

The Diversity of Ethnic Minority Londoners

Farah Hussain

Mile End
Institute



Queen Mary
University of London

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the difficulty of accurately polling ethnic minority voters in the UK. Given the Mile End Institute is situated in one of the most diverse boroughs in the country [1] and is committed to examining the voting behaviour and attitudes of Londoners, we were determined to overcome the substantial difficulties that exist, to find out what ethnic minority Londoners actually think about politics and society.

According to the 2021 census, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people make up 18 per cent of the UK population [2] but are underrepresented in polls that claim to be representative, with some polls having BAME respondents at only 5 per cent or lower. [3] In addition to under-reporting, there is the issue of non-reporting. This is when pollsters do not ask respondents their ethnicity and therefore do not account for this factor, even when the subject matter concerns attitudes to immigration or race. [4]

That is not to say that no one else has attempted to accurately measure ethnic minority voters' opinions. A team at the University of Manchester received funding to survey the ethnic minority population [5], and the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick hosted the National Ethnic Minority Data Archive (NEMDA). [6] NEMDA sought to bring together quantitative information on minority ethnic groups, to conduct quantitative analyses of the characteristics of minority ethnic groups, and to disseminate information on minority ethnic groups widely, but is no longer being updated.

Polling ethnic minority voters accurately is certainly a difficult objective to achieve. To make up for deficiencies in their samples and in order for polls to be considered representative, polling companies weight their results for ethnicity. This means giving more weight to the small number of BAME respondents they do have, so that they are able to reach the 18 per cent population level. While this might mean that the results are

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technically representative, such a method increases the risk of results being inaccurate and containing errors. This is particularly the case when very small numbers of respondents' answers are weighted to represent millions of Britons. [7] Moreover, not all ethnic minority people have the same experiences or think the same way; it is therefore inaccurate to weight a few people's views to represent whole swathes of the population. Conflating different ethnic groups together - as a single BAME category does - also risks masking the important differences between groups that, in the UK, very often diverge in their social, economic and political experiences, as our polling data demonstrates. Echoing these concerns but in a different context, a report for the BBC and Creative Industries by the Sir Lenny Henry Centre for Media Diversity reports that, for some respondents, the category BAME 'homogenises culturally distinct social groups'. The report also expresses concerns that the term is used by media organisations 'to hide the lack of representation and discrimination experienced by particular racial groups, as their problems are "averaged out" through incorporation into the broader [BAME] group.' [8]

Polling minority populations has allowed us to delve into societal problems that are often not well understood. 48 per cent of Great British adults surveyed said that racism was somewhat prevalent in the United Kingdom as a whole, with 30 per cent believing that there was a great deal of racism. [9] While our poll asks a question that was worded slightly differently, it shows that over half of ethnic minority Londoners (56 per cent) say that the UK is very or moderately racist and that there are big differences between different ethnic groups. 19 per cent of Caribbean Londoners say that the UK is very racist, compared to only 3 per cent of Chinese Londoners. Surveying ethnic minority groups in detail allows us to think about these differences in opinions and what may be causing them.

Moreover, recent violence between Muslims and Hindus in Leicester shows us that tensions within and between ethnic minority groups can sometimes spill over onto the streets. [10] Our polling on the effect of international events on ethnic minority Londoners' opinions demonstrates the impact that war and ethnic and religious tensions can have across continents. This is not a new phenomenon. In fact, it has been well-established that the New Labour government lost Muslim votes as a result of its decision to go to war in Iraq and Afghanistan post 9/11. [11] It is important for political parties to consider the impact that the ongoing conflict in Gaza and Britain's role in supplying weapons to Israel will have on the outcome of the next general election.

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It is also the case that ethnic minority people can have a decisive impact on electoral outcomes in London. In addition to other reasons that ethnic minority people's views should be accurately measured due to their concentration in London, their votes are likely to significantly affect the result in several seats. London is the most ethnically diverse region in the whole of the UK with 46.2 per cent of residents identifying with Asian, black, mixed, or 'other' ethnic groups, and a further 17.0 per cent with white ethnic minorities in the 2021 census. [12] Eight out of ten of the most diverse boroughs in the whole country are in London.

Table 1.1: The most diverse local authorities in England and Wales according to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) [13]

	Name of borough	Size of white population (percent)
1	Newham	30.8
2	Brent	34.6
3	Redbridge	34.8
4	Slough	36.0
5	Harrow	36.5
6	Tower Hamlets	39.4
7	Leicester	40.9
8	Ealing	43.2
9	Hounslow	44.1
10	Barking and Dagenham	44.9

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It is in these boroughs that ethnic minority voters' behaviour could sway election results, both in the London Mayoral Election on 2 May 2024 and the general election due to take place before the end of January 2025. Particularly interesting battles to watch out for in the Mayoral and London Assembly elections are the results in the boroughs of Brent, Harrow, and Redbridge and Havering. In the general election, the relatively strong support for the Conservatives among Indian Londoners (compared to other ethnic minorities) may be a critical factor in parliamentary constituencies in Brent, Harrow, Ealing, and Hounslow - boroughs where high numbers of British Indians reside.

Why 'ethnic minority' and not BAME or BME?

There has been ongoing debate about the use of the overarching term 'BAME' with some experts arguing that the concept privileges the experiences of some minority groups, such as black and Asian groups, over others. The UK government has decided to stop using both BAME and BME in the light of the findings of its controversial Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities in 2021. [14] It now talks about minority groups in specific terms, such as Asian, or mixed, but 'where it is absolutely necessary to group together people from different ethnic minority backgrounds', uses 'ethnic minorities' or 'people from ethnic minority backgrounds'. [15]

In this report, and in the Mile End Institute's work in future, we will be led by what ethnic minority Londoners have told us. Asked as part of our poll, only 3 per cent said that they identified with the term 'BAME'. 0 per cent of Pakistani and Chinese Londoners identified with the concept. An average of 1 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners identified with the category of 'BME'. The most popular terms were the most straightforward and easily understandable: Black at 23 per cent and Asian at 36 per cent. The overarching term that was most recognised was 'ethnic minority' with 14 per cent of those polled identifying with the concept. It is worth pointing out that 11 per cent of the people we surveyed did not identify with any of the terms listed.

SUMMARY OF OUR RESULTS

01

Londoners are feeling cost of living rises

62 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that they pay too much tax, with 28 per cent believing the amount they pay is about right and only one percent saying it is too low.

93 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners are either very or somewhat concerned with the rising cost of living.

Nearly half (47 per cent) say they will not be able to maintain the same standard of living over the next year.

02

People rate their local NHS services highly

69 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners would give their local NHS services three or more out of five if asked to rate them (five being excellent, one being poor).

03

Education is a sign of success and is perceived to change social attitudes

32 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners view it as a sign of success to send your children to private school. 33 per cent of white Londoners agree with them.

45 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners believe that a university education is an indicator of success in life. Only 32 per cent of white Londoners agree with them.

64 per cent of ethnic minority people in London say that higher education changes a person's social attitudes: 33 per cent believe it makes a person more socially liberal, 17 per cent say it makes them more economically right-leaning, and 16 per cent believe those with a higher education are more pro-EU.

04

The Metropolitan Police Service faces major challenges

Almost half (47 per cent) of all Londoners say that the Police are institutionally racist; over half (54 per cent) of ethnic minority Londoners agree with the statement.

45 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that the Met Police are institutionally sexist.

Trust in the Met is low: only 15 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners trust the institution a lot. 62 per cent trust it a little, while 18 per cent do not trust it at all.

05

Race relations in London and the UK remain problematic

13 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners were the victim of a racist incident in the last two years.

56 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that the UK is either moderately or very racist.

Over half of Londoners (54 per cent) believe that Rishi Sunak being of ethnic minority background had had no effect on racism in this country.

06

International events have a local impact

59 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that international events such as wars in other countries affect relationships between people in the UK.

60 per cent of Pakistani Londoners believe that a party's position on the conflict in Kashmir will either decide who they vote for at the next general election or have some impact. 42 per cent of Indian Londoners say the same.

07

Labour is on track to win big in London, despite Sadiq Khan's relative unpopularity

Sadiq Khan is likely to win a third term in office: 54 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that they would vote for him, compared to 43 per cent of all Londoners. His main rival, the Conservative's Susan Hall has the support of 22 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners, compared to 26 per cent of all Londoners.

