

Public perceptions of human rights

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Ipsos MORI Social Research Institute

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Executive summary

This study investigated how the public perceive human rights. The findings will help the Commission build up a strong evidence base to identify the issues surrounding human rights to help inform its Inquiry, and ultimately, inform policy.

Quantitative summary

- The values people hold most dear in terms of living in Britain are: being treated with dignity and respect, having freedom of expression, and being treated fairly.
- There is a close alignment between the values that people think are important for society and those which people identify as being fundamental human rights.
- Two-thirds of people feel that human rights are meaningful to them in everyday life.
- There is strong support for a law to protect Human Rights in Britain. In particular, people endorse human rights in governing the way that public services treat people and for creating a fairer society. Perhaps this is because this enables them to connect human rights to their everyday lives and life outcomes.

However, there is a lack of detailed understanding of human rights and the legislation which surrounds these.

Qualitative summary

Opinions in the deliberative research support the findings from the survey overall:

- Key values described as core to British life were similar to the top-scoring values in the quantitative survey; respect, family, law and order, and equality.
- When asked to generate 'The most important rights', participants felt these were education, health, free speech and equality.
- During the discussion, the numbers of participants valuing equality increased slightly, showing perhaps that views on values and rights are amenable to change with the right stimulus.
- However, public terms for discussing these values and rights were not necessarily identical to human rights terminology and for some people there was confusion around what human rights were.

- Human rights were considered to be important by the vast majority at the start of discussions; they were felt to be slightly more important across the groups after each right was discussed in detail.

1. Introduction

1.1 The need for research

This report presents the findings of a study into public perceptions of human rights conducted by the Ipsos MORI Social Research Institute on behalf of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the Commission). The study involved both a quantitative survey and qualitative deliberative research and provides a snap-shot of public perceptions today.

The Commission is currently conducting a Human Rights Inquiry to find out how human rights work in England and Wales, in line with its powers under section 16 of the Equality Act 2006. The Inquiry was launched on 21 April 2008. This Inquiry represents the starting point for the Commission's remit on human rights. The goals for this work are to:

- Promote understanding of the importance of human rights
- Encourage good practice in relation to human rights
- Promote awareness, understanding and protection of human rights, and
- Encourage public authorities to comply with the Human Rights Act (section 9 of the Equality Act).

By the end of the Inquiry the intention is to have:

- A reliable set of findings about the state of human rights in England and Wales, and
- Recommendations to move the human rights agenda forward.

The terms of reference for the Inquiry are to:

- Assess progress towards the effectiveness and enjoyment of a culture of respect for human rights in England and Wales.

Consider how the current human rights framework might best be developed and used to realise the vision of a society built on fairness and respect, confident in all aspects of its diversity.

The 'human rights framework' relates to the principles underpinning the Human Rights Act (1998) (HRA) and other international human rights treaties. The Articles enshrined in Schedule 1 of the Act are in Appendix 1.

To achieve these goals the Commission must promote human rights effectively to the public. It is important to understand: what is in the public mind at the start; what people know about human rights; how far they support the human rights framework; and how well this language and conceptual framework fits with their pre-existing worldviews of fairness, equality, justice and so on. Research was therefore commissioned to help the Commission understand public awareness of, and attitudes towards, human rights explicitly. The research also explored the public's understanding of the values underlying human rights and how important these values are.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The purpose of this study was to investigate how people perceive human rights, in order for the Commission to build up a strong evidence base to identify the issues surrounding human rights to help inform its Inquiry, and ultimately, inform policy. Specifically, the key objectives of the research were to:

- Establish a baseline of public opinion towards human rights which the Commission can monitor and use to track changes over time
- Explore people's attitudes towards human rights and develop an understanding of what is driving those attitudes
- Identify how entrenched any negative views to human rights are and the underlying reasons for this hostility, and
- Explore if, (and if so, how) these views can be changed through persuasion, debate and argument.

1.3 Methodology

Ipsos MORI used quantitative and qualitative methods for this study.

Quantitative research

A face-to-face Omnibus survey was used to provide us with hard, statistically reliable data on underlying values as well as attitudes towards human rights per se. The approach was chosen because it offers flexibility in asking in-depth or complicated questions by using showcards and other stimulus material. The survey was carried out among a representative sample of 1,994 British adults aged 16+. Fieldwork for the survey was conducted between 14 and 21 August 2008.

Qualitative research

Deliberative workshops with members of the public were used to develop a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of public attitudes to human rights. The evening workshops were held in London and Cardiff. Each involved 23 members of the public and lasted for three hours.

The deliberative research also involved a series of mini groups and in-depth interviews with minority groups to ensure that certain groups of the community were adequately represented. The mini-groups were of two hours duration. One was held in London with people from ethnic minorities (7 participants) and another in Manchester with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender people (6 participants) (referred to as the 'LGBT group' in this report). Paired depth interviews were carried out with people with learning disabilities (one in Leicester and one in London), people with physical disabilities (one in Oxfordshire and one in Cardiff), teenagers (one in Manchester and one in Leicester) and one elderly person and their carer (Oxfordshire).

What is deliberative research?

The qualitative sessions used a deliberative method. Moderators gathered spontaneous views of the rights, principles and values necessary for living in a civilised society; then challenged the public with evidence, case studies and alternative points of view on how these principles might play out in practice. Specific human rights terminology was introduced subtly later in the process and participants were invited to compare the human rights framework with the principles for good and fair living they had already established in discussion.

This is a more effective way of gathering public views than a more conventional qualitative discussion or semi-structured quantitative interviews. If we had started by simply asking participants about their views of human rights, we would have run the risk of generating findings which are not qualitatively robust. In this kind of workshop, people do not tell us explicitly "here are the values I think are important, and my views are very entrenched because x, y, z". Instead, people take much for granted in their underlying value systems and the way they look at the world, and we have to tease out their values by following up on much broader questions about life, such as simply questioning 'what is important to you'.

Social desirability bias in group discussions also means that the group tends to over-report their support for issues like human rights, which would not have given the Commission an accurate picture of public views.

The benefits of deliberation included:

- Short exercises at start and end of discussion to see whether opinions changed.

- Gathering participants' own language, conceptions and misconceptions about what relates to human rights.
- A measure of which, if any, arguments cause opinions to shift.

This approach means that the findings are more robust, and may form the basis of a strategy for public communications or further debate.

Five case studies were used in the deliberative research to help people discuss human rights issues. These set out stories which illuminated aspects of human rights and some of the tradeoffs involved where individuals' rights can conflict with one another and may need to be restricted. (The relevant Article in the Human Rights Act is provided in brackets.)

- Police protection for domestic violence victims (Article 2, the right to life and the Osman case)¹
- An ill child and his right to resuscitation (Article 2, the right to life)
- Residential care home staff (Article 3, prohibition of torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment)
- Deportation of foreign nationals (Article 5, the right to liberty and security and Article 8, the right to family life)
- Mobile phone surveillance (Article 8, the right to private life).

In the general public workshops, participants were asked to complete questionnaires at the start and end of the sessions on: their attitudes to human rights; their perceptions of the rights which they see as most important; and their perceptions of the rights most at risk in the UK today. We were able to see whether their opinions had shifted at all. These questionnaires provide indicative results (with a base size of only 46 they are not statistically valid); they helped to focus participants' minds on the issues under discussion.

Please see the appendices for further details about the deliberative research programme, the topline survey data, discussion guides and case studies.

¹ In *Osman v UK* (2000) 29 EHRR 245, the European Court of Human Rights decided that when there is a known or foreseeable real and immediate threat to the life of an individual from another person, the police must take the necessary action to alert and, if possible, protect the victim.

1.4 Analysis and interpretation of the data

Quantitative data

Because a sample, not the entire population was interviewed, all results are subject to sampling tolerances. This means that results are accurate to within certain limits, and that not all observed differences between sub-groups are statistically significant. (Please refer to the Guide to Statistical Reliability section appended to this report for more details.)

Furthermore, throughout the report the figures quoted are percentages. The size of the sample base from which the percentage is derived is indicated. Note that the base may vary – the percentage is not always based on the total sample.

Caution is advised when comparing responses between small sub sample sizes, particularly regarding comparisons between people who have experienced human rights abuses.

Where percentages do not add up to 100, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or the exclusion of 'Don't know/Not stated' responses. Throughout the report an asterisk (*) denotes a value of less than half a per cent, but more than zero.

Qualitative data

It is important to note that qualitative research is designed to be illustrative rather than statistically representative and therefore provides insight into why people hold views, rather than conclusions from a robust, valid sample. In addition, it is important to bear in mind that we are dealing with people's perceptions, rather than facts (although perceptions may be facts to those who hold them).

Throughout the report, use is made of verbatim comments from participants. Where this is the case, it is important to remember that the views expressed do not always represent the views of the stakeholder group as a whole, although in each case the verbatim is representative of, at least, a minority.

In the workshops we split the participants into three different focus groups – younger, middle-aged, and older, and have cited comments based on this. In addition, while we have attributed the verbatim to a man or woman participating in the deliberations, all comments pertain to the group rather than the gender of the individual. As mentioned above, group-based research is subject to social desirability bias and to other group dynamic processes where the responses of individuals are conditional to the group. This means that the best way to cite qualitative findings is to cite the group rather than individual participants. Indeed, citing participants by sub-groups (such as gender or ethnicity) is actually inaccurate and not robust in a qualitative sense.

Also, we have indicated whether remarks were the subject of general consensus in groups or expressed by a minority. However we never give numbers of individuals in a group agreeing or disagreeing with propositions. Because of the potential effect of the group dynamic on individual response, this is not a valid way to report qualitative findings; we cannot tell why people are expressing agreement and how far it reflects their desire to conform to the group, stand out from the group, or otherwise react to the situation. In qualitative research, the fact that a view is heard in the group is taken as a token of that view being present in the population of which the group forms a small segment. Furthermore, to report numbers at all is statistically misleading as the samples are so small.

In analysis, we have reported what people said, but qualitative analysis also looks at what people mean, by looking at the context in which they speak. Different views of fundamental rights and responsibilities underlie current public discourse on a wide range of public service issues; service delivery and the relationship citizens want to have with the Government, for example. Over recent years of conducting qualitative studies into this area we have gathered a wealth of data on the worldviews and contrasting mental maps which lie beneath citizens' responses. These projects include work with the Joseph Rowntree Foundation examining attitudes to poverty in the UK;² work on young people's attitudes to the Government;³ deliberative work to understand people's perceptions of rights and capabilities, used to inform the development of a capabilities framework, which fed into the report of the Equalities Commission (2007-8); research into attitudes of high earners to wealth, fairness and taxation;⁴ plus a wide range of proprietary research into public perceptions of fairness in resource distribution carried out on behalf of central government departments such as the Department for Work and Pensions and Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs.

Conclusions that we draw in analysis from the qualitative work, (in particular those to do with the attitudes which may lie behind statements made by participants), are therefore informed by our background knowledge from these wider interactions with the public on issues of rights, equalities, respect and fairness.

1.5 How the report is set out

We look at the quantitative findings first, then at the findings from deliberation in more detail. Individual sections in each chapter, however, are similarly titled so that qualitative and quantitative findings can be compared.

² Communicating UK Poverty: Overcoming the barriers to create meaningful messages research, 2006. Available at: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/bookshop/details.asp?pubID=860>

³ A New Reality: Government and the IPOD generation, 2008. Available at: <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/content/a-new-reality-government-and-the-ipod-generation.ashx>

1.6 Acknowledgements

Ipsos MORI would like to thank the Commission for funding this study and for their help and assistance in the development of the project. We would also like to thank the members of the public who took part in this study, without whose input, the research would not have not been possible.

⁴ Income Inequality in the UK: Opinions of high earners, 2008. Available at: <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/content/highest-earners-ignorant-about-their-wealth.ashx>

2. Quantitative findings

Quantitative summary

- The values people hold most dear in terms of living in Britain are being treated with dignity and respect, having freedom of expression and being treated fairly.
- There is a close alignment between the values that people think are important for society and those which people identify as being fundamental human rights.
- Two-thirds of people feel that human rights are meaningful to them in everyday life.
- There is strong support for a law to protect human rights in Britain.
- In particular, people endorse human rights as a means of governing the way that public services treat people and for creating a fairer society.
- However, there is a lack of detailed understanding of human rights and the legislation which surrounds these.

2.1 Public perceptions of rights and values

This chapter explores the quantitative findings on the values people want to live by; and how far these relate to human rights. It identifies where people start from when they think about the values and principles they want to live by, and how they see these relate to human rights.

The survey asked a series of questions about what people felt to be important values for living in Britain and to what extent these values were important to them personally. Respondents were then asked whether they considered these values to be human rights.

The deliberative research followed a similar line of inquiry but asked for people's spontaneous views of what values and principles they believed were important components of a civilised society in Britain today; these findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.2 Values for living in Britain

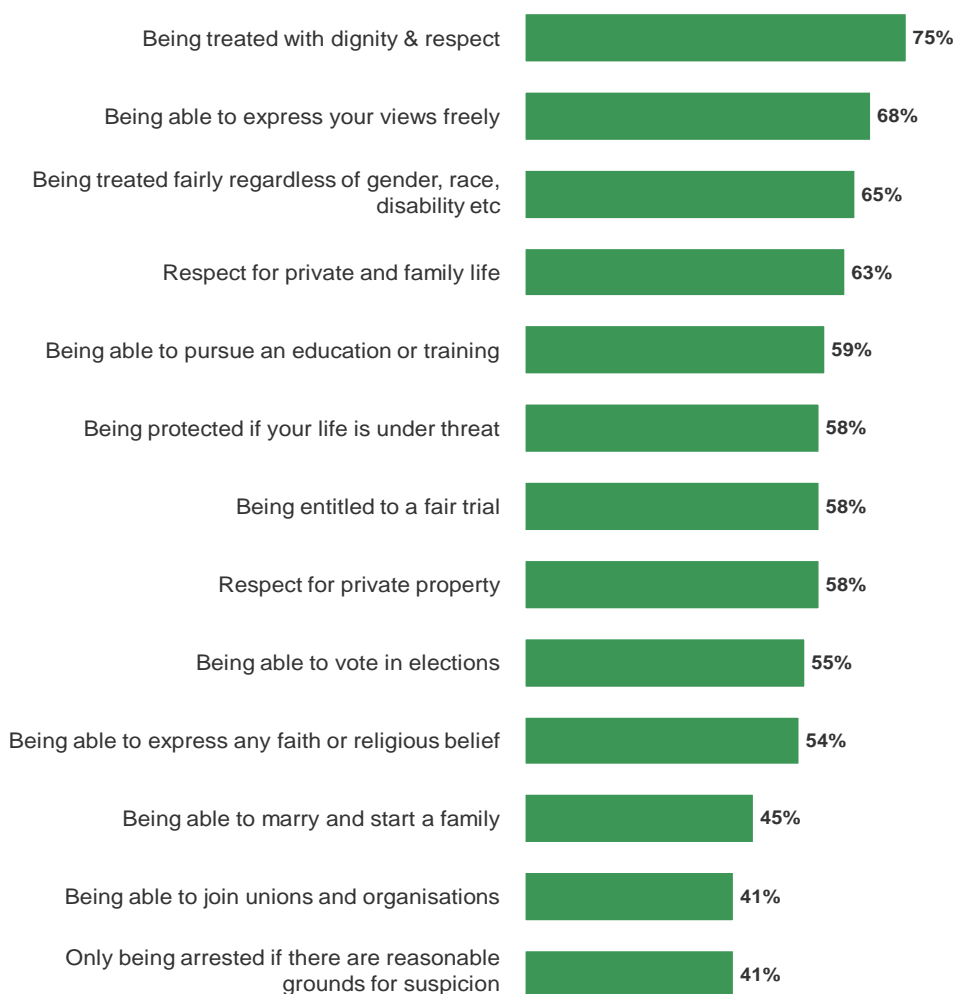
In the survey, people were asked what they consider to be the most important values for living in Britain today from a list. The items from the list were taken from the

Articles in the Human Rights Act, but put into language that would have greater meaning for the public. Schedule 1 of the Human Rights Act is in Appendix 1. The appendix also indicates which Article each value in this, and following questions, relates to.

