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MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN THE TIME OF COVID AND PROTEST
A STUDY OF BAME OPINION

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INTRODUCTION

The past few months have brought questions of race relations and racism in British society to the fore. The Black Lives Matter movement swept Britain following the police killing of George Floyd, an African-American man, in Minneapolis, while the disproportionate impact of the coronavirus outbreak on BAME communities has highlighted long-standing racial inequalities.

In June the Prime Minister announced a new cross-party Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, to look at "all aspects of inequality – in employment, in health outcomes, in academic and all other walks of life".

Yet this announcement immediately came under criticism. Former Tory party chair Lady Warsi said she feared the commission would will result in a "whitewash" that may simply search out "the answer that they want to hear: there's no such thing as racism". Warsi's comments have centred on the controversial appointment of Munira Mirza to the commission, head of the No 10 policy unit who has been critical of previous inquiries into racism, once saying that "the more we seek to measure racism, the more it seems to grow".

Indeed, the issues of systemic racism or discrimination in social and political institutions raised by the BLM movement risk being overlooked. HOPE not hate charitable trust polling has found that although much of the British public is ready for a more progressive debate on racism in the UK, for most understandings of racism continue to centre on a racism of intent: a binary of "racist" or "not racist". There is a gap in understanding where people are confronted with racism but don't see intent.

In response, HOPE not hate charitable trust have commissioned a major survey on BAME opinion looking at a range of social issues from the BLM anti-racism protests, historical racism, Covid-19, intercommunity relations and more.

While there is a very public debate about the usefulness of the administrative term BAME, the findings of this report speak to both sides of the issue. By specifically sampling 'BAME' individuals, our survey was unique in giving us a large enough sample within which to examine differences in opinion between communities, generations and origins. Though the smaller sizes involved at this level of analysis warrant a level of caution, we found both a sense of solidarity and unanimity on key issues of experience, but accompanied by a greater diversity of opinion on scale, solutions and meaning.

We find that there are shared experiences and perspectives that come from being an ethnic minority in the UK that are useful to understand as universal issues, but also that variations, and sometimes competing interests, mean that solutions will require a more detailed understanding.

The shared experiences of being a minority fostered a mutual empathy and solidarity in the face of problems common to all, and there was a broad desire for both greater fairness and equality and a recognition of the contributions that BAME communities have made to the UK and the disadvantages they are subject to.

A key trend to emerge from the data was a clear sense of realism, pragmatism and sympathetic understanding that is often not reflected in media and internet debate – as is so much the case these days.

Whilst people felt inter-community relations were generally good and feelings to other minorities broadly positive, they knew there were frictions that needed examining, whilst people had serious concerns about the police most didn't think the majority of police were racist, many thought the statue debate a politically correct distraction and our respondents were evenly split as to whether a historical figure's views on race should invalidate their other achievements.

As a society we must listen when voices within communities tell us, especially when they tell us in a unified voice, about how race or religion shapes how they are treated. But we should not assume that means that everyone is agreed on how to respond, nor overlook those who may disagree.

Our report finds differences in opinion between ethnicities, heritage backgrounds and religion but also between generations, those born abroad and the UK born. In addition, in many instances these variations are less clear delineations than broad likelihoods, reflecting a diversity of opinion in every strata of analysis.

This report finds very clear messages for policy makers and civil society – and for the commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities – on the impacts

of Covid-19, the scale of racism, policing and intercommunity relations but also offers a reassuringly strong foundation of optimism, community good will and empathy on which to build a shared and fairer future together.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Racism continues to shape the experiences of minority ethnic people in Britain today, but different groups and generations have had very different experiences, and as a result see the issues and solutions differently

- 36% of Black respondents list racism in their most important issues compared with 17% of mixed heritage respondents

- A majority (65%) say that we don't talk about race and racism enough, while 35% say we talk about race and racism too much.

- 72% of all respondents agree that Black and Asian people face discrimination in their everyday lives, only 9% disagree.

- Overall, more than half say they have witnessed or experienced racist comments being made in public, racism on social media, racism in the press or racial abuse in their day to day life over the last 12 months

- Racist violence is a feature of many young people's lives; only a third (35%) of 16-24s could say that they had not witnessed or experienced racist violence in the last 12 months compared with 75% of 55-64s and 80% of over 65s

- Just 15% of 16-24s could say they had not witnessed or experienced racism on social media

There is solidarity in support for the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, and many are hopeful that the BLM protests will see change in British society

- 73%, including 78% of Black respondents, say that they support the recent Black Lives Matter protests in the UK. Just 9% overall opposed them

- More than half (57%) of respondents are optimistic that the protests will lead to lasting improvements for ethnic minorities in Britain – 15% think they will not. Younger people are far more optimistic about the protests leading to long lasting change

- Most (64%) see their own concerns about racism are well reflected in the BLM protests, but there are significant differences here; just 54% of Indian and 53% of other Asian groups feel that their concerns are reflected compared with 76% of Black respondents. Just

53% of those not born in the UK see their own concerns about racism are well reflected

There is a generation gap in perceptions of racism, with older people more concerned about the far right and younger people more politicised by the BLM movement and more likely to see racism as systemic

- Older respondents are more concerned about the threat of the far right than younger respondents; 62% of over 65s see the far right as a threat compared to just 40% of 16-24s

- Younger BAME respondents were less likely to consider themselves 'British' or 'English'

- No age splits in feeling the police discriminate, but younger people far more likely to see this as systemic than older respondents; 81% of over 65s agree that the police as a whole are good, it is only a few individuals who are a problem compared to only 55% of 16-24s

There are also big differences in perceptions of those born in the UK and those born abroad, who are just as likely to have experienced racism, but less likely to see it as a systematic issue, and less likely to be critical about the government's response to the impact of coronavirus on BAME communities

- Those born outside the UK more optimistic (70%) and likely to feel happy with their lives so far (80%) than those born I the UK; 58% optimistic and 67% happy with their lives so far

- Those born outside of the UK less likely (47%) to think that the government has not done enough to protect BME communities specifically from the threat of Covid-19 than those born in the UK (62%)

- Just 60% of those not born in the UK support the BLM protests compared to 80% born in the UK

There is political consensus on key issues among BAME voters, suggesting that BAME Conservative voters will not be brought into any 'culture war' narratives

- There is political consensus in support for the BLM protests; 63% of BAME Conservative voters and 79% of BAME Labour voters support the protests

- The majority (72%) agree that Black history, including topics such as migration, belonging and empire should be compulsory in schools. This cuts across political divides; 70% of Conservative voters and 75% of Labour voters agree with this. Only 6% of people disagree that it should not be

And many feel alienated from the political system

- Fewer than a third of respondents (29%) feel that people like them are well represented in political discussion. 41% think they are not

- BAME women among those least likely to feel represented; twice as many disagree (46%) as agree (23%) that people like them are well represented in political discussion, compared to 36% of men

- Only 25% of Black respondents and 20% of Chinese respondents agreed that people like me are well represented in political discussion.

There is widespread anger in the way that the government has handled the response to covid-19, which has disproportionately impacted BAME people

- 62% say The Government has not dealt with the Covid-19 pandemic well while 38% say The Government has dealt with the Covid-19 pandemic well

- Just 37% feel confident that the UK is fully prepared to deal with a second wave of Coronavirus. 40% say they are not.

- More than half (57%) of respondents say that the government has not done enough to protect BME communities specifically from the threat of Covid-19. Only 15% disagree with this

The impact of Covid-19 and lockdown has reinforced racial disparities

- Just 2% of Black respondents report having had coronavirus but 11% say they have lost a friend or colleague and 4% have lost someone from their family as a result of the pandemic

- Those in our BAME poll are twice as likely (13%)to report having had their hours reduced as those in our nationally representative polling from May[1] (7%) and more than our nationally representative sample from June[2] (9%) . They are also twice as likely to report having lost their job (7% compared to 4% nationally from May and 3% from June), to have struggled to pay rent (9% compared to 5% nationally from May and June) and to have gotten into debt (9% compared to 5% from May and 6% from June).

- 72% agreed (and 76% of Black respondents) that Ethnic minority communities have been most impacted by Covid-19; just 7% disagree

- 65% of Chinese respondents list covid-19 in their most important issues, compared to 47% overall and Chinese respondents are most pessimistic about the government's response to covid and for economic recovery

Religion plays major role in the lives of many BAME people, and while interfaith relations are generally good, we find some pockets of tension between religious groups

- 59% of BAME respondents think of themselves as religious; younger respondents more likely to see themselves as religious (61% of 16-24s and 65% of 25-34s) than older groups (54% of those aged 45-64 and 52% of those 65+)

- For more than a third of respondents (34%), their religion is the most important part of their identity, followed by their nationality (22%), their ethnicity (15%) and the country they were born in (12%). Religion was also seen to be a more important marker of identity by younger respondents; 38% of 16-24s said this was the most important part of their identity compared to 19% of over 65s

- 'Interfaith relations are generally good, with a majority sharing positive views of others from different religious groups, but Muslims are seen more negatively overall (15% have a negative view) and there are pockets of tension between some religious groups.

- Tensions between religious groups are reflected in in how respondents perceived threats of religious fundamentalism; Muslims were most likely to see Jewish or Hindu extremism as a threat, while Hindus were most likely to perceive Muslim fundamentalism as a threat

- 60% of Muslims said their religion was the most important part of their identity compared to 29% of Hindus, 29% of Jews, 38% of Sikhs, 35% of Christians and 12% of Buddhists

Anti-Muslim prejudice shapes the experiences and perceptions of community relations

- Muslims are 3 times more likely (21%) than those with no religion (7%) to say they had experienced racist violence

- The vast majority (82%) reject an association of Muslim communities in Britain with Islamist terrorism, though some religious and national groups had a notable minority that did think terror reflected a wider Muslim hostility to Britain.

- Twice as many people agree (40%) as disagree (21%) that there is more tension between Britain's different minority communities than there is between white and non-white communities

CONFIDENCE, RESILIENCE AND OPTIMISM

It would be an understatement to say that 2020 has not been the best year for most Britons. A global pandemic has opened up great uncertainty for the future with high likelihood of a recession, on a scale most of us have not seen in our lifetimes, as we adapt to the 'new normal'.

HOPE not hate polling has long tracked levels of optimism and pessimism, as a key marker for the mood of the country, and an indicator of individuals' broader outlooks. Economic recovery between 2011 and 2016 saw levels of optimism rise gradually, while the EU referendum saw a shift in levels of optimism, with those who had once been most pessimistic feeling optimistic that Brexit would change their luck. Once optimists, more likely to be economically comfortable and hold more liberal politics, became pessimistic about the impact of leaving the EU.

In our nationally representative poll, we saw overall optimism drop across the UK, with the proportion of those saying they were optimistic for the future falling from 59% in February, before the full scale of the coronavirus outbreak took hold of the UK, to 52% in June.

Yet our polling of BAME Britons finds that BAME groups are more confident for the future. 62% report feeling optimistic about the future, 38% are pessimistic.

But we see significant differences between ethnic groups; only 34% of Bangladeshi respondents are optimistic compared to 76% of Black respondents.

A majority (72%) feel happy with their lives so far. But Bangladeshi (42%) respondents among those most likely to feel disappointed with their life so far.

The relative pessimism of Bangladeshi respondents may reflect that economic and social inequalities are more significant for this group, who are also more likely to suffer under- or un-employment, while around 18% of Bangladeshi workers are paid below the National Minimum Wage, compared to only 3% of white workers.

Which of the following do you think are the most important issues facing you and your family at this time?

Legend: Total, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian (other), Black, Mixed, Other

Categories (top to bottom): Covid-19, The economy, Racism, Job security, Health, Britain leaving the EU, Discrimination, The environment, Education, Housing, Crime, Family life and childcare, Race relations, Poverty, Tax, Immigration & Asylum, Welfare benefits, Pensions, Defence and security, None of these, Don't know

Income data suggests a worsening of their economic position, and rising Bangladeshi child poverty[3].

Overall, a majority of BAME Britons (59%) thought that younger generations will have more opportunities than they had. Young people themselves were most optimistic, with 69% of 16-24 year olds believing the next generation will have greater opportunities. Black respondents were most optimistic about this (67%), but many in Britain's Asian communities felt less hopeful for the next generation with only 50% of Chinese and Pakistani respondents and 51% of Bangladeshi respondents feeling positive.

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES

While Covid-19 (47%) and the economy (33%) are the greatest issues of concern for most, Racism is listed in most important issues by 26% of all respondents, placing it above job security 925%), health (24%), Britain leaving the EU (16%), the environment (12%), education (10%) housing (10% and crime (10%).

Nonetheless, there are significant differences between different ethnic groups in what they consider to be the greatest issues facing them and their families. Notably, Black respondents are far more likely to list racism and discrimination among their greatest concerns than those from other backgrounds; 36% of Black respondents listed racism in their most important issues compared with 17% of mixed heritage respondents.

Younger people are also significantly more likely than older people to list racism as one of the biggest issues facing them and their families at this time; 36% of 16-24s report this in their most important issues compared to just 12% of over 65s.

Chinese respondents were most likely (65%) to list covid-19 in their most important issues, compared to 47% overall, suggesting the impact of anti-Chinese sentiment around the pandemic is having on their communities, or because of greater awareness of the pandemic due to diasporic links with China, where the coronavirus outbreak began.

Research from the Runnymede trust has shown how all BME groups are more likely to be in the lowest paid work, and to be living in poverty, with the child poverty rate for Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi families all more than twice that of white Britons[4]. 7% of all respondents, including 12% of Pakistani and 9% of Black respondents list poverty as their most important issues.

Barts strikers organised a demonstration and rally. Local community groups came out to support the strikers who had been striking for fair pay. Photo: War on Want

DIVERSE IDENTITIES

There is currently a very public debate about the usefulness of the administrative term BAME', with demands for greater recognition of the heterogeneity of ethnic minorities, which many feel is masked under the 'BAME' label, while the term fails to capture the complex reality of identities, and leaves out other groups facing marginalised and disadvantaged white ethnic minorities such as Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities[5]. While BAME is most commonly used as a policy term, a means of capturing data for ethnic minority groups, many have argued that the term overlooks the specific challenges and different experiences of ethnic minority individuals.

Which of these influences would you say is the most important to your identity?

Legend: Total, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian (other), Black, Mixed, Other
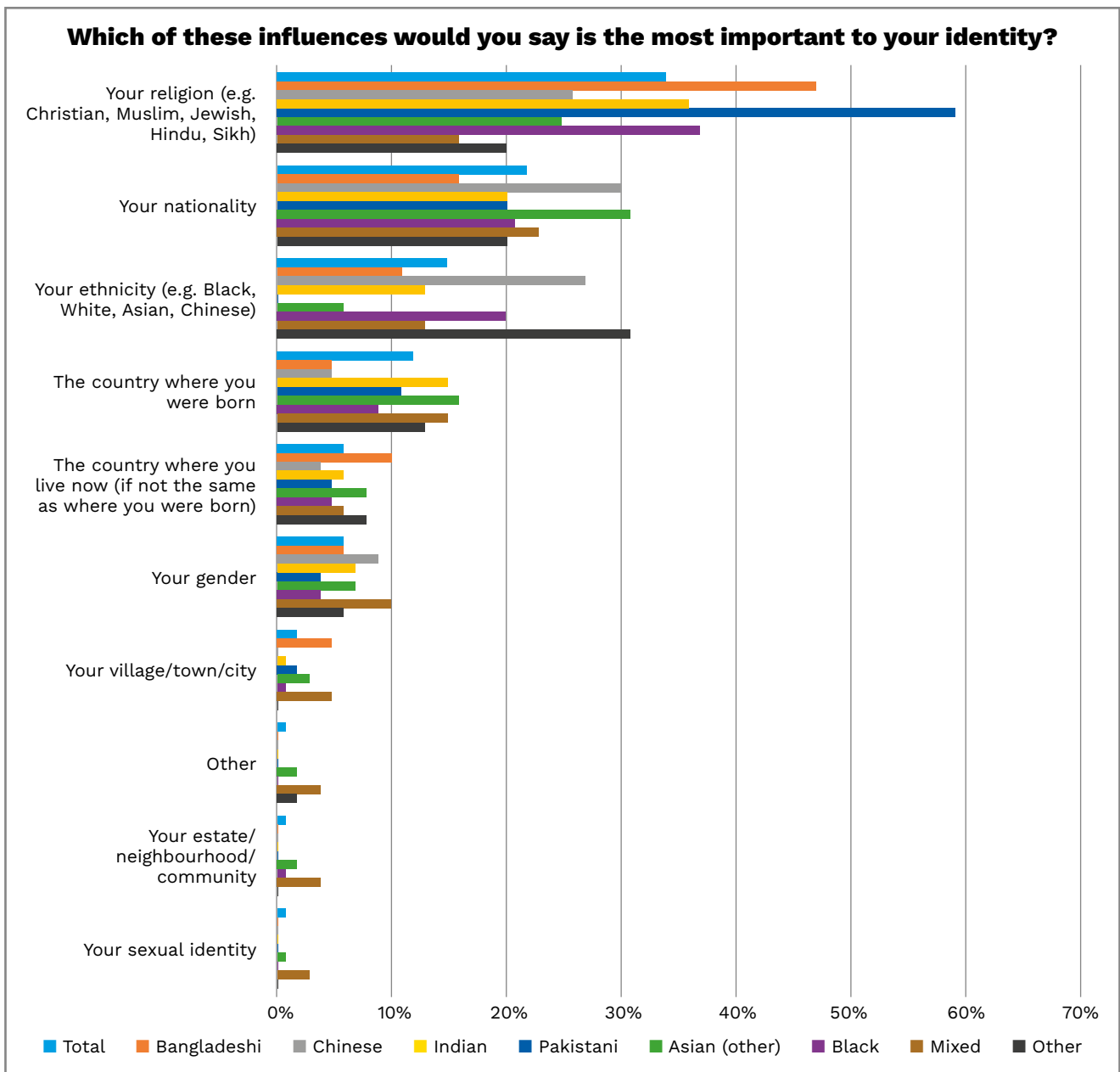
THIS SURVEY CHALLENGES MANY OF THE MYTHS OF 'BAME' HOMOGENEITY'

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This survey challenges many of the myths of 'BAME' homogeneity. While Britain's ethnic minorities are united in viewing racism as a major problem in the UK, they differ significantly on its scope and solutions. Their views are more nuanced and complex than those often presented in one-dimensional media debates. This survey is invaluable to helping end the odd practise of pretending Pentecostal British-Nigerians, Sikh British-Indians, and Muslim British-Pakistanis all somehow mesh together into one distinguishable collective simply because they are not white.