Only 34 per cent of white Londoners and 33 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners are satisfied with the way that Sadiq Khan has done his job as Mayor of London.

With 52 per cent of all Londoners planning to vote Labour at the next general election, the party is polling better nationally than in the Mayoral Election.

08

Londoners are 'Dissatisfied' with Rishi Sunak's performance as Prime Minister

Only 26 per cent of all Londoners are satisfied with Rishi Sunak's premiership. Indian Londoners are much more supportive of the Prime Minister than other ethnic minorities: 47 per cent of Indian Londoners are either very or somewhat satisfied with his performance.

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Conclusions: Lessons and questions for Labour and the Conservatives

The results of our poll demonstrate the value of examining the experiences and perceptions of ethnic minorities in London and beyond. They show us the diversity of opinions among different groups which are lost when all ethnic groups are conflated as a homogenous block; or the views of a few people are weighted to represent the views of entire communities.

The results point to ongoing problems of racism, lack of trust in the Metropolitan Police Service, and the impact of the rising cost of living. But there are also positive findings that can be taken from the results. On public services, the NHS is generally rated highly. On social relationships, over half of Londoners (51 per cent) have a mixed friendship group including people of the same and different ethnic background to them.

Yet, our results also pose urgent questions for both main political parties.

Labour must address the ongoing dissatisfaction with Sadiq Khan's mayoralty. While he is likely to win in May 2024, this result is not guaranteed, and only a minority of Londoners are satisfied with his performance. Labour in general have particular problems relating to Indian Londoners. This relative unpopularity could play a decisive role in shaping electoral outcomes in some London boroughs and constituencies in North and West London.

Meanwhile, the Conservatives' losing streak in London appears set to continue. As a party, they need to consider why they continue to poll so poorly among ethnic minority groups in general. Their relative popularity among Indian Londoners may offer some lessons about how they could relate politically to other groups in London.

Both parties should reflect on the importance of international events and geo-political shocks on people's lives and voting behaviour here in the UK. With increased sectarian tension in India and the ongoing war in Gaza, it is pertinent that our leaders understand the impact of events at home.

This is just the first ethnic minority specific polling project Mile End Institute intends to conduct. We look forward to engaging with London's diverse communities and elected representatives on our research agenda.

METHODOLOGY

Number Cruncher polled 1,002 white and 1,002 ethnic minority adults living in Greater London between 14th November 2023 and 9th January 2024. Within each subsample, responses are weighted by age, sex, education, ethnicity, country of birth and location within London (grouped boroughs), representative of their respective sub-populations. The full sample combines the white and ethnic minority subsamples, weighted in proportion to their subpopulations, to be representative of London as a whole.

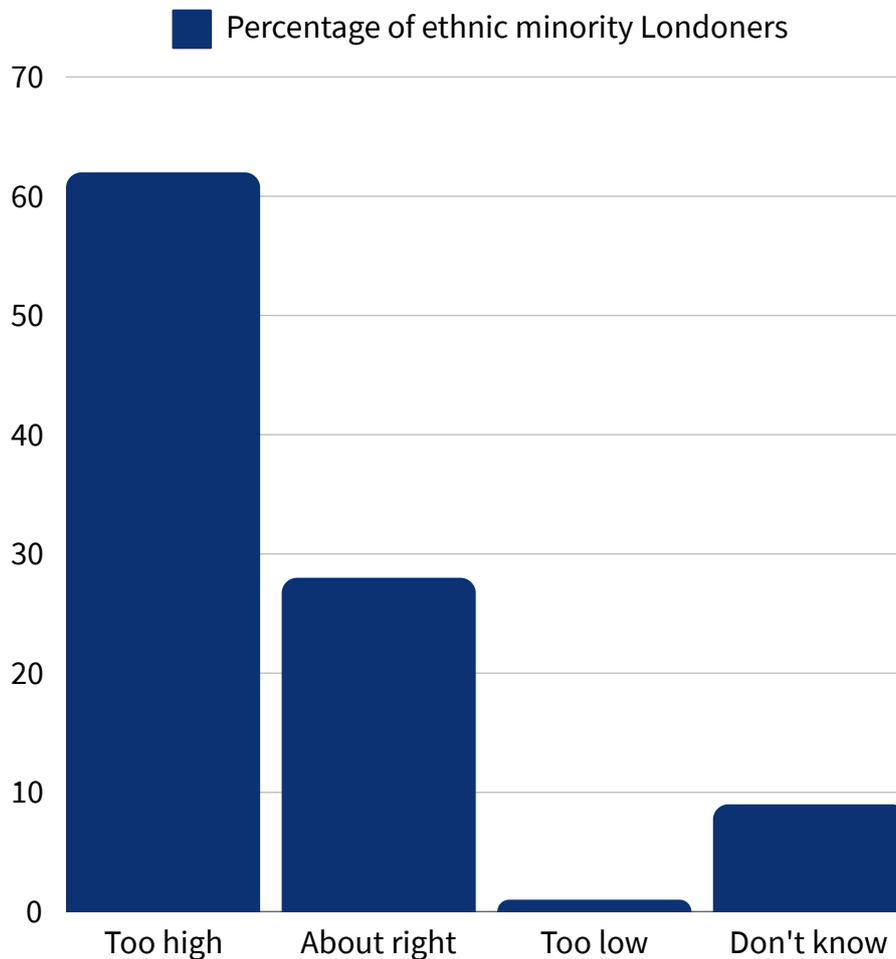
Number Cruncher's approach to polling ethnic minority populations has been developed to overcome a number of challenges inherent in this type of polling, namely that raw samples tend to overrepresent those who are more affluent, better integrated, UK born rather than immigrants, and certain specific ethnic groups. The polling combines the use of selected online panels with river sampling, a technique that involves interviewing respondents directly, without them first joining a panel.

MAIN FINDINGS

Londoners are feeling cost of living rises

Overall, Londoners feel that they pay too much tax. When asked if the amount of tax they and their families pay is too high, too low, or about right, 62 per cent said they pay too much, 28 per cent said that the amount that they pay was about right, and only 1 per cent said too low. Of ethnic minority groups in London, Indians were most likely to say that they pay too much tax (71 per cent) and Black Others were least likely (38 per cent). With taxpayers having recently been sent their new council tax bills - which in London include an 8.6 per cent increase in the Mayoral precept [16] - candidates for the Mayor of London and parliamentary candidates in the forthcoming general election need to be aware of greater scepticism about tax in the Capital.

Question: On balance, would you say that the amount of tax that you and your family pay is too high, too low or about right?



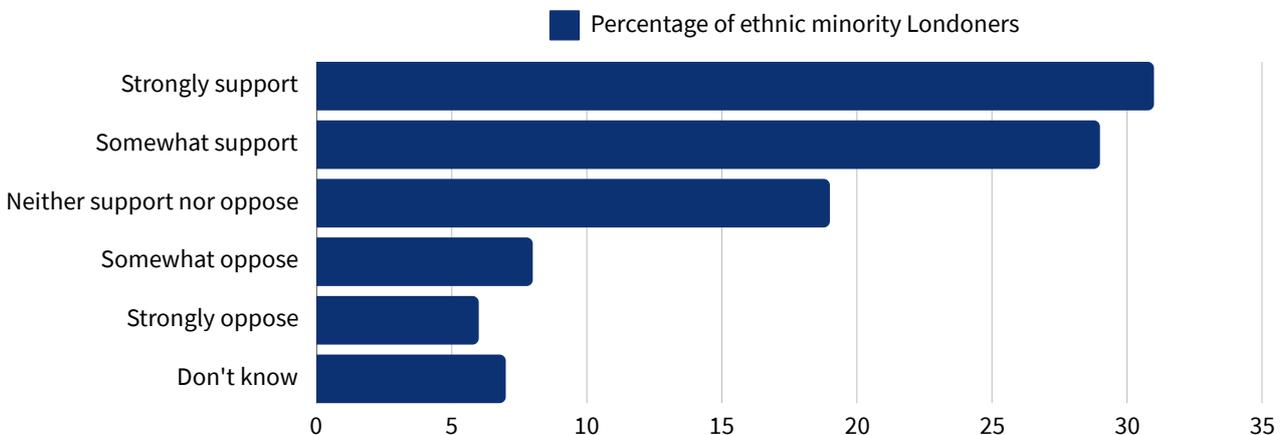
Labour enjoys the trust of more ethnic minority Londoners compared to the Conservatives when it comes to managing the economy. 37 per cent of Londoners say that they trust the Labour Party more, 19 per cent trust the Conservative Party, while 22 per cent of Londoners say 'none of the above'. Many political scientists argue that perceptions of economic competence play a major, and indeed often decisive, role in determining how people vote in western liberal democracies. [17] As such, these results will give more comfort to Sir Keir Starmer than Rishi Sunak, underlining the uphill challenge facing the Conservative Party.

