

CIVIC LIFE

Evidence Base for the Triennial Review



Institute For Social Change – University of Manchester

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I. Introduction and Overview

I.1 Overview

This document forms part of the Equality and Human Rights Commission triennial review and covers equalities in civic life. It examines equality in political participation, freedom of language and freedom of worship. The primary aim is to map the various dimensions of equality and inequality in participation in civic and political life. We explore and review equalities, good relations and human rights in relation to civic life, and where possible we examine some of the driving forces behind the differences that we observe.

This report reviews literature on equality in Britain in political and civic participation, and religious and cultural practice; and reports on our analysis of recent survey evidence concerning civic and political participation. The report also examines trends over time where data are available, and briefly examines some of the factors that may help account for the differences observed. Moreover, when we examine factors underlying differences we refer to objective universal factors which may affect participation across groups and which we would therefore like to hold constant when making comparisons. For example, some ethnic differences (e.g. in health) may be attributable to differences in age. In this example we could ‘control’ for age before making comparisons (e.g. as in standardised mortality ratio). However, real concerns about equality might be about factors which affect some groups and not others (e.g. discrimination). The purpose of this report is not to assess these factors, but to highlight whether there are differences which need to be explained. In other words we can measure only *equality* - whether there are substantial gaps in the participatory outcomes across groups - and we can only indirectly infer whether inequalities in outcomes are related to a lack of *equity* in opportunities. Thus, our primary aim is to map inequalities in civic life, not to provide a full causal account for every indicator, which is beyond the scope of this research.

1.2 Structure

This project holds separate sections for particular areas of equality in political participation and cultural expression – subsections in brackets:

- electoral participation (turnout)
- political representation (local and national)
- political activism (contacting politicians, protesting)
- participation in civic organisations (membership of organisations, volunteering, campaigning)
- perceptions of influence on government decisions in local area
- freedom to practise own religion or belief
- freedom of cultural identity or expression

Where appropriate, literature on trust in politics will also be covered. Each chapter will report the evidence for a series of equality strands or identities, which include:

- Race
- Sex
- Age
- Religion
- Sexuality

Where available, each section contains information on key marginal groups:

- Disabled
- Migrants
- Gypsies and Travellers
- Homeless
- Transgender

1.3 Background: Citizenship, Equality and Democracy

This review of existing research and data analysis is focused on equality in politics and cultural expression. These two areas – politics and cultural expression – are linked by the fact that the public sphere is the fundamental context of equality and of ‘freedom’ in democratic regimes. Participation in public affairs and civic life has been a driving theme of political change for centuries going back at least to the signing of the *Magna Carta*. The notions of citizenship and democracy have rested on the inclusion and participation of the people (the *demos*), ever since the inception of both notions in ancient Greece two-and-a-half thousand years ago. Political change in the western world has gone hand-in-hand with the collective struggles of different groups in society to gain access to the *demos* and be recognised as full citizens on an equal standing to previously privileged social groups. In most cases, claims for political equality and recognition were put forward alongside struggles for increased social equality. After the French Revolution all of Europe, including Britain, was confronted by the existence and potential power of the un-enfranchised, who were also mobilising in collective action to gain improvements in their social and economic situation. Their exclusion was of significance to 19th Century social thinkers like John Stuart Mill and John Locke who argued that political information was crucial to democracy, and that increased access to education would accompany the eventual political participation of working classes and women (Hampton 2004). In this sense, political and socio-economic equality have been regarded in the past – and are still so – as inextricably linked to an important extent.

Indeed, according to T. H. Marshall (1950), the development of citizenship in Britain occurred in three phases – the establishment of civic rights (18th century), followed by political rights (19th century) and finally social rights (20th century). It is important to note that without social rights, democracies are often deemed imperfect. Legislatively, formal enfranchisement was extended in the 19th Century through the Reform Acts (1832, 1867, 1884) and in the 20th Century by the Representation of the People Acts (1918, 1928, 1949, 1969). The process has been gradual, often being stimulated, not just by discussions and debates in the UK parliament, the media and intellectual circles, but also by emerging social lobbies, such as the women’s movement and the actions of citizens. Such political action – which is also covered in this literature review – has a

history in Britain since at least the time of William Wilberforce, whose campaign to abolish slavery involved petitions and boycotts of West Indies sugar (Creagh, 2007).

Political participation in Britain has, therefore, been a dialectical process between governments and voices emerging on waves of social change. While everyone over the age of 18 now has the right to vote, equality in the capacity to exercise full citizenship cannot be taken for granted. Minority groups have increasingly gained a voice in the political process and increasingly receive the attention they deserve, but there are multiple areas in which voices and attention might be unequally distributed with potential marginalising effects. These groups include minority ethnic/racial groups, migrants, disabled people, Gay, Lesbian, Bi-Sexual, and Transgender people, and Gypsies and Travellers. This research looks at existing evidence on the participation of these groups. While some theorists such as Will Kymlicka (1995) have argued that group rights are an integral part of democratic inclusion, others have maintained that this represents a retreat from the ancient principles of universalism (cf. Taylor, 1992 for a good summary). This goes to the heart of the debate on how to best achieve equality of outcomes – that is, through universal rights or through affirmative action.

These debates are not concerned with only participation in formal politics however. Democratic theorists, going back to Alexis de Tocqueville, have long since argued that civic and social life are equally vital. Dahl (1961) described citizens falling into two types '*Homo Civicus*' and '*Homo Politicus*'. *Homo Civicus* is not especially interested in politics, but is motivated to contribute to society by taking part in civic activities. '*Homo Politicus*' on the other hand is politically engaged, driven by a desire to influence decision-making through political participation. Note that this has a very close bearing on the distinction between 'schmoozers' and 'machers' as vividly illustrated by Putnam (2000). In this report we are concerned with both the civic and the political dimensions of civic life. How much this distinction is fully supported by the evidence is a different matter. Since the early empirical studies of democratic political culture (Almond and Verba, 1963) a recurrent systematic finding in the academic studies of civic engagement is that citizens who are inclined to join and engage in civic activities are more likely to participate in formal politics as well. Hence, while it is both appropriate and useful to make the distinction between civic and political participation, it is important to acknowledge that both are often inter-related and that sometimes it is difficult to draw clear boundaries between the two.

This is the case because often the same socialisation and opportunity factors that shape civic participation also shape the inclination to become politically active. Numerous studies in political science and sociology have repeatedly shown that the early stages of family and peer-group socialisation during childhood and – especially – adolescence are crucial in determining whether young people will turn into adults active in the public arena (c.f. Hyman, 1959; Hanks and Eckland, 1978; Jennings and Niemi, 1981; Westholm and Niemi 1992; Franklin, Lyons and Marsh, 2004; Verba, Schlozman and Burns, 2005; Li, Savage and Warde, 2008). Political socialization processes shape both learning experiences – that are sometimes habit forming – and the political orientations, attitudes, values and ideas that citizens develop.

One such set of orientations, often closely linked to participation in both civic and political life, is trust or confidence in political institutions and elites, and more generally whether people feel their interests are represented by governments, politicians and democratic institutions. If constituents hold no confidence in the key institutions of public life they may not see any value in voting, or they may prefer informal and extra-institutional means of stating their political views like protesting. Equally, substantially divergent views about or confidence in different levels of government might – eventually – lead to a legitimacy crisis of certain governmental institutions and of the decisions they make. For example, in Britain, evidence supports the view that people trust their local governments more than the national government. In this regard, the 2007 Citizenship Survey results show that 60% of respondents trusted their local governments, although only 35% trusted their national government (Agur et al, 2009 p6). This example illustrates that confidence or trust in institutions do not necessarily go hand in hand with engagement – and that there are other important factors, like the level and forms of political mobilisation by political parties, operating to determine eventual levels of political participation – as it is well known that turnout in local elections is substantially lower than turnout in national elections in Britain (as elsewhere in most established democracies). Moreover, because there are also different forms of formal and informal engagement, with different underlying factors and different bearings on different aspects of socio-political life (Li and Marsh, 2008; Li, 2010c), the connection with political confidence will never be as straightforward as some might assume.

A main point of concern is that the scholarly literature systematically points to the existence of relevant inequalities in the civic and political engagement of certain groups in society. In addition to gender (for which the gap in electoral turnout has been decreasing over time to become non-existent in Britain), often ethnic, racial, cultural and sometimes religious minority groups are disadvantaged in their inclusion in (some forms) of public life. Ensuring the equality of the multiple religious, racial and cultural groups in their capacity to participate in British society and at the same time to express their beliefs and identities is a major goal for the 21st Century. Britain now hosts significant religious minorities of Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, Jews and other smaller religions. It also has significant populations of people with origins in the Caribbean, Africa, India, the Middle East, East Asia and other European countries – many of whom identify with the cultures of the territories of origin of their ancestors, and often retain an associated language. The intersection of religious and ethnic identity poses new challenges for democratic and civic inclusion, in particular in what relates to the responsiveness of democratic and civic institutions in accommodating religious and ethnic claims.

While some argue for more racial, cultural, religious and linguistic uniformity in Britain, the existing policy supporting freedoms of cultural and religious expression is backed by the letter and the spirit of United Nations human rights guidelines (Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights, 2010). Further, policies that attempt to reduce cultural and religious discrimination are important in supporting a society that wishes to remain cohesive and fair. Moreover, concerns about the equality of participation in civic and political life are rooted not only in the principles of equity and social cohesion, but also in promoting good government.

Many studies, most famously Robert Putnam's (1994) 'Making Democracy Work', argue that 'social capital' (social networks and the associated norms of trust and reciprocity) is crucial in the development of an effective and well functioning democracy. This idea has been picked up by governments across the world, many of which are increasingly seeking to encourage citizen participation in decision-making. However, it is widely believed that these efforts are akin to swimming against the tide: as traditional civic life has eroded, and as formal political participation has shrunk away in most western democracies, many commentators have bemoaned the decline in civic life (e.g. Putnam, 2000). In the last decade, there has been a prolonged and heated debate about the level, nature and trends of social capital in established democracies. Both

academics and decision-makers have been concerned about the possible decline of the social capital and its associated consequences. A great deal of effort went to establishing the true state of 'Bowling Alone', arising from Putnam's famous statement that 'despite rapid increases in education that have given more of us than ever before the skills, the resources and the interests that once fostered civic engagement ... Americans have been dropping out in droves, not merely from political life, but from organized community life more generally' (Putnam, 2000 p.64). After much discussion, a general consensus seems to have been reached that traditional forms of civic engagement in the US have been falling in the last five decades. Even previous critics have come to accept the verdict (McPherson et al, 2006; see also Paxton 1999, 2007; Skocpol, 1999, 2003).

However, others point out that this decline is not universal (Torpe 2003, Dekker and van den Broek 2005; Morales 2003 & 2009; Li, Savage and Pickles, 2003; Li et al, 2005) and that large numbers of people do still spend much of their leisure time carrying out a range of civic acts (Hall 1999; Pattie et al. 2005; Li, 2010c).

While the US was the centre-stage of the debate on social capital, the British case was not far away from attention. The question of whether there was a British version of 'Bowling Alone' came to the fore soon after the tidal debate hit the American scene. Here, Peter Hall's (1999) paper was very influential. He argued that, in contrast to the US, there is no decline in social capital in Britain. Rather, civic life has enjoyed a vibrant and healthy growth in the last fifty years. Amidst this general vibrancy, though, he does discern a growing trend of social stratification. The middle class has enjoyed much more civic engagement than does the working class, although engagements by both classes have been on the increase. As the middle class has been growing in size and as the working class has undergone a sustained contraction, the implication is that there is no declining social capital in Britain.

Hall's analysis would suggest that the 'Bowling Alone' scenario as depicted by Putnam in the US was atypical, characteristic of the US social structure and may not be generalisable to other developed countries like Britain. Yet, Hall's own analysis was under close scrutiny and was found problematic. One possible reason for the optimistic picture that Hall draws on the British social capital may be due to the data sources that he used, namely, the opinion polls where the

sampling procedure is not as rigorous as adopted in the government or academic surveys and where variables such as class were not as strictly defined in academic literature. In view of this, Li, Savage and Pickles (2003) use what are usually regarded as the 'gold standard' sources, namely, the 1972 Oxford Social Mobility Survey and the 1999 British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) to study the trends of social capital in Britain. They find that, overall, formal civic engagement has been declining in Britain in the last three decades. While they support Hall's findings of growing social stratification in civic life, the important conclusion from their research is that the working class social capital in formal civic engagement has precipitated beyond any reasonable doubt even though the middle class has (barely) managed to maintain their level of civic participation.

Other research on British social capital has tended to support the thesis of a parallel British 'Bowling Alone'. While Li, Savage and Pickle's (2003) study focused on formal civic membership, Pahl and Pevalin (2005) study the trends of informal social networks (friendship structure) using the BHPS data. Similar to and predating McPherson et al. (2006), Pahl and Pevalin (2005) show that, in the ten-year period since the launch of the first wave of the survey, most of the respondents have become more inward-looking in their friendship construction. Their circle of friends has become smaller and their 'friends' are increasingly drawn from kin rather than neighbours, colleagues or school mates. In short, the British have 'hunkered down' although the impact of immigration or migration was not investigated as a causal factor (see Putnam, 2007 for the argument of the 'hunkering down' thesis). Another study that takes issue with Hall's research was conducted by Grenier and Wright (2006) in which they also find that the basis for Hall's optimistic picture was rather shaky.

Overall, most social capital researchers in Britain and the US have come to the view that there is a declining stock of social capital in the two countries, whether this stock is understood in terms of formal social participation in civic organisations or in terms of informal social networks (as the social surveys do not have sufficient information on the social networks in the virtual world, the last aspect has not been systematically studied). Yet, amidst this apparent agreement, an important caveat should be made. That is, although many explanatory variables are sometimes used (such as class, education, ethnicity, religion, gender and age) in the multivariate analysis, the data sources for the studies do not always contain such 'inequality' groups (Li, Savage and

Pickles, 2003; Li et al, 2005; Li and Marsh, 2008; Li, Savage and Warde, 2008; Li, 2005, 2007, 2010c; Pahl and Pavelin, 2005; Grenier and Wright, 2006). Therefore there is no systematic research on how the different social groups have conducted their civic life. This report seeks to fill in this gap.

In summary, a review of the most relevant literature highlights the close connection between social inequalities and participatory inequalities. Hence, any assessment about political equality needs to take seriously into consideration the multiple aspects of social and economic inequalities that drive the different opportunities and resources that individuals of different groups in society have. After presenting the data that we will be using throughout this report, the next chapter initiates the more detailed analysis of the key issues in the equality outcomes of multiple forms of civic and political engagement.

1.4 Data

In this report, we use a variety of data sources, including the (Home Office) Citizenship Survey (this was the way the survey was initially called but it is now simply called Citizenship Survey) from 2001 to the most recent available, namely, 2008/9. The Citizenship Survey was initially biennial but has now turned annual. Other data sources used include the British Election Study surveys and the National Census of Local Authority Councillors, the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, and the 2001 Census of Population.

The Citizenship Survey, among the other sources used in this report, is the best for our purpose as it has a very large sample size and has an ethnic boost sample, and all the outcome and explanatory variables we need for the present study. Each year, the survey contains around ten thousand core sampled individuals plus boost samples of five thousand individuals for ethnic minority groups. The total sample size for the five years amounts to 72,625 with 28,516 being of minority ethnic origin. This ensures sufficient sample sizes for all subgroups for our present purposes such as ethnicity and religion. The drawback of this survey is that, as it is for England and Wales, we do not have corresponding data for Scotland (the Scottish Household Survey for 2007 did not contain corresponding data as of late March 2010). So the following analysis on civic participation pertains to only England and Wales. All the findings using the Citizenship

Survey are based on weighted analyses using the combined weight in each survey (analytical and probability weights are applied for descriptive and modelling analysis respectively).

We briefly explore the impact of belonging to the different equality groups on participation in various forms of civic and political activity. The outcome indicators (*dependent variables*) are as follows:

Theme	(Year)	Description
2 Religious freedom	(07, 09):	% who feel able to practise their religion or beliefs freely
3 Social cohesion	(03-09):	% who believe that local people with diverse backgrounds, beliefs and identities get on well together
4 Political efficacy	(01-09):	% who feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area
5 Political activism	(01-09):	% undertaking at least one of the following activities in the last 12 months: contacting a councillor, local official, government official or MP (other than in relation to personal issues); attending public meeting or rally; taking part in demonstration or signing petition.
6 Leadership roles	(01-09):	% who were a member of a local decision-making body in last 12 months (leading, representing or sitting on a committee)
7 Civic campaigning	(01-09):	% who were a member of a campaigning group
8 Electoral turnout (only 2003):		Did you vote in the last (2001) general election?

As can be seen in the above, not all the questions were asked in each of the surveys. For four of the questions, we have data for all five years; for one question, we have data for four years; and for one question, we have data for two years. With regard to voting, we have data for only one year (Citizenship Survey, 2003). The reason for including voting in the analysis is that in other datasets such as the British Election Studies or the British Social Attitude Surveys, the data on ethnicity or religion are insufficient for detailed analysis. Here, in the Citizenship Survey data, we can conduct a full-scale investigation as we shall soon see. The original question wording and the coding are shown in the Appendix.

With regard to the inequality groups, we again follow the EHRC's guidelines and focus on the following groups:

Independent variables:

- Race/ethnicity:** We differentiate eight groups as is the standard practice in ethnicity research for the British case (see Li, 2004): White, Black Caribbean, Black African, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and Other. Note that in some of the surveys, mixed categories were listed but in others (such as 2007) this fine-grained differentiation was not available. Therefore we had to code the mixed categories into the ‘Other’ group in all years for the sake of consistency.
- Religion:** We use an eight-category variable for Christian, Buddhist, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Jewish, Other and None in descriptive analyses and a six-category variable for the modelling stages (combining Buddhist, Jewish and Other as the sample sizes for these groups for each year are relative small).
- Sex/Gender:** Male/Female.
- Age group:** We code a five-category variable for 16-25, 26-35, 36-50, 51-65 and 66+. In some of the multivariate models, we use age and age squared due to the curvilinear relationship found in the descriptive analyses.
- Disability:** We code this condition as having a limiting long-term illness [LLT ill]. Henceforth, we use the terms ‘health’, ‘disability’, or ‘limiting long-term illness’ interchangeably to avoid repetition of the same word.

These five inequality group variables are available in all five datasets. In addition, there are data on sexual identity in 2007 which employs the following categories:

- Sexuality** Heterosexual; Gay/Lesbian; Bisexual; Other/prefer not to say; Do not know/Not stated (note that a similar question was asked in the 2008/9 survey but no data were available in the dataset downloadable in the Data-Archive file).

As this is the only data we have found in all the sources we are aware of and which can be directly used with the six domains of civic life, we have also decided to use it in the report.

In addition to the inequality groups, our experience as social researchers and in our previous work for the EHRC (Li, Devine and Heath, 2008) has shown that many socio-cultural variables have a significant impact on the civic life domains under research. Therefore, we have also coded and will use in the multivariate analyses a set of socio-demographic-geographic variables as controls:

Control variables:

Country of birth: We differentiate between UK-born and foreign born.

Class: Here we use the Goldthorpe (1987) class schema and differentiate the professional-managerial salariat class; routine non manual; petty bourgeoisie; manual supervisor / lower technician; routine manual (working class); and other.

Education: We code 6 categories: Tertiary; A Level and equivalent; O Level and equivalent; Primary; None; and respondents aged more than 70, as coded in the CITIZENSHIP SURVEY in some of the years but standardised here in all the surveys used.

Marital status: Married or otherwise.

Children: Number of dependent children under 16 in the household, coded as 0, 1, 2, 3+.

Country: England and Wales.

1.5 Data Limitations

There is little research or data available on the political participation of transgender people and Gypsies and Travellers and the homeless. Governments in Britain have made recent efforts to accommodate these groups and much policy documentation exists. However, research pertinent to this report is very rare.

For Gypsies and Travellers, it can be assumed that due to transient lifestyles, a significant proportion of them face obstacles to political participation. In general, they probably also face discouragement from entering politics due to discrimination. Celmyn et al (2009) argue that major political parties retain prejudice toward Gypsies and Travellers, despite recognising other minority groups. Gypsies and Travellers are further discouraged from politics due to lower literacy and negative relations with other groups (Celmyn et al, 2009).

We found no research on the formal political participation of the homeless. Although people can register to vote and describe themselves as of 'No Fixed Address', such a classification does not

necessarily mean a person is homeless as they may be in prison or transient for work reasons (Electoral Commission, 2008).

In order to effectively assess equality in civic life, such issues must be addressed in the future collection of data specifically designed about these groups. Data on ethnic and religious differences have improved over recent years, as concerns about inequalities have led to the commissioning of a number of specialised surveys and/or ‘booster’ samples (e.g. in the Citizenship Survey and the British Election Survey), or data sources with sufficiently large samples to allow disaggregation (e.g. the Labour force Survey, the General Household Survey, the Census micro-data). While still leaving a number of problems unresolved (for example in relation to the representativeness of these samples, and the sampling frames used) they have brought about an improved understanding of ethnic and religious inequalities. For similar improvements in monitoring to be achieved in other equality strands, a more focused data collection will be necessary.

2. Formal Political Participation

2.1 Background

Research into the different forms of political participation has developed and expanded considerably since the early 20th century. Van Deth (2001) reflects on this process of development and describes it as the result of successive waves of interest in political participation which had as a consequence the gradual amplification of the concept of participation itself. Without a doubt the work that had the greatest impact in the development of research on political participation was *The Civic Culture* by Almond and Verba (1963). Their main contribution was to analyse systematically the relationship between the social, economic and cognitive resources possessed by individuals and their participation and involvement in political life. This study showed that citizens' political participation depends on various factors: on the one hand, individuals develop norms, attitudes and obligations as regards participation in public life and democratic government; on the other hand, they develop a series of competences and skills which interact with these norms; finally, norms and personal competence are used in varying ways depending on the participation opportunities that citizens are presented with.

Almond and Verba's study is important because it was one of the first to include Britain in a cross-national examination of democratic political culture and participation. The results showed that – with some differences – the British and American democratic political culture approximated what Almond and Verba coined as a 'participant' civic culture. Almond and Verba's pioneering research is also crucial for establishing what is now a general consensus in political research: namely, that there are sharp socio-economic inequalities in the political participation and attentiveness of ordinary citizens. In particular, education, gender, income and occupation were important predictors of varying levels of participation and interest.¹

The relevance of social inequalities and individual resources to participation has, from that time onwards, been a recurring theme in the literature. The research conducted by Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie (1972) with other colleagues analysed in complete detail the multiple facets and implications of the relationship between resources and participation. Verba and Nie (1972 p.13) argue that the explanation for individuals' political participation is to be sought in their different needs and problems, in the varying availability of resources, in the different attitudes they display,

in the social circumstances of their environment, and in the different ways in which political organisations mobilise them. Later on, Verba, Nie and Kim (1978) looked in even more detail at the participatory inequalities associated with socio-economic inequalities, this time in a cross-national perspective. Interestingly enough, the main contribution of this study was the finding that socio-economic inequalities are transformed into political inequalities differently depending on the role that civic and political organisations played in each country. Those countries where the most underprivileged social groups were organised were also those that enjoyed the lowest levels of political inequality and, alternatively, where the less well-off did not join organisations political inequalities were larger (see also Nie, Powell and Prewitt, 1969a, 1969b).

However, over time, political scientists have repeatedly shown that social inequalities are differently relevant depending on the forms of political participation that we focus on. For example, educational attainment is one of the most determining factors in conventional political participation (electoral and community participation), but has a much more moderate effect on political protest, whereas age and ideological positions are more decisive for the latter (Dalton, 1996). Resources such as income are a source of inequality for some activities and not for others, and socio-demographic characteristics which define the social status of the individual such as gender, race or age operate as discriminatory factors for only some political activities (cf. Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba et al, 1995; Pattie et al, 2004). Economic resources are crucial for those political activities that require economic contributions, and yet have very little importance when determining participation in activities that are primarily time-intensive. In turn, education and free time are more important when the activities in question require dedicating a substantial amount of time. Hence, social and economic resources are a source of inequality when the cost structure of the activity type in question requires a certain amount of those resources.

Even if socio-economic resources are extremely relevant for any understanding of who participates and who does not, it is also important to bear in mind that the approaches that look at political participation as purely related to individual factors are seriously flawed. Many forms of political action require co-operation with other people or depend on social interaction, and hence we also need to take into consideration the role of social networks and the social embeddedness of individuals in wider contexts that foster or hinder their engagement in politics (cf. Przeworski, 1974; Knoke, 1990; Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1993; Leighley, 1995).

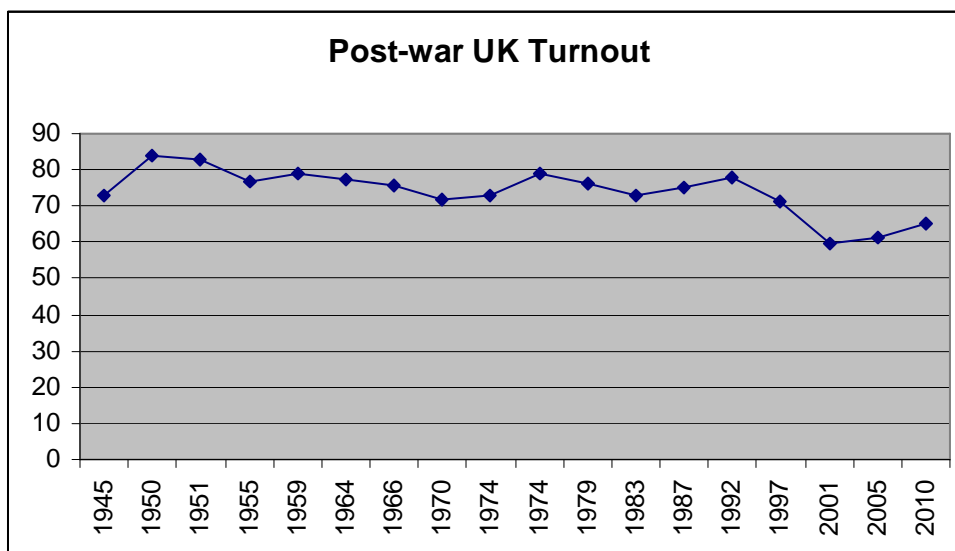
Given that different forms of political activity lend themselves to different degrees of social inequality, we look at how the different social groups that are the primary focus of this report fare with regard to each of several forms of political participation. Additional information supplements this section in the Appendices.

2.2 Voting

2.2.1 Trends in Turnout

Electoral Turnout in Britain (as in many western democracies) has generally declined since World War II. The highest recorded turnout in a general election in Britain occurred in 1950 at 84% (Fieldhouse et al, 2007; Franklin 2005). Turnout in the 2001 general election reached a low point of 59%, but recovered slightly to 61% in the 2005 election and 65% in 2010 (see Figure 2.1). By comparison, domestic elections across Europe between 1999 and 2004 result in an average turnout of 78% (Clark 2004, p. 3). In sharp contrast, in Britain's May 2008 local government elections, turnout was only 35% (Communities and Local Government, 2008, 18).

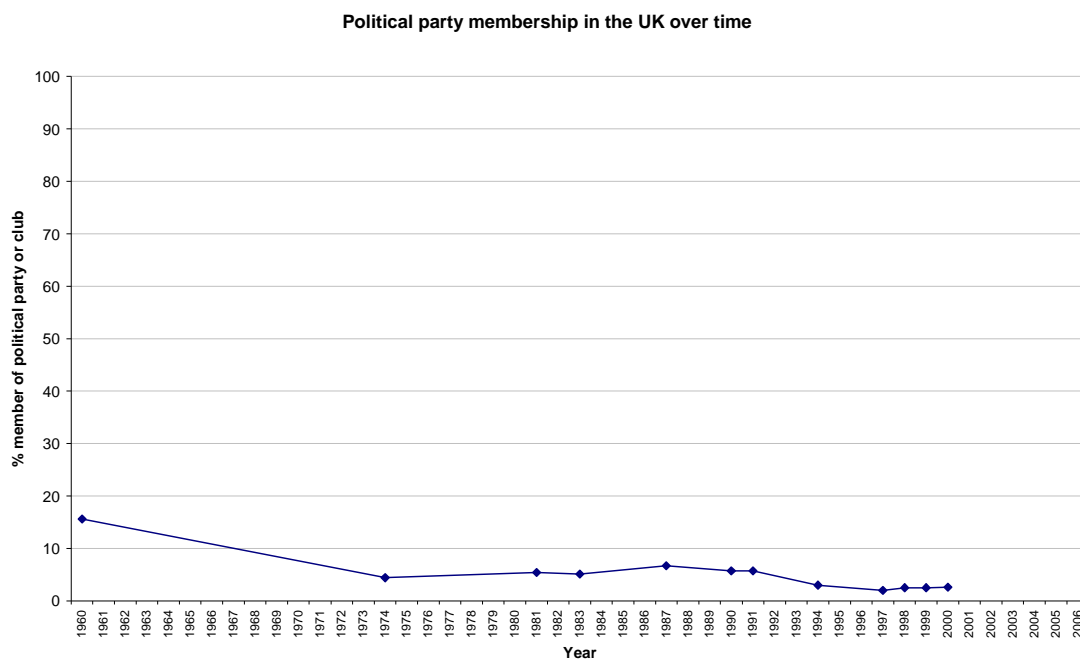
Figure 2.1



Source: ukpolitical.info

Declining engagement in formal party politics is also visible in other formal modes of conventional political engagement, like party membership (Figure 2.2). This reflects a more general decline in trust in political parties and politicians and an associated decline in partisan loyalty (cf. Dalton and Wattenberg, 2002) According to the available survey information, the percentage of adults who joined political parties in the UK dropped from around 15% in the 1960s to around 5% in the 1970s, and yet again to around 2-3% since the mid-1990s.

Figure 2.2



2.2.2 Ethnicity and turnout

There is a vast literature in the United States that focuses on the differences in levels of political participation – as well as in the outcomes of political representation – across racial and ethnic groups. Yet, often the findings in that country are that these gaps are accounted for by socio-economic inequalities that overlap with racial and ethnic divides (cf. Uhlaner et al. 1989; Verba et al. 1995; Leighley and Vedlitz, 1999). Blacks and Latinos – the two largest minorities in the US – are more likely to have lower incomes, lower levels of educational attainment, more insecure jobs,

and live in more deprived areas. In turn, because income, education, the skills and networks developed in the workplace, as well as the resources derived from the social capital that individuals can mobilise are all important determinants of political engagement, ethnic minorities are less likely to participate in politics. Socio-economic disadvantage of ethnic minorities in the UK are also associated with lower levels of electoral participation (Li, 2010a, 2010b; see also Li and Heath, 2008; Li, Devine and Heath, 2008; Heath and Li, 2008, 2010), although there are a wide range of contributory factors (Electoral Commission, 2002a).

Anwar (2001) showed that political awareness among ethnic minorities was increasing by the late 1990s. He attributes this to a shift in beliefs about the future, whereby significant numbers of migrant Britons no longer accept the 'myth of return' to their countries of origin and have become focused on issues in Britain. Moreover, the main political parties are now involving ethnic minorities in their operations and competing for their votes.

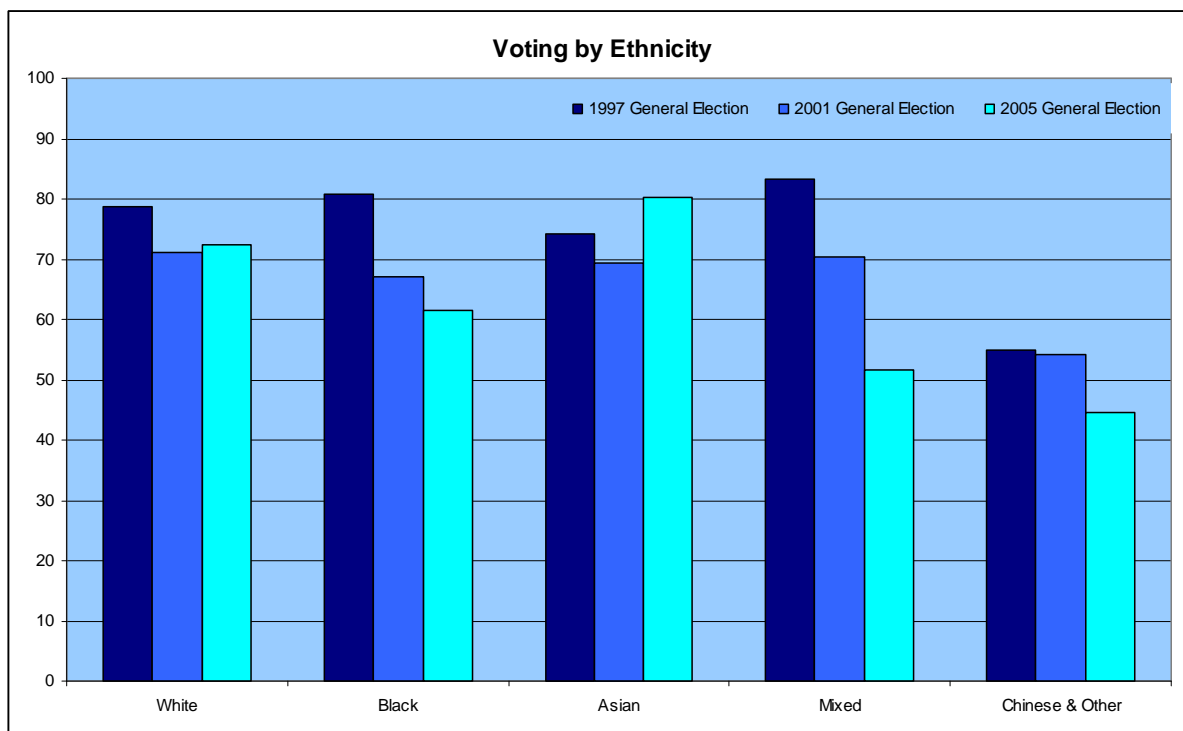
For the 2001 general election, the Electoral Commission estimated turnout among ethnic minorities at about 47% (Richards and Marshall 2003: 3) and the national rate at 59.4% (Electoral Commission 2002a: 3). Further research was conducted on the 2001 general election by Fieldhouse and Cutts (2006) who sourced data from voting registers. They found the following percentage turnouts by ethno-racial groups: Indians 82.4; Pakistanis 75.6; Bangladeshis 73.9; Black Caribbean's 68.7; and Black Africans 64.4. Whites had a turnout percentage of 78.7%, which was higher than all the minority groups except Indians (2006: 3). Generally, though, turnout for ethnic minorities has remained lower than for the White British. In this vein, Sanders et al (2005) found that, for the 2005 British general election, turnout was lower for Black and Minority Ethnic electors at 56%, than for Whites at 68%.

When trying to explain cross-group differences, Maxwell (2005) argues that lower turnout among Caribbeans - by comparison with Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis - in the 1997 general election, was not explained just by their greater representation in the lower social class groups. Rather, Maxwell associates the difference with Caribbeans' lower political trust and their perceptions of alienation from politics. Caribbean's identifying as 'British' were more likely to vote than those who did not identify as British.

Figure 2.3 shows self reported vote at the General Elections of 1997, 2001 and 2005 by ethnicity. Although self reported vote is always overstated compared to actual turnout rates, the ethnic

differentials are still a good guide to relative rates. As can be seen in the three elections that took place between 1997 and 2005 there were only minor differences between the largest three ethnic groupings (White, Asian and Black).

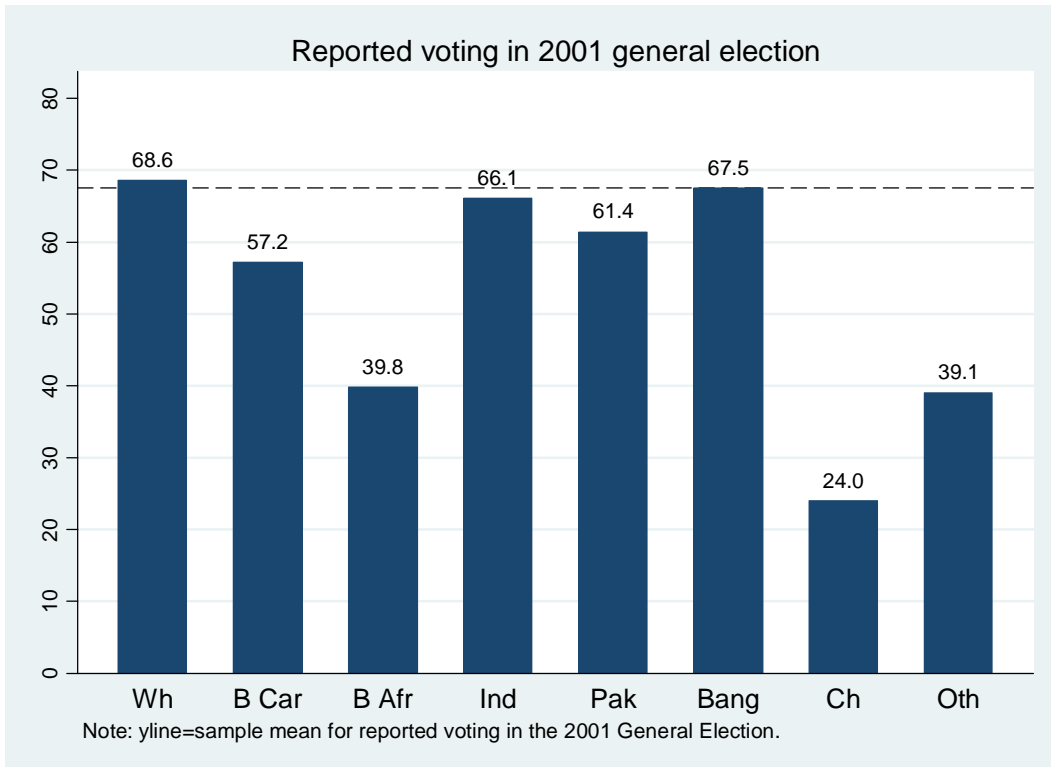
Figure 2.3: Self reported turnout of ethnic groups across general elections



In 2001 the Citizenship Survey contained data on voting at the General Election. From Figure 2.4, we see that the White and the three South Asian groups had a turnout rate of approximately the national average. Black Africans and the Chinese were least likely to vote. The voting patterns of the last two groups are unlikely to be attributable to socio-economic differences alone. For instance, it is generally the case that highly educated people were more likely to vote. Black African and Chinese individuals had, on the whole, higher educational qualifications than other groups, including the Whites. Thus, 46% of the Black Africans and 36% of the Chinese had tertiary (higher) level education. Yet, even among those with tertiary education, only 45% and 42% of Black African and Chinese respondents voted, as compared with 74% of the sample mean of the highly educated who voted. Among those without tertiary level education, only 35% and

14% of the two groups voted in the 2001 general election, as compared with 65% of the sample mean voting without tertiary education.

Figure 2.4 **Electoral turnout in the 2001 general election by ethnicity**



2.2.3 Gender and Turnout

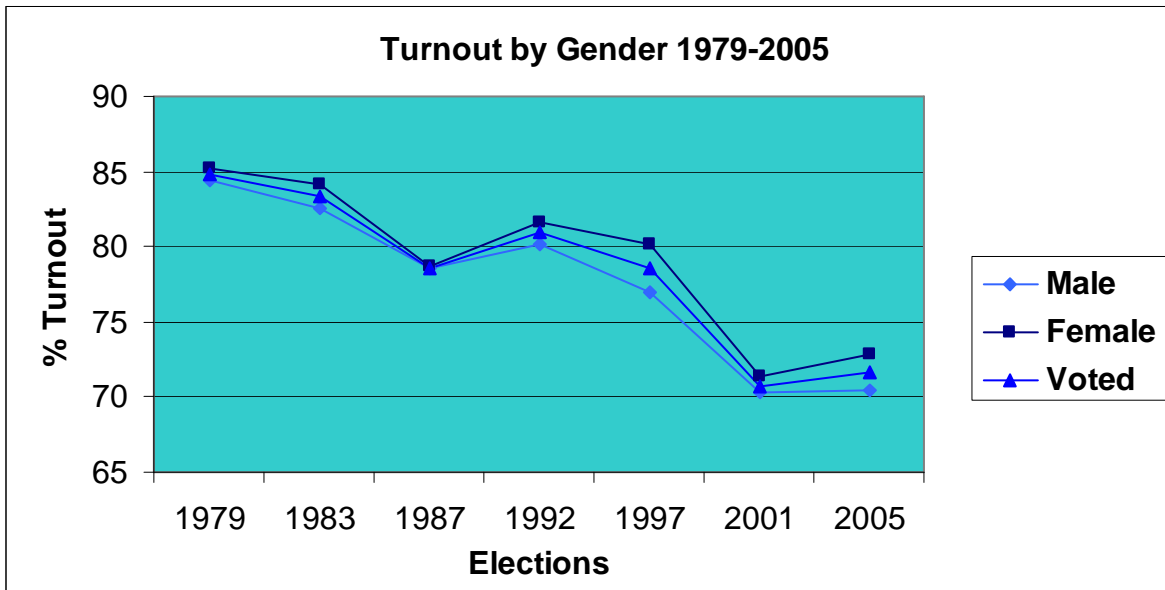
Another individual trait that is usually related to important participatory inequalities is gender. The existence of a notable gender gap in political participation was first studied with regard to electoral participation (Duverger, 1955). Several studies have confirmed the existence of important gender gaps in non-electoral political participation, although these seem to have decreased noticeably in the last decades, while the turnout gap has mostly disappeared in most established democracies (Parry, Moyser and Day, 143 ff; Topf, 1995; Verba, Burns and Schlozman, 1997; Burns, Schlozman and Verba, 2001 69 ff.).

