



THE HATE CRIME REPORT 2019

Attitudes to
LGBT+ people
in the UK

Melanie Stray

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With thanks to Nick Antjoule, Luke Hubbard and Kaye Medcalf.

ABOUT GALOP

Galop is the UK's LGBT+ anti-violence charity. For the past 35 years we have been providing advice, support and advocacy to LGBT+ victims and campaigning to end anti-LGBT+ violence and abuse. Galop works within three key areas; hate crime, domestic abuse and sexual violence. Our purpose is to make life safe, just and fair for LGBT+ people. We work to help LGBT+ people achieve positive changes to their current situation, through practical and emotional support, to develop resilience and to build lives free from violence and abuse.

Melanie Stray (2019) The Hate Crime Report 2019: Attitudes to LGBT+ people in the UK. London: Galop, the LGBT+ anti-violence charity.

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CONTENTS

Foreword	2
Overview	3
Beliefs about LGBT+ people	4
Freedom for LGBT+ people to live as they wish	5
Being LGBT+ is <i>'immoral or against my beliefs'</i>	7
LGBT+ people are <i>'dangerous'</i> to other people	8
LGBT+ people can be <i>'cured'</i>	9
Social distance from LGBT+ people	10
Comfort with LGBT+ neighbours	10
Trans people and public toilets	14
Beliefs about hate crime	16
Discussion	18
Conclusion	20
Recommendations	21
Methodology	22
Further reading	23





FOREWORD

This research shows that our journey toward LGBT+ equality is far from over. Despite most people in this UK poll voicing support for LGBT+ people, a significant proportion still think we are dangerous, immoral or that we can be 'cured'.

More importantly, it offers a sobering reminder that progress achieved in recent decades can easily be reversed. Young people polled tended to hold more negative views toward LGBT+ people than other age groups. This alarming finding warns of a generational pivot ahead and a bumpy road for those of us committed to challenging anti-LGBT+ violence and abuse.

Nick Antjoule, Head of Hate Crime Services

Recorded anti-LGBT+ hate crime has doubled in the last three years. This is reflected in the escalating scale, severity and complexity of hate crime cases we are supporting at Galop.

Our ambition is that this report gives insight into the scale of prejudice still faced by our community. More importantly, we hope its findings and recommendations will act as a springboard for action.

My thanks to Melanie Stray for producing this report and the rest of the Galop team who work hard every day to make life safe, just and fair for LGBT+ people.

Nik Noone, Chief Executive

OVERVIEW

In this study, a representative sample of 1,617 people from across the UK answered questions on their beliefs about LGBT+ people. The key findings are:

- More than **4 in 5** people said that **LGBT+ people should be free to live as they wish**.
1 in 20 said that LGBT+ people should not have this freedom.
- **1 in 5** people said being LGBT+ was **'immoral or against their beliefs'**. This rose to **1 in 4** among 18-24 year olds, higher than other age groups.
- **1 in 10** people thought that LGBT+ people were **'dangerous'** to other people.
- **1 in 10** people said that being LGBT+ could be **'cured'**.
- Around **3 in 5** people responded very positively about having **LGBT+ people as neighbours**.
1 in 5 people showed reluctance to the idea of **LGB+ neighbours**, and **more than 1 in 4** to **trans neighbours**.
- **3 in 5** respondents said that they were comfortable with trans people using the public restrooms that they use.
- **5 in 10** people agreed that **hate crime has higher impact** than other types of crime, and that **LGBT+ people modify their behaviour in public** to avoid being targeted.
However, only **4 in 10** thought that violence against LGBT+ people is a problem in the UK.

These findings illustrate that while we have made significant progress toward legal equality, there is more work needed to address negative attitudes toward LGBT+ communities.

This research was conducted by a partnership of LGBT+ organisations across ten European countries. This report documents the UK results, with some international comparison. The full international report is available from www.lgbthatecrime.eu.

Women tended to hold more LGBT+ inclusive views compared with men on all questions. For example, **87.1%** of women agreed that trans people should be free to live as they wish, compared to just **78.4%** of men.

Attitudes towards trans people tended to be more negative than towards LGB+ people, both in the UK and the other European countries surveyed. This reflects experiences reported by trans people, who often face hate crime on a daily basis and still do not have legal equality in all areas. As well as combatting transphobic violence and discrimination itself, we must tackle the underpinning transphobic attitudes pervasive in society that give it licence.



BELIEFS ABOUT LGBT+ PEOPLE

1,617 people in the UK were asked their opinion on the following statements about LGBT+ people to find out their attitudes and beliefs about different groups and issues:

- 1 Gay and lesbian / Bisexual / Trans people should be free to live their own lives as they wish.*
- 2 Being gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender is immoral or against my beliefs.*
- 3 Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people are dangerous to other people.*
- 4 Being gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender can be cured.*

The questions in this section used a 5 point scale:

- 1 Strongly disagree*
- 2 Disagree*
- 3 Neither agree or disagree*
- 4 Agree*
- 5 Strongly agree.*

The results for each statement are detailed below.

Freedom for LGBT+ people to live as they wish

Respondents were asked their opinion on whether each of the following groups should be free to live their own lives as they wish:

- Gay and lesbian people
- Bisexual people
- Transgender people

The vast majority answered in support of LGBT+ people being free to live their life as they wished, more than **4 in 5** for each identity group *agreeing* or *strongly agreeing*. Only a small minority (**1 in 20**) *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* with these statements. Slightly fewer people supported the statement in relation to trans people compared to LGB+ people.