Question: Who do you trust more to manage the British economy?

	Ethnic minority Londoners (percent)
The Labour Party	37
The Conservative Party	19
Other party	7
None of the above	22
Don't know	15

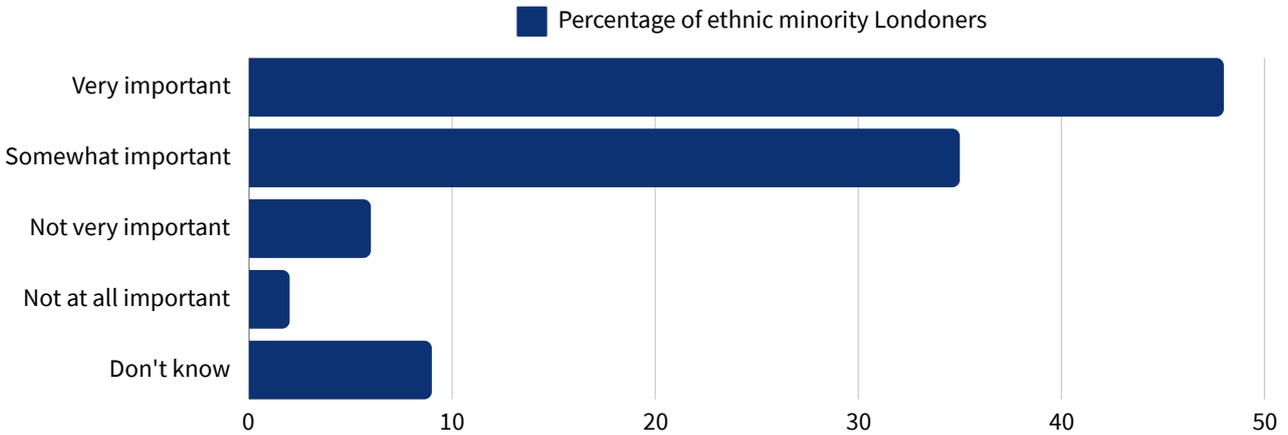
Meanwhile, 60 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners either strongly or somewhat support the introduction of a 'wealth tax', an additional tax levied on the capital and assets of the richest 1 per cent of the UK population, with 14 per cent either somewhat or strongly opposing that proposed measure.

Question: To what extent do you support or oppose the introduction of a 'wealth tax' e.g. an additional tax levied on the capital and assets of the richest 1% of the UK population?



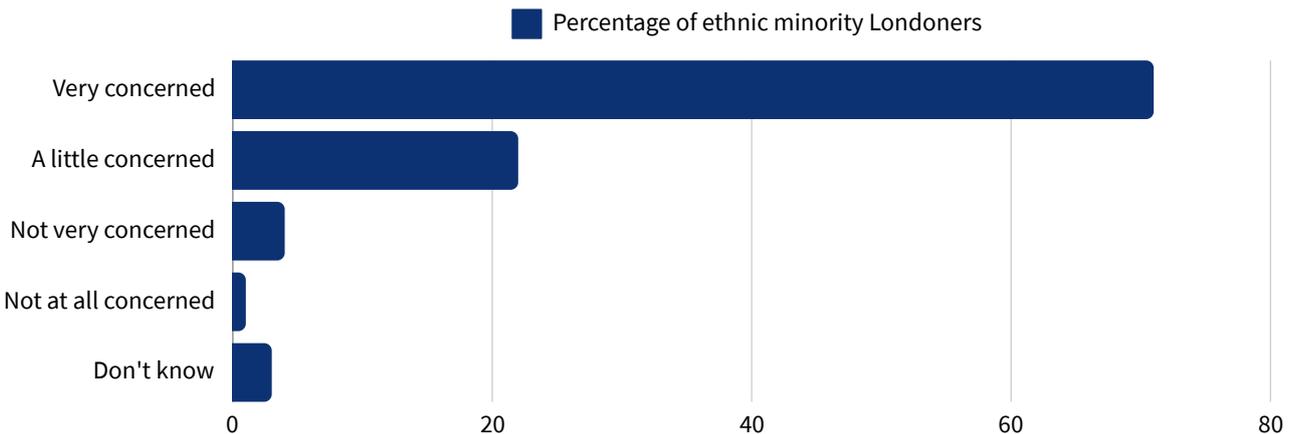
Overall, ethnic minority Londoners believe it is important that governments balance the budget: 83 per cent say that is either very or somewhat important to them.

Question: How important, if at all, would you say it is that governments balance the budget?

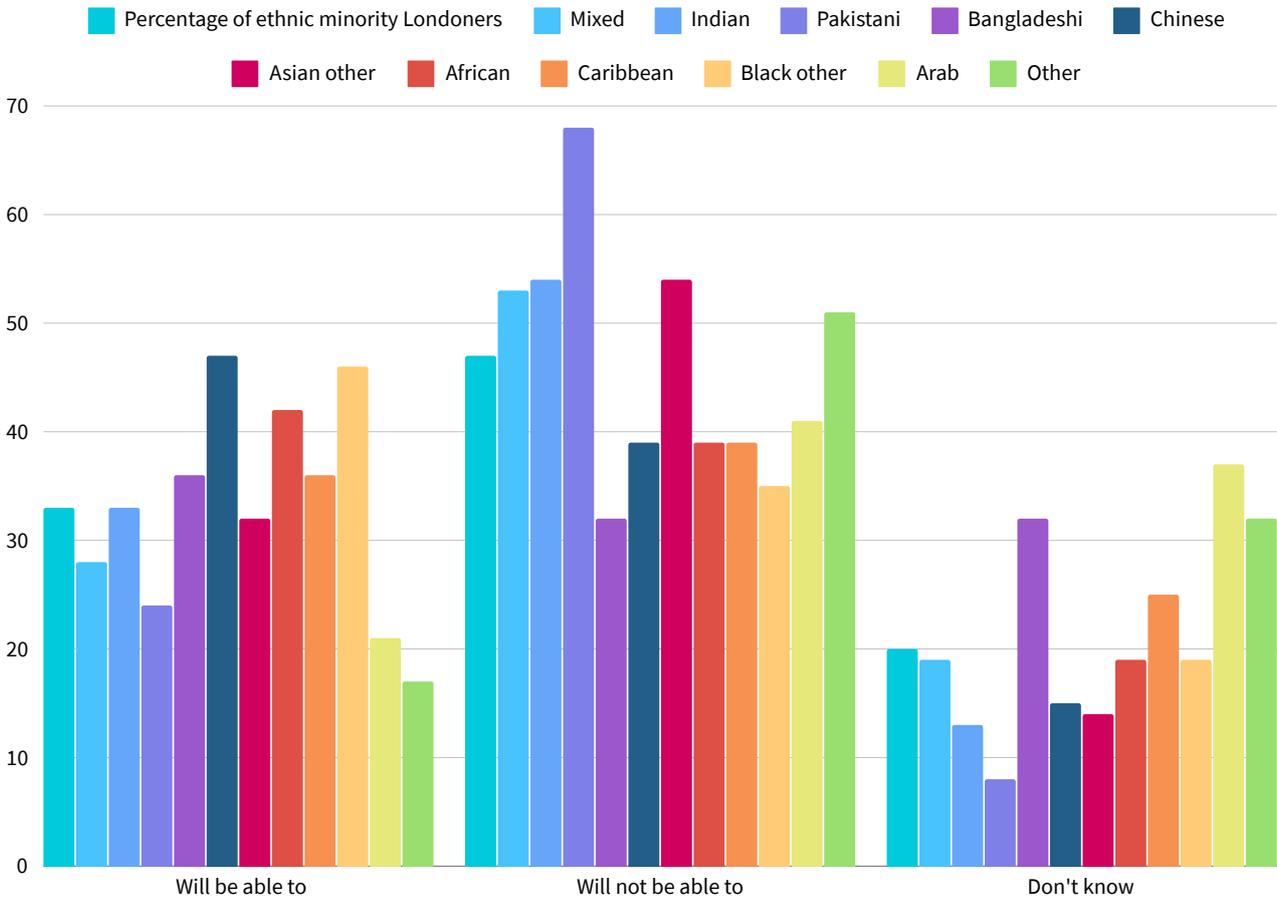


The rising cost of living is a major concern for ethnic minority Londoners. Only 5 per cent say that they are not very concerned or not concerned at all; 71 per cent saying they are very concerned and 22 per cent a little concerned. This high level of concern is common among Londoners of different ethnic backgrounds. Overall, 47 per cent of Londoners say that they feel they will not be able to afford to maintain the 'same lifestyle' over the year ahead. 33 per cent say that they will be able to maintain the same lifestyle, and 20 per cent don't know. Pakistani Londoners are more pessimistic than the average ethnic minority Londoner, with 68 per cent saying that they will not be able to maintain the same lifestyle.