In Britain, a voting gap between the genders existed through much of the 20th Century, but began disappearing from 1979, and in 2005 the Electoral Commission found that women and men had equal propensities to vote in elections at all levels of government (Electoral Commission, 2004; Sander et al, 2005). This increase in female participation is due at least in part to encouragement from major political parties who now target females in their voting campaigns (Chaney, 2007).

While general figures show gender equality, an imbalance remains between genders within ethnic minority groups. In the 2001 general election, women from ethnic minorities were less likely to vote than men. At the 1997 election, males and females among the Asian population voted evenly, but Black women were less likely to vote than Black men (Electoral Commission, 2004).

Figure 2.5 shows reported turnout for men and women at general elections since 1979. It shows a continuation of the long term trend for women's turnout to decline less quickly (or rise faster) than that of men. Figures 2.6 and 2.7 show the gender breakdowns for the Scottish and Welsh elections, where again, differences are fairly small.

Figure 2.5: Electoral turn-out by gender 1979-2005



Source: British General Election Study surveys 1979-2005

Figure 2.6: Voting patterns males and females across Scottish Parliament elections

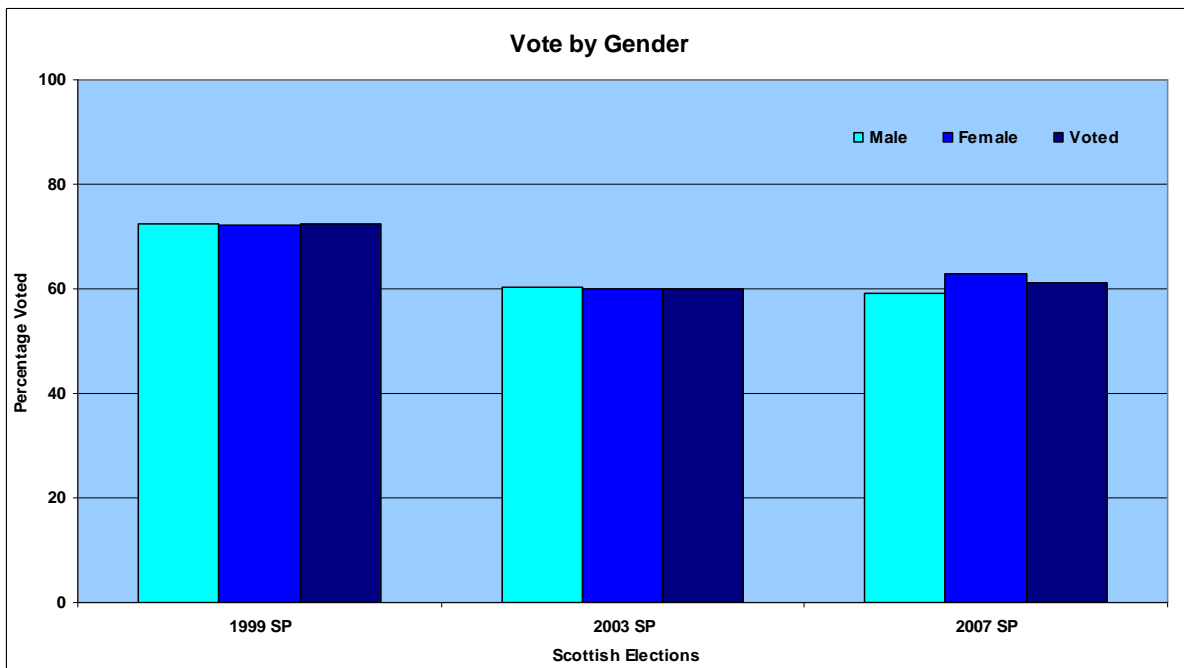
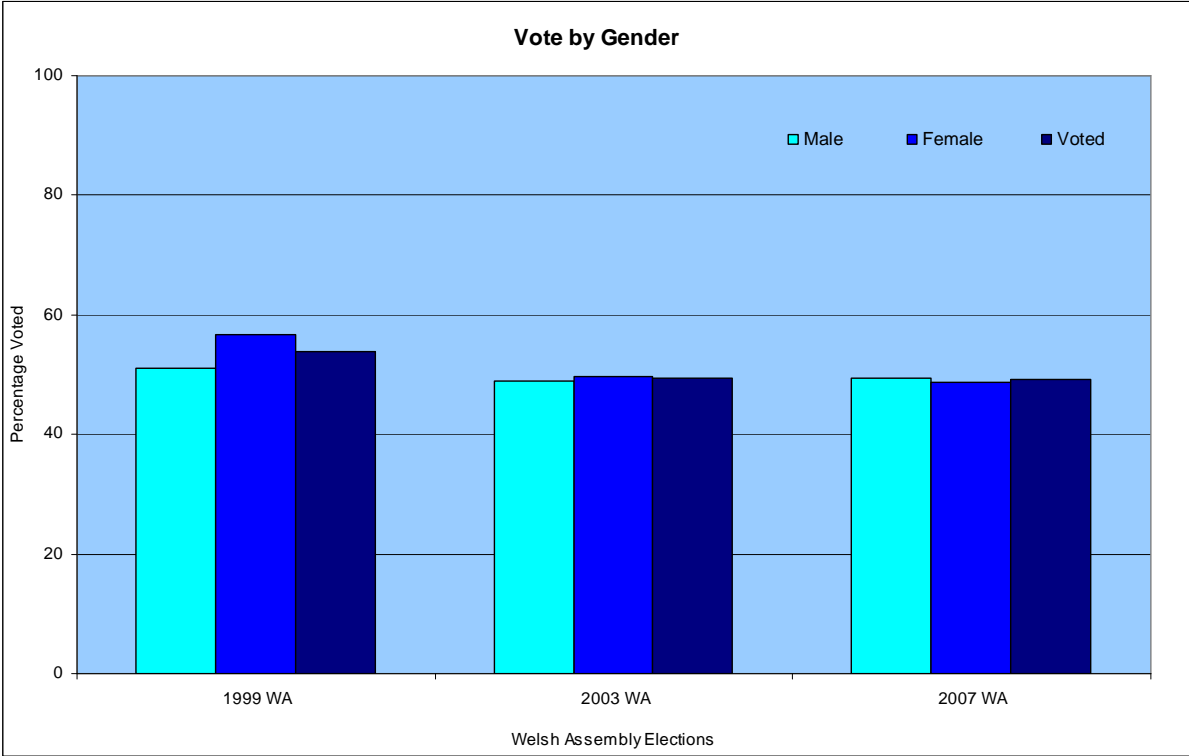


Figure 2.7: Voting patterns males and females across Welsh Assembly elections



2.2.4 Age and turnout

The relation between age and political participation is not always the same: its direction and shape varies depending on the type of participation and the country (Dalton, 1996 55 ff.; Phelps, 2001). In many cases, this relationship is curvilinear, in such a way that middle-aged persons are the most participative, and the youngest or the oldest are the least. This pattern was considered, for a long time, the most common and, usually, the explanation given to it was related to life-cycle aspects (Verba and Nie, 1972 cap. 9; Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978). Scholars argue that, in general terms, older people participate more in politics because age impinges on the skills and knowledge relevant for participation. On the other hand, middle-aged people take over social and family burdens that contribute to find more reasons to be concerned about public affairs. Nevertheless, it is not quite clear that the lower levels of participation of the oldest citizens are exclusively due to the physical consequences of age, given that in part they seem to be related to their lower levels of formal education too (Milbrath and Goel, 1977 p. 115). In this regard and specifically about electoral participation, Fieldhouse et al (2007) found that across Europe in elections for 1999 and 2002, turnout among younger voters was lower but followed the same geographical pattern as that for older voters (2007 pp. 809, 817). The deficit in youth voting (Wattenberg, 2002) contrasts with other forms of political activity (see below): for example, more confrontational forms of political action, like participation in demonstrations, sit-ins, blockades, etc. are more prevalent among the young.

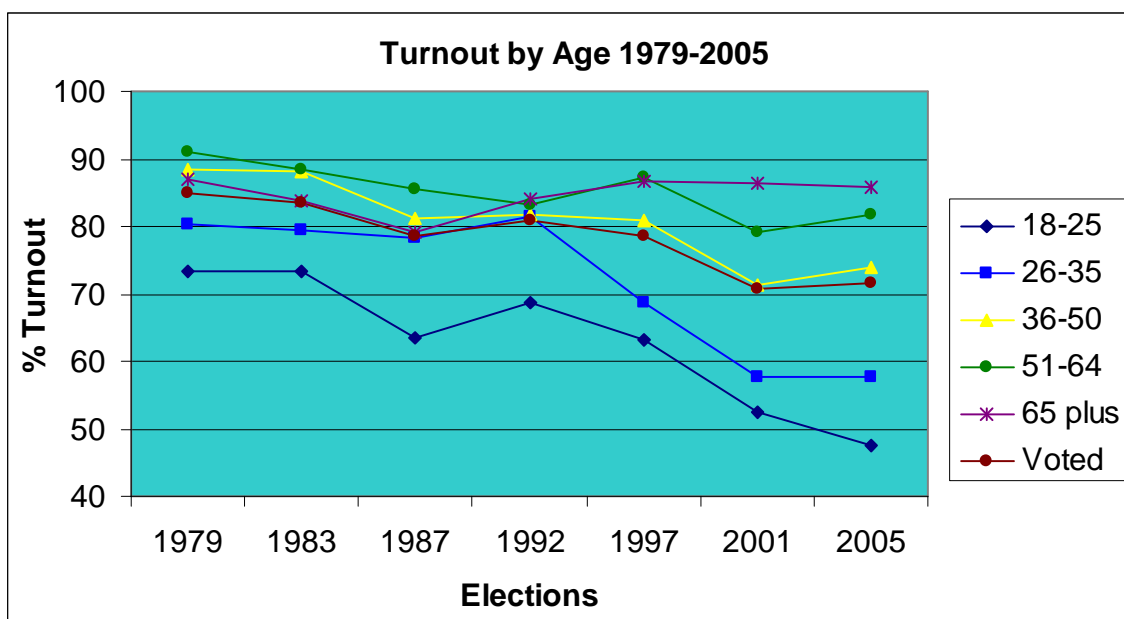
A further aspect that has been repeatedly pointed out in the scholarly literature is that often it is difficult to empirically discern whether the effect of age is driven by life cycle dynamics or whether it is due to generational or cohort differences across the age groups (Barnes and Kaase, 1979 p. 524, Jennings 1987; Dalton, 1996 p. 81). In fact, it is widely believed that age as such has little effect on political participation, and that the differences are mainly attributed to cohort or generational effects or to the period (Brady and Elms, 1999; Franklin, 2004). Strong generational effects on turnout can reflect broad social and political changes such as weakening class alignments and declining partisanship (Heath et al, 1985; Dalton and Wattenberg, 2002; Heath, 2007). To a certain extent these generational changes are also being reflected in low turnout among the young, rather than the effects of age *per se* (Franklin et al., 2004). On the one hand, this means we cannot expect those generations to start voting in droves as they get older. On the

more optimistic side, it means that, should we enter a period in which politics is re-invigorated, the next generation of young people may vote at much higher levels than their predecessors.

In Britain, turnout is generally lower among the younger generations. For 18-24 year-olds, there was a drop in turnout between 1983 and 2005 from 73% in 1983 to 43% (Whiteley, 2009 p. 253). For the 2001 General Election, the Electoral Commission (2002a, 2002b) found that turnout among the young was lower than the national rate (2002a p. 3, p. 7). For example, for the 2001 general election, the Electoral Commission found that 39% of registered 18-24 year olds voted, contrasting with 70% of registered voters aged 65 or older (2002a: 12). The Electoral Commission (2005) also found that for the 2001 general election, young people were more likely than older groups to feel powerless to affect the election results.

Figures 2.8-2.10 show the age distributions for voting in the last three elections for Britain, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly. Generally, the two youngest age groups - 16-25 and 26-35 - have the lowest incidences of voting (note also that those under 18 cannot legally vote, thereby biasing the results for the 16-25 age group). Figure 2.8 shows that age differences have been widening over the last few elections, suggesting that falling turnout is generally confined to the most recent cohorts of voters.

Figure 2.8: Voting patterns of age groups across general elections since 1979



Source: British Election Study surveys 1979-2005

Figure 2.9: Voting patterns of age groups across Scottish Parliament elections

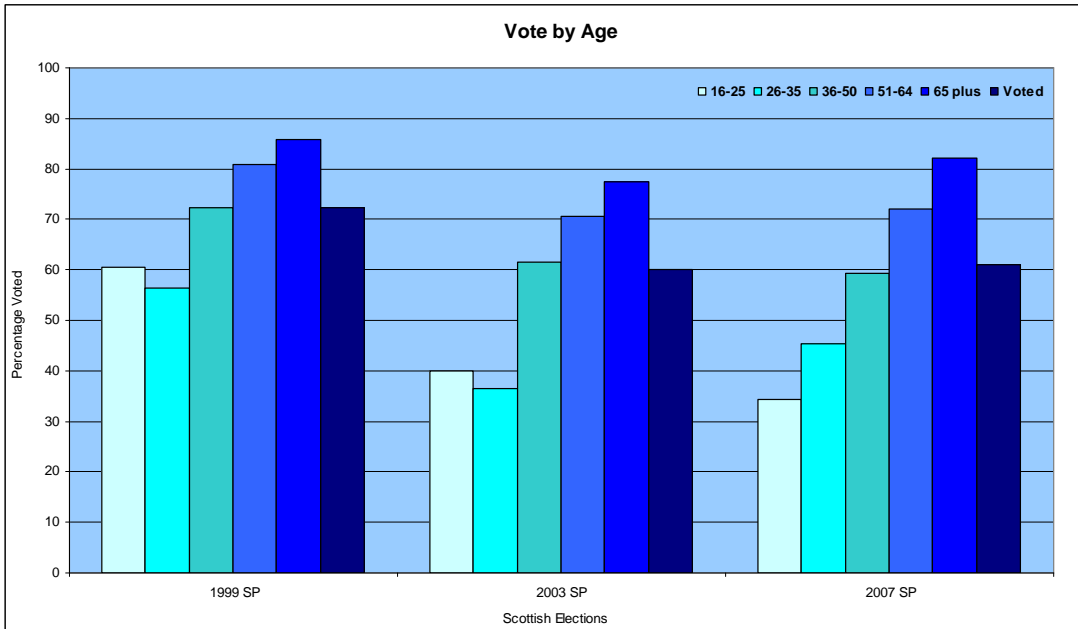
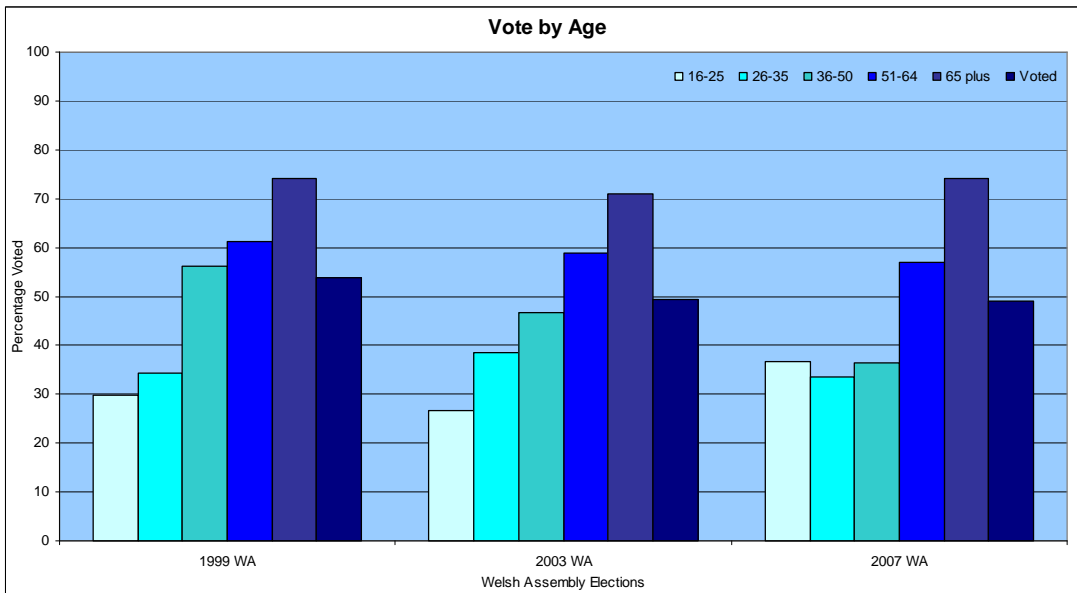


Figure 2.10: Voting patterns of age groups across Welsh Assembly elections



2.2.5 Religion

Another aspect that has generally been considered as important for citizens' political participation is their religious affiliation and practice. People who frequently attend religious services or who participate in the activities organised by their religious congregation may participate more in public affairs through several processes. On the one hand, frequent contact with other persons with whom they share values and practices enable the generation of social networks where mutual trust will develop, thus fostering future co-operation. These networks, as well as the institutional characteristics of the religious centres favour the mobilisation of the parishioners when causes emerge that require it. Pippa Norris (2002, chapter 9), following the tradition of Lipset and Rokkan (1967), considers the churches as one of the traditional and most important agents of political mobilisation, together with trade unions (see also Norris and Inglehart, 2004). On the other hand, religious practice and participation in church-related activities may contribute to the development of skills that can be usefully transferred into the public sphere. And, in the case of ethnic or cultural minorities it can importantly help to create group identities that favour political mobilisation (Peterson, 1992. For recent research on religious differences in civic and political participation in Britain, see Li and Marsh, 2008; and Li, 2010c).

Fieldhouse and Cutts (2006) found significant variation in turnout among voters of Asian background, by religion. Hindus turned out at three percentage points higher than non-Asians. Turnout percentages were Hindus 61.7, Sikhs, 60.7, Muslim, 58.7 and non-Asians, 58.4% (2006: 28). On the whole South Asian religious minorities were equally likely to turn out to vote as non-Asians. Figures 2.11-2.13 show turnout rates for different religious affiliations at the last three elections for Britain, the Scottish Parliament, and the Welsh Assembly. There appears to be few systematic differences between the religious groups. Christians had the highest turn-out rates in each election of the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly.

Figure 2.11: Voting patterns of religious groups across general elections

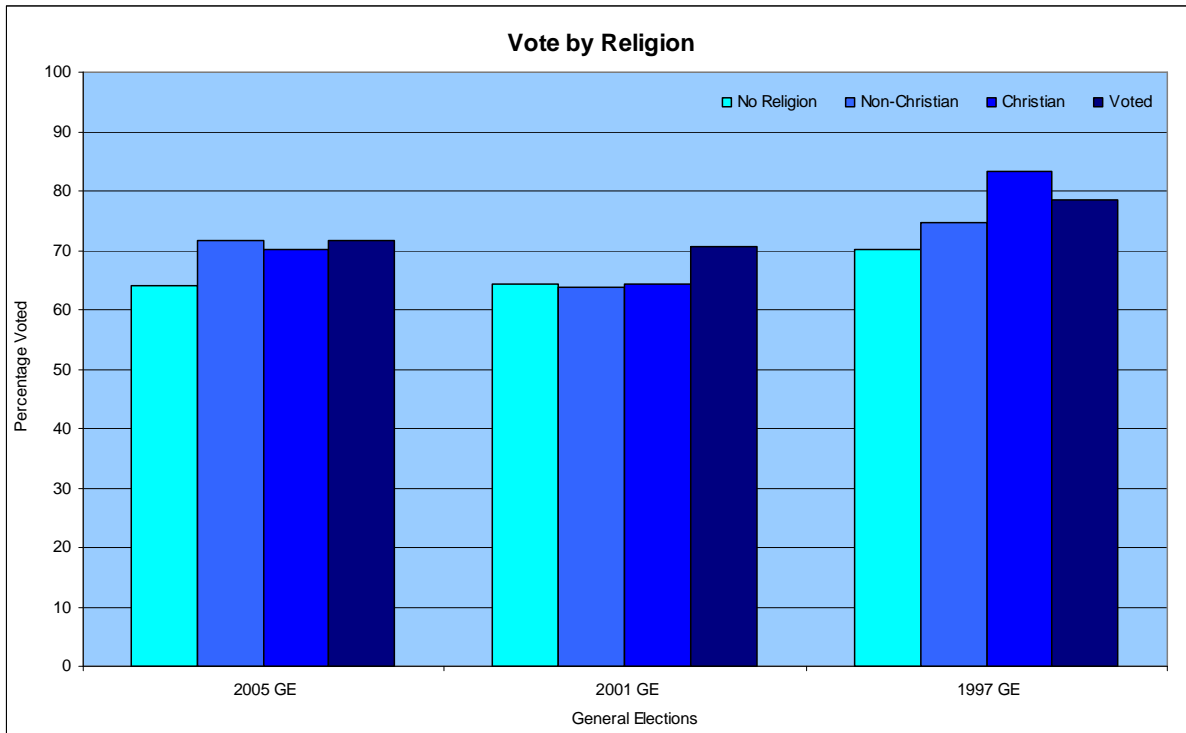


Figure 2.12: Voting patterns of religious groups across Scottish Parliament elections

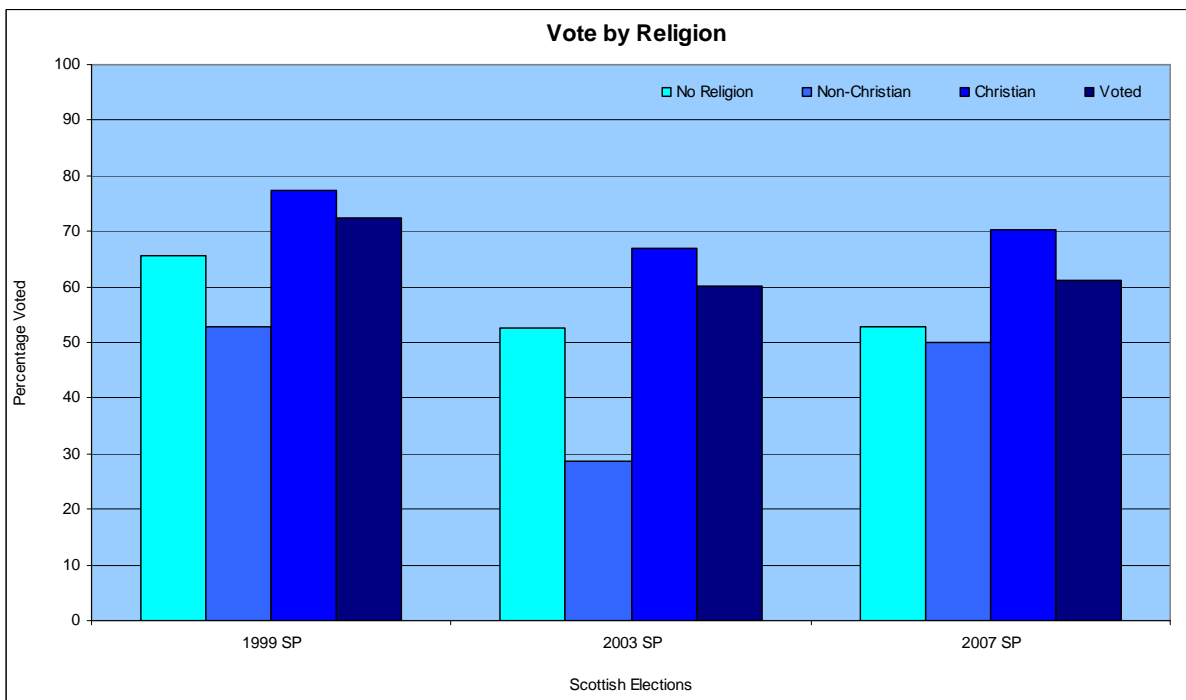
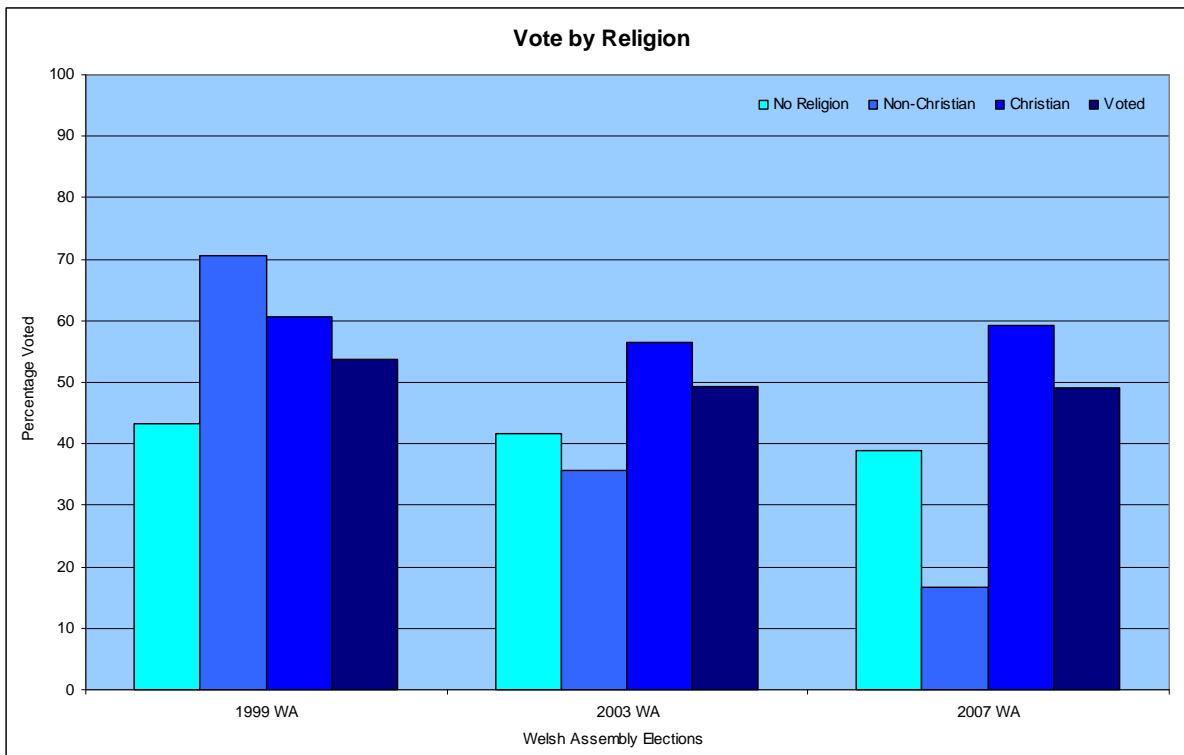
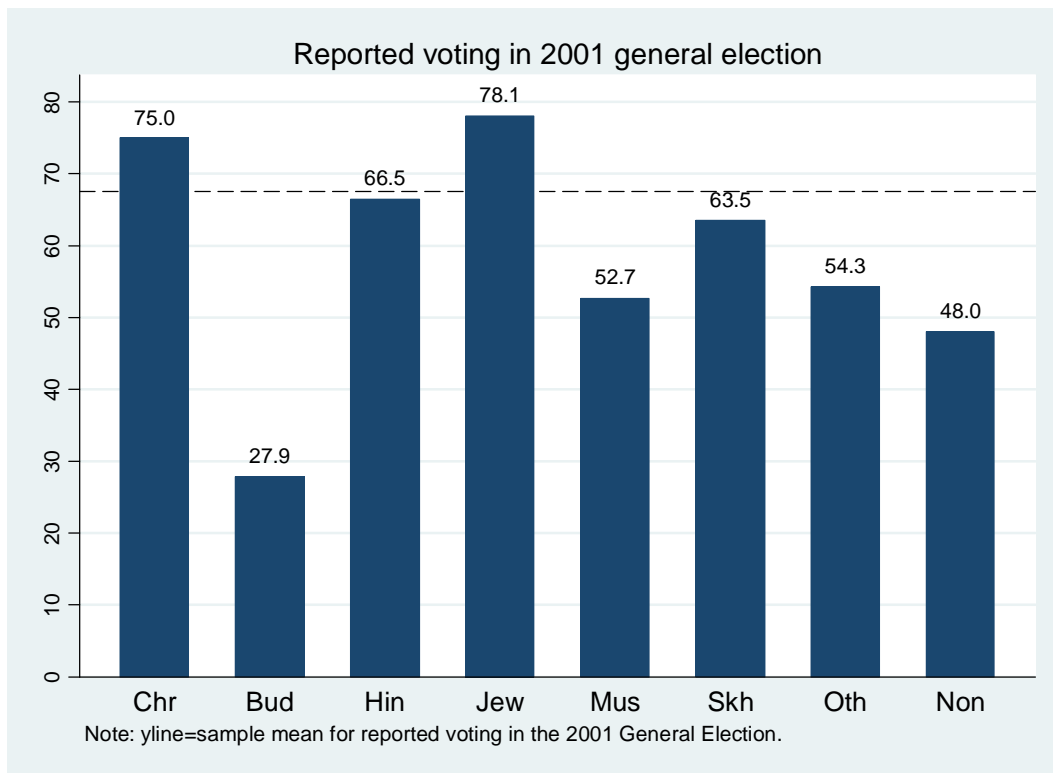


Figure 2.13: Voting patterns of religious groups across Welsh Assembly elections



According to data from the Citizenship Survey for 2001, people of Jewish, Christian, Hindu and Sikh religions were more likely to vote than other groups (Figure 2.14), whereas Buddhists were least likely to vote. For some groups, there is a close relationship between religion and ethnicity. For instance, around 96% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi people are Muslims. For some ethnic groups, there is a greater spread along religion lines. Indians are divided into 47% Hindu, 27% Sikh, 17% Muslim, 5% Christian and a similar portion with no religious affiliation. Most Black Caribbeans are Christians (86%), as are Black Africans (73%) who also count with 18% of Muslims. Most of the Chinese (60%) do not have any stated religious affinity although a significant minority of them are Buddhist (18%) and Other (namely, Taoist, 9%). Further analyses show that even among the Chinese, religious affiliation played a significant role in their voting behaviour, with 39%, 31%, 17% and 20% of Christian, Buddhist, Other (Taoist) and None having voted.

Figure 2.14 **Electoral turnout in the 2001 general election by religion**



2.2.6 Disabled electors

Unfortunately, there is not much scholarly literature that addresses the potential participatory inequalities of the disabled in Britain or elsewhere. For the 2005 general election, Sanders, Clarke, Stewart and Whiteley (2005) found that disabled people had a slightly higher turnout, at 69%, than non-disabled at 66%, due to increased postal voting. Li (2010, Table 10.3) shows, however, that controlling for other factors, people with limiting long term illness (a good proxy for disability) did not have any significant difference from the able-bodied in turnout in the 2003 election, even though they had significantly lower levels of trust in political institutions and a significantly lower political efficacy.

Tables 2.1-2.3 show voting data from the British Election Survey, by health status for the previous three elections for the UK Parliament, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly. For the UK parliament, the differences are small except in 2005, when the turnout of the

Permanently Sick/Disabled was ten points lower than the general population. Similarly, in the 1999 and 2003 Scottish elections, the turnout of the ‘Permanently Sick/Disabled’ was ten percent fewer than for other Scots. In Wales, the turnout of the ‘Permanently Sick/Disabled’ was close to the general levels in 1997 and 2005, but six points lower in 2003. Other data from the Citizenship Survey for 2001 indicated that those with a LLT illness were about 10% more likely to vote than the rest of the population, a difference that might reflect the age profile of the LLT ill (with older voters being more likely to vote). However, although there is little evidence of differences between the LLT ill and the healthy in turnout, where evidence does exist it appears that turnout levels for the permanently sick and disabled are lower than the general population.

Table 2.1: Turnout by health and disability status: Britain

Variables	1997 General Election	2001 General Election	2005 General Election
% Voted	78.6	70.7	71.7
Disability			
Long term ill	-	-	72.9
Permanently Sick/Disabled	80.0	70.1	59.7
Sample N	2906	3025	4161

*2005 BES data weighted using the Post-wave weight for GB. N= 4161. Long term ill = 20.7% of the sample.

*2001 BES data weighted post-wave. N = 3025

*1997 BES weighted sample for GB. N = 2906

Table 2.2: Turnout by health and disability status: Scotland

Variables	1999 Scottish Parliament	2003 Scottish Parliament	2007 Scottish Parliament
% Voted	72.4	60.1	61.1
Disability			
Permanently Sick/Disabled	63.5	49.0	58.5
Sample N	1482	1508	1508

Table 2.3: Turnout by health and disability status: Wales

Variables	1999 Welsh Assembly	2003 Welsh Assembly	2007 Welsh Assembly
% Voted	53.8	49.3	49.1
Disability			
Permanently Sick/Disabled	51.4	43.0	49.0
<i>Sample N</i>	784	989	884

2.2.7 Migrants

Most international studies of migrants' political participation show that this group is usually less politically engaged in the affairs of the countries of settlement than the native population. However, there are reasons to believe that naturalised immigrants might show higher levels of turnout than other migrants with the right to vote. First, naturalisation is a voluntary act that will often imply some important advantages for the person who decides to apply for it, one of which is precisely the possibility of having a say in the host country politics. Moreover, the naturalization process itself may serve as an opportunity to learn about the politics of the country and about democracy (Wong, 2006). Immigrants who go through the naturalization process learn the practical and normative rules of the game when it comes to democracy (DeSippio, 1996). In addition, most of the naturalised immigrants enter the political system at a moment in their lives when both their interest in politics and their stakes are high, compared to their descendants, due to the simple fact that first-generation migrants tend to migrate in their early adulthood and acquire citizenship of the country of settlement when they are simultaneously forming a family and employed or seeking employment. Indeed, a recent European study conducted in ten cities across Europe – including London¹ – suggests that naturalised 1st generation migrants who live in the British capital city have turnout rates that are similar to the majority population (around 49%) and

¹ For more information, see <http://www.um.es/localmultidem/>

somewhat higher than the offspring of immigrants (2nd generations) with around 41% (González, 2009).

For Britain as a whole, however, we found only limited research on migrant turnout at the national level. For instance, Li (2010c, Table 10.3) shows that, as compared with the native born, people born overseas were significantly less likely to vote even if they had a significantly higher trust in political institutions. Nevertheless, since 2001, migrants have been required to engage in citizenship education, English language training and examination in order that they may ‘participate in society and to engage actively in our democracy’ (Home Office 2002, p. 11; Cheong et al, 2007). As long as the migrants successfully and properly go through this procedure they will have the basic human capital to make individual decisions on voting and hence if they fail to vote on an equal footing the reasons will have to be sought elsewhere.

2.2.8 Gypsies and Travellers

We found no published statistical data on the voting turnout of Gypsies and Travellers. However, Cemlyn et al (2009) point out a number of problems likely to be experienced by Gypsies and Travellers in registering to vote: ‘enforced mobility, lack of a postal address, and restricted postal deliveries even if resident on some public sites’ (2009, p. 170). Gypsies and Travellers also find that Post Offices are reluctant to deliver to their sites, and wardens may release mail only infrequently (2009, p. 170).

However, the authors of this report have had email contact with a representative organisation, “Friends, Families and Travellers”. Administrator, Chris Whitwell sent the following comments:

‘Very few Gypsies and Travellers appear to be registered to vote, and the level of interest in politics seems very low’ (Chris Whitwell, Director - Friends, Families and Travellers; correspondence with authors 19/04/2010).

Mr Whitwell added that CLG funding had been received to increase civic engagement and “Friends, Families and Travellers” officers had visited communities to advocate voter registration with plans to implement extra measures like arranging visits to communities by politicians (Chris Whitwell, Director - Friends, Families and Travellers; correspondence with authors 19/04/2010).

2.2.9 Data limitations

No Information was found for Sexuality, the Homeless or Transgender people although the impact of sexual identities is an important component of our analysis in Chapter 4.

2.3 Political Representation

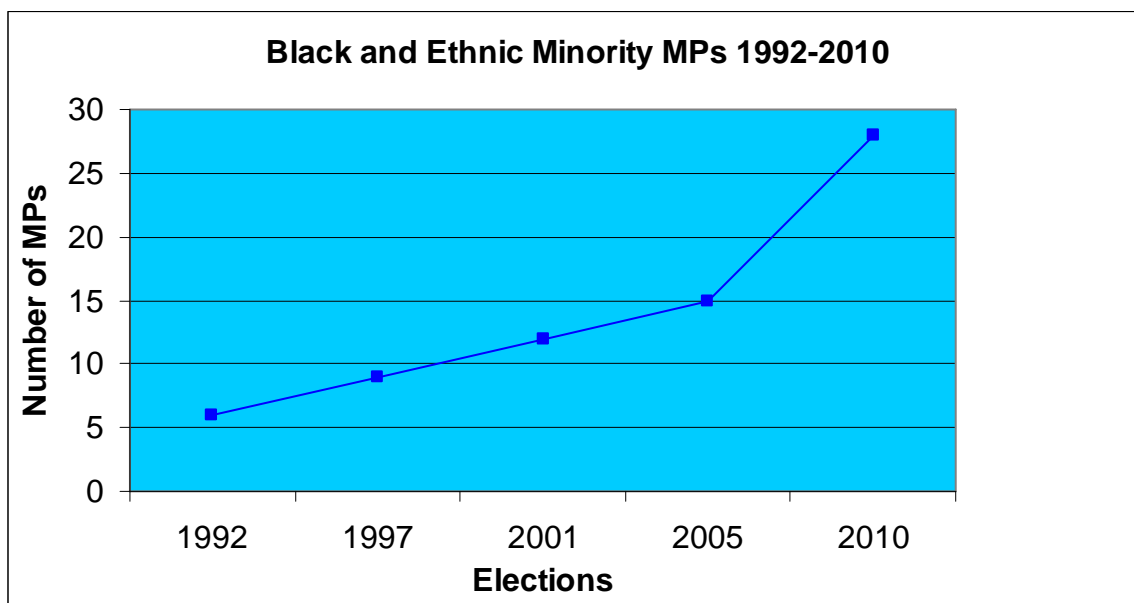
2.3.1 Ethnicity and Race

While a significant body of literature has explored ethnic representation, much of it has focused on the US, and only recently has US-UK comparative or European-focused scholarship on this topic emerged (Bird, 2003; Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst, forthcoming; Ruedin, 2009; Bloemraad, 2010). In the scholarly literature the considerable variation in immigrant-origin minority access to elected office at all levels of government (Bird, Saalfeld, Wüst, forthcoming, Bloemraad, 2010) has been accounted for by focusing on five key factors that either throw up barriers or create opportunities for representation: socio-demographics; public opinion; party and political elite responses; institutional settings and the patterns of mobilisation of minorities. While not disregarding the other factors as unimportant, in this report we can only focus on the first: socio-demographic factors. In this regard, ethnic minority representation is influenced by the size of the groups (Chandra 2004), their spatial concentration (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008), and economic status (Verba et al, 1993).

The first non-white MPs since the War were elected in 1987, when four Labour MPs were from an ethnic minority background. In 2010, the number increased to 28, nine of whom are women. This includes the first Muslim women MPs, two being elected for Labour out of a total 22 candidates (across all parties). Ethnic minorities are still under-represented in the UK Parliament and local government. After the 2010 British Election, the Commons had 28 ethnic minority members out of a total of 649 or 4.5%. All were in the Conservative and Labour Parties, respectively numbering 11 and 17 (DeHavilland, 2010 p. 5). In 2005, the percentage of Commons

members from ethnic minorities was lower at 2.3% (Equalities Review 2007: 41), with 15 members (www.parliament.uk 2010a). This compares with the 8% of the UK population who were from a non-white background at the time of the 2001 Census of Population. Although there has been some increase over recent elections (Figure 2.15), the proportion of ethnic minority members in the House of Commons still falls far short of their share of the population.

Figure 2.15 Black and Minority ethnic MPs 1992-2010



In relation to the House of Lords, Operation Black Vote lists 38 ‘Black peers’, all of whom are of minority background, although not just Black minority (Operation Black Vote 2010). In 2007, the Scottish Parliament contained no Black members and the Welsh Assembly had no members of any ethnic minority background (The Equalities Review, 2007 p. 99).