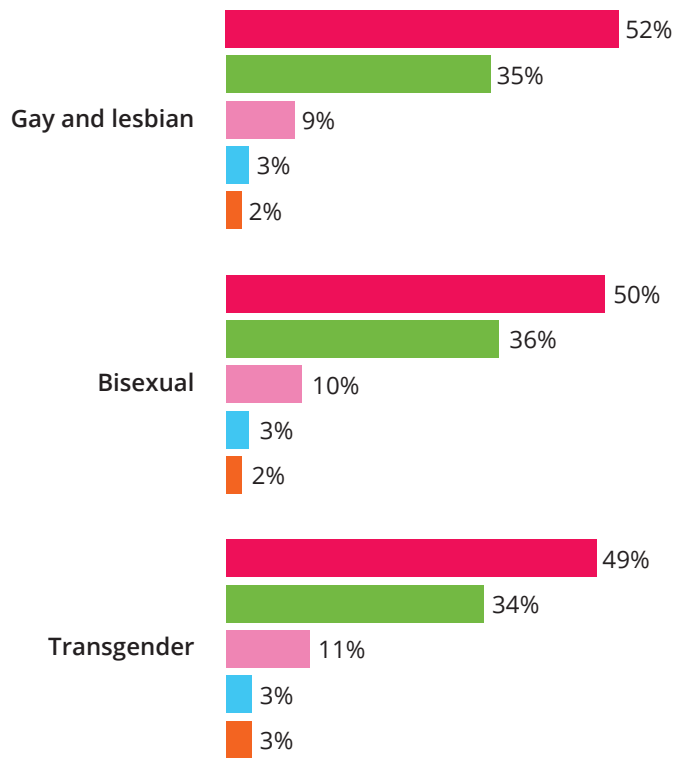
Age was an important factor, with 18-24 year olds more likely than other age groups to *strongly agree* that LGBT+ people should be able to live as they wish, while 55-65 year olds were the least likely to *strongly agree*.

Figure 1:

Level of agreement that lesbian and gay, bisexual, and trans people should be free to live as they wish

- 5 agree strongly
- 4 agree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 2 disagree
- 1 disagree strongly

(Gay and lesbian: n=1602, mean= 4.31;
bisexual: n=1598, mean= 4.29;
trans: n=1597, mean= 4.23)



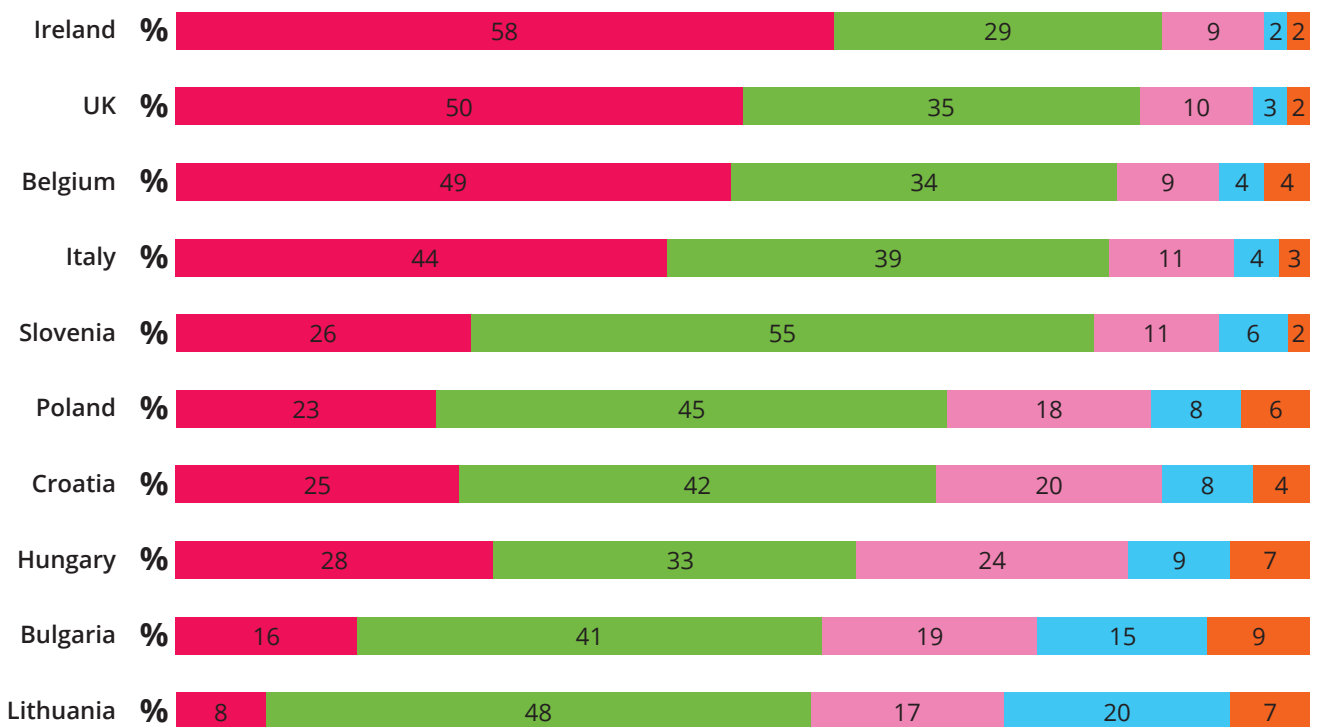
★ Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON

Ireland was the most accepting of LGBT+ people living as they wish, with the UK in second place. **Lithuania** and **Bulgaria** had the most negative views, with **1 in 4** people surveyed saying that LGBT+ people should not be able to live as they wish.

Figure 2:

Level of agreement that LGBT+ people (all groups combined) should be free to live as they wish by country



See international report for further detail: www.lgbthatecrime.eu

- 5 agree strongly
- 4 agree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 2 disagree
- 1 disagree strongly

* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Being LGBT+ is *'immoral or against my beliefs'*

