Londoners had a slightly more optimistic view of how well GCSE and A-level exams prepare young people for the workplace. It is worth noting that this may be reflective of the educational attainment and local job market in London.

Finally, Londoners' feelings and expectations about work and retirement were no different than those in other regions. The overwhelming majority felt that paid work is good for mental and physical health although most agreed that young people today have a harder time finding work compared with previous generations. Thinking forward to retirement, Londoners and those in other regions tended to report they expected to retire in their 60's, around the current statutory age of retirement, although the proportion predicting retirement in their 70s or later is increasing across all regions.

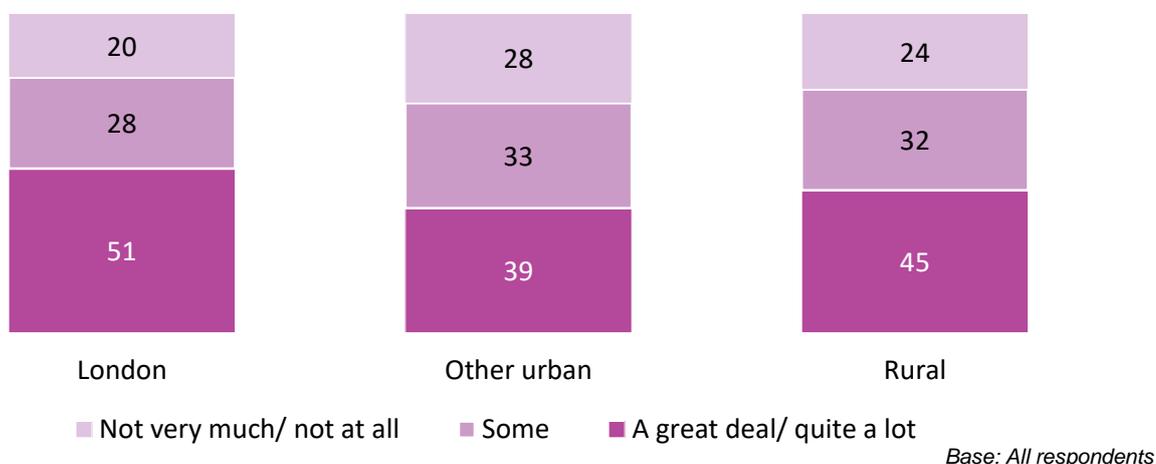
6 A London effect or an urban effect?

Analysis in the previous chapters suggests that in some domains and on certain issues, the views of Londoners are distinctly different from those in other parts of the country. But how different are Londoners' views to other urban areas in the country, which may be more similar in terms of demographic and economic trends to London compared with rural areas? This chapter explores whether some of the key attitudinal differences between London and the rest of the country documented in previous chapters remain when comparing London to other urban areas in Britain as well as rural areas⁸.

Politics

When compared to other regions of Britain, Londoners were most likely to express high levels of interest in politics with 51% reporting a great deal or quite a lot of interest in politics compared with 35%-48% of those in other regions. Londoners were still most likely to have high levels of interest in politics when compared to other urban areas and to rural areas. Londoners most closely resembled rural residents, among whom 45% expressed a great deal or quite a lot of interest in politics (Figure 6.1). Those in urban areas outside of London were least likely to report high levels of interest in politics.