Question: How concerned, if at all, are you by the rising cost of living?



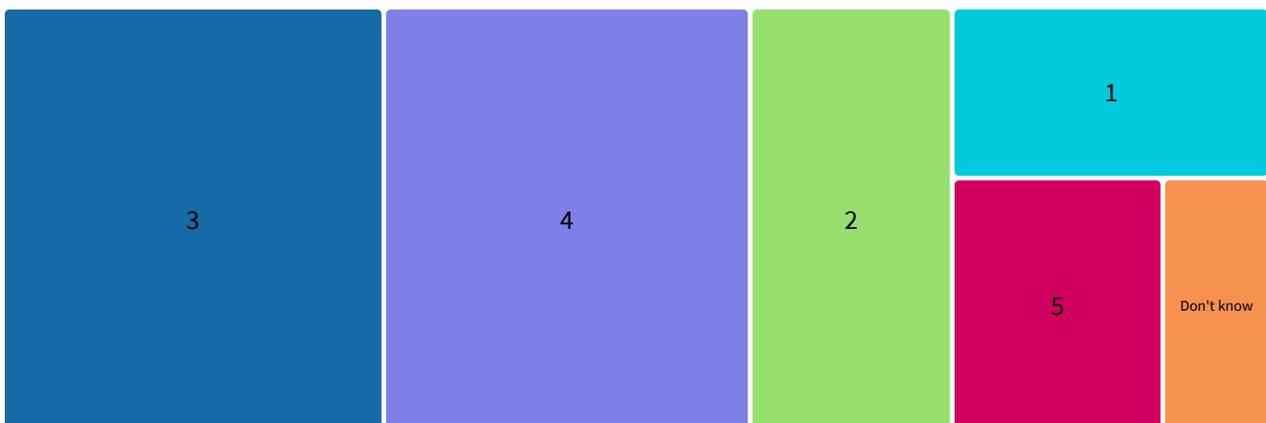
Question: Do you feel you will be able to afford to maintain the same lifestyle over the next year, or not?



People rate their local NHS services highly

When asked to rate the performance of their local NHS services on a scale of 1 to 5 (5 being excellent, and 1 being very poor), 39 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that they would give either full scores or 4 out of 5. 30 percent give a middle rating of 3; while 26 per cent rate their services either 1 or 2. African and Black Other Londoners rated their local NHS services the highest out of all ethnic minority groups with 49 per cent of Africans and 52 per cent of Black Other respondents rating their services either 4 or 5.

Question: How would you rate the performance of your local NHS services (1-5, 5 being excellent and 1 being very poor)?

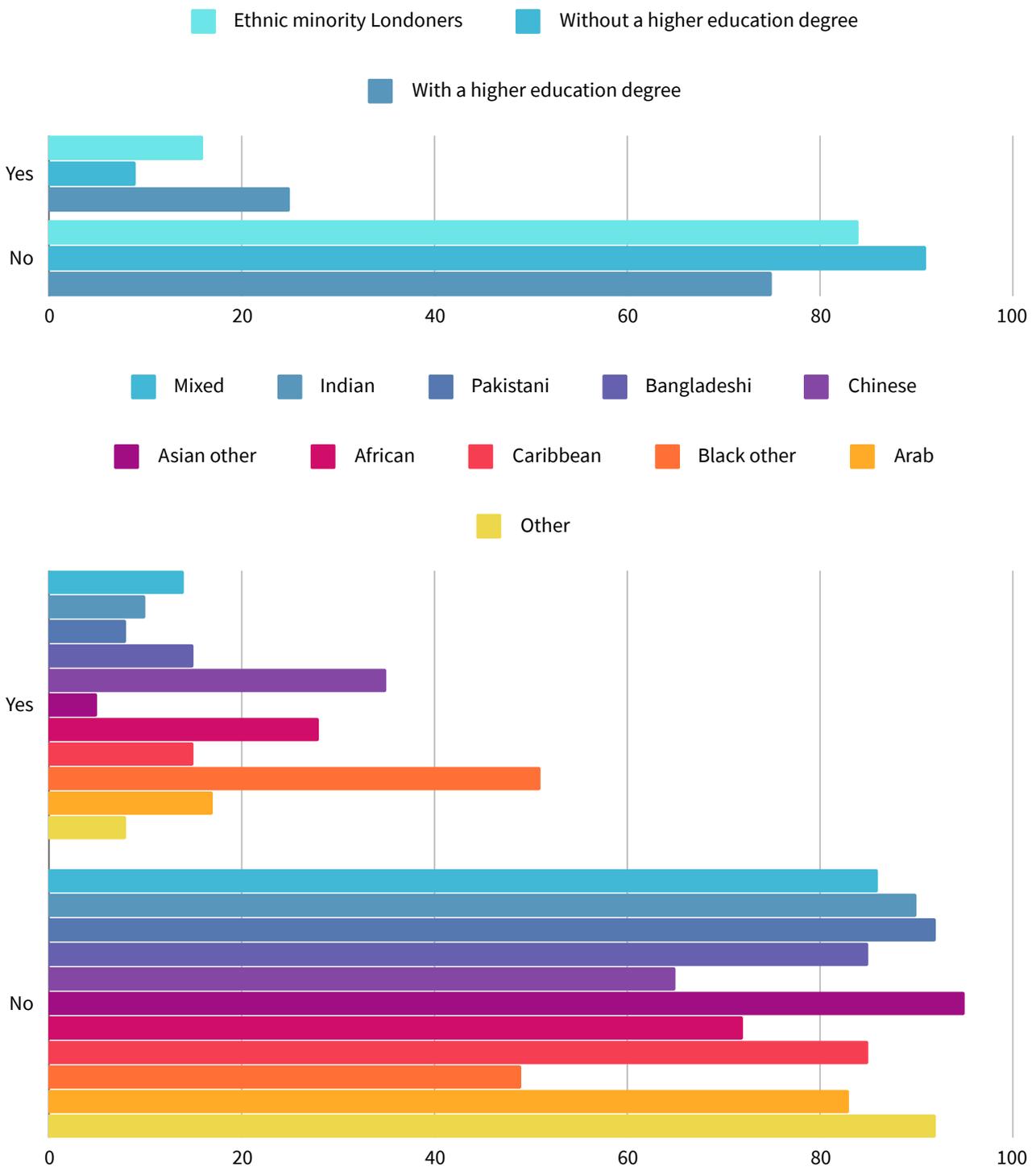


Education as a sign of success

Overall, 18 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners report that they attended private school. There are important differences between ethnic minority groups, with 29 per cent of Pakistani Londoners, 23 per cent of Chinese Londoners and 25 per cent of African Londoners saying that they attended private school. A survey conducted by Censurwide for Tutorful found that 33 per cent of all Londoners have attended private school. [18]

16 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners surveyed send their children to private school. For those with a higher education, 25 per cent of their children attend private school. 35 per cent of all Chinese Londoners and 28 per cent of all African Londoners have chosen private education for their children.

Question: Did or does your child(ren) attend private school?