Whilst white-majority racism might be a great uniter, it is a short-lived one, and preferred responses towards it vary. A general concern with white-majority racism no doubt galvanizes broad ethnic minority support for anti-racism protests, but this does not necessarily mean that one minority group believes a protest dominated by another will necessarily resolve their own specific problems. The survey suggests black people are significantly more likely than all other ethnic minorities to consider racism a major problem, and black people certainly seem to feel particularly discriminated against in Britain and likely perceive an unspoken racial hierarchy in which they are positioned at the bottom.

Generational divides also manifest but in sometimes fascinating and unexpected ways, such as older respondents being significantly more concerned about the far right than the young. Despite the rise of right-wing populism featuring very prominently in media debates in recent years, Britain's young minorities seem generally unfazed by it. This perhaps reflects a belief that while racism remains a big problem, it is on the defensive while movements against it, such as BLM, have the momentum going forward.

This can be inferred from the fact three quarters of 16-24s think BLM's protests will lead to lasting improvements for Britain's ethnic minorities, compared to only around a third of over-65s. The older you are, the more protests and protest aftermaths you will have witnessed. Ethnic minorities with more life experience likely realize protests, however feisty, do not guarantee practical improvements in everyday life. What does is usually work done under the radar. Moreover, older minority Britons still remember the presence of skinheads on 1970s and 80s British streets in a way difficult for younger generations to imagine.

There are also noteworthy variations in perspective between British-born and foreign-born ethnic minorities, the latter being more likely to feel optimistic, less likely to think Britain's government failed to protect minority communities from Covid-19 and less overwhelmingly supportive of BLM protests. Some of these differences may reflect generational variances, since British-born minorities tend to be younger than those born abroad. However, it might also be partially explained by the fact those who grew up elsewhere deploy a frame of reference when assessing Britain's realities that is unavailable to British-borns.

As someone who grew up in Nigeria and then spent many years living in Poland, I am aware that when assessing how well Britain's government is doing on this or that social issue, I usually make comparisons to the realities of the other societies I know. A British-born ethnic minority who has never lived elsewhere is more likely to evaluate Britain's social realities against abstract ideal-type situations, rendering it likelier the UK falls short of expectations.

On an optimistic end note, and somewhat in contrast to popular media portrayals, black people, who are the most worried about racism, are simultaneously the most optimistic of all ethnic minorities about the future and 3 in 4 of Britain's ethnic minorities said the country's different ethnic groups generally get on well. The key now is to undertake every effort possible to nudge those positive figures in an upward direction while pushing downward the number of those who report racism as a factor in their everyday lives.
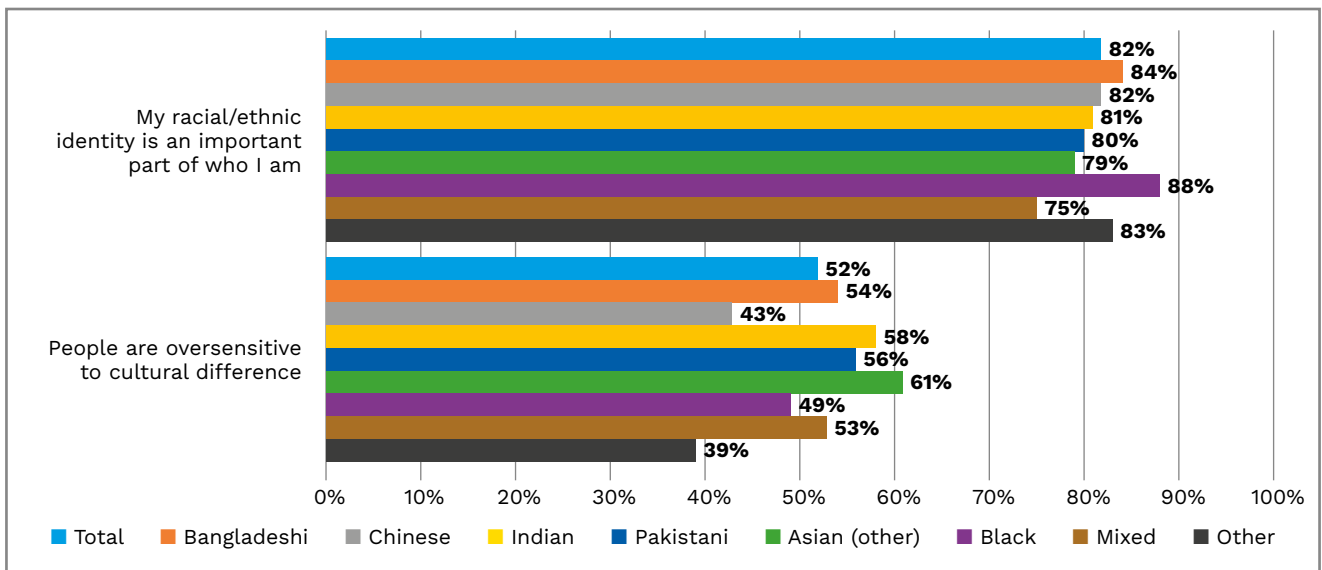
Indeed, the contentious use of the term raises a number of challenges. For instance, in carrying out the polling behind this report, we specifically sampled individuals under the 'BAME' banner, not only because is polling standard to do so, but this was the only way that we are able to poll representative samples of ethnic minority people from different backgrounds in order to ensure the heterogeneity of different groups was represented.

Our polling reveals some of the complexities of identity for ethnic minority individuals.

Overall, around twice as many BAME respondents describe themselves as British (46%) as Hyphenated British (e.g. Black British, Asian British, Muslim British). Younger BAME respondents were less likely to consider themselves 'British' or 'English'. 36% of 16-24s said they defined themselves as British, while 30% said Hyphenated British (e.g. Black British, Asian British, Muslim British). 64% of over 65s defined themselves as 'British' while 15% said Hyphenated British (e.g. Black British, Asian British, Muslim British).

Only 35% of Black respondents said they defined themselves as 'British' compared to 62% of mixed heritage respondents, 47% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi respondents, 43% of Indian respondents and 59% of Chinese respondents.

In Scotland, just 12% saw themselves as British, 29% saw themselves as Scottish and 26% described themselves as Hyphenated Scottish (e.g. Black Scottish, Asian Scottish, Muslim Scottish). But in Wales, 55% saw themselves as British, 18% as Welsh, but no respondents classed themselves as Hyphenated Welsh (e.g. Black Welsh, Asian Welsh, Muslim Welsh).

For more than a third of respondents (34%), their religion is the most important part of their identity, followed by their nationality (22%), their ethnicity (15%) and the country they were born in (12%). Respondents who were born in the UK were more likely (13%) than those born outside the UK (10%) to list the country where they were born as the most important part of their identity.

There were significant variations between ethnic groups as to what respondents saw to be important parts of their identity. Black (20%) and Chinese (27%) respondents were more likely to see ethnicity as the most important part of their identity, while Bangladeshi (47%) and Pakistani respondents (59%) were most likely to see religion as the most defining feature of their identity.

This is perhaps unsurprising as a majority (60%) of Muslims said their religion was the most important part of their identity compared to 29% of Hindus, 29% of Jews, 38% of Sikhs, 35% of Christians and 12% of Buddhists. Religion was also seen to be a more important marker of identity by younger respondents; 38% of 16-24s said this was the most important part of their identity compared to 19% of over 65s.

The strength of religion as a marker identity reflects that a majority (59%) of BAME respondents think of themselves as religious; younger respondents more likely to see themselves as religious (61% of 16-24s and 65% of 25-34s) than older groups (54% of those aged 45-64 and 52% of those 65+). This sits in contrast to data from the European social survey showing that younger people are more likely to reject religion, with 70% of 16-29 year olds identifying as non –religious[6].

An overwhelming majority (82%) of respondents see their racial/ethnic identity as an important part of who they are. Just 18% say it is not. Black respondents were most likely (88%) to say their racial/ethnic identity as an important part of who they are, as were female respondents (85% compared to 79% of male respondents) and

younger respondents (87% of 16-24s and 77% of over 65s).

At the same time, a significant proportion of respondents felt that people are oversensitive to cultural difference, a question which divided our poll. Just over half (53%) said that people are oversensitive to cultural difference while 48% said that people are not sensitive enough to cultural difference, with no notable age differences, though male respondents were 10% more likely to say that people are oversensitive to cultural difference (57%) than female respondents than female respondents (47%).

Respondents were split over questions of 'British values'; 52% said British values are in decline while 48% said British values are as strong as they ever were. Older people more likely to see British values in decline (58% of over 65s) but younger people were split 50:50 over the supposed decline of British values.

Responses were also split over the value placed on 'British culture', as 60% felt there is sufficient respect of British culture and traditions in society, but 40% felt that not enough respect is paid to British culture and traditions in society.

But these questions are subjective, instead based on what, exactly, people think constitutes British culture and British values. Most respondents held open views, with 83% overall in agreement that having a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures is part of British culture, while 17% think that having a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures has undermined British culture. This compares to 36% in our nationally representative poll[7] who thought that multiculturalism has undermined British culture.

COMMUNITY AND RACE RELATIONS

The Black Lives Matter movement has brought questions of racism in British society to the fore. At the same time, the disproportionate impact of the coronavirus outbreak on BAME communities has highlighted long-standing racial inequalities.

There is clearly desire among Britain's BAME communities to build on this to address racism that blights British society. A majority of our poll (65%) say that we don't talk about race and racism enough, while 35% say we talk about race and racism too much. Younger respondents are more likely to want to talk more about race and racism, though across all age groups a majority voiced a desire for more conversation.

Black respondents are most likely (73%) to say we don't talk about race and racism enough, while just over half (52%) of Indian respondents say the same. Younger respondents were also more likely to see more conversations about race and racism. A majority across all groups want to see the conversations sparked by the Black Lives matter movement take greater prominence in public discourse.

Our polling shows how racism shapes the experiences of BAME people in Britain today, though different groups and generations have had very different experiences, and as a result see the issues and solutions differently.

The vast majority (72%) of all respondents agree that Black and Asian people face discrimination in their everyday lives, only 9% disagree. This compares to 63% of white respondents who agreed in our nationally representative polling[8].

While our polling of BAME Britons revealed no significant differences between ethnic groups or age cohorts on this question, BAME women were more likely to agree that Black and Asian people face discrimination in their everyday lives (77%) than men (67%) reflecting the gendered elements of their experiences.

Overall, more than half of BAME Britons say they have witnessed or experienced racist comments being made in public, racism on social media, racism in the press or racial abuse in their day-to-day life over the last 12 months.

More than a quarter (26%) say they have witnessed and 18% say they have experienced racial discrimination from a public institution over the last 12 months.

A quarter (25%) say they have witnessed and 21% say they have experienced racial discrimination in the workplace over the last 12 months.

Staggeringly, 27% have witnessed and 17% have experienced racist violence while 23% have witnessed and 18% have experienced threats of

In your day-to-day life over the last 12 months, have you personally witnessed or experienced any of the following forms of racism or discrimination?

	I have witnessed this	I have experienced this	I have not witnessed or experienced this	Don't know
Racist violence	27	17	52	4
Threats of racist violence	23	18	56	4
Racial abuse	26	26	45	3
Racism in the press	39	18	36	8
Racism on social media	41	21	32	6
Racist comments being made in public	39	24	33	4
Racial discrimination in the workplace	25	21	48	6
Racial discrimination from a public institution	26	18	47	9

■ I have witnessed this   ■ I have experienced this   ■ I have not witnessed or experienced this   ■ Don't know

racist violence in the last 12 months.

We found significant generational divides in people's experiences of racism with racist violence a feature of many young people's lives; only a third (35%) of 16-24s could say that they had not witnessed or experienced racist violence in the last 12 months compared with 75% of 55-64s and 80% of over 65s. Just 15% of 16-24s could say they had not witnessed or experienced racism on social media.

We also found significantly different experiences between religious and ethnic groups. Muslims were 3 times more likely (21%) than those with no religion (7%) to say they had experienced racist violence. Bangladeshi respondents were most likely to report racist attacks, abuse or racist comments being made in public, while Indian, Pakistani, Black and Pakistani respondents were all more likely to report experience of racial discrimination in the workplace or from a public institution.

Nonetheless, our polling would suggest that racial abuse in the workplace cuts through the types of work people are employed in based on their education or skill level. A quarter (23%) of those with post-graduate degrees have experienced racism in the workplace, as have 24% with nursing qualifications, 29% with clerical and commercial qualifications, 19% with GCSE level qualifications and 17% with no formal qualifications.

Overall, we found optimism for community relations, as three quarters (76%) said that in

general the different ethnic groups that make up this country get on well while 24% felt that they do not. Black respondents were among the most pessimistic about relationships between different communities; 30% said that in general the different ethnic groups that make up this country do not get on well.

Nonetheless, this sits in contrast to pessimism about community relations that we have seen in nationally representative polling, where a majority (58%) felt that there was an increasing amount of tension between the different groups living in Britain[9].

And our polling would suggest that gloomy perceptions of community relations are at odds with a reality, where people of different backgrounds live well together. Around half (47%) of BAME Britons report having had a relationship with someone from a different religious or ethnic background within the last five years, but younger responders more likely to have done this (57% of respondents aged 25-34 and 43% of 16-24s). Pakistani respondents were least likely (35%) to say they had a relationship with someone from a different religious or ethnic background within the last five years while 66% of mixed race respondents said they had.

Yet twice as many people agree (40%) as disagree (21%) that there is more tension between Britain's different minority communities than there is between white and non-white communities. 39% were neutral on the question.

In your day-to-day life over the last 12 months, have you personally experienced any of the following forms of racism or discrimination?

Racist violence
- Total: 17%
- Bangladeshi: 22%
- Chinese: 13%
- Indian: 16%
- Pakistani: 17%
- Asian (other): 20%
- Black: 18%
- Mixed: 23%
- Other: 8%

Threats of racist violence
- Total: 18%
- Bangladeshi: 23%
- Chinese: 12%
- Indian: 15%
- Pakistani: 21%
- Asian (other): 13%
- Black: 19%
- Mixed: 22%
- Other: 13%

Racial abuse
- Total: 26%
- Bangladeshi: 32%
- Chinese: 15%
- Indian: 29%
- Pakistani: 26%
- Asian (other): 23%
- Black: 27%
- Mixed: 33%
- Other: 18%

Racism in the press
- Total: 18%
- Bangladeshi: 13%
- Chinese: 12%
- Indian: 18%
- Pakistani: 24%
- Asian (other): 17%
- Black: 19%
- Mixed: 21%
- Other: 11%

Racism on social media
- Total: 21%
- Bangladeshi: 20%
- Chinese: 20%
- Indian: 21%
- Pakistani: 29%
- Asian (other): 18%
- Black: 21%
- Mixed: 28%
- Other: 8%

Racist comments being made in public
- Total: 24%
- Bangladeshi: 34%
- Chinese: 25%
- Indian: 25%
- Pakistani: 28%
- Asian (other): 14%
- Black: 27%
- Mixed: 25%
- Other: 16%

Racial discrimination in the workplace
- Total: 21%
- Bangladeshi: 15%
- Chinese: 12%
- Indian: 25%
- Pakistani: 24%
- Asian (other): 21%
- Black: 22%
- Mixed: 22%
- Other: 16%

Racial discrimination from a public institution
- Total: 18%
- Bangladeshi: 18%
- Chinese: 12%
- Indian: 21%
- Pakistani: 20%
- Asian (other): 15%
- Black: 20%
- Mixed: 21%
- Other: 13%

Legend: Total, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian (other), Black, Mixed, Other

Interfaith relations are generally good, with a majority sharing positive views of others from different religious groups, but Muslims are seen slightly more negatively overall (15% have a negative view).