Figure 6.1 Interest in politics (%), BSA 2016



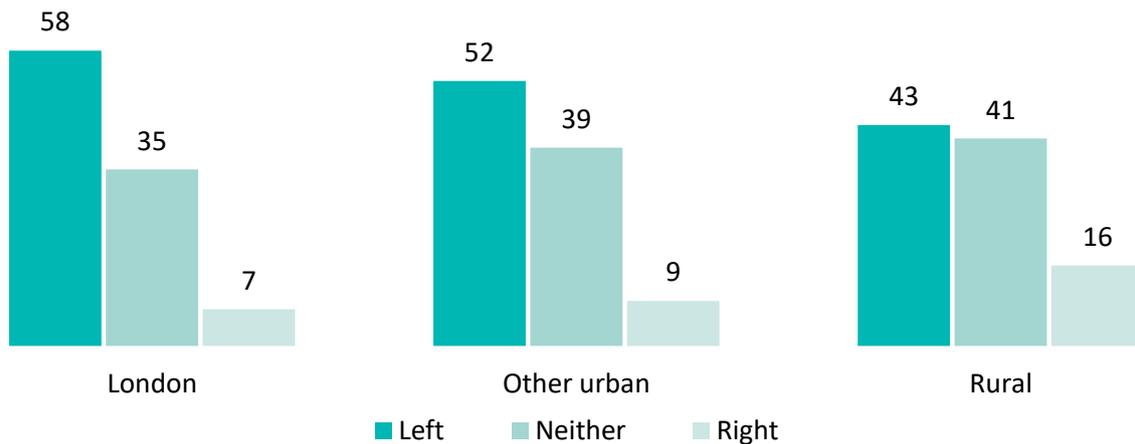
Londoners were also most likely to fall towards the left (58%) end of the political spectrum and least likely to be on the right (7%) end of the spectrum (Figure 6.2). In contrast, those in rural areas were

⁸ Urban areas are defined as those with populations of 10,000 or greater, per the classification schemes used by the ONS and the Scottish Government. There may therefore be attitudinal variation between smaller cities and large metropolises within the urban group that we have not been able to capture. For further details on the urban/rural classification, see:

https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/methodology/geography/geographicalproducts/ruralurbanclassifications/2011_ruralurbanclassification/rucoaleafletmay2015tcm77406351.pdf and <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/About/Methodology/UrbanRuralClassification>

least likely to be on the left (43%) and most likely to be on the right (16%). Residents of urban areas outside of London were a middle ground between Londoners and rural residents, although closer to Londoners on the spectrum with 52% on the left and 9% on the right. When asked about how they voted in the EU referendum, however, Londoners stood out as distinct from voters in both rural and other urban areas. While 71% of Londoners who voted in the referendum voted to remain in the EU, 50% of those in urban areas outside of London and 47% of those in rural areas voted to remain.

Figure 6.2 Left – right affiliation (%), BSA 2016

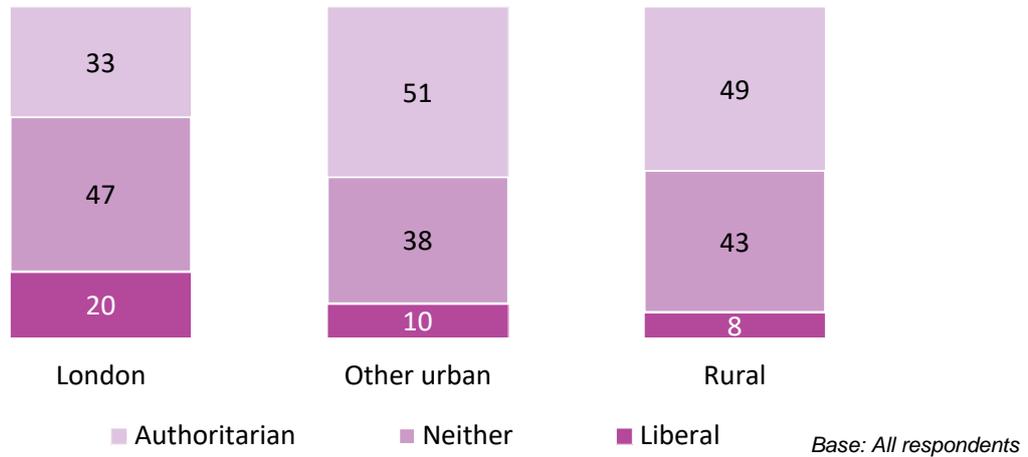


Base: All respondents

Social liberalism

Londoners (20%) and Scots (18%) were substantially more likely to fall towards the socially liberal side of the British Social Attitudes Survey’s liberal-authoritarian spectrum compared with other regions (7%-12%). Contrary to rural and other urban areas, Londoners were at least twice as likely to be socially liberal and were also most likely to fall in the middle of the scale, being defined as neither liberal nor authoritarian (47% compared with 38%-43%) (Figure 6.3). Those living in urban areas outside of London were remarkably similar in their world view to those in rural areas. 10% of those in other urban areas and 8% of those in rural areas were socially liberal while 51% of urban residents and 49% of rural residents were authoritarian or socially conservative.