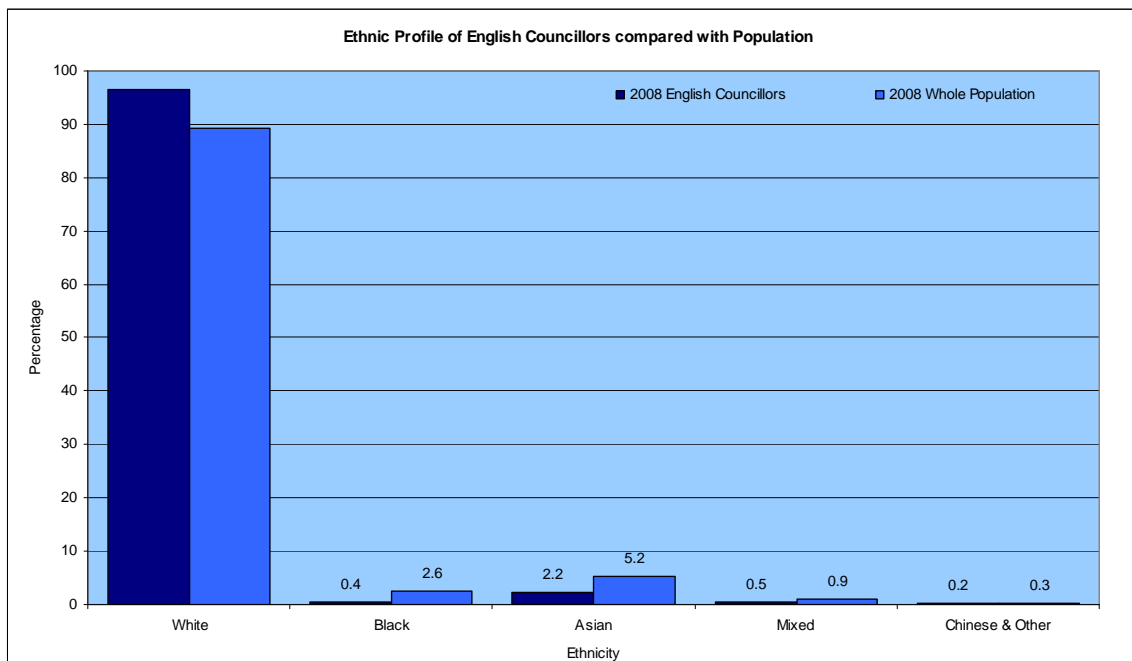
The Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (2007) reported that ethnic minority candidates faced problems in being accepted by party selection panels for safe and winnable seats (CFMEB, 2000). Saggarr and Geddes (2000) found that ethnic minority candidates are only likely to be elected in seats where ethnic minorities are heavily concentrated. For the 1997 General election, only one of the 44 seats won by a minority candidate did not have a majority of the respective minority population. To this, one should add the difficulties in representing adequately other groups within the ethnic minority population. For example, in the 2001 General Election,

the Labour Party selected no women ethnic minority candidates (Campbell and Lovenduski, 2005).

Ethnic minorities are also underrepresented in local government. For England, the 2008 National Census of Local Authority Councillors (National Foundation for Educational Research 2009) reported that 96.6% of councillors were White, while ethnic minorities were 3.4%. At the time, the entire population was 89.2% White, and 10.8% ethnic minority.ⁱⁱ The portion of ethnic minority councillors was higher in 2006 at 4.1% (National Foundation for Educational Research 2009, pp. 3, 19, 37).

The 2008 breakdown of ethnic minority councillors – as percentages of the entire English population – was: 2.2% Asian, 0.5% Black, 0.4% Mixed, and 0.2% Chinese or ‘Other’ (National Foundation for Educational Research, 2009 p.p. 3, 18, 37). Figure 2.16 compares the ethnicity of councillors in 2008 with their ethnic group national representation according to the Labour Force Survey at the time. The over-represented group was Whites, all others were under-represented.

Figure 2.16 Ethnicity of councillors



Source: 2008 National census of local authority councillors (only England)

Table 2.4 confirms the under-representation of ethnic minority women in the UK parliament, and shows even greater under-representation in local government. An estimated total of 149 female councillors were from ethnic minority backgrounds, which represent under 1% of all councillors. This is significantly lower than the proportion of councillors who are white women (30.3%). To be more proportionately representative of the population the number of ethnic minority women councillors needs to increase more than five-fold and be nearer to 1000.

Table 2.4: Black and Asian Ethnic Minorities: Women in Political and Public Life in the UK	
Variable	Frequencies%
Overall Figures	
Overall Ethnic Minority Population England 2010	11.3*
Population of England are Ethnic Minority women	5.6
Of all women are from an Ethnic Minority group	11.6
UK Parliament	
Women Members	19.4
Ethnic minority women members	0.3
Councillors in England	
Women Councillors 2006	29.3
Women Councillors 2008	30.8
Ethnic minority Women Councillors 2006	0.9
Ethnic minority Women Councillors 2008	0.8

Source: 2008 National census of local authority councillors (only England), MPs - DeHavilland (2010), * Labour Force Survey for the winter season of 2009, estimated by the research team for this report.

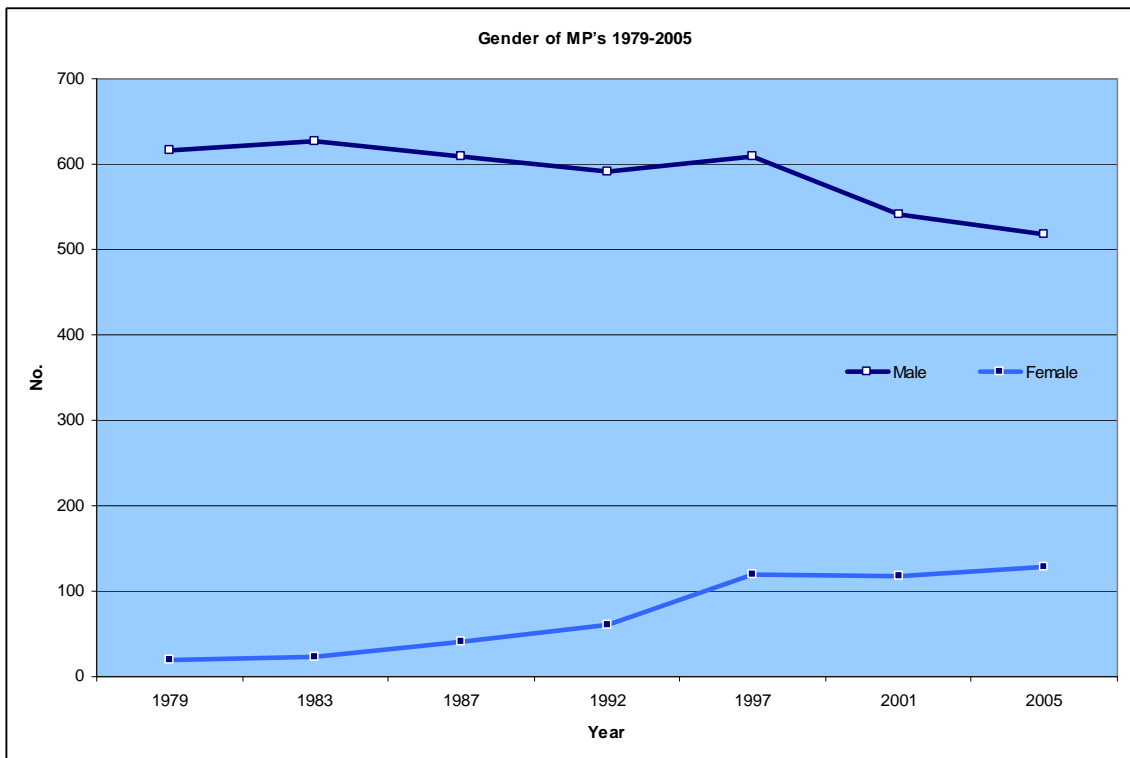
2.3.2 Gender

Like racial/ethnic minorities, women are still under-represented in local governments and the British Parliament (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2003). For the 2010 General Election, 142 women won seats in the House of Commons, only 21.9% of the total house (www.parliament.uk 2010a).

In 1992, the British Parliament had the lowest representation of women in Europe at 9.2%. While the 1997 British General election resulted in a major increase, the new portion was only 18.2% (Lovenduski, 2002; Lovenduski and Norris, 2004). Figure 2.17 shows that the number of female members of the House of Common increased from the 1970s to hit a ceiling of about one fifth of

the House in 1997 (Cracknell, 2005). After the 2005 general election, there were 126 female members of the House of Commons, 19.5% of all members (www.parliament.uk, 2010a).

Figure 2.17 Gender of elected MPs



The 2010 post-election UK Parliament therefore has a slight increase in the number of women. The percentages of female representatives in the major parties are: Conservative 15.7, Labour 31.3, and Liberal Democrats 12.3 (DeHavilland 2010, p. 5; www.parliament.uk, 2010a).

Conditions of selection of female candidates vary between the three major political parties. Campbell and Lovenduski (2005) showed that for the 2005 British election, the Conservative Party selected most of its female candidates for seats for which at the previous election the Conservatives polled in third place or received more than 10% fewer of the vote than the winners (93 out of 118). However, most female Labour candidates (115 out of 166) stood in seats won in

the previous election by the party. For the Liberal Democrats, 114 out of 125 female candidates stood in similar 'unwinnable seats' (Campbell and Lovenduski, 2005, p. 844).

In contrast to the UK Parliament, women have greater representation in the Scottish Parliament and the National Assembly for Wales. Respectively, these parliaments had 40 and 50% of females in 2005 as achieved by 'positive action' (The Equalities Review, 2007 p. 99).

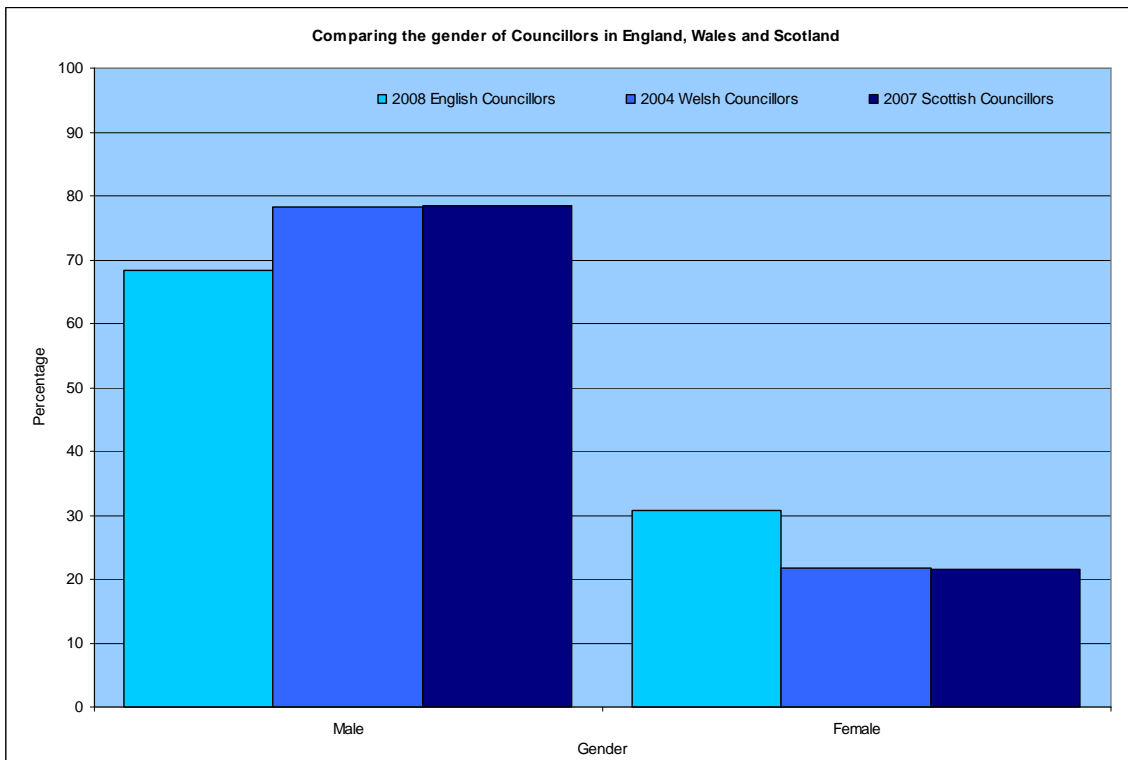
In 2008 the percentage of female councillors was still only 30.8 (National Foundation for Educational Research, 2009 p. 3). In 2000 Giddy advised that 'family unfriendly' environments of local governments were a likely deterrent to female participation (Giddy, 2000, in Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2003). Female councillors were more likely to be 'economically inactive' than male councillors and have 'full time' duties with family, thereby having less time for political careers and requiring environments that were 'family friendly' (Lovenduski, 2002). Shepherd-Robinson and Lovenduski (2002) interviewed female candidates and female sitting national members. Their participants reported cultures of patriarchy in major political parties, one aspect being the treatment of women as pre-selection 'token' females.

Bochel and Bochel (2000) propose four overlapping reasons for the lower numbers of female councillors:

- 1) Selection panel hostility
- 2) General voter hostility
- 3) Female voter hostility
- 4) Female candidate shortages of resources and networks.

Figure 2.18 shows the gender profiles of councillors in England, Scotland and Wales. Women are substantially under-represented in each of the three countries.

Figure 2.18 Gender Profile of councillors



2.3.3 Age

Among local government councillors, the young are under-represented. In 2008, the average councillor age was 58.8 years and 86.8% were 45 or older, whereas the population percentage for this group is 51.9% (National Foundation for Educational Research, 2009, pp. 3, 36).

According to www.parliament.uk, the average age of House of Commons MP is 50.6 years; the youngest member being 27 and the oldest 84 (2010a). In 2005 there were only three members aged under 30, or 0.5% of the house (Cracknell, 2005). In 2010, the average age of all members of the House of Lords was 69 years (www.parliament.uk 2010b).

Figure 2.19 shows the distributions of ages of councillors in England (2008), Wales (2004) and Scotland (2007). The trends between countries are the same, with representation climbing from lowest points in the youngest groups and peaking in the 55-64 age group. For English councillors the second largest group is 65 years plus. For Wales and Scotland the 65 years plus group is third highest behind the 45-54 age group.

Figure 2.19 Profile of age of councillors

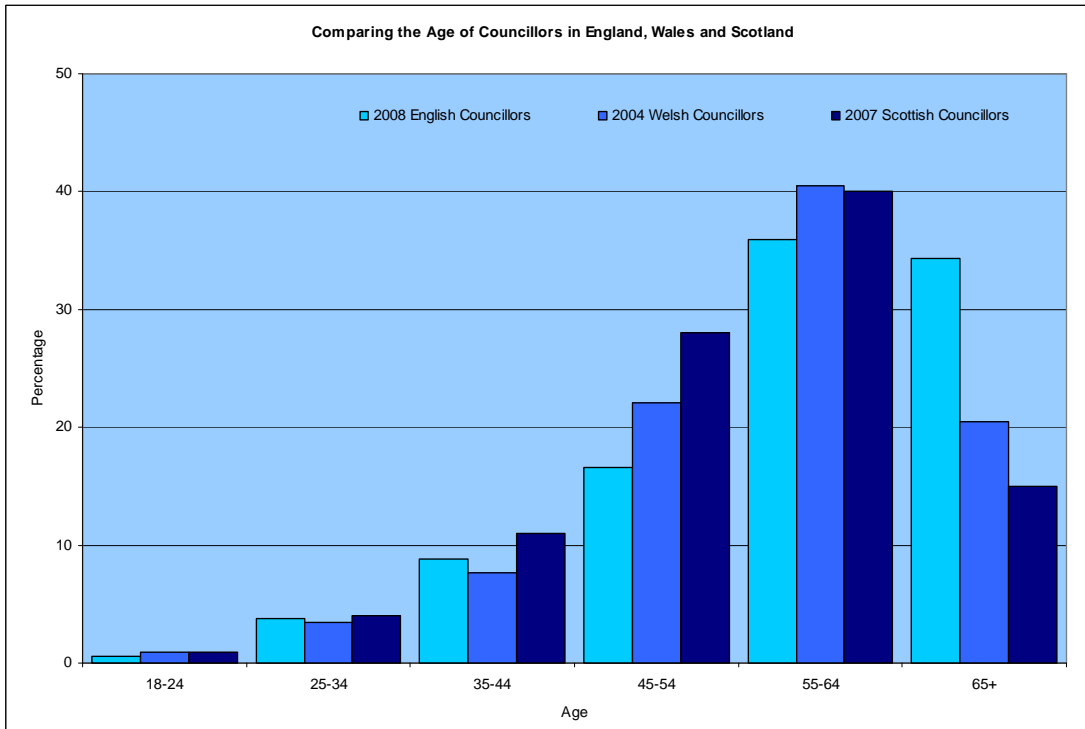
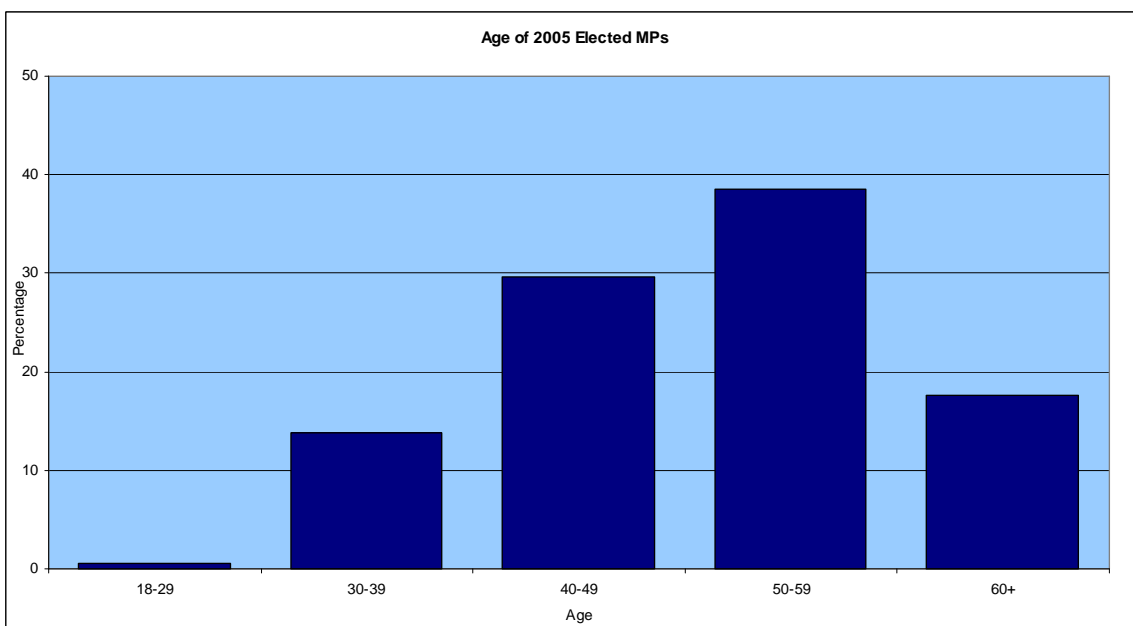


Figure 2.20 shows the age distribution of elected MPs for 2005, showing similarly a steady increase from the youngest group, 18-29 and peaking at 50-59, then declining to third highest for the 60 plus years group.

Figure 2.20 Age of elected MP's



2.3.4 Religion

We found little published research on representation by religion in British governments. The Houses of Commons and Lords do not publish information on the religious backgrounds of members on their central information websites (www.parliament.uk, 2010a; www.parliament.uk, 2010b).

According to Ansari (2003) the first Muslim member of the House of Commons, Mohammad Sarwar, took his seat in 1997. For the 2001 election, 53 Muslim candidates stood, and by 2003 there were two Muslims in the House of Commons and five Muslim peers (Ansari, 2003). The website for 'Operation Black Vote' lists 15 'black' members of the House of Commons, including 10 whose names suggest Hindu, Sikh or Muslim affiliation. The website also lists 38 'black peers', several of whom with names that also suggest Hindu, Sikh or Muslim background (Operation Black Vote, 2003).

The 2008 *National Census of Local Authority Councillors* (National Foundation for Educational Research, 2009) has no information on religion, and according to our search, there is no readily available data on the religious backgrounds of local councillors. Although Purdam (2000) reported the existence of 160 Muslim local councillors in 1996, current numbers are unknown.

2.3.5 Sexuality

In 2009, the Gay and Lesbian group Stonewall claimed that two percentage of the UK Parliament was openly gay, and all but one of these members were male (www.parliament.uk, 2009). In 2008 Hunt and Dick claimed that the House of Commons had one openly lesbian member; while the House of Lords had none. Immediately after the 2010 British election, DeHavilland (2010) reported that there were 17 LGBT members of the UK Parliament, an increase on the previous number of 12.

Using a sample of about 1,650 gay and lesbian people across Britain, Hunt and Dick (2008) found that when questioned about their chances of pre-selection in each political party, significant percentages believed that they would be discouraged. Ninety percent believed that they would be

obstructed in the Conservative Party, 60% believed the Labour Party would create barriers to stop their pre-selection, and half thought the Liberal Democrats would be similarly obstructive (Hunt and Dick, 2008).

2.3.6 Disability

According to the 2008 *National Census of Local Authority Councillors in England* (National Foundation for Educational Research 2009), 13.3% of local authority councillors had a disability or LLT illness, which was an increase from the 2006 Census of 10.9%. Councillors with disabilities or LLT illnesses in 2008 were lowest in the boroughs of London, at 11% and highest in the North East of England at 17.9% (National Foundation for Educational Research 2009, pp. 3, 6, 19).

In 2008, the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Mental Health conducted a survey of both houses of the UK parliament. Almost one fifth (19%) of the House of Commons members and House of Lords members (17%) respondents 'had either been concerned about their own mental health or had actively sought help for a mental health problem'. Recent estimates of the incidence of mental health problems in Britain have been in the range of 17% to 25% (All-Party Parliamentary Group on Mental Health, 2009, p. 3).

Table 2.5 contains the percentages of councillors in three separate periods, the most recent available, for England (2008), Wales (2004) and Scotland (2007). Wales is slightly underrepresented at 16.7% versus 20.7%.

Table 2.5 Long Term Ill/Disabled of Councillors in England, Wales and Scotland (%)

Variables	2008 English Councillors	2004 Welsh Councillors	2007 Scottish Councillors
Disability			
LT Ill/Sick/Disabled	13.3	16.7	18.0
Sample N	19617	-	740

2004 Wales – 19.3% of women were long term ill/disabled compared to 16% of men; 20% from an ethnic minority background. 2001 Census in Wales, 22.7 overall were long term ill/disabled – 22.2% men and 23.3 women.

2.3.7 Migrants

There also seems to be no published research on birthplaces of members of the UK Parliament. Further, the 2008 National Census of Local Authority Councillors (2008) had no data on birthplace of local government members (National Foundation for Educational Research, 2009).

2.3.8 Gypsies and Travellers

There is little information on the political representation of Gypsies and Travellers. According to Beacon Council and Bristol City Council (2006), some Gypsies and Travellers have served in local politics. In Essex, the late Charles Smith – a Traveller – was a well known Labour councillor in the early 2000s. However, we found no comprehensive data on current levels of political representation among Gypsies and Travellers. Chris Whitwell, Director of “Friends, Families and Travellers” noted:

‘So far as we are aware, there are no Gypsy/Traveller MPs and out of 40,000 or so local authority Councillors we have been able to identify only three as coming from a Gypsy/Traveller heritage’ (Correspondence with authors 19/4/2010).

2.3.9 Data limitations

No information was available for Homeless people.

2.4 Party membership

Data on political party memberships are difficult to acquire as ‘there is no requirement for political parties to make their membership figures publicly available’ (Marshall, 2009 p. 3). Some parties provide membership figures on their annual financial statements which can be accessed through the Electoral Commission Statement of Accounts Index but they are not obligated to do so (Marshall, 2009 pp. 3-4).

2.4.1 Ethnicity and race

In 2009, the Electoral Commission found that 46% of ethnic minorities as opposed to 33% of Whites agreed that joining a political party was important to good citizenship - although only 1% of ethnic minorities had actually joined a political party (Hansard Society, 2009). Apart from these figures we have little specific information on political party membership by minority racial/ethnic groups. Li and Marsh (2008 p. 270) found that non-participation in political activity including engagement in party politics and trade union membership was higher among ethnic minorities.

2.4.2 Gender

The Electoral Commission (2005) found that women were less likely to be active political party members or political party donors. In the 1990s women were not as likely as men to be among decision makers of major political parties. In the Labour Party in 1994, women made up only 22% of constituency chairs although offices in this function were subject to a gender quota (Lovenduski, 1996 pp. 6-7).

2.4.3 Age

For their 2008 *Audit of Political Engagement 6* the Electoral Commission (2009) found that 18-24 year olds were more likely to agree that joining a political party was ‘important to good citizenship’, at 42%, than the entire sample, for which the level was 34%. However, only 1% of

18-24 year olds had actually joined a political party or made a donation to a political party in the three years before the survey (2009 p. 44).

2.4.4 Data Limitations

We found no information about political party membership by religion, sexuality, the disabled, migrants, Gypsies and Travellers, Homeless and Transgender people.

3. Political and civic participation

There are a number of different ways in which citizens can become involved in politics, ranging from the ‘conventional’ to ‘unconventional’, ‘regime supporting’ to ‘regime challenging’, ‘traditional’ versus ‘modern’, ‘formal’ versus ‘informal’ and so forth (see e.g. Pattie et al, 2004). Here we focus on a range of activities defined by the proportion undertaking at least one of the following activities in the last 12 months: contacting a local councillor, local government official or MP, attending a public meeting or rally; taking part in a demonstration or signing a petition. Each activity is a form of political engagement, but excludes electoral participation and party membership which have already been discussed. Agur et al (2009 p. 6) define these as ‘participation focused on the relationship between citizens and the state and between public services and their users’ (2009 p. 6).

According to one study, 40 per cent of English people had participated in some form of *political activity* in the year before the 2008-9 Citizenship Survey. Whites were the major participating racial group at 48 %. Percentages were less for other ethnic/racial groups: Black 39%, Bangladeshi 37%, Indian 34%, Chinese 32% (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 11). The religious group with the highest rate of participation was Christians, with 48%; followed by people without a religion, 43%; Muslims, 37%; and Hindus and Sikhs, both at 33%. Sixty percent of respondents identifying as gay, lesbian or bisexual, had been engaged in some form of civic engagement activities in the previous year. The percentage of heterosexuals who had engaged in the same activities in the previous year was lower at 47% (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 11).

In a study of British migrants and residents, Markova and Black (2007) found that about 43% of the long term residents claimed to have engaged in civic action in response to a social problem. Among the migrants in their sample – all from Eastern Europe – a much lower portion of 20%, had acted similarly.

Cinalli (2007, 89) reported that asylum seekers and the unemployed in Britain have rarely initiated political action since the mid 1990s. Rather direct action for their interests has been taken up for them by other interest groups.

Taylor and Low (2010) and Agur et al (2009) categorise three kinds of civic engagement (which include what we refer to as political activism), the first being, *civic activism* which is the performance of a decision-making role like being a school governor, local magistrate or member of a committee with responsibility for local services (2009 p. 38). The second is *civic participation*, which includes contacting government officials, attending demonstrations or signing a petition (2009 p. 42). The final type of civic engagement is *civic consultation* which includes completing questionnaires, attending public meetings and participating in discussion groups concerned with local issues (Agur et al, 2009, p. 46).

It is noted that other forms of substantial political activity have been documented. Gibson et al (2002) found significant political activity on the internet, such as the emailing of local officials, particularly among young people. Based on their survey of almost 2,000 people, Gibson et al (2002: 2) found that among respondents aged 15-24 years, 30% were politically active on the internet. Their activities included seeking email information from political organisations.

3.1 Political activism

General results for political engagement were almost the same for the 2007/8 Citizenship Survey and the 2008/9 Citizenship Survey. About two fifths of respondents who were resident in England engaged in political activities in the year before the surveys, while 3% claimed to have conducted a civic participation activity at least every month during the previous year (Taylor and Low, 2010 p.16; Agur et al, 2009, p. 42).

Sixty percent of 2008/9 Citizenship Survey respondents who had engaged in political activities had, in the previous year, signed a petition on at least one occasion; 31% had contacted a local council official; 29% had contacted a local councillor; 18 % had contacted a British MP; 17% participated in a rally or public meeting; and 4% had been involved in a public demonstration (Taylor and Low, 2010 p. 16).

Woods et al (2007) found that political protest in rural areas has become more common as rural people have felt confronted by a number of protest-worthy issues in the last two decades, like Foot-and-mouth disease and fuel prices. Recent technologies such as emails and mobile

telephones have facilitated ‘a spread’ of political protests in rural areas (2007, p. 17) although numbers of people involved have been ‘small’ (2007, p. 10).

Sanders et al (2004) report that only small numbers of Britons engage in protest but significantly larger numbers *consider* protesting. The potential for protest in Britain changes over time, being significantly affected by rational calculation (e.g. perceptions of benefit and risks), sense of economic deprivation, and ‘timing effects’ i.e. where major events like fuel crises, stimulate protest generally.

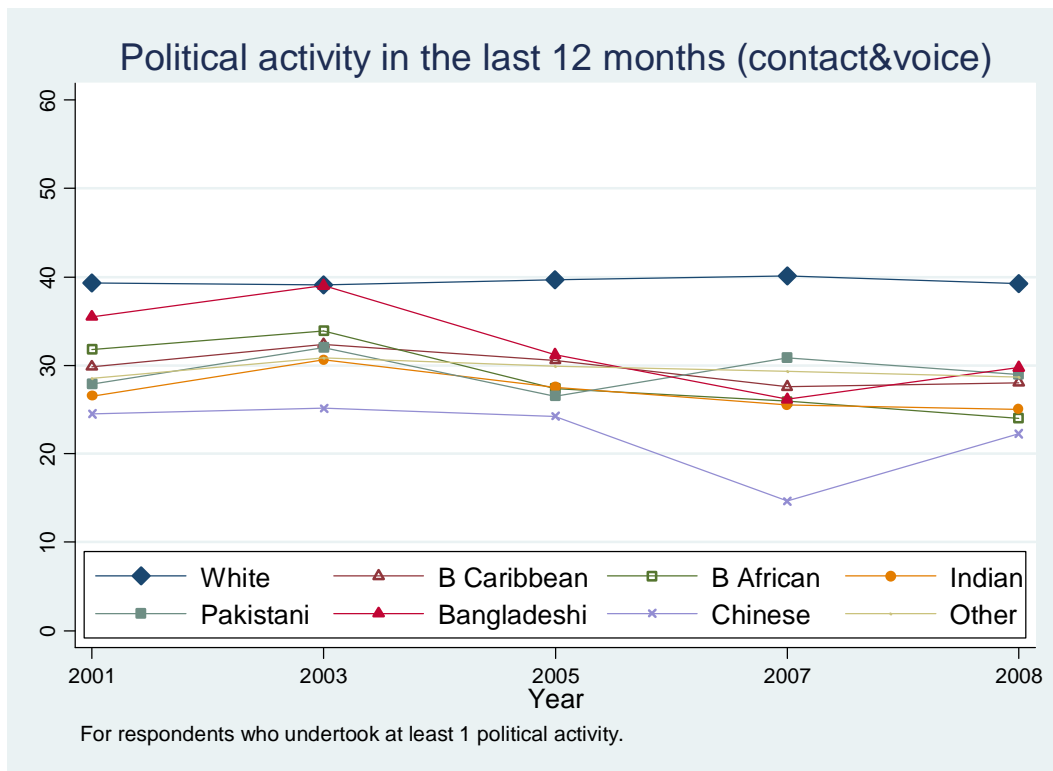
3.1.1 Race

White respondents had the highest level of political activism at 39%. For other groups, levels of political activism were Bangladeshi 30%; Pakistani 29%; Black Caribbean 28%; Black African and Chinese, both 24% (Agur et al, 2009, p. 44).

Political activism is indicated not by one but by six activities in Li and Marsh (2008) who grouped the activities into two main types: contact and voice. These contact and voice activities pertain to the six concrete actions that the respondents undertook in the last 12 months: contacting a councillor, local official, government official or MP (other than in relation to personal issues), attending public meeting or rally, taking part in demonstration or signing petition. For more detailed analyses of the contact and voice types, see Li and Marsh (2008); see also Li (2010c).

Figure 3.1 shows that White respondents had no change and remained most active. In contrast, the Chinese respondents showed the least activity throughout the years. Bangladeshis were close to the Whites in the first two years but since 2005 fell in their levels of activism, to a similar level of the other five groups. Overall, there is a divergent trend between Whites and the rest of the population.

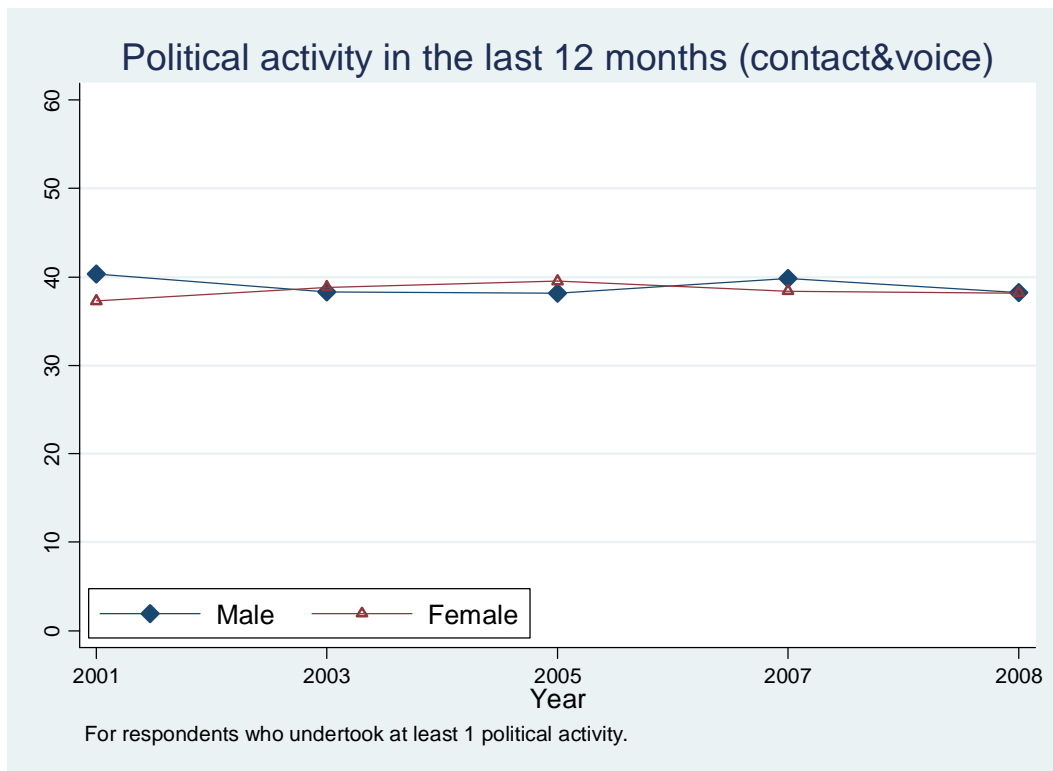
Figure 3.1 Political activism by ethnicity



3.1.2 Gender

Levels of political activism were almost the same between men and women (37% and 38%) for the 2008/9 Citizenship Survey. Agur et al (2007) reported almost the same result for the previous survey (see Figure 3.2). With respect to public demonstrating, the Electoral Commission (2004) and Pattie et al (2004) found that men and women had the same propensity for participating.

Figure 3.2 Political activism by gender

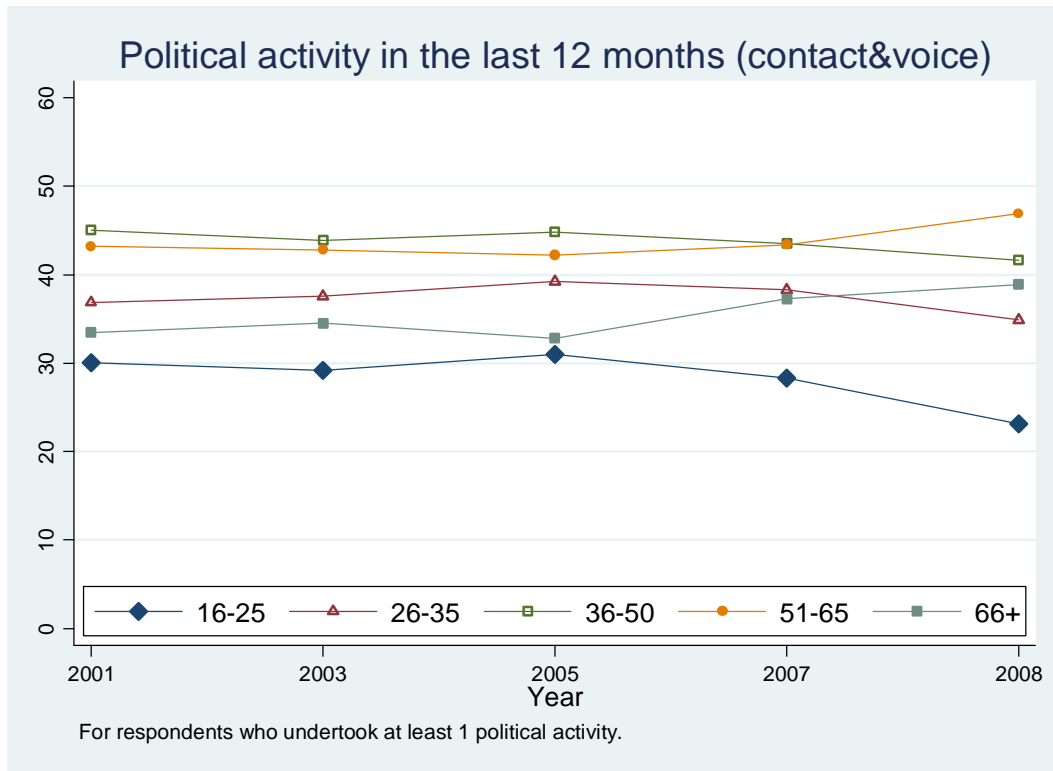


3.1.3 Age

Twenty three percent of 16 to 25 year olds were likely to have taken part in political activities in the year before the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey. Other age groups scored higher: 26-34, 40%; 50 to 64 and 65 to 74, both 46%; and 75 and over, 32% (Taylor and Low, 2010 p. 17). Levels of political activism in the 2007 Citizenship Survey were also lowest for the 16-24 year olds, 28%, 75 and older, at 32% (Agur et al, 2009, p. 38).

The relationship between age and activity (Figure 3.3, using the Citizenship Survey dataset) shows a curvilinear function, with the youngest and the oldest groups being least likely to undertake political activities whereas those in the middle age groups are most likely to be politically involved. The patterns are stable and the differences remain at around 15 percentage points throughout the period. There is little difference between the two main age groups, 36-50 and 51-65.

Figure 3.3 Political activism by age

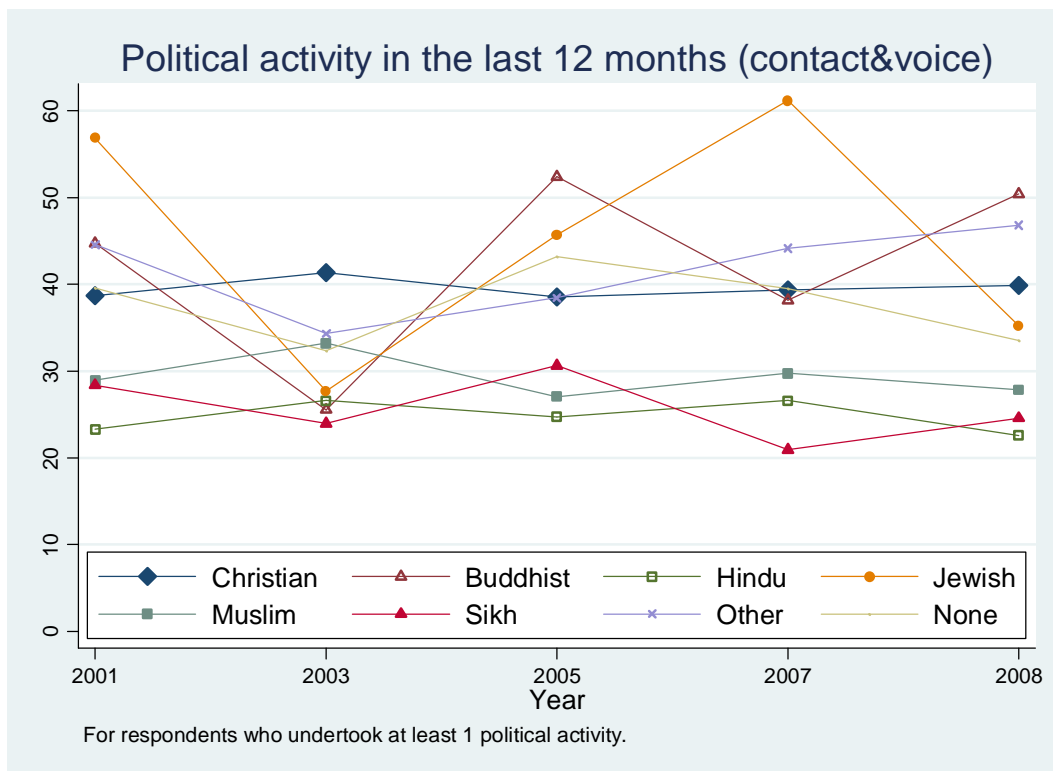


3.1.4 Religion

In the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey Christian respondents (40%) showed higher levels of civic participation than Muslims (28%), Sikhs (25%) and Hindus (23%). Agur et al (2009 p. 46, p. 197) found that Christian respondents not practising their religion demonstrated lower levels of political activism (37%) than Christians who were practising (43%).