Being treated with dignity and respect is the value that is considered most important for living in Britain. Three-quarters of British adults highlight this as being important (75 per cent). Being able to express your views freely and being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability or any other personal differences were each considered important by around two-thirds of people (68 per cent and 65 per cent respectively). The chart below illustrates this information.

Chart 1 Important values

Q Which of the following, if any, would you say are the most important values for living in Britain today?



Base: All (1,994), 14 – 21 August 2008

The values to which people attach less importance (although they are still mentioned by around two in five) are being able to marry and start a family (45 per cent), only being arrested on reasonable grounds for suspicion (41 per cent) and being able to join unions and organisations (41 per cent).

The survey did highlight some significant differences by sub-groups. Higher social grades were consistently more likely to consider each of the values important, with ABC1 respondents significantly more likely to say each of the values were important (the one exception being dignity and respect, which was equally important across all social groups). Closely related to this is income, with households of over £25k annual income more likely to think each of the values are important (this group is also likely to be in the higher social grades).

White respondents were significantly more likely to prioritise most of the values. However, there was no difference by ethnicity for the importance of values covering dignity and respect, expressing views freely and unfair arrest. This reinforces the findings of the deliberative research, where all groups highlighted these as important.

There were few differences by gender. However, men were significantly more likely than women to say that being entitled to a fair trial is important (61 per cent compared to 56 per cent of women).

By age, on the whole, most values are significantly more important for those aged over 35 than for those in the youngest age bracket. Education and training were unsurprisingly more important for younger respondents (59 per cent of those aged 18-34 compared to 50 per cent of those aged over 65).

Readers of broadsheets are much more likely to highlight the importance of each these values over tabloid readers apart from respect for private and family life, respect for private property, being protected if your life is under threat and being able to marry and start a family, where there is no difference by readership.

Important values for 'me personally'

When asked about which four or five values are important to respondents personally, dignity and respect was again the most important value (63 per cent). Also important were being able to express your views freely (46 per cent) and respect for private and family life (46 per cent). Being treated fairly regardless of personal differences was highlighted by two in five (43 per cent). Indeed, the top four values and the overall pattern of responses were the same both for living in Britain and to individuals personally, as the chart below shows.

Chart 2 Important values personally

Q And which four or five, if any, are most important to you personally?



Base: All (1,994), 14 – 21 August 2008

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However, despite an overall similarity in the top values for the survey, the differences in attitudes among sub-groups when asked about personal importance is markedly different compared to values for living in Britain. Women are more likely to value respect for private and family life than men (49 per cent compared to 42 per cent). They are also more likely to think being treated fairly regardless of personal differences is important to them personally than men (47 per cent compared to 38 per cent). The ability to pursue an education or training is also valued more by women than men (31 per cent compared to 25 per cent). This may be because

gender inequality still exists in many aspects of life and was something that was discussed among participants in the deliberative research.

There are differences by age group. Those aged under 35 tend to value being able to marry and start a family (19 per cent compared to 13 per cent of those aged 35-54 and only 9 per cent of those aged 55+). Younger respondents also value pursuit of an education (38 per cent compared to 27 per cent of those aged 35-54). Older respondents, by contrast, are more likely to think that voting in elections is important to them personally (29 per cent of those over 55, compared to only 14 per cent of those aged 18-34). This finding is not surprising given that older people are more likely to vote in elections than younger people.

Ethnic minority respondents are most likely to value being able to express any faith or religious belief (38 per cent) compared to white respondents (19 per cent). This was certainly something that was apparent in the deliberative research. White respondents, however, tend to value respect for private and family life more than ethnic minority groups (46 per cent compared to 37 per cent), respect for private property (34 per cent compared to 12 per cent), and being able to vote in elections (22 per cent compared to 14 per cent).

There are differences by newspaper readership. Broadsheet readers are much more likely to attach personal importance to being able to express views freely, being entitled to a fair trial, being able to vote in elections, being able to express religious beliefs and only being arrested if there are reasonable grounds for suspicion, than readers of tabloids. However, on other factors there are no significant differences by readership.

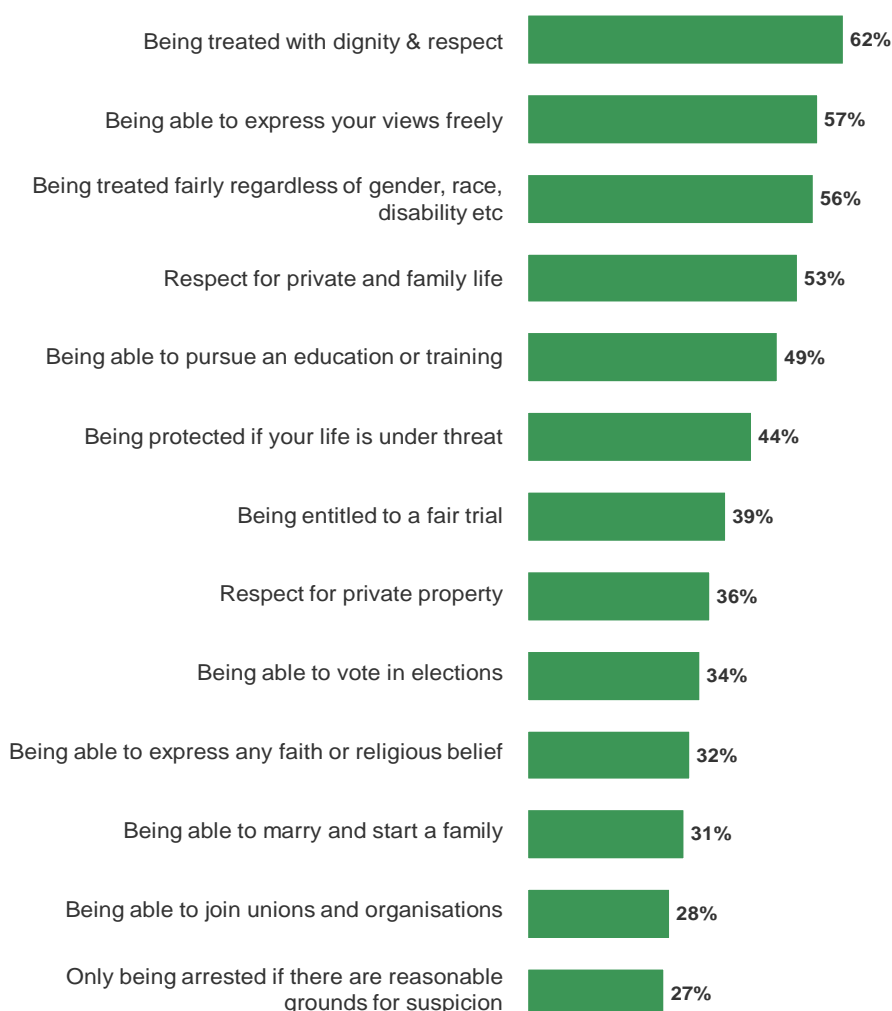
The findings of the survey about the values that people consider important for living in Britain today and to them personally were backed up by the deliberative research. Values relating to dignity and respect and fairness were those most commonly identified in the groups and least debated – participants agreed that these were important. The close alignment between values for society and for individuals personally was also evident in the deliberative research. For those values that the survey findings suggest are less important to people (that is, unfair arrest, being able to join unions and associations and being able to marry and start a family) the deliberative research suggests people are less likely to spontaneously highlight these because they are confident that they have these rights in Britain, rather than a belief that they are not important per se.

2.3 How do values correspond to rights and human rights?

In the survey, after respondents had identified the values that were important for living in Britain and to them personally, they were asked which of those values they consider to be fundamental human rights. Consistent with earlier findings, being treated with dignity and respect was seen by most people as a fundamental human right (62 per cent). This was followed by fair treatment despite personal differences (57 per cent) and freedom to express your views (56 per cent) (see chart below). Around a quarter of people identify respect for private property or being able to join unions and organisations of your choice as human rights (27 per cent and 28 per cent respectively).

Chart 3 Human rights

Q And which, if any, do you consider to be fundamental human rights?

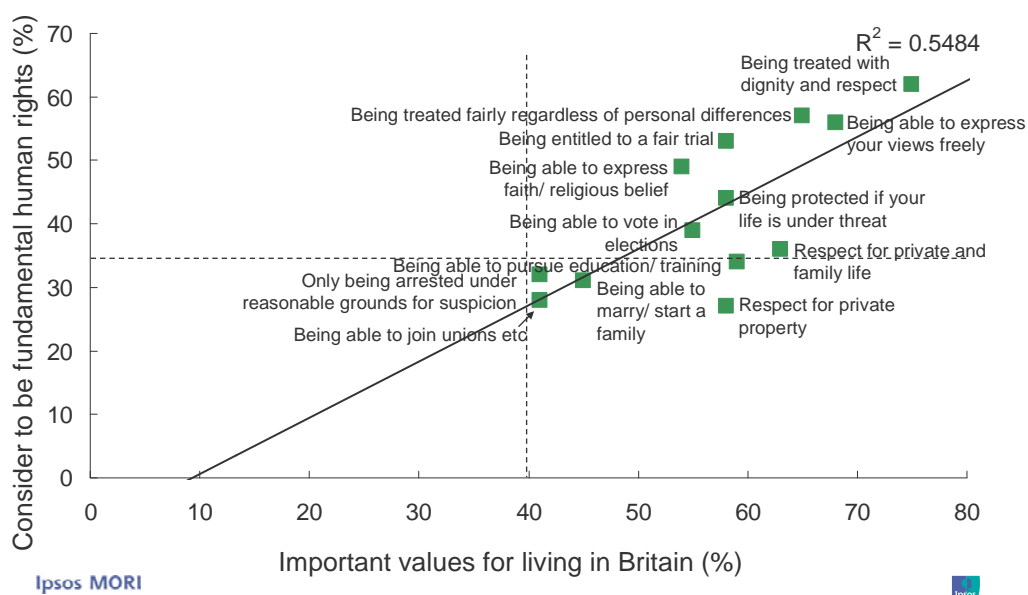


Base: All (1,994), 14 – 21 August 2008

In line with earlier findings on values, respondents in socio-economic groups ABC1 were much more likely to pick out each of these as fundamental human rights than respondents in socio-economic groups C2DE. Those aged under 35 years are less likely to say each of these are fundamental human rights, than older people, apart from being entitled to a fair trial (56 per cent for 18-34 year olds compared with 49 per cent for those over 55+ years). Again, readers of broadsheets are much more likely to pick out each of these as being fundamental human rights than readers of tabloids.

When we map the values people feel are important for living in Britain and what they believe to be fundamental human rights, we see that there is a strong correlation between the two, as illustrated in the chart below.

Chart 4 Values for living in Britain v human rights



The values in the top right hand quadrant above are those which are considered to be important values for living in Britain *and* fundamental human rights (for example, being treated with respect and dignity, being treated fairly regardless of personal differences, being able to express views freely). Those rights in the lower right hand quadrant are less likely to be identified by survey respondents as fundamental human rights (for example, respect for private property, being able to join unions and being able to marry/start a family). The chart shows that statistically, there is a significant positive relationship between the two i.e. that that the values people highlight as being important for living in Britain are also considered to be fundamental human rights (the correlation coefficient, or the R-squared value, is 0.5484).

2.4 Attitudes towards human rights

The survey explored attitudes towards a number of statements about human rights. The purpose of these statements was to assess people’s top of mind attitudes towards human rights.

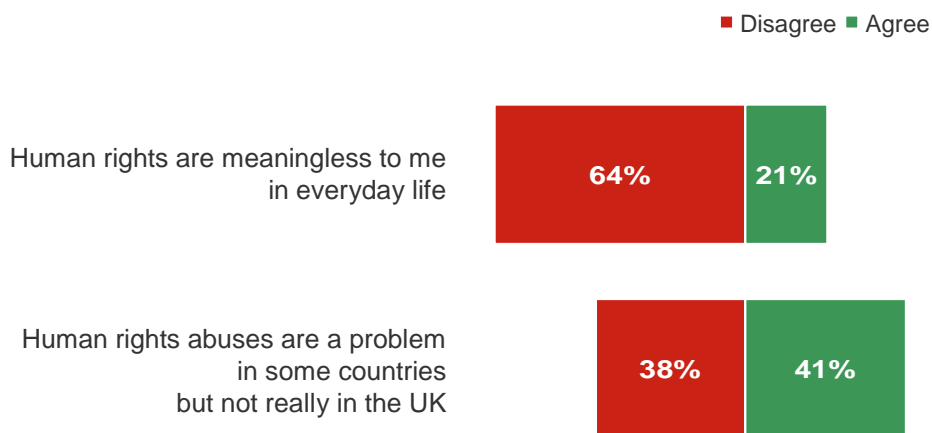
Majority of people feel human rights are meaningful

Survey respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement that ‘human rights are meaningless to me in everyday life’. Nearly two-thirds of people disagreed with this statement (64 per cent) and one in five people agreed (21 per cent).

Older people, aged 55+ years are less likely to disagree with this statement than younger age groups (59 per cent compared with 68 per cent for those aged 18-34 years). In contrast, and consistent with earlier findings, respondents in higher socio-economic groups are much more likely to disagree with this statement than respondents in lower groups (73 per cent vs 53 per cent). This is also consistent with findings from deliberative research, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Readers of the Sun (32 per cent), the Daily Mail (31 per cent) and the Daily Express (30 per cent) are more likely to agree with this statement than average (21 per cent).

Chart 5 Human rights issues (1)

Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements



Base: 1,994 adults, 14 – 21 August 2008 2008

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Views are, however, more divided on whether ‘human rights abuses are a problem in some countries but not really in the UK’ with two in five agreeing and a similar proportion disagreeing. Answers to other questions and the analysis of the deliberative groups (see page 44) suggests that when answering this question

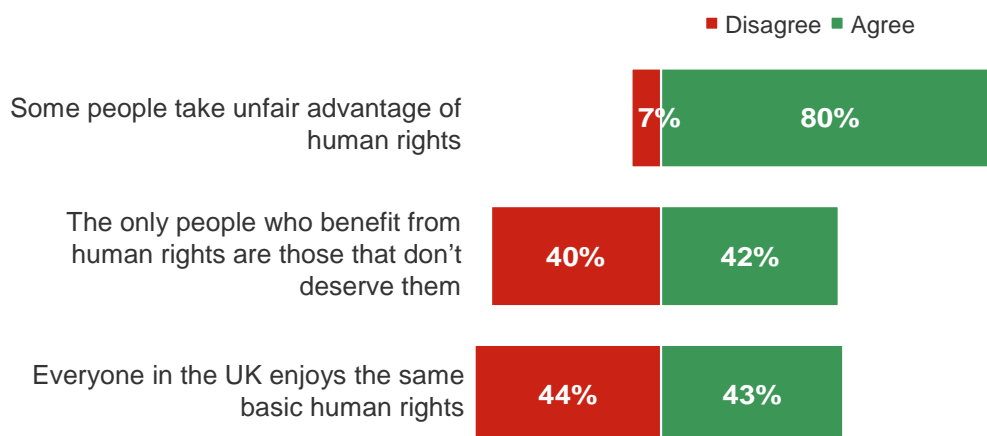
people do not spontaneously think there are human rights abuses in the UK, rather they are something that happen in other countries.