46 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners support Labour's idea of levying Value Added Tax on private school fees to invest in the state education system. 17 per cent oppose the idea. Opposition to the policy is stronger amongst Indian Londoners (22 per cent oppose), Chinese Londoners (27 per cent oppose) and Caribbean Londoners (21 per cent oppose).

When asked if they agree with the statement 'it is a sign of success to send your children to private school', 34 per cent of Londoners say they disagree; 29 per cent neither agree nor disagree; 33 per cent agree. There is little variation between different ethnic minority groups' responses to this question, apart from Chinese Londoners who are much less likely to agree with the statement: only 19 per cent do so.

57 per cent of Londoners say they attended university, with 41 per cent of survey respondents saying that their child(ren) now attend university.

38 per cent of Londoners either agree or strongly agree with the statement that 'getting a university degree is an essential sign of success in life'. 35 per cent of Londoners disagree; 27 per cent neither agree nor disagree. When the results are broken down by ethnicity, we can see that support for the statement is particularly strong amongst Indian Londoners (61 per cent), Pakistani Londoners (67 per cent), Bangladeshi Londoners (63 per cent), Chinese Londoners (43 per cent), Asian Other (45 per cent) and African Londoners (52 per cent).

Question: How far do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘Getting a university degree is an essential sign of success in life’?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
White British	14	22	24	24	16	0
White other	6	20	32	29	12	2
Mixed	6	23	35	22	14	0
Indian	23	38	22	13	4	0
Pakistani	26	39	26	8	1	0
Bangladeshi	24	39	20	11	2	4
Chinese	7	34	22	27	7	2
Asian other	11	34	30	19	7	0
African	20	32	27	13	8	0
Caribbean	8	18	32	17	26	0
Black other	3	29	35	9	7	18
Arab	18	26	29	16	12	0
Other	9	17	23	39	8	3

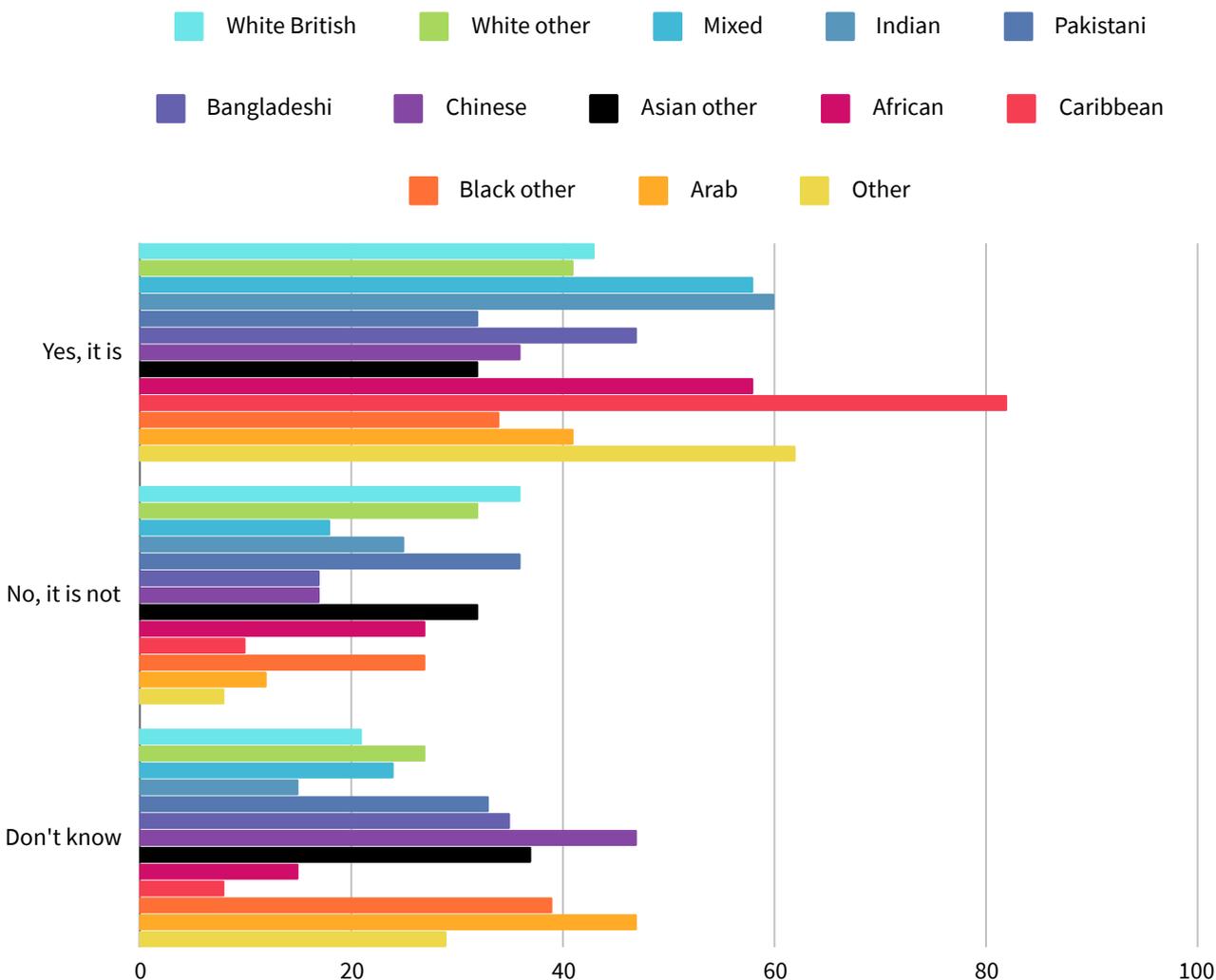
Higher Education changes social attitudes

64 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that studying at university changes an individual's attitudes and values; while 23 per cent believe that it does not change an individual's values; 13 per cent don't know. When we asked white Londoners the same question in October 2023, 66 per cent agreed with the statement, 15 per cent disagreed, and 18 per cent didn't know. [19] This means that results for ethnic minority Londoners are broadly in line with their white counterparts. The poll found that those with a higher education were more likely to believe that a person's values do change by attending university: 73 per cent of Londoners with a degree agree with the statement, compared to 57 per cent without a degree. 14 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners who think that higher education changes attitudes say that studying at university makes individuals more socially liberal; 6 per cent say that it makes a person more socially conservative.

The Metropolitan Police Service faces major challenges

Almost half (47 per cent) of Londoners say that the Police are institutionally racist; 29 per cent say that they are not; and 24 per cent don't know. Women (51 per cent) are more likely to say that the Police are institutionally racist than men (43 per cent). Caribbean Londoners are significantly more likely to say that the Police are institutionally racist than other ethnic groups. 82 per cent of Caribbean Londoners agreed with the statement, compared to 10 per cent who disagreed.

Question: Would you say the police force is or is not institutionally racist?



45 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners believe that the Police are institutionally sexist; 23 per cent say they are not; and 32 per cent don't know. More women than men agree with the statement. 49 per cent of female ethnic minority Londoners say that the Police are institutionally sexist, compared to 40 per cent of ethnic minority men. Caribbean Londoners are again most likely to say that the Police are institutionally sexist (75 per cent) compared to other ethnic minority groups in London.