Figure 3.4 shows a close relationship with ethnicity, with Christian, Other and None groups (who are predominantly Whites) being fairly constant and having relatively high proportions of activity in all five surveys whereas those of South Asian origins – Hindu, Sikh and Muslim groups – show lower proportions.

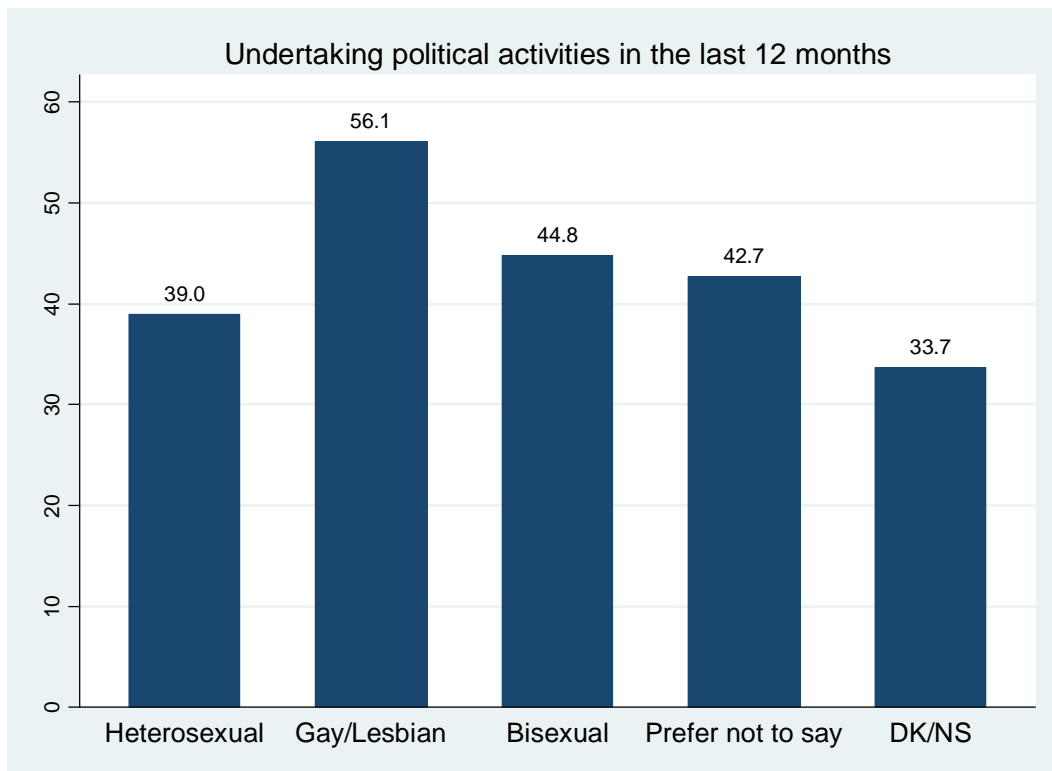
Figure 3.4 Political activism by religion



3.1.5 Sexuality

On civic participation, there were no statistical differences between sexuality categories for the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey (Taylor and Low, 2010 p. 18). Our analysis (Figure 3.5) shows, however, that Gay and Lesbian respondents, as well as bisexual people, were more likely than heterosexuals to have participated in political activity.

Figure 3.5: Political activity by sexuality

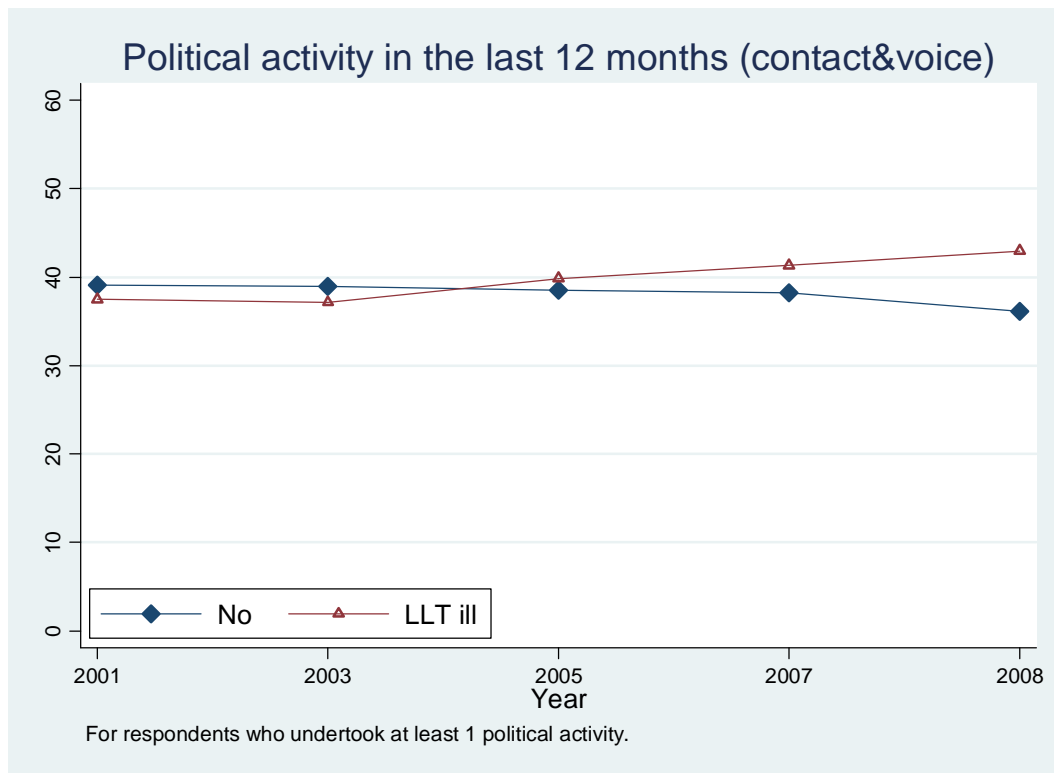


3.1.6 Disabled

Agur *et al* (2009) found no statistical differences on political activism between respondents who were disabled or had a LLT illness, and respondents who were not (2009, pp. 44, 47). However, for the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey, respondents with LLT illness scored significantly higher (42%) than those without such health issues (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 18).

Figure 3.6 shows a relationship between people's health condition and their political participation. For the first two Citizenship Survey surveys, respondents with LLT illnesses were less likely to be politically involved. In the later surveys, this group were more likely to be politically involved. Changes in government policy discouraged or attracted people with such illnesses to contact their political representatives, and to exercise their political power by voicing their concerns. More research is needed to investigate this aspect further.

Figure 3.6 Political activism by disability



3.1.7 Migrants

There is some (albeit limited) evidence that migrants are more likely to participate in civic activism than non-migrants. In Markova and Black’s (2007) comparative British study of Eastern European migrants and long term residents, migrants were more likely than residents to have participated in a protest meeting or organised a petition in the year previous to the study.

3.1.8 Gypsies and Travellers

The Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Commission has posted political demands for Gypsies and Travellers on the internet (GTLRC 2010), which may have encouraged Gypsies and Travellers to contact politicians and public officials. We found no research on the political activism of Gypsies and Travellers. Further, there is anecdotal support for the view that very low civic participation

rates among Gypsies and Travellers prevail. To quote the director of “Friends, Families and Travellers”:

‘We are not aware of much, or any, engagement of Gypsies and Travellers in protest meetings or as signatories of petitions’ (correspondence with authors, 19/04/2010).

3.1.9 Data Limitations

No information was gathered for civic participation on Homeless or Transgender people.

3.2 Civic activism

The Citizenship Survey also measures activities and membership of civic organisations. Ten percent of England residents in both the 2007/8 and the 2008/9 Citizenship Surveys claimed to have participated in some kind of *civic activism* in the previous year, 4% claiming to have done so every month (Taylor and Low 2010, p. 13; Agur et al, 2009, p. 38). The most common forms of *civic activism* among 2008/9 respondents were memberships of: decision-making groups like those concerned with services for young people (24%), local regeneration groups (21%) and tenants committees (19%). The most common individual decision-making roles were being a school governor (11%) and being a local councillor (4%) (Taylor and Low 2010, p. 13).

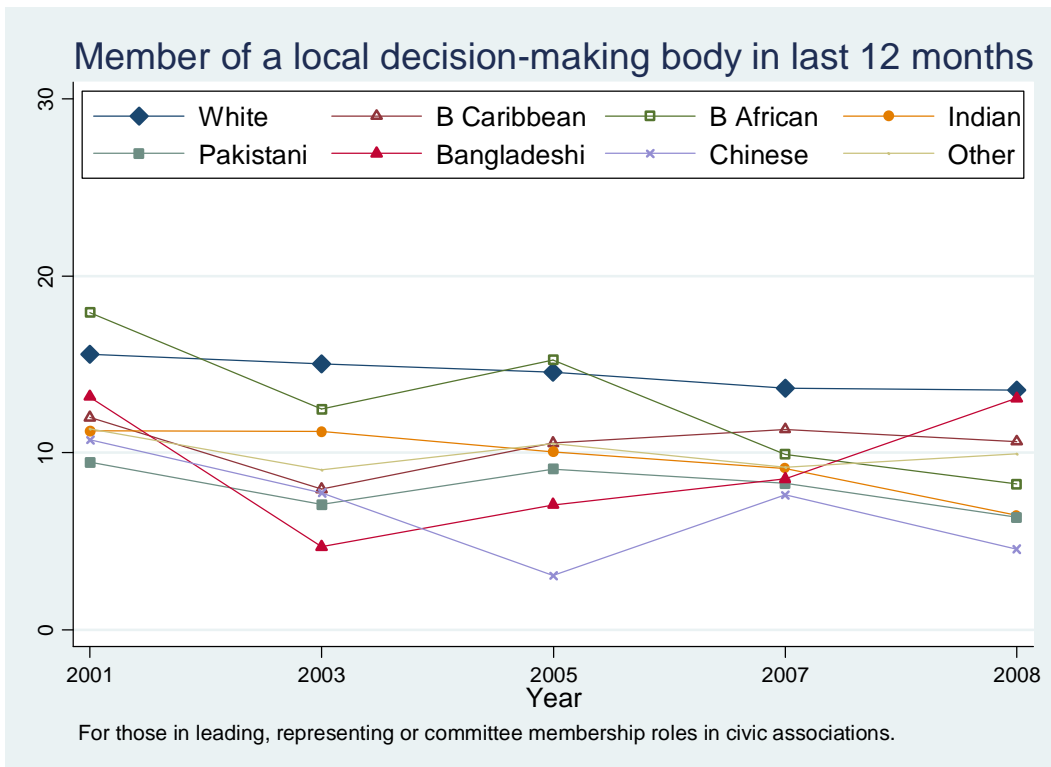
One of the EHRC’s guidelines for this report requires an investigation of the leadership roles in civic activities, or more specifically, in being in the ‘decision-making bodies’ of civic activities. The Citizenship Survey data from 2001 onwards ask about a range of 15 types of civic organisations and 11 types of activity in each of these organisations, yielding an array of 165 organisation-activity combinations. To effectively analyse the leadership roles, we follow Li and Marsh (2008) in identifying those who were ‘leading the group’ or ‘being a member of a committee’ or ‘representing a group’ in their roles in each of the 15 organisations as constituting the leadership role. It is noted here that although this subsection bears some relationship to political activism, we are here dealing with the more ‘elite’ form of civic participation.

3.2.1 Race

Race/Ethnicity groups scored as follows on *civic activism* in the 2008-9 Citizenship Survey: Bangladeshi (16 per cent) Black Caribbean (13%) White (10%) and Chinese (5%) (Taylor and Low 2010: 14).

In Figure 3.7 there is a slight but noticeable trend of declining leadership over the years, with the overall portions of respondents in such roles falling from 15.4% in 2001 to 13.1% in 2008/9. Whites remained significantly above most other groups, being most likely to undertake leading roles. Black Caribbean's were generally consistent, despite a drop in 2003. The respondents of Black African origin experienced the most notable decline, especially in the last two years. Bangladeshis showed a U-shaped leadership profile over the years. People of Indian and Pakistani heritages were fairly middling in all the years whereas the Chinese group were, as in other spheres of civic activity, the least likely to be pursuing such roles.

Figure 3.7 Leadership roles in civic activity by ethnicity

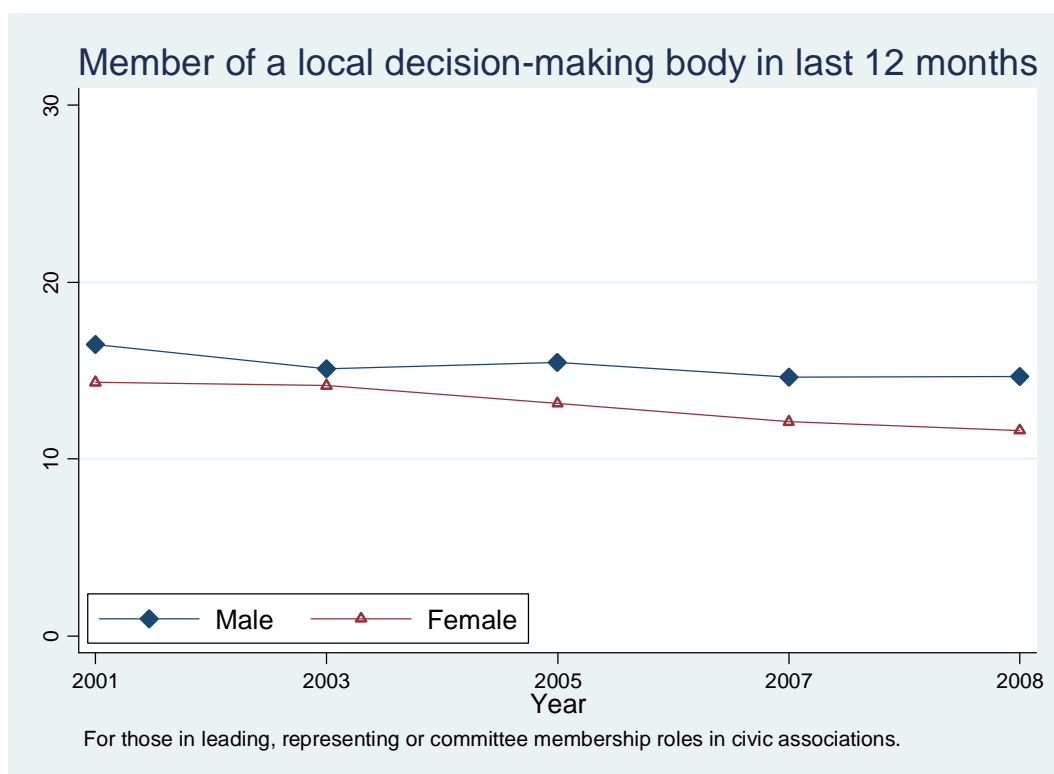


3.2.2 Gender

Men and women in the 2007 Citizenship Survey shared the same level of *civic activism* at 10% (Agur et al, 2009, p. 155). Men scored slightly above at 12% in the 2008-9 Survey, with women at 9% (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 14).

However, the gender differences in the Citizenship Survey 2001-2008/9 manifested themselves clearly with regard to taking up leadership roles, with men being more likely to become a member of a local decision-making body than women (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8 Leadership roles in civic activity by gender



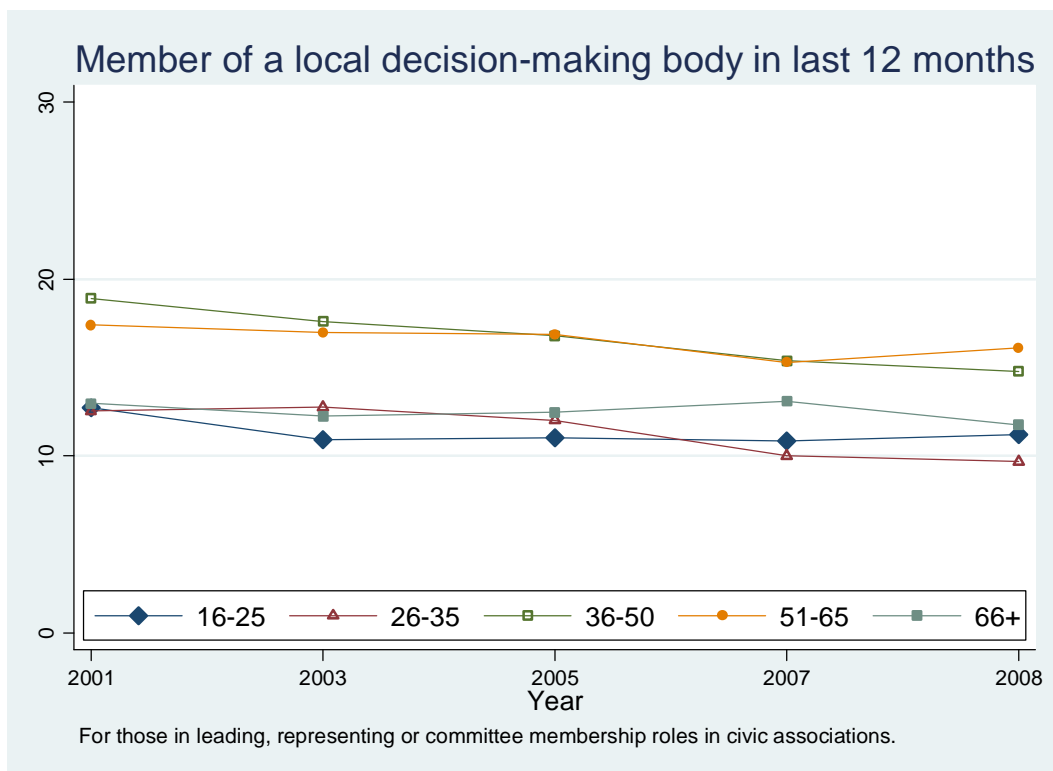
3.2.3 Age

Differences in the rates of *civic activism* between age groups were not significant in the 2007 Citizenship Survey data (Agur et al, 2009, pp. 38, 44). However there were differences for the 2008-9 Survey where the youngest group, 16 to 25 years old, scored lower (7%) than those 26 to

34 (9%), 35 to 49 (12%), 50 to 64 (12%), and 65 to 74 (13%). Respondents who were 74 years and older also scored 7% (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 14).

In the Citizenship Survey 2001-2008/9, we find a similar profile to that found for political activism, namely, a clear curvilinear relationship between age and leadership role, with the two youngest and the oldest groups being least likely to assume leadership roles; and the two middle-age groups being most likely to have leadership roles (Figure 3.9). Among the five age groups, the youngest and the oldest group remained consistent, while the other three groups all showed a declining trend.

Figure 3.9 Leadership role in civic activity by age

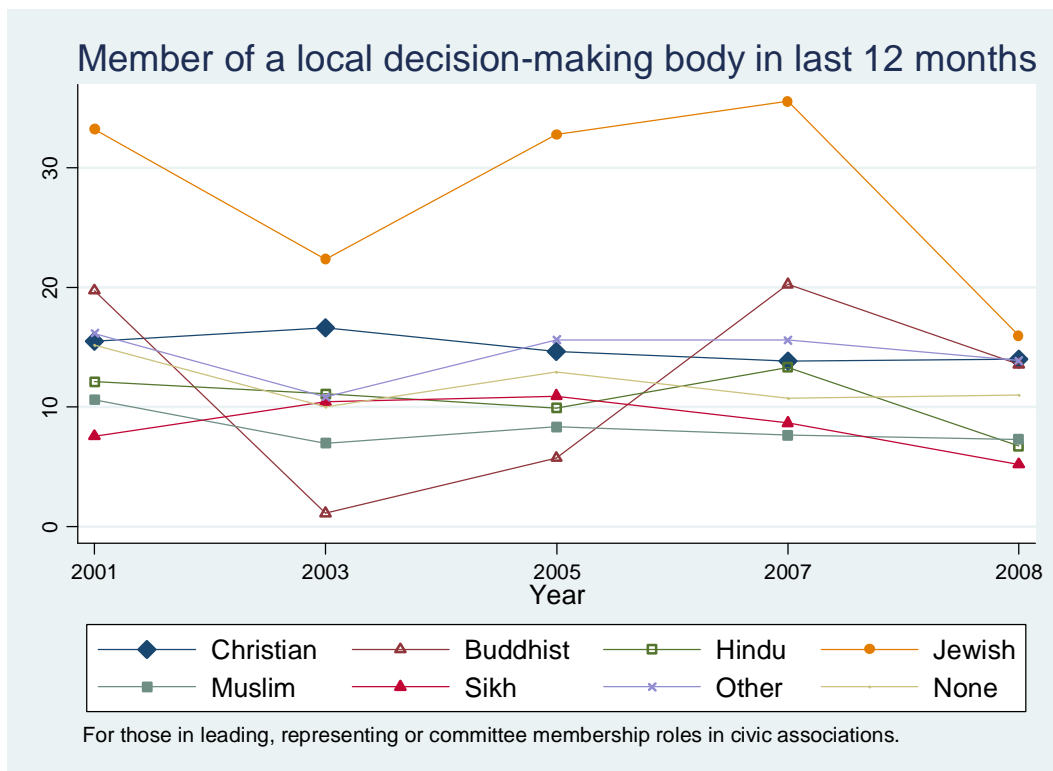


3.2.4 Religion

Taylor and Low found no significant differences between religious groups on *civic activism* in the 2008-9 Citizenship Survey (2010, p. 15). Figure 3.10 shows two religious groups demonstrating variation in leadership: Jews and Buddhists. (Note that the numbers in these groups were

relatively small, as Buddhists ranged from 89 to 153). The shape for these two groups was similar in spite of the gaps in the first four years. Generally, Jewish respondents were most likely to be in leadership roles. Christians, Other and None were generally consistent and were lying below the Jewish group, on the one hand, and above the predominantly three South Asian religious groups, on the other.

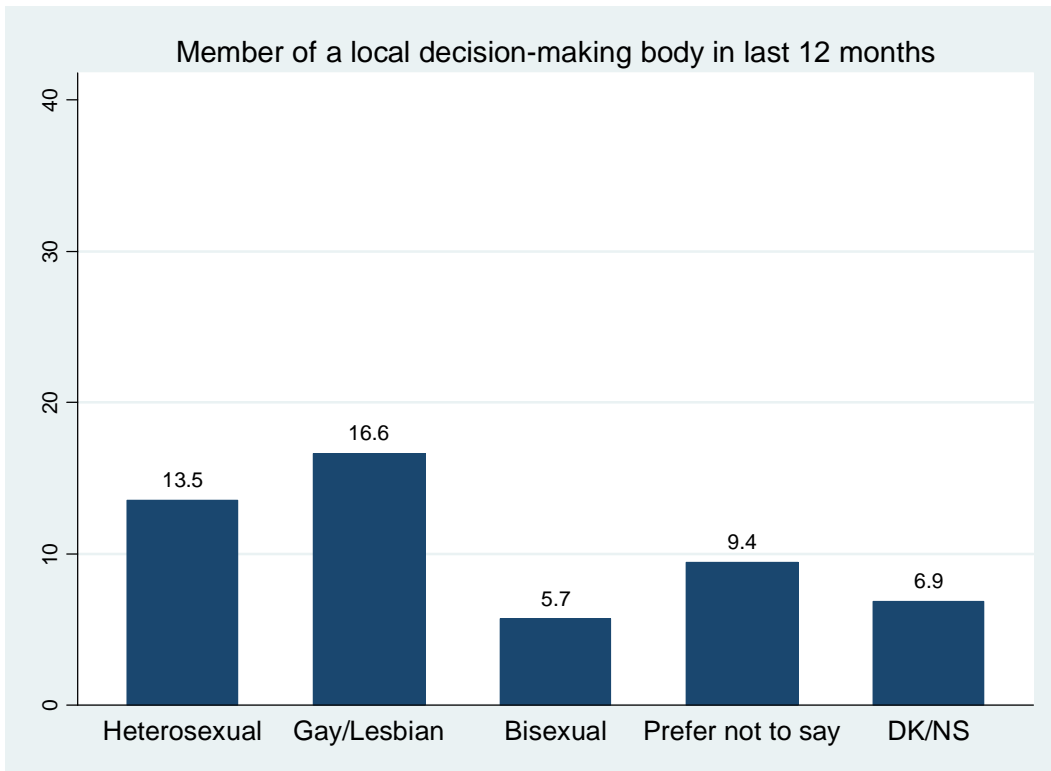
Figure 3.10: Leadership roles in civic activity by religion



3.2.5 Sexuality

There were no statistically significant differences between sexuality groups on *civic activism* for the 2008-9 Citizenship Survey (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 15). Agur et al (2009) report the same finding in the previous year (2009, p. 40). Figure 3.11 shows that Gay and Lesbian individuals are slightly more likely than heterosexuals to take leadership roles in civic organisations.

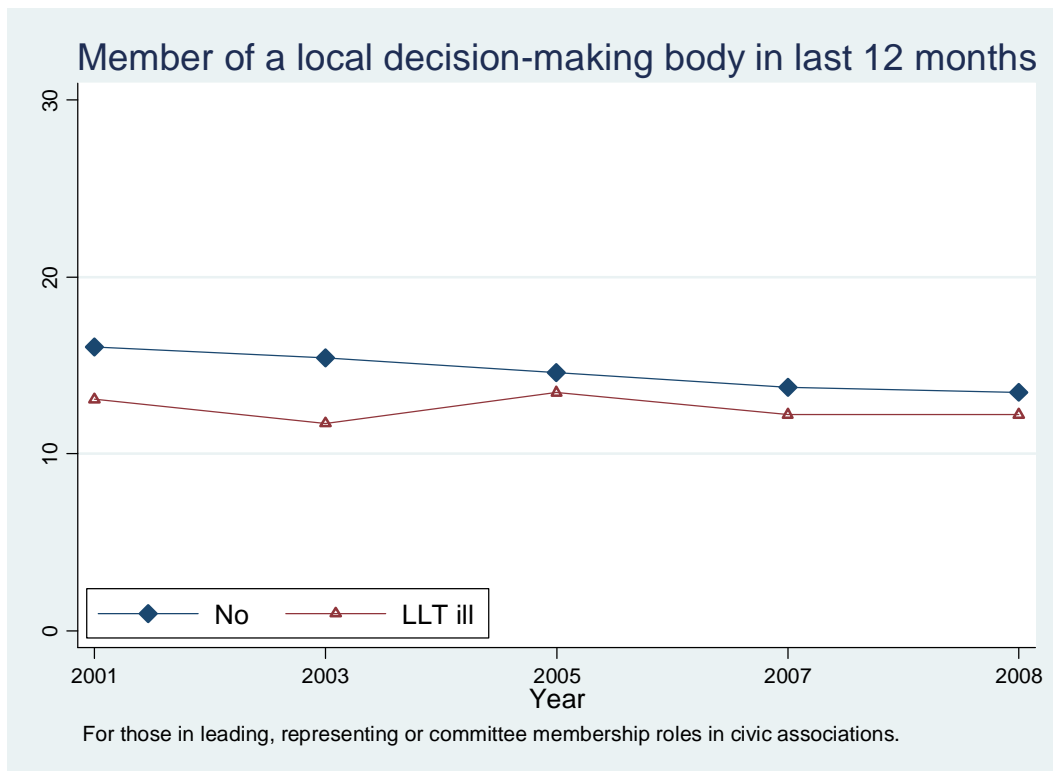
Figure 3.11 Civic decision-making by sexuality



3.2.6 Disabled

Disabled and non-disabled groups showed no significant differences on *civic activism* for the 2007 Citizenship Survey or the 2008-9 one (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 14; Agur et al, 2009, p. 40). Respondents with LLT illness were less likely to participate in civic activism (leadership roles in civic organisations) for the 2001 and 2003 Citizenship Survey (Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.12 Leadership roles in civic activity by disability



3.2.6 Data Limitations

We found no data on civic activism for Migrants, Gypsies and Travellers, Homeless or Transgender people.

3.3 Civic Consultation

For both the 2007/8 and the 2008/9 Citizenship Surveys, about one fifth of respondents resident in England, had engaged in *civic consultation* in the last year; and 2% claimed to have undertaken such activity every month in that period (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 19; Agur et al, 2009, p. 46). Among those who had conducted some *civic consultation*, 70% had completed a questionnaire on at least one occasion. Thirty percent of respondents who had taken part in civic consultation activities had attended a public meeting about local services or problems; and 22% had attended a

discussion group concerned with services or problems in their locality (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 20). Results were almost exactly the same in the 2007 Citizenship Survey (Agur et al, 2009, p. 46).

For its *Audit of Political Engagement 6*, the Hansard Society (2009, p. 5) reported that 62% of their sample agreed that participating in government consultations is associated with good citizenship.

3.3.1 Race

Racial categories of the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey showed some variation with respect to *civic consultation*. The White population reported a higher rate of engagement (20%) than all the Asian groups (14%), but were close to all Black groups (18%) (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 78). The previous year (2007 Citizenship Survey), White respondents also had higher levels of *civic consultation* than Asians or Chinese, but almost the same levels as Black and Mixed Race respondents (Agur et al, 2009: 47). With respect to people who had made contact with a local official in the previous 'two or three years', the Hansard Society found a difference of 10% between Whites (at 17%) and ethnic minority, at 7% (2009, 24).

3.3.2 Gender

There was no significant difference in *civic consultation* levels between women and men for the Citizenship Surveys of 2007 or 2008-2009 (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 21; Agur et al, 2009, p. 47). The *Audit of Political Engagement 6* (2009, p. 24) found men to be slightly more likely than women - 19 versus 15% - to have contacted an elected politician.

3.3.3 Age

Respondents aged 16 to 24 were less likely to have participated in *civic consultation* activities in the previous year, than other age groups, for both the 2008-09 and the 2007 Citizenship Surveys (Taylor and Low 2010, p. 20; Agur et al, 2009 pp. 38, 44). Similarly, the Hansard Society (2009)

found that 18-24 year olds were less likely than older age groups to have contacted an elected politician in the 'last two or three years (2009, 23).

3.3.4 Sexuality

A significant difference between heterosexuals (20%) and gay, lesbian or bisexual people (33%) was noted in the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey by Taylor and Low (2010, p. 20). There were no significant differences in participation rates between sexuality categories in the 2007 Citizenship Survey (Agur et al, 2009, p. 48).

3.3.5 Religion

Christians, at 20%, are more likely than Muslims (17%), Sikhs (11%) and Hindus (12%) to have engaged in *civic consultation* in the year before the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey (Low and Taylor 2010: 21). The percentages for these groups were almost the same for the 2007 Citizenship Survey (Agur et al, 2009, p. 48).

3.3.6 Disability

There were no significant differences in rates of *civic consultation* between disabled and non-disabled groups in the 2008-9 or 2007 Citizenship Surveys (Taylor and Low 2010, 20; Agur et al, 2009, pp. 44, 47).

3.3.7 Data Limitations

We found no data on *civic consultation* for migrants, Gypsies and Travellers, the Homeless or Transgender people.

3.4 Taking Part in Civic Organisations

Following Putnam (1994, 2000) many authors have used membership of voluntary associations as an indicator of social capital and civic engagement (cf. Schneider, 2007; Prakash and Selle, 2004; Warde, et al, 2003; Stolle and Lewis, 2002). Ibrahim and Burchardt (2008) describe their basic measure for ‘taking part in civic organisations’ as the ‘proportion active in local or national campaigning or a solidarity organisation or group’ (2008, 11). They also exclude memberships of sporting clubs from their definition of ‘civic’ organisations and include only those involved in ‘shaping decisions’ (2008, 12), which we assume to be major social decisions. To quote from the Centre for Civil Society website (2004):

Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group.

These organisations are significant in number and income. In 2009, the National Council for Voluntary Societies recognised 170,000 charities and 870,000 civic organisations - including charities - in Britain which had a collective income of £116 billion (National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 2009).

The Citizenship Survey data shows that in 2008-2009, 26% of people in England engaged in volunteering, at least once per month, in the year before the survey. This was a marginal and not significant decrease on 2007, when the same figure was 27% (Drever 2010, 5). Hereafter, the term ‘regular volunteer’ will refer to Citizenship Survey respondents who volunteer at least once per month.

In 2008-09, 52% of England’s regular volunteers were in clubs relating to sports and exercise and 40% for ‘hobbies and recreation’, 33% with respect to children’s or youth activities; 33 cent were affiliated with some type of religious based organisation; and approximately one quarter in organisations relating to health, disability and social welfare; and also neighbourhood or local community or neighbourhood groups (Drever, 2010, p. 26). The results were almost exactly the same for the 2007 Citizenship Survey (Kitchen and NatCen, 2009, p. 23).

The 2008-9 Survey held an extra general category of respondents – in ‘risk of social exclusion’, which included ‘respondents having a long-term limiting illness or disability, having no formal qualifications, or being from an ethnic minority group’. This group had a lower incidence of regular volunteering, at 20%, than the rest of the sample, at 29% (Drever, 2010, p. 5).

Individuals within ‘civic organisations’ often participate in ‘formal volunteering’, which Ibrahim and Burchardt (2008) define as ‘giving unpaid help through groups, clubs or organisations to benefit others’ (2008, 22). Formal volunteering is a mode of social activism, where individuals can realise ideas of societal improvement. Consistent with Ibrahim and Burchardt (2008), our analysis uses ‘formal volunteering’ as an indicator for civic organisation membership.

Several researchers support the view that at the social level, significant voluntary activity increases levels of trust and economic strength (Putnam, 1993; Hall, 1999; Stolle, 2000; Whiteley, 2000) although the positive link between rates of volunteering and respect for community has been disputed (Li, Pickles and Savage, 2005; Letki, 2006). It is worth noting here that most authors were using cross-sectional data to infer about the relationship between civic engagement and trust. Departing from this custom, the study by Li, Pickles and Savage (2005) used the panel data from the BHPS. They found that, once prior levels of trust were controlled for, there is no association between civic engagement and future levels of trust and it is, rather, social support and neighbourhood attachment that engender greater social trust. These findings might run counter to the long-held assumption that voluntary organisations serve as ‘schools for democracy’ where people learn how to trust from civic activities. It could equally be true that trusting people tend to participate more in the first place and civic engagement does not add to that trust. On the other hand, civic engagement may not produce but reinforce trust. Furthermore, civic domains may be appreciated as fields in which people learn much about democracy, that is, how to exert their rights, how to exercise their responsibilities, how to make compromises. And civic fields can generate social resources, which are particularly important for minority ethnic groups whose process of immigration entails significant disruption of social ties (see Almond and Verba, 1963; Edwards and Foley, 2001; Heath and Li, 2008; Li 2000a, 2000c). It is also pertinent to note here that, as shown by Li, Savage and Pickles (2003) and Li, Savage and Warde (2008), voluntary organisations are selective in their choice of members and can reproduce class, gender and ethnic divisions.

In 2009, the Human Rights Commission recommended that voluntary and community sector groups should bring ‘mainstream’ human rights into all ‘their decision-making processes, strategies and business plan, as well as into their relevant policies and practices’. This recommendation was accepted by the British government (Ministry of Justice 2009, 18).

According to the Citizenship Survey 2001-2008/9, the general portion of respondents who undertook campaigning roles was fairly small, and we expect more variability than in previous domains of civic life as discussed above. Overall, only 4% of the respondents did any campaigning in the last twelve months in their civic engagement.

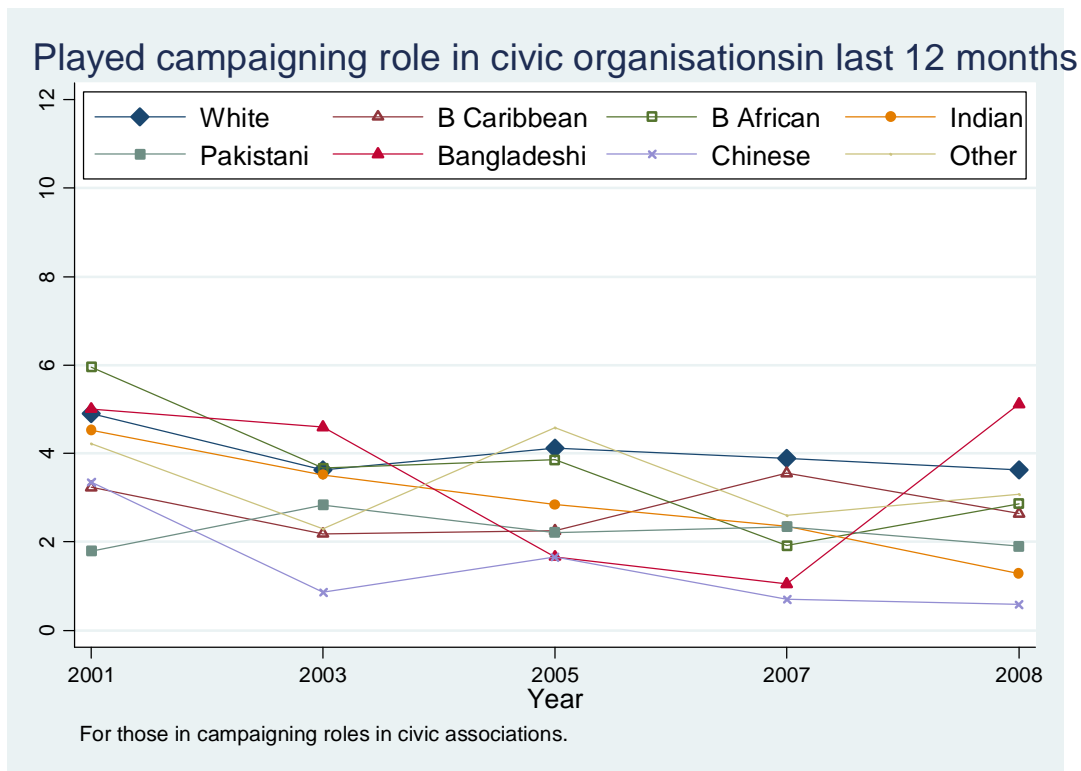
In the following sections we use the Citizenship Survey to examine differences in campaigning roles in civic organisations as an indicator of civic participation.

3.4.1 Race

In 2009, Communities and Local Government published a discussion document on minority civic engagement (2009) and held eight ‘listening events’ around Britain – attended by 350 people - and collected 90 written responses. Minority ethnic/racial participants identified obstacles to joining ‘civic organisations’ such as the lack of information on how to join, and the roles and responsibility of members (Communities and Local Government, 2010b). Li (2005) found that compared to Whites, Asians of Pakistani and/Bangladeshi descent are significantly less likely to take part in ‘civic activities’ (2005, 12) or ‘involvement in voluntary associations’ (2005, 5).

We find, in Figure 3.13, that almost all minority ethnic groups were less likely to have done campaigning than the Whites, with the Chinese being the least likely to do so. The pattern for the Bangladeshi group was very unstable, ranging from 5% to 24% despite having between 330 to 450 respondents of Bangladeshi origin in each year, so unfortunately we cannot make too many meaningful inferences from this result.