Some people take unfair advantage

The majority of survey respondents agree with the statement ‘some people take unfair advantage of human rights’ (80 per cent). Older people are more likely to think this is the case than younger people (82 per cent of those aged 55+ years agree compared with 76 per cent for 18-34 year olds) and readers of tabloids are also more likely to think this compared with broadsheet readers (86 per cent vs 74 per cent).

Chart 6 Human rights issues (2)

Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements



Base: 1,994 adults, 14 – 21 August 2008 2008

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Views of the public are more evenly split on whether ‘the only people who benefit from human rights in the UK are those who don’t deserve them such as criminals and terrorists’ as illustrated above. In terms of the undeserving benefiting from human rights, in line with the previous finding, older people are more likely to think this is the case than younger people (48 per cent for those aged 55+ years vs 37 per cent for those aged 18-34 years). Respondents in lower socio-economic groups are also more likely to agree than those in higher socio-economic groups (52 per cent compared with 34 per cent). There are also differences by newspaper readership, as observed before, where readers of tabloids and the Daily Express are much more likely to agree with this statement than average (57 per cent among tabloid readers and 70 per cent among Daily Express readers). For broadsheet readers the figure is 27 per cent.

Asked whether ‘everyone in the UK enjoys the same basic human rights’, opinion is again divided with 43 per cent agreeing this is the case and 44 per cent disagreeing.

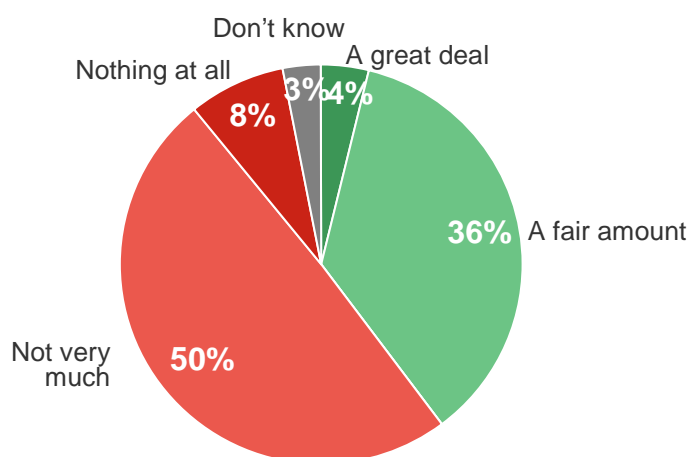
Men are more likely to agree with this statement than women (47 per cent vs 39 per cent) as are those in lower socio-economic groups compared with higher groups (46 per cent compared with 41 per cent). Ethnic minority respondents are more likely to agree with this statement than white respondents (62 per cent vs 41 per cent). Findings in other parts of the survey, as well as the deliberative research, suggests that there may be two reasons behind this. First, there are structures that prevent everyone getting equal access to human rights. Secondly, it may also be because there is a sense that some people are more likely to make use (or take advantage) of their human rights than others.

Low levels of knowledge about human rights

Two in five people (40 per cent) say they know a great deal or a fair amount about human rights generally compared with three in five (58 per cent) who don't know very much or anything at all.

Chart 7 Knowledge of human rights

How much would you say you know about human rights generally?



Base: 1,994 adults, 14 – 21 August 2008 2008

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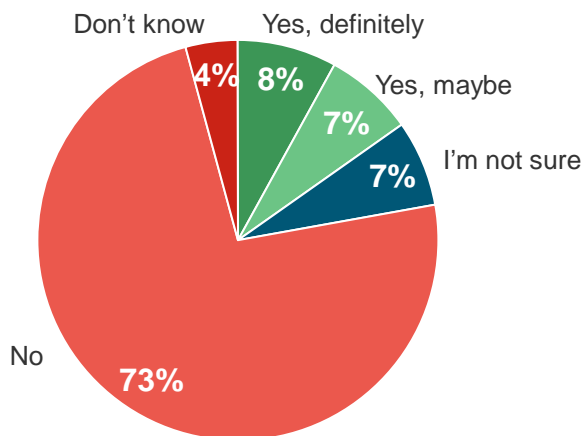
Men are more likely to say they know about human rights than women (44 per cent vs 36 per cent), and people in higher socio-economic groups are more likely to know than those in lower groups (49 per cent vs 28 per cent). In line with this, broadsheet readers are more likely to know about human rights (55 per cent) than readers of tabloids (34 per cent) or mid-market papers, i.e. the Daily Mail and Express (38 per cent).

While two in five say they know about human rights generally, the survey findings indicate that fewer people know whether they have had their rights infringed in everyday life. When asked whether they have had experiences of their human rights

being infringed, 16 per cent identified a situation where they felt their human rights, or those of any close friends or relatives, were not respected and of them, half (49 per cent) did something about it and half (49 per cent) did nothing. Younger people are more likely to say they have been in a situation where their rights have not been respected; 20 per cent of 18-34 year olds compared with 12 per cent for those aged 55+ years. Readers of broadsheets are more likely than average to identify a situation where their rights have not been respected (21 per cent vs 16 per cent overall).

Chart 8 Respecting human rights

Have you or any close friends/family ever felt your human rights were not respected?



Base: 1,994 adults, 14 – 21 August 2008 2008

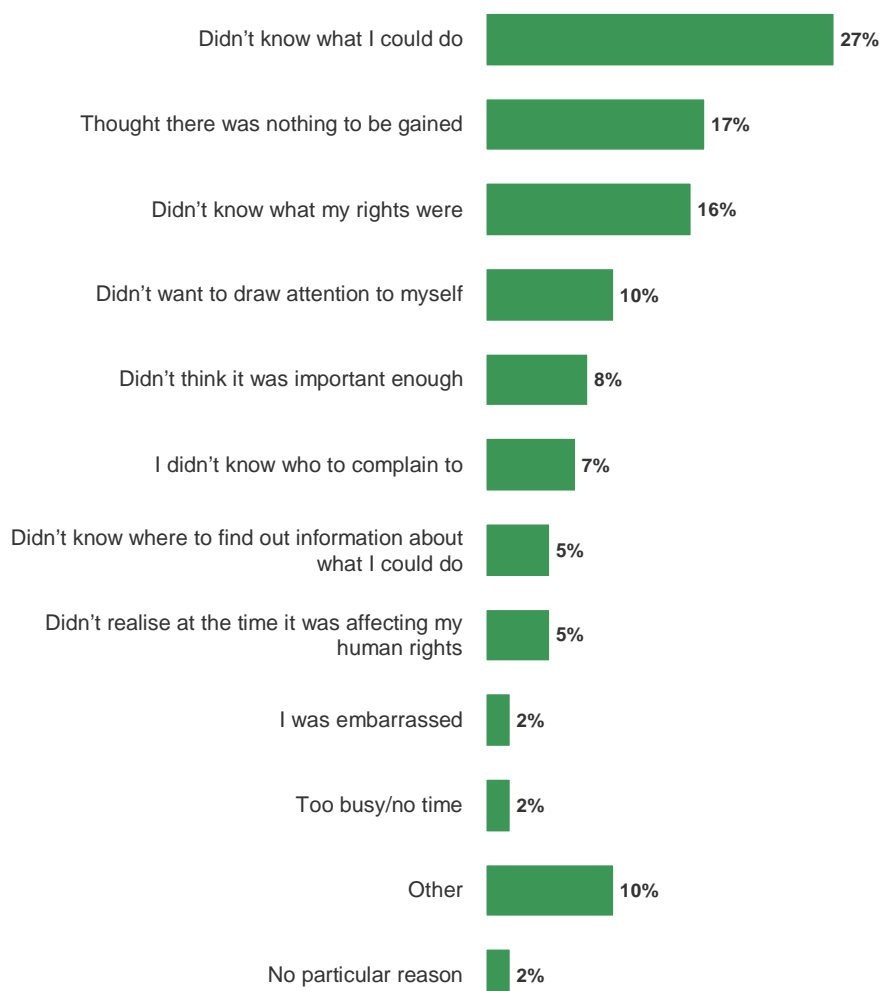
Ipsos MORI



Those who had not taken action in these situations most commonly; didn't know what they could do (27 per cent), thought there was nothing to be gained or didn't see the point in taking action (17 per cent), or didn't know what their rights were (16 per cent), as shown in the chart below.

Chart 9 Action on human rights

Q You said you did nothing about this, why not?



Base: All who did nothing about it (154) 14 – 21 August 2008

Ipsos MORI



2.5 What do people think when they hear the term ‘human rights’?

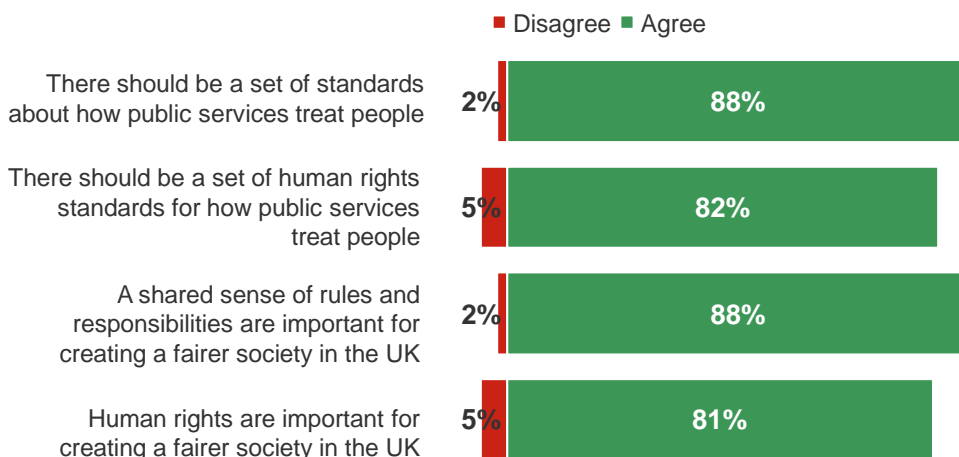
The survey findings explored whether people have a negative view of the term ‘human rights’ by splitting the sample⁵ and asking different versions of the questions. Overall, there is strong support (82 per cent) for having a set of human rights standards for how public services treat people. When the question wording asks about a set of standards rather than human rights standards, support is 88 per cent. This finding is mirrored when we ask whether human rights or a shared sense of

⁵ The overall sample of 1,994 respondents was split into two smaller representative samples and were asked different versions of the questionnaire. Sample 1 comprised 988 respondents and sample 2 comprised 1,006 respondents.

roles and responsibilities are important for creating a fairer society in the UK, as illustrated in the chart below.

Chart 10 Human rights statements

Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements



Base: All in V1(998), All in V2 (1,006), 14 – 21 August 2008

Ipsos MORI



The table below shows how the results differ across the two questions. The figures in bold highlight where significant differences are observed. Thus the difference between statements A and B is in the proportion who strongly agree with the statement. For statements C and D, the difference lies between those who tend to agree.

In terms of responses to statement A, the strength of opinion for a set of human rights is higher among people aged 35-54 years (35 per cent strongly agreeing with this statement) compared with other age groups (30 per cent among 18-34 year olds and 27 per cent among those aged 55+ years). Ethnic minority respondents are also more likely to strongly agree with this statement than White respondents (49 per cent compared with 29 per cent).

For statement C, young people (aged 16-24 years) are more likely to strongly agree with this statement than average (51 per cent among this age group strongly agree compared with 41 per cent overall).

Table 1 Statement responses

Statement	Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
A) There should be a set of human rights for how public services treat people (Base 1,006)	30	52	10	4	1	3
B) There should be a set of standards for how public services treat people (Base 988)	41	47	8	1	1	2
C) Human rights are important for creating a fairer society in the UK (Base 988)	40	41	12	4	1	2
D) A shared sense of rules and responsibilities are important for creating a fairer society in the UK (Base 1,006)	41	47	8	1	1	2

The difference in support for these terms was not borne out in the deliberative research where the majority tended to use the terms 'rights' and 'human rights' interchangeably. This may be because participants had more time to consider the issues rather than giving top of mind responses, which were captured in the survey. We will discuss this further in the next chapter on deliberative findings.

2.6 The Human Rights Act

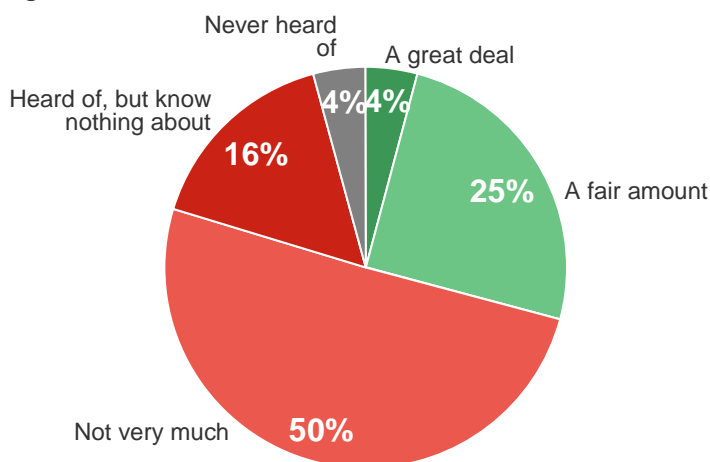
Around three in ten (29 per cent) say they know 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount' about the UK's Human Rights Act compared with three in five (58 per cent) who know 'very little' or 'nothing at all'.

This finding was supported by the deliberations where the majority of people in the mainstream workshops admitted they lack knowledge about what their human rights are, and the legal frameworks that support these rights.

In line with the finding on human rights generally, those most likely to know about the Act are men (32 per cent), younger people (31 per cent of 18-34 year olds compared with 24 per cent of those aged 55+ years) and those in higher socio-economic groups (35 per cent).

Chart 11 Knowledge of the Human Rights Act

Before this interview, how much, did you know about the UK's Human Rights Act?



Base: 1,994 adults, 14 – 21 August 2008 2008

Ipsos MORI



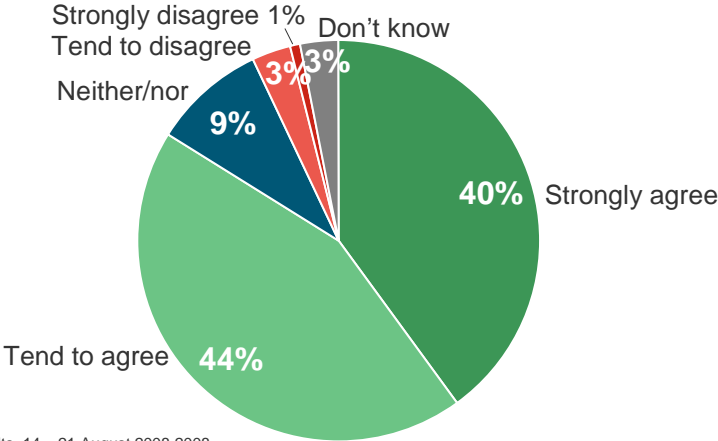
A need to protect human rights

The majority of people (84 per cent) agree that it is important to have a law that protects human rights in Britain, as shown below. This finding was supported by the deliberative work where, in the groups, people highlighted the importance of fairness in society and were supportive of a framework for ensuring this and protecting vulnerable groups. In the deliberative sessions there were no dissenting voices towards the idea of a framework which would protect vulnerable groups.

Support for a law to protect human rights is fairly consistent among different ages. Respondents from socio-economic groups ABC1 are more likely to support it than those from groups C2DE (86 per cent vs 79 per cent), as are broadsheet readers (91 per cent) compared with tabloid readers (83 per cent) and Daily Mail and Daily Express readers (79 per cent). Ethnic minorities also show higher levels of support for a law than their White counterparts (89 per cent vs 83 per cent).