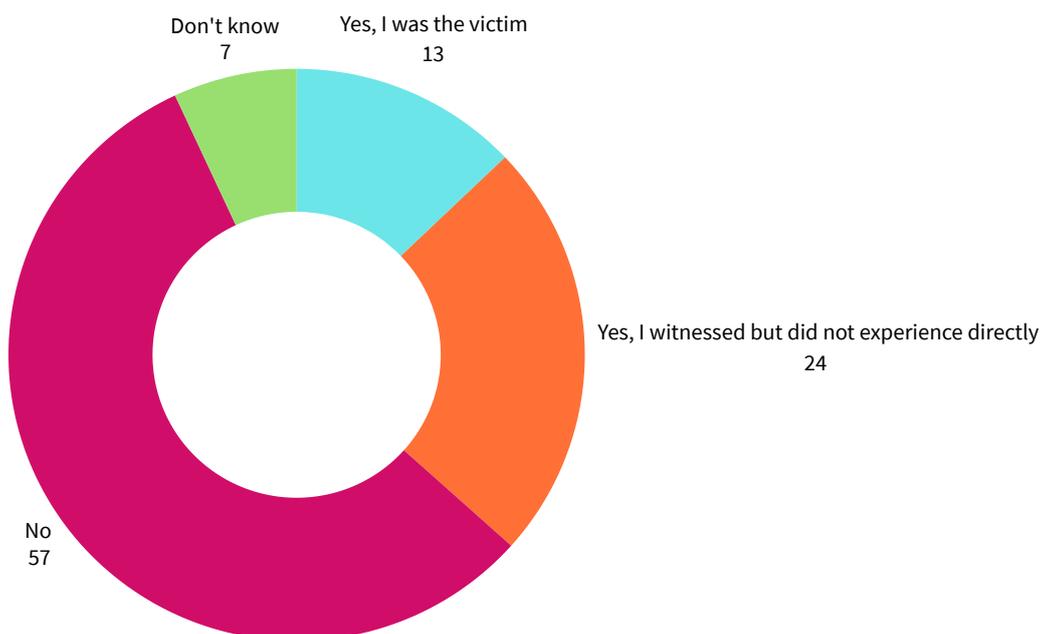
When asked if they trust the Police to protect their community from crime and disorder, only 15 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say they trust the Police a lot; 63 percent trust the police a little; and 18 percent do not trust the Police at all. The Met will have to work particularly hard to win the trust of the Caribbean community in London. 43 per cent of Caribbean Londoners do not trust the Police at all, double the percentage of those who identify as Black Other (21 per cent), Indian Londoners (21 per cent) and those of mixed heritage (18 per cent).

There are no easy answers for the Met on how to rebuild its relationship with the community it serves. When asked what would make them trust the Police more, 13 per cent of Londoners said that more male officers would make them trust the Police more; 17 per cent said it would make them trust the Police less. 62 per cent said it would make no difference to their levels of trust. 30 per cent of Londoners say that having more female officers in the Police would make them trust it more. 7 per cent would trust the Police less; 56 per cent said it would make no difference. 30 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners would trust the Police more if there were more officers from their own ethnic group. 6 per cent said they would trust the Police less; 52 per cent said it would make no difference. 27 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners would trust the Police more if it had more officers from other ethnic minority groups; 51 per cent believed it would make no difference. While the Met has committed to ensure that its officers better reflect London's diversity, our results show that this is not a catch-all solution; much more needs to be done to rebuild trust with Londoners.

Race relations remain a problem

13 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners were the victim of a racist incident in the last two years. A further 22 per cent witnessed a racist incident but did not experience it directly. 61 per cent did not experience or witness a racist incident in the last two years. 22 per cent of those in the Asian Other category were victims of racist incidents.

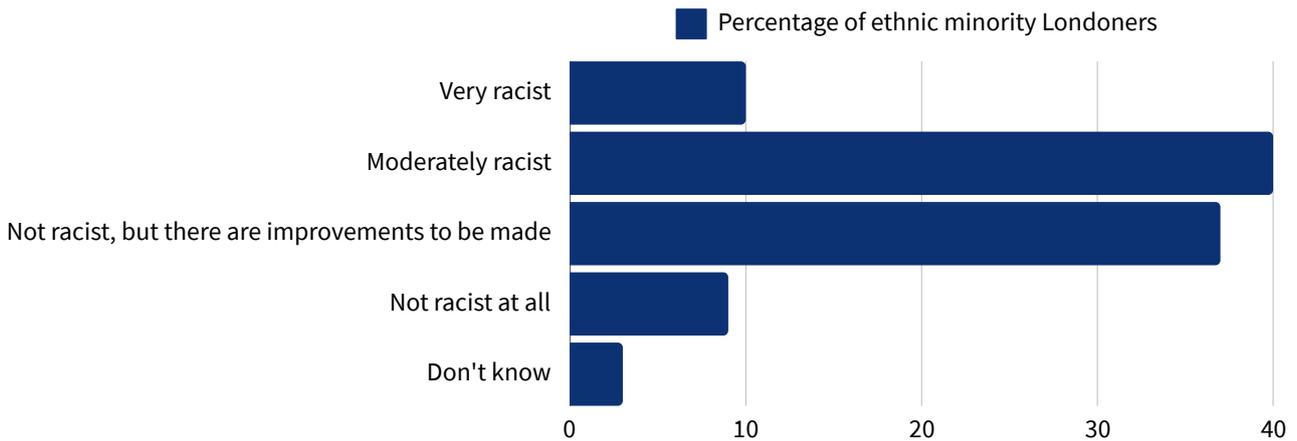
Question: Have you experienced or witnessed a racist incident in the past two years?



41 per cent of all Londoners surveyed said that they believe race relations in Britain will improve greatly or a little during this century. 23 per cent said that race relations will stay the same while 26 per cent said they will get a little or a lot worse.

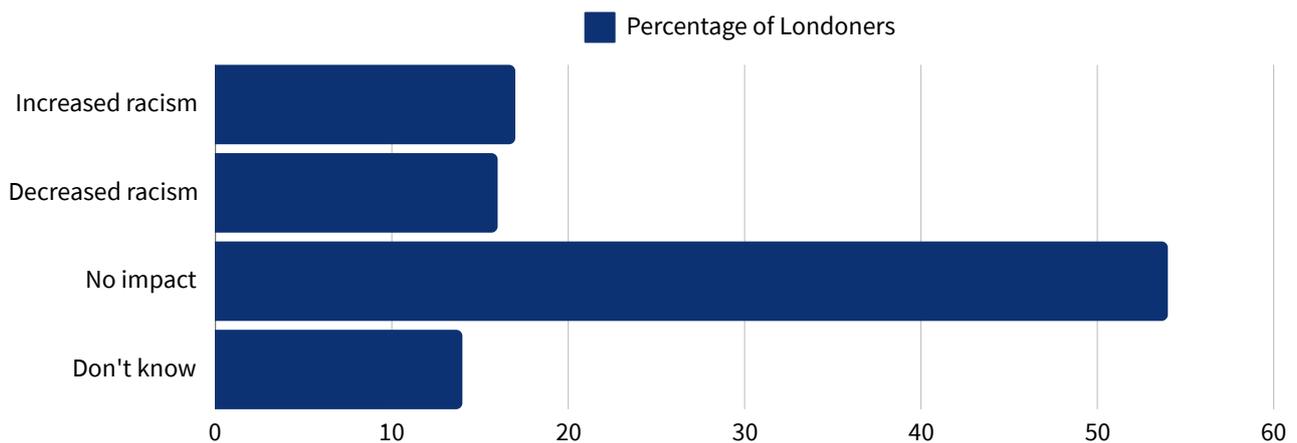
Half of all Londoners believe that the UK is very or moderately racist. 37 per cent say that it's not racist, but there are improvements to be made. 9 per cent say it is not racist at all. 64 per cent of those of mixed heritage say that the UK is either very or moderately racist; 59 per cent of African Londoners and a massive 83 per cent of Caribbean Londoners say that the UK is very or moderately racist.

Question: Would you say that as a country, the UK is ...?



Most Londoners believe that having a British Asian Prime Minister has had no impact on racism in the UK.

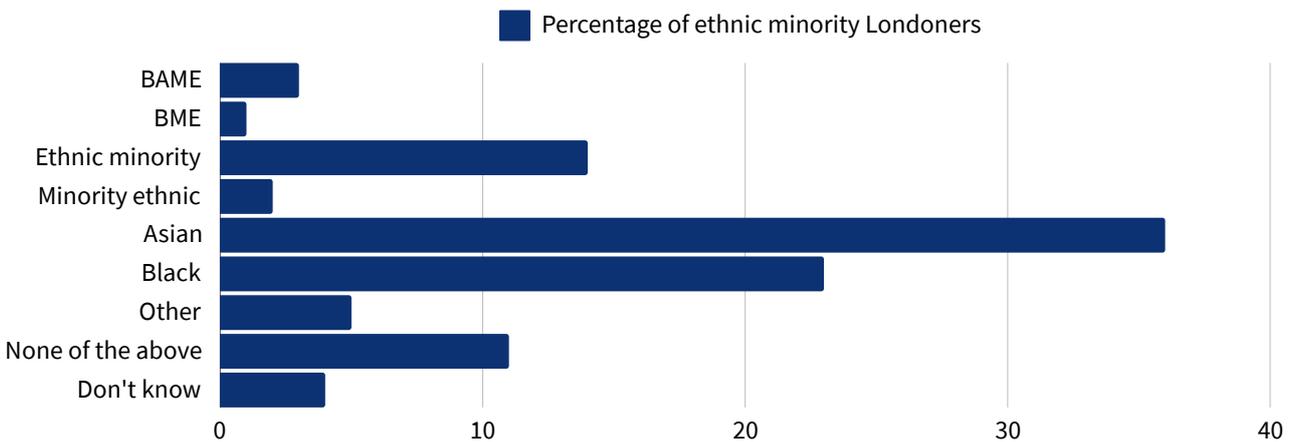
Question: What impact, if any, do you think having a British Asian prime minister has had on racism in the UK?