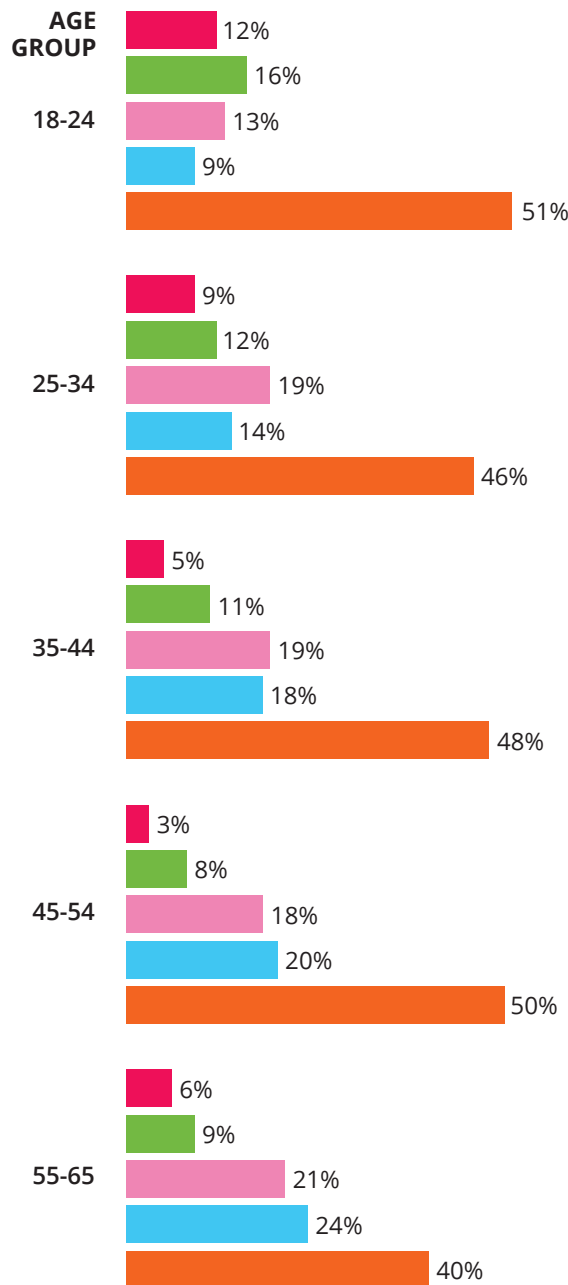
Respondents were asked how far they agreed that being LGBT+ is immoral or against their beliefs.

The majority of people did not see sexual and gender diversity as a moral issue. More than **3 in 5** people *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* that being LGBT+ was *'immoral or against their beliefs'* (**64.0%**). However, a sizable minority of nearly **1 in 5** people *agreed* or *strongly agreed* with this statement (**17.0%**).

Figure 3:
Being LGBT+ is immoral or against my beliefs:
Level of agreement by age group

■ 5 agree strongly
■ 4 agree
■ 3 neither agree nor disagree
■ 2 disagree
■ 1 disagree strongly

(18-24: n = 123, mean = 2.29;
 25-34: n = 425, mean = 2.22;
 35-44: n = 302, mean = 2.09;
 45-54: n = 262, mean = 1.93;
 55-65: n = 416, mean = 2.18)



In contrast to the previous statements, **the percentage of young people with negative views of LGBT+ people was larger than their older counterparts**, with more than **1 in 4** 18-24 year olds saying that being LGBT+ was *immoral or against their beliefs* (**27.4%**).

* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

LGBT+ people are ‘dangerous’ to other people

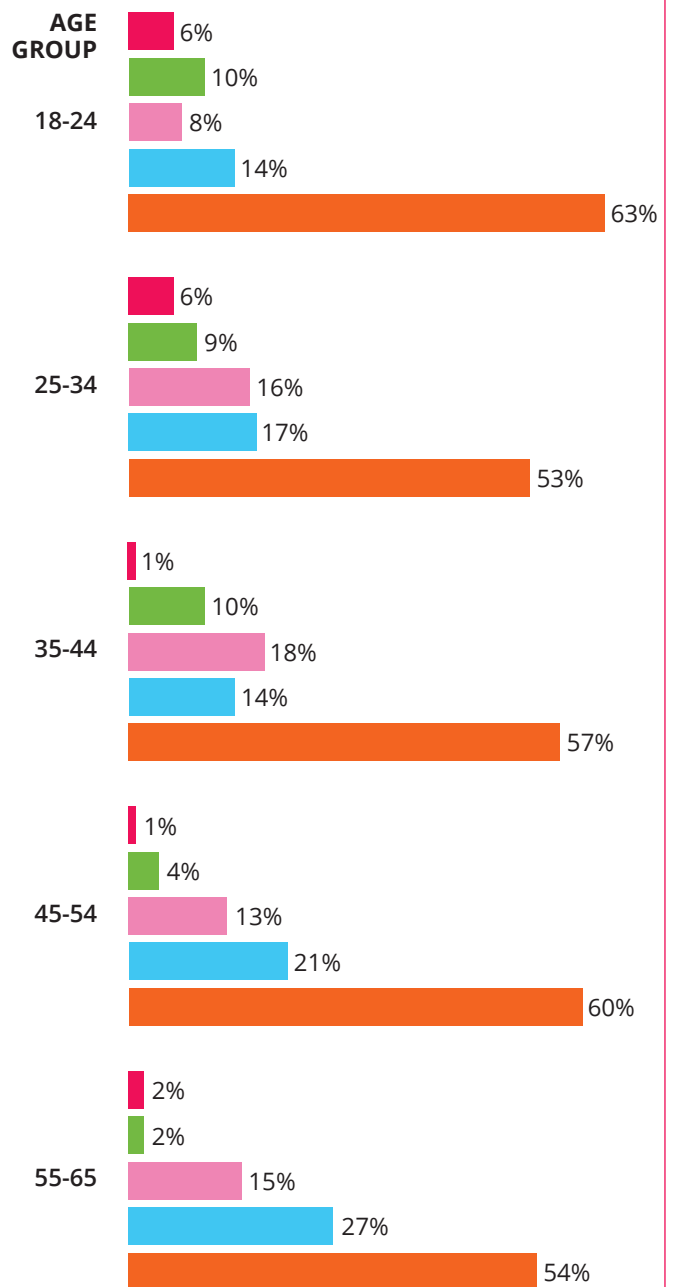
Respondents were asked whether they think that LGBT+ people are ‘dangerous’ to other people.

The vast majority of people (**3 in 4**) did not think that LGBT+ people were dangerous (**75.5%**). However, **1 in 10** people *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that LGBT+ people are dangerous to others (**9.6%**).

18-24 year olds had the most contrasting views about this statement within any age group, with 76.3% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing and 15.4% agreeing or strongly agreeing. People aged 45+ were the least likely to think that LGBT+ people are dangerous.