Chart 12 Protecting human rights

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "It is important to have a law that protects human rights in Britain"



Base: 1,994 adults, 14 – 21 August 2008 2008

Ipsos MORI



3. Deliberative research

Qualitative summary

Opinions in the deliberative research support the findings from the survey overall:

- Key values described as core to British life were similar to the top-scoring values in the quantitative survey; respect, family, law and order, and equality.
- When asked to generate 'The most important rights', participants felt these were education, health, free speech and equality.
- During the discussion, the numbers of participants valuing equality increased slightly, showing perhaps that views on values and rights are amenable to change with the right stimulus.
- However, public terms for discussing these values and rights were not necessarily identical to human rights terminology and for some people there was confusion around what human rights were.
- Human rights were considered to be important by the vast majority at the start of discussions; they were felt to be slightly more important across the groups after each right was discussed in detail.

The principle behind the deliberative discussion guide was to begin with the (often muddled) perceptions of the public. (Exercise 1, tell me about life in Britain today). We then clarified perceptions of what is a right, what is a freedom, and what is a value. We then focused on civil and political rights and which elements of these were important (exercises 2 and 3 involving case studies and a list of core human rights, to which we gauged reactions. The last section (exercise 4) showed us how far these general rights are important in Britain today, uncovered any hostility to the human rights agenda, and showed us where the hostility might come from.

3.1 Values for living in Britain

The deliberative research participants were asked to come up with a list of things that they considered to be essential components for living a civilised life in Britain today. The idea behind this was to gather what they described as the values and principles important in society – but trying to set these in the context of a real situation, living together with others in Britain.⁶

⁶ Asking questions as concretely as possible yields more data than asking about abstract values upfront, which can confuse people and intimidate some participants.

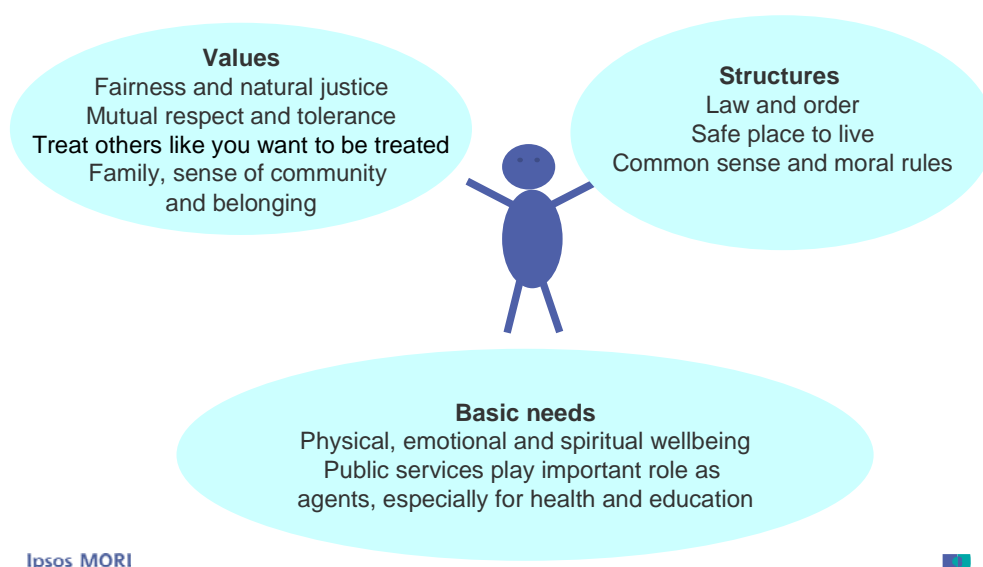
The values which emerged are similar to the top-scoring values in the quantitative survey (freedom of expression, being treated fairly, dignity and respect). The key ideas, summarised from the majority views across all groups, were:

- Mutual respect among all people and tolerance
- Family, sense of community and belonging
- Law and order and a safe environment
- Equality, but with conditions. For instance, individuals who do not play by the rules should not be treated equally because fair treatment for all should be conditional on behaviour.

Although the principles and values which were picked out are closely linked to human rights, no participants explicitly referred to human rights terminology to construct their map of the good society. This is a lesson in itself. Instead, participants tended to group their components of a civilised life into three areas – values, structures, and basic needs.

Some aspects of human rights (right to liberty, right to life) were included here; summed up in a set of ideas that participants described as “basic needs” (all groups in the London workshop used these terms). These included food, shelter, health and well-being, and interestingly, also education.

Chart 13 Things that are important for people to have in a civilised society



Many members of the general public are not comfortable with an abstract frame of reference, especially at the beginning of a discussion.

This is useful to know, as it provides an overview of the mental map used by members of the public when thinking about fairness and living together. It is important to note that basic needs, human rights (as enshrined in the 1998 Human Rights Act) and socio-economic rights are not explicitly separated out in people’s minds, so communication from the Commission should not assume that the human rights framework is commonly understood by the public. We noted this in more detail when asking participants to trade off the different rights in the case studies.

After this generative exercise we asked participants to complete a written exercise listing the most important rights for people in the UK today. At the end of the workshop, we repeated the exercise. The following table summarises the findings from each stage; participants wrote their answers down in their own words and this table groups them into broad categories. The small numbers mean that this is indicative rather than statistically reliable and therefore results should be interpreted with caution.

Both before and after discussions, participants thought mainly in terms of public services and their outcomes - education and health - although there was a small shift towards participants valuing concepts around equality during the discussion. After deliberation participants were more likely to use words like ‘equality’ and describe their ideas using other words like respect, mutual respect; showing perhaps that views on values and rights are amenable to change with the right stimulus. This perhaps reflects the need for the Commission to communicate with the public in terms of concrete examples of how human rights are exercised; for instance, how public service provision of education or health can be improved by adopting the Human Rights Act.

Table 2 Most important rights

Rights	Number agreeing at first exercise	Number agreeing at second exercise
Education	28	24
Health	25	22
Free speech	14	8
Equality	10	14

In the following section we look at the core values which were spontaneously expressed in more detail, and see how they link with participants’ perceptions of the ‘most important rights’ in the exercises.

Equality

A desire for fairness and a sense of equality underpin people's perceptions of how civilised society should work. Several group participants voiced the view that everyone should have the opportunity to succeed in life and that people should be treated fairly; there were no dissenting voices here. Throughout the deliberations, the idea of prioritising equal treatment for all was retained; and the written exercise shows that for a few, equality became more important, on reflection. Participants talked about the need to preserve equality of opportunity (though not necessarily equality of outcome) and the need for all to have equal capability to access the country's resources (whether these are material resources, such as housing, or wider social goods, such as education). However, this sense of fairness was based on a view of quid pro quo and a need for certain conditions to be met; as mentioned above, the public did not split out in their minds the difference between human rights (as covered in the Human Rights Act) and socioeconomic rights. In all the groups, when pressed, the majority acknowledged that everyone should be equal in terms of having a fair trial and being treated with respect (at least by the authorities). But there was a strong belief emerging that the value of equality was sometimes conditional on behaviour. The concept of natural justice also came through strongly and the 'an eye for an eye' approach was used to back up several arguments within the discussions; individuals who do not play by the rules should not be treated equally.

Mutual respect among all people and tolerance

One of the key principles that emerged in all groups for underpinning human interaction (including with the State) was 'respect for others'. 'Treat others like you want to be treated' resonated with everyone and also linked to ideas of 'mutual understanding' and 'social acceptance'. While all groups felt very strongly about respect and tolerance, people from ethnic minority and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) groups emphasised the importance of these – largely because they felt that intolerance towards them was still prevalent in society:

People need to have a common understanding of each other in order to live in that society, a common understanding of each others' differences.

Male, ethnic minority group, London

Acceptance, just generally, I think that's something a lot of people generally lack. Whoever people are regardless of sexuality, race, religion.

Female, LGBT group, Manchester

Participants were so comfortable with the language of respect and tolerance that there may be potential for the Commission also to use this language, perhaps when discussing rights to private and family life:

Self respect is the main thing. If you meet someone in the park and if you speak with him so rude, so maybe you lose your image in your whole town ... So you should at least have some respect for the others.

Male, younger group, London

It antagonises other people if people don't respect each other, and think of themselves.

Male, middle-aged group, London

In all the groups, a theme emerged that this value was potentially under threat in Britain today. For instance, the vast majority of participants agreed there was a lack of respect in society generally, while a few mentioned towards the elderly in particular. These comments drew approval from the groups:

When I go back to Africa and I see the old women I think they're more respected ... In England, they'll look at them as 'this old bag' and they'll just walk past her or they'll nudge her out of the way and they won't get up on the bus for her to sit down. I don't really think they have a lot of respect.

Female, younger group, London

The elderly have worked and contributed to society their whole life. As a civil society, we owe them respect and dignity in their old age, in whatever condition they're in.

Female, middle-aged group, London

This theme may also be of use to the Commission; it might be possible to explain why a greater respect for human rights principles could enhance our shared social respect. This would be likely to resonate with the public.

Family, sense of community and belonging

A sense of belonging was something that people identified as being very important for living in Britain today. This started with family and extended to meaningful relationships with friends, people within their neighbourhood and the wider community.

Spending time with close family and friends mattered to people across all groups, and people mentioned the importance of love and support that a family unit provides.

Family (mainly described in the sense of a traditional nuclear family, but also included extended family and other family models) was seen as very relevant by all groups as something that roots people:

Family, it's the basis of everything and I mean you eat, you work, you get money for, you get a nice home for, and these are all things you do for your family... You've got to have someone to care about and ... for them to care about you.

Male, physically disabled, Cardiff

A proportion of participants in the groups stressed that it shouldn't be just family and friends who 'look out for each other', but that neighbours and communities should too. In all the groups, love was mentioned at least once in conjunction with this. Love was seen as being very important in society – as a bond that ties people together both at an intimate level with family and friends as well as in the wider sense:

You would love your family and maybe a few other friends and then your neighbours you would be a little more distant from and then someone you only meet now and again a little more distant and you only have a conceptual, if you can put it this way, love with someone you've just met today like you and you. I respect you.

Male, older group, London

It is interesting to note that participants across groups spontaneously mentioned the need for family here, but that it is not picked out in the survey as being a particularly important value for living in Britain, and is less likely to be considered a human right.

Law and order and a safe environment

People identified rules, both laws and non-legal consensus (such as common sense or moral rules) as essential to uphold order in society:

*We need to have rules otherwise...
... it would be chaos.*

Two females, younger group, London

Rules are also connected to the feeling that living in society is about giving and taking, and that rights come with responsibilities. While the knee-jerk reaction of the majority was that the Government had responsibility (especially when it came to law and order, safety, healthcare and education), rules are seen as a way to ensure there is 'two way traffic' and an important means of reproaching those who do not 'play by

the rules'. For instance, individuals could forfeit their right to fair and equitable treatment if they did not play by the rules for example, convicted criminals. These opinions were expressed clearly in the mini-groups as well as in the general public workshops:

Why should someone have rights if they decide to take away the rights of others? They [the attacker in domestic violence case] should lose their rights.

Male, ethnic minority group, London

It should be my job and my right to ensure that I don't do things that are infringing on other people's rights as well. And also if I see a situation, because some people are, have more power or are more vocal than others, if I see a situation that's taking place it's also my right as a human to look out for other people who may be less powerful than I am. So I can speak up if I feel, or if I know of a situation where a child is being abused that child isn't in the position to stand up for himself I should stand up for him. I should do something about it.

Female, younger group, Cardiff

We all want all these rights but what is [our] own responsibility to make it happen? Well, it doesn't happen if we don't – all of us – contribute to it.

Female, older group, London

In addition to law and order, in all groups, a number of people highlighted the importance of needing to feel safe and live in a safe environment.

Having basic needs met

People also mentioned basic material needs as being essential components for living in a civilised society. However, things such as 'a roof over one's head', food and clothing were often taken for granted and in many cases people did not mention them spontaneously. Participants also mentioned the need for physical health and well-being and that public services played an important role in ensuring these were provided for everyone. In particular, older people spontaneously mentioned access to healthcare and social care, although these services were strongly supported in other groups. For instance, for the physically disabled respondents who required permanent care, this was seen as fundamental to their quality of life.

Education was identified by all groups as important, not only for knowledge transfer and improving people's opportunities in life but also for imparting the values, guiding morals and principles for living together in society.

In addition to basic needs, people identified the importance of having aspirations and goals / prospects, motivation / drive, confidence, self-esteem and pride. While these were not seen as fundamental values per se, having other values and structures in place, such as equality of treatment and access to resources helped to facilitate and foster these traits:

If you don't have a goal, what is the point, you are living for no reason.

Male, ethnic minority group, London

3.2 How do values correspond to rights and human rights?

The following table shows an expanded list of the words the majority of participants used to talk about the values that are important for living in a free and fair society; and how they match up with the human rights list presented in both the survey and later in the group discussions. The words presented were the terms most popularly used across all the groups.

Statistically, we know from the quantitative survey, the values highlighted as important for living in Britain are also very likely to be perceived to be human rights. We could therefore hypothesise that the ways in which people discussed these values might provide valuable learning for creating a positive climate of opinion towards human rights themselves. We certainly know that participants discussed their values more enthusiastically when using their own words. However, perceptions of these values may not necessarily match with actual definitions of human rights. For example, the language used in the questionnaire, although based on the Human Rights Act, did not use exactly the same terminology as in the Act. The Commission may need to explore further people's understanding and use of various terms, to enable it successfully to promote awareness of human rights.

Values	Associations – in people’s own words
Being treated with dignity and respect	Empathy Generosity Honesty Loyalty Treat other people the way you would like to be treated Respect for self and other people Respect differences Be considerate Be one, be united

	<p>Tolerance</p> <p>Sense of community</p> <p>Look out for each other</p> <p>Be yourself / express your individuality (as long as it doesn't hurt anyone else)</p> <p>Decent / appropriate and available public services</p>
<p>Being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability or any other personal differences</p>	<p>Respect and chances for diverse backgrounds and circumstances</p> <p>Respect</p> <p>People bring different things to society</p> <p>Knowledge about other people and cultures</p> <p>Tolerance</p> <p>Everyone has same educational chances</p> <p>Non-judgmental</p> <p>Pride</p>
<p>Being protected if your life is under threat</p> <p>Being entitled to a fair trial</p> <p>Only being arrested if there are reasonable grounds for suspicion</p>	<p>Law and order</p> <p>Regulations</p> <p>Safety</p> <p>Walk in the street without fear</p> <p>Law-abiding</p> <p>A personal sense of responsibility</p> <p>Non-violent</p>
<p>Being able to express your views freely</p> <p>Being able to express any faith or religious belief</p> <p>Being able to join unions and organisations of your choice</p>	<p>Say what you think but don't offend people</p> <p>News</p> <p>Express yourself freely</p> <p>Some kind of faith</p> <p>Spirituality</p> <p>Role models</p> <p>Mutual understanding</p> <p>Open-minded</p> <p>Association</p> <p>Having a cause</p> <p>Family, friends, neighbourhood</p> <p>Religion</p>
<p>Respect for private and family life</p> <p>Being able to marry and start a family</p>	<p>Family</p> <p>Friends</p> <p>Choice</p> <p>Home</p> <p>Family values</p> <p>Love</p> <p>Bond</p>

	Sociable Company
Respect for private property	Home Ownership A blurred line between a hope for personal safety, and for safety of property
Being able to pursue education or training	Knowledge Choice Education Employment A worthwhile job Financial security Equality in right to employment
Being able to vote in elections	Choose government Have a say Democracy Right to political say Right to vote Right to a voice

3.3 Attitudes towards human rights

Human rights are important

We know from our survey that three in five people (64 per cent) disagree that human rights are meaningless, suggesting that there is significant support for the concept of human rights, quantitatively.