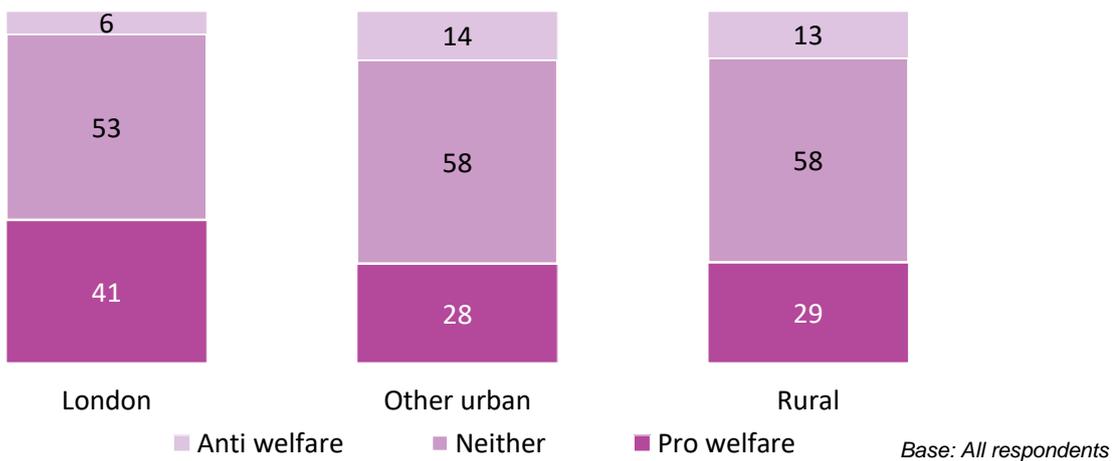
Figure 6.3 Liberal – authoritarian scale (%), BSA 2016



Welfare and government spending

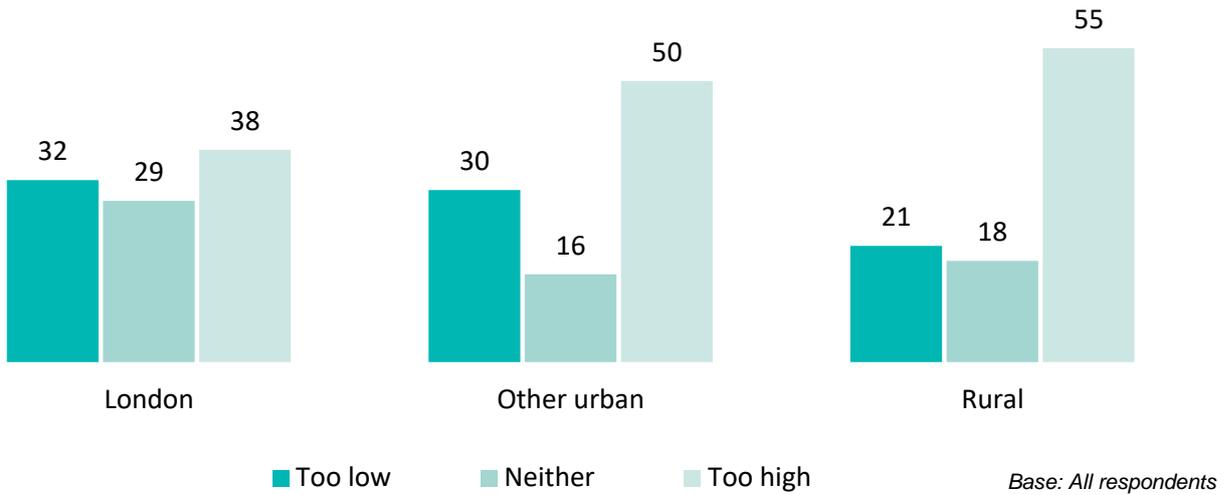
When looking at all regions, Londoners – as well as Scots – were more likely than those in other regions to report pro-welfare views. Compared with urban areas outside of London and rural areas, Londoners were still most likely to express pro-welfare sentiments. 41% of Londoners were on the pro-welfare end of BSA’s welfare scale compared with 28% of those in other urban areas and 29% of those in rural areas (Figure 6.4). Londoners were also least likely to be anti-welfare (6% vs 14% in urban and 13% in rural areas).