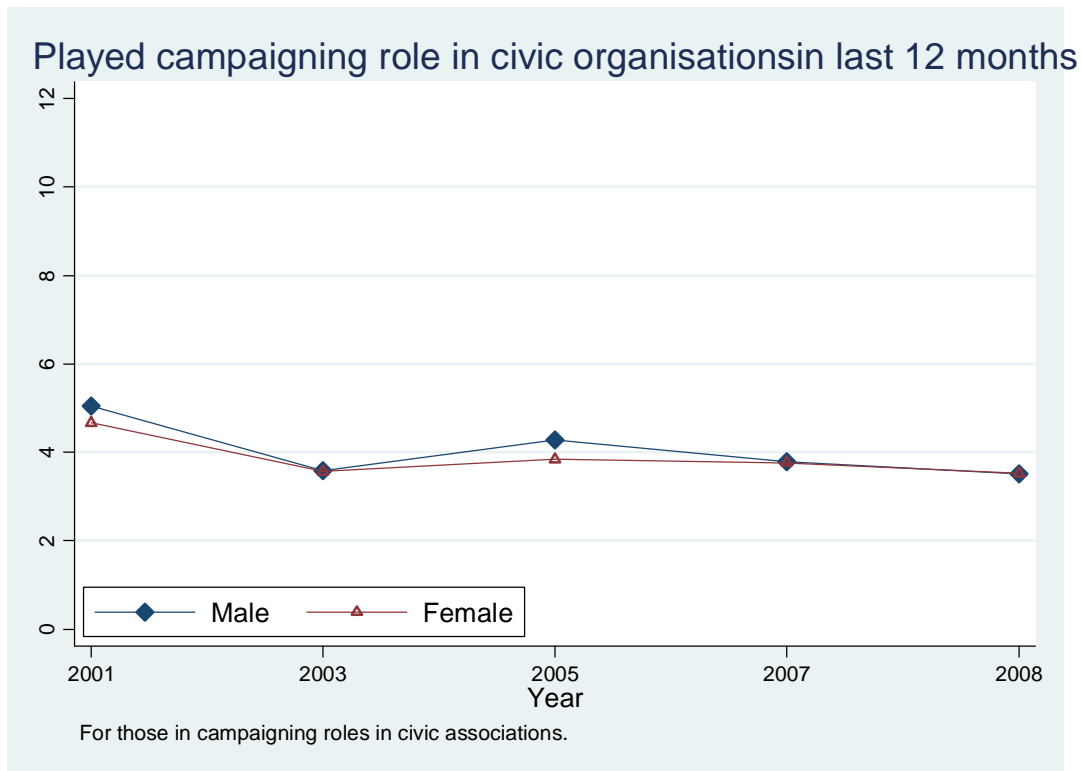
Figure 3.13 **Campaigning role in civic activity by ethnicity**



3.4.2 Gender

Results from the 2007 Citizenship Survey showed that women were more likely to be active with organisations relevant to child education, religion and health, disability and social welfare (Kitchen and NatCen, 2009). There were no differences between the genders in relation to campaigning in civic activity, for all Citizenship Survey surveys between 2001 and 2008/09 (see Figure 3.14).

Figure 3.14 **Campaigning role in civic activity by sex**

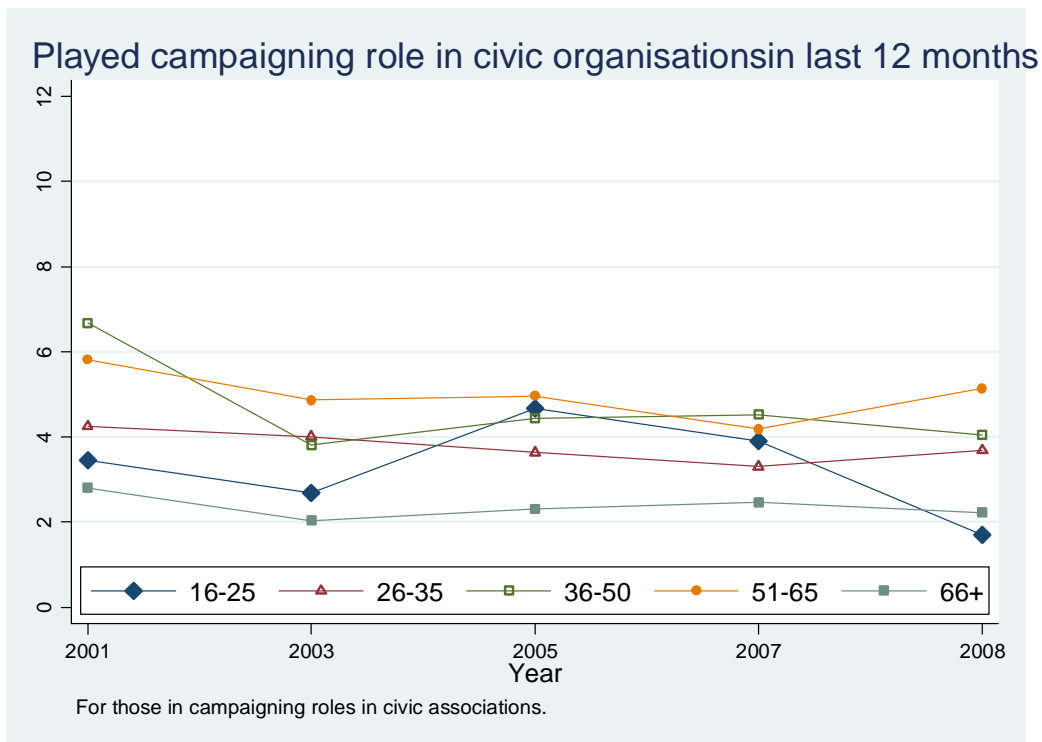


3.4.3 Age

Using the data from the British Household Panel Survey, (2005) found that people aged 66 or more were more likely to be members of civic organisations than those of other ages (Li, Pickles and Savage 2005, p.117).

The age profile in campaigning was also expected (Figure 3.15). The oldest age group was least likely to undertake campaigning activity due, most probably, to their relatively weaker physical mobility as compared with other groups. The most active were the 36-50 and especially the 51-65 groups. It is notable that the youngest group were quite actively campaigning in 2005 and 2007, possibly relating to student loan issues, although the data did not ask the respondents about the subject matter being canvassed for or against.

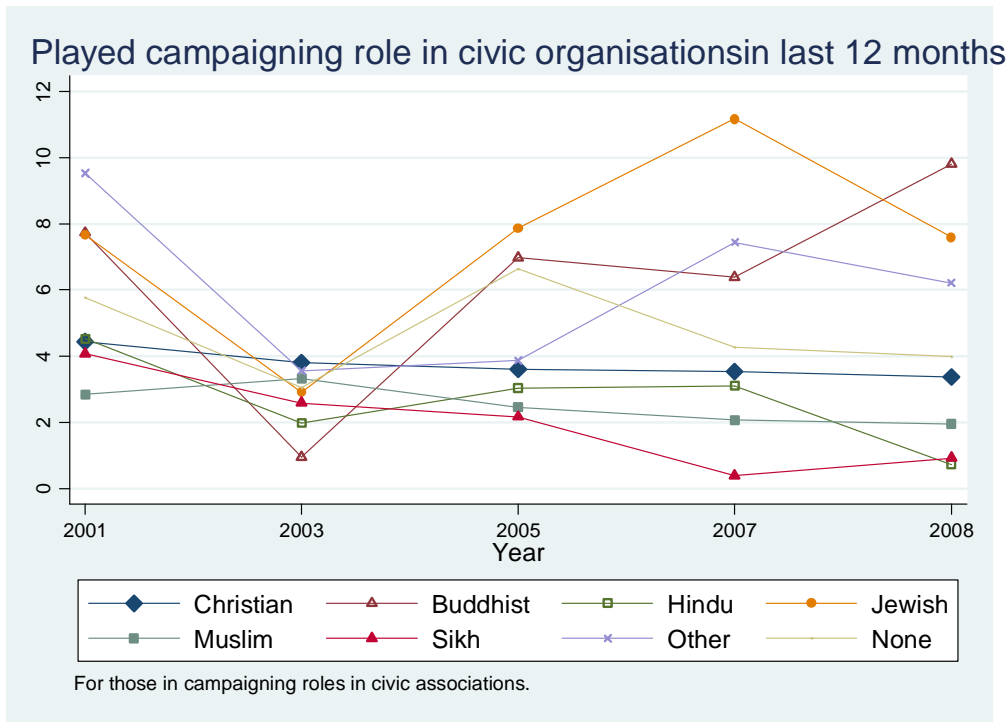
Figure 3.15 **Campaigning role in civic activity by age**



3.4.4 Religion

As shown in Figure 3.16, the association between religion and campaigning is very unstable for some of the groups. However, Christians, Hindus and Muslims showed a fairly stable pattern. Sikhs were clearly falling in their campaigning roles. Overall, religion is heavily confounded by ethnicity.

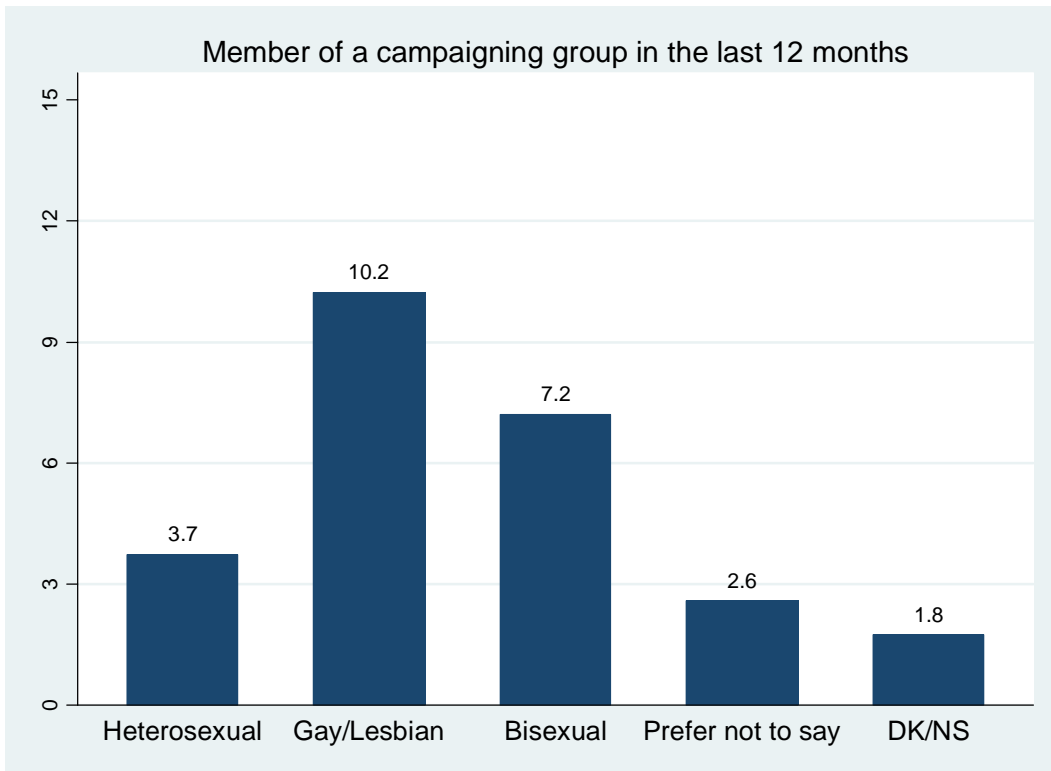
Figure 3.16 **Campaigning role in civic activity by religion**



3.4.5 Sexuality

Results of the Citizenship Survey show Gay and Lesbian people as more likely than the heterosexual people to have taken part in campaigning for civic organisations in the last twelve months (see Figure 3.17). Bisexual people were also more likely than heterosexuals to have engaged in campaigning but less likely to have held leadership roles.

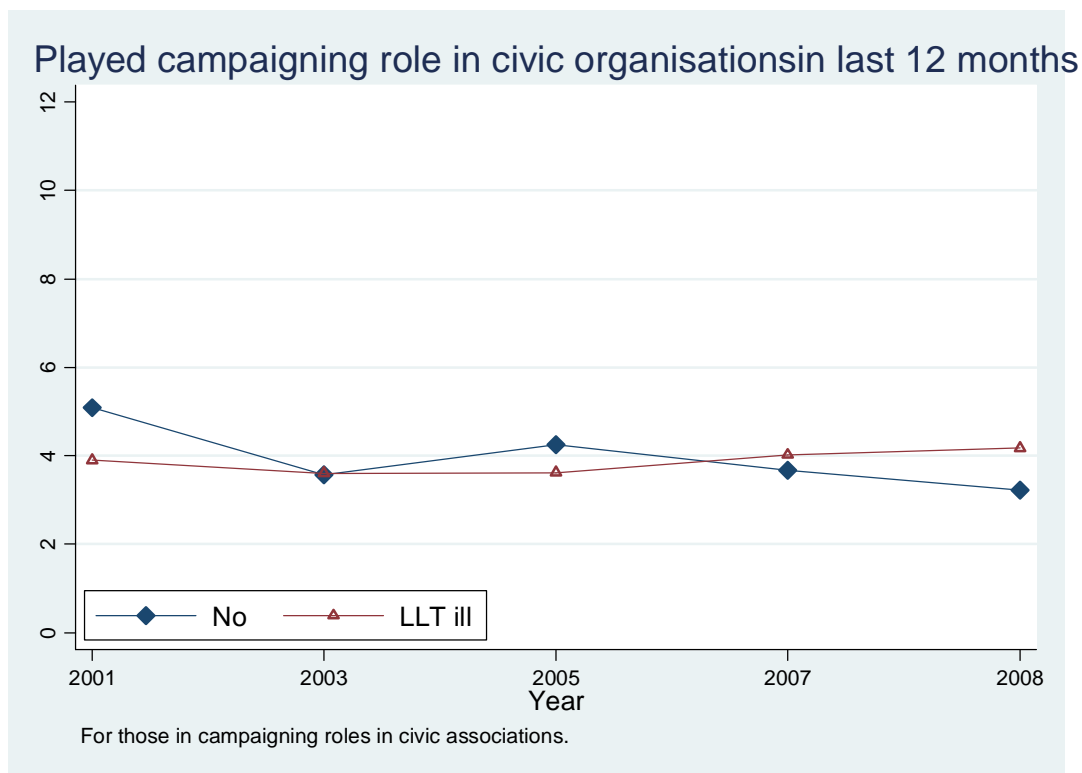
Figure 3.17 Civic campaigning by sexuality



3.4.6 Disabled

There were no differences in relation to campaigning in civic activity between those with or without LLT illness, using data held in the Citizenship Survey 2001-2008/09 (Figure 3.18).

Figure 3.18 **Campaigning role in civic activity by disability**



3.4.7 Migrants

Migrants have representative organisations. However we found no data on migrant memberships of any types of organisations for Britain as a whole. Nevertheless, recent results from the Localmultidem study for London indicates that some migrant groups (Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean) have a greater propensity to join associations than other groups (Indian) and the White British population (cf. Strömblad et al, 2010 (forthcoming)). Their levels of engagement in specifically ethnic or migrant organisations is, however, very low as compared to those of migrants in other European cities.

3.4.8 Gypsies and Travellers

There is no collected data on Gypsy and Traveller membership of civic organisations. Further, as Gypsies and Travellers do not indentify as such in national surveys like the Citizenship Survey, there are no likely sources of data on civic organisation membership for these groups.

However, Gypsies and Travellers in Britain have several representative bodies. These include Travellers Tairing, Friends, Families and Travellers, The Irish Traveller Movement, The Gypsy Council and Travellers in Leeds (Beacon Council and Bristol City Council, 2006). An umbrella project is the Traveller Law Reform Project (TLRP), which attempts to bring about changes to the law with respect to the human rights and needs of Gypsies and Travellers (TLRP).

Generally, though, Gypsies and Travellers may not join other civic organisation. According to one representative organisation: ‘we are not aware of any significant participation in civic organisations or civic campaign groups’ (Director of Friends, Families and Travellers, correspondence with authors, 19/04/2010).

3.4.9 Homeless

There is at least one representative action organisation for the homeless, ‘Homeless Link’ (Homeless Link 2010). However, figures for membership of civic organisational membership among the homeless are not known.

3.4.10 Transgender

Transgender people have lobby groups that campaign, such as Press for Change (Press for Change 2009). However, we found no research on these groups or further civic organisational activities of transgender people.

3.5 Formal Volunteering

3.5.1 Race

The following figures are derived from the Citizenship Surveys. In 2008-2009, the ethnic/racial groups with the higher rates of regular formal volunteering were Other Black (27%), White (26%), Black Caribbean (24%), Black African (24%), Chinese (22%), Bangladeshi (21%), Mixed Race (21%), Pakistanis (20%) and Other Ethnic Groups (17%) (Drever, 2010, p. 73).

Race/ethnicity was not associated with the propensity to volunteer in the 2008-9 Survey, when other factors including gender, education and age were controlled (Communities and Local Government, 2010b, p. 15). However, regular volunteers from ethnic minorities were more likely than White regular volunteers to have participated in the following types of volunteering: 'visited people' (30% to 23%); 'given information, advice or counselling' (30% to 24%); or 'befriended or mentored people' (28%). White regular volunteers had higher rates for volunteering categories: help run an activity or event (59% to 46%); raised or handled money (53% to 43%) or given secretarial; clerical or administrative support (22% to 12%) (Communities and Local Government, 2008c, p. 23).

3.5.2 Gender

In 2008-2009, women were more likely (28%) than men (23%) to be formal volunteers (Communities and Local Government, 2008c, p. 9). Among respondents who volunteered at least monthly, males were more likely than females to have 'organised or helped to run an activity or event' (61% to 57%), 'led a group' (42% to 31%), or have 'provided transport' (29% to 23%). Conversely, females were more likely to have 'visited people' (26% to 21%) or 'provided other practical help' (45% to 27%) (Drever, 2010, p. 13).

3.5.3 Age

Formal volunteering is lower among younger age groups. 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey respondents aged 35-74 were more likely to do formal volunteering activities once a month than those aged 16 to 25 (Communities and Local Government, 2010b, p. 5).

Time spent volunteering in the month before the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey varied by age. The youngest age group of regular volunteers, 16-25 years, volunteered for an average of 7.4 hours in the month before the interview, compared to averages of more than 12 hours for those aged 26-34 and 35-49, 13.5 hours by 50-64 year old individuals, and 16.8 hours for 65 to 74 year old respondents (Communities and Local Government, 2010b, p. 19). The 16 to 25 group were more likely than older groups to do volunteering where they 'befriend' or 'mentor' others. They were less likely than other groups to volunteer in raising or handling money, leading a group or committee, or helping with transport or driving' (Communities and Local Government, 2010b, p. 22).

3.5.4 Religion

The 2008-09 Citizenship Survey respondents who were non-practising Christians, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh and of 'No Religion' all had lower percentages of regular formal volunteering than practising Christians (Drever, 2010, p. 18). Respondents of the 2007 Citizenship Survey who claimed to be practising members of a religion had higher percentages of regular formal volunteering than religionists who were non-practising (Kitchen and NatCen, 2009, p. 17).

3.5.5 Disabled

Twenty one percent of disabled/LLT illness participants in the 2008-09 Citizenship Survey were regular formal volunteers. The percentage was higher for participants without disabilities or LLT illnesses at 27% (Drever, 2010, p. 5). However, among regular volunteers, disabled respondents were more likely than non-disabled to have 'kept in touch with someone' (50% to 34%) or 'helped with shopping or collecting a pension' (43% to 28%) (Drever, 2010, p. 24).

Grewal et al (2002) found in their survey of about 2,100 participants - 47% of whom were disabled - that 'some' of the disabled respondents were involved in local disability groups. A smaller number of these had joined equal rights campaigns to raise awareness of disabled people or to push for improved public access facilities for the disabled (2002, 201).

3.5.6 Migrants

Refugees volunteer in refugee community organisations which are registered charities that give support in accessing services and cultural needs. In a collaborative project, the Refugee Council and Refugee Action (2007) surveyed 202 RCOs in London. They found that almost all (199) had volunteers (2007, p. 18). The Evelyn Oldfield Unit (EOU) has surveyed 25 RCOs in three boroughs of London. They found that volunteers made up '66 % of hours worked' (2004, p.11).

3.5.7 Data Limitations

We found no data on volunteering for Gypsies and Travellers, the Homeless or Transgender people.

4. Political trust and feelings of efficacy

Over the past few decades, scholars, commentators and politicians have become increasingly aware of and concerned about what seems to be a growing detachment of citizens from politics and political affairs (cf. the collection of chapters in Pharr and Putnam, 2000). This syndrome of political detachment is often encapsulated by the notion of ‘political disaffection’ that has been subject to the continued attention of political scientists. By political disaffection, we usually mean the feelings of estrangement and distance that citizens have with regard to politics, politicians and political institutions. Related symptoms of political disaffection include political apathy, feelings of political inefficacy and powerlessness, political cynicism, lack of confidence in politicians and institutions, feelings of frustration and rejection of politics, and political alienation. Hence, the notion of political disaffection encompasses a wide array of negative orientations towards political objects.

Clark (2004) argues that low British turnouts since the 1990s are attributable to a declining confidence in government (2004, 3). Hay and Stoker (2009) also see lower participation in voting as indicating decreasing trust, with politicians and political parties treating citizens as ‘a passive audience who just need to be mobilised at election times to back the party’ (Hay and Stoker, 2009, 231). Together with the declining power of political parties to mobilise support, adverse trends in trust have contributed to a generational decline in turnout as each successive generation since the 1950s has been voting at lower levels than its predecessors have.

The White British population has been found to trust governments less than ethnic minorities. Seventy four percent of Asian and 66% of Black respondents of the 2007 Citizenship Survey trusted their local governments. Fifty nine per cent and 52% of these respective groups trusted the national government. White respondents had less trust in both levels of government at 59% for local governments and 33% for national (Agur et al, 2009, p. 5).

Male and female respondents showed no significant differences in their trust in either central or local governments (Agur et al, 2009, p. 30). Other research has sometimes found gender to be related to trust, although results have been inconsistent (e.g. Claibourn and Martin 2000; Stolle and Hooghe, 2004). Trust in the national government was greatest among respondents of the

youngest age group, 16-24 years at 47%. Conversely, the oldest age group, 75 years and older, had the highest trust in their local governments (Agur et al, 2009, 5).

Agur et al (2009, p. 5) reported that among the 2007 Citizenship Survey respondents, those with a religion were more likely than those without a religion to trust the National Government and their local councils. Among major religious groups, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs showed the highest propensities to express trust in the national government at 61%, 60% and 58%, respectively. Buddhist respondents had lower levels of trust in the national government at 47%. A smaller percentage of Christians at 33% trusted the national government. Individuals of minority religious groups expressed higher levels of trust in their local governments. Buddhists had the highest rate at 77%, followed by Hindu at 75%, Muslims, Sikhs at 71% and Christians again lowest at 59% (Agur et al, 2009, 33).

Although there is no published research on trust held on Gypsies and Travellers, the Director of “Friends, Families and Travellers”, commented as follows:

‘Very often the only interface of engagement of the travelling community with the local Council is via a Gypsy/Traveller Liaison service. Because these services are also the ones that serve eviction notices, it does not exactly build up trust between the Council and the community’ (Chris Whitwell, Correspondence with authors, 19/04/2010).

Like trust, political efficacy – understood as the feelings of having the capacity to influence decision-making – has long been at the heart of theories of political participation, and is closely interwoven with the concept of political confidence or trust (e.g. Lane, 1959). More recently there has been a specific interest in local political efficacy. Ibrahim and Burchardt (2008) advocate measuring the ‘perception of local influence’ with respect to a single dimension: percentage of people who feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area (2008, 9). In this literature review, we include influence over decisions affecting the nation.

Taylor and Low (2010) found that 39% of 2008-09 Citizenship Survey respondents felt able to influence decisions in their local areas (Communities and Local Government 2010d, p.2). Previously in 2007, 38% of English adults considered that they could ‘influence decisions in their local areas’, while 20% perceived influence over national government decisions. These rates had been similar in the 2005 and 2003 surveys (Communities and Local Government 2008b, p.6),

although the figure for the 2001 survey was 44% (Communities and Local Government 2010d, p.2).

In 2008, Communities and Local Government found that 60% of respondents had a sense of 'alienation' from the local government system. Almost 40% did not see their councillors as validly representative of their constituency; while only 30% felt able to influence their local governments' decisions (Communities and Local Government, 2008, p. 30).

Newton et al. (2010) found that people who perceive they can influence local decisions are those who believe that consultation processes in their local areas were 'open and genuine' and that councils 'listened' to their points of view. The opposite is the case for people who felt that they had a lack of influence (2010, p. 26). Similarly, Duffy and Chan (2009) hold that people are most likely to feel empowered with respect to local government decisions if they also perceive that their councils actively seek and act upon their views (2009, pp. 34-35, 37).

Studies have found specific reasons and beliefs to be associated with having feelings of lack of influence over local decisions. The Hansard Society (2009, pp. 4-5) reported on a multiplicity of ways in which respondents felt they lacked influence over local decisions. The more prevalent expressions of these feelings of political inefficacy were: 'nobody listens to what I have to say' (29%); 'decisions are made without talking to the people' (20%); 'the system doesn't allow for me to have an influence' (19%); 'politicians are just out for themselves' (17%); 'my opinion isn't important' (14%); 'I'm not given the opportunity to have an influence' (14%); and 'politicians don't care about people like me' (12%). People of lower social status were more likely to see their lack of power over local decisions as being related to an unwillingness of local authorities to 'listen' to them (2009, p. 35).

Respondents of the 2008-09 Citizenship Survey held that they would be better able to influence local decisions if: 1) they were aware of the issues under consideration by councils (46%); and 2) if councils contacted them about the issues (also 46%). The means by which most respondents claimed they could influence local decisions were: contacting the local council (48%), approaching their councillor (45%), or signing a petition (44%) (2010, p. 6).

Kotecha et al (2008) found that trust in local authorities and the sense of exerting an influence over local area decisions are positively related. They also found that civic activism and

volunteering were positively related to trust in local government. Agur et al (2009, p. 36) reported on similar findings: trust in the national government was positively associated with perceived influence over national decisions.

Using data from the *Place Survey*, Duffy and Chan (2009, pp. 31-32) arrived at a number of demographic factors that are positively associated with perceptions of local influence: positive net international migration, geographical location in the North East, and non-urban classification.

In the following sections we examine differences by equality strand in political efficacy which is measured in the Citizenship Survey.

4.1 Race

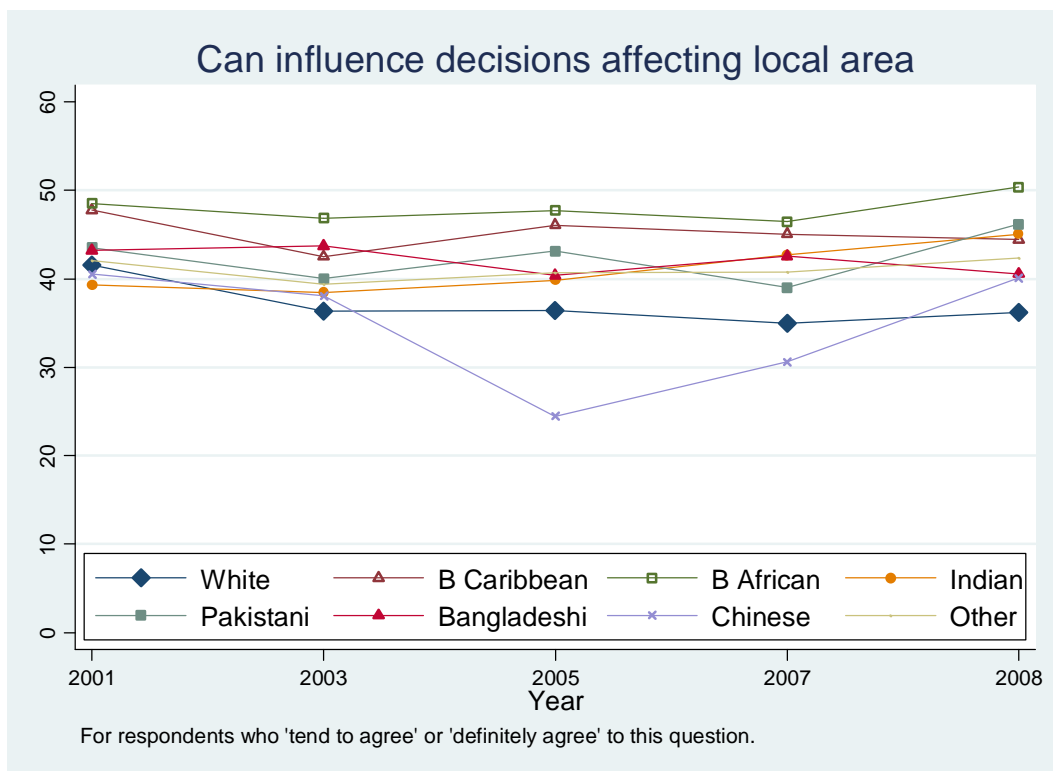
According to the Hansard Society survey of 2009, most ethnic minorities feel they have *little or no* influence over decisions in their local areas. However, respondents of ethnic minorities are slightly more likely (28%) to feel have more influence than Whites (25%) (2009, p. 34). Consistently, results of the 2008-9 Citizenship Survey show that most of the larger ethnic/racial minority groups – Black African (58%), Indian (52%), Pakistani (52%), Black Caribbean (48%), and Mixed Race (47%) – had higher rates of confidence in their ability to influence local government decisions than Whites (38%) (Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 25).

Taylor and Low (2010) found all minority ethnic groups, except Chinese/Other, have greater confidence than Whites (20%) in being able to influence national government decisions: Black African 44%, Indian 42%, Pakistani 40%, Bangladeshi 33%, Black Caribbean 31% (2010, 26). Ethnic minorities have a more positive attitude toward their 'change abilities'. More ethnic minorities (18 %) believe they can 'change things' nationally than Whites (14%) (Hansard Society, 2009, p. 34). Also, the percentage of ethnic minority respondents agreeing with the statement, 'when people like me get involved in politics, they can really change the way the country is run' increased from 31% in 2007 to 41% in 2008 (Hansard Society, 2009, p. 53).

We find that, throughout the ten-year period of the Citizenship Survey, Black African and Black Caribbean respondents are most efficacious as they are both highly active and highly concentrated. The next groups are Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi who, at least the last two,

are also geographically concentrated in some six British cities. The least efficacious is the Chinese who are not only small in group size, but are most dispersed, scattered everywhere but remains almost invisible. Figure 4.1 shows the trends of efficacy at the local level. Apart from Chinese, most other minority ethnic groups are more likely to feel efficacious than Whites at the local level.

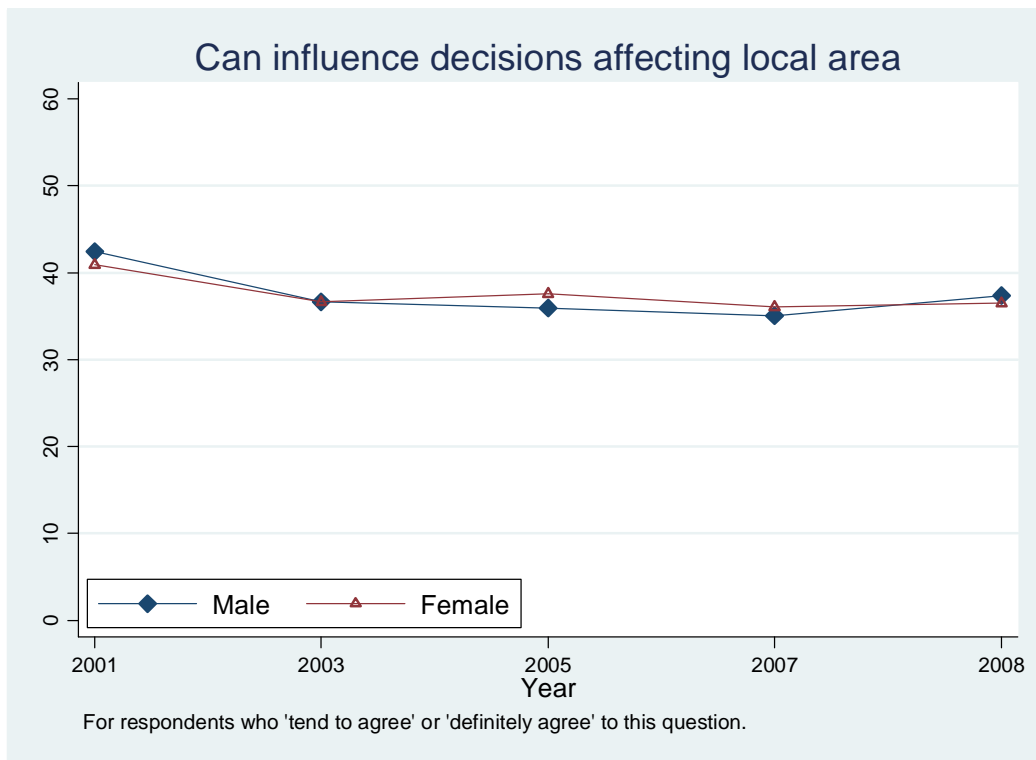
Figure 4.1 Efficacy by ethnicity



4.2 Gender

Research using the Citizenship Survey data has found that beliefs of being able to influence local decisions in the local areas do not differ between men and women (Argur et al, 2009; Kotecha et al, 2008; Taylor and Low, 2010). The Hansard Society (2009) found a small significant difference between the perceptions of influence at the local level among women, 27% and women, 23% (2009, 34). This is further shown in Figure 4.2 where we show the trends of gender differences in local level efficacy.

Figure 4.2 Efficacy by sex



4.3 Age

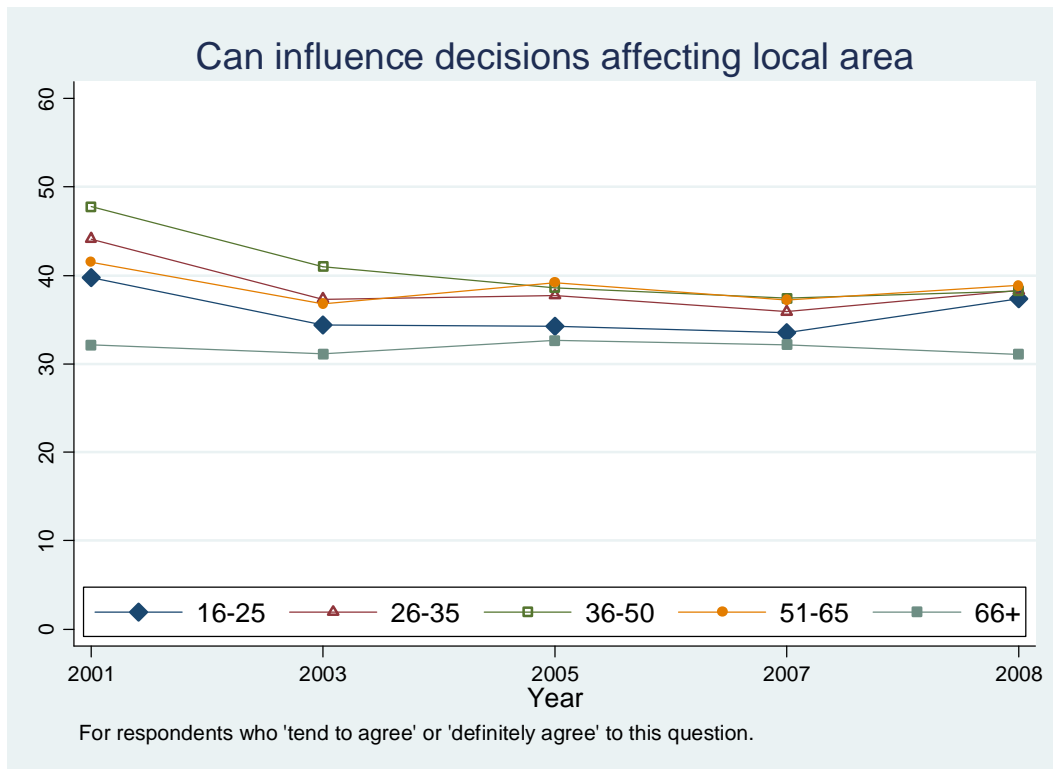
The Hansard Society (2009) found that people aged 18-24 had the lowest propensity to feel influence over local decisions at 17%. Kotecha et al (2008) found that people aged over 65 were more likely not to know whether they could influence local decisions (2008, p. 23). Both the 2008-9 and 2007 Citizenship Surveys showed no significant differences on age for influence over local decisions (Agur et al, 2009, p. 11; Taylor and Low, 2010, p. 25).

Hayes and Bean (1993) found 'internal political efficacy' - confidence in the political ability of oneself - to be positively associated with age. Therefore young people have lower confidence in their own political abilities, and in their power to affect decisions.

The oldest age group has the lowest efficacy while the middle age group has the most efficacious. Another noticeable point is the declining difference between the age groups, from a difference of around 18 percentage points in 2001 to 8 points in 2008/9. Within this trend we actually see a

picture of constant efficacy by the oldest group but growing clustering by the other four younger groups as shown in Figure 4.3 where the trends data are shown.

Figure 4.3 Efficacy by age



4.4 Religion

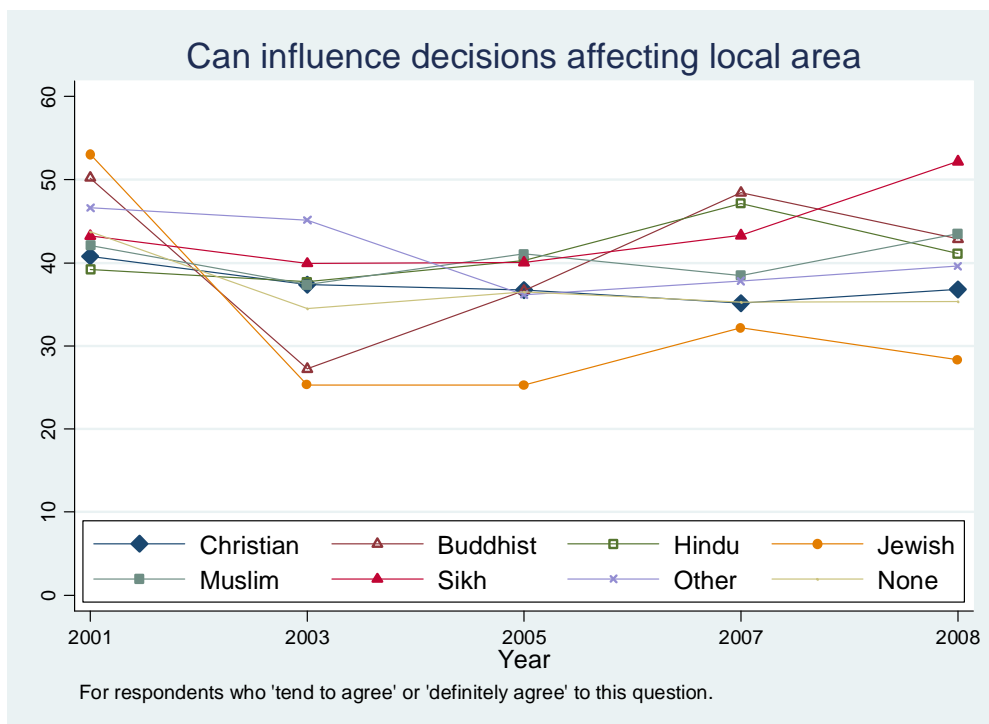
Taylor and Low (2010) found that Christians (39%) were less likely to believe they could influence local decisions than Sikhs (61%), Muslims (49%) and Hindus (48%) (2009, p. 14). Maxwell (2009) also analysed the 2007 Citizenship Survey, and found that Muslims felt more strongly than Christians that they could influence local government.

Beckford's (1998) qualitative study of engagement between local government and minority religious groups in Upton found that Muslim, Sikh and Hindu groups were able to deal effectively with the local council on religious issues. They did this through the brokerage of the Anglican Church by appealing to the council's policy for minority ethnic groups. We can infer then that these minority religious groups had established a level of confidence in their ability to affect local

level change. These observations were only conducted in Upton and do not describe feelings of influence among minority religious groups across Britain.

For the Citizenship Survey (2001-2008/9) the association between religion and efficacy (Figure 4.4) is not clear, chiefly due to the confounding effects between religion and ethnicity. As most Christians and people without religious affiliations are whites who exhibit low efficacy, we can see that these two groups have a consistently low (around 40%) opinion of being able to influence decision-making affecting their local area. On the other hand, we can see that people of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim religions tend to have a high sense of efficacy. It is interesting to note that Jewish respondents had the highest efficacy in 2001 but turned to have the lowest efficacy in the next four surveys. The reasons are not clearly understood and warrant further exploration. It is noted here that in order to maximise the number of meaningful religious categories, we have listed Jewish religion as a separate category in the presentation. Their sample size is fairly small, between 50 to 59 respondents in the five years (51, 59, 54, 54 and 50 in 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2008 respectively).