This was also borne out in the general public workshops, where we asked participants to answer questions on the importance of human rights at the beginning and end of each discussion using a five point scale (1 is strongly disagree, 5 is strongly agree). The majority strongly agreed upfront that human rights are important rather than meaningless, and this opinion became slightly more pronounced during deliberations. The persuasion, debate and argument did not lead people to change their minds and think that human rights were not important; rather the reverse. The numbers sampled here are too small to create a statistically valid finding (so findings should be interpreted with caution), but are indicative of the initial positivity of the group. Seeing the slight increase in agreement in the numbers also illustrates the way the discussion flowed, and the strength of feeling which was expressed.

Table 3 Before and after scores

	Mean score out of 5 at start	Mean score out of 5 at end
Human rights are important	4.1	4.2
Human rights are meaningless	2.24	2.1

Base size 46

After discussing values in general, the deliberative groups were shown a list of human rights and asked to discuss these. After this, the case studies exercise invited participants to discuss the potential tensions between different rights.

Immediate reactions to the list as a whole were positive, participants generally felt that the list reflected ‘common sense’ and they supported the range of rights in principle:

Anyone who looks at that list would say that’s fair enough, that’s a good thing.

Male, middle-aged group, Cardiff

While the groups overall agreed that all the rights on the list were important, often individuals’ own experience led them to emphasise certain rights over others. For instance, ‘being treated with dignity and respect’ and ‘being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability, or any other personal differences’ were of particular importance for ethnic minorities and LGBT groups. This is discussed further in relation to each right in the sections below.

But the perceived practical implications of exercising rights proves more of a barrier

However, in the case of some rights on the list, participants felt that while they supported the principle, they had concerns about how they might be applied in practice. The legal implications of these rights; and debating the boundaries, conditions and limitations on some rights, confused some participants. It was in discussion of the case studies that these concerns emerged. In most groups, conversation took a rather sceptical turn at this point; usually, a minority of participants questioned whether trying to codify the tensions between different values in terms of human rights could actually create problems in itself:

There are so many laws, if they really wanted to, they could arrest every single one of us, because who hasn’t broken a law? Who hasn’t speeded? Who hasn’t jay walked? Who hasn’t thrown litter? It’s just a

question of which laws they apply, which laws they don't apply, and how they do and don't apply those laws.

Male, middle aged group London

These emotional responses to the trade-offs and conflicts inherent in the exercise of rights proved a barrier to a deeper engagement with the human rights agenda for some participants. Only a minority expressed this vehemently, but once the point had been made, there was a sense in all groups that the difficulty of exercising some rights could prove a barrier to engaging with the rights agenda overall. The Commission may need to look into ways to mitigate the effects of this, in communication.

Attitudes to specific rights

This section describes in more detail the deliberative participants' reactions to each right on the list. The percentages are there to reference the quantitative study (representing the proportions of the public who thought that these human rights, described as 'values', were important for living in Britain today). Overall, the strength of feeling on each right in the discussion groups mirrored the strength of feeling revealed in the quantitative findings.

Being treated with dignity and respect (78 per cent)⁷

This value was overall seen as 'common sense' and 'common courtesy' and important for how people live their lives. Moderators pushed on whether this right could be conditional, asking if criminals should be treated with respect and dignity; for the majority in all groups the answer was still 'yes':

But even though they're criminals and we look at them, oh they did this and they hurt kids, even as bad as that is, they're still entitled to those rights.

Female, younger group, Cardiff

Being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability or any other personal differences (65 per cent)

Overall there was strong support for fair treatment. All felt it was an important principle for society to live by; and that it reflected the underlying human right of all humans being created equal (57 per cent of survey respondents considered this to

be a fundamental human right). There was also sense that in this phrase, the specific mentions of gender, race etc. are unnecessary – that ‘being treated fairly, regardless’ is adequate and avoids some people feeling excluded, or being grouped in ‘other’:

Just treat everybody fairly regardless, full stop. Doesn't matter if you're a gay man, paedophile, criminal. You should be treated fairly. It doesn't matter what identity you subscribe to, you should be treated fairly. Even some of our dodgiest characters, even in prison, all should be treated fairly.

Male, LGBT group, Manchester

Because you're born a person and on top of that you might be black, or you might be gay, but at the end of the day you're a person.

Male, younger group, London

However, a significant minority of participants questioned whether this principle could ever be expected to work in practice, as they asserted that not everyone enjoyed equality of opportunity in Britain (that is, there was still widespread race, gender and disability discrimination); they claimed that it was practically difficult to balance the rights of minority groups with the needs of the majority. Though this was not a denial of the right in principle, the difficulty of practical application was very much at the top of people's minds in the discussions. As an example, in several groups the mention of people with disabilities led to a discussion of whether those living with disabilities should expect access to exactly the same resources as others, if these conflicted with the rights of the majority. One participant questioned whether a physically disabled person should have the right to work in a high rise building if they would need to rely on someone else to help them in the event of a fire / emergency. Hence, the underlying agreement with the right in principle could sometimes get lost underneath concerns about how this would be applied in practice.

Being able to express your views freely (68 per cent)

Being able to express any faith or religious belief (54 per cent)

There was general recognition of, and support for, these rights and overall, participants felt they were sufficiently protected in Britain today (especially when compared with other countries; individuals in most groups relayed stories of different experiences in other nations). However, the majority suggested that these rights

⁷ As indicated earlier, this is not a human right itself but is derived from Article 3. At the heart of human rights is the belief that everybody should be treated equally and with dignity – no matter what their circumstances.

were contingent on not causing harm to particular groups. It is interesting to note that this approach mirrors the Convention and the way that the courts interpret people's individual rights that is, in most cases there has to be a balance between someone asserting their individual rights and the wider public interest. It is very positive that popular views on the exercise of human rights support this approach.

The issue of people expressing extremist views was raised, and participants suggested that perhaps people do not always have the right to express their views:

Yes I think you should be able to express them freely but again you've got to be aware that maybe a target audience that you're expressing them to could be very easily influenced.

Female, older group, London

I think it depends on how it impacts on other people, and ... how it fits in with the culture of where you are. That culture thinks that should be respected, and the other culture doesn't, then something's got to give one way or the other, really, doesn't it?

Male, middle-aged group, London

Participants found it hard to understand how to legislate to protect freedom of speech without being either too harsh or too lenient, or infringing people's rights to privacy. A number of participants across groups claimed that in their view, the media sometimes 'distorted' stories and they were concerned that offenders who did not tell the truth might use freedom of speech legislation as a defence to avoid punishment. However, the groups who picked up on this dilemma tended to decide ultimately that this was an acceptable trade-off; the alternative, limiting freedom of speech, was felt to be harmful:

This is a great dilemma about freedom of speech ... that means freedom to lie because we know we have a press that is absolutely disgusting on many occasions, and tells lies on many occasions but what can you do? That's freedom of speech.

Female, older group, London

In some groups, particularly amongst older people, a significant proportion of participants expressed concerns that applying this right rigidly could lead to unintended consequences, such as 'political correctness'. It was perceived that this could negatively impact on people's right to free speech:

Because they've passed laws to forbid us to speak our mind. You cannot say that a man is black when you know he's black. He can say you are

white but you mustn't say he's black. There's all sorts of things you dare not say in Britain today. That is depriving us of what is in our basic human rights, the right to free speech, to express our opinion.

Male, older group, Cardiff

On the whole, people agreed that 'being able to express any faith or religious belief' was an important right, but those with strong religious beliefs were the most likely to place greater emphasis on this. For instance, one Muslim participant felt that this particular right needed to be emphasised in Britain today – reflecting his concern that this right was at risk.

Being protected if your life is under threat (58 per cent)

Being entitled to a fair trial (58 per cent)

Only being arrested if there are reasonable grounds for suspicion (41 per cent)

These rights tied closely with the values/principles that participants identified around being able to feel safe and the need for law and order in society. While these were felt to be important rights, they weren't at the forefront in any of the group discussions because participants said they usually enjoyed these without thinking about them.

Through the deliberations however, a number of people, particularly ethnic minority respondents, questioned whether these rights were currently applied equally, and whether, indeed, these rights sometimes needed to be balanced with other rights, such as others' right to security and freedom from harm. Some felt that some government policies (for instance, stop-and-search connected to knife crime and anti-terrorism legislation) disproportionately impacted on specific communities:

M Can still be stopped and searched without having a fair trial.

F But that's not being arrested.

M It's as good as.

Male and female, middle-aged group, Cardiff

Still, the majority view was that such policies were necessary to protect society at large. The view expressed was, if people didn't have anything to hide, then they had no cause for concern.

When considering the right to 'being protected if your life is under threat' one or two groups felt this was too narrowly defined; that it should be more 'general' and give you protection from threat as a whole rather than just your life being in danger:

It says, being protected if your life is under threat. It should be being protected full stop... the State has a responsibility to protect the citizens even if their life isn't under threat.

Male, older group, London

Teenagers also raised this in relation to being bullied at school; they felt that everyone had a right to be free from bullying.

Being able to join unions and organisations of your choice (41 per cent)

All agreed that the right to belong to organisations of choice was important in a civilised society. Some pointed out that this was closely related to the values of community and belonging and freedom of speech. In the survey 41 per cent identified this as an important value for society, but only 7 per cent said that it was important to them personally. Though four in ten consider it important, the lower figure of 28 per cent considered it to be a fundamental human right. This difference between perceptions of the value and the right was reflected in the deliberative research. The reason behind the difference was that many participants did not agree that unions were essential to human rights:

One almost feels that the age of trade unions is coming to an end and they could just be embraced with the term organisations.

Male, older group, London

It depends where you work as to whether unions are recognised or not. And it's become very unfashionable to be a member of the trade union.

Male, middle-aged group, London

Respect for private and family life (63 per cent)

Almost half of those surveyed identified that respect for private and family life was important to society and to them personally (63 per cent and 46 per cent respectively) although fewer considered it to be a fundamental human right (36 per cent). The deliberative research highlighted the value that people place on family.

In discussing the case study about mobile phone surveillance, deliberative participants all expressed a 'gut feeling' that the phone should not be tapped. An early theme in most discussions was participants expressing concern that the Government could potentially restrict people's right to privacy; the majority wanted this right safeguarded. However, by the end of most discussions, groups agreed that there was a trade-off involved and accepted that the right to privacy could be

restricted in order to safeguard others' rights to be protected from harm. Similar to the discussion above under freedom of speech, this demonstrates that public views on restrictions to private life are the same as those of the Convention in the way that the courts have interpreted it. This suggests that the public recognises that the exercise of individual rights is balanced against the social impact of these rights, and the interest of the common good.

When individuals invoked the concept of national security, or referred to potential acts of terrorism, this tended to be the argument which convinced others:

They [authorities] know what they are doing.

Female, carer, Oxfordshire

Doing phone tapping is a better way to get information, a terrorist isn't going to tell you in a community meeting that he is about to blow something up.

Male, ethnic minority group, London

Phone tapping was seen as a low level restriction on a right to private life, making it more acceptable than greater restrictions such as detaining someone, and was seen as a necessary part of life in the UK today.

Being able to marry and start a family (45 per cent)

At first glance, the majority in the deliberative research felt that everyone has the right to marry already, and therefore questioned whether this is really a human right (only one-third of survey respondents considered that was a fundamental human right). Comments in the deliberation, potentially, illuminate the survey results; this is a good example of a right which people did not consider fundamental, simply because they believe that it does not need defending. In the discussion, however, on reflection a good proportion agreed that this was an important right. Some highlighted the impact of religion on this right, pointing out that some people are not allowed to marry who they wish (for example, arranged marriages):

Everybody deserves to have a life ahead of them, get married, have children.

Female, teenager, Manchester

Everyone should have the right to marry whoever they want to marry.

Female, younger group, London

In one group, a woman gave an example of a couple with Downs Syndrome who wanted to marry, while their families said that they couldn't. The group agreed that everyone old enough to marry should have that right.

Some participants, particularly younger ones, suggested that the right to choose a partner, rather than the act of marriage, is more important; reflecting their perception that marriage itself is not as relevant as partnership. The LGBT group, in particular, claimed that this right needs to be updated, and that civil partnerships, or simply 'living with who you want to live with' was the right that they wanted to protect. However, there were mixed views on the ideal wording of this right expressed in some of the general public groups:

I do believe that there should be room for same sex couples to come to an agreement but it should not be called marriage. It should be called something else. Marriage is specifically for the procreation, for children, for the family unit. But I still feel that same sex marriages, that, well, if that's what they want, to be in a long term relationship with a person of the same sex, there should be some kind of ceremony for that but it should not be accorded the same status as marriage.

Female, older group, Cardiff

Respect for private property (58 per cent)

In the discussions people related this closely to respect for others rather than just respect for private property. Most felt this right was protected in Britain today, but said that it was less important to them than other rights such as the right to be safe. Though this was not discussed in detail, participants assumed this was protected through criminal law. This is supported by the survey where this right is ranked last (only 27 per cent of people agreed that it was a fundamental human right).

What was interesting in the discussions was that participants often moved the discussion away from talking about this right as it stands, in relation to public service, to a related issue which seemed to be more important to them. Each moderator sought to bring the conversation back to the human right, but in most groups participants were keener to talk about what they think happens when 'ordinary people' are denied the right to protect themselves and their own property. Particularly in the younger London group, stories were told in the groups, some clearly tales which many had heard before, relating to individuals protecting their homes:

I think if you find someone breaking into your house you should be able to do whatever you want to them.

Male, younger group, London

F You just look at someone like [Tony] Martin who shot someone in the back as they were fleeing. He's a murderer, isn't he?

M But three-quarters of the country agreed with him.

F Yeah, I did.

M When they done the surveys, I agreed with him.

Younger group, London

This happened to some extent in most groups. It is evidence that the public do not know how far they have the right not just to hold their private property, but to protect it; and how far others might infringe on their 'right' to do this. The fact that this debate was highly emotional illustrates that there is a dilemma here for participants as their innate values clash with their understanding of human rights:

If someone breaks into your house you own the house, you've paid for everything and you've got your family there, and then someone comes in to hurt you, rob you, you don't know what they're doing. They're invading your space and human rights... if you're threatened you need to have the right to protect yourself.

Male, younger group, London

Being able to pursue education or training (59 per cent)

In the deliberations people agreed that this was a very important value in society and closely related it to the opportunity to work. In this, they differed from the survey respondents as only 34 per cent of survey respondents considered the right to education to be a fundamental human right. Teenagers especially were strong on this point – to ensure that people have a chance to 'reach their potential' – as were people with learning disabilities who considered their own disabilities to be an obstacle in their current search for work:

Because if you're not educated then you can't do things, like for example ... if you're not educated then you won't know how to spell, how to write, how to add up... And then you won't be able to get a proper job.

Female, teenager, Leicester

This was supported by the view that education also provided a greater good and for this reason, as with healthcare, people see education as a public service that must be provided by the Government:

It's an improvement to society, isn't it, an education?

Female, middle-aged group, Cardiff

Education was also considered to be a right which would lead to the better exercise of other rights, as it could be a way for imparting the values, guiding morals and principles that people need for living together in society.

Being able to vote in elections (55 per cent)

There was agreement among people that the right to change the Government is a 'fundamental one' for civilised society. In deliberations, we heard that people believed this right is a given in Britain today, and so there was less energy around the discussion of this right in each group. We know that only two in five survey respondents identified it as a fundamental human right. Looking at these two pieces of evidence together, we could perhaps speculate that the public do not see a need to defend this right passionately; perhaps because for most it has never been denied.

This argument is supported by the fact that the people who had the strongest views were those who did not have the ability to exercise this right, teenagers and non-citizens for instance:

Definitely elections, being able to vote, it's very, I think that it, I strongly believe that it's very important what party you want.

Female, teenager, Manchester

Some teenagers saw voting as an obligation rather than a right which could be ignored (that is, they did not think that you had a right not to vote).

3.4 Misconceptions about 'human rights'

One objective of the research was to explore how entrenched views are. This implicitly suggests that some members of the public might have negative views on human rights, which would be hard to shift.