Figure 6.4 Welfare scale (%), BSA 2016



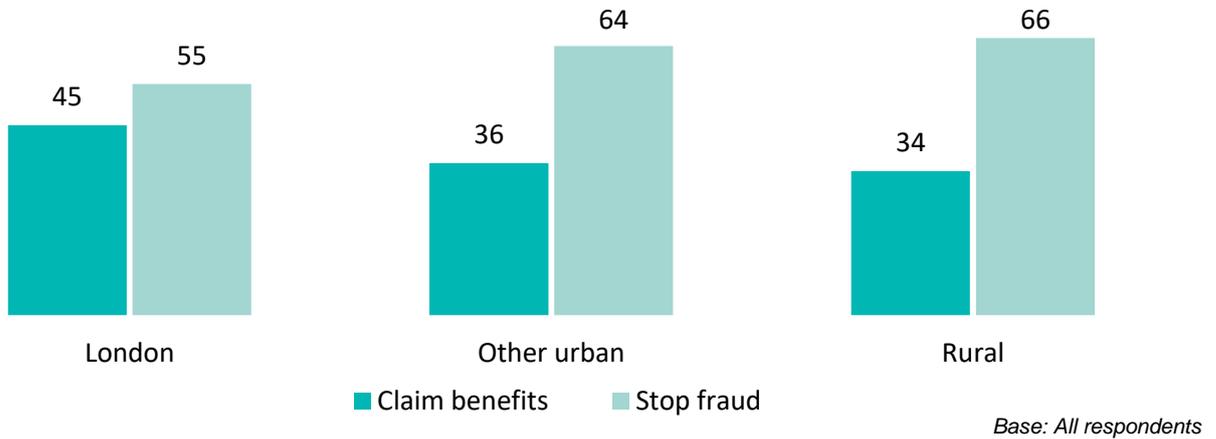
When asked their views on current levels of unemployment benefits, Londoners were considerably less likely than those in other urban and rural areas to report that current benefits are too high (38% compared with 50% and 55%, respectively) (Figure 6.5). However, similar proportions of Londoners (32%) and residents of other urban areas (30%) reported feeling current benefit levels are too low. Those in rural areas were least likely to report that employment benefits are too low (21%).

Figure 6.5 Views on current levels of unemployment benefits (%), BSA 2016



Londoners were distinctly different from those elsewhere in Britain in their views on whether the government should focus its resources on encouraging those entitled to benefits to make a claim or whether it should focus on stopping fraudulent claims (Figure 6.6). Although a majority felt it was more important for the government to stop fraudulent claims, Londoners were much more likely than those in other urban areas and those in rural areas to prioritise encouraging valid benefit claims (45% in London compared with 36% in other urban areas and 34% in rural areas).

Figure 6.6 Whether the government should focus more on encouraging valid benefit claims or discouraging false claims (%), BSA 2016



Conclusion

Even when comparing Londoners to those living in other urban areas, Londoners appeared to hold a variety of values and opinions that are distinct from those elsewhere in the country. Londoners tended to express greater interest in politics, were more likely to be on the left end of the spectrum and were far more likely to have voted to remain a part of the EU in the 2016 referendum. They were also more likely to be socially liberal and to express pro-welfare values.

In some instances, the views of Londoners most closely resembled those living in other urban areas. This was the case for BSA's left-right political scale where those in other urban areas (52%) were nearly as likely as Londoners (58%) to be the political left (compared with 43% of those in rural areas). In terms of interest in politics, Londoners most resembled those living in rural areas, where 45% of residents reported high levels of interest in politics compared with 51% of Londoners.

In most instances, however, the views of those living in urban areas outside of London were more similar to those in rural areas than to Londoners. This was the case on the welfare scale where 28% of those in urban areas and 29% of those in rural areas were pro-welfare compared with 41% of Londoners. It was also true for how individuals voted in the EU referendum, with 50% of urban voters and 47% of rural voters voting to remain compared with 71% of voters in London.