Despite this, we found pockets of tension among a minority of respondents.

31% of Buddhists and 29% of Hindus shared negative views of Muslims, while 20% of Muslims share a negative view of Hindus and 18% share a negative view of Jews. 17% of Christians and 18% of 'no religion' have a negative view of Muslims. 16% of people with no religion had a negative view of Christians.

However, 33% of Hindus and Buddhists had a positive view of Muslims, 45% of Muslims had a positive view of Jews and 41% had a positive view of Hindus – all larger than the negative views.

Although concerning pockets of antipathy are located in certain communities, for example 23% of Pakistani heritage respondents had negative views of Jews and Hindus, and 27% of Chinese and 24% of Asian Other and 21% of Indians had negative views of Muslims, they were often outweighed by positive views (except in the Chinese community where it was negative and positive were roughly equal).

82% say It is wrong to blame all Muslims for the actions of a violent minority, including 92% of Muslim respondents, above the nationally representative[10] figure of 76%. 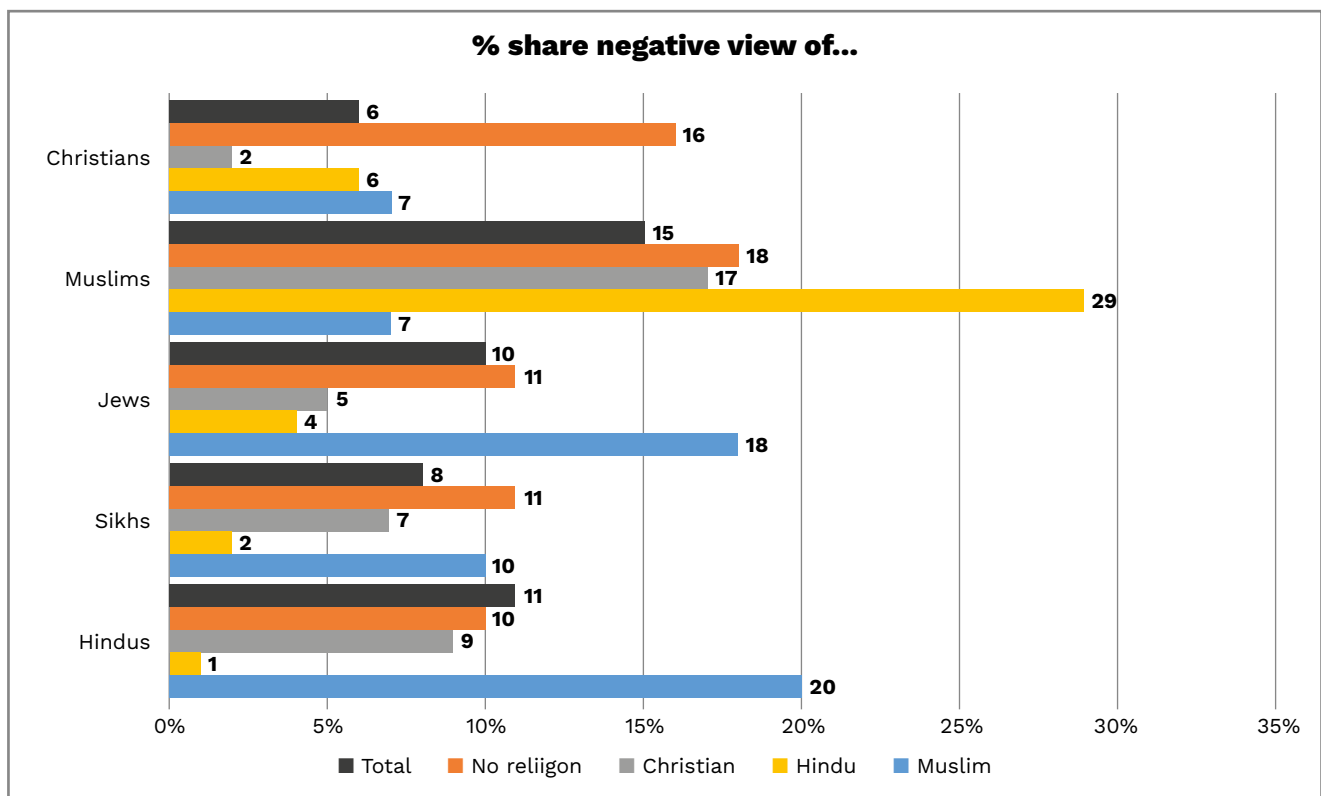Though Hindu respondents were twice as likely (38%) as the whole sample (18%) to say that Islamist terrorists reflect a widespread hostility to Britain amongst the Muslim community, a clear majority (62%) of Hindus rejected that view.
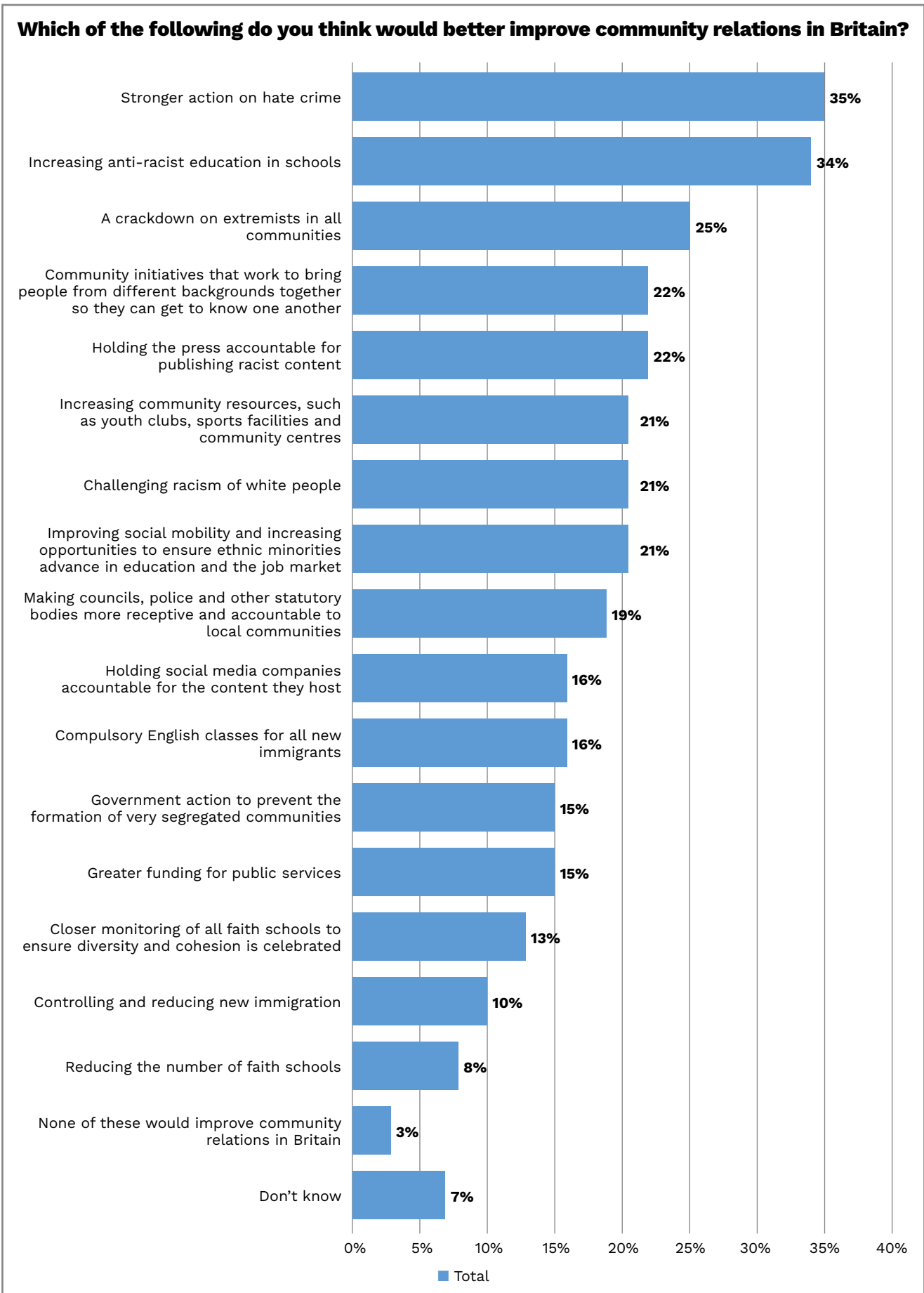
Again, though massively outweighed by those that reject this view, a notable minority of Chinese (30%) and Indian (27%) communities thought Islamist terrorism reflected widespread anti-British sentiment in the Muslim community. (73% of Indian and 70% of Chinese rejected this view.)

Tensions between religious groups was reflected in how they perceived threats of religious fundamentalism; Muslims were more likely to see Jewish or Hindu extremism as a threat (both 31%), while Hindus were more likely to perceive Muslim fundamentalism as a threat (56%). Roughly one in four in both Muslim and Hindu communities felt threatened by fundamentalism within their own faith.

Though overall, concerns about extremism were about the far right. Respondents were more likely to perceive the far right as a threat (49%) than the far left (29%), Christian fundamentalism (26%), Muslim fundamentalism (45%), Hindu fundamentalism (26%), Sikh fundamentalism (22%) or Jewish fundamentalism (24%). Both Conservative (47%) and Labour voters (52%) are as likely to see the far right as a threat, but Conservative voters were also likely to see the far left (45%) as a threat.

Older respondents are more concerned about the threat of the far right than younger respondents;

% share negative view of...

	Total	No reliigon	Christian	Hindu	Muslim
Christians	6	16	2	6	7
Muslims	15	18	17	29	7
Jews	10	11	5	4	18
Sikhs	8	11	7	2	10
Hindus	11	10	9	1	20

Which of the following do you think would better improve community relations in Britain?

Option	Total
Stronger action on hate crime	35%
Increasing anti-racist education in schools	34%
A crackdown on extremists in all communities	25%
Community initiatives that work to bring people from different backgrounds together so they can get to know one another	22%
Holding the press accountable for publishing racist content	22%
Increasing community resources, such as youth clubs, sports facilities and community centres	21%
Challenging racism of white people	21%
Improving social mobility and increasing opportunities to ensure ethnic minorities advance in education and the job market	21%
Making councils, police and other statutory bodies more receptive and accountable to local communities	19%
Holding social media companies accountable for the content they host	16%
Compulsory English classes for all new immigrants	16%
Government action to prevent the formation of very segregated communities	15%
Greater funding for public services	15%
Closer monitoring of all faith schools to ensure diversity and cohesion is celebrated	13%
Controlling and reducing new immigration	10%
Reducing the number of faith schools	8%
None of these would improve community relations in Britain	3%
Don't know	7%

■ Total

62% of over 65s see the far right as a threat compared to just 40% of 16-24s.

The vast majority (84%) said that overall, immigration into Britain has been a good thing for the country. 16% saw it as having a negative effect. Those born in the UK just as likely (83%) as those born outside the UK (84%) to say that immigration into Britain has been a good thing for the country. 16% of those born outside the UK and 17% of those born in the UK say it has been a bad thing.

And unlike in our nationally representative poll[11], there was little difference in how people across age groups saw immigration. Just 10% of BAME Britons over 65s said that on the whole, immigration into Britain has been a bad thing for the country, compared to 37% of over 65s in our nationally representative sample.

BAME Britons also differed from the nationally representative sample when asked how they feel community relations could be improved.

The most popular responses to improving community relations are those which address hostility and racism; stronger action on hate crime (35%), Increasing anti-racist education in schools (34%), A crackdown on extremists in all communities (25%), Community initiatives that work to bring people from different backgrounds together so they can get to know one another (22%), Holding the press accountable for publishing racist content (22%).

This differs from our nationally representative research where more people see the solutions in assimilationist approaches to integration.

BAME Conservative voters were less likely than BAME Labour voters to see initiatives to challenging racism as the best ways to improve community relations in favour of language classes for new migrants (24%) and controlling and reducing new migration (19%).

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

The 2019 general election saw big changes in the political makeup of Westminster, as many seats changed hands and the Conservative party took government with a majority of 80 seats, the party's largest Commons majority since 1987. The group of MPs elected were part of Britain's most diverse Parliament ever.