Figure 4:
LGBT+ people are dangerous to other people:
Level of agreement by age group

- 5 agree strongly
- 4 agree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 2 disagree
- 1 disagree strongly



(18-24: n= 126, mean = 1.82;
25-34: n= 431, mean = 1.98;
35-44: n= 305, mean = 1.85;
45-54: n= 262, mean = 1.64;
55-65: n= 417, mean = 1.71)

* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

LGBT+ people can be 'cured'

Respondents were asked whether they think that LGBT+ people can be cured. Again, the vast majority (nearly **3 in 4**) *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* with this statement (**72.6%**), but **1 in 10** people *agreed* or *strongly agreed* (**9.6%**). Again, young people had the most divergent views about this statement than any other age group. **17.5%** of 18-24 year olds *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that LGBT+ people can be cured, which was the highest amongst all age groups, but also had the largest proportion of respondents who *strongly disagreed* that being LGBT+ could be cured (**60.7%**).

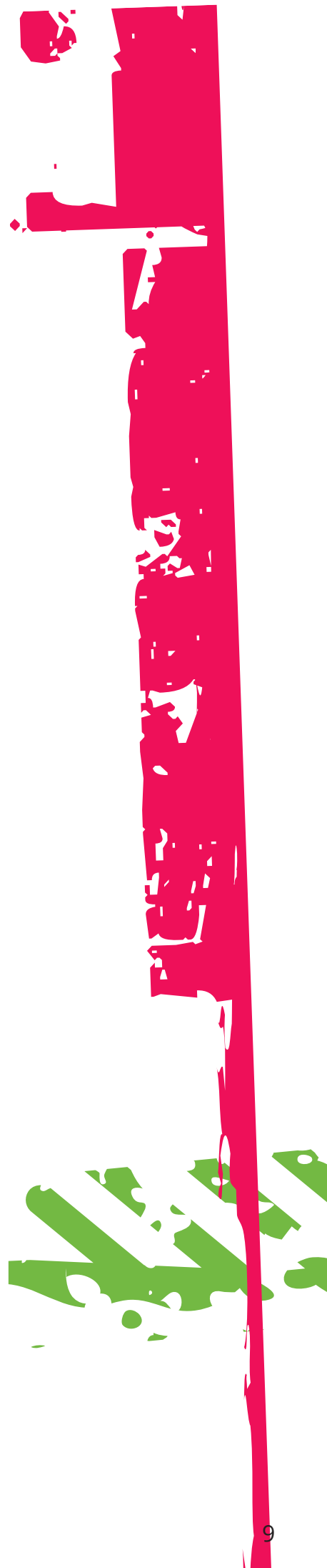
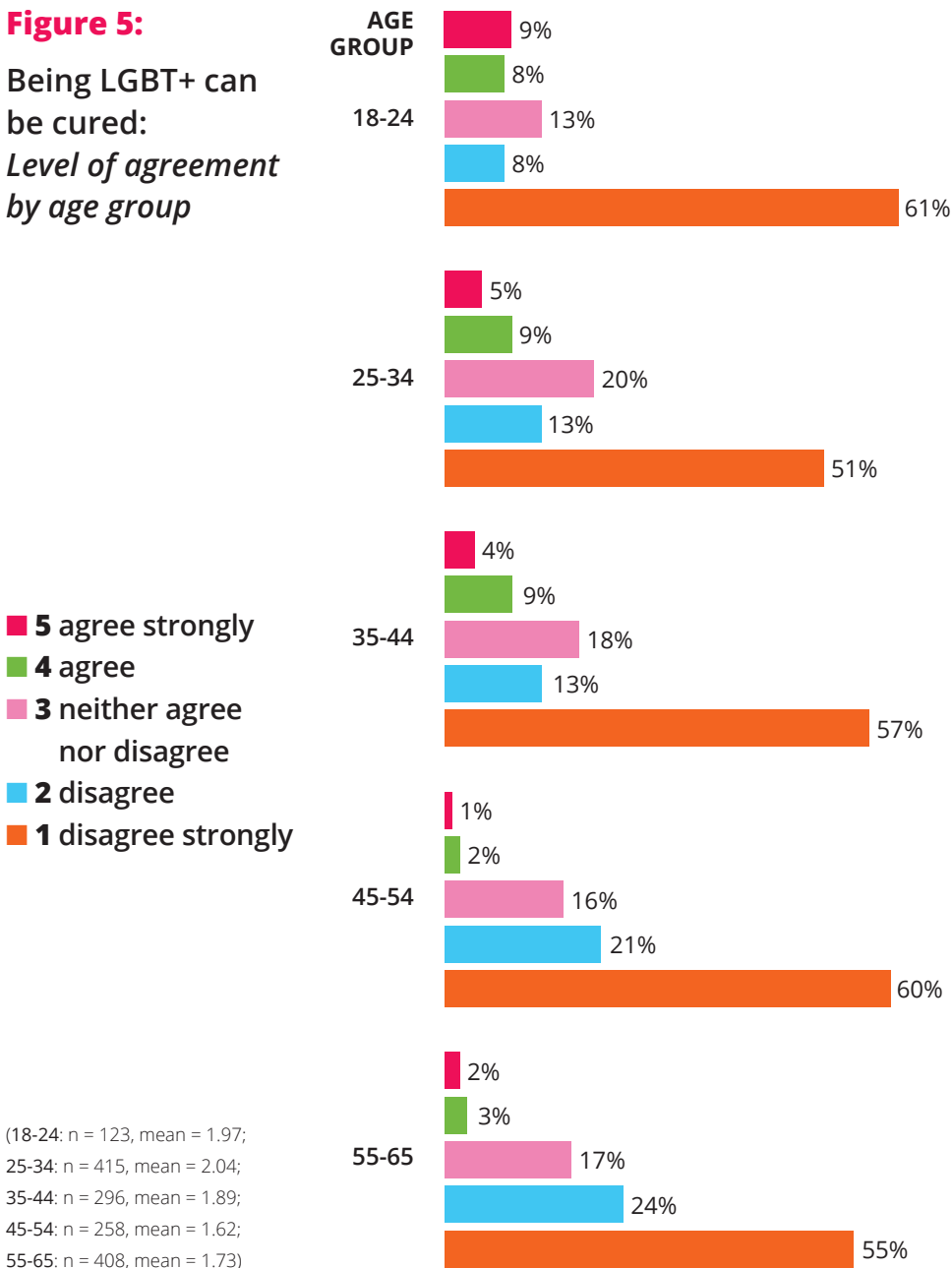


Figure 5:
Being LGBT+ can be cured:
Level of agreement by age group



* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

SOCIAL DISTANCE FROM LGBT+ PEOPLE

Comfort with LGBT+ neighbours

Women were more comfortable than men with having LGBT+ neighbours. More than **6 in 10** women felt *totally comfortable* with having an LGB+ person as a neighbour, compared to fewer than **5 in 10** men. More than **5 in 10** women felt *totally comfortable* with trans neighbours, compared to only **4 in 10** men.