68 per cent of all Londoners say that the ethnic background of a political candidate has no effect on whether they would vote for the candidate. 22 per cent said that it would make them more likely to vote for the candidate; 3 per cent said less likely.

Very few (3 per cent) ethnic minority Londoners identify with the term ‘BAME’; only 1 per cent identify with BME. 14 per cent identify with ‘ethnic minority’. The most popular terms are ‘Asian’ (36 per cent) and ‘Black’ (23 per cent).

Question: Which term do you identify most with?



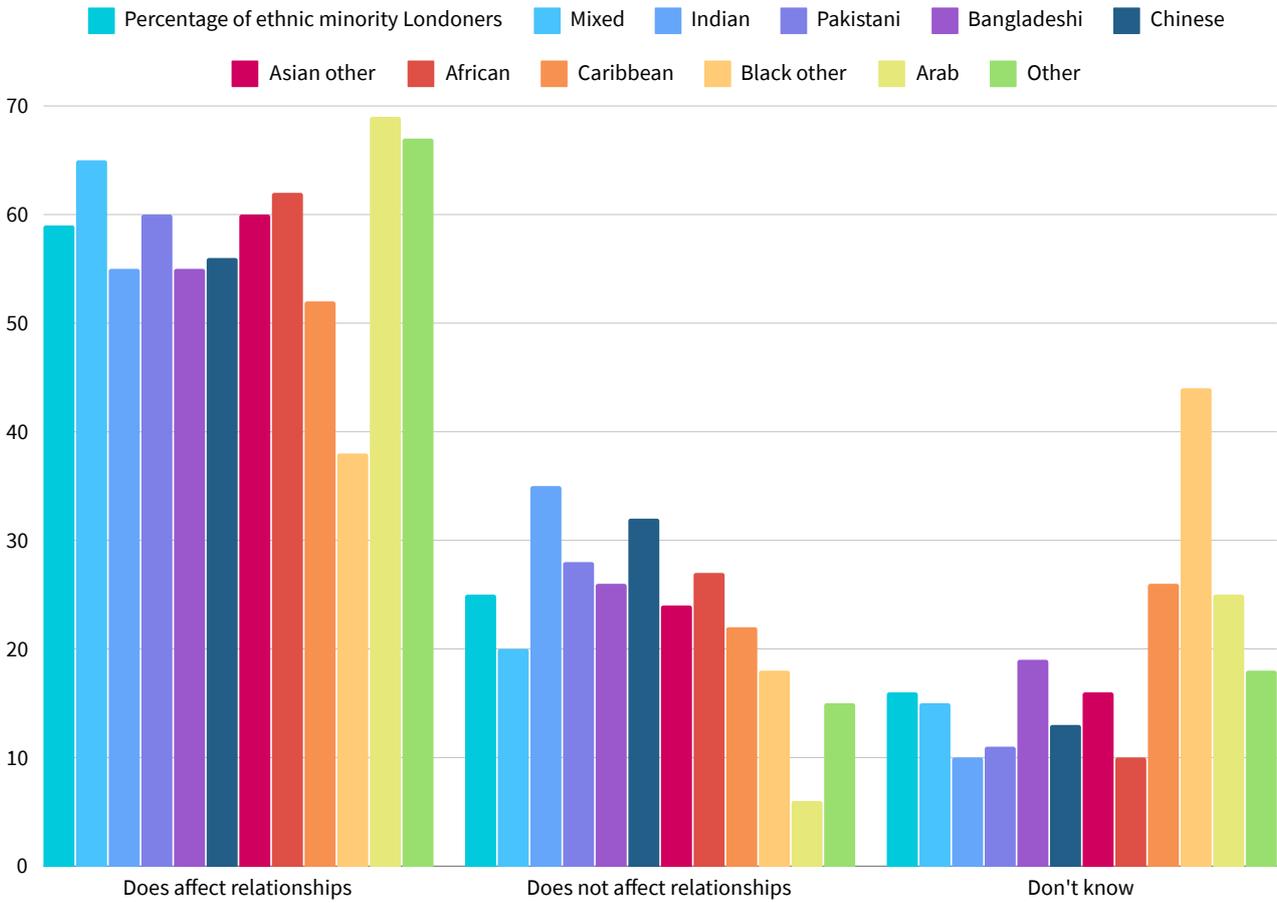
50 per cent of Londoners say that their friends are a mixed group of different ethnicities. 32 per cent say that their friends are mainly from the same ethnic background; 19 per cent say that their friends are of a different ethnic background to themselves, confounding the argument that we are a country ‘sleepwalking to segregation’.

Neither the Labour Party nor the Conservative Party are seen as the party of ethnic minorities, although Labour traditionally has a more positive reputation amongst these groups than the Conservatives. 31 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that the Labour Party is the party of ethnic minorities; 35 per cent neither agree nor disagree; 21 per cent disagree. 11 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that the Conservative Party is the party of ethnic minorities; 30 per cent neither agree nor disagree; 47 per cent disagree.

International events have a local impact

More than half (59 per cent) of ethnic minority Londoners say that international events (such as wars in other countries) affect relationships between people of different ethnicities in the UK. 25 per cent say that it does not affect relationships and 16 per cent say they do not know.

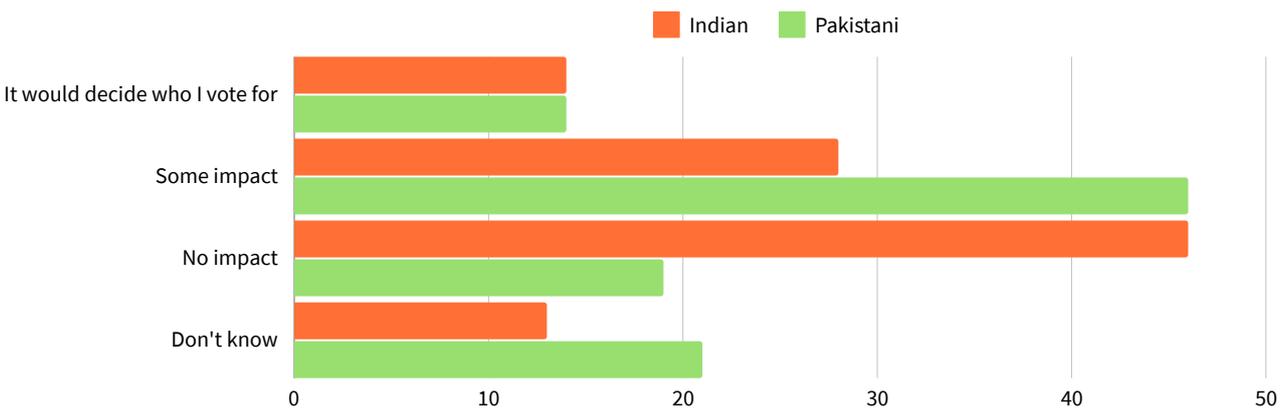
Question: Do you think international events (e.g. wars in other countries) affect relationships between people of different ethnicities in the UK, or not?



14 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that they have received propaganda or political messages via WhatsApp. 28 per cent of African Londoners said that they have received political messages via the app.

A party's position on the conflict in Kashmir is more important to Pakistani Londoners than Indian Londoners. 14 per cent of Indian Londoners said it would determine who they vote for; 28 per cent said it would have some impact, but so would other policies; and 46 per cent said it would have no impact. 14 per cent of Pakistani Londoners said that a party's position on the conflict in Kashmir will decide who they vote for; 46 per cent said it would have some impact; 19 per cent said it would not have any impact.

Question: To what extent, if at all, would a party's position on the conflict in Kashmir affect your voting preference at the next general election?