Nonetheless, the proportion of MPs from ethnic minorities remains lower than that of the UK's population as a whole. Around 10% of current MPs and around 6% of the house of Lords are from a BAME background, compared to around 14% of the UK population[12]. BAME women remain particularly underrepresented.
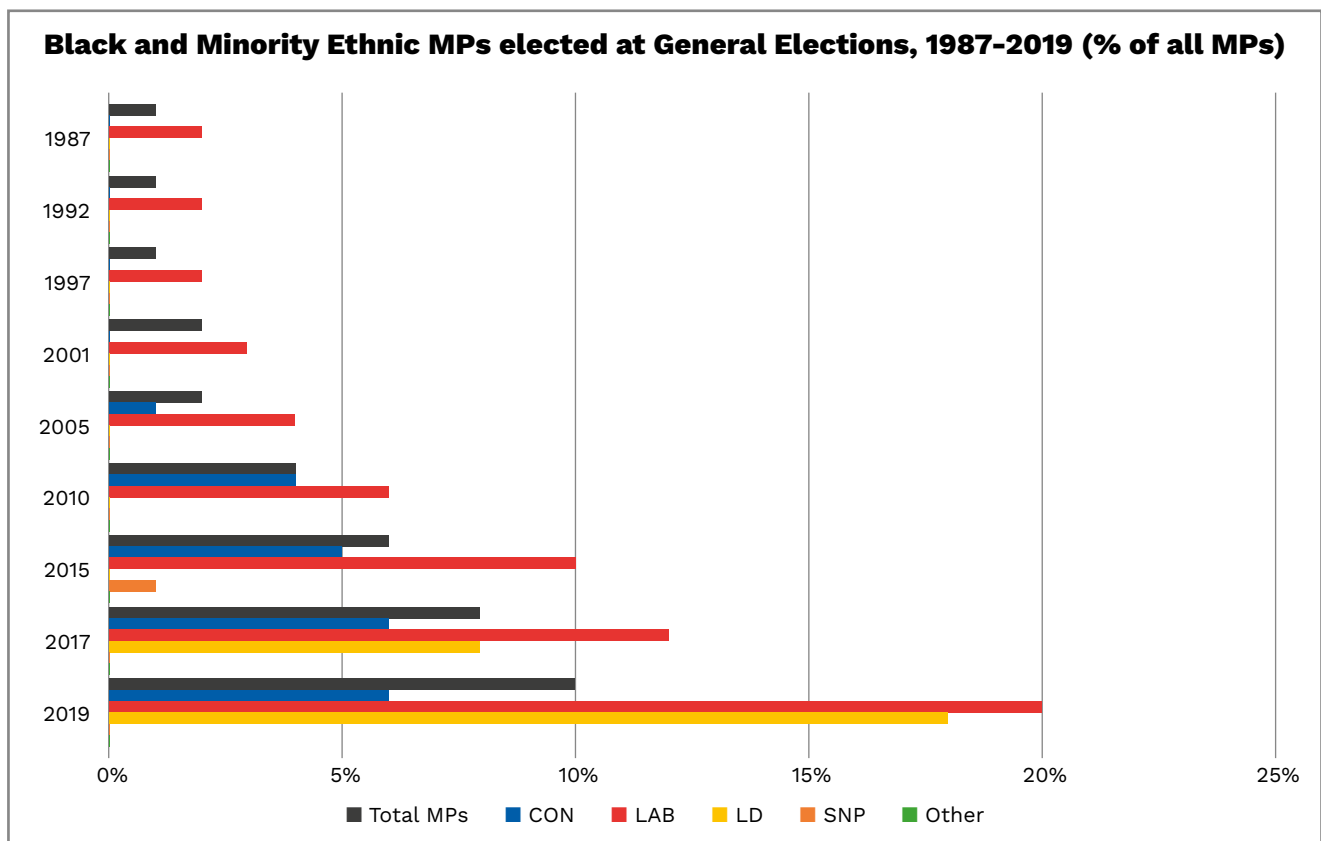
And a recent census of all local councils in the UK found significant under-representation of ethnic minorities, with just 7% of local councillors of ethnic minority origin. The census also identified many diverse areas such as Manchester, Reading and some London boroughs, which all have a significant shortfall.[13]
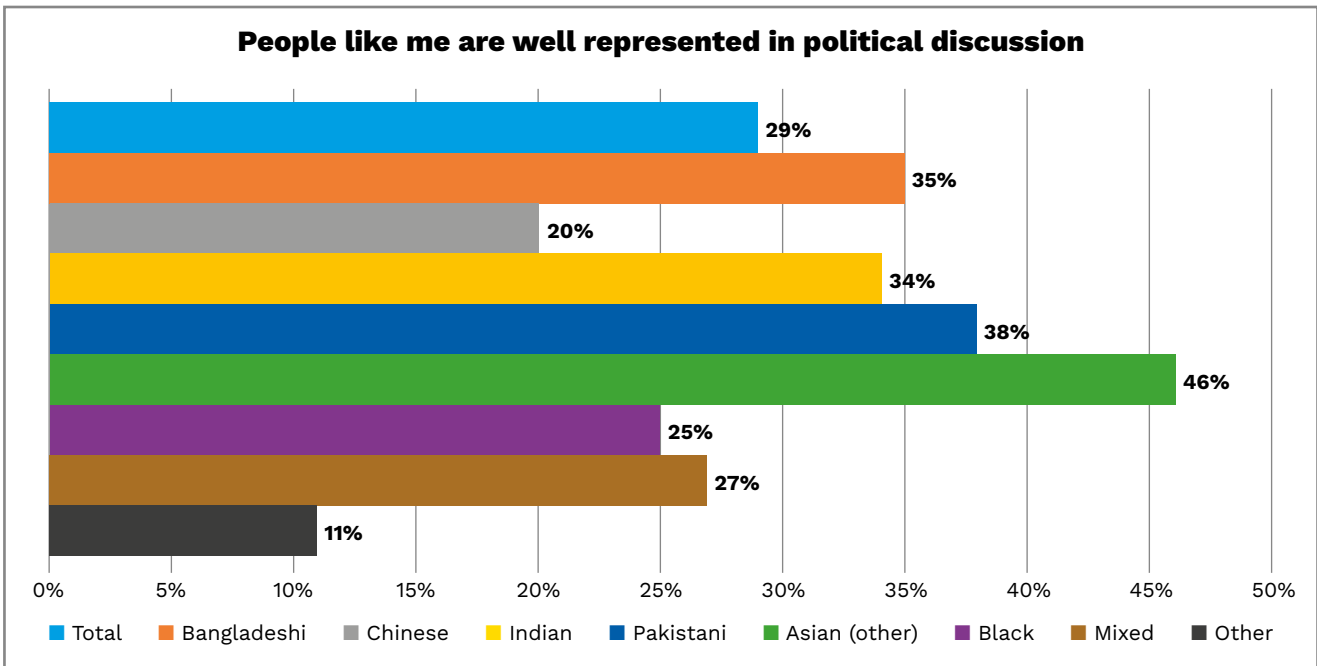
Perhaps then it is no surprise that our polling finds that fewer than a third of BAME Britons (29%) feel that people like them are well represented in political discussion. 41% think they are not.

BAME women among those least likely to feel represented; twice as many disagree (46%) as agree (23%) that people like them are well represented in political discussion, compared to 36% of men.

Only 25% of Black respondents and 20% of Chinese respondents agreed that people like me are well represented in political discussion. People of south Asian heritage were more likely to feel represented.

A majority (65%) agreed that voting is the best way to have your voice heard by those in power, with 14% in disagreement. Yet ethnic minorities are less likely to be included on the electoral register than white British people, with research showing that 25% of first generation

Black and Minority Ethnic MPs elected at General Elections, 1987-2019 (% of all MPs)

People like me are well represented in political discussion

Category	Percentage
Total	29%
Bangladeshi	35%
Chinese	20%
Indian	34%
Pakistani	38%
Asian (other)	46%
Black	25%
Mixed	27%
Other	11%

and 20% of second generation ethnic minorities who were eligible to register to vote had not done so, compared to 10% of the white British population[14].

The Human Rights Commission has also found that BAME Britons are also less likely than their white counterparts to be involved in politics by contacting a councillor, local official, government official or MP; attending a public meeting or rally; taking part in a demonstration; or signing a petition[15].

When asked how they would vote, around half (48%) of respondents would vote Labour if there was an election tomorrow, 17% say they would vote Conservative, 8% would not vote, while 13% are undecided. Male respondents (21%) were more likely to vote Conservative, but just as likely to vote Labour as female respondents, who are more likely to not vote (9%) or be undecided (15%). Over 65s just as likely to say they would vote Labour (39%) as Conservative (39%).

Perhaps due to these political loyalties, it is unsurprising that just 28% say they expect Boris Johnson's Government will improve the lives of people like them; 52% say they will not. We found no significant age or ethnicity differences in these numbers. Only a quarter of BAME women feel their lives will improve (25%) under Boris Johnson's Government.

Nonetheless, we also found cynicism among Conservative voters about Johnson's government; 59% expect they will improve the lives of people like them but 23% think they will not.

BLACK LIVES MATTER

The brutal killing of George Floyd by a Minnesota police officer sparked a global response, one that galvanised long brewing resentment and anger at deep-rooted and systemic racism, anti-Blackness and white supremacy. In the UK, thousands joined protests, not just in London and the major cities, but in smaller cities, towns and even villages. From huge gatherings in London and the toppling of the Colston statue in Bristol to less reported protests in Cleethorpes, Frome and Tunbridge Wells, BLM has opened up critical, and for some uncomfortable, conversations on racism in Britain today.

SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY

Although our current political dialogue is moving to an emphasis on individual community identities there is still a solid bank of social solidarity between Britain's ethnic minority communities.

Our poll found that the vast majority – 73% – of BAME Britons supported the protests. This support crossed political divides, as 63% of conservative voters and 79% of Labour voters supported the protests.

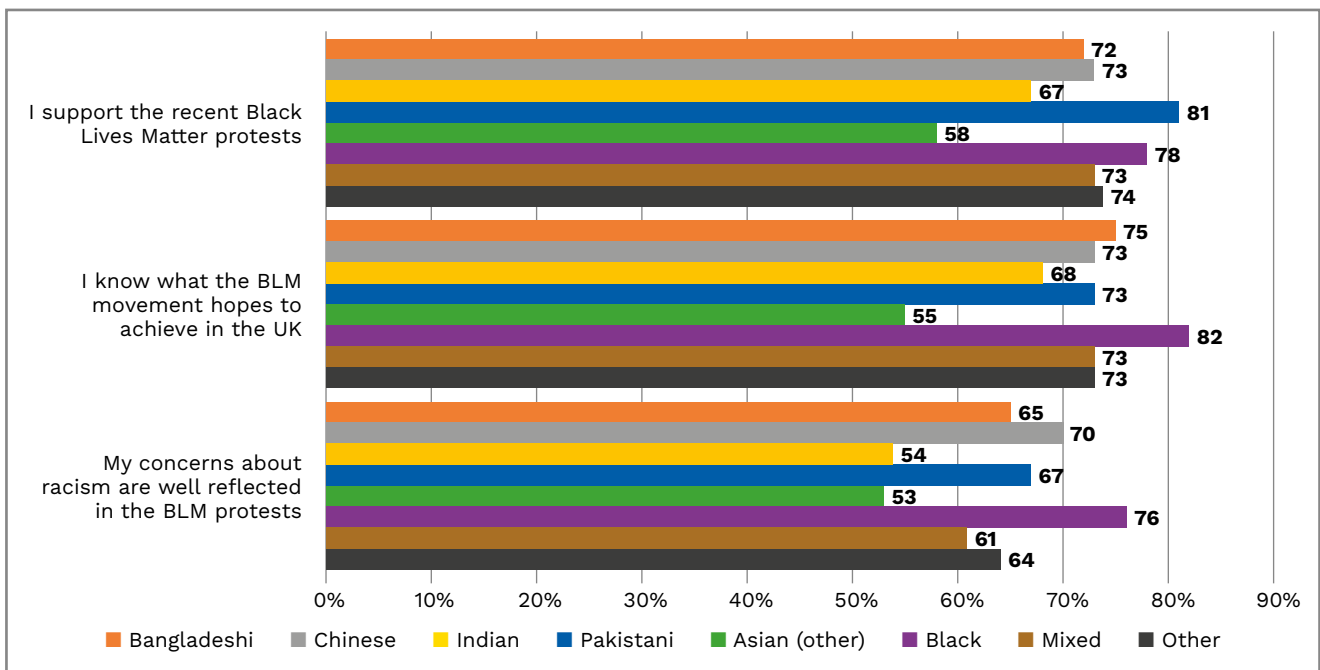While Black respondents were among the most likely to support the protests which are centred on challenging anti-Black racism (78%, while just 4% opposed them and 17% felt indifferent) there was clear solidarity among minority ethnic groups, with a majority of those who identified as Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Mixed, or from another minority ethnic group all voicing support for the protests.
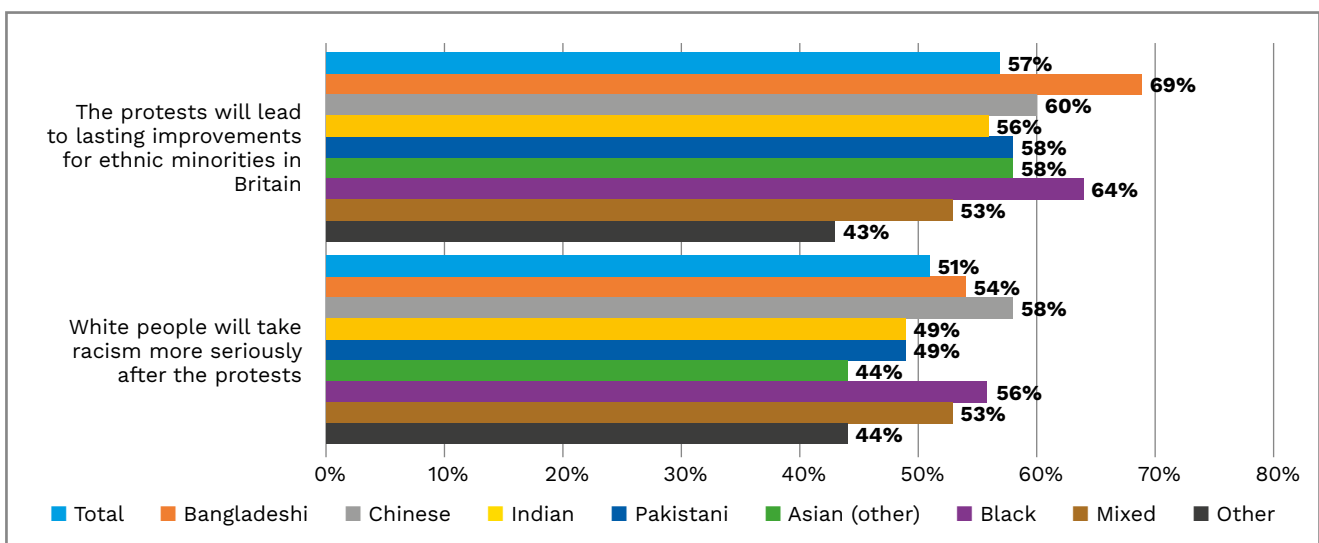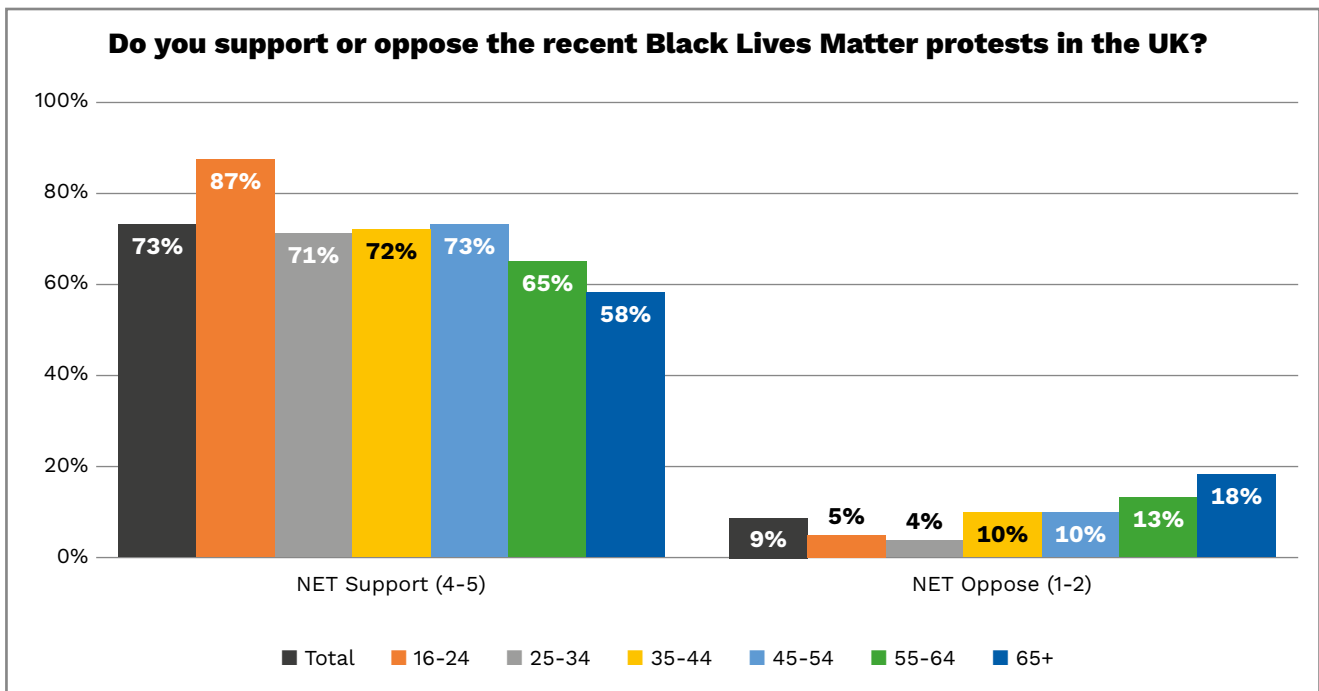
By comparison, in nationally representative polling from June 2020 carried out by HOPE not hate charitable trust, 47% of white respondents said that they supported anti-racist campaigners marching in response to the death of George Floyd in the US. (In the same poll 68% of BAME respondents said the same)[16].

And while Black respondents were most confident about what the BLM movement hopes to achieve, again a majority across all minority ethnic groups felt the aims of the demonstrations were clear.

This was despite not all groups necessarily feeling that the protest personally reflected their own concerns – 76% of' Black respondents felt their own concerns were well reflected in the protests, though a smaller majority of 54% of Indian and 53% of other Asian groups felt the same way.

And while in our nationally representative polling from June[17], we saw significant age gaps in

Chart showing responses by ethnic group (Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian (other), Black, Mixed, Other):

I support the recent Black Lives Matter protests — Bangladeshi 72, Chinese 73, Indian 67, Pakistani 81, Asian (other) 58, Black 78, Mixed 73, Other 74

I know what the BLM movement hopes to achieve in the UK — Bangladeshi 75, Chinese 73, Indian 68, Pakistani 73, Asian (other) 55, Black 82, Mixed 73, Other 73

My concerns about racism are well reflected in the BLM protests — Bangladeshi 65, Chinese 70, Indian 54, Pakistani 67, Asian (other) 53, Black 76, Mixed 61, Other 64

Do you support or oppose the recent Black Lives Matter protests in the UK?