7 Conclusion

Analysis across a variety of political and social attitudes suggests that, on many topics, Londoners hold values that are distinct from those in other regions of England. Londoners tended to be more politically engaged and left-leaning compared with those in most other regions. They were also more likely to support the Labour party and to report that they had voted to remain in the EU in the 2016 referendum.

Around issues of social liberalism and conservatism, Londoners revealed a complex set of beliefs. Although they stood out as among the most socially liberal in the country on issues like censorship and the death penalty, their views on premarital sex and homosexuality tended to be more socially conservative largely driven by religious factors. Londoners were also no more likely to support egalitarian gender roles than their counterparts in the rest of the country.

On issues around welfare and government spending, Londoners tended to express more pro-welfare views compared with those in other regions. They were more likely to feel that fraudulent benefit claims are the result of people not having enough to live on and were more likely than those in other regions to feel current levels of unemployment benefits are too low. One might speculate that these attitudes may, in part, be related to higher costs of living in London as well as to Londoners left-leaning tendencies.

A notable exception to this narrative of attitudinal difference was in views towards education and work, where individuals across regions shared remarkably similar perspectives. Londoners and those in other regions of Britain had similar views on what should be included in school curricula and how well schools are fulfilling their duties. They also shared the view that paid work has benefits for mental and physical health and had similar expectations for when they might retire.

Analysis of trends in attitudes over time revealed both divergences, where Londoners' views have grown more different to those in other regions, and convergences, where attitudes across the country have grown more similar. Since 2010, Londoners have grown increasingly liberal on BSA's liberal-authoritarian scale. Individuals in other regions have also become more liberal, but at a slower rate of change, with the exception of Scotland, where levels of liberalisation match those in London in recent years. Around the same time, Londoners and Scots have also become increasingly pro-welfare, while those in other regions have remained relatively stable. Views have become more similar across regions with respect to views on education. Over time, Londoners have become less likely to advocate that young people continue education through A-levels and increasingly advocate vocational training, converging with trends on these issues in other regions.

Regression analysis revealed that, in many cases, regional differences in attitudes persisted in comparable magnitude even after taking into account the demographic characteristics that make London distinct. After accounting for age, education, nationality, ethnicity, social class and sex, Londoners were still significantly more likely to express high levels of interest in politics and were more likely to support the Labour party compared with those in other regions. In one instance – views on traditional gender divisions of labour within the household – significant regional differences emerged only after controlling for socio-demographic factors. Londoners were more likely than Scots and Southerners to reject the idea that husbands should earn and wives should look after the home.

Comparisons of the views of Londoners to those living in other urban areas suggested that Londoners views on a variety of issues are distinct even from other areas that are likely to share

similar demographic characteristics. In most instances, in fact, those living in urban areas outside of London were more similar in their views to those in rural areas than to Londoners. This was the case for attitudes toward welfare and benefit recipients as well as for how individuals voted in the EU referendum.

A consistent pattern throughout this analysis was that, despite considerable geographic distance, in many instances Londoners were most closely aligned attitudinally with Scots. Individuals in both regions tended to be politically engaged, left-leaning and socially liberal while expressing pro-welfare views. These regions have become more similar over time, particularly with respect to interest in politics and social liberalisation. Nevertheless, despite their commonalities in views these regions remain distinct in their demographic profiles with respect to age, ethnicity and country of birth, suggesting that other factors or mechanisms are at work in linking their views.