46 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners say that re-joining the EU as a full member is in Britain’s best interests. 19 per cent believe that re-entering the European Single Market without joining the EU is the best option. 17 per cent agree that the current withdrawal arrangements should continue.

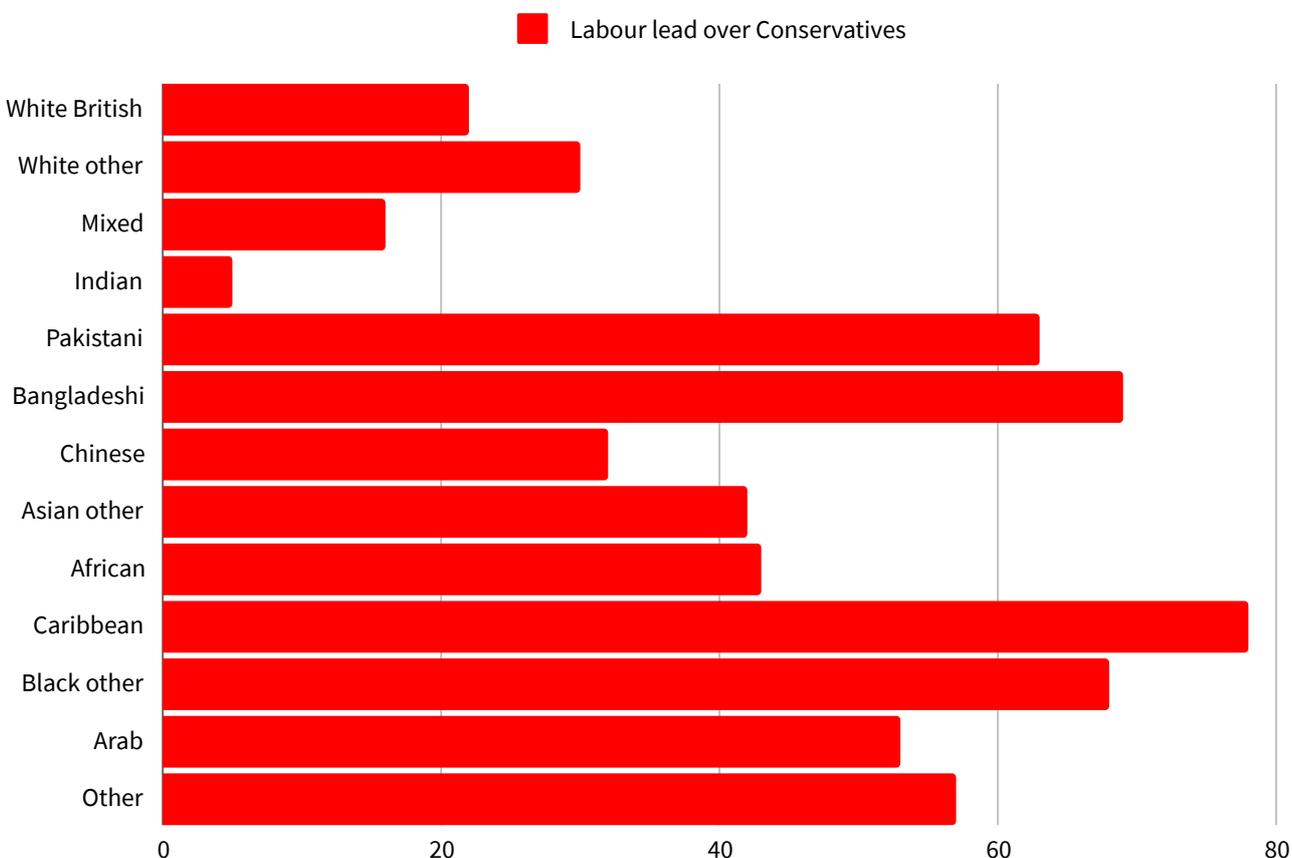
Labour is on track to win big in London in a general election

Labour has a 30-point lead amongst Londoners, with 52 per cent of adults in the capital staying that they will vote Labour in a general election tomorrow compared to 22 per cent favouring the Conservatives. Among 18–24 year-olds, Labour leads 66 per cent to 11 per cent, with only the 65+ age group supporting the Conservatives over the opposition (by 39 to 34 points).

Geographically, the Labour Party maintains a strong lead in both inner and outer London.

The voting intentions of ethnic minority Londoners are, not surprisingly, extremely diverse. Most ethnic minority communities in London currently favour Labour by huge margins. Those of mixed heritage support Labour over the Conservatives by 40 to 24 points; Pakistanis by 66 to 3 points; Bangladeshis by 73 to 4 points; Chinese people by 59 to 27 points; Asian Other by 55 to 18 points; Africans by 64 to 21 points; people from the Caribbean by 83 to 5 points; Black Other by 71 to 3 points; and Arabs by 53 to 0 points. However, Indian Londoners are more evenly split, with Labour only having a five-point lead among that group. White British Londoners favour Labour by more points (47-25). These results show that comparing all ethnic minority groups against the white population can mask important divergences in voting intentions between different minority groups.

Question: Westminster voting intention



Looking ahead to the Mayoral Election on 2 May 2024, Sadiq Khan is currently on track to win a third term of office. Our poll has him leading his Conservative rival, Susan Hall, by 43 points to 26. In terms of demographics, the only voters our data shows Hall leads with are those aged 65 or over (52 to 21 points), those without a Higher Education qualification (35 to 33), and Indian Londoners (46 to 45).

Khan's likelihood of winning is striking when compared to levels of satisfaction with his Mayoralty amongst Londoners. Only 33 per cent of Londoners say that they are very or somewhat satisfied with the way he is doing his job; 23 per cent are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; and 41 per cent are somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. It might be pertinent for the Conservative Party to think about why it is unlikely to win the Mayoralty against Khan despite low levels of satisfaction among Londoners. People living in outer London are particularly dissatisfied with Khan: 46 per cent are either very or somewhat dissatisfied compared to 30 per cent in inner London. Caribbean Londoners (49 per cent) and Indian Londoners (47 per cent) are also more dissatisfied with the mayor. Pakistani Londoners are most satisfied with the mayor, with 59 per cent saying they are either very or somewhat satisfied with his performance.

Londoners are 'Dissatisfied' with Rishi Sunak's premiership

When asked whether they are generally satisfied or dissatisfied with Rishi Sunak's premiership, 26 per cent of ethnic minority Londoners said they were either very or somewhat satisfied; 20 said neither; and 48 per cent said they were either somewhat or very dissatisfied. White British people are more likely to be dissatisfied than satisfied with 56 per cent saying that they are either somewhat or very dissatisfied compared to 26 per cent who are very or somewhat satisfied. Indian voters are more satisfied than dissatisfied (47 to 38); Pakistanis are overwhelmingly dissatisfied (16 to 66); Bangladeshis are similarly dissatisfied (16 to 57); Chinese Londoners have more mixed views (33 to 50); Africans are more satisfied (38 to 34); Caribbean Londoners are overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the Prime Minister (9 to 54); and Arab Londoners are also overwhelmingly dissatisfied (9 to 64).

CONCLUSION

Our research confirms the fundamental argument that not all ethnic minority people have the same experiences or think the same way. Conflating different ethnic groups into a single 'BAME' category risks masking important differences between groups. Polling minority populations enables us to better understand emerging social and economic problems, alongside changing political attitudes. Surveying ethnic minority groups in greater detail enables us to gauge differences in perception and opinion, and what may be driving that.

Our polling on the effect of international events on ethnic minority Londoners' opinions demonstrates the impact that war and ethnic and religious tensions can have across continents. This is not a new phenomenon. It is important for political parties to consider the impact that the recent conflict in Gaza and Britain's role in supplying arms to Israel will have on the result of the next general election.

The research also underlines that ethnic minority voters will continue to have a decisive impact on electoral outcomes in London, not least because London is the most diverse city in the UK. It is clear that political parties ignore ethnic minority communities at their peril. Moreover, political parties will suffer at the ballot box if they homogenise the experience of ethnic minority groups. The evidence suggests that different groups have fundamentally different views about major policy questions, and their perceptions of society and the international context also vary enormously. The major parties have to strive to better understand London and the UK in all their complexity and diversity.

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