1,617 people were asked how comfortable they would feel about having the following people as neighbours:

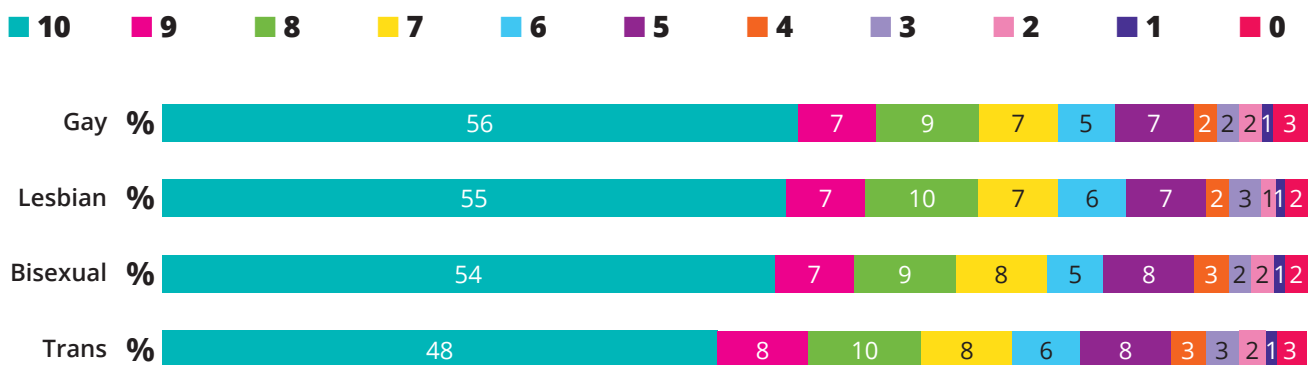
- Gay person
- Lesbian person
- Bisexual person
- Transgender person

The question used a 0-10 scale, where 0 = *totally uncomfortable* and 10 = *totally comfortable*. The results provide a picture of the degree of social distance that respondents feel towards LGBT+ people.

The vast majority of people scored highly on feeling comfortable with having LGBT+ neighbours, and around **1 in 2** people said they were totally comfortable (10/10). Again, views regarding trans people were slightly less positive. On average, people felt around the same about having lesbian (mean score = 8.3), gay (8.3) and bisexual (8.2) neighbours, but slightly less comfortable with trans neighbours (7.8).

Figure 6:

Level of comfort with gay, lesbian, bisexual, and trans neighbours



(Gay: n= 1585, mean= 8.25; lesbian: n= 1588, mean= 8.31; bisexual: n= 1581, mean= 8.20; trans: n=1585, mean= 7.83)

★ Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

MEASURING SOCIAL DISTANCE

To help international comparison, respondents were divided into three groups based on the score they gave:

- **Promoters: 9-10** Supporters who actively welcome LGBT+ people in their environment. Feel little social distance from LGBT+ people.
- **Passive: 7-8** Assenting but showing some ambivalence in attitude to LGBT+ neighbours, vulnerable to changing their mind. Feel a neutral degree of social distance from LGBT+ people.
- **Detractors: 0-6** Showing reluctance to strong aversion to LGBT+ neighbours, may engage in negative word-of-mouth about LGBT+ people in their environment. Feel high social distance from LGBT+ people.

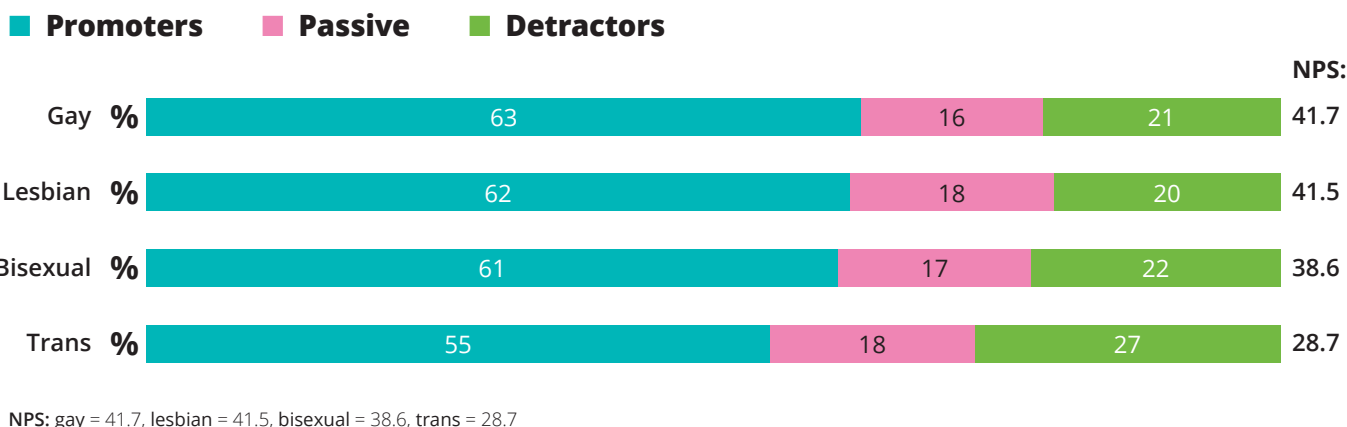
The **Net Promoter Score (NPS)** is the number of promoters minus the number of detractors. It provides indication of the societal views about LGBT+ people in each European country. A positive score shows a positive attitude to LGBT+ neighbours. The larger the positive score, the more overall positive the attitude in that country. The highest possible positive score is 100, where the entire sample are “Promoters”. A score of 0 shows a completely neutral attitude. A negative score shows a negative attitude to LGBT+ neighbours. The larger the negative score, the more overall negative the attitude in that country. The highest possible negative score is -100, where the entire sample are “Detractors”.

18-24 year olds were the most likely to feel *totally comfortable* with having an LGBT+ person as a neighbour than other age groups, and 55-65 year olds the least likely.