Summary of results

| Topic | Question summary | Where do Londoners differ?* |
|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Politics | Party identification | ✓ |
| | Strength of party identification | |
| | Level of interest in politics | ✓ |
| | Whether voted in the EU referendum | ✓ |
| | How voted in the EU referendum | ✓ |
| | How intends to vote in EU referendum | ✓ |
| Left – Right scale | Government should redistribute income | ✓ |
| | Big business benefits owners at workers expense | |
| | Ordinary working people do not get fair share of nation's wealth | ✓ |
| | There is one law for the rich and one for the poor | ✓ |
| | Management always tries to get the better of employees | |
| Welfare benefits and public spending | Spending priorities on social benefits | ✓ |
| | Whether unemployment benefits are too low or too high | ✓ |
| | Attitudes towards tax and spend on health, education and social benefits | |
| | Views on current household income | ✓ |
| | False benefit claims are a result of confusion rather than dishonesty | ✓ |
| | The reason that some people on benefit cheat the system is that they don't get enough to live on | ✓ |
| | Government's role in encouraging valid benefit claims vs. discouraging false claims | ✓ |
| Welfare scale | The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other | ✓ |
| | The government should spend more on welfare benefits | ✓ |
| | Most unemployed people can find a job if they want | ✓ |
| | Many who receive social security don't deserve it | ✓ |
| | Most people on the dole are fiddling | ✓ |
| | If welfare benefits were less generous, people would be more self-sufficient | ✓ |
| | Cutting welfare benefits would damage too many people's lives | ✓ |
| | Welfare state is one of Britain's proudest achievements | ✓ |
| Social liberalism | Whether premarital sex is wrong | ✓ |
| | Whether homosexuality is wrong | ✓ |
| | Husbands should earn, wives should look after the home and family | |
| | Family life suffers when the woman works full-time | |
| Liberal – Authoritarian scale | The young don't respect British values | |
| | Stiffer sentences for those who break the law | ✓ |
| | Death penalty is appropriate for some crimes | ✓ |
| | Schools should teach children to obey authority | ✓ |
| | They law should always be obeyed, even when wrong | |
| Education | Censorship necessary to uphold moral standards | ✓ |
| | Advice would give to a 16-year-old about their future education | |
| | Confidence in the British schools system | |

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| | Effectiveness of secondary schools | |
| | How well GCSEs prepare young people for work or further study | ✓ |
| | How well A-levels prepare young people for work or further study | ✓ |
| | Whether schools should be responsible for the personal and social development of young people | |
| | Which skills and qualities schools should develop in young people | |
| Work and retirement | It is easier/ more difficult for young people to get a job these days | |
| | Factors that make it hard/ help young people to get a job | ✓ |
| | Whether paid work is good for mental health | |
| | Whether paid work is good for physical health | |
| | Expected age at retirement | |

Appendix A. Attitudes analysed

Table 7.1 Social attitudes analysed

| Topic | Question summary | Survey |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------------|
| Politics | Party identification | BSA and USoc |
| | Strength of party identification | BSA and USoc |
| | Level of interest in politics | BSA and USoc |
| | Whether voted in the EU referendum | BSA |
| | How voted in the EU referendum | BSA |
| | How intends to vote in EU referendum | BES |
| Left – Right scale | Government should redistribute income | BSA |
| | Big business benefits owners at workers expense | BSA |
| | Ordinary working people do not get fair share of nation’s wealth | BSA |
| | There is one law for the rich and one for the poor | BSA |
| | Management always tries to get the better of employees | BSA |
| Welfare benefits and public spending | Spending priorities on social benefits | BSA |
| | Whether unemployment benefits are too low or too high | BSA |
| | Attitudes towards tax and spend on health, education and social benefits | BSA |
| | Views on current household income | BSA |
| | False benefit claims are a result of confusion rather than dishonesty | BSA |
| | The reason that some people on benefit cheat the system is that they don’t get enough to live on | BSA |
| | Government’s role in encouraging valid benefit claims vs. discouraging false claims | BSA |
| Welfare scale | The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other | BSA |
| | The government should spend more on welfare benefits | BSA |
| | Most unemployed people can find a job if they want | BSA |
| | Many who receive social security don’t deserve it | BSA |
| | Most people on the dole are fiddling | BSA |
| | If welfare benefits were less generous, people would be more self-sufficient | BSA |
| | Cutting welfare benefits would damage too many people’s lives | BSA |
| | Welfare state is one of Britain’s proudest achievements | BSA |
| Social liberalism | Whether premarital sex is wrong | BSA |
| | Whether homosexuality is wrong | BSA |
| | Husbands should earn, wives should look after the home and family | BSA and USoc |
| | Family life suffers when the woman works full-time | BSA and USoc |
| Liberal – Authoritarian | The young don’t respect British values | BSA |
| | Stiffer sentences for those who break the law | BSA |