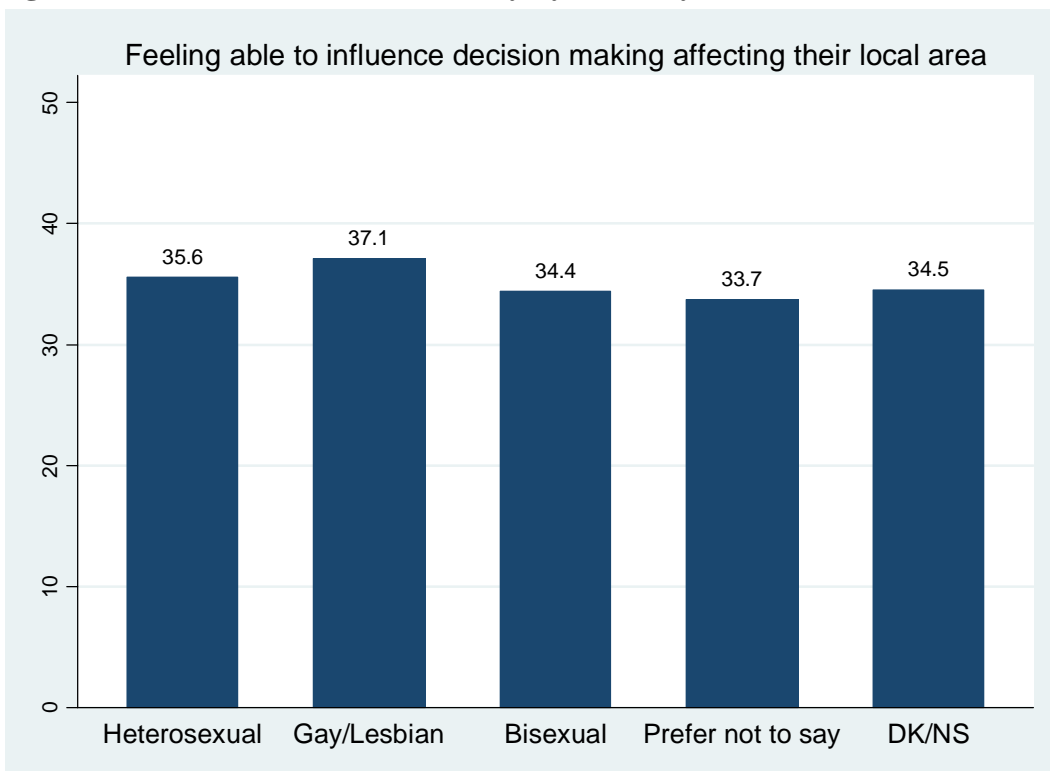
Figure 4.4 Efficacy by religion



4.5 Sexuality

There is little research on sexuality and political efficacy. However, using the Citizenship Survey, we found (see Figure 4.5) that there is only a slight difference in the comparison between heterosexual and homosexual groups, with the latter being a little more likely than the heterosexual in feeling able to influence decision-making affecting their local area.

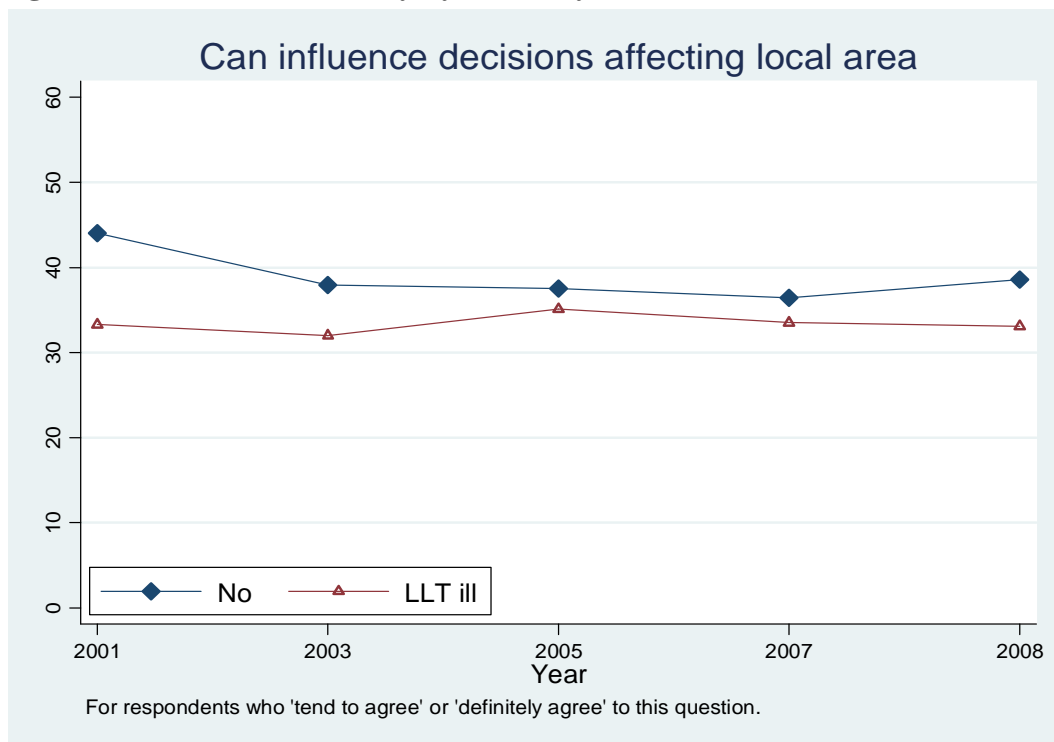
Figure 4.5 Political efficacy by sexuality



4.6 Disability

Low and Taylor (2010) found that Citizenship Survey respondents with a long-term limiting illness or disability (34%) were not as likely as people without such health issues (41%) to believe they can influence local decisions. Agur et al (2009) found in the 2007 Survey that disabled and non-disabled respondents had no significant difference on this issue (2009, p. 13). Figure 4.6 shows differences through the period of the Citizenship Survey except in 2005 and 2007.

Figure 4.6 **Efficacy by disability**



4.7 Migrants

Little has been written on migrants and efficacy. In a study of about 400 Eastern European immigrants and 400 long term residents in two London boroughs, Markova and Black (2007) found that just over one quarter of the migrants agreed that they could influence local area government decisions compared to 42% of long term residents (Markova and Black, 2007).

4.8 Gypsies and Travellers

We found no specific information on perceptions of influence on local and national decisions among Gypsies and Travellers. Gypsies and Travellers have, it can be assumed, made attempts to gain influence over their governments through their formation of representative organisations.

The Communities and Local Governments Department (2008b) detail a 'good practice guide' for local governments in the design and management of Gypsy and Traveller sites. This guide attempts to give Gypsies and travellers influence in the planning and management of these sites. Hence there are initiatives for the empowerment of Gypsies and Travellers in government decision-making on issues that directly affect them.

However, we found no research documenting how Gypsies and Travellers perceive their level or quality of influence. The following comment, though, was forwarded from the administrator of a Traveller organisation: 'I don't think many Gypsies and Travellers would perceive themselves as having any influence whatever on decision-making in their local area' (email correspondence with authors, 19/04/2010). He further commented that Gypsies and Travellers were 'removed' from the councils and therefore from the influence over local decisions as noted in the introduction section of this chapter.

4.9 Homeless

There is at least one representative organisation for the homeless, Homeless Link that specifically attempts to influence policies at 'all levels of government' toward the homeless (Homeless Link 2010). The effectiveness of Homeless Link or other similar organisations, and the political activity of homeless people, requires further research.

4.10 Transgender

We found no information on the political efficacy of Transgender people.

5. Freedom of identity and self expression

5.1 Freedom to practise own religion or belief

Religion can be a major feature of identity. Although Britain is a mainly Christian country - also with about 16% having no religion - it is also a highly diverse religious nation, having many sects of Christianity and large minorities of Muslims, Sikhs, Jews and Hindus (Purdam et al, 2007, pp. 148-149). Tensions toward minority groups are likely to occur when the norms of minority religions conflict with those of the majority population (Cooper and McLeish 1997). The UK is obliged under the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* to protect its residents from religious discrimination (Hossain, 2003; Nye, 1998).

Clark (2008) suggested a number of questions to measure freedom to practise own religion or belief. The questions underwent a thorough review in the Equality Measurement Framework (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2009). Clark's suggestion 'in general, do you feel you are able to practise your religion freely in Britain?' (Clark, 2008, p. 7) was already included in the Citizenship Survey. Clark also suggested: 'the proportion of people reporting discrimination due to their religion' (2008, p.18) and 'perception that there is a conflict between religion and national identity' (2008, p. 19).

For the 2007 Home Office Survey, 94% of respondents practising a religion felt they could do so 'freely'. The percentage of respondents considering there was 'a lot of religious prejudice in Britain' increased from 24% to 31% for the 2005 and 2007 surveys (Ferguson et al, 2009, p. 7).

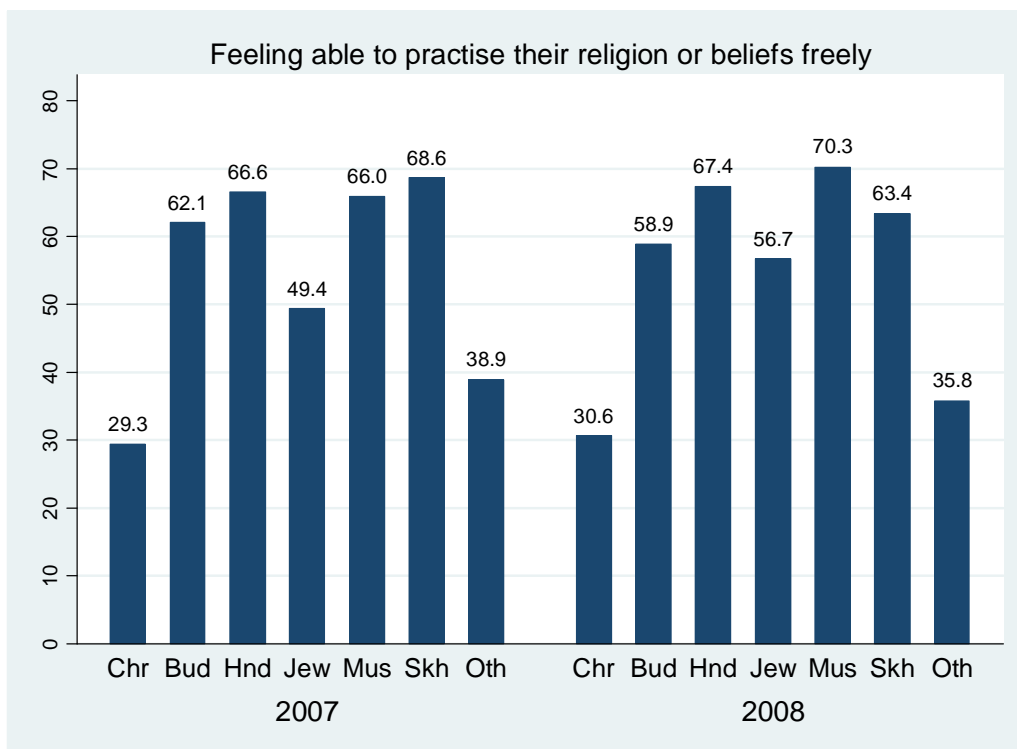
5.1.1 Religion

The following results apply to Citizenship Surveys. For the 2007 Survey, Muslims and respondents of 'Other Religions' held - at 35 and 41% respectively - that Britain is a nation containing 'a lot of religious prejudice'. A smaller percentage of Christians - 30% - also held this view. A smaller portion of Hindus agreed with the statement, at 18% (Ferguson et al, 2009, p. 44). Non-practising Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were more likely than their practising co-religionists to hold that religious prejudice has increased in Britain (Ferguson et al, 2009, p. 47). Respondents

who were practising Christians and of ‘Other Religions’ were generally more likely than non-practising co-religionists to agree that governments were not doing enough to protect religious rights. There was, though, no significant difference between practising and non-practising Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs (Ferguson et al, 2009, p. 53).

Sikh, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist respondents are, as shown in Figure 5.1, more likely to give a positive response to this question ‘In general, do you feel you are able to practise your religion freely in Britain?’ Positive responses increased among Jews, 49.4 to 56.7%; and Muslims 66.0 to 70.3%. For both Surveys, Christians were the least likely to give positive answers.

Figure 5.1 Freedom to practise religion or beliefs by religion



Weller et al (2001) found that members of some religions who were generally not associated with European culture perceived discrimination in Britain, although primarily on racial grounds. These were, notably, Hindus, Muslims, Asian Buddhists, Baha’i and Black Christians. Respondents also perceived their ‘religious otherness’ in terms of appearance (the case of Sikhs and Muslim women) and religious practices (for Pagans). Weller et al (2001) also reported that having religious norms, like no shaking of hands by Muslims females with males, was a barrier to

employment selection. Some respondents reported discrimination in workplaces regarding their religious attire and adherence to religious holidays. They also felt discrimination when expected to participate in behaviour inappropriate to their beliefs. Social occasions in the workplace could be uncomfortable for Muslims if the general food and drinks include prohibited cuisine, like bacon and alcohol. Another source of great discomfort was perceived misrepresentation in the media, particularly among Muslims.

5.1.2 Race

The 2007 Citizenship Survey respondents of Mixed Race, Black Caribbean, Black African background were more likely than White respondents to sense ‘a lot of religious prejudice’ in Britain (Ferguson et al, 2009 p. 45). However, compared to White respondents, those of Black Caribbean and Mixed Race background were more likely to believe that the government was doing enough to ensure religious rights (Ferguson et al, 2009, p. 55).

Figure 5.2 Freedom to practise religion or beliefs by ethnicity

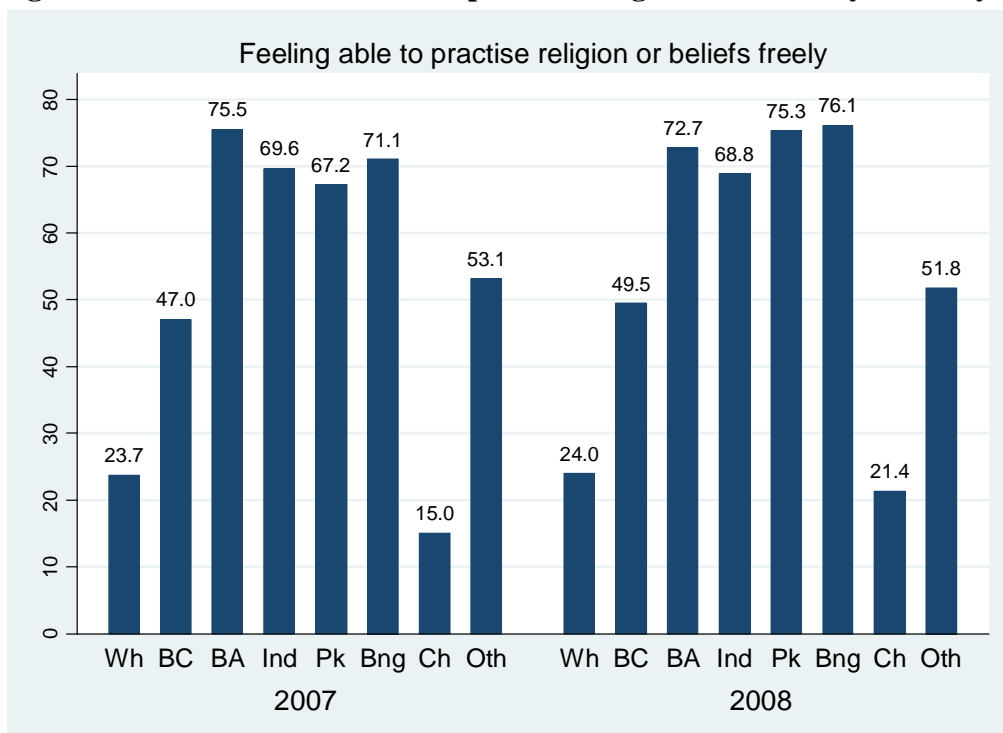


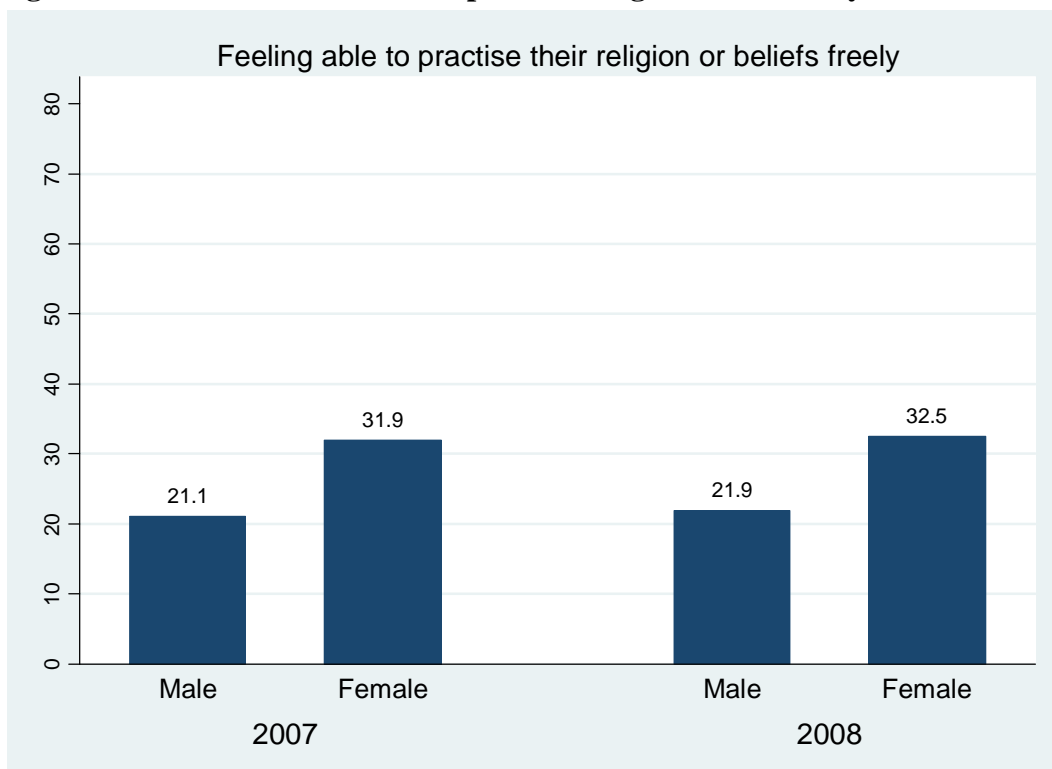
Figure 5.2 shows the responses for the 2007 and 2008 Citizenship Surveys by ethnic group. Respondents of Black African, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage are most likely to hold

that they can practise their religion freely. The Chinese and Whites were much less likely to hold this view. Some ethnic groups increased their positive views over time: Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese groups.

5.1.3 Gender

Men were more likely (64%) than women (59%), to agree that religious prejudice had increased in the previous five years (Ferguson et al, 2009, p. 49). Female respondents were more likely to hold the opinion that the government was not doing enough to ensure religious rights (Ferguson et al., 2009, p. 55). Weller et al (2001) found that Islamic women felt discriminated against for their gender as well as their religion. However, in sharp contrast to these previous findings, Figure 5.3 shows that women were more likely than men to believe that they can practise their religion freely in both 2007 and 2008.

Figure 5.3 Freedom to practise religion or beliefs by sex



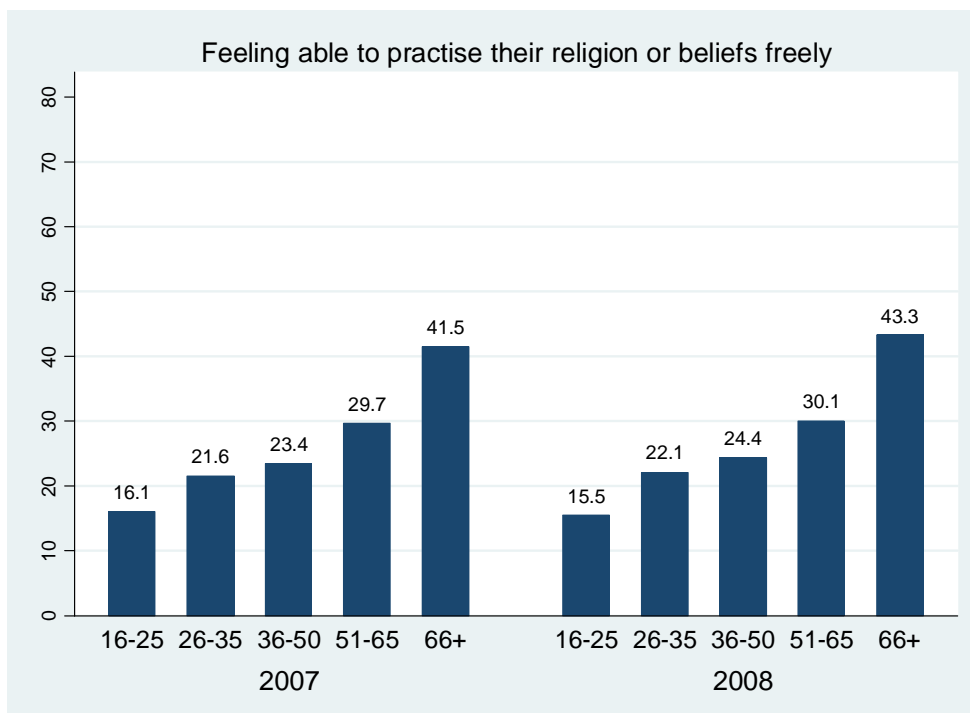
5.1.4 Age

Respondents aged 16-24 years and 75 years and over were least likely to agree that religious prejudice had increased in Britain over the previous five years. About half of both groups agreed. More likely to agree were respondents aged 25-34, 35-49, and 65-74.

Weller et al (2001) found that 14 out of 18 New Religious Movement/Pagan organisations; and 10 out of 11 black Christian organisations claimed their children were discriminated against by school teachers. Seventy five percent of participants from Muslim, Jewish, Hindu and Sikh denominations; and 60% of Christian respondents held that their children suffered discrimination at the hands of other students. Discrimination was experienced in other areas of school life including admissions, curriculum, dress (Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs), holidays and timetables (Weller et al 2001, p. 24).

There is a clear gradient from young to old in the 2007 and 2008/9 Citizenship Surveys (Figure 5.4). The pattern suggests that respondents are not assessing whether they feel they are able to, but whether they sense they do wish to, practise their religion freely given the possible existing constraints. The age effects are also life-course effects with older people tending to become more religious and conventional and the young people tending to be more a-religious.

Figure 5.4 **Freedom to practise religion or beliefs by age**



5.1.5 Sexuality

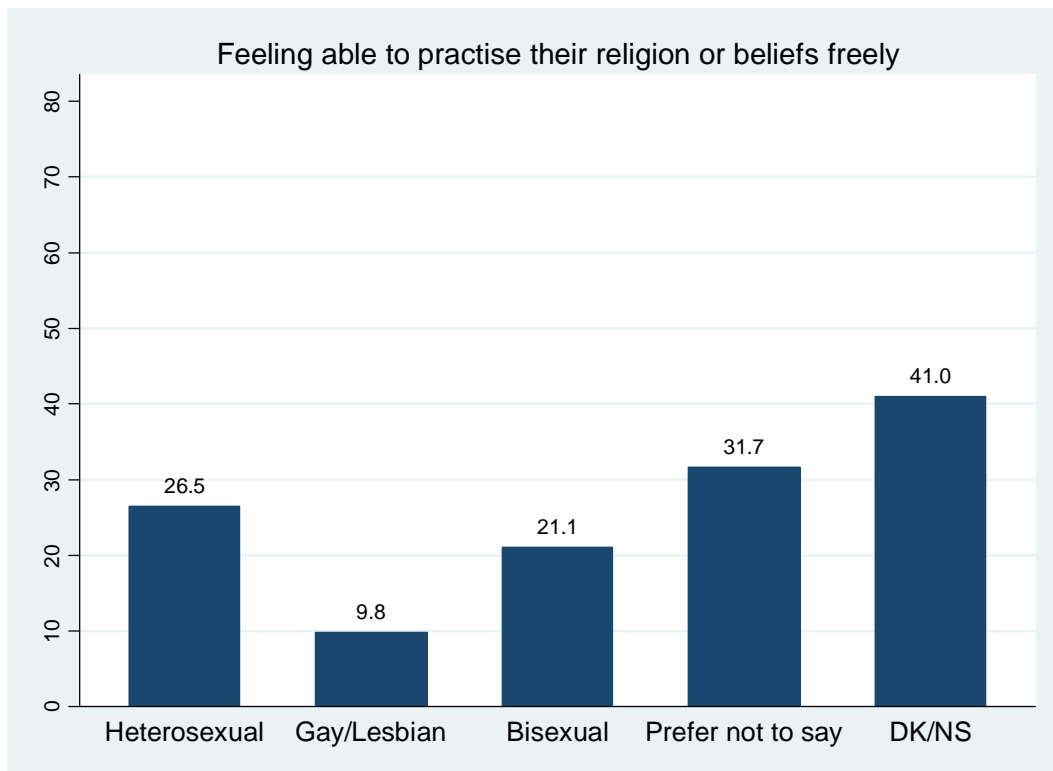
The 2007 Citizenship Survey contains a question on sexual identity. Out of 14,095 respondents, 1,049 or close to 5% of the sample, reported having a non-conventional sexual orientation, with 1% being Gay/Lesbian, 0.6% Bisexual, 1.6% ‘Other, prefer not to say’ and 2.1%, ‘Do not know, not stated’. However, because we are interested in the differences in religion-related opinions by sexual orientation or identity, an important caution is needed here: responses appear to be constrained by culture and knowledge. People of some cultural heritage do not find it appropriate to discuss sexual orientations openly and some cultural traditions even prohibit the practice of non-heterosexual orientations. Equally, some respondents may not fully understand what these terms really mean.

To check whether this reasoning is correct, we conducted a simple test. If the reasoning is valid, we would expect people of some cultural backgrounds (say Muslim) to be less likely to have non-conventional sexual identities, especially among the first generation. We looked at this by analysing sexual identity by ethnicity by country of birth. In the entire sample, 1.6% of respondents ‘prefer not to say’ and 2.1% say that they ‘do not know’. Yet, among Bangladeshi respondents, figures are 4.6% and 12% respectively, showing cultural differences. Looking at the

responses by nativity, we find that 8.1% of the UK born Bangladeshis ‘prefer not to say’ or ‘do not know’ whereas the figure for their peers born outside the UK ran as high as 19.1%. All this suggests that in looking at the sexuality variable, we might relatively safely compare the responses of the gay/lesbian and bisexual respondents with the heterosexuals, but not the ‘Other/prefer not to say’ and ‘DK/NS’ categories as the last two categories might not be a true reflection of people’s sexual orientation.

As shown in Figure 5.5, Gays and Lesbians, and to a lesser extent, Bisexuals, are less likely than heterosexual people to feel able to practise their religion or beliefs freely. In this regard, it seems that it may not be religion per se but ‘other beliefs’ that the respondents had in mind when answering this question. Further analysis shows that whereas only 19% of heterosexual people were of ‘other’ or ‘no’ religion, the figures ran as high as 39% for the gays/lesbians, and 49% among bisexual people.

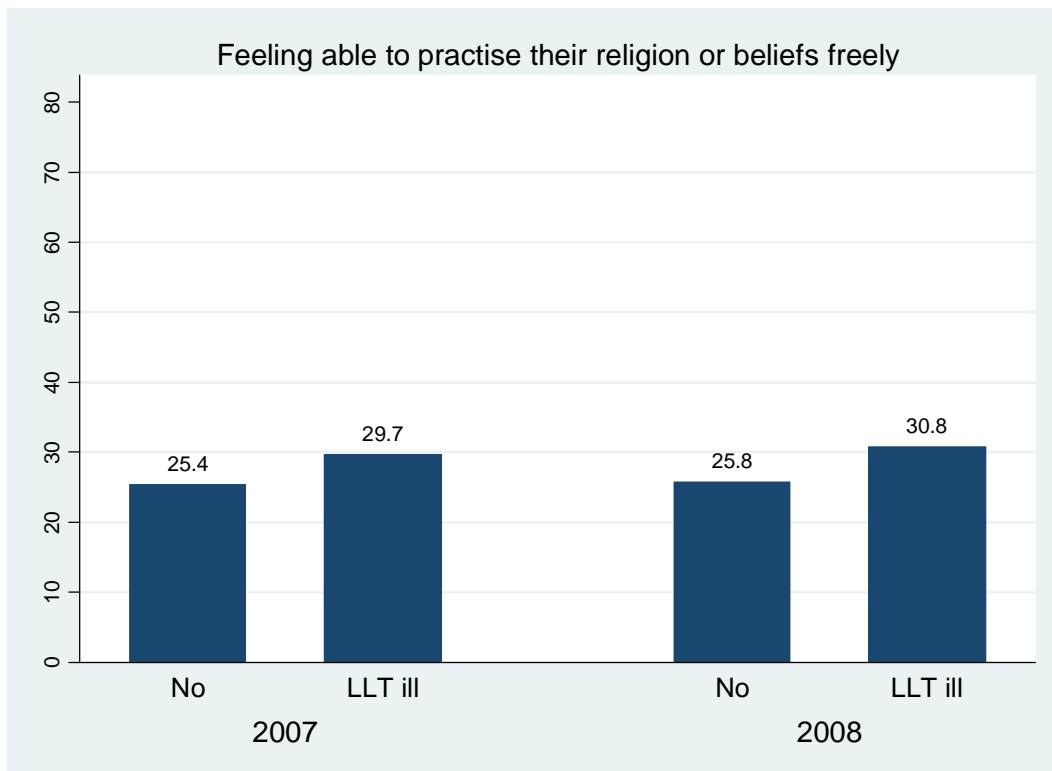
Figure 5.5 Freedom to practise religion by sexuality



5.1.6 Disability

Respondents reporting a LLT illness are more likely to agree that they can practise their religions freely than respondents without LLT illnesses (Figure 5.6). And the results for these two groups have been quite stable over time for the two time points that are available.

Figure 5.6 Freedom to practise religion or beliefs by disability



5.2 Cultural identity and expression

Many ethnic racial groups in Britain seek recognition of their identities through freedom of cultural expression (Hussain and Bagguley, 2005; Kymlicka, 1995). Social attitudes as well as laws and policies can discriminate against cultural expression of minorities. Objects of cultural discrimination can include dress, language, food, family relations, artistic activity and inclusion of cultural expression in wider activities like education, media, social and civic life, and politics (Laaksonen, 2005; UNDP, 2004). The UNDP (2004) holds that a major issue in researching cultural identity is the need to allow survey respondents to claim multiple cultural identities. Stephen Marks (2003 in Laaksonen, 2005) proposed a number of bases from which the maintenance of cultural freedom could be measured for individuals or groups:

- language (use and preservation)
- education (access for cultural groups through modes that are not disadvantageous)

- dissemination of culture
- protection of important cultural objects.

Clark (2008) suggested questions for measuring freedom of cultural identity and freedom of cultural expression, all of which were reviewed by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2009). For freedom of cultural identity, Clark suggested: ‘whether or not it is possible to belong to British society, and hold a ‘separate’ cultural identity’ (2008, p. 19). With respect to freedom of cultural expression, Clark suggested asking people if they could ‘engage in cultural practices, in community with other members of your chosen group or groups and across communities’ (2008, p. 21).

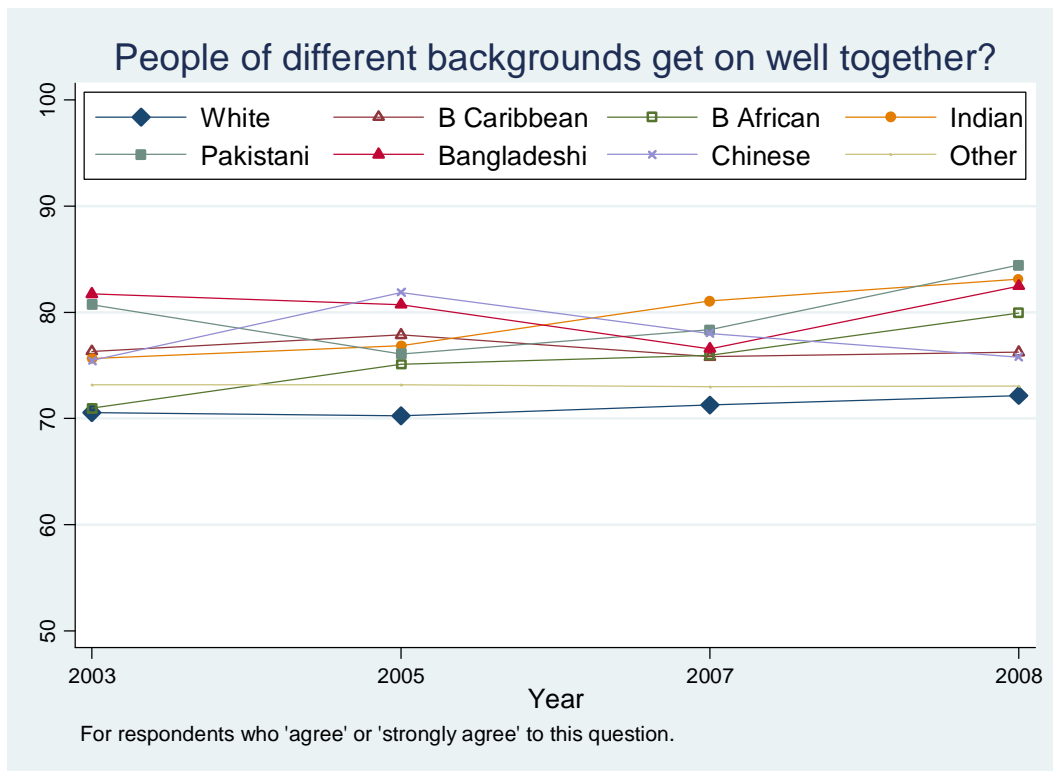
We suggest a related measure that allows us to examine this question: the percentage who believes that ‘people with diverse backgrounds beliefs and identities get on well together (a) where they live, and (b) where they work or study’. These are sometimes considered measures of social cohesion, but the responses to these questions provide us with a clear picture about tolerance of diverse cultural identities and expressions as well.

5.2.1 Race

Turning to the question of whether our respondents believe that people of diverse ethnic or religious backgrounds in their local area get on well together, the following charts report the response patterns by the inequality groups. The question started in 2003 and is available in every survey since then.

Looking at the ethnic differences in the perceived social cohesion at the local level (Figure 5.7), one consistent finding pertains to Whites who are least likely to report that people of diverse backgrounds get on well together, at around 70% in each year. The next lowest group is the ‘Other’, slightly higher than the Whites.

Figure 5.7 Social cohesion by ethnicity

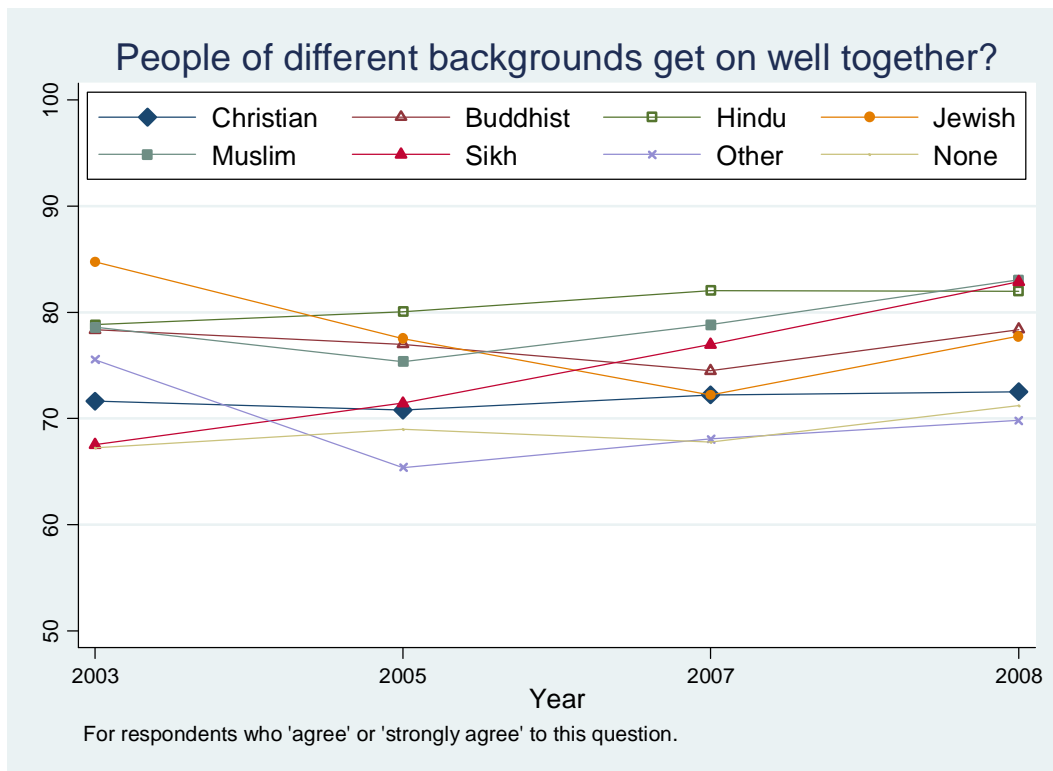


There is much variation for the other groups in between the years, with only Indians showing an increasing proportion in this assessment. In 2008/09, the three South Asian groups – Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi – displayed a similarly high proportion of positive response.

5.2.2 Religion

Religious dress and adornment codes have been an ongoing issue of debate in Britain – as elsewhere. Particularly sensitive issues have been the wearing of the Muslim headscarf (Franks, 2000), the Hindu dot (Weller et al, 2001) and the Sikh turban (Weller et al, 2001).

Figure 5.8 Social cohesion by religion

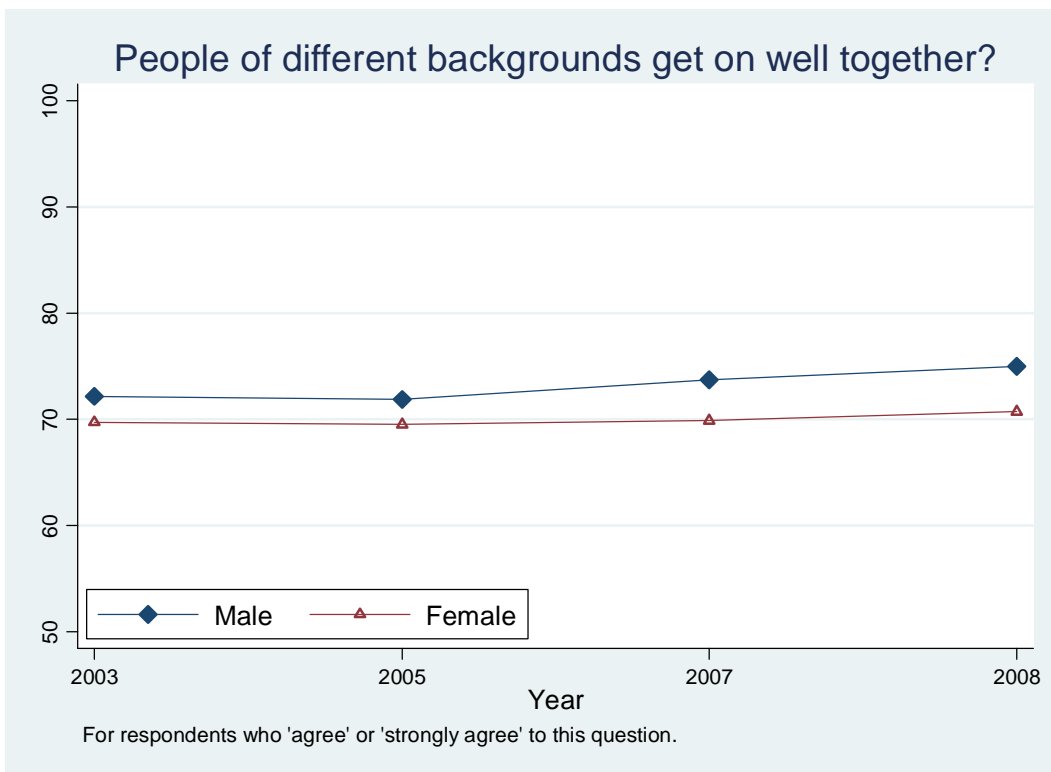


From the Citizenship Survey we find that Hindus (mostly of Indian heritage) had consistently high proportions of respondents who believed that people in their local areas get on well together (see Figure 5.8). One possibility is that, as other research has shown (Li, Devine and Heath, 2008), Indians are doing very well in Britain in terms of both educational attainment and occupational advancement, many being doctors, scientists and highly successful businesspeople, and they tend to live in affluent areas and in close proximity to people of other cultures. It may thus be their socio-economic success which lies at the root of their assessment. The strong intra-community cohesion and support among the Indians may also be a contributing factor. More research needs to be done in this regard, which goes beyond the present study.