Around 1 in 3 people living in the largest cities (more than 1 million inhabitants) showed reluctance (score = 0-6) to having LGBT+ neighbours, which was higher than for people living in all other size of settlement.

Figure 7:

Social distance from LGBT+ neighbours in the United Kingdom



✳ Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Using this measure, around **3 in 5** respondents were classed as promoters, expressing that they felt very positively about gay (**62.9%**), lesbian (**62.0%**) and bisexual (**60.7%**) neighbours. Slightly fewer felt positively about trans neighbours (**55.4%**).

In contrast, around **1 in 5** respondents were classified as detractors, showing reluctance to having gay (**21.1%**), lesbian (**20.5%**) and bisexual (**22.1%**) neighbours, and more than **1 in 4** to having trans neighbours (**26.7%**).

The NPS for each group was positive, showing an overall positive attitude in the UK to having LGBT+ neighbours from any group.

Scores were the most positive for gay and lesbian neighbours, closely followed by bisexual neighbours. The score for trans neighbours was still positive, but to a lesser degree, suggesting that respondents felt a larger degree of social distance from trans people than from lesbian, gay and bisexual people.

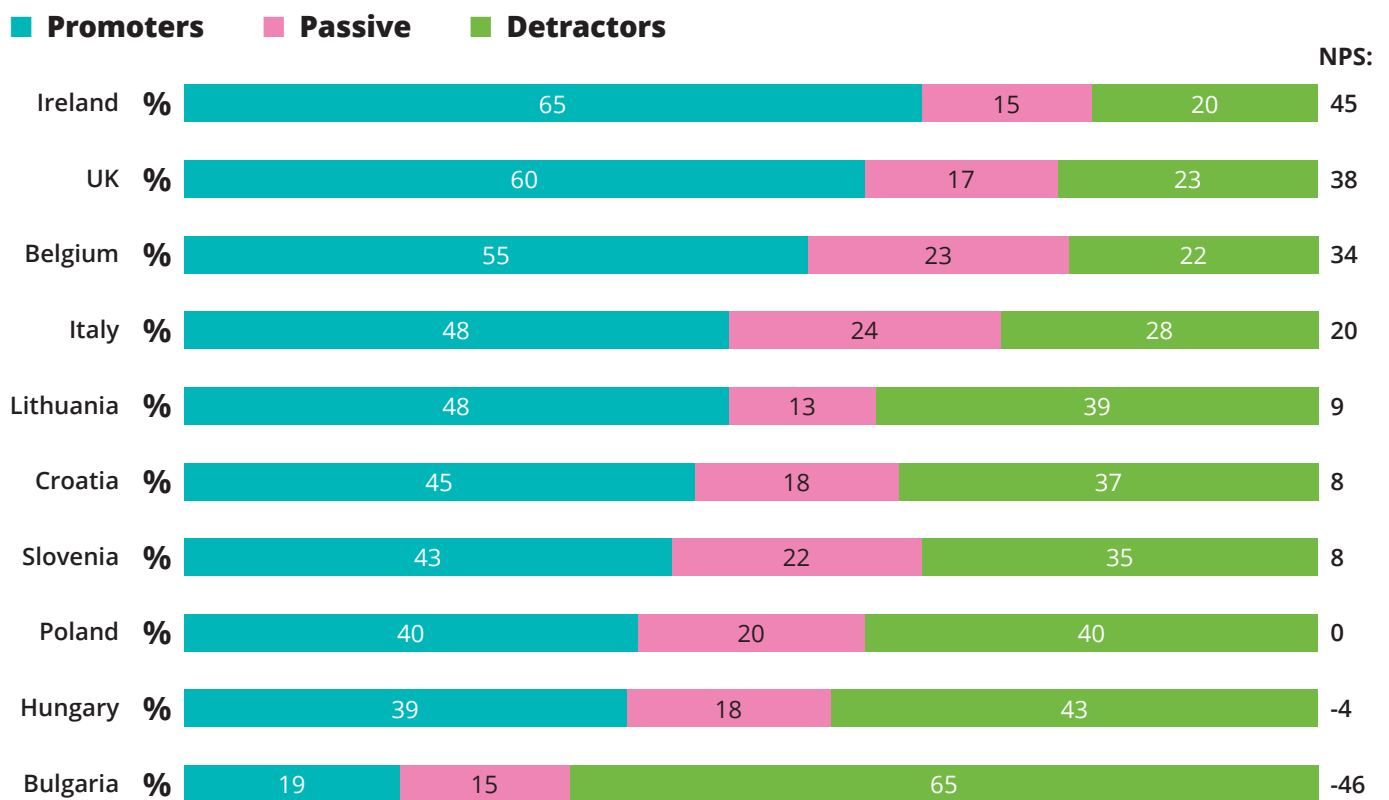
INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON

Ireland, the UK and Belgium had the most positive views on having LGBT+ neighbours, again with Ireland scoring highest across all identities. **Italy, Slovenia, Croatia and Lithuania** had positive views, but to a lesser degree. **Poland** scored neutrally, and Hungary slightly negatively. **Bulgaria** stood out as having significantly more negative views than all other countries, with a NPS of - 46, and average comfort scores of just 4.9 (lesbian), 4.7 (gay), 4.9 (bisexual) and 4.4 (trans).

In some countries, there was significant variation in views of different LGBT+ groups. For example, whilst **Poland** scored neutrally overall for all LGBT+ groups combined, the detailed picture is more complex. Polish respondents showed positive views on lesbian neighbours, close to neutral on gay and bisexual neighbours, and negative views of trans neighbours. (NPS: gay = 3, lesbian = 14, bisexual = 1, trans = -17.) As in the UK, respondents in all countries tended to score comfort with trans neighbours lower than with LGB+ neighbours. See international report for further detail: www.lgbthatecrime.eu.

Figure 8:

Social distance from LGBT+ neighbours (all groups combined) by country



* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Trans people and public toilets

Women were more likely to be comfortable than **men (62.2% v 58.0%)**.

Young people were the most comfortable of any age group, **70.3% of 18-24** year olds reporting feeling comfortable, compared to only **52.7% of 55-65** year olds.

Trans people in the UK have the right to access public toilets that best match their gender, just as everyone does. However, anti-trans lobby groups in the UK have attempted to spread misinformation and sow discontent on this issue, which has attracted a significant amount of media attention.