| | | |
|---------------------|---|-----|
| scale | Death penalty is appropriate for some crimes | BSA |
| | Schools should teach children to obey authority | BSA |
| | They law should always be obeyed, even when wrong | BSA |
| | Censorship necessary to uphold moral standards | BSA |
| Education | Advice would give to a 16-year-old about their future education | BSA |
| | Confidence in the British schools system | BSA |
| | Effectiveness of secondary schools | BSA |
| | How well GCSEs prepare young people for work or further study | BSA |
| | How well A-levels prepare young people for work or further study | BSA |
| | Whether schools should be responsible for the personal and social development of young people | BSA |
| Work and retirement | Which skills and qualities schools should develop in young people | BSA |
| | It is easier/ more difficult for young people to get a job these days | BSA |
| | Factors that make it hard/ help young people to get a job | BSA |
| | Whether paid work is good for mental health | BSA |
| | Whether paid work is good for physical health | BSA |
| | Expected age at retirement | BSA |

Appendix B. Regression results

Table 7.2 Linear probability model results for political views

| | High interest in politics | Supports Labour party (England only) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | b/(se) | b/(se) |
| Region (Ref London) | | |
| South | -0.05** (0.02) | -0.12*** (0.03) |
| North | -0.08*** (0.02) | 0.06* (0.03) |
| Scotland | -0.05* (0.03) | |
| Wales | -0.10*** (0.03) | |
| Age | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.01 (0.00) |
| Age2 | 0.00** (0.00) | -0.00* (0.00) |
| Sex (Ref Male) | | |
| Female | -0.15*** (0.01) | 0.04** (0.01) |
| Education (Ref Degree) | | |
| Other higher degree | -0.14*** (0.01) | -0.05* (0.02) |
| A-level degree | -0.17*** (0.01) | -0.09*** (0.02) |
| GCSE | -0.25*** (0.01) | -0.11*** (0.02) |
| Other | -0.29*** (0.02) | -0.06* (0.03) |
| No qualification | -0.34*** (0.03) | 0.00 (0.04) |
| Nationality (Ref UK born) | | |
| Foreign born | -0.07*** (0.02) | -0.13*** (0.03) |

| | | |
|---|----------|---------|
| Ethnicity (Ref White British) | | |
| Other ethnicity | -0.01 | 0.27*** |
| | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| NS-Sec (Ref Management & professional) | | |
| Intermediate | -0.06*** | 0.00 |
| | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Routine | -0.13*** | 0.09*** |
| | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Constant | 0.74*** | 0.35*** |
| | (0.04) | (0.07) |
| r2 | 0.13 | 0.07 |
| N | 21644 | 12453 |

* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

Table 7.3 Linear probability model results for views on gender roles

| | Disagrees: "husbands should earn money, wives should look after the home" | Disagrees: "Family life suffers when the woman works full-time" |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| | b/(se) | b/(se) |
| Region (Ref London) | | |
| South | -0.04* | -0.02 |
| | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| North | -0.01 | 0.01 |
| | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Scotland | 0.05* | 0.04 |
| | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Wales | -0.02 | 0.02 |
| | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Age | 0.00 | -0.01*** |
| | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Age2 | -0.00* | 0.00** |
| | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Sex (Ref Male) | | |
| Female | 0.09*** | 0.07*** |
| | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Education (Ref Degree) | | |
| Other higher degree | -0.07*** | -0.06*** |
| | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| A-level degree | -0.08*** | -0.04** |
| | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| GCSE | -0.11*** | -0.07*** |
| | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Other | -0.15*** | -0.10*** |
| | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| No qualification | -0.17*** | -0.07** |
| | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Nationality (Ref UK born) | | |
| Foreign born | -0.06** | -0.04 |
| | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Ethnicity (Ref White British) | | |
| Other ethnicity | -0.10*** | -0.10*** |

| | | |
|---|----------|----------|
| | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| NS-Sec (Ref Management & professional) | | |
| Intermediate | -0.07*** | -0.07*** |
| | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Routine | -0.09*** | -0.10*** |
| | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Constant | 0.79*** | 0.88*** |
| | (0.04) | (0.04) |
| r2 | 0.06 | 0.06 |
| N | 22842 | 22842 |

* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001



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