NET Support (4-5)
- Total: 73%
- 16-24: 87%
- 25-34: 71%
- 35-44: 72%
- 45-54: 73%
- 55-64: 65%
- 65+: 58%

NET Oppose (1-2)
- Total: 9%
- 16-24: 5%
- 25-34: 4%
- 35-44: 10%
- 45-54: 10%
- 55-64: 13%
- 65+: 18%

Legend: Total, 16-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

The protests will lead to lasting improvements for ethnic minorities in Britain
- Total: 57%
- Bangladeshi: 69%
- Chinese: 60%
- Indian: 56%
- Pakistani: 58%
- Asian (other): 58%
- Black: 64%
- Mixed: 53%
- Other: 43%

White people will take racism more seriously after the protests
- Total: 51%
- Bangladeshi: 54%
- Chinese: 58%
- Indian: 49%
- Pakistani: 49%
- Asian (other): 44%
- Black: 56%
- Mixed: 53%
- Other: 44%

Legend: Total, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian (other), Black, Mixed, Other

support for the anti-racist protests (70% of 18-24 year olds supported them, but only 37% of those over 65 felt the same), this was much less stark in our polling of BAME Britons, where a majority across age groups voiced support for the protests.

Nonetheless, we found greater divides in people's optimism for change. While overall, more than half (57%) of respondents were optimistic that the protests will lead to lasting improvements for ethnic minorities in Britain – just 15% thought they will not – younger people were far more optimistic about the protests leading to long lasting change. Almost three quarters (72%) of 16-24s expected the protests will lead to lasting improvements for ethnic minorities in Britain compared to just 37% of over 65s.

And despite overall optimism that the protests will trigger long lasting change for ethnic minorities in Britain (57% agree) , there is less confidence that white people will take racism more seriously after the protests – 51% agree that they will.

Our polling reveals widespread fear that the protests will cause a backlash amongst some sections of the white population. 65% thought there will be, while just 10% thought there will not. And whether people supported or opposed the protests, they were just as likely to think there will be a backlash. People in Yorkshire were among those most likely to anticipate a backlash from sections of the white population (77%).

While there have been deliberate attempts to stir division and community tensions, first with the violent scenes of the so-called 'statue defenders'
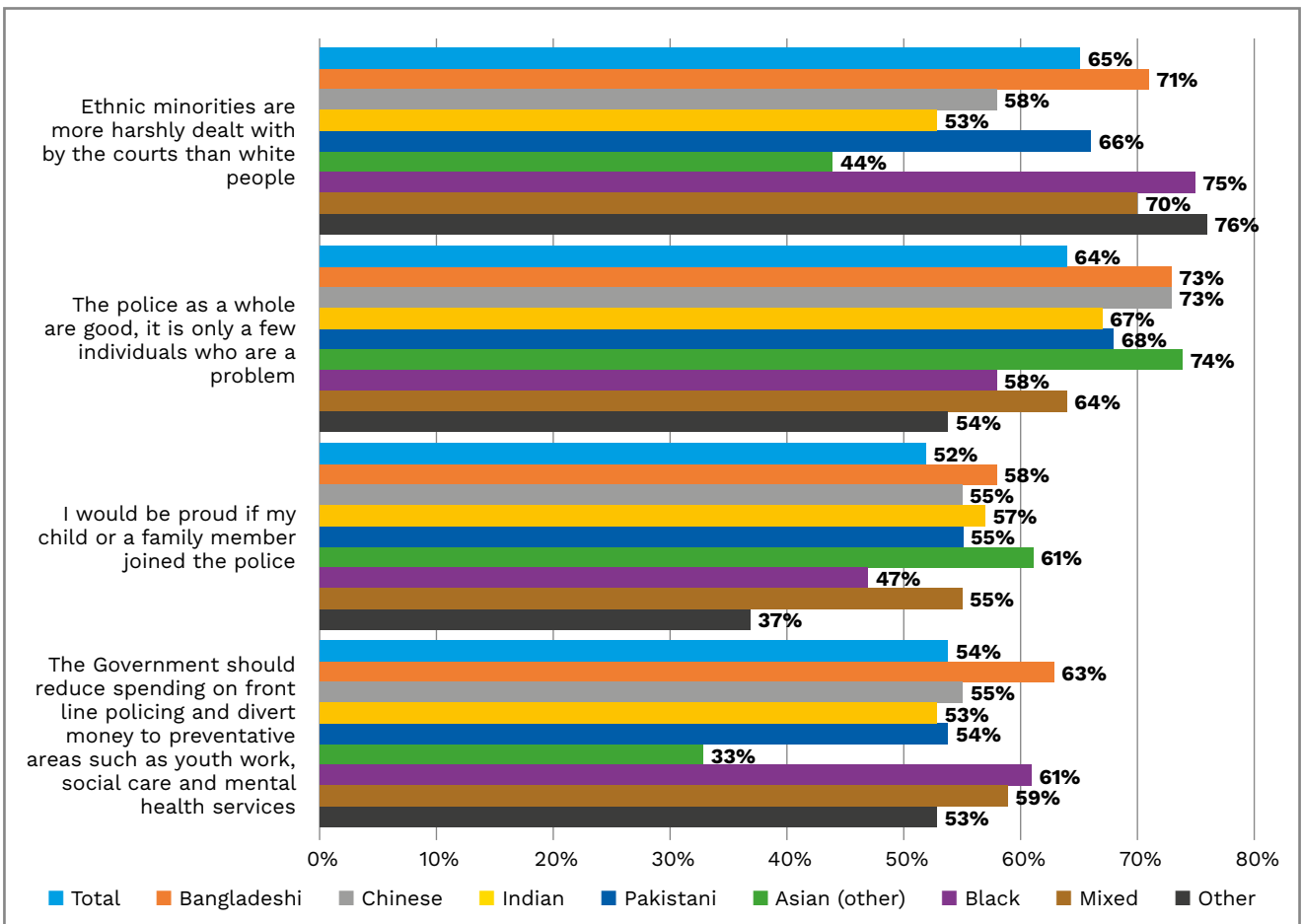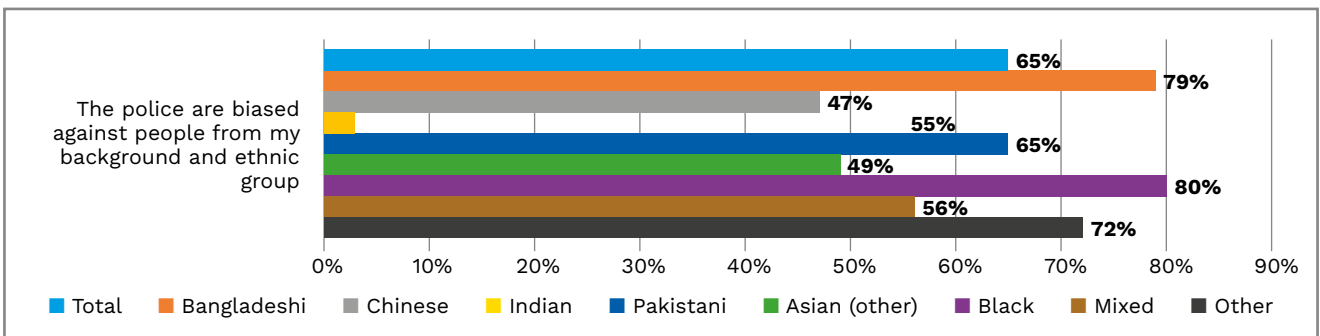
in protests called by the Democratic Football Lads Alliance (a collection of football hooligans), and subsequently the inflammatory 'white lives matter' slogan flown over Burnley stadium during a Premier League match, there is no sign of this having traction among the wider white population.

POLICING & JUSTICE

The global BLM movement has centred on ending police brutality and state violence. In the UK, activists have not only marched in solidarity with U.S.A. protestors, but have called for justice for the deaths of Black people in the UK. Among them, Joy Gardner, who died after being detained during a police immigration raid on her home, Sarah Reed, a police brutality victim who died in

prison, Mark Duggan, who was shot and killed by police in Tottenham and Jimmy Mubenga, who died whilst resisting deportation from the UK.

While police brutality has not held the same level of political salience in the UK as in the U.S.A, where the number of deaths following police contact are far higher, Black, Asian and minority ethnic people have long faced unfair treatment in the UK's criminal justice system. As the Lammy review showed, there is greater disproportionality in the number of Black people in prisons here than in the United States. Black people made up around 3% of the general population but accounted for 12% of adult prisoners in 2015/16, and more than 20% of children in custody[18].

The police are biased against people from my background and ethnic group

Total	65%
Bangladeshi	79%
Chinese	47%
Indian	55%
Pakistani	65%
Asian (other)	49%
Black	80%
Mixed	56%
Other	72%

Legend: Total, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian (other), Black, Mixed, Other

Ethnic minorities are more harshly dealt with by the courts than white people

Total	65%
Bangladeshi	71%
Chinese	58%
Indian	53%
Pakistani	66%
Asian (other)	44%
Black	75%
Mixed	70%
Other	76%

The police as a whole are good, it is only a few individuals who are a problem

Total	64%
Bangladeshi	73%
Chinese	73%
Indian	67%
Pakistani	68%
Asian (other)	74%
Black	58%
Mixed	64%
Other	54%

I would be proud if my child or a family member joined the police

Total	52%
Bangladeshi	58%
Chinese	55%
Indian	57%
Pakistani	55%
Asian (other)	61%
Black	47%
Mixed	55%
Other	37%

The Government should reduce spending on front line policing and divert money to preventative areas such as youth work, social care and mental health services

Total	54%
Bangladeshi	63%
Chinese	55%
Indian	53%
Pakistani	54%
Asian (other)	33%
Black	61%
Mixed	59%
Other	53%

Legend: Total, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian (other), Black, Mixed, Other

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT SHOULD BE SEEN AS CRIME PREVENTION

DETECTIVE INSPECTOR ANDY GEORGE,
Interim President, The National Black Police Association

The National Black Police Association welcomes the results of the survey recently conducted by HOPE not Hate charitable trust which confirms our current concerns on trust and confidence in UK policing within Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities.

We recognise that policing needs to understand each community has differing needs and experiences of policing. The term BAME can allow police services to consult with different communities based on which community may be easier to engage with. This approach prevents us tailoring our services and engagement to build trust in all communities. We must now listen to Black and Bangladeshi communities in particular who appear to have the lowest confidence in UK policing, based on the results of this survey.

It is particularly concerning that those in the 16-24 year age range are more likely to see racism as a systemic issue in the police service. It has been over 20 years since The Macpherson Report was released and the fact that young people are recognising systemic racism shows that policing has not changed enough in response to the report.
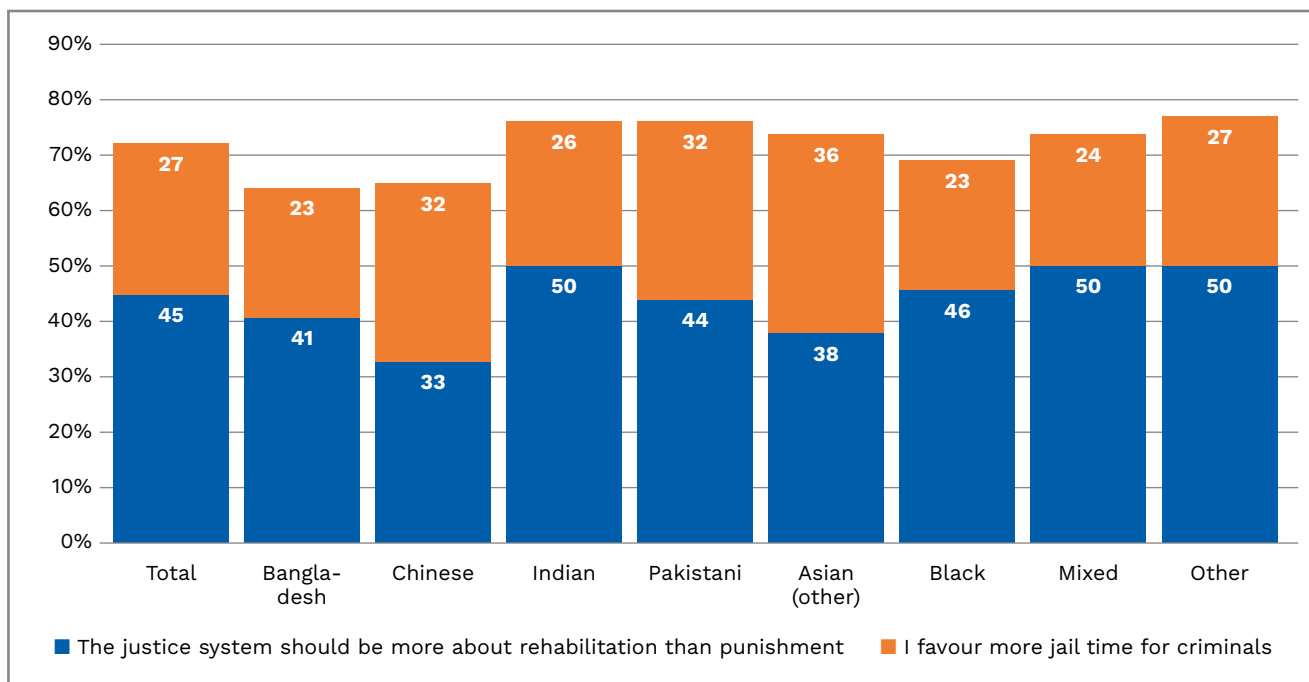
Policing is a challenging career and frontline officers deserve to have sufficient resources in place to keep communities safe. We would not support defunding the police but recognise the need to create whole system solutions to deal with the root causes of crime. **Community engagement should be seen as crime prevention.** Reducing those killed or seriously injured was achieved through technological solutions such airbags fitted, legislation such as seatbelts being mandatory and the upgrading of the road network at collision hot spots. We must tackle issues impacting ethnic minority communities with the same innovative thinking and we welcome this being recognised by the community.

Building strong relationships with ethnic minority communities makes us more likely to understand new and emerging crimes in the community and more likely to receive community intelligence which will allow us to target those causing most harm in the community.

Now is the time to acknowledge the evidence produced in this report and build long term strategies to increase trust and confidence in Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities.

Inspector Andrew George, president of the National Black Police Association, said police leadership should acknowledge continuing problems with race.
Photograph: Paul McErlane/The Guardian

Legend:
- ■ The justice system should be more about rehabilitation than punishment
- ■ I favour more jail time for criminals

Category	Rehabilitation	Jail time
Total	45	27
Bangladesh	41	23
Chinese	33	32
Indian	50	26
Pakistani	44	32
Asian (other)	38	36
Black	46	23
Mixed	50	24
Other	50	27

Overall, our polling showed a majority of almost all ethnic groups felt that the police were biased against people from their background though to varying degrees with four out of five Black and Bangladeshi respondents feeling that way, down to around half of Chinese & Indian respondents.

A majority of all respondents felt that ethnic minorities were dealt with more harshly by the court system, varying between 53% of Indian respondents and 71% and 75% of Bangladeshi and Black respondents respectively. This reflects findings from the Lammy review, where not all groups who fall under the 'BAME' umbrella were overrepresented in the criminal justice system, with young Black Britons most disproportionately impacted[19].

But this scepticism about the trustworthiness of the police was balanced by a desire to be fair-minded locating the problem in the way bad individuals were allowed to operate rather than condemning the police as a whole. 64% felt that the police as a whole were good and that the problem was a few individuals which suggests a much more nuanced approach than either the blanket praise or condemnation that dominates the public debate.

However political loyalties suggested vastly different perspectives with 73% of Labour voters perceiving the police and justice system as biased compared with 48% of Conservatives.

Although the idea of 'defunding the police' has been greeted with derision amongst the political classes a majority of BAME respondents (54%) supported the move across all ethnicities and ages, with women most likely to agree that the Government should reduce spending on front line policing and divert money to preventative areas

such as youth work, social care and mental health services. Even 48% of BME Conservative voters, agreed with this proposition, despite their higher levels of support for the police across other questions.

Overall, BME communities overwhelmingly favoured a rehabilitative approach (45%) to crime as opposed to a carceral solution (27%), though across ethnic groups, responses to this were split. Younger respondents were far less likely to say that they favoured more jail time for criminals (19%) than older groups (35% of over 65s), but across age sets, a majority favoured a rehabilitative approach.

Further proof that the above findings show a nuanced and pragmatic approach to the criminal justice system was evidenced by the fact that a bare majority (52%) said they would feel proud if a family member joined the police with only 18% saying they wouldn't. Among those who strongly supported the Black lives Matter protests, twice as many said they would be proud (47%) as not proud (24%) if a family member joined the police.

A CULTURE WAR?

Following the BLM protests, there was widespread speculation in the media that the UK may start to see a U.S. style 'culture war', as the conversation about racial justice became focussed on the place of statues memorialising slave traders or of broadcasting outdated 'non-P.C' television. Following the BLM protests where several monuments were graffitied, including a statue of Winston Churchill, the Democratic Football Lads Alliance (a collection of football hooligans) called a protest, ostensibly in defence of the monuments in London, which resulted in violent

clashes with police seen in widely-circulated videos.