The section above, 'Attitudes to human rights', explains how the public are overall supportive of all the human rights we looked at in principle. But the deliberative research also revealed misconceptions around how human rights might be used in Britain. These relate partly to a lack of knowledge about human rights; partly to wrong information about what the Act involves; and partly to some entrenched beliefs that there is a group of people in the UK taking advantage of such legislation to get away with crimes. Participants told us that this last is particularly galling as it offends against their sense of fairness (which is an important value to them).

This section sets out these misconceptions and where they might come from. These attitudes were present in every single group of our study, and therefore, we suggest, may exist across the population as a whole.

The term 'human rights' is not associated with UK issues

Top of mind associations with the term human rights were invariably about human rights violations both abroad and in the UK:

It's like the UN isn't it? I mean often they go round, they're helping countries. They haven't got boundaries, they just, Uganda have help, Uganda, they help everybody who needs it. And that's human rights.
Male, physically disabled, Cardiff

I think it [a law enshrining human rights] is more aimed towards richer countries, some countries who are poor, they would prefer to live rather than care about human rights.
Male, ethnic minority group, London

Like you were saying, places like Iran, I think that's where people think about human rights because you see them being infringed.
Female, LGBT group, Manchester

When asked, participants invariably cited television and newspapers as the places where these images came from; the stories they hear in the media about human rights from the UK perspective were different, as we shall see in the following quotes:

Most of the time I hear about it is in these controversial cases where someone is convicted of a terrorist offence but they can't be deported to Libya in case he has his finger chopped off.
Male, older group, London

Human rights, it's got such a bad press.
Male, middle-aged group, London

This is the first time I've ever seen it written down properly, properly looking at it. This information is not everywhere, it's not in your everyday life. You won't [see] an advert on the TV about your human rights.
Female, younger group, London

Equality, whatever it is, it all goes down to our human rights ... They're all rights in different ways as well, but they're all basically human rights.
Male, older group, Cardiff

Human rights are important but I don't need, or know how, to exercise mine in Britain today

Each group tended to have a short debate, where some participants would assert that human rights were not relevant; however others would then contradict, saying that these rights underpin all our choices and values as citizens. Not every group, however, reached a consensus that human rights were relevant (especially among the groups in Cardiff):

Oh, human rights is a load of rubbish.

Male, older group, Cardiff

Well, without human rights you've got nothing. You haven't got choice, you haven't got freedom, you can't do what you want to do. You can't go to the shop or whatever when you want. If your human rights are taken from you, you're stuck at the mercy of someone else.

Male, physically disabled, Cardiff

I think as a European it is good to have a set of rights.

Female, ethnic minority group, London

The survey findings tell us that 16 per cent of people can identify a situation where they feel their human rights, or those of any close friends or family, were not respected. The deliberative workshops reflected this; the majority said they would not know what to do in such a situation. The Citizens Advice Bureau was mentioned spontaneously as the primary agency to contact should people find themselves in such a situation; but the majority could not come up with ideas for how this agency might help them. In the London workshop, at the end of the session one of the groups questioned a Commissioner closely and all were very interested to hear about the Equality and Human Rights Commission in general, telling us they did not previously know there were any bodies designed to promote human rights.

In addition to not being able to recognise human rights abuses, many deliberative participants said they would not really know how to exercise their human rights and there was almost a sense of embarrassment about doing so.

Some people use human rights to take advantage

We heard, in most group discussions, when introducing human rights, that participants perceived there to be many unscrupulous people using human rights legislation to get away with crimes in the UK.

Interestingly, most examples they gave were not, in fact, relating to human rights legislation. So why did participants in all our groups bring this up as an issue? A

theme emerged from the groups that people were nervous about the potential for new legislation to make it easier for criminals to escape justice. They were concerned that human rights legislation might be a part of that process. The majority in the groups put all these examples together as relevant to human rights, and blurred socioeconomic rights, civil rights and human rights together in their minds:

They have more rights in prison than someone in a nursing home, or sick in hospital. I think prisoners have more rights, they have more money spent on them than deserving old people.

Female, middle-aged group, London

I have heard this story about a burglar that sued the person that he was robbing because he fell down and broke his leg or something like that.

Female, younger group, London

In England, we give the attacker human rights, this shouldn't be the case, it makes sense to pick the weaker person.

Female, ethnic minority group, London

It seems like these people get more rights than the law abiding people. The criminals that break in they have more rights than what we do.

Female, younger group, London

I felt his civil rights was more looked after than mine and my daughters. He didn't hit you, did he? I said, yes, he did, and my daughter says, yes, he hit mummy, he try to throw mum down the stairs, but is there a mark? No. And that's just it, it was my word against his.

Female, middle-aged group, London

There was also a perception amongst some deliberative participants that people who are wealthy and influential (for example, have links with the press) are able to assert their human rights using legislation more readily than other groups:

If you have money you have human rights, if you don't have money you don't have human rights.

Female, younger group, London

With health, if you can afford private healthcare and private education obviously they're more beneficial for certain groups.

Female, younger group, Cardiff

Most participants had some, though unformed, perceptions that the Human Rights Act set out new rights, which allowed a more 'lenient approach' to some crimes and led to biased justice in favour of certain groups:

You should keep the original rights, you should have them as the most important thing, and then everything else only if you really want it, it should be added on. The UN ... declaration, the first one, they're all really good.

Male, younger group, London

There are many misconceptions around, which may need to be countered by the Commission.

The deliberative research also uncovered some worries about Britain developing a compensation culture (which they feel has come from the United States). When we discussed the human rights legislation specifically, a minority in each group suggested that this legislation might be a sign of a broader cultural change, leading to a world where Britons are now defensive about their own entitlements (for instance, ideas around children suing their parents). As a result, these participants told us that they worried if rights are more in the public consciousness (for example, through law) it will fuel the compensation culture and more people will take unfair advantage.

Does having a Human Rights Act in itself run counter to 'British values'?

Participants in deliberations (mainly in the middle-aged and older groups) commented freely on how they perceived life has changed in Britain, particularly in relation to a loss of sense of community and a lack of respect in the way that people treat each other. These participants suggested that the codification of 'British values', in a Human Rights Act, in itself, might be detrimental to an unspoken, shared set of values (which they felt worked better in the past, in terms of ensuring fairness and justice for all):

It hasn't fundamentally changed anything, except that people are now citing the Human Rights Act as a way to get things that they otherwise couldn't.

Male, middle-aged group, London

We survived for thousands and thousands of years without a human rights law.

Male, middle-aged group, London

When I was young, the law was sufficient. We lived under the law. We didn't have human rights in those days. Everybody knew if they committed crimes what would happen to them.

Male, older group, Cardiff

Certain countries have nothing like this, I think we probably have too many rights.

Male, ethnic minority group, London

One person felt he was less protected because of the Human Rights Act as people could 'use it too freely' and inappropriately and it created a society of fear as people were too scared to engage with others in a variety of ways, for fear of being taken to court.

Stories about human rights abuses can be depressing

Participants in all groups found the case studies we asked them to discuss rather depressing. Considering the case studies lowered the mood of each group, particularly those cases relating to domestic violence, residential care homes and the right to resuscitation. The reaction of some people in each group was to try and avoid discussion and dismiss the domestic violence as soon as possible, with the assertion that 'this kind of thing doesn't happen so much now'. They suggested that Britain has seen a reduction in domestic violence in recent times and improvements in the response of police in this area (for example, because women were more aware of the issues and police were focusing resources on domestic violence). This highlights a difficulty the Commission faces in engaging people in the human rights debate; people don't want to talk about things that make them feel bad.

They need to plant stories of human rights being a positive thing.

Male, younger group, London

The need for positive role models who have benefited from a good human rights society was also highlighted (particularly by the ethnic minority group).

3.5 The Human Rights Act

In this section we explain the (somewhat patchy) knowledge of the Human Rights Act expressed in the deliberative research.

Lack of knowledge on what the Act involves

The deliberative research supports the survey findings. A good proportion of the workshop participants agreed that though they had heard of the Human Rights Act by name, they did not know in detail what it involved. In all groups, it was one or two

who initially spoke up most freely and confessed their ignorance; whereupon the group as a whole would then agree:

I don't know 100 per cent what it [the Human Rights Act] is, I've just heard of it.

Female, teenager, Manchester

We also found that people did not fundamentally disagree with the rights in the Human Rights Act; but most told us they were not sure how these should be enshrined in law.

The minority in the groups who do have more of an understanding claimed that the human rights legislative framework is complicated and confusing; and felt that this acts as a barrier to people engaging with human rights concepts:

It is relating to different laws, it has different articles, it is very complex... I heard about it in France and here too... I have read about it in books and stuff.

Female, ethnic minority group, London

People go on about human rights, but not many know what they are. I think there's about 12 basic human rights, and even I, a law student, can only write down five! We don't really know.

Male, LGBT group, Manchester

Like just being verbally abusive to someone, does that, is that counted as human rights, could you take someone to court over that?

Female, older group, London

Uncertainty around the origins of the UK's human rights legislation was also evident in the deliberative groups:

I don't understand the difference between the European human rights thing and the British one. I just don't know much about it.

Female, older group, Cardiff

A proportion of participants had difficulty distinguishing differences between moral rights and legal rights. The deliberative research indicated that while most groups agree it is important to have a human rights framework, people talked in terms of a moral code rather than a legal structure. In several groups, there was a certain confusion evidenced as people talked about rights. There is a feeling that legal rights

are different from moral rights, and that human rights aren't really legal rights. Participants expressed themselves unclearly here:

Legal rights are for protection. Basically they're for the protection of you all, legal rights. But moral rights are, er, for living.

Male, physically disabled, Cardiff

This raises some interesting issues for the Commission as it seeks to promote best use of the legislation; given that many members of the public are not aware of it, it may be hard to communicate how the Human Rights Act can be used.

One example here is the care home case study where a resident's dignity and respect were undermined. In most groups, deliberative participants did not know that the right to dignity and respect were legally protected and did not tend to say that they would seek redress using the human rights legal framework. These participants explained that they would solve the problem by complaining to the care home itself; essentially pursuing redress as a consumer ultimately through the civil courts, because the care home was at fault in the way it provided the service it had set out to provide - not because human rights were involved:

Well, I would go there and I would confront them and try to find out exactly what is going on, what's supposed to be going on. And I'd take it further if necessary.

Female, physically disabled, depth interview, Cardiff

These findings suggest that the Commission will need to raise awareness about human rights in a way that demonstrates they are relevant in everyday life.

Little knowledge of those promoting the Act

Deliberative participants had little knowledge of who, or which organisations, are upholding or trying to advance human rights in Britain:

F I don't give it much thought really, just I know there's somebody out there actually trying to do something about human rights.

M It's like Martin Luther King on a bigger scale isn't it? He was fighting for the rights of the coloured.

Paired depth, physically disabled, Cardiff

This meant that for many, especially those in minority groups, the effect of the Act was not discernable. A perceived lack of enforcement was highlighted by a person with physical disabilities in relation to equal opportunities in employment:

Like there's all this equality in like employing disabled people... The government say to the companies, you've got to have a percentage of disabled workers in your employment. But the government don't follow it through... I'm disabled myself and trying to get a bloody job is not easy... Because the government don't enforce it.

Male, physically disabled, Cardiff

Appendix 1 Rights protected by the Human Rights Act

Rights protected by the Human Rights Act

- The right to life (Article 2)
- The right not to be tortured or treated in an inhuman or degrading way (Article 3)
- The right to be free from slavery or forced labour (Article 4)
- The right to liberty (Article 5)
- The right to a fair trial (Article 6)
- The right to no punishment without law (Article 7)
- The right to respect for private and family life, home and correspondence (Article 8)
- The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Article 9)
- The right to freedom of expression (Article 10)
- The right to freedom of assembly and association (Article 11)
- The right to marry and found a family (Article 12)
- The right not be discriminated against in relation to any of the rights contained in the European Convention (Article 14)
- The right to peaceful enjoyment of possessions (Article 1 of Protocol 1)
- The right to education (Article 2 of Protocol 1)
- The right to free elections (Article 3 of Protocol 1)

Values used in the survey and their relation to the Human Rights Act

- Being treated with dignity and respect (Article 3 and fundamental principle of the Act)
- Being able to express your views freely (Article 10)
- Being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability etc. (Article 14)
- Respect for private and family life (Article 8)
- Being able to pursue an education or training (Article 2 Protocol 1)
- Being protected if your life is under threat (Article 2)
- Being entitled to a fair trial (Article 6)
- Respect for private property (Article 1 Protocol 1)
- Being able to vote in elections (Article 3 Protocol 1)
- Being able to express any faith or religious belief (Article 9)
- Being able to marry and start a family (Article 12)
- Being able to join any unions and organisations (Article 11)
- Only being arrested on reasonable grounds for suspicion (Article 5)

Appendix 2 Deliberative research programme

The table below outlines the deliberative research programme.

Fieldwork	Location / Date	Main features of the sample
General public workshop	London, 28 th August	23 participants demographically representative of London including people from outer suburbs, from ethnic minority groups and people with caring responsibilities
General public workshop	Cardiff, 3 rd September	23 participants demographically representative of Cardiff including people from the Valleys, Welsh language speakers and people with caring responsibilities
Mini-group with ethnic minorities	London, 4 th September	7 people of South Asian, Caribbean, African, Chinese and European descent
Mini-group with LGBT	Manchester, 9 th September	6 lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender participants
Paired depth interviews with disabled people	Cardiff, 3 rd September Oxfordshire, 9 th September Leicester, 12 th September London, 16 th September	2 paired depths with people who have moderate and severe physical disabilities 2 paired depths with people who have moderate learning disabilities
Paired depth interviews with teenagers	Manchester, 9 th September Leicester, 12 th September	One pair of female 12 year olds One pair of male 14/15 year olds
Paired depth interview with elderly person and their carer	Oxfordshire, 9 th September	90 year-old female and her 57 year-old daughter

Appendix 3 Guide to statistical reliability

It should be remembered at all times that a sample, and not the entire population of Britain, has taken part in the survey. In consequence, all results are subject to 'sampling tolerance'. This means both that the overall sample is accurate to within certain margins of error and that any differences (for example, between sub-groups) need to be of a certain size for them to be statistically significant.

The sample tolerances that apply to the percentage results in this report are given in the table below. This table shows the possible variation that might be anticipated because a sample, rather than the entire population, was interviewed. As indicated, sampling tolerances vary with the size of the sample and the size of the percentage results.

Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels			
	10% or 90%	30% or 70%	50%
	±	±	±
Size of sample on which survey result is based			
1,994 (All in sample)	2	2	3
945 (Men)	2	3	4
477 (65+)	3	5	5
162 (All from ethnic minorities)	5	8	8

Source: Ipsos MORI

For example, on a question where 50 per cent of the people in a weighted sample of 1,994 respond with a particular answer, the chances are 95 in 100 that this result would not vary more than 2 percentage points, plus or minus, from a complete coverage of the entire population using the same procedures.

Tolerances are also involved in the comparison of results from different parts of the sample, or of results from this survey and another survey. A difference, in other words, must be of at least a certain size to be considered statistically significant. The following table is a guide to the sampling tolerances applicable to comparisons.

Differences required for significance at or near these percentages			
	10% or 90%	30% or 70%	50%
Size of sample on which survey result is based			
2,000 on 2,000	2	3	4
1,000 on 1,000	3	4	5
500 on 500	4	6	7
150 on 150	7	11	12

Source: Ipsos MORI

Appendix 4 Survey topline

Public Attitudes towards Human Rights - Topline 26th August 2008

Ipsos MORI interviewed a representative quota sample of 1,994 adults in Britain aged 16+. Interviews were conducted by telephone between 14th and 21st August 2008. Data are weighted to match the profile of the population.