5.2.3 Gender

With regard to gender in the Citizenship Survey data, Figure 5.9 shows that men are more likely than women (by 5 percentage points) to claim that they believe that cultural diversity does not affect local social cohesion.

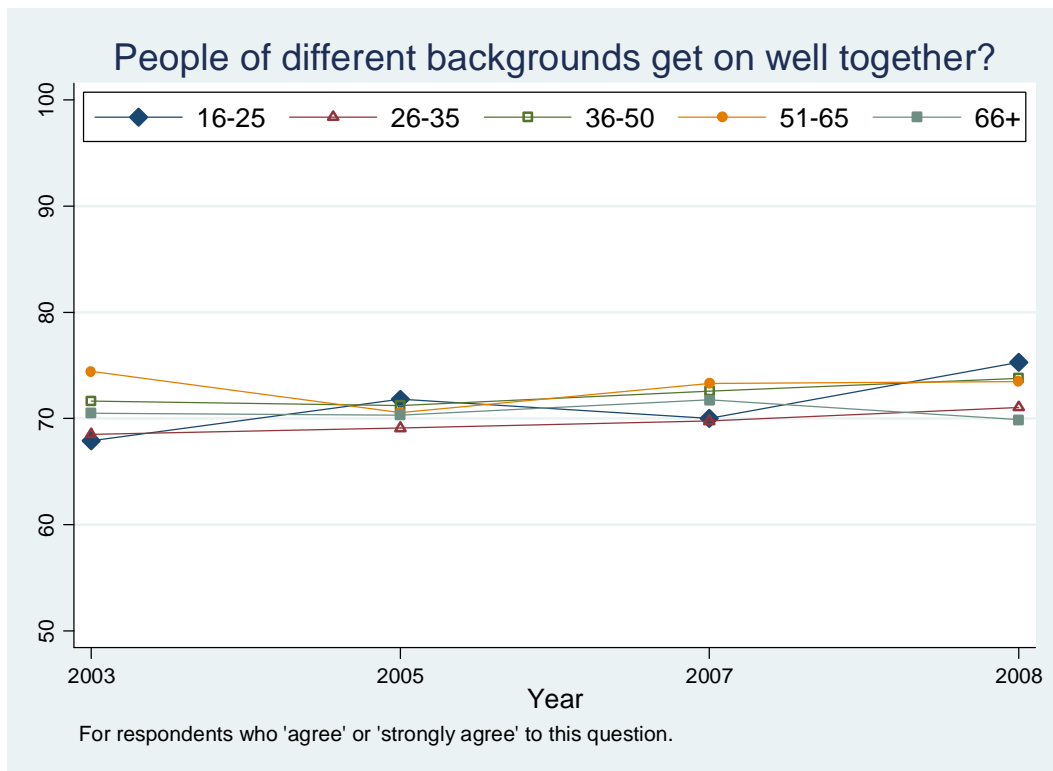
Figure 5.9 Social cohesion by gender



5.2.4 Age

With regard to age, Figure 5.10 using data from the Citizenship Survey shows little age difference in relation to perceptions about social cohesion on the grounds of cultural heterogeneity.

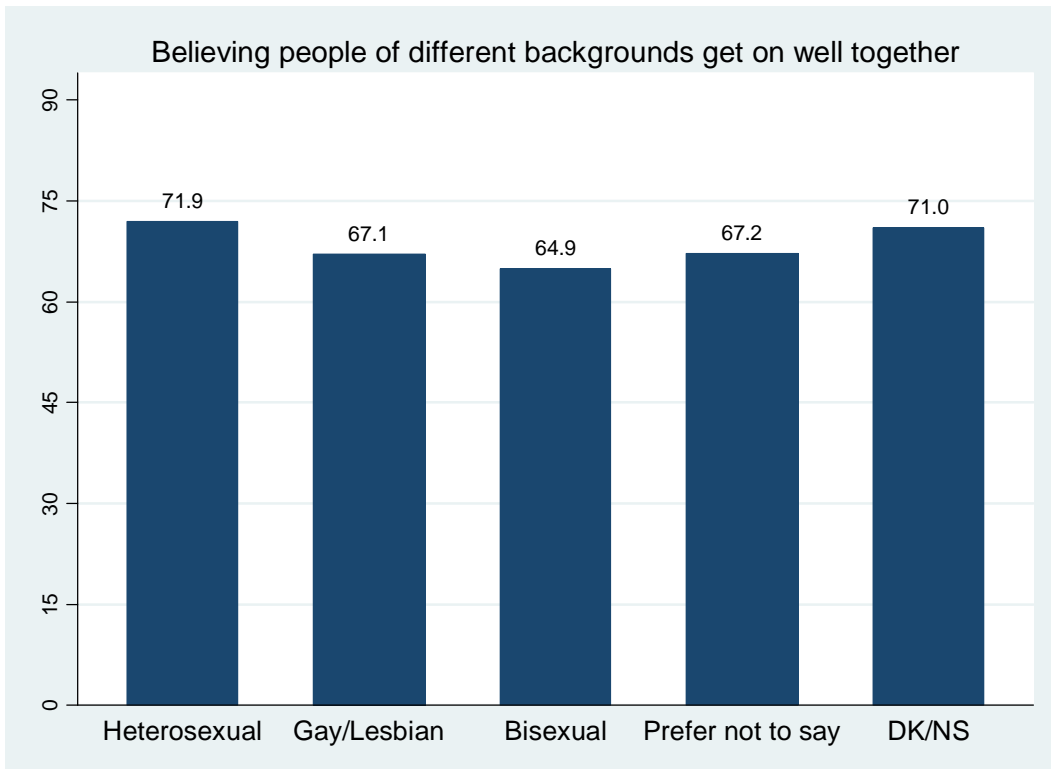
Figure 5.10 Social cohesion by age



5.2.5 Sexuality

Using the Citizenship Survey we find some differences among the different sexual groups in believing that people of diverse backgrounds in their local areas get on well together (Figure 5.11). Though the differences are not very large, individuals with heterosexual orientations have somewhat more positive views about the extent to which people of heterogeneous cultural backgrounds get along together. The opinion gap is especially noticeable between heterosexuals and bisexual, clearly indicating that those with sexual orientations that are socially viewed as ‘less conventional’ have more critical views about how much Britons are tolerant of different cultural backgrounds and expressions.

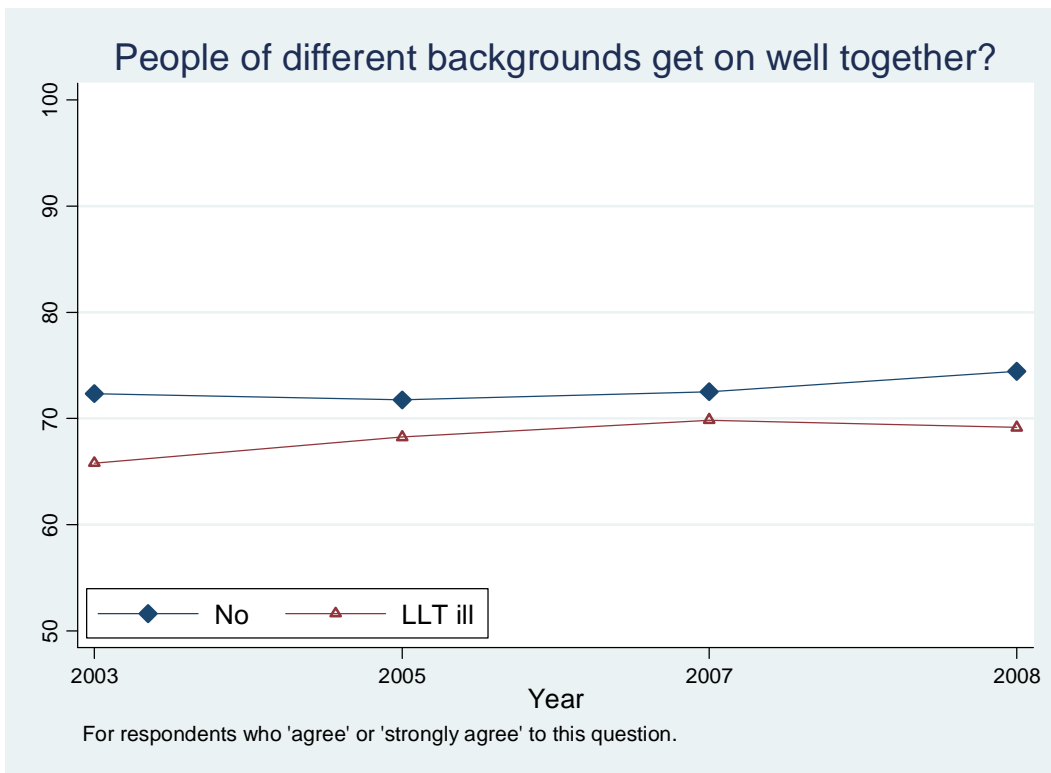
Figure 5.11 Social cohesion by sexuality



5.2.6 Disability

Using the Citizenship Survey (2003-2008), our results (Figure 5.12) show that those with LLT illness are over time consistently less likely than those without such illnesses (by a gap that ranges between 5 and 8% depending on the year) to claim that they believe that diversity does not affect local social cohesion. While the trend seemed to be one of a narrowing gap between these two groups with time, the 2008-09 survey results in a larger gap than previous years and, hence, we can not infer the existence of any solid trend with the currently available information.

Figure 5.12 Social cohesion by disability



5.2.7 Migrants

Unfortunately, we have found no recent literature or data on the views about cultural identity and freedom of expression of cultural diversity for migrants.

5.2.8 Gypsies and Travellers

No collated data exists on this point and as Gypsies and Travellers are not identified in national surveys, new data will need to be produced to learn more about this group.

6. A multivariate analysis

We have already covered a lot of ground in the previous sections of this report, having mapped inequalities in participation in various aspects of political and civic life. The analysis so far has been descriptive and we do not know whether the differences revealed are statistically significant and we cannot say much about the relative impacts of particular inequality groups against others. For instance, we have frequently noted the confounding effect of ethnicity and religion. One way of ascertaining the independent effects of these two variables would be to have ethno-religious combinations, but such a variable would have many categories and would render the presentation and interpretation rather difficult. We have also restricted ourselves to looking at the differences between groups without reference to possible factors which might explain those differences.

We shall, in this chapter conduct several multivariate analyses. As discussed above, in doing so we do not attempt to provide full casual models of each indicator – as that would require much more space than we have in this report and a longer period to conduct the analyses. What we can do is examine the differences among groups at the same time that we adjust for the possible impact of other common factors that might account for some of the differences we observe. For example, are ethnic minorities less likely to vote after we have adjusted for the differences in age structure or social class across ethnic groups?

For this reasons, in this chapter we conduct three analyses relating to the three main areas discussed above, namely, determinants of voting, the relationship between the inequality groups and the six domains of civic life, and relative impacts of sexuality. As the outcome variables are binary, we use logistic regression techniques. What is essential in interpreting the estimated coefficients is to look at the magnitude and the direction of the coefficient for a particular group as compared with that for the reference categories whose values are set at zero. Thus negative coefficients for a category would mean less, and positive coefficients greater, likelihood of undertaking a particular activity such as voting. The greater the magnitude of the coefficients, the stronger the effect of a particular attribute.

Two other points are worth mentioning here. First, as we have seen in the descriptive analyses above, age shows a linear association with voting (the older the respondent, the greater the likelihood of voting) but a curvilinear relationship in many other domains of civic activity. We therefore use age groups in the modelling on voting, but age and age squared for the other domains. Secondly, we have noticed that some religious groups such as Jewish and Buddhist have rather small sample sizes which would cause problems in multivariate analyses (related to empty cells, given the number of other variables used in the models), we hence group the three categories (Jewish, Buddhist and Other) into the ‘Other’ category, thereby collapsing the religion variable from eight to six categories while keeping the other main categories intact. This rendition is both methodologically preferable and substantively meaningful.

In what follows, we present the results of three models: voting, sexuality and inter-sectionality between our inequality groups and the six domains of civic life controlling for other demographic attributes that we identified earlier as having important impacts on civic life.

6.1 Voting turnout in 2001

Table 6.1 shows the data on voting turnout in the 2001 general election. As there is only one outcome variable, we have the ‘luxury’ of looking more closely at the relationship between the inequality groups and the control variables. We thus conduct three models. In model 1, we include only the five inequality groups that are our main focus of interest. In model 2, we add class and education, the main sociological variables. And in model 3, we further add the demographic and geographic variables: marital status, nativity, number of dependent children in household and country (differentiating between England and Wales). We can, hence, compare the findings in Table 6.1 with the descriptive data presented in the figures in the Chapter 2.

Looking at the data in model 1, we find that controlling for all other variables in this model, respondents of Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritages are more likely to have voted, a clear contrast to the bivariate analysis as shown above. This should, of course, be analysed in combination with religion, as we see that Muslims are less likely to vote and around 96% of respondents of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin are Muslim. The age differences are in the expected direction but people with LLT illness were shown as having a greater likelihood of voting in the bivariate analysis whereas here, *ceteris paribus*, they are less likely to turnout.

Moving to model 2, we find the familiar picture of the powerful effects of class and education on voting over and above the effects of the inequality groups. This should not come as a surprise to sociologists but it is of interest to note that holding constant the class and education effects, the coefficients for Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and those with LLT illness have increased, indicating that these groups tend to have lower class and education (see Li, Devine and Heath, 2008 for further evidence in this regard).

Finally, looking at the results of model 3 with further addition of demographic and geographic attributes, we find that respondents with no partners are much less likely to vote, as do the foreign born, suggesting a greater sense of civic duty to vote among those married or living in partnerships and the UK born, reinforcing previous research in this regard (Li, 2010c). We also notice that with the exception of those without religious affiliation, the religion effects have disappeared and that none of the minority ethnic groups were actually less likely to vote.

Overall, then, the multivariate analyses show that, holding constant all the factors included in the model, it is not ethnicity, religion, gender, health (disability or LLT illness), dependent children or geography but rather age, class, education, marital status and nativity that have a significant and substantial impact on voting. In sum, four out of the five inequality groups turn out to have fared equally well in terms of voting turnout. The more usual causal explanations (class and education in particular) remain fundamental. This means that tackling the main sources of inequality in society (class and education inequalities in particular) should substantially reduce the lower levels of electoral turnout we captured in the descriptive analyses in the previous sections of this report.

Table 6.1 Logit regression coefficients on voting in the 2001 General Election			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Ethnicity (white=base)			
B Caribbean	-0.538**	-0.414*	0.195
B African	-0.867***	-0.874***	-0.088
Indian	0.435	0.432	0.708**
Pakistani	0.953***	1.110***	1.200***
Bangladeshi	1.325***	1.516***	1.819***
Chinese	-1.262***	-1.191**	-0.487
Other	-0.890***	-0.833***	-0.290
Religion (Christian=base)			
Hindu	-0.053	0.109	0.299
Muslim	-0.708***	-0.479*	-0.163
Sikh	-0.480	-0.265	-0.107
Other	-0.405*	-0.390*	-0.311
None	-0.537***	-0.408***	-0.408***
Age (16-25=base)			
26-35	1.348***	1.194***	1.044***
36-50	1.968***	1.925***	1.654***
51-65	2.566***	2.727***	2.381***
66+	2.744***	2.981***	2.658***
Female	0.001	0.035	0.056
Having long-term illness	-0.224***	-0.060	-0.002
Class (salariat=base)			
Intermediate		-0.078	-0.100
Petty bourgeoisie		-0.557***	-0.545***
Foremen and technician		-0.405***	-0.412***
Working class		-0.551***	-0.533***
Missing		-0.728***	-0.663***
Education (tertiary=base)			
A Level or equivalent		-0.172*	-0.188**
O Level or equivalent		-0.388***	-0.464***
Primary		-0.792***	-0.806***
None		-0.751***	-0.788***
R aged 70+		-0.549***	-0.458**
Non-married			-0.623***
Foreign born			-1.009***
No. of dependent children			-0.029
Wales (England=base)			0.076
Constant	-0.774***	-0.208**	0.389***
Pseudo R ²	.164	.191	.209
N	14,047	14,024	14,023

Note: * p<.05; ** p< .01; *** p< .001.

Source: The Citizenship Survey of 2003.

6.2 Inequality groups and domains of civic life

We now turn to the multivariate analysis of the impacts of the inequality groups on the six domains of civic life as shown in Table 6.3. It is noted here that apart from the control variables, we have also included the year the survey was conducted to assess the existence of any trends over time, with 2008/9 as the reference group. It is also important to remind here that not all six domains are covered by the surveys of all years, as we have previously explained. As so much data is involved, we shall necessarily give a fairly brief account, focusing on the most pronounced effects.

Looking at ethnicity effects first, we find that all minority ethnic groups with the exception of the Chinese are more likely to believe that they can practise their religion freely. The effects are very strong here but become much weaker – although remaining significant and positive – in the next two domains, namely, in believing that local people of diverse backgrounds get on well together, and that they can affect decision-making concerning local matters. Most minority ethnic groups are, however, less likely to be politically active as compared with Whites. With regard to the last two domains, that is, leadership and campaigning roles, we find little difference between most of the minority ethnic groups and the Whites, and only the Chinese remain significantly invisible in the two kinds of civic activities.

Holding constant all other factors, religious effects are rather weak in all six domains. It is perhaps a bit of a surprise that Muslims feel significantly more able to practise their religion freely and Hindus were significantly less active in civic engagement. Taken together, the data would suggest that people of Hindu denomination and non-religious Chinese (the majority within the Indian and Chinese communities in Britain) were civically non-active to a similar extent.

The curvilinear age effects are shown in most of the civic domains.

Women are shown to be less likely to believe that diversity contributes to social cohesion; and they are also less likely to assume leadership roles in civic activities, namely, leading, representing or sitting on local committees. Yet, women are more likely to feel able to practise

religion freely, to believe in their ability to influence local decision-making, and to be politically engaged.

People with LLT illness tend to have a negative view of local diversity on social cohesion, tend to doubt their ability to influence local decision-making, but are more likely to be politically active, particularly in campaigning.

The picture on inequality groups thus seems rather complicated. But as compared with social class and education, we find that the latter tend to have more consistent and more powerful effects, suggesting that in contemporary Britain, social stratification along class and education lines has a more enduring force and cuts more deeply in the civic life than ascriptive characteristics such as religion or ethnicity.

Holding constant all these factors, marital status remains significant in five of the six domains under investigation, suggesting that the married tend to be more civically orientated, or the more civically engaged have greater opportunities to find a partner. The nativity effects are also in the expected direction, with the foreign born being less likely to be politically active, to take up leadership roles or to have conducted campaigning activities. Perhaps the lack of language proficiency is a contributing factor (we do not have appropriate data to investigate this) and many of the first-generation may still have a 'sojourner' mentality, being *in* rather than feeling *of* the receiving society (Portes et al. 2009).

The effects of having dependent children are also in the expected direction, with those having such children tending to be more likely to have 'contacted' or 'voiced' their concerns, or sat on local committees.

People in Wales on the whole are as civically minded as their peers in England, with the sole exception of feeling less efficacious.

Table 6.2 Logit regression coefficients on civic life by inequality groups

	Practising religion/beliefs freely	Local people get on well together	Can affect local decision-making	Political activity	Leadership roles in civic org	Did campaigning
Ethnicity (white=base)						
B Caribbean	0.962***	0.303**	0.340***	-0.218*	-0.128	-0.281
B African	1.908***	0.143	0.388***	-0.211*	0.088	-0.044
Indian	1.585***	0.264	0.079	-0.115	-0.260	0.124
Pakistani	1.622***	0.303*	0.383***	-0.047	-0.105	-0.007
Bangladeshi	1.644***	0.283	0.439**	0.231	0.256	0.695
Chinese	-0.092	0.300	-0.212	-0.557**	-0.583*	-1.327*
Other	1.136***	0.001	0.152*	-0.119	-0.093	-0.035
Religion (Christian=base)						
Hindu	0.080	0.171	-0.027	-0.362**	-0.019	-0.490
Muslim	0.439**	0.165	-0.129	-0.015	-0.275	-0.251
Sikh	0.030	-0.170	0.153	-0.266	-0.164	-0.596
Other	0.505***	-0.016	0.027	0.216***	0.177**	0.551***
None	-	-0.137***	-0.031	-0.013	-0.219***	0.203***
Age	0.005	-0.007	0.014***	0.063***	0.021***	0.037***
Age squared	0.000***	0.000*	-0.000***	-0.001***	-0.000*	-0.000**
Female	0.629***	-0.153***	0.056***	0.038*	-0.112***	0.077
Having long-term illness	0.022	-0.198***	-0.107***	0.188***	-0.018	0.243***
Class (salaried=base)						
Intermediate	-0.179***	0.011	-0.183***	-0.205***	-0.255***	-0.320***
Petty bourgeoisie	-0.005	-0.051	-0.157***	-0.151***	-0.299***	-0.261**
Foremen and technician	-0.330***	-0.184***	-0.259***	-0.322***	-0.554***	-0.474***
Working class	-0.269***	-0.143***	-0.312***	-0.412***	-0.815***	-0.571***
Missing	0.190**	-0.003	-0.133***	-0.205***	-0.012	0.055
Education (Deg/Prof=base)						
A Level or equivalent	-0.332***	-0.041	-0.247***	-0.154***	-0.299***	-0.261***
O Level or equivalent	-0.285***	-0.067*	-0.325***	-0.422***	-0.545***	-0.831***
Primary	-0.056	-0.209***	-0.423***	-0.588***	-0.683***	-0.983***
None	-0.518***	-0.286***	-0.580***	-0.824***	-1.336***	-1.519***
R aged 70+	-0.320***	-0.267***	-0.471***	-0.514***	-0.881***	-1.492***
Non-married	-0.195***	-0.172***	-0.039*	-0.136***	-0.295***	-0.007
Foreign born	0.664***	0.092*	0.038	-0.403***	-0.486***	-0.214**
No. of dependent children	0.080***	-0.023	0.005	0.061***	0.105***	-0.016
Wales (England=base)	0.152*	0.210***	-0.101**	0.093**	0.093	-0.112
Year (2008=base)						
2001	-	-	0.232***	0.058*	0.235***	0.400***
2003	-	-0.092***	-0.009	0.037	0.150***	0.075
2005	-	-0.092***	0.010	0.055*	0.138***	0.220***
2007	-0.036	-0.047	-0.053*	0.055*	0.038	0.097
Constant	-1.871***	1.441***	-0.408***	-1.433***	-1.663***	-3.713***
Pseudo R ²	.109	.011	.019	.044	.068	.058
N	22863	55284	70634	70630	70634	70634

Note: * p<.05; ** p< .01; *** p< .001. Some domains do not have data for all years.

Source: The Citizenship Survey of 2001-2008/9.

Finally, with regard to the longitudinal trends, mixed findings emerge. On the one hand, people in England and Wales tend to increasingly believe that social cohesion prevails in their local area despite the increasing ethnic diversity. On the other, they are less likely to be civically engaged:

they feel less efficacious (though the 2007 survey does not fit this trend), they are less and less politically active over time, they are decreasingly engaged in assuming leadership roles, and less involved in campaigning.

6.3 The impacts of sexual identity on civic life

As noted earlier, the 2007 Citizenship Survey contains large sample sizes for sexual identity groups, which are rarely seen in other social surveys. In Table 6.3, we analyse the relative impacts of sexual identity holding constant all other sources of inequality and other control variables. Our interest centres on the impacts of sexual identity but interested readers may wish to see the effects of other variables in the table. We would also wish to remind the reader that, as previously noted, the responses to ‘Other, prefer not to say’ and ‘Do not know, not stated’ may be contaminated with cultural tradition or limited acculturation, and are thus less subject to straightforward comparison. We therefore focus on the comparison of the ‘gay/lesbian’ and ‘bisexual’ with the ‘heterosexual’ groups.

A look at the coefficients (in the Sexuality section at the top of the table) shows that, other things being equal, respondents with bisexual identity were no different from the homosexual respondents in any of the six domains of civic life, even though our bivariate analysis above show them to be quite different. Indeed, further analysis shows that the bisexuals are mostly likely to have no religious affiliation (40.1% as against 16.6% of the whole sample), more likely to be highly educated (35.5% as against 29.9% of the sample in having tertiary education), and twice as likely to be in the youngest group (34%). Therefore, holding constant all these factors renders them as little different from heterosexual respondents.

With regard to the gay/lesbian group, the data show that they are significantly less likely than the heterosexuals to believe that they are able to practise their ‘beliefs’ freely, more likely to have undertaken political activity in the last year, and more likely to have undertaken campaigning in their civic activities in the last twelve months.

In sum, the perceived constraint in the free practice of their ‘beliefs’ and the associated greater propensity for political activism (campaigning in particular), are the main findings in this aspect,

which also seems to stand reason. In passing, we note here that the gay/lesbian group are among the best qualified group: 58.3% have tertiary education, twice the sample mean.

Table 6.3 Logit regression coefficient on sexuality in civic life in 2007						
	Practising religion/belief freely	Local people get on well together	Can affect local decision-making	Political activity	Leadership roles in civic org	Did campaigning
Sexuality (heterosexual=base)						
Gay/Lesbian	-0.641*	-0.145	-0.041	0.719***	0.300	0.814**
Bisexual	0.072	-0.207	-0.102	0.380	-0.744	0.599
Other/wouldn't say	-0.179	-0.105	-0.042	0.494***	-0.121	-0.042
Don't know/not stated	0.279	-0.078	-0.010	-0.183	-0.611*	-0.715
Ethnicity (white=base)						
B Caribbean	0.948***	0.298	0.440*	-0.358	0.080	-0.039
B African	2.066***	0.184	0.491**	-0.183	0.043	-0.562
Indian	1.658***	0.335	-0.013	-0.491*	-1.018*	-0.452
Pakistani	1.585***	0.033	0.211	-0.209	-0.390	-0.414
Bangladeshi	1.613***	-0.068	0.572	-0.223	0.031	-0.876
Chinese	-0.123	0.539	-0.304	-1.148*	-0.265	-1.841
Other	1.216***	0.043	0.231	-0.163	-0.282	-0.422
Religion (Christian=base)						
Hindu	0.042	0.243	0.439	0.102	1.046**	0.362
Muslim	0.306	0.329	-0.043	0.233	0.100	0.101
Sikh	0.017	-0.072	0.393	-0.185	0.728	-1.683
Other	0.571***	-0.108	0.126	0.378***	0.481***	0.768***
None	-	-0.203***	0.010	0.053	-0.278***	0.058
Age	-0.003	-0.006	0.003	0.063***	0.027*	-0.013
Age squared	0.000***	0.000	0.000	-0.001***	-0.000	0.000
Female	0.631***	-0.191***	0.105**	-0.008	-0.177**	0.106
Having long-term illness	0.023	-0.104*	-0.056	0.196***	-0.030	0.301**
Class (salaried=base)						
Intermediate	-0.177*	0.023	-0.177**	-0.205**	-0.332***	-0.462**
Petty bourgeoisie	-0.141	-0.133	-0.091	-0.253***	-0.343***	-0.338
Foremen&tech	-0.229**	-0.184*	-0.143*	-0.326***	-0.495***	-0.748***
Working class	-0.204**	-0.240***	-0.328***	-0.526***	-0.758***	-0.569***
Missing	0.172	0.034	-0.206**	-0.231**	0.013	0.047
Education (tertiary=base)						
A Level or equivalent	-0.241**	-0.088	-0.180**	0.027	-0.256**	-0.049
O Level or equivalent	-0.356***	0.035	-0.319***	-0.411***	-0.602***	-1.118***
Primary	-0.100	-0.208*	-0.310***	-0.666***	-0.704***	-1.165***
None	-0.567***	-0.186**	-0.474***	-0.802***	-1.379***	-1.263***
R aged 70+	-0.408***	-0.197	-0.430***	-0.318**	-0.473**	-1.696***
Non-married	-0.263***	-0.152***	-0.032	-0.223***	-0.341***	-0.099
Foreign born	0.525***	-0.034	-0.035	-0.546***	-0.682***	-0.377*
No. of dependent children	0.079**	0.007	0.035	0.026	0.147***	0.030
Wales (England=base)	-0.059	0.110	-0.337***	0.079	0.087	-0.174
Constant	-1.643***	1.394***	-0.392*	-1.279***	-1.668***	-2.450***
Pseudo R ²	.103	.011	.015	.056	.073	.066
N	11,192	13,437	13,437	13,437	13,437	13,437

Note: * p<.05; ** p< .01; *** p< .001.

Source: The Citizenship Survey of 2007.

6.4 Conclusion

We have, in this chapter, carried out a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the six domains of civic life by all the major inequality groups as specified by the EHRC guidelines. The analysis makes full use of the available data in the Citizenship Surveys from 2001 to the most recent, namely, 2008/09. Multivariate analyses were conducted to ascertain the patterns and trends of civic engagement by the main inequality groups. In addition, we have also made use of some unique data as were previously unavailable and that have allowed us to assess the relationship between the inequality groups and voting behaviour, and that between sexual identity and civic participation.

The main findings pertaining to the inequality groups can be summarised as follows.

- Age is a paramount factor in voting whereas none of the other four factors are as important. Among the different minority ethnic groups, South Asians are more likely than the Whites to vote while the two Black and the Chinese groups show no distinctive features when other socio-economic factors are taken into consideration.
- Gays/Lesbians, a very highly educated group, feel strongly that they cannot practise their beliefs freely. Possibly because of this (their educational attainment and their grievances), they are the most active group in political protest and they also campaign most vigorously for their interests.
- Ethnicity, rather than religion, tends to be the more visible marker of civic engagement.
- There is no gross difference between the gender groups in most civic activity domains, as women tend to have lower class and education profiles and these variables account for most of the gender gaps. However, those of them with similar class and education tend to be more active than their male counterparts in civic participation (albeit not in leadership roles).
- People with LLT illness tend to have a negative view of diversity and of their ability to influence local decision-making. Nevertheless, their protesting and campaigning efforts did not decrease because of this.

- Finally, in terms of trends of civic life, we find growing social cohesion as people are increasingly finding diversity acceptable although their participation is showing signs of abatement.

7. Concluding remarks

7.1 Gaps in the data – possible data sources of measures

7.1.1 Data availability

In this report, we have examined the availability of data for measuring states of equality based on certain social dimensions – race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, disability – and minority groups: Gypsies and Travellers, Migrants, Homeless and Transgender. Most of the required data can be gathered from the Citizenship Survey, which has questions on civic engagement, volunteering, organisational membership, freedom of religion and cultural expression, and ability to influence local decisions. However, the Citizenship Survey does not identify Gypsies and Travellers, the homeless or transgender people. Further, if members of these groups appear in the Citizenship Survey, they are likely to be of such small numbers that the data will not prove useful for analysis. Therefore a more immediate goal is to conduct representative surveys of Gypsies and Travellers, homeless and transgender people – whether through an expanded Citizenship Survey or surveys specially targeted at these groups.

7.1.2 New Data Requirements

Formal Political Representation: data on voter turnout and political representation.

The Houses of Commons and Lords provide data on gender and age, but not on ethnicity, disability, migrant status and transgender status. The Houses of Parliament could provide information on ethnicity, Gypsy Traveller background and migrant status. It may be able to collect the other items anonymously through surveys. The *Census of Local Authority Councillors* has information on gender, age, occupation, ethnicity and disability/health. The *Census* may also be able to collect other items of information.

Being treated with dignity and respect while accessing and participating in decision-making forums: New measures are required, possibly based on the suggestions of Clark (2008), such as percentages of each group perceiving unfair treatment while accessing and participating in decision-making forums.

Ability to communicate in language of choice: New data is required, possibly with a question in the Citizenship Survey that measures the percentage of respondents who feel able to use their own language when accessing services or participating in public forums.

7.2 Conclusions

In many areas inequalities in civic and political participation have narrowed over recent years. However, this is set in the context of a general overall decline in many traditional aspects of civic life. Indeed it is often the newer forms of participation that are more equally taken up: while belonging to political parties and voluntary associations were often dominated by white middle aged males, new forms of participation are being taken up by the young, by women, and by ethnic, religious and other minorities. In the political sphere there is still a deficit in voting, participation and representation for many equality groups, at both the national and regional levels. In other areas (e.g. voting) differences have narrowed for some groups. Nevertheless, in key areas such as political representation, political activism, and civic participation it is still the white, Christian, male, middle-aged heterosexuals who are most likely to take part.

Despite their over-representation, it is often the apparently more empowered majority groups who fear their own political influence is threatened. Notably, the perception of political efficacy and religious freedom is lower for Whites and for Christians compared to ethnic and religious minorities. This may reflect a type of *siege* mentality where majority groups increasingly refute minority claims for equality, claiming their own rights are under threat (Quillian, 1995). This has been reflected in the increased popularity of far-right parties in British politics, especially in areas where white working class poverty is juxtaposed with minority immigration. This highlights the need to balance concerns about civic equality for visible minorities with the very stark reality of class inequalities in political influence, efficacy and representation. Similarly in the civic world, activism is less common in minority groups although campaigning activities tend to be more frequent. It has also been noted that civic and social participation of minority groups is positively associated with diverse communities, while majority groups in diverse settings have been found to 'hunker down' (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2010).

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Technical Notes

Coding of the Dependent Variables

relfree (07 09)	1.1	% who feel able to practise their religion or beliefs freely
getwell (03-09)	2.1	% who believe that people with diverse backgrounds, beliefs and identities get on well together
effloc	2.1	% who feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area
pactive	3.1	percentage undertaking at least one of the following activities in the last 12 months: contacting a councillor, local official, government official or MP (other than in relation to personal issues); attending public meeting or rally; taking part in demonstration or signing petition.
decmake	4.1	% who were a member of a local decision-making body in last 12 months
campgn	4.1	% who were a member of a campaigning group

Coding of the Independent Variables

ethnicity	White; Black Caribbean; Black African; Indian; Pakistani; Bangladeshi; Chinese; Other
religion	Christian; Muslim; Sikh; Hindu; Other (inc Buddhist; Jewish); None
class	Salariat; Routine non manual; Petty Bourgeoisie; Manual supervisor/lower technician; Routine manual (working class); Other
sexuality (07)	Heterosexual; Gay/Lesbian; Bisexual; Other/prefer not to say; DK/NS

Coding of the Control Variables

sex	men women
cob	UK born; otherwise incorporated in ethnicity variable
long-term ill	Yes, No
age	16-25; 26-35; 36-50 (ref); 51-65; 66+
education	Tertiary; A Level and equivalent; O Level and equivalent; Primary; None; Respondents aged over 70.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2001-2008/9

Notes:

- All analysis are based on weighted data (combined weight) with analytical weights used in descriptive and probability weights in modelling analysis throughout.
- ‘Member of a local decision-making body’ includes ‘leading the group/member of a committee’ or ‘representing’ the organisation.
- For ethnicity, the CS data sets have different source codings and the mixed is differentiated in some years such as in 2001 but not so in others such as in 2007. Given this and the small numbers involved, the mixed categories are coded as part of the Other.
- Class coding is based on respondent’s NSSEC: salariat= 1 2; routine non-manual=3; petty bourgeoisie=4; manual supervisor/lower technician=5, routine manual=6 7; Other includes long-term unemployed, never worked, full time students and non-classified.
- For education, tertiary=first degree or above, professional qualifications below degree; A Levels or equivalent such as trade apprenticeship; O Levels include GCSE A-C or equivalent; Primary includes GCSE D-G, CSE or equivalent. All this is done according the official conversion such as found in Labour Force Survey 2005.
- The Scottish Household Survey 2007 is not used as the items mentioned in the EHRC guide lines are not found in the survey (double checked; last time re-downloaded on 20th March 2010); nor are the items found in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey for 2007 (checked again on 20th March 2010).
- Therefore all analysis reported this time is based on the CS 2001-2008/9 (2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008/9)

Sample question wording for the dependent variables

(Note that CS 2001-2008/9 may not have exactly the same question wording or response categories across the five surveys used).

1.1. % who feel able to practise their religion or beliefs freely

RelActF

In general, do you feel you are able to practise your religion freely in Britain?

- (1) Yes
- (2) Partly
- (3) No

In this analysis, 1 is coded as 'able' (available for only 2007 and 2008/9)

1.2 % who believe that people with diverse backgrounds, beliefs and identities get on well together

STogeth (S13)

SHOWCARD S5

[*] To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area, within 15/20 minutes walking distance, is

a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?

- (1) Definitely agree
- (2) Tend to agree
- (3) Tend to disagree
- (4) Definitely disagree
- (5) DON'T KNOW
- (6) TOO FEW PEOPLE IN LOCAL AREA
- (7) ALL SAME BACKGROUNDS

In this analysis, 1+2 is coded as 'yes' (available for only 2003 to 2008/9)

1.3 % who feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area

PAffLoc (C5)

SHOWCARD C2

[*] Firstly, do you agree or disagree that you can influence decisions affecting your local area?

- (1) Definitely agree
- (2) Tend to agree
- (3) Tend to disagree
- (4) Definitely disagree

In this analysis, 1+2 is coded as 'yes' (available for 2001 to 2008/9)

1.4 percentage undertaking at least one of the following activities in the last 12 months:
contacting a councillor, local official, government official or MP (other than in relation to personal issues); attending public meeting or rally; taking part in demonstration or signing petition.

The following serial variables are used for constructing political activity

PActUK (C1)

SHOWCARD C1

In the last 12 months, that is since ^DMDLYEAR, have you contacted any of the people listed on the card? Please exclude contact with councillors or council staff for personal issues such as housing repairs, and contact through work.

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

SET [9] OF

- (1) Local councillor
- (2) Member of Parliament (MP)
- (3) Public official working for local council
- (4) Government official
- (5) Elected member of the Greater London Assembly - including the Mayor of London
- (6) Public official working for the Greater London Assembly
- (7) Elected member of the National Assembly for Wales - including the First Minister
- (8) Public official working for the National Assembly for Wales
- (9) NONE OF THE ABOVE

ASK ALWAYS:

Prally (C2)

And in the last 12 months, that is, since ^DMDLYEAR, have you.... ///

INDIVIDUAL PROMPT

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

SET [4] OF

- (1) Attended a public meeting or rally?
- (2) Taken part in a public demonstration or protest?
- (3) Signed a petition?
- (4) NONE OF THE ABOVE

1.5 % who were a member of a local decision-making body in last 12 months

1.6 % who were a member of a campaigning group

Funpd (FO3)

SHOWCARD V1

LEAVE SHUFFLE CARDS OF GROUPS INVOLVED WITH IN FRONT OF RESPONDENT

Now I would like you to look at this showcard.

In the last 12 months, that is, since ^DMDLYEAR, have you given UNPAID help to any groups, clubs or

organisations in any of the ways shown on this card?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

SET [13] OF

- (1) Raising or handling money/taking part in sponsored events
- (2) Leading the group/ member of a committee
- (3) Organising or helping to run an activity or event
- (4) Visiting people
- (5) Befriending or mentoring people
- (6) Giving advice/ information/ counselling
- (7) Secretarial, admin or clerical work

- (8) Providing transport/driving
- (9) Representing
- (10) Campaigning
- (11) Other practical help (eg helping out at school, shopping)
- (12) Any other help
- (13) NONE OF THE ABOVE

Trends of civic life domains

Having looked at the two sporadic data instances in the Section above, we now come to have a look at the trends data in the six domains of civic life. As earlier noted, not all six domains have full data in all five years but four of the six do. A reminder of the data availability:

- 2 Religious freedom (07, 09): % who feel able to practise their religion or beliefs freely
- 3 Social cohesion (03-09): % who believe that people with diverse backgrounds, beliefs and identities get on well together
- 4 Political efficacy (01-09): % who feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area
- 5 Political activism (01-09): % undertaking at least one of the following activities in the last 12 months: contacting a councillor, local official, government official or MP (other than in relation to personal issues); attending public meeting or rally; taking part in demonstration or signing petition.
- 6 Leadership roles (01-09): % who were a member of a local decision-making body in last 12 months
- 7 Civic campaigning (01-09): % who were a member of a campaigning group

We analyse each of these domains using the five inequality groups: ethnicity, religion, age, sex and disability (or limiting long-term illness).