While some coverage of the protests have put the so-called 'statue defenders' in supposed direct opposition to anti-racists, our data suggests that this is not about to spark the 'culture war' some claim. Our polling shows how Britain's BME communities were not interested in two dimensional debate created in the media that we have seen play out in the wake of the BLM protests.

A majority (65%) agreed that Statues of slave traders should be removed from public squares and put in museums, aligned with the 51% of the nationally representative group who felt the same[20].

Just over half (51%) thought that that attacks on statues and memorials was political correctness gone mad, compared with just 22% who didn't, slightly less than the two-thirds (67%) of our nationally representative sample who agreed that attacks on statues and war memorials was political correctness gone mad.

And 60% of our BAME poll thought the statue debate had distracted from the important discussions on racism in Britain and only 14% thought they hadn't. These figures were similar to the nationally representative sample where a majority (65%) agreed that the debate around tearing down historical monuments – because the figures depicted were seen as racist – has distracted from important discussions on racism in Britain. Just 12% disagreed.

Half (48%) say that you can admire someone for their achievements, like Winston Churchill, even if they also had racist views, whilst only a quarter disagree with this (26%). Young people are most likely to reject this statement, with 35% of 16-24s disagreeing and 36% agreeing. 75% of over 65s agree, with only 10% in disagreement

BAME Britons' views on the 'statue debate' are in no way homogenous, with a greater degree of nuance than media debate would allow, and little difference from the views of the wider population, despite greater support for the protests and a higher degree of solidarity in rejecting systemic racism.

CHALLENGING RACIST HISTORIES

The Black Lives Matter protests have opened up space for confronting normalised aspects of Britain's colonial past. As well as debates around statues, anti-racist campaigners have called for Black history to be taught in schools so that Britons are given an honest and critical understanding of Britain's empire, how it was built on concepts of racial superiority, and the role it played in shaping the nation.
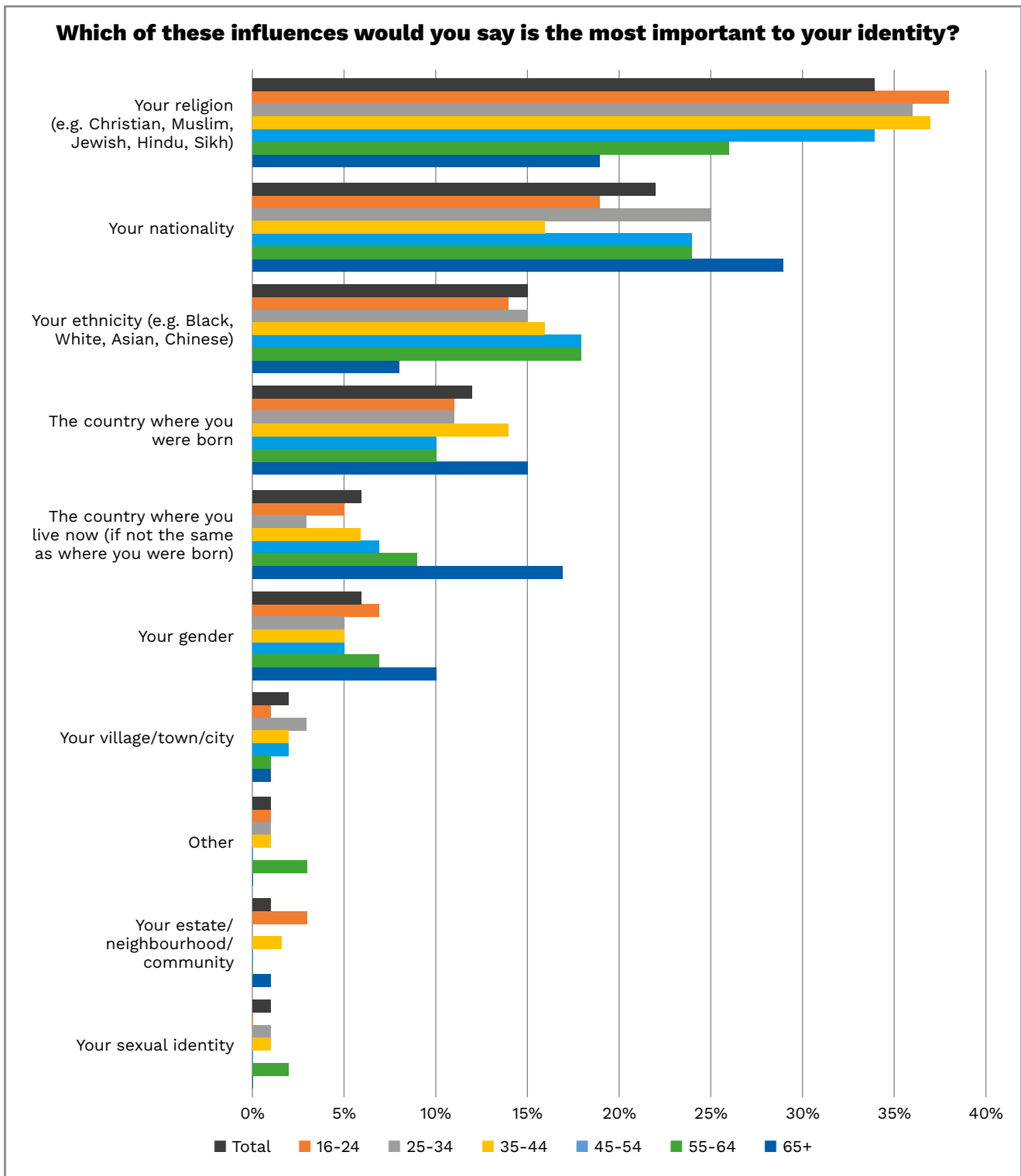
In our poll, the majority (72%) agree that Black history, including topics such as migration, belonging and empire should be compulsory in schools, with little variation across ethnic groups in support of adding Black history to the curriculum; 75% of Black respondents, 68% of Indian and Pakistani respondents, and 76% of Chinese respondents agree Black history should be taught in schools.
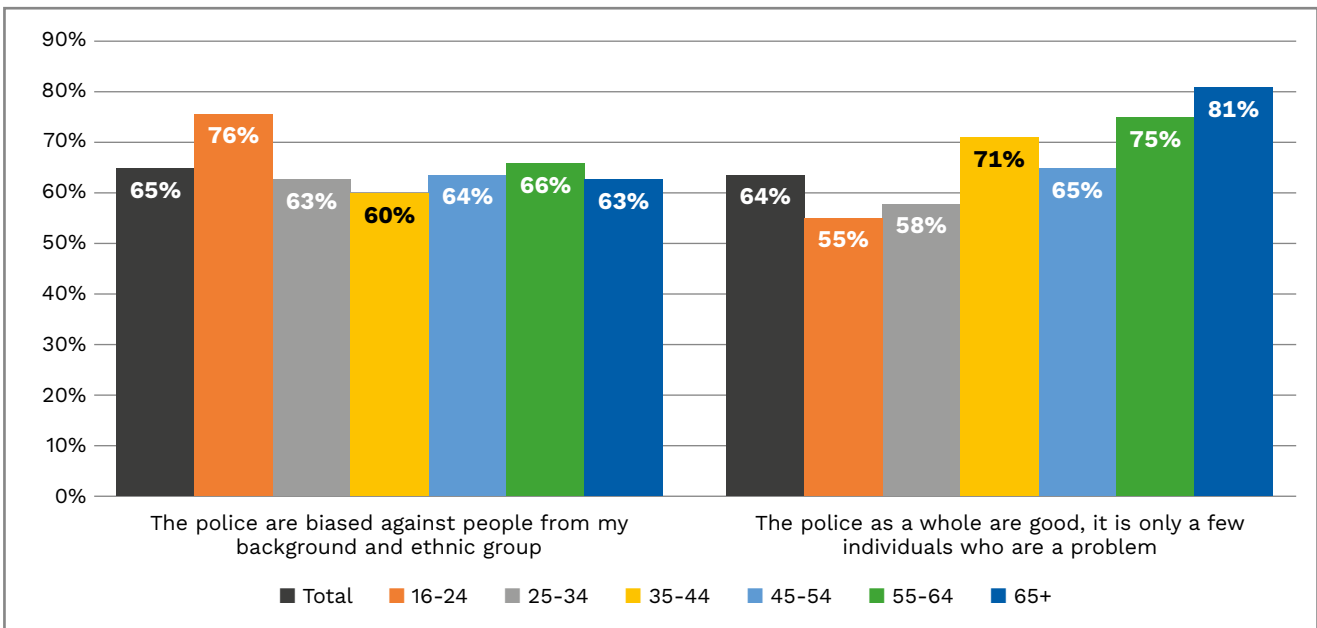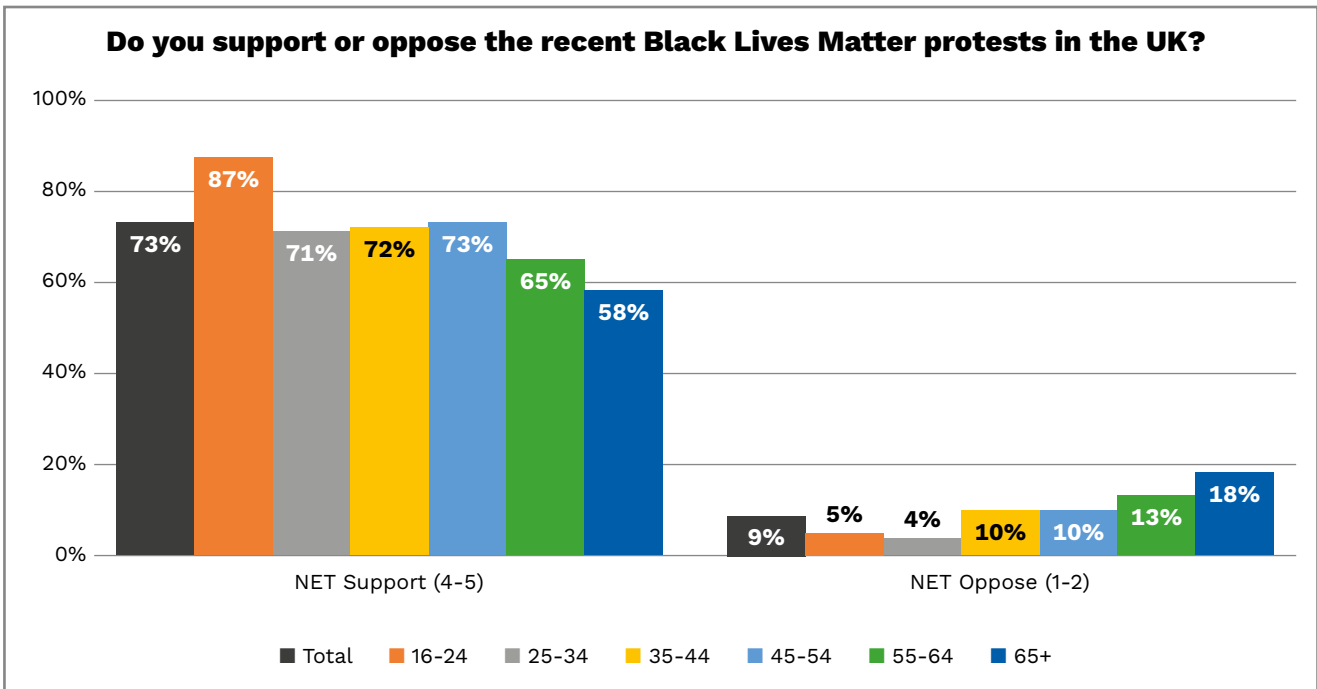
Campaigners have also revived calls for reparations to victims of slavery and/or their descendants, to pay back for the exploited labour upon which Britain's wealth was built.

In most BAME communities our polling found high levels of support for the principle that the British government should be made to pay reparations to the descendants of enslaved Black people. 68% of Black respondents, 57% of Bangladeshi respondents, 51% of Pakistani respondents and 49% of Indian respondents agreed – all significantly larger than their respective 'don't know' and 'against' counterparts.

Our nationally representative polling in the wake of the BLM protests[21] showed a British public ready for a more progressive debate on racism in the UK. This polling of BAME communities shows how many BAME Britons see these conversations taking place, as realistic and fair-minded. While policy and political action should lead, and not follow public opinion, our polling shows a disjuncture between a more nervous political and policy debate, and a public who are ready to address difficult questions about systemic racism in Britain without falling into 'culture war' divisions.
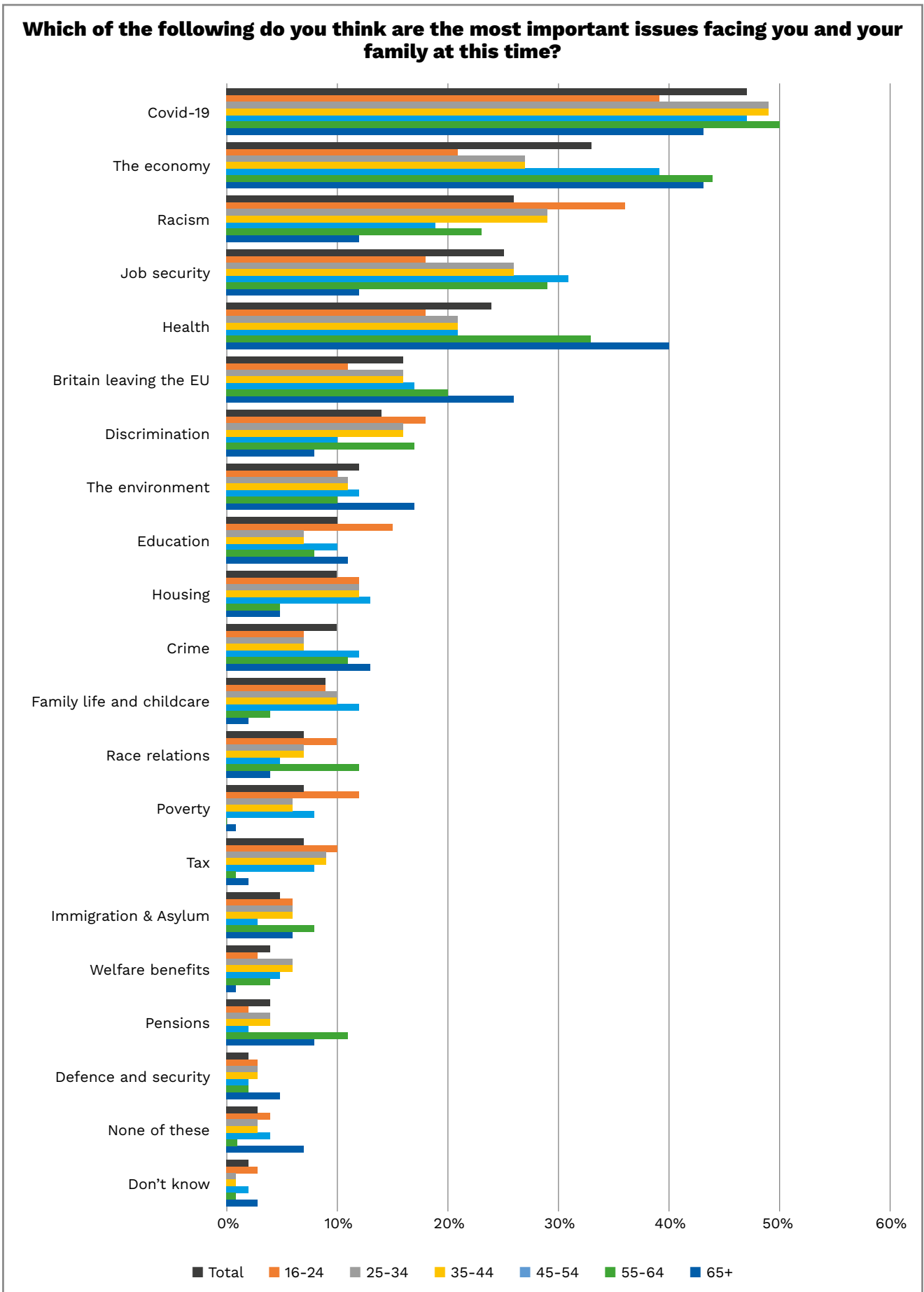
GENERATION GAPS AND BRITISH-BORN DIVIDES

Which of these influences would you say is the most important to your identity?

Legend: Total | 16-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+

Do you support or oppose the recent Black Lives Matter protests in the UK?