Where percentages do not sum to 100, this may be due to computer rounding, the exclusion of “don’t know” categories, or multiple answers. Throughout the volume, an asterisk (*) denotes any value of less than half of one per cent.

Unless otherwise stated, results are based on all respondents (1,994).

PART ONE

Q1. Which of the following, if any, would you say are the most important values for living in Britain today?

<i>Base: All</i>	per cent
Being treated with dignity and respect	75
Being able to express your views freely	68
Being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability or any other personal differences	65
Respect for private and family life	63
Being able to pursue an education or training	59
Being protected if your life is under threat	58
Being entitled to a fair trial	58
Respect for private property	58
Being able to vote in elections	55
Being able to express any faith or religious belief	54
Being able to marry and start a family	45
Being able to join unions and organisations of your choice	41
Only being arrested if there are reasonable grounds for suspicion	41
Other	*
Don't know	1

Q2. And which four or five, if any, are most important to you personally?

<i>Base: All</i>	per cent
Being treated with dignity and respect	63
Being able to express your views freely	46
Respect for private and family life	46
Being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability or any other personal differences	43
Being protected if your life is under threat	35
Respect for private property	32
Being able to pursue an education or training	28
Being entitled to a fair trial	23
Being able to vote in elections	22
Being able to express any faith or religious belief	21
Being able to marry and start a family	13
Only being arrested if there are reasonable grounds for suspicion	9
Being able to join unions and organisations of your choice	7
Other	*
Don't know	1

Q3. And which, if any, do you consider to be fundamental Human Rights?

<i>Base: All</i>	per cent
Being treated with dignity and respect	62
Being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability or any other personal differences	57
Being able to express your views freely	56
Being entitled to a fair trial	53
Being able to express any faith or religious belief	49
Being protected if your life is under threat	44
Being able to vote in elections	39
Respect for private and family life	36
Being able to pursue an	34

education or training	
Only being arrested if there are reasonable grounds for suspicion	32
Being able to marry and start a family	31
Being able to join unions and organisations of your choice	28
Respect for private property	27
Other	*
Don't know	4

Q4. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
<i>Base: All</i>						
Human Rights are meaningless to me in everyday life	4	17	13	34	30	2
Human rights abuses are a problem in some countries but they are not really a problem in the UK	8	33	17	30	8	4
Some people take unfair advantage of Human Rights	33	47	11	5	2	3
The only people who benefit from Human Rights in the UK are those who do not deserve them such as criminals and terrorists	14	28	15	25	15	3
Everyone in the UK enjoys the same basic human rights	11	32	10	33	11	3
The Human Rights Act is a European law, not a UK law	15	32	15	12	6	20
<i>Base: All in Version 1 (988)</i>						
There should be set of standards for how public services treat people	41	47	8	1	1	2
<i>Base: All in Version 2 (1006)</i>						
There should be a set of Human Rights standards for how public services treat people	30	52	10	4	1	3
<i>Base: All in Version 1 (988)</i>						
Human Rights are important for creating a fairer society in the UK	40	41	12	4	1	2
<i>Base: All in Version 2 (1006)</i>						
A shared sense of rules and responsibilities are important for creating a fairer society in the UK	41	47	8	1	1	2

PART TWO

- Q5. **Before this interview, how much, if anything, would you say you knew about the UK's Human Rights Act?**

<i>Base: All</i>	per cent
A great deal	4
A fair amount	25
Not very much	50
Heard of, but know nothing about	16
Never heard of	4
Don't know	2

- Q6. **To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
"It is important to have a law that protects Human Rights in Britain"**

<i>Base: All</i>	per cent
Strongly agree	40
Tend to agree	44
Neither agree nor disagree	9
Tend to disagree	3
Strongly disagree	1
Don't know	3

- Q7. **How much, if anything, would you say you know about your Human Rights generally?**

<i>Base: All</i>	per cent
A great deal	4
A fair amount	36
Not very much	50
Nothing at all	8
Don't know	3

- Q8. **Have you or any close friends or family ever been in a situation where you felt your human rights were not respected?**

<i>Base: All</i>	per cent
Yes, definitely	8
Yes, maybe	7
I'm not sure	7
No	73
Don't know	4

- Q9. **Did you do anything about this?**

Base: All who have been in a situation where they felt their human rights were not respected, or those of a friend or family member (316)

	per cent
Yes	49
No	49

Don't know	2
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Q10. You said you did nothing about this, why not?

Base: All who did nothing about it (154) per cent

Didn't know what I could do	27
Thought there was nothing to be gained/ didn't see the point	17
Didn't know what my rights were	16
Didn't want to draw attention to myself	10
Didn't think it was important enough	8
I didn't know who to complain to	7
Didn't know where to find out information about what I could do	5
Didn't realise at the time it was affecting my human rights	5
I was embarrassed	2
Too busy/no time	2
Other	10
No particular reason	2
Don't know	4

Appendix 5 Discussion guide template

Public Perceptions of Human Rights

**Deliberative Workshop, London
28 August 2008, 6.30pm – 9.30pm**

A note on structure and analysis

In this kind of workshop, people are not going to tell us explicitly "here are the values I think are important, and my views are very entrenched because x, y, z". Instead, people will take much for granted in their underlying value systems and the way they look at the world, and we will have to tease out their values by following up on some other questions about life, often much broader ones. In the guide, we have included broad prompts, but in most cases you should assume the moderator will follow up on previous comments, putting alternate points of view and generally "playing devil's advocate".

People in the groups will be unlikely to tell us how we could convince them of the value of different parts of the rights agenda (i.e. your objectives, "discover which arguments might change their views" are unlikely to come from direct quotes from the people in the groups). People develop views and tend to hold onto them and claim they are rational, even when they're not - the concept of cognitive dissonance is relevant to all of us; we all want to feel that our views are consistent and sensible and will defend this, even if they're not!

To find out which arguments and debates might change their views, we will need to remember what they have said earlier and bring this up in the last section, gently encouraging them to compare different and contradictory views. Then we will need to analyse what is said and identify the potential for communications arising from this.

To help us do all this, we have designed this guide. The principle behind this discussion guide is that we start with all the muddled up things which sit in people's heads (exercise 1, tell me about life in Britain today); clarify in this exercise what is a right, what is a freedom, what is a value, etc etc; then focus in on civil and political rights and which elements of these are important (exercises 2 and 3). Then, the last section (exercise 4) is vital because it shows us how far these general rights are important in Britain today, uncovers any hostility to the human rights agenda, and shows us where the hostility might come from. In this section we will also discover any confusion or mis-comprehensions about human rights, and uncover where this comes from.

Timing/ Materials	Moderator Guide	Why this exercise, and how will we analyse the results?
10 mins	<p>Moderator introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evening timing; breaks; toilets; mobile phones off. Lots of breaks so don't worry! • All views valid; talk and reflect as much as possible; say what's on your mind; don't have to agree but respect each others' views. • This is about an interesting subject – what are the values you think are important for life in Britain today. • We will do two things in this session – (1) we'll make a big map of things that are needed for a “good, civilised society” in Britain. We will get as detailed as we can about this. (2) We'll look how you think we can ensure that all people Britain can have the things they need to make sure our society is a civilised one, and look at what happens when things happen which go against our values, or when our values conflict with others'. • It's a long session but you will have a break! 	<p>Prepares respondents for the discussion and sets out rules for the day.</p> <p>Gently introduces the topic without mentioning human rights.</p> <p>We are keen to use the expression “good or civilised society” in the intro and first exercise, so that we can capture spontaneous views of issues like rights, values, and any differences people feel between socioeconomic and human rights. In analysis this will be useful to you as you will be able to see how people model the world; which in turn lets you see how entrenched their views might be and where the levers could be for changing their minds.</p>
<p>25 mins</p> <p>flip chart, post it notes, icon pictures</p> <p>Group divided into 3 sub groups</p>	<p>Ask participants to introduce themselves to the rest of the group.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Name, where you live, family, job if appropriate • What things in life make you happiest? <p>EXERCISE ONE</p> <p>a) Building “a civilised society”</p> <p>In Britain today, what do we need to have a civilised society?</p> <p>Imagine a <i>little person</i> here on the map (<i>moderator draws stick man</i>). Tell me everything he or she needs to help them to develop, flourish, lead a civilised life.</p> <p><i>Using post-its, in 2 groups, collect all the following...</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is necessary for this little person to <i>live in a civilised society</i>? What would this person need to have the life YOU expect today? What are the principles and values that should inform the way in which we react towards each other? And what about the way we react towards the State? If you were trying to explain to someone what is good about 	<p>Respondents get to know each other. Also serves as icebreaker so that people are not afraid to speak. In analysis it will be important to find out where people start from as this might affect their views of rights, responsibilities and values.</p> <p>We start by looking at what an individual <i>needs from society</i> – rather than talking about what <i>society needs</i> more generally. This helps the discussion start personally, based on the real values of the group, rather than starting with an abstract discussion of values, rights or human rights.</p> <p>This enables us to gauge people's knowledge and priorities. Avoids any potential negative connotations attached to the human rights discussion.</p> <p>Using imagery as well as post-its makes it easier for people to</p>

	<p>British society, what would you say?</p> <p><i>Moderator draws other people on the map.</i></p> <p>How will other people need to behave towards this person, to create a civilised and fair society? How should he/she behave towards them?</p> <p>Here are lots of icons representing the things that might help a person develop, lead a free and fair life in a civilised society and in their relationships with other people and the State.</p> <p><i>Group takes the icons and more post-its and brainstorms more things people might need to make a civilised society</i></p> <p><i>Moderator talks the group through this and clusters them together in groups (NB these are groupings of “rights” though we don’t use this language yet).</i></p> <p>Some prompts for the moderator to use where relevant:-</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why do you think human beings need to be, or do XYZ? (e.g. if people say it’s important to treat people with dignity and respect, in what circumstances? To whom? What happens if you do not treat people with dignity and respect? Under what circumstances do you not need to?) - What would happen to society if we did not have this? What would happen to individuals or groups within society? - What resources do people need in order to do each of these things (e.g. in order to be tolerant of others, they might need to not feel under threat themselves; in order to have a fair trial people need legal representation etc) - Why is this important to you? What values do you have which make you say this? Where did those values come from? Can we summarise the values which lie behind this idea? - what happens when different values clash with each other (e.g. a celeb’s right to privacy vs. someone’s right to know about matters of public interest) <p><i>Moderator to also draw out: Any differences here between what different kinds of people need? How about older and younger people? How about people of different ethnic backgrounds, people from different religions, or from different communities or foreigners?</i></p> <p>b) Socio-economic, civil and political rights</p> <p>We’ve come up with lots of things that people need to live in a civilised society.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is it our right to have these things? - Which ones are not our rights? - Why is this? Is it to do with our particular society, or are there things which every person has a right to expect? - How can you decide on what people have a right to expect? 	<p>engage with some of the abstract concepts which must emerge as they are related to a discussion of rights e.g. reciprocity, fairness, religious freedom, tolerance, etc etc.</p> <p>Across the groups and workshops this gives us a lot to analyse. For instance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) different priorities, ideas emerging in different orders, suggesting a different top of mind response to the idea of a good or civilised society; which helps us show you the differences between demographic or attitudinal groups b) Collecting their own terms and language; giving you an indication of how they map the ideas of values and rights which in turn gives us a clue to the kinds of arguments which might change their views c) Moving the discussion slowly towards values and rights and teasing out the differences between nice to have, basic values, and rights. <p>NB – we will not ask people to “define human rights” but we think it will be important to see whether they feel “rights” are something of a different order than simply things we can expect by virtue of living in a materially advanced society. E.g. is it our right, now, to have access to technology, or is it just something that we are lucky to have access to.</p> <p>We need to hear people’s spontaneous definition of rights</p>
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<p>10 mins</p> <p>Questionnaire 1 for each participant (incl. some questions from quant survey)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is there a difference between some of the rights you have put up here (e.g. access to the internet vs. access to justice) – how could you describe that difference? - Which are the most important here for you today? <i>(pulling out whether people have more affinity for socioeconomic rights e.g. clean air, right to a home)</i> <p>Individual activity</p> <p><i>MODERATOR: HAND OUT QUESTIONNAIRES TO EACH PARTICIPANT</i></p> <p>Taking into account our discussion so far today, and your own experiences, please complete the first part of this questionnaire. From the rights we have identified, which do you consider to be the most important? And which do you think are most at risk in Britain today?</p> <p><i>Participants to complete questionnaire individually.</i></p>	<p>in their own words and clarify what counts as a right – this helps us analyse any barriers to a greater acceptance of the rights agenda. If people do not accept that certain civil and political rights are legitimate, we need to know why.</p> <p>Enables us to track how participant's views change over the course of the workshop and to compare generally with the findings of the quantitative survey.</p>
<p>30 mins</p> <p>Group divided into 3 sub-groups</p> <p>A4 list of human rights themes based on the list included in the quant survey</p>	<p>EXERCISE TWO</p> <p>Focusing on the human rights list</p> <p>Moderator to explain that this is a list of rights that are considered to be important. We want to look at it and see whether we agree or disagree with it and whether it matches up with our list of human rights.</p> <p>NB Every group will look briefly at the whole list and then the moderator will focus on a subset of the list.</p> <p><i>Participants are given a list of the human rights and consider each one in turn.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spontaneous response – what stands out - Comprehension – any words or ideas which are unclear here - Broad agreement or disagreement – how important is this right to you in Britain today? How relevant are these to you in everyday life? <p><i>For the particular subset of rights:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What does this mean to you? Is this important for you? Why? - How does it look in practice? Is this definitely a human right? Is this important for living in Britain today? - What questions does this raise? Are there provisos or contingencies that relate to this right? What are the limits of this right? At what point do you stop and say, that's just the way life is? <i>(i.e. unfairness or inequality vs. infringement of rights)</i> - Referring back to the flip chart - should this be included in our own list? Have we got some on our list that should be removed? 	<p>Here we look at the list of rights that was included as a question in the quantitative survey.</p> <p>We have grouped the rights where appropriate and the moderator will work through the list with participants probing with generic questions as well as some specific to each right.</p> <p>This will let us understand how people interpret human rights and allows to 'benchmark' spontaneous reactions.</p> <p>Some of these questions will be asked again after talking about the case studies.</p> <p>This section also brings all the rights together – those values that the groups have identified as rights are combined with the main list of important human rights.</p> <p>The moderator's prompts will push people to defend why they think each right is important, and what arguments they use to explain why these rights fit with their values.</p> <p>This section gives us lots of detail for analysis of each key domain of human rights; why are they important / not important to people and what arguments they use to defend or negate them.</p>

Being treated with dignity and respect

How important is this in all circumstances, e.g. when you are unable to look after yourself because you are ill, in hospital or in residential care. Should these rules also apply to those detained in hospital, prisoners and detained asylum seekers?

How far must we balance this with financial and resourcing needs e.g. if we can't afford for every elderly person to have someone to help them eat their dinner etc.

Being treated fairly regardless of gender, race, disability or any other personal differences

How important is this in a world where we must deal with people of all different backgrounds? Where's the line between being treated with dignity and respect and infringing on other people's freedoms?

Being protected if your life is under threat

Being entitled to a fair trial

Only being arrested if there are reasonable grounds for suspicion

Is this important in Britain today? How much can the police do to protect us from attack? What should they do to protect us if we are a witness to a serious crime? How do we balance privacy, or the right not to be picked on by the police etc with the "need" to identify individuals likely to cause trouble? How far should you be free to choose where you live?

Being able to express any faith or religious belief

Being able to express your views freely

Being able to join unions and organisations of your choice

How important is this in a world where we must deal with people of all different backgrounds? How far should we be able to express ourselves vs. feeling concerned about offending others? Should the government be able to check on what websites you visit to stop people using pornography?