Given this rhetoric, it is saddening but unsurprising that while trans people have the legal right to equal access, in practice 48% of trans people do not feel comfortable using public toilets (Stonewall, 2018).

We wanted to find out how the general public feel about sharing these spaces with trans people. Respondents were asked their opinion on the statement *"I am comfortable with transgender people using the public toilets that I use"*.

The questions used a 5 point scale:

- 1** *Strongly disagree*
- 2** *Disagree*
- 3** *Neither agree or disagree*
- 4** *Agree*
- 5** *Strongly agree.*

3 in 5 respondents *agreed or strongly agreed* with the statement (**60.1%**), while fewer than **1 in 5** *disagreed or strongly disagreed* (**16.1%**). These results suggest that the majority of people have not been persuaded by the arguments put forward by anti-trans activists, and are supportive of trans rights in this area.

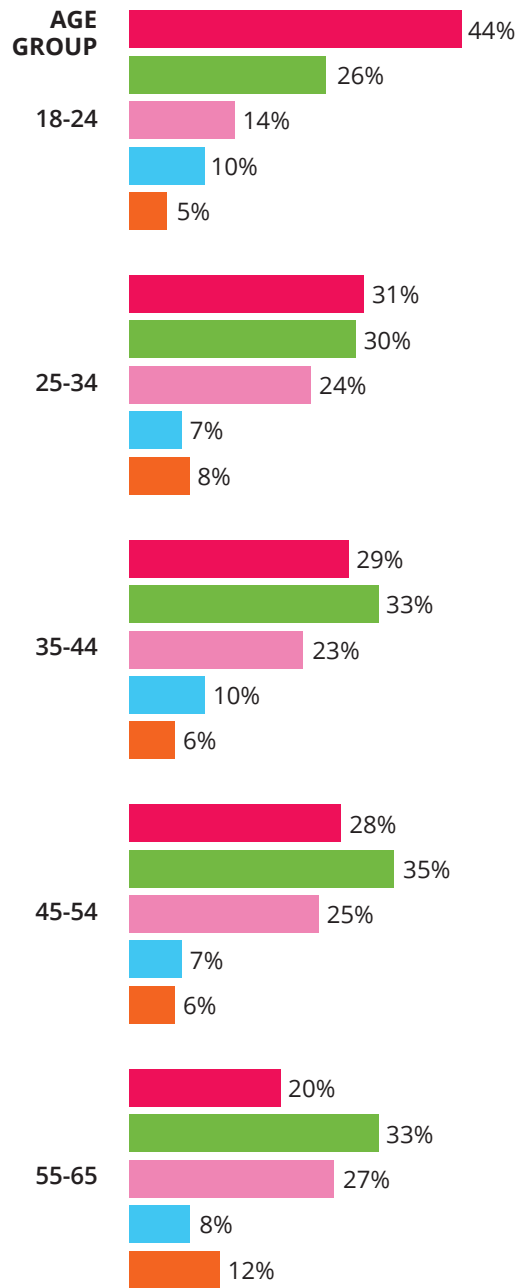
Figure 9:

I am comfortable with transgender people using the public toilets that I use:

Level of agreement by age group

- 5 agree strongly
- 4 agree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 2 disagree
- 1 disagree strongly

(18-24: n = 122, mean = 3.94;
25-34: n = 421, mean = 3.70;
35-44: n = 297, mean = 3.70;
45-54: n = 249, mean = 3.72;
55-65: n = 408, mean = 3.40)



* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding



BELIEFS ABOUT HATE CRIME

Respondents were asked about their opinions on the extent and impact of hate crime in the following statements:

- When people are victimized because of something about themselves that they cannot change, like their sexual orientation or gender identity, the effects on them are worse than if they had been victimized for another reason.
- In general, lesbian, gay and bisexual people avoid holding hands in public with a same-sex partner for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed.
- In general, transgender people avoid expressing their gender identity through their physical appearance and clothes for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed.
- Violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people is a serious problem in the UK.

The questions in this section used a 5 point scale:

- 1** *Strongly disagree*
- 2** *Disagree*
- 3** *Neither agree or disagree*
- 4** *Agree*
- 5** *Strongly agree.*

Almost **5 in 10** respondents *agreed or strongly agreed* that victimisation on the grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity has a greater impact than victimisation for another reason (**48.8%**). Fewer than **2 in 10** *disagreed or strongly disagreed* (**15.7%**).

5 in 10 respondents *agreed or strongly agreed* that in general, LGBT+ people avoid holding hands in public with a same-sex partner for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed (**50.2%**). **2 in 10** *disagreed or strongly disagreed* (**19.4%**).

5 in 10 respondents *agreed or strongly agreed* that in general, trans people avoid expressing their gender identity through their physical appearance and clothes for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed (**50.6%**). **2 in 10** *disagreed or strongly disagreed* (**20.1%**).

Fewer than **4 in 10** people (**38.5%**) *agreed or strongly agreed* that violence against LGBT+ people is a serious problem in the UK. Nearly **3 in 10** *disagreed or strongly disagreed* (**27.8%**).

Figure 10:

Beliefs about hate crime:

Level of agreement with statements relating to impact, safety behaviours, and seriousness of hate crime



* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding



DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that anti-LGBT+ prejudice is still widespread in the United Kingdom. Most striking is the apparent gap between the freedom that people theoretically think LGBT+ people should have, and their actual beliefs and feelings about LGBT+ people in practice. Only 1 in 20 people said that LGBT+ people should not be free to live as they wish, but 1 in 5 would be uncomfortable with an LGB+ neighbour, 1 in 4 with a trans neighbour, 1 in 5 said that being LGBT+ was against their morals or beliefs, 1 in 10 that being LGBT+ could be cured, and 1 in 10 thought that LGBT+ people were dangerous. Potentially, some people holding these negative views do not recognise them as homophobic, biphobic or transphobic and contrary to LGBT+ rights.

The views of young people were more divided than their older counterparts. 18-24 year olds were less likely to give answers in the middle ground (e.g. neither agree nor disagree) on the majority of questions. These opposing viewpoints were most notable for the statement, *“Being gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender is immoral or against my beliefs”*: 60% disagreed or strongly disagreed, but 27% agreed or strongly agreed, higher than any other age group.