Legend: Total, 16-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

NET Support (4-5): Total 73%, 16-24 87%, 25-34 71%, 35-44 72%, 45-54 73%, 55-64 65%, 65+ 58%

NET Oppose (1-2): Total 9%, 16-24 5%, 25-34 4%, 35-44 10%, 45-54 10%, 55-64 13%, 65+ 18%

The police are biased against people from my background and ethnic group: Total 65%, 16-24 76%, 25-34 63%, 35-44 60%, 45-54 64%, 55-64 66%, 65+ 63%

The police as a whole are good, it is only a few individuals who are a problem: Total 64%, 16-24 55%, 25-34 58%, 35-44 71%, 45-54 65%, 55-64 75%, 65+ 81%

Legend: Total, 16-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

Our polling has not just reinforced an understanding of diversity under the 'BAME' umbrella, but also highlighted how individual experiences shape worldviews, with significant differences between generations and between those born in the UK and those who have migration stories of their own.

Older respondents were far more likely to place a greater emphasis on their nationality, the country in which they live or were born in as the most important parts of their identity, while younger respondents were more likely to see themselves as religious (61% of 16-24s and 65% of 25-34s) than older groups (54% of those aged 45-64 and 52% of those 65+). Younger respondents were also more likely than older respondents to say that their racial/ethnic identity is an important part of who they are; just 13% of 16-24 year olds said that this was not the case compared to a quarter (23%) of over 65s.

Perhaps because they place greater importance on their racial or ethnic identity, younger BAME people were also more likely to voice support for the BLM protests than older respondents. 87% of 16-24 year olds said they supported the protests, while 65% of over 65s said the same.

86% of 16-24s said that they were clear about the aims for the BLM movement in the UK

Which of the following do you think are the most important issues facing you and your family at this time?

Total   16-24   25-34   35-44   45-54   55-64   65+

compareD to 58% of over 65s and 78% of those aged 16-24 said that they felt their personal concerns about racism were reflected by the protests while just half (50%) of over 65s felt the same way.

This is not to say that there are significant generational differences in whether BAME Britons see issues of racism and discrimination and prejudice. It is more a case of how they see these problems.

For example, when asked if they feel that 'the police are biased against people from my background and ethnic group', a majority across all age groups agree. But when given the statement, 'the police as a whole are good, it is only a few individuals who are a problem', 81% of over 65s agree compared to only 55% of 16-24s.

Younger people significantly more likely than older people to list racism as one of the biggest issues facing them and their families at this time; 36% of 16-24s report this in their most important issues compared to just 12% of over 65s. Instead older age groups are more likely to report health, the economy, pensions and crime among their most pressing issues.

We also find differences in the experiences of racism of different age groups. Racist violence is a feature of many young people's lives; only a third (35%) of 16-24s could say that they had not witnessed or experienced racist violence in the last 12 months compared with 75% of 55-64s and 80% of over 65s. Just 15% of 16-24s could say they had not witnessed or experienced racism on social media, while two thirds (67%) of over 65s had not.

Despite younger respondents more likely to be vocal about racism, older respondents are more concerned about the threat of the far right; 62% of over 65s see the far right as a threat compared to just 40% of 16-24s. Perceptions are largely shaped by experience, and the increased perception of threat among older BAME people may be a reflection on lived experience; many over older people will remember interactions with the far right when they had greater electoral success and were most active as violent street movements.
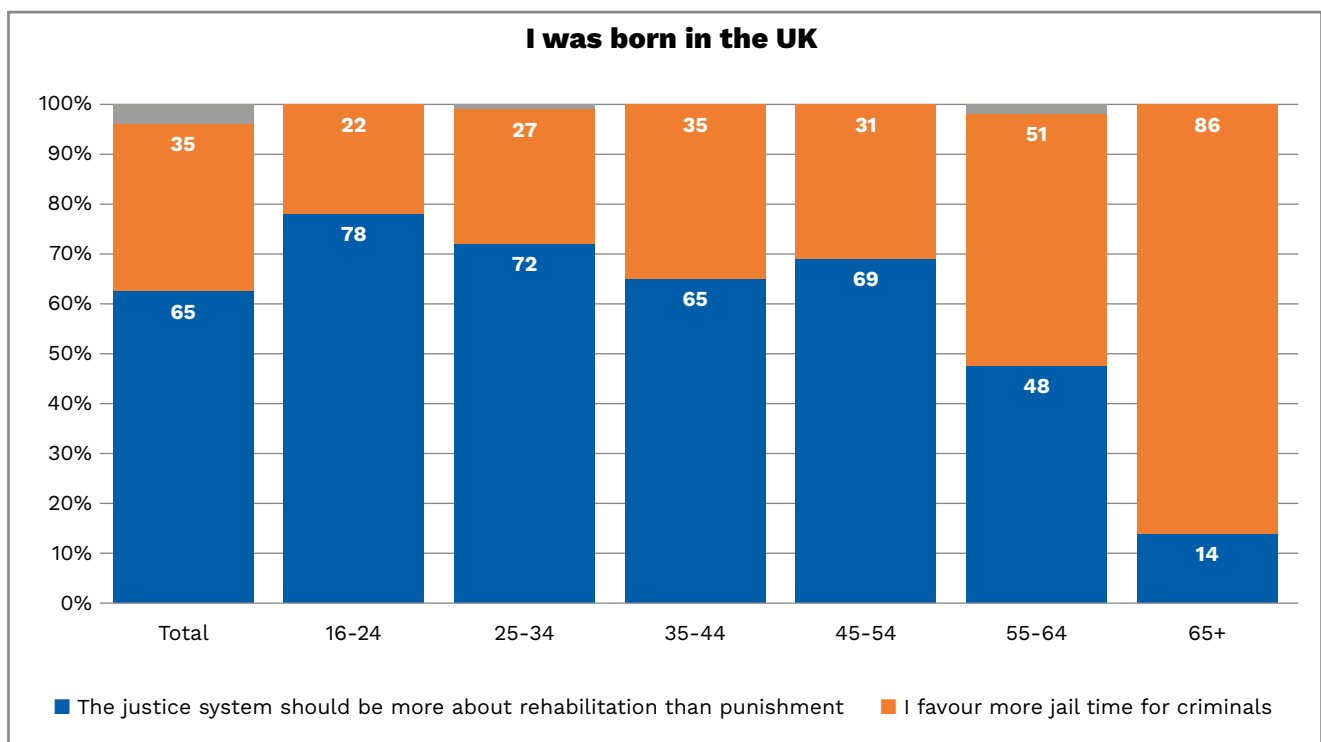
We also find similar differences between those born in the UK and those born abroad, perhaps because of the age make-up of the older groups.

Just 60% of those not born in the UK support the BLM protests compared to 80% born in the UK, and only over half (53%) of those not born in the UK see their own concerns about racism are well reflected in the BLM protests compared with 70% of those born in the UK.

Those born outside the UK are more optimistic (70%) and likely to feel happy with their lives so far (80%) than those born I the UK; of whom just over half (58%) feel optimistic and 67% say that they are happy with their lives so far.

They are also less likely to be critical of the Government; those born outside of the UK less likely (47%) to think that the government has not done enough to protect BME communities specifically from the threat of Covid-19 than those born in the UK (62%).

Respondents who were born in the UK were more likely (13%) than those born outside the UK (10%)

I was born in the UK

Legend: ■ The justice system should be more about rehabilitation than punishment   ■ I favour more jail time for criminals

to list the country where they were born as the most important part of their identity. And despite their own migration experiences, those outside the UK (84%) were just as likely as those born in the UK (83%) to say that immigration into Britain has been a good thing for the country. 16% of those born outside the UK and 17% of those born in the UK say it has been a bad thing.

Racism continues to shape the experiences of minority ethnic people in Britain today, but different groups and generations have had very different experiences, and as a result see the issues and solutions differently.

COVID-19

By now it has been well documented that Black, Asian and Ethnic minority (BAME) people have been disproportionately represented among serious illness and deaths related to the coronavirus. A study from the Intensive Care National Audit and Research Centre[22] in April found that despite BAME only representing 14% of the population of England and Wales, they represented 33% of intensive care cases. Office for National Statistics (ONS) data[23] on coronavirus deaths has shown that Black people are 1.9 times more likely to die than white people while Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are 1.8 times more likely to die and Indians are around 1.5 times more likely. When accounting for age only, Black men and women were more than four times more likely to die from Covid-19 compared with white men and women.

Differences in cultural factors may play a role in disease risk, but research more strongly suggests that health determinants are structural[24]. BAME Britons tend to have poorer socioeconomic circumstances which lead to poorer health outcomes, with socioeconomic deprivation strongly associated with the prevalence of smoking, obesity, diabetes, hypertension and their cardio-metabolic complications, which all increase the risk of disease severity.

Moreover, BAME Britons are more likely than their white counterparts to face racism, stigma, fear and a lack of trust in statutory services, all of which result in a reluctance to engage with healthcare and authorities, or to take public health messaging seriously. Already older BAME Britons are considered 'hard-to-reach' by public health messaging, and communications are not always translated for those who cannot speak English[25].

The localised outbreak in Leicester, a city with one of the largest South Asian populations in England, shed further light of the inequalities both highlighted and reinforced by the virus. The localised outbreak has been largely

DEEPLY ENTRENCHED SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND LONGSTANDING STRUCTURAL RACISM CREATED AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE THIS DEADLY VIRUS COULD THRIVE

DR ROSENA ALLIN-KHAN,
Member of Parliament for Tooting, Shadow Minister for Mental Health and A&E Doctor

The impact of COVID-19 has been felt across the whole of the UK, however this burden has not been shared equally. From the outset of the pandemic, deeply entrenched social inequalities and longstanding structural racism created an environment where this deadly virus could thrive. Under these conditions, BAME communities across the country were put at immense risk and without support from Government.

Throughout this crisis, the Government has liked to describe the fight against coronavirus as a war. To use their analogy, our BAME communities would have been the cannon fodder – these people's lives are not, and should not, have been dispensable.

Going into any public health crisis, it's clear that the role of healthcare workers is absolutely crucial. We knew that our health and care workforce is significantly overrepresented by people from BAME backgrounds, yet the Government failed to roll-out risk assessments until it was too late and hundreds of BAME healthcare workers had already tragically died.
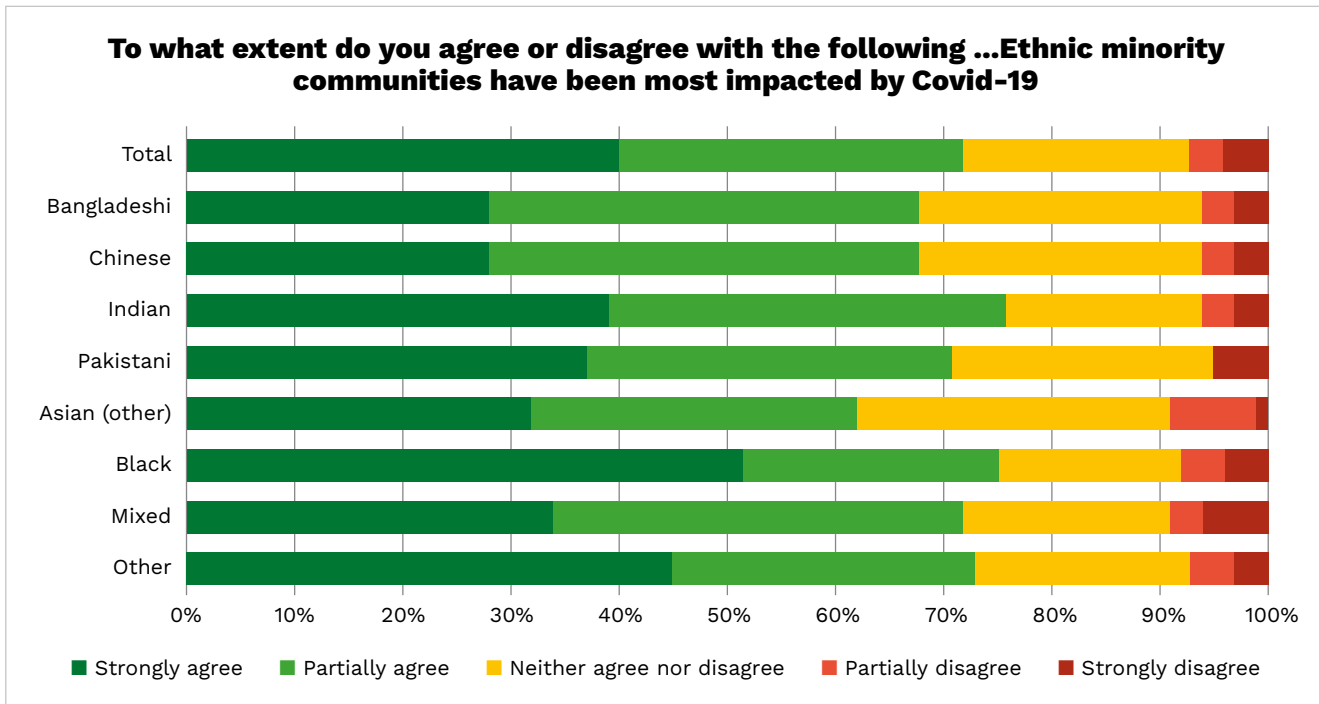
It was not just those on the frontlines of the NHS paying the price. So many BAME people are in insecure work and have to carry on with unsafe practices for fear of the repercussions, afraid to speak out. They could not afford not to go to work – they could not risk losing their jobs.

Perhaps just as worrying as the health inequity faced by BAME communities are the economic consequences of lockdown. BAME people are up to twice as likely than the national average to face economic hardship through loss of work and lack of financial support. As we face the very imminent threat of a second wave, these factors create the perfect storm for further transmission and increased suffering in BAME communities.

This vital report highlights the disproportionate anguish BAME communities have faced, and will continue to face, in light of COVID-19. It showcases the anger BAME people feel towards the Government for the lack of support and, crucially, it rightly calls on the Government to step up and ensure that its future actions in response to the pandemic act to address social inequalities and systemic racism in society, not further entrench them.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following ...Ethnic minority communities have been most impacted by Covid-19

Legend: Strongly agree | Partially agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Partially disagree | Strongly disagree

attributed to overcrowded housing, with multiple generations cohabiting, occupational risks associated with certain jobs, highlighting illegal employment practices and modern slavery in Leicester's clothing factories.

A review from public Health England[26] concluded that BAME groups were at greater risk of death or serious illness from coronavirus because of a complex crossover between "socio-economic disadvantages, high prevalence of chronic diseases and the impact of long-standing racial inequalities". The review came with not just short-term recommendations to ensure the protection of workers in frontline roles and improve track and trace measures, but also long-term recommendations to tackle health, housing and employment inequality.

Moreover, a study from the Runnymede trust has shown how BME groups are at greater risk from Covid-19: they are more likely to be working outside their home, more likely to be using public transport, more likely to be working in key worker roles, less likely to be protected with PPE and more likely to live in multigenerational, overcrowded housing, so much less able to self-isolate and shield[27].

The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) has launched an inquiry into the "long-standing, structural race inequality" to build on PHE's report to better understand the how racial inequality has led to the disproportionately high number of black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) deaths during the pandemic.

These discussions are taking place in the shadow of global protests and rising momentum for the Black Lives Matter Movement, triggered

by the killing of George Floyd in the U.S. The movement has had a significant impact in bringing long overdue conversations on race and racism to the forefront of public consciousness, shedding light on the pervasiveness of systemic racism and structural violence in Britain.

The protests in the UK are calling for justice for Belly Mujinga, who died in April. Mujinga was a railway worker who died after contracting coronavirus after she was assaulted and spat at by a man claiming to have the virus, while she worked without adequate Personal Protective Equipment.

From the outset of the coronavirus outbreak, it was clear that although the virus does not discriminate, the structural conditions lining the path of infection ensured that coronavirus was indeed, no great leveller and cannot be divorced from structural and institutional racism.

For those mourning loved ones, it is no comfort to know that the struggles these people faced in their lives also put them most at risk of death. But it is even more frightening that the broader impacts of the crisis, lockdown and economic decline, are further feeding racial inequalities. This will ultimately put BAME communities at even greater risk if there is to be a second, third, or fourth wave.

In order to fully address the disproportionate impact coronavirus has had on BAME communities, this cannot be divorced from structural and institutional racism. And given the immediate threat of a second wave, addressing BAME Briton's concerns in the response cannot wait.

HOW BAME BRITONS ARE RESPONDING TO THE CORONAVIRUS OUTBREAK

The vast majority of BAME Britons (72%) agreed that Ethnic minority communities have been most impacted by Covid-19; just 7% disagreed. Black respondents were most likely to feel strongly that ethnic minority communities have been most impacted, overall 76% agreed, of which 52% strongly agreed.