Respect for private and family life

Should local authorities have the right to put a computer chip in your dustbin to check on what you are throwing away? Privacy and the media should you ever find yourself in the news?

Being able to marry and start a family

What kinds of relationships do we want to protect, in the ideal world? Fragmented families? Gay couples? Divorce etc?

<p>10 mins</p> <p>Participants come together as one group</p>	<p>How about different moral outlooks? Are there people who should not be allowed to start a family? On what grounds should it be possible to take children away from their parents?</p> <p>Your rights vs. society's</p> <p>What are the limits of this? What happens when one person's enjoyment of their possessions / property infringes on another's (e.g. noisy neighbours). What happens when the majority needs conflict with your needs, e.g. how do you balance your wish to live in your home with plans to build a motorway or Olympic stadium where it currently stands?</p> <p>Being able to pursue education or training</p> <p>How entitled are you to receive an education in line with your philosophy or religion e.g. in terms of corporal punishment, respect for your religious beliefs?</p> <p>Being able to vote in elections</p> <p>Does participating in decision making go further than voting, if so, what? What kinds of people don't get to do this at present? Should convicted prisoners be able to vote? How severe does a crime have to be before that right is removed?</p> <p>After going through the list of human rights, is there anything to add / change / delete on group's rights basket? Which ones do we need to change? Why?</p> <p>OUTPUT: REVISED FLIPCHART LIST OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT ARE IMPORTANT IN BRITAIN TODAY</p> <p>Plenary session</p> <p>Each group briefly reports back on the rights that they have discussed, identifying which rights they feel are most important as well as particular aspects they have found most interesting and/or surprising.</p>	<p>Because each sub-group will not have time to focus in detail on every rights area on the list, this section enables the wider group to get a taste of the discussion that was specific within a group.</p>
<p>15 mins</p>	<p>Break for 15 minutes</p>	
<p>40 mins</p> <p>Group divided into 3 sub-groups</p> <p>A4 sheets of paper, each with one case study on it.</p>	<p>EXERCISE THREE</p> <p>Have you heard of the Human Rights Act? If so, what do you think of it? Where have you heard of it?</p> <p>Do you know that the values you have identified in the earlier sessions are enshrined / included in the Act?</p> <p>Do you know that it not only sets down in law the fundamental rights of individuals but it also establishes a value system for working out where the balance between conflicting rights, and between individual rights and the common good, should lie? Do you think it is useful to have such a law that sets out the fundamental values of our society and how these should be balanced?</p> <p>Focus on human rights case studies</p> <p>We will now look at some more detailed examples where</p>	<p>5-7 case studies will be compiled for the group to consider. These will cover a range of human rights issues.</p> <p>The purpose of the case studies is to see whether peoples' views change when faced with concrete situations and conflicting rights. This will help us to assess how entrenched views are.</p> <p>A series of generic questions will be asked for each case study.</p> <p>Moderators will also use prompts to challenge the thinking of the group and play "devil's advocate". Prompts will be used to alter the scenario</p>

human rights might apply and talk about them.

For each one, imagine that you are in charge of making the decisions on what to do in this case. What are the arguments you would use? How would you justify your decision?

Each participant is given a case study on one sheet of A4 paper (NB this will be large print so everyone can see it). After discussing one, the moderator hands out the next, and so on. Moderator should cover at least 5, but can cover more if time.

FOR EACH CASE STUDY:

- Which human rights apply here? Who do the rights belong to?
- How important do you think these rights are in this situation? Which are more important/least important?
- Are there conflicting rights? (e.g. individuals need to be able to choose what they do, to live the **life they want** – but also collectively we can't have a **good life** if some do things that impede the freedom of others / are bad for society or the environment)
- What about rights that infringe on other people's rights? Should rights be conditional / are there restrictions to a right?
- Is there such a thing as 'too much' of a particular right? Can you think of any examples?
- Whose responsibility is it to ensure the right(s) is protected?

THE MODERATOR WILL WORK THROUGH A SERIES OF CASE STUDIES (SEE SEPARATE SHEET FOR CASE STUDY DETAILS) THAT EXAMINE MULTIPLE ISSUES AND ASK THE QUESTIONS ABOVE AS WELL AS SOME SPECIFIC ONES. FOR EXAMPLE:

CASE STUDY 1: Police protection for domestic violence victims

CASE STUDY 2: Assisted suicide

CASE STUDY 3: Residential care home staff

CASE STUDY 4: Deportation of foreign nationals

CASE STUDY 5: Mobile phone surveillance

Now that we've considered these specific examples, is there anything that you would like to change on our list?

OUTPUT: FLIPCHART LISTING UP TO 10 HUMAN RIGHTS THE GROUP CONSIDERS TO BE MOST IMPORTANT IN BRITAIN TODAY.

EXERCISE FOUR

What are the barriers to supporting human rights?

Now we are going to talk about what happens when we try and apply this right in Britain today.

and bring different human rights into play. They will be deliberately provocative to get people thinking and make people consider each side.

The final part of the session will explore people's views on where these rights sit in Britain today and how best to protect them.

Asking these questions reveals

30 mins

Group divided into 3 sub-groups

<p>Questionnaire 2 for each participant</p>	<p>MODERATOR: CONSIDER EACH OF THE 10 RIGHTS IN TURN. FOR EACH RIGHT ASK:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is this right respected in Britain today? Why do you say that? Is this right more at risk than other rights? - Are there any people in Britain who are denied this / who don't get enough of this? Is it important to society? Is it a problem? Why? - Are there people in Britain today who are taking advantage of this / who are getting more of it than they should? Is this important to society? Is it a problem? Why? - Does this impinge on any other rights being exercised? - What do human rights give us? What would happen if we didn't have them? - Who is responsible for protecting this right / making sure it's not violated? Anyone else? How should it be protected? In law? - How would you stand up for your human rights? - How would you know if your rights had been infringed? What would you do if your rights were being infringed? Has that ever happened to you? What did you do? Where did you go? Who did you speak to? If you didn't do anything, why was that? Now that you know more about human rights and the Human Rights Act, would you do something if you felt your rights had been infringed? <p>Considering everything we've discussed today as well as your own experiences, what would you say are the most important human rights? If you were responsible for running this country which human rights would you focus on / spend resources on?</p> <p>Individual activity</p> <p><i>MODERATOR: HAND OUT QUESTIONNAIRES TO EACH PARTICIPANT</i></p> <p><i>Participants to complete questionnaire 2 individually.</i></p>	<p>the reasons for hostility; (e.g. I don't think it's important to protect prisoners' rights because I fear crime and want a strong deterrent; or I think it's fundamentally unfair they should watch TV when I can't afford a TV, and this conflicts with my value of fairness). This shows us how and why views have become entrenched.</p> <p>The best way to get at this is through a deliberation about whether these rights are under threat, and if so, who are the key actors - the people denying us rights? People taking advantage of a rights culture?</p> <p>In this section we envisage the moderator doing a bit of deliberation, challenging views, and it's here that we see whether people's ideas change as the moderator reminds them what they said earlier in the discussion.</p> <p>The analysis will then pick this up in a discussion of views of each specific right.</p> <p>Brings the discussion to a close and allows everyone to have a final word about what is important to them individually</p> <p>Enables us to track how participant's views change over the course of the workshop and to compare generally with the findings of the quantitative survey.</p>
<p>10 mins</p> <p>Participants come together as one group</p>	<p>Summary in Plenary</p> <p>Groups come back together for brief closing plenary where moderators summarise the discussions of the evening.</p> <p>Hand out incentives</p> <p>Thanks and close</p>	

Appendix 6 Case studies used in deliberative research

The following human rights case studies were developed by the Commission for use in the deliberative groups and depths to give people a feel for the issues and their complexity and to discuss these.

Case Study One: Police protection for domestic violence victims

Sarah lived with her ex-partner for six years and they have two children, aged five and three. He would sometimes hit her and made a death threat against her. A year ago, Sarah fled with the children and went to live with her mother. She informed the police about the death threat and was granted an injunction against her ex-partner. After this, Sarah received threats by post. Sarah informed the police each time but the police said that they could not do anything because her ex-partner did not break the injunction order.

A few months later, Sarah heard rumours from her friends that her ex-partner knew where she now lived and wanted to come round to have an argument with her. She told the police about her fears that her ex-partner might assault her, but they said they did not have the resources to send domestic violence patrol officers to her home. Six weeks later, Sarah's ex-boyfriend broke in and assaulted her, nearly killing her. Terrified, Sarah called the police. The operator heard her cries for help and the line went dead. The police did not enter the house immediately.

Case Study Two: Right to resuscitation

Twelve-year-old Leo has cerebral palsy and epilepsy. He is admitted to hospital and his parents are told that he has fallen into a coma. The doctors decide that even if he did recover, his quality of life would be so poor that the merciful action would be to let him die. A "Do not resuscitate" notice is therefore placed on Leo's bed, which will result in his death.

The hospital has been experiencing budget cuts recently and is struggling to buy new equipment.

Case Study Three: Residential care home staff

Grace is 85 years old and lives in a residential care home. She suffers from severe arthritis and needs an attendant to help her with going to the toilet at all times. Unfortunately, her care home has faced budget cuts and several staff have been

made redundant. Morale is low among the existing carers, as they have to work longer shifts in an attempt to cover the duties of those who have left.

On one occasion, Grace is taken to the toilet by one of the carers, who then tells her, "I have to go and feed another resident, but I'll be back in five minutes." Grace is left sitting on the toilet for three hours, unable to move, and ends up soiling herself when she tries to get up.

Case Study Four: Deportation of foreign nationals

Thanh is a Vietnamese immigrant who has resided in the UK for six years working as a gardener. His five-year-old son Hoi, who has just started school and is making good progress in learning to read and write, was born here. Following a conviction for selling a large amount of cannabis, Thanh completed a 12-month prison sentence, and now his whole family faces deportation back to Vietnam. Mrs Green is Hoi's class teacher and is extremely concerned after he disappears from school one day, without explanation.

Case Study Five: Mobile phone surveillance

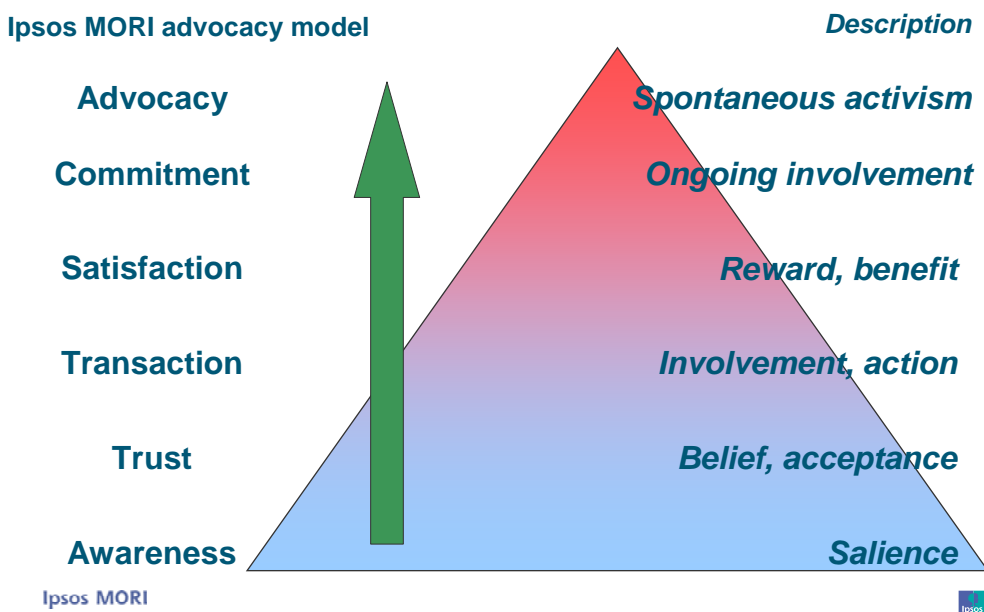
Dominic is a student protester who has campaigned against capitalism and the arms trade. He is organising this year's May Day protest and is liaising with other organisers to ensure that it runs smoothly, without any major incidents. In fact, he was in regular contact with the police to ensure it was a peaceful protest. A national newspaper reported that the police plan to tap the mobile phone calls of some May Day protest organisers in the lead-up to the event, and have obtained a warrant from the Home Secretary to secure this. In fact, the police say they have evidence that violent groups are going to use the cover of peaceful protest to try to inflict severe damage on the city centre. They say only the people involved in these activities are subject to telephone surveillance.

Appendix 7 Checking progress using an advocacy model

Ipsos MORI’s advocacy model has been a mainstay of our work in corporate and political reputation over the last ten years. We frequently use it as a tool for corporate boards and government departments to help them understand how they are progressing in their aims to engage the public. We used this also in our report on poverty, mentioned above. The model shows the different levels of response to issues amongst the general public. The challenge is to move people up the scale through targeted and positive communication and engagement.

As illustrated below, the first step is to get the public to a baseline of awareness on the topic (Awareness), before then trying to gain acceptance that the issue does require attention and gaining trust in the authorities, concepts, facts and figures making this case (the Trust stage).

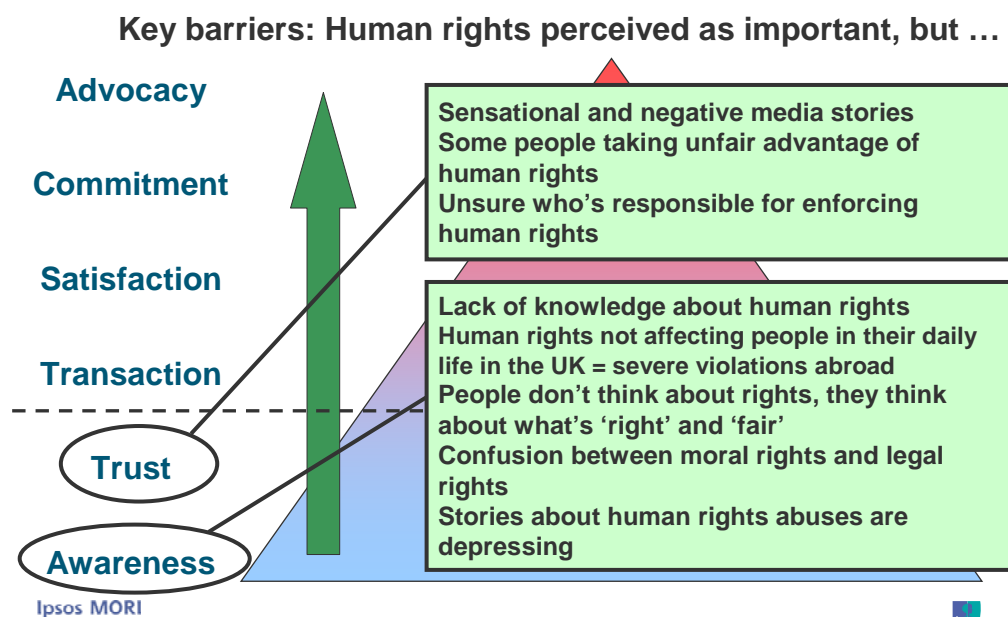
A model of how engagement is built



Once this trust has been achieved, there is a need to provide people with ways to actively signal their approval for “the cause” in whatever way (however small or personal) and making this feel satisfying in some way, (the Satisfaction stage). In this way a longer term engagement can be created (Commitment), the profile of the issue is permanently raised, and ultimately people spontaneously talk about it as one of their pet concerns. This is advocacy – the highest level of support an idea, brand or policy can enjoy.

As we have discussed throughout this report, at present there are some barriers to public acceptance of human rights at the first two stages of the advocacy model; to do with public perceptions of values and rights.

While this model does not provide the ideas for specific communications solutions which might achieve the goal of public acceptance of human rights, it does at least provide an action standard for communications ideas to be tested against.



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