This contrasts with high levels of agreement among the 18-24 year old respondents that different LGBT+ groups should be able to live as they wish; 91% agreed re gay men and lesbians, 94% re bisexual people, and 87% re trans people, higher than for all other age groups.

It appears that a subsection of young people have negative internal views about LGBT+ people, but are less likely to think that their views should warrant intervention in the lives of LGBT+ people than older age groups. This perhaps reflects a combination of the influence of the rise of anti-LGBT+ rhetoric globally, combined with the influence of neoliberal ideology, which promotes individualism. It may also be connected to the influence of a growing number of siloed online communities of hate, which exist with different social norms to mainstream society, running counter to inclusion and tolerance.

There is a gap between respondents' opinions on whether LGBT+ people modify their behaviour to stay safe, and the lived reality of LGBT+ people in the UK. The National LGBT Survey shows that around 70% of LGBT+ people modify their behaviour in public and/or are not open about their identity for fear of a negative reaction from others (Government Equalities Office 2018:33). However, far fewer of the general public believes that LGBT+ people modify their behaviour to stay safe (50%), and only 39% thought that violence against lesbians, gay men, bisexual and transgender people is a serious problem in the UK.

Opinions about LGBT+ people among UK respondents were, for the most part, more positive than those of respondents in the other European countries. However, the Irish respondents in the survey showed consistently more positive attitudes than those in the UK. This could be for a variety of reasons, and further investigation is necessary before drawing inferences about the views of the general population in Ireland and the UK. It is possible that the difference is due to variation in the samples. It is also possible that it is an accurate reflection of differences in attitudes of the UK and Irish population. Whilst our geographic neighbours, the current political climate around LGBT+ issues in Ireland is very different from the UK. Ireland has demonstrated increasingly progressive values in the last decade, transforming from a country traditionally holding very conservative social attitudes into one of the most liberal countries in the world. The nation displayed strong support for same-sex marriage in the 2015 referendum, and the anti-trans lobby present in the UK does not currently hold much traction in Ireland. In contrast, in the last few years the UK has seen a swing towards far-right rhetoric in the mainstream. Further research is needed to ascertain the reasons for the observed differences.



CONCLUSION

The results of this research demonstrate a gulf between levels of anti-LGBT+ hate crime perceived by survey respondents, and the lived experience of LGBT+ people in the UK. Violence and abuse against LGBT+ people is well-documented, yet this poll suggests a large proportion of people in the UK do not believe that violence against LGBT+ people is a serious problem, or that LGBT+ people modify their behaviour to avoid abuse.

A significant proportion of respondents expressed conscious bias against LGBT+ people, believing that LGBT+ people are immoral and/or dangerous, and being uncomfortable with LGBT+ neighbours. The level of actual bias held against LGBT+ people by the British public may in fact be higher even than the findings of this study, as people are sometimes reluctant to express views counter to social norms when surveyed, and many more people may hold unconscious biases.

The views expressed by young people in this study also gives rise for serious concern. They were often more negative toward LGBT+ people than their older counterparts. This perhaps indicates that the position of LGBT+ people in society is under threat in future generations. More research into the views and opinions of young people and the reasons for these findings is needed, so that hate crime policy and practice can rise to meet these challenges.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1** Support research into the reasons for anti-LGBT+ attitudes among young people.
- 2** Improve public attitudes to LGBT+ people through education and campaigning.
- 3** Work with social media companies to address toxic cultures of hate online.
- 4** Improve public knowledge about the damaging impacts of anti-LGBT+ hate.
- 5** Build preventive educational programmes for perpetrators of hate crime.
- 6** Build the capacity of anti-hate crime services to support victims.
- 7** Support work promoting solidarity between minority communities facing hate crime.



METHODOLOGY

An online survey was developed and administered to explore the attitudes and opinions of members of the public across 10 European countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, and the United Kingdom).

The survey was administered to a representative sample of respondents from each participating country. A total of 10,612 people were polled between 9 August and 1 October 2018 across the 10 countries. The sample size for each country was 1000 except for Ireland (1395), the United Kingdom (1617) and Slovenia (600).

Quota sampling was utilised to ensure that respondents were representative of the wider population from within each country (with 5% flexibility) in relation to sex, age, geographical region, and education levels.

The fieldwork was conducted by an international consortium of polling agencies managed by Kantar Poland. The UK poll was conducted by LightSpeed.

The demographics of the UK sample were as follows:

Gender:

51% Male
49% Female
0% Non-binary
0% Declined to answer

Age:

8% 18-24 years old
28% 25-34 years old
20% 35-44 years old
17% 45-54 years old
27% 55-65 years old
0% Declined to answer

Region:

5% North East
12% North West
10% Yorkshire and the Humber
9% East Midlands
8% East Midlands
9% East of England
11% London
12% South East
9% South West.
5% Wales
9% Scotland
1% Declined to answer

Education:

3% (Modern) Apprenticeship, Advanced (Modern) Apprenticeship
35% Vocational A-level (AVCE), GCE Applied A-level, NVQ\SVQ Level
0% HE Access
10% Edexcel\BTEC\BEC\TECHigher National Certificate (HNC)
2% Foundation Degree (FdA, FdSc etc)
3% Nursing certificate, Teacher training, HE Diploma, Edexcel\B
23% 3-4 year University\CNAA first Degree (BA, BSc., BEd., BEng.)
2% 5 year University\CNAA first Degree (MB, BDS, BV etc)
9% Masters Degree, M.Phil, Post-Graduate Diplomas
and Certificate
2% Ph.D, D.Phil or equivalent
4% Other
5% Don't know
2% Declined to answer

FURTHER READING

Bachmann, C.L. and Gooch, B (2018) LGBT in Britain - Trans Report (Stonewall)
www.stonewall.org.uk/system/files/lgbt_in_britain_-_trans_report_final.pdf

Government Equalities Office (2018) The National LGBT Survey: Research Report
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/721704/LGBT-survey-research-report.pdf

ILGA (2017) The ILGA-RIWI Global Attitudes Survey on Sexual, Gender and Sex Minorities
https://ilga.org/downloads/Country_by_country_data_ILGA_RIWI_attitudes_survey_2017.docx