A majority (61%) agreed that Covid-19 is exposing great inequality in British society, while just 11% disagreed. Broken down by ethnic group, 71% of Black respondents and 62% of Bangladeshi respondents agreed, most likely to see the impact. This compares to 56% of HOPE not hate's nationally representative poll of 2,003 carried out by Focaldata in May 2020[28].

The strength of opinion about racial disparity among Black respondents reflects ONS data on coronavirus deaths that Black people are 1.9 times more likely to die than white people while Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are 1.8 times more likely to die.
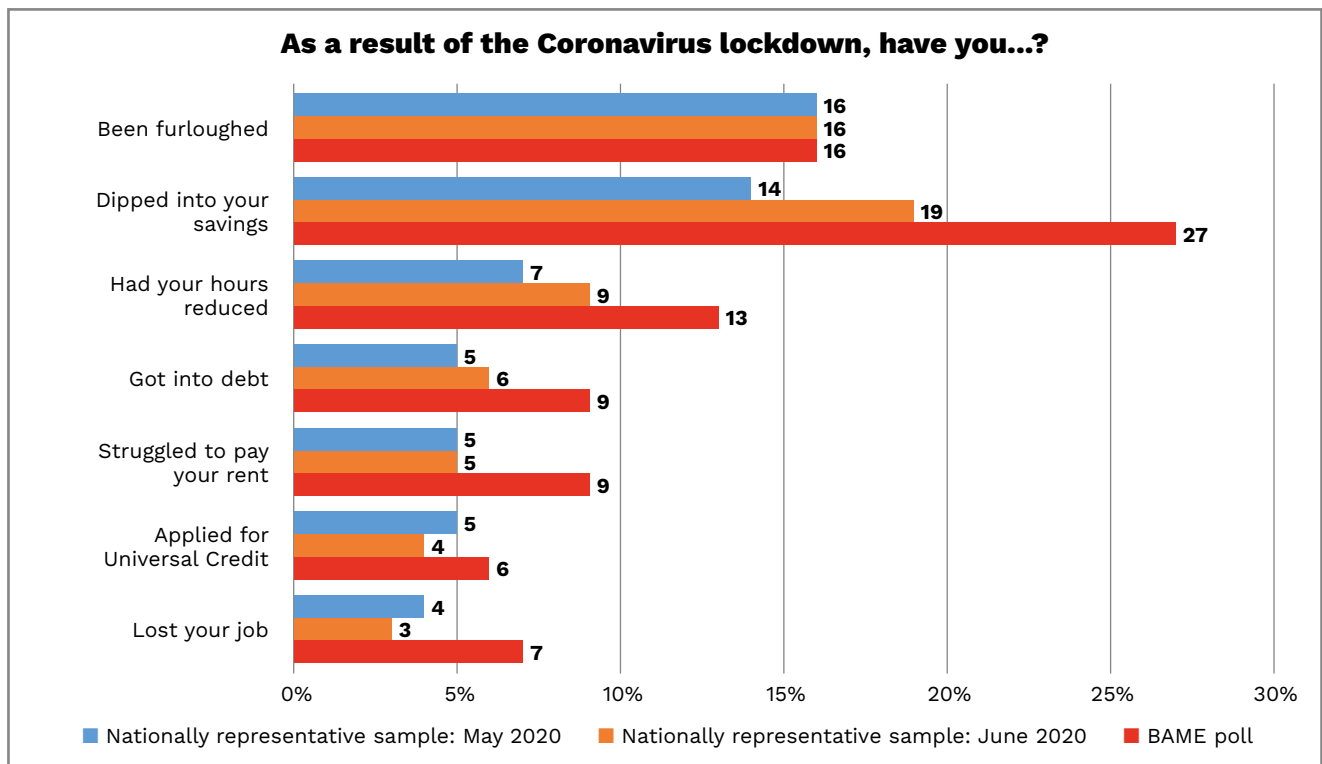
And there is widespread anger in the way that the government has handled the response to covid-19, which has disproportionately impacted BAME people. This erosion of trust has serious implications for PHE to reach BAME communities with public health messaging regarding prevention, testing and contact tracing
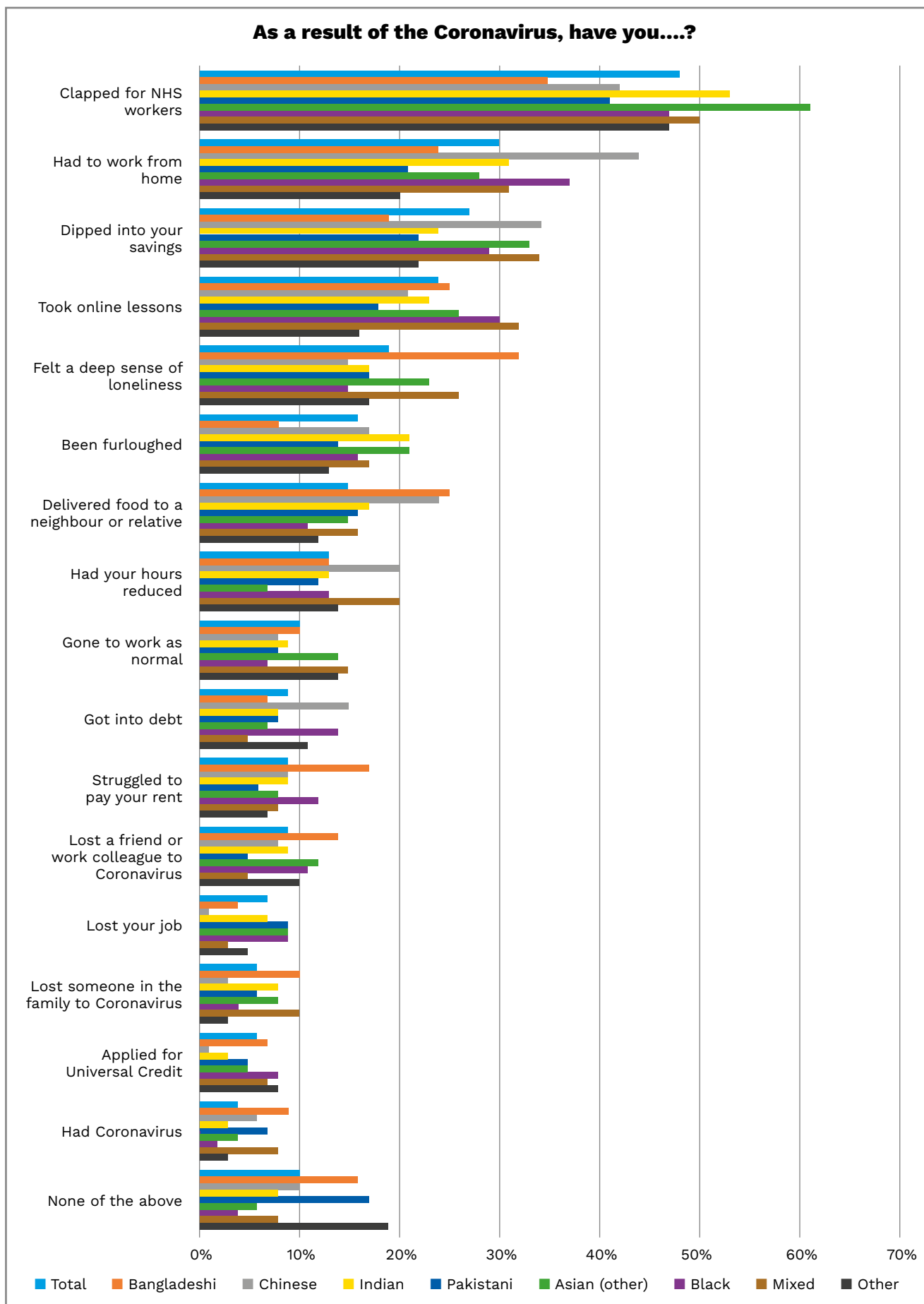
Overall, people from BAME groups are more likely to voice discontent at the Government's handling of the crisis. 62% of our BAME poll say

The Government has not dealt with the Covid-19 pandemic well while 38% say The Government has dealt with the Covid-19 pandemic well. This compares to 51% of people of all ethnicities who said they felt the Government has been too slow in dealing with the Coronavirus and 49% who said they felt that the Government was dealing with the Coronavirus as well as could be expected.

And while this could be considered more of a political position than frustration about the disproportionate impact coronavirus has had on BAME communities, with BAME voters less likely to vote Conservative than the white population, this trend holds true among Conservative voters, too. 38% of Conservative voters in our BAME poll feel that the Government has not handled the crisis well, compared to 26% in our national representative poll who say the Government has been too slow in responding to the crisis.

Those born outside of the UK less likely (47%) to think that the government has not done enough to protect BME communities specifically from the threat of Covid-19 than those born in the UK (62%), as this group tend to be less critical of the Government overall. Nonetheless, immigration status has been a factor that has put those without British citizenship at greater risk, not just those with no recourse to public funds, but as the Public Health England review found, hostile environments against immigrants ensures adverse effect through heightened prejudice and social tension, and weakens trust in NHS services and treatment resulted in their reluctance to seek care on a timely basis.

As a result of the Coronavirus lockdown, have you...?

	Nationally representative sample: May 2020	Nationally representative sample: June 2020	BAME poll
Been furloughed	16	16	16
Dipped into your savings	14	19	27
Had your hours reduced	7	9	13
Got into debt	5	6	9
Struggled to pay your rent	5	5	9
Applied for Universal Credit	5	4	6
Lost your job	4	3	7

As a result of the Coronavirus, have you….?

Categories (top to bottom):
- Clapped for NHS workers
- Had to work from home
- Dipped into your savings
- Took online lessons
- Felt a deep sense of loneliness
- Been furloughed
- Delivered food to a neighbour or relative
- Had your hours reduced
- Gone to work as normal
- Got into debt
- Struggled to pay your rent
- Lost a friend or work colleague to Coronavirus
- Lost your job
- Lost someone in the family to Coronavirus
- Applied for Universal Credit
- Had Coronavirus
- None of the above

Legend: Total, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Asian (other), Black, Mixed, Other

Overall, more than half (57%) of respondents said that the government has not done enough to protect BME communities specifically from the threat of Covid-19. Only 15% disagreed with this.

This indicates a fractured relationship between BAME communities and the Government, with greater mistrust in the Government also likely to entail mistrust in public health.

While the majority of respondents accepted the severity of the coronavirus outbreak, some remain sceptical. Overall, a quarter (26%) felt that Covid-19 is not as serious as the government and media makes it out to be. 56% disagreed with this statement. Men (31%) and younger people (28% 16-24s, 31% of 25-34 and 32% of 35-44s) were all more likely to think that Covid-19 is not as serious as the government and media makes it out to be - just 9% of over 65s think the same.

The Government has a task to not only ensure that public health messaging reaches BAME communities, but also to rebuild trust across BAME groups to ensure these messages are taken seriously and that guidance is followed.

BAME communities face a double bind of health inequalities and a disproportionate impact of lockdown and its economic impact

Our data shows how many BAME Britons have been struggling through the lockdown process, and have felt a greater impact in terms of job losses, cuts to working hours and to have faced financial difficulties. A majority are pessimistic about the long term impacts, and 61% say that Coronavirus will cause huge long-term disruption to the British economy.

Many have been directly impacted by the virus. Just 2% of Black respondents report having had coronavirus but 11% say they have lost a friend or colleague and 4% have lost someone from their family as a result of the pandemic.

Moreover, those in our BAME poll are twice as likely (13%)to report having had their hours reduced as those in our nationally representative polling from May[29] (7%) and more than our nationally representative sample from June[30] (9%). They are also twice as likely to report having lost their job (7% compared to 4% nationally from May and 3% from June), to have struggled to pay rent (9% compared to 5% nationally from May and June) and to have gotten into debt (9% compared to 5% from May and 6% from June).

As the localised outbreak in Leicester showed, socioeconomic disparities put BAME communities at greater risk of transmission. Given that BAME Britons more likely to be impacted by the economic impacts of lockdown, it is essential that financial support from the Government, in regards to business support, the furlough scheme, mortgage holidays and rent relief among others, are extended in the event of localised lockdowns.

Many from BAME communities do not feel safe about the prospect of a second wave. Just 37% feel confident that the UK is fully prepared to deal with a second wave of Coronavirus. 40% say they are not. BAME women were more likely than men to feel fearful about the UK's ability to deal with a second wave; 31% of female respondents agreed that the UK was prepared, compared with 42% of male respondents.

Given the devastating impact this first wave of coronavirus has had on BAME communities, the Government must do more than simply reflect on what went wrong. They must act to put protections in place that directly support those from Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups, and to put a greater emphasis on addressing structural racial disparities as part of an economic recovery plan.

CONCLUSION

This report has made clear that racism continues to shape the experiences of minority ethnic people in Britain today, but there is no single 'BAME' experience. Different ethnic groups and generations have had very different experiences, and as a result see the issues and solutions differently.

Despite this, and though our current political dialogue is moving to an emphasis on individual community identities there is still a solid bank of social solidarity between Britain's ethnic minority communities.

The BLM movement has had a significant impact in bringing long overdue conversations on race and racism to the forefront of public consciousness, shedding light on the pervasiveness of systemic racism and structural violence in Britain.

Our report finds that there is optimism and drive, but also pragmatism among Britain's minority ethnic communities for change, and to keep these conversations going in a way that reflects the diversity of Britain.

METHODOLOGY

SAMPLE

1,001 BAME adults aged 18+ who were sampled from across Great Britain. Strict quotas were applied on ethnicity to ensure all non-white ethnicities were sampled.

FIELDWORK DATES

Fieldwork was carried out between 3rd-10th July.

SAMPLING METHODOLOGY

This survey has been conducted using an online interview administered by Focaldata. Our platform collects data from our commercial suppliers, such as traditional online panels and numerous programmatic sampling platforms, which allow us to find respondents to a range of panels through software. We then use Machine Learning to filter out bad respondents and get as representative a sample as possible. Users fill out the surveys in real-time across mobile, desktop, and tablet devices on the focaldata platform.

The data was weighted to be representative of the GB population. Focaldata contacted members of the panel that match the demographic profiles of the country, in particular age, gender, region and ethnicity. It then weighted the raw data to match the known population of BAME adults in Great Britain.

ABOUT FOCALDATA

Focaldata is an AI-driven polling company based in London. It has conducted market research for a range of both commercial organisations and campaigns including M&C Saatchi, O2, AbinBev, London Sport and Best for Britain. It was the MRP provider for the Conservative Party for the 2019 General Election.

Focaldata is a member of the British Polling Council (BPC) and abides by its rules. Focaldata is also a member of the MRS

FURTHER ENQUIRES

justin@focaldata.com

NOTES

1   Polling of 2,003 adults aged 18+, weighted to be nationally representative. Carried out by Focaldata between 1st-4th May 2020

2   Polling carried out of 2,104 adults aged 18+, weighted to be nationally representative, carried out by Focaldata for HOPE not hate. ONLINE Fieldwork : 17th to 18th June 2020

3   https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/2020%20reports/The%20Colour%20of%20Money%20Report.pdf

4   https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/2020%20reports/The%20Colour%20of%20Money%20Report.pdf

5   https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-53194376

6   https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/newsbeat-43485581

7   Polling of 2,019 adults aged 18+ weighted to be nationally representative of the GB population, Field work carried out by Focaldata for HOPE not hate charitable trust between 29th May-5th June

8   https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2020/07/01/black-lives-matter-complex-divides/

9   YouGov / Hope Not Hate polling of 3266 Adults in GB, weighted to be nationally representative. Fieldwork: 17th - 19th December 2019

10 Polling of 2,019 adults aged 18+ weighted to be nationally representative of the GB population, Fieldwork carried out by Focaldata for HOPE not hate charitable trust between 29th May-5th June

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12 https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN01156/SN01156.pdf

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14 Anthony Heath, Stephen Fisher, Gemma Rosenblatt, David Sanders and Maria Sobolewska, The political integration of ethnic minorities in Britain, Oxford University

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24 https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/892376/COVID_stakeholder_engagement_synthesis_beyond_the_data.pdf

25 https://bmcpublichealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12889-019-6911-1

26 https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/892376/COVID_stakeholder_engagement_synthesis_beyond_the_data.pdf

27 https://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects-and-publications/employment-3/overexposed-and-underprotected-covid-19s-impact-on-bme-communities.html

28 https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/HnH_Covid-19-first-three-months_2020-05.pdf

29 Polling of 2,003 adults aged 18+, weighted to be nationally representative. Carried out by Focaldata between 1st-4th May 2020

30 Polling carried out of 2,104 adults aged 18+, weighted to be nationally representative, carried out by Focaldata for HOPE not hate. ONLINE Fieldwork : 17th to 18th June 2020

HOPE
HATE
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