Appendices

Logistic Regressions: Equality Group Areas on Voting in the 2005 General Election, 2007 Welsh Assembly Elections and 2007 Scottish Parliament Elections

Variable	2005 GE		2007 WA		2007 SP	
	β	Odds	β	Odds	β	Odds
Constant	-0.04	-	-0.56	-	-0.81*	-
Gender (base = Female)						
Male	0.05	1.01	0.24	1.27	0.02	1.02
Age Group (base = Age 18-25)						
Age 26-35	0.35	1.43	-0.21	0.81	0.22	1.24
Age 36-50	1.16*	3.19	-0.03	1.00	0.99*	2.70
Age 51-64	1.65*	5.22	0.91*	2.48	1.74*	5.69
65+	2.11*	8.24	1.72*	5.56	2.45*	11.61
Religion (base = Christian)						
Non-Christian	-0.06	0.95	-1.80*	0.17	-0.06	0.94
No Religion	-0.25*	0.78	-0.53	0.59	-0.40*	0.67
Social Class (base = Salaried)						
Routine Non-Manual	-0.30*	0.74	-0.04	0.96	-0.16	0.85
Petty Bourgeoisie	-0.22	0.80	-0.01	0.99	-0.52	0.59
Manual	-0.65*	0.52	-0.43	0.65	-0.17	0.84
Working Class	-0.67*	0.51	-0.32	0.73	-0.34	0.71
Insufficient Information	-0.12	0.88	-0.19	0.83	-0.15	0.86
Education (base = No Quals)						
Degree	0.73*	2.08	0.71*	2.03	1.26*	3.54
Below Degree	0.58*	1.79	0.93*	2.54	0.77*	2.16
A-Levels	0.75*	2.11	0.60	1.83	0.59*	1.80
GCSE Level 2 A-C	0.34*	1.41	0.23	1.26	0.35	1.42
GCSE Level 1 D-G	-0.04	0.96	-0.22	0.80	0.25	1.29
Other Qualifications	0.42*	1.53	-	-	-0.58	0.56
Disability						
Disability	-0.57*	0.56	0.28	1.32	-0.21	0.81
-2 Log Likelihood	-2199.97		-540.42		-884.40	
Wald Chi2	227.80*		105.23*		150.54*	
Pseudo R ²	0.11		0.11		0.12	
N	4161		884		1508	

* Denotes significant at 0.05 level

Voting and Turnout (additional Information to Section 2)

Civic Life Project: Voting in British General Elections 1997-2005

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Gender (weighted)

Variables	1997 General Election	2001 General Election	2005 General Election
% Voted (frequency only)	78.6	70.7	71.7
Gender			
Male	77.0	70.3	70.4
Female	80.1	71.4	72.9
Sample N	2906	3025	4161

*2005 BES data weighted using the Post-wave weight for GB. N= 4161

*2001 BES data weighted post-wave. N = 3025

*1997 BES weighted sample for GB. N = 2906

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Age (weighted)

Variables	1997 General Election	2001 General Election	2005 General Election
% Voted (frequency only)	78.6	70.7	71.7
Age Groups			
18-25	63.2	52.4	47.5
26-35	68.8	57.6	57.7
36-50	80.9	71.3	73.9
51-64	87.2	79.0	81.6
Old Age 65 plus	86.7	86.3	85.9
Sample N	2906	3025	4161

*2005 BES data weighted using the Post-wave weight for GB. N= 4161

*2001 BES data weighted post-wave. N = 3025

*1997 BES weighted sample for GB. N = 2906

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Religion (weighted)

Variables	1997 General Election	2001 General Election	2005 General Election
% Voted (frequency only)	78.6	70.7	71.7
Religion			
Christian	83.4	77.4	78.4
Non-Christian	74.6	63.8	71.6
No Religion	70.1	64.4	64.0
Sample N	2906	3025	4161

*2005 BES data weighted using the Post-wave weight for GB. N= 4161

*2001 BES data weighted post-wave. N = 3025

*1997 BES weighted sample for GB. N = 2906

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Ethnicity (weighted)

Variables	1997 General Election	2001 General Election	2005 General Election
% Voted (frequency only)	78.6	70.7	71.7
Religion			
White	78.8	71.1	72.5
Black	80.8	67.2	61.4
Asian	74.3	69.3	80.2
Mixed	83.3	70.5	51.6
Chinese & Other	55.0	54.2	44.6
Sample N	2906	3025	4161

*2005 BES data weighted using the Post-wave weight for GB. N= 4161. Low counts –Black = 44; Asian=101; Mixed = 31; Chinese and Other = 101

*2001 BES data weighted post-wave. N = 3025

*1997 BES weighted sample for GB. N = 2906

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Social Class (weighted)

Variables	1997 General Election	2001 General Election	2005 General Election
% Voted (frequency only)	78.6	70.7	71.7
Social Class			
Salariat	84.7	77.3	81.9
Routine Non Manual	78.8	70.1	71.5
Petty Bourgeoisie	76.4	68.8	75.9
Manual Supervisor/Low Tech	77.2	70.4	66.4
Working Class	75.5	63.7	61.1
Insufficient Information	64.2	68.3	65.6
Sample N	2906	3025	4161

*2005 BES data weighted using the Post-wave weight for GB. N= 4161

*2001 BES data weighted post-wave. N = 3025

*1997 BES weighted sample for GB. N = 2906

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by LT Ill/Disabled (weighted)

Variables	1997 General Election	2001 General Election	2005 General Election
% Voted (frequency only)	78.6	70.7	71.7
Disability			
Long term ill	-	-	72.9
Permanently Sick & Disabled	80.0	70.1	59.7
Sample N	2906	3025	4161

*2005 BES data weighted using the Post-wave weight for GB. N= 4161. Long term ill = 20.7% of the sample.

*2001 BES data weighted post-wave. N = 3025

*1997 BES weighted sample for GB. N = 2906

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Education (weighted)

Variables	1997 General Election	2001 General Election	2005 General Election
% Voted (frequency only)	78.6	70.7	71.7
Education			
Degree and Prof Qualifications	81.7	75.8	80.8
Below Degree	81.9	72.1	73.7
A-Levels and equivalent	74.6	76.2	69.3
Level 2 – O-levels/GCSE A-C	79.7	60.1	67.4
Level 1 – CSE/GCSE D-G	73.6	64.6	52.6
Other Qualifications	83.9	67.7	76.8
No Qualifications	79.1	73.3	69.7
Sample N	2906	2983	4161

*2005 BES data weighted using the Post-wave weight for GB. N= 4161

*2001 BES data weighted post-wave. N = 3025

*1997 BES weighted sample for GB. N = 2906

Tables for Regional Parliament/Assembly

The Welsh Assembly Elections 1999-2007

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Gender (weighted)

Variables	1999 Welsh Assembly	2003 Welsh Assembly	2007 Welsh Assembly
% Voted (frequency only)	53.8	49.3	49.1
Gender			
Male	51.0	49.0	49.5
Female	56.6	49.6	48.7
Sample N	784	989	884

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Age (weighted)

Variables	1999 Welsh Assembly	2003 Welsh Assembly	2007 Welsh Assembly
% Voted (frequency only)	53.8	49.3	49.1
Age Groups			
18-25	29.9	26.7	36.7
26-35	34.2	38.6	33.6
36-50	56.2	46.8	36.4
51-64	61.1	58.9	57.1
Old Age 65 plus	74.1	71.0	74.2
Sample N	784	989	884

*2007 Living in Wales Survey weighted. N = 884

*2003 Living in Wales Survey weighted. N = 989

*1999 Welsh Assembly Survey weighted. N = 784

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Religion (weighted)

Variables	1999 Welsh Assembly	2003 Welsh Assembly	2007 Welsh Assembly
% Voted (frequency only)	53.8	49.3	49.1
Religion			
Christian	60.6	56.5	59.3
Non-Christian	70.6*	35.7*	16.7*
No Religion	43.4	41.6	39.0
Sample N	784	989	884

*2007 Living in Wales Survey weighted. N = 884. Note that there were only 12 individuals who were Non-Christian

*2003 Living in Wales Survey weighted. N = 884. Note that there were only 28 individuals who were Non-Christian

*1999 Living in Wales Survey weighted. N = 784. Note that there were only 17 individuals who were Non-Christian

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Ethnicity (weighted)

Variables	1999 Welsh Assembly	2003 Welsh Assembly	2007 Welsh Assembly
% Voted (frequency only)	53.8	49.3	49.1
Religion			
White	53.7	-	50.1
Black	33.3*	-	40.0*
Asian	66.7*	-	6.7*
Mixed	50.0*	-	0*
Chinese & Other	66.7*	-	0*
Sample N	784	989	884

*2007 Living in Wales Survey weighted. N = 884. Very low counts – self reported race: Black = 5; Asian=15; Mixed = 4; Chinese and Other = 1

* No ethnicity question in 2003.

*1999 Welsh Assembly Survey weighted. N = 784. Very low counts – race: Black = 3; Asian=9; Mixed = 2; Chinese and Other = 3

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Social Class (weighted)

Variables	1999 Welsh Assembly	2003 Welsh Assembly	2007 Welsh Assembly
% Voted (frequency only)	53.8	49.3	49.1
Social Class			
Salariat	60.3	47.1	57.1
Routine Non Manual	54.6	51.5	50.0
Petty Bourgeoisie	65.3	60.7	55.4
Manual Supervisor/Low Tech	59.3	48.8	41.5
Working Class	44.0	43.8	42.7
Insufficient Information	48.0	51.3	48.2
Sample N	784	989	884

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Education (weighted)

Variables	1999 Welsh Assembly	2003 Welsh Assembly	2007 Welsh Assembly
% Voted (frequency only)	53.8	49.3	49.1
<i>Education</i>			
Degree and Prof Qualifications	61.8	55.1	50.0
Below Degree	51.5	51.9	62.4
A-Levels and equivalent	40.2	45.8	47.3
Level 2 – O-levels/GCSE A-C	54.6	44.4	41.8
Level 1 – CSE/GCSE D-G	54.5	38.8	32.4
Other Qualifications	70.0	50.0	0*
No Qualifications	54.9	53.0	53.2
<i>Sample N</i>	784	989	884

*2007 Living in Wales Survey weighted. N = 884. Note that Other qualifications raw count is only 2.

*2003 Living in Wales Survey weighted. N = 989. Note that Other qualifications raw count is only 10.

*1999 Welsh Assembly Survey weighted. N = 784. Note that Other qualifications raw count is only 10.

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Permanently Sick/Disabled (weighted)

Variables	1999 Welsh Assembly	2003 Welsh Assembly	2007 Welsh Assembly
% Voted (frequency only)	53.8	49.3	49.1
<i>Religion</i>			
Permanently Sick/Disabled	51.4	43.0	49.0
<i>Sample N</i>	784	989	884

The Scottish Parliament Elections 1999-2007

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Gender (weighted)

Variables	1999 Scottish Parliament	2003 Scottish Parliament	2007 Scottish Parliament
% Voted (frequency only)	72.4	60.1	61.1
Gender			
Male	72.6	60.2	59.2
Female	72.3	60.0	62.8
Sample N	1482	1508	1508

*2007 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Age (weighted)

Variables	1999 Scottish Parliament	2003 Scottish Parliament	2007 Scottish Parliament
% Voted (frequency only)	72.4	60.1	61.1
Age Groups			
18-25	60.6	39.9	34.4
26-35	56.4	36.5	45.3
36-50	72.2	61.4	59.2
51-64	80.8	70.7	72.1
Old Age 65 plus	85.9	77.5	82.2
Sample N	1482	1508	1508

*2007 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Religion (weighted)

Variables	1999 Scottish Parliament	2003 Scottish Parliament	2007 Scottish Parliament
% Voted (frequency only)	72.4	60.1	61.1
Religion			
Christian	77.3	66.9	70.2
Non-Christian	52.9*	28.6*	50.0*
No Religion	65.7	52.5	52.8
Sample N	1482	1508	1508

*2007 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508. Note that there were only 36 individuals who were Non-Christian. 73.5% Presbyterian voted; 71.4% Catholic voted.

*2003 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508. Note that there were only 21 individuals who were Non-Christian.

*1999 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1482. Note that there were only 17 individuals who were Non-Christian.

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Ethnicity (weighted)

Variables	1999 Scottish Parliament	2003 Scottish Parliament	2007 Scottish Parliament
% Voted (frequency only)	72.4	60.1	61.1
Religion			
White	72.6	60.4	61.9
Black	66.7*	0*	33.3*
Asian	69.2*	27.3*	65.4*
Mixed	100.0*	37.5*	87.5*
Chinese & Other	50.0	71.4*	30.8*
Sample N	1482	1508	1508

*2007 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508. Very low counts – self reported race: Black = 6; Asian= 26; Mixed = 8; Chinese and Other = 13

*2003 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508. Very low counts – self reported race: Black = 4; Asian= 11; Mixed = 8; Chinese and Other = 7

*1999 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1482. Very low counts – self reported race: Black = 6; Asian= 13; Mixed = 1; Chinese and Other = 4

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Social Class (weighted)

Variables	1999 Scottish Parliament	2003 Scottish Parliament	2007 Scottish Parliament
% Voted (frequency only)	72.4	60.1	61.1
Social Class			
Salariat	78.6	68.4	68.9
Routine Non Manual	72.9	59.4	59.3
Petty Bourgeoisie	68.7	71.0	55.2
Manual Supervisor/Low Tech	66.0	49.6	61.3
Working Class	69.6	55.0	52.2
Insufficient Information	69.5	58.6	62.3
Sample N	1482	1508	1508

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Education (weighted)

Variables	1999 Scottish Parliament	2003 Scottish Parliament	2007 Scottish Parliament
% Voted (frequency only)	72.4	60.1	61.1
<i>Education</i>			
Degree and Prof Qualifications	81.6	65.4	71.7
Below Degree	73.7	63.9	63.3
A-Levels and equivalent	66.5	57.1	54.4
Level 2 – O-levels/GCSE A-C	73.0	49.1	53.8
Level 1 – CSE/GCSE D-G	58.2	63.3	61.2
Other Qualifications	89.5	44.4	38.1*
No Qualifications	72.5	60.2	61.7
<i>Sample N</i>	1482	1508	1508

*2007 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508. Note that Other qualifications raw count is only 21.

*2003 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508. Note that Other qualifications raw count is only 18.

*1999 Scottish Attitudes Survey weighted. N = 1508. Note that Other qualifications raw count is only 19.

Cross-Tabulation: Vote by Permanently Sick/Disabled (weighted)

Variables	1999 Scottish Parliament	2003 Scottish Parliament	2007 Scottish Parliament
% Voted (frequency only)	72.4	60.1	61.1
<i>Religion</i>			
Permanently Sick/Disabled	63.5	49.0	58.5
<i>Sample N</i>	1482	1508	1508

Political Representation (additional Information to Section 2)

MPs and Local Councillors

The datasets used for these tables are:

- 2008 National Census of Local Authority Councillors in England (N=19617)
- 2004 National Census of Local Authority Councillors in Wales (N= not known)
- 2007 National Survey of Local Candidates in Scotland (N=740)

Socio-Economic Background of Councillors in England (compared with overall population in England)

Variable	Frequencies %	2008 LFS for England
<i>Gender</i>		
Men	68.4	48.7
Women	30.8	51.3
Not Known	0.8	-
<i>Age Groups</i>		
18-24	0.6	12.1
25-34	3.8	16.7
35-44	8.8	19.2
45-54	16.6	17.0
55-64	35.9	15.1
65+	34.3	19.8
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
White	96.6	89.2
Mixed	0.5	0.9
Asian	2.2	5.2
Black	0.4	2.6
Chinese & Other	0.2	2.3
<i>Education</i>		
NVQ 4/Degree & Professional ¹	51.1	28.8
A-Levels & Trade (Level 3)	14.6	19.9
Level 2 GCSE (A-C)	10.6	14.4
Level 1 (D-G)	1.1	13.4
Other Qualifications	4.5	9.8
No Qualifications	18.0	13.8
<i>Disability</i>		
Disability (limits work)	13.3	9.5 ²

*LFS = Labour Force Survey

¹ Professional includes teaching/accountancy qualifications etc

² Refers to health problem – sick and disabled = 6.6%

**Black and Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME)
Women in Political and Public Life in the UK**

Variable	Frequencies %
Overall Figures	
Overall BAME Population England	11.3
Population of England are BAME women	5.6
Of all women are from a BAME group	11.6
Parliament	
Women Members of Parliament	19.4
BAME women members of Parliament	0.3
Councillors in England	
Women Councillors 2006	29.3
Women Councillors 2008	30.8
BAME Women Councillors 2006	0.9
BAME Women Councillors 2008	0.8
Councillors in England 2008	
White Male	66.3
White Female	30.3
BAME Male	2.6
BAME Female	0.8

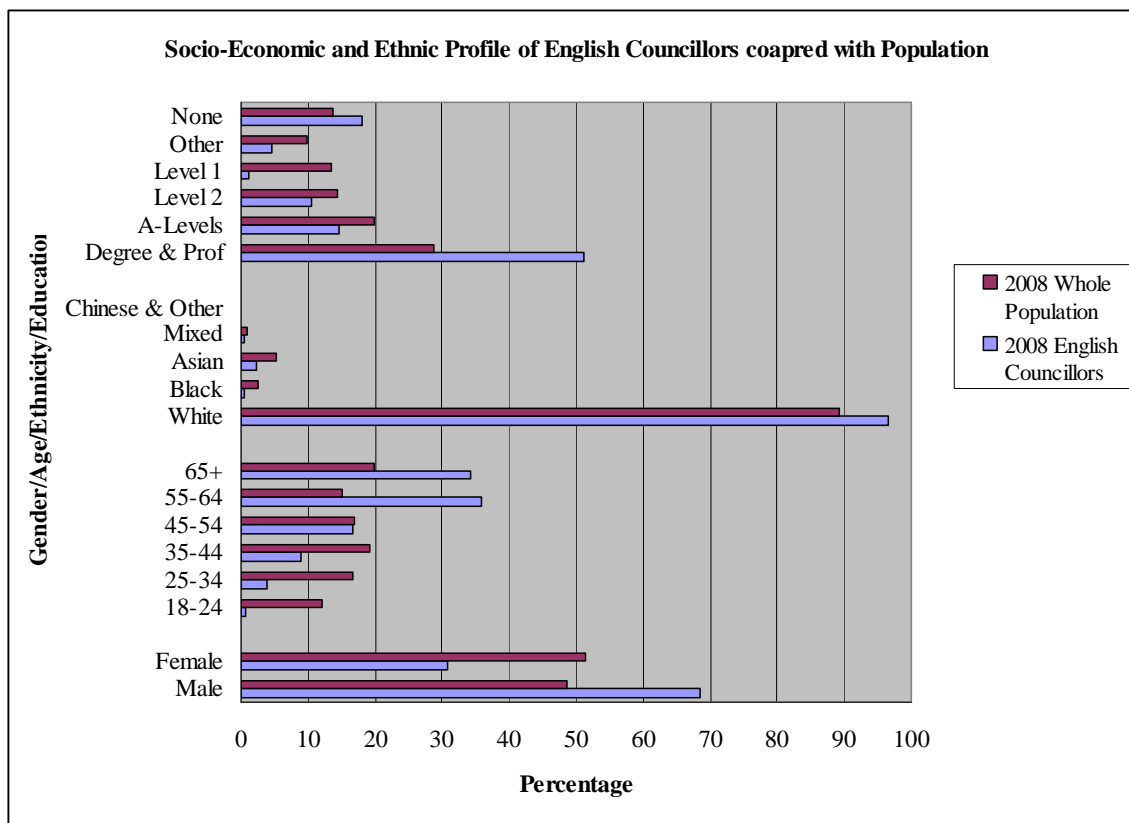
Number of Councillors in England 2006/2008

Gender/Ethnicity	2006	2008
Men	13645	13417
BAME Men	579	481
Women	5774	6038
BAME Women	168	149

- 149 female councillors (estimate) are from BAME backgrounds which represent under 1% of all councillors. This is significantly lower than the proportion of councillors who are white women (30.3%). To be more proportionately representative of the population the number of BAME women councillors needs to increase more than five fold and be nearer to 1000.

- Asian councillors constitute 66% of all non-white councillors. However, BAME women councillors are heavily under-represented, particularly Pakistani councillors, only 9.4% percent of whom are female.

Figure 1A



Socio-Economic Background of Councillors in Wales (compared with overall population in Wales)

Variable	Frequencies %	2004 Mid Year (Wales)
<i>Gender</i>		
Men	78.2	48.5
Women	21.8	51.5
<i>Age Groups</i>		
18-24	0.9	- ²
25-34	3.4	-
35-44	7.7	-
45-54	22.1	-
55-64	40.5	-
65+	20.5	-
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
White	99.2	97.6
Mixed	0.2	0.7
Asian	0.3	1.0
Black	0.3	0.3
Chinese & Other	0	0.5
<i>Education</i>		
NVQ 4/Degree & Professional ¹	40.4	- ³
A-Levels & Trade	18.0	-
Level 2 GCSE (A-C)	16.0	-
Level 1 (D-G)	1.1	-
Other Qualifications	5.8	-
No Qualifications	18.8	-
<i>Disability</i>		
Disability (limits work)	16.7	22.7

*LFS = Labour Force Survey

¹ Professional includes teaching/accountancy qualifications etc

² 2004 Mid year estimates – population 2,946,432. 0-16 = 18% Working age population = 60%; Pensionable age = 21%

³ Welsh Labour Force Survey reported that 24.2% of adults of working age in Wales attained NVQ Level 4; 43.4% A- Level & Trade; 64.9% Level 2, and 17.3% attained no qualifications.

Socio-Economic Background of Councillors in Scotland (compared with overall population in Scotland)

Variable	Frequencies %	Scottish Population
<i>Gender</i>		
Men	78.4	47.5
Women	21.6	52.5
<i>Age Groups</i>		
Age 18-24	0.9	- ⁴
Age 25-34	4.0	-
Age 35-44	11.0	-
Age 45-54	28.0	-
Age 55-64	40.0	-
65+	15.0	-
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
White	98.1	98.0
Mixed	0	0.1
Asian	0.7	1.4
Black	0.9	0.2
Chinese & Other	0.3	0.3
<i>Education</i>		
Degree & Professional ¹	47.0	24.0
Below Degree (NVQ Level 4)	13.0	10.0
A-Levels & Trade	15.0	22.0
Level 2/1 GCSE (A-C & D-G)	12.0	19.0
None & Other Qualifications ³	13.0	25.0
<i>Disability</i>		
Disability (limits work)	18.0	42.0 ²

*LFS = Labour Force Survey

¹ Professional includes teaching/accountancy qualifications etc

² 42% of the population have long standing health issues and 27% report that it limits their activities.

³ 2007 Scottish data for the whole population summed No and Other qualifications in their comparison with Scottish Councillor data.

⁴ 2007 Mid year estimates for Scotland based on the Annual abstract of statistics – whole population = 5,144,000. Age 15-19 = 7.7%; Age 20-29 = 15.6%; Age 30-44 = 25.3%; Age 45-59 = 24.7%; Age 60-64 = 7.0%; Age 65 plus = 19.6%

Comparing Councillors across England, Wales and Scotland

Gender of Councillors in England, Wales and Scotland (%)

Variables	2008 English	2004 Welsh	2007 Scottish
Gender			
Male	68.4	78.2	78.4
Female	30.8	21.8	21.6
Not Known	0.8	-	-
Sample N	19617	-	740

Age Groups of Councillors in England, Wales and Scotland (%)

Variables	2008 English Councillors	2004 Welsh Councillors	2007 Scottish Councillors
Age Groups			
18-24	0.6	0.9	0.9
25-34	3.8	3.4	4.0
35-44	8.8	7.7	11.0
45-54	16.6	22.1	28.0
55-64	35.9	40.5	40.0
65+	34.3	20.5	15.0
Sample N	18819	-	740

*2003 Mid year estimates for Wales: Average age 39 for Males; 41 for Females

Ethnicity of Councillors in England, Wales and Scotland (%)

Variables	2008 English Councillors	2004 Welsh Councillors	2007 Scottish Councillors
Ethnicity			
White	96.6	99.2	98.1
Black	0.5	0.2	0
Asian	2.2	0.3	0.7
Mixed	0.4	0.3	0.9
Chinese & Other	0.2	0	0.3
Sample N	18808	-	740

*2008 English Councillors report: Other ethnic background = 3.4% – 1.1% Indian; 0.8% Pakistani & Bangladeshi; 0.3% Other Asian; 0.3% Black Caribbean; 0.2% Black African

*2001 Census in Wales – 97.9% White; 2.1% Other Ethnic Background – of the 2.1%, 41% are Asian, 24% Black Caribbean and Black African, 10% Chinese.

*2007 Scottish whole population – 98.0% White; 2.0% Other Ethnic Background – 0.4% Indian, 0.7% Pakistani & Bangladeshi, 0.3% Other Asian, 0.1% Mixed, 0.2% Black African, 0% Black Caribbean, 0.3% Chinese and Other.

Education of Councillors in England, Wales and Scotland (%)

Variables	2008 English Councillors	2004 Welsh Councillors	2007 Scottish Councillors
<i>Education</i>			
Degree & Prof*	51.1	40.4	60.0
A-Levels & Trade	14.6	18.0	9.0
Level 2 GCSE (A-C)	10.6	16.0	12.0 ¹
Level 1 (D-G)	1.1	1.1	-
Other Qualifications	4.5	5.8	3.0
No Qualifications	18.0	18.8	10.0
<i>Sample N</i>	19617	-	740

*Degree and Professional Qualifications (include HNC and HND level 4/Teaching qualifications and Accountancy.

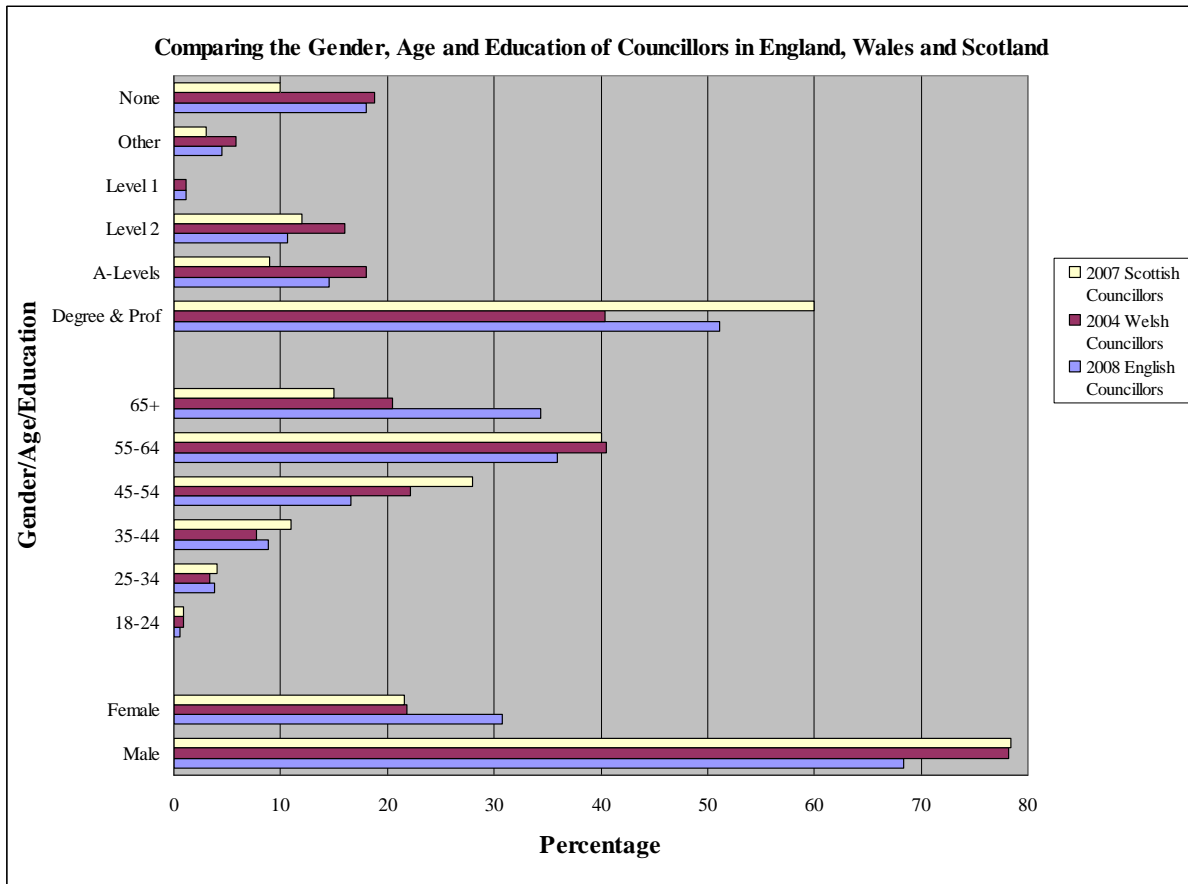
¹In Scotland, Level 2 and Level 1 were added together.

Long Term Ill/Disabled of Councillors in England, Wales and Scotland (%)

Variables	2008 English Councillors	2004 Welsh Councillors	2007 Scottish Councillors
<i>Education</i>			
LT Ill/Sick/Disabled	13.3	16.7	18.0
<i>Sample N</i>	19617	-	740

2004 Wales – 19.3% of women were long term ill/disabled compared to 16% of men; 20% from an ethnic minority background. 2001 Census in Wales, 22.7 overall were long term ill/disabled – 22.2% men and 23.3 women.

Figure 2a



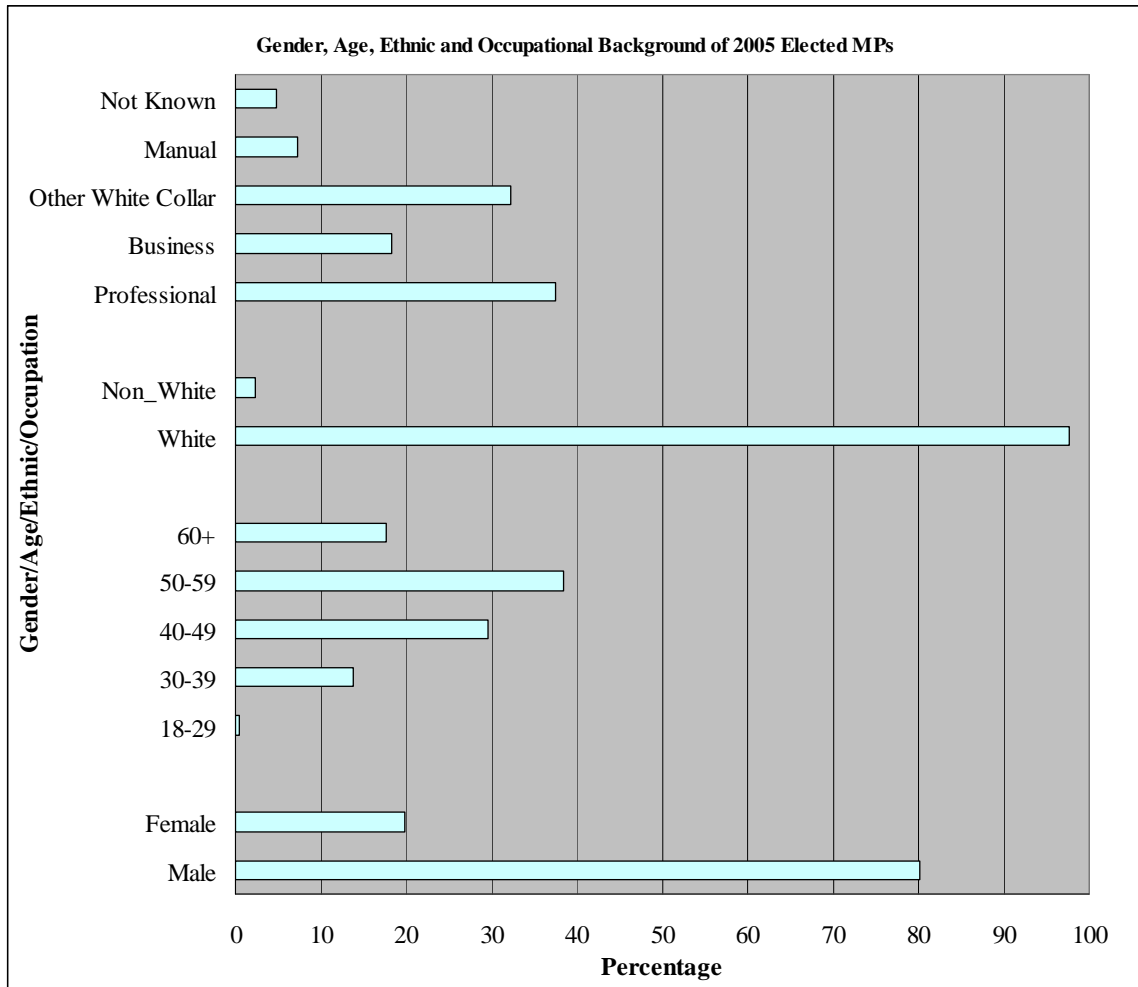
Members of Parliament

Source of Information: House of Commons Library Papers Standard note 1528; Kavanagh and Butler (2005)

Socio-Economic and Ethnic Profile of 2005 Elected Members of Parliament

Variable	% 2005 MPs
<i>Gender</i>	
Men	80.2
Women	19.8
<i>Age Groups</i>	
18-29	0.5
30-39	13.8
40-49	29.6
50-59	38.5
60+	17.6
<i>Ethnicity</i>	
White	97.7
Non-White	2.3
<i>Previous Occupation</i>	
Professional	37.5
Business	18.3
Other White Collar	32.2
Manual	7.3
Not Known	4.8

Figure 3a



Gender of MP's 1979-2005

Date	Male	Female	Total	% Male	% Female
1979	616	19	635	97	3
1983	627	23	650	96	4
1987	609	41	650	94	6
1992	591	60	651	91	9
1997	609	120	659	82	18
2001	541	118	659	82	18
2005	518	128	646	80	20

Age Profile of MP's 1992-2005

Date	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total
1992	1	82	259	211	98	651
1997	10	92	254	227	76	659
2001	4	79	236	247	93	659
2005	3	89	191	249	114	646

The average age of MPs went down after the 1997 election, largely as result of the election of 10 MPs aged under 30 and a reduction in the number of MPs aged 60+. Since 1997, the average age of MPs elected has risen, from 49 years in 1997 to 51 years in 2005. In 2005 56% (363) of those elected were aged over 50, compared with 47% (309) in 1992, and 46% (303) in 1997. The 14 MPs aged over 70 elected in 2005 was higher than at any previous election since 1979, when it had also been 14.

Ethnic Profile of MP's

Date	White	Non-White	Total
1992	645	6	651
1997	650	9	659
2001	647	12	659
2005	631	15	646

The first non-white MPs since the War were elected in 1987, when four Labour MPs were from an ethnic minority background. Following the 2005 election, 2.3% of Members of Parliament are from non-white backgrounds. This compares with the 8% of the UK population who were from a non-white background at the time of the 2001 Census of Population.

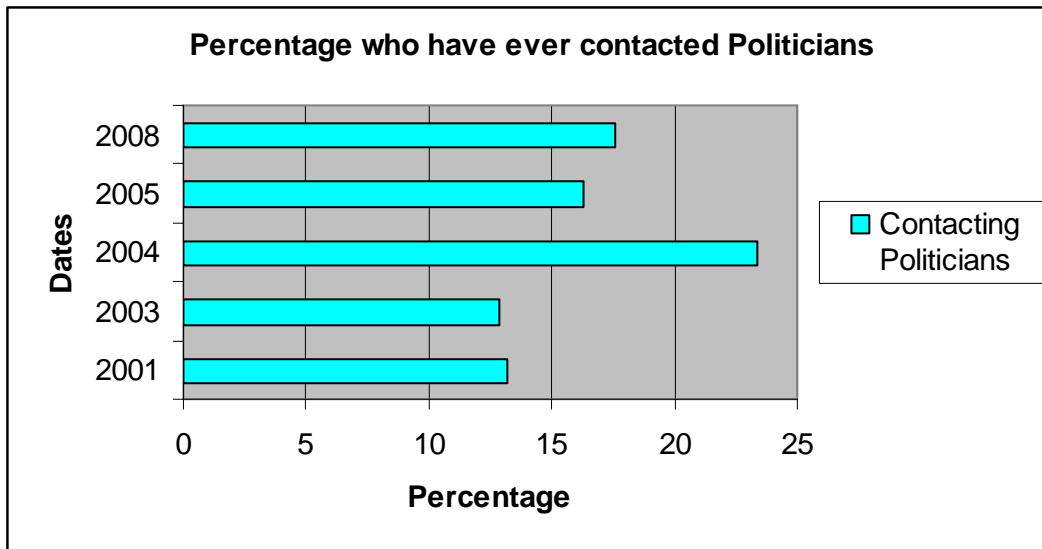
- 26 Jewish MP's
- Muslim MP's

Occupational Background of 2005 Elected MPs

Occupation	2005 MPs	% 2005
Professional	242	37.5
Business	118	18.3
Other White Collar	208	32.2
Manual	47	7.3
Not Known	31	4.8

Source: Kavanagh and Butler (2005)

Figure 4a Percentage who have ever contacted an MP or MSP, government official or media outlet about a government action that he/she felt was harmful or unjust



Black and Ethnic Minorities (BAME) in Parliament

Date	White	Non-White	Total
1992	645	6	651
1997	650	9	659
2001	647	12	659
2005	631	15	646
2010	621	28	649

The first non-white MPs since the War were elected in 1987, when four Labour MPs were from an ethnic minority background. Following the 2005 election, 2.3% of Members of Parliament are from non-white backgrounds. This compares with the 8% (7.9%) of the UK population who were from a non-white background at the time of the 2001 Census of Population. In 2010, the number increased to 28.

The 7.9% figure refers to the census (see table below).

Ethnic makeup of the United Kingdom (%)

	England	Wales	Scotland	NI	UK
White	90.9	97.9	98	99.3	92.1
BAME	9.1	2.1	2	0.7	7.9

Source: Equal Opportunities Commission, data from the Census 2001

If the 2001 minority-ethnic population grows in line with the trend, then forecasts for the next Census in 2011 would predict nearly 7 million non-white Britons, 11–12% of Great Britain's projected population of approximately 60 million (see the now defunct Commission for Racial Equality, Ethnic minorities in Great Britain, Factfile 2, March 2007). Estimates for mid-2006 put the non-white population of England at 11.32%, up from 9% in the 2001 census (Office for National Statistics, Population estimates by ethnic group, August 2008). Hence, the estimate of 11.3% below – this ONS experimental Population Estimates by Ethnic Group in England for 2006, published in 2008.

- 149 female councillors (estimate) are from BAME backgrounds which represent under 1% of all councillors. This is significantly lower than the proportion of councillors who are white women (30.3%). To be more proportionately representative of the population the number of BAME women councillors needs to increase more than five fold and be nearer to 1000.

Number of Councillors in England 2006/2008

Gender/Ethnicity	2006	2008
Men	13645	13417
BAME Men	579	481
Women	5774	6038
BAME Women	168	149

- Asian councillors constitute 66% of all non-white councillors. However, BAME women councillors are heavily under-represented, particularly Pakistani councillors, only 9.4% percent of whom are female.

A summary of the results from the report (see below): Source: National Foundation for Educational Research (2009) - National Census of Local Authority Councillors 2008.

In 2008, the majority of councillors (68.4%) were male while 30.8% were female and the remaining 0.8% did not provide details of their gender. The proportion of female councillors was similar to the proportion in 2006 when 29.3% were female. It has climbed slightly each year since 1997 when it stood at 27.8%. The proportion of female councillors was greatest in London boroughs (36.2%) and metropolitan districts (33.1%) and lowest in shire counties (25.6%). The region with the smallest proportion of female councillors was the East Midlands with 25.3%. The Labour Force Survey (LFS) in autumn 2008 showed that 51.3% of the population aged over 18 were female and 48.7% were male compared with 30.8% and 68.4% of councillors respectively.

In total, 96.6% of councillors were white while 3.4% were from a minority ethnic background. These proportions were similar to those found in previous years when 95.9% of councillors

were white and 4.1% came from an ethnic minority background in 2006; 3.5% and 2.7% were from minority ethnic backgrounds respectively in the 2004 and 2001 Councillors' Censuses. The proportion of councillors who were white is greater than LFS data shows is the case in the adult population as a whole (89.2%). A greater proportion of councillors in London boroughs were from minority ethnic backgrounds (15.9%) than was the case in England as a whole.

Gender of MP's 1979-2010

Date	Male	Female	Total	% Male	% Female
1979	616	19	635	97	3
1983	627	23	650	96	4
1987	609	41	650	94	6
1992	591	60	651	91	9
1997	609	120	659	82	18
2001	541	118	659	82	18
2005	518	128	646	80	20
2010	507	142	649	78	22

Sexuality – In 2005, 12 MPs were LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans) – this figure increased to 17 in 2010, of which 8 are Conservative, 8 are Labour and one Lib Dem (15 men and 2 women).

End notes

ⁱ In these early studies, race and ethnicity were often neglected.

ⁱⁱ If the 2001 minority-ethnic population grows in line with the trend, then forecasts for the next Census in 2011 would predict nearly 7 million non-white Britons, 11–12 % of Great Britain's projected population of approximately 60 million (see the Commission for Racial Equality, Ethnic minorities in Great Britain, Factfile 2, March 2007). Estimates for mid-2006 put the non-white population of England at 11.3 %, up from 9 % in the 2001 census (Office for National Statistics, Population estimates by ethnic group, August